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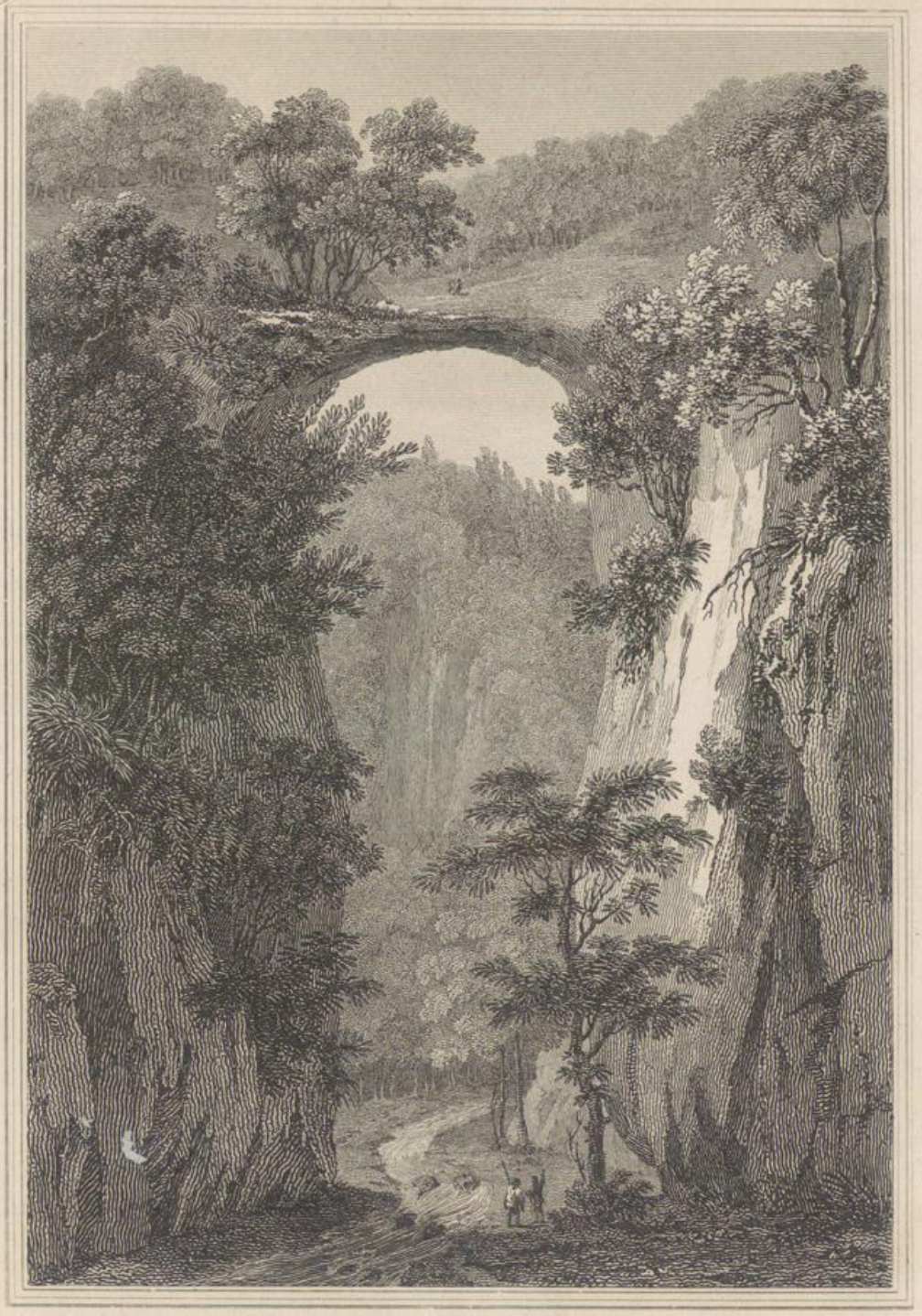

Natural Rock Bridge, in Virginia.

London Published by Longman Hurst Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row Feby 1, 1810.

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GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.

BY JOHN PINKERTON,
AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE THIRTEENTH.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
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VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

NORTH AMERICA, continued.

THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

VIRGINIA, NEW ENGLAND, AND THE SUMMER ISLES:

WITH THE

Names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governors, from their firſt beginning, Anno 1584, to this preſent 1624; with the Proceedings of thoſe ſeveral Colonies, and the Accidents that befell them in all their Journies and Diſcoveries.

ALSO,

THE MAPS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF ALL THOSE COUNTRIES, THEIR COMMODITIES, PEOPLE, GOVERNMENT, CUSTOMS, AND RELIGION, YET KNOWN.

Divided into Six Books.

By Captain JOHN SMITH,

Sometime Governor in thoſe Countries, and Admiral of New England. *

TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST NOBLE PRINCESS, THE LADY FRANCES, DUCHESS OF RICHMOND AND LENOX.

May it pleaſe Your Grace,

THIS Hiſtory, as for the rarity and variety of the ſubject, ſo much more for the judicious eyes it is like to undergo, and moſt of all for that great name, whereof it dareth implore protection, might and ought to have been clad in better robes than my rude military hand can cut out in paper ornaments. But becauſe, of the moſt things

* London, 1624, folio.

therein,

therein, I am no compiler by hearſay, but have been a real actor; I take myſelf to have a property in them; and therefore have been bold to challenge them to come under the reach of my own rough pen. That, which hath been indured and paſſed through with hardſhip and danger, is thereby ſweetened to the actor, when he becometh the relator. I have deeply hazarded myſelf in doing and ſuffering, and why ſhould I ſtick to hazard my reputation in recording? He that acteth two parts is the more borne withal if he come ſhort, or fail in one of them. Where ſhall we look to find a Julius Cæſar, whoſe atchievements ſhine as clear in his own commentaries, as they did in the field? I confeſs, my hand, though able to wield a weapon among the barbarous, yet well may tremble in handling a pen among ſo many judicious: eſpecially when I am ſo bold as to call ſo piercing, and ſo glorious an eye, as Your Grace, to view theſe poor ragged lines.

Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honorable and virtuous ladies, and comparable but amongſt themſelves, have offered me reſcue and protection in my greateſt dangers: even in foreign parts, I have felt relief from that ſex. The beauteous Lady Tragabigzanda, when I was a ſlave to the Turks, did all ſhe could to ſecure me. When I overcame the Baſhaw of Nalbrits in Tartaria, the charitable Lady Callamata ſupplied my neceſſities. In the utmoſt of many extremities, that bleſſed Pokahontas, the great King's daughter of Virginia, oft ſaved my life. When I eſcaped the cruelty of pirates and moſt furious ſtorms, a long time alone in a ſmall boat at ſea, and driven aſhore in France, the good lady Madam Chanoyes, bountifully aſſiſted me.

And ſo verily theſe my adventures have taſted the ſame influence from your gratious hand, which hath given birth to the publication of this narration. If therefore your Grace ſhall deign to caſt your eye on this poor book, view, I pray you, rather your own bounty (without which it had died in the womb) than my imperfections, which have no help but the ſhrine of your glorious name to be ſheltered from cenſorious condemnation. Vouchſafe ſome glimpſe of your honourable aſpect, to accept theſe my labours; to protect them under the ſhadow of your excellent name: which will enable them to be preſented to the King's royal Majeſty, the moſt admired Prince Charles, and the Queen of Bohemia: your ſweet recommendations will make it the worthier of their good countenances. And as all my endeavours are their due tribute: ſo this page ſhall record to poſterity, that my ſervice ſhall be to pray to God, that you may ſtill continue the renowned of your ſex, the moſt honored of men, and the highly bleſſed of God.

Your Grace's faithful and devoted ſervant,

JOHN SMITH.

A PREFACE OF FOUR POINTS.

1. THIS plain hiſtory humbly ſheweth the truth; that our moſt royal King James hath place and opportunity to inlarge his ancient dominions without wronging any (which is a condition moſt agreeable to his moſt juſt and pious reſolutions): and the Prince His Highneſs may ſee where to plant new colonies. The gaining provinces addeth to the King's crown; but the reducing heathen people to civility and true religion, bringeth honour to the King of Heaven. If his princely wiſdom and powerful hand

hand, renowned through the world for admirable government, pleaſe but to ſet theſe new eſtates into order, their compoſure will be ſingular: the counſel of divers is confuſed; the general ſtock is conſumed; nothing but the touch of the King's ſacred hand can erect a monarchy.

2. Moſt noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen, it is your Honours that have employed great pains and large expence in laying the foundation of this ſtate, wherein much hath been buried under ground, yet ſomething hath ſprung up, and given you a taſte of your adventures. Let no difficulties alter your noble intentions. The action is an honour to your country; and the iſſue may well reimburſe you your ſums expended. Our practices have hitherto been but eſſays, and are ſtill to be amended. Let your bounty ſupply the neceſſities of weak beginnings, and your excellent judgments rectify the proceedings; the return cannot chooſe in the end but bring you good commodities, and good contentments, by your advancing ſhipping and fiſhing, ſo uſeful unto our nation.

3. Ye valiant and generous ſpirits, perſonal poſſeſſors of theſe new-found territories, baniſh from among you cowardice, covetouſneſs, jealouſies, and idleneſs, enemies to the raiſing your honours and fortunes; virtue, induſtry, and amity will make you good and great, and your merits live to enſuing ages. You that, in contempt of neceſſities, hazard your lives and eſtates, employing your ſtudies and labours in theſe fair endeavours, live and proſper as I deſire my ſoul ſhould proſper.

4. For myſelf, let emulation and envy ceaſe; I ever intended my actions ſhould be upright: now my care hath been that my relations ſhould give every man they concern their due. But had I not diſcovered and lived in the moſt of thoſe parts, I could not poſſibly have collected the ſubſtantial truth from ſuch a number of variable relations, that would have made a volume at leaſt of a thouſand ſheets. Though the beginning may ſeem harſh in regard of the antiquities, brevity, and names, a pleaſanter diſcourſe enſues. The ſtyle of a ſoldier is not eloquent, but honeſt and juſtifiable; ſo I deſire all my friends and well-wiſhers to excuſe and accept it, and if any be ſo noble as to reſpect it, he that brought New England to light, though long ſince brought in obſcurity, he is again to be found a true ſervant to all good deſigns.

So I ever reſt yours to command,

JOHN SMITH.

BOOK I.

How ancient Authors report the New World, now called America, was diſcovered: and Part thereof firſt planted by the Engliſh, called Virginia, with the Accidents and Proceedings of the ſame.

FOR the ſtories of Arthur, Malgo, and Brandon, that ſay a thouſand years ago they were in the North of America; or the friar of Lynn, that by his black art went to the North Pole in the year 1360, in that I know them not. Let this ſuffice.

The chronicles of Wales report, that Madock, ſon to Owen Quineth, Prince of Wales, ſeeing his two brethren at debate who ſhould inherit, prepared certain ſhips,

with men and munition, and left his country to ſeek adventures by ſea. Leaving Ireland north, he ſailed weſt till he came to a land unknown. Returning home, and relating what pleaſant and fruitful countries he had ſeen without inhabitants, and for what barren ground his brethren and kindred did murder one another, he provided a number of ſhips, and got with him ſuch men and women as were deſirous to live in quietneſs, that arrived with him in this new land in the year 1170: left many of his people there, and returned for more. But where this place was no hiſtory can ſhew.

The Spaniards ſay, Hanno, a Prince of Carthage was the firſt: and the next, Chriſtopher Columbus, a Genoeſian, whom they ſent to diſcover thoſe unknown parts, 1492.

But we find by records, Columbus offered his ſervice in the year 1488, to King Henry the Seventh, and by accident undertook it for the Spaniards. In the interim, King Henry gave a commiſſion to John Cabot and his three ſons, Sebaſtian, Lewis, and Sautius. John and Sebaſtian, well provided, ſetting ſail, ranged a great part of this unknown world, in the year 1497. For though Columbus had found certain iſles, it was 1498 ere he ſaw the continent, which was a year after Cabot. Now Americus came a long time after, though the whole continent to this day is called America, after his name, yet Sebaſtian Cabot diſcovered much more than them all, for he ſailed to about forty degrees ſouthward of the line, and to ſixty-ſeven towards the north: for which King Henry the Eighth knighted him, and made him Grand Pilate of England. Being very aged, King Edward the Sixth gave him a penſion of 166l. 13s. 4d. yearly. By his directions Sir Hugh Willowby was ſent to find out the country of Ruſſia, but the next year he was found frozen to death in his ſhip, and all his company.

Mr. Martin Frobiſher was ſent in the year 1576, by our moſt gracious Queen Elizabeth, to ſearch for the north-weſt paſſage, and *meta incognita:* for which he was knighted, honoured, and well rewarded.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a worthy knight, attempted a plantation in ſome of thoſe parts, and obtained letters patent to his deſire; but with this proviſo, he ſhould maintain poſſeſſion in ſome of thoſe vaſt countries within the term of ſix years. Yet when he was provided with a navy able to encounter a king's power, even here at home they fell in diviſions, and ſo into confuſion, that they gave over the deſign ere it was begun. Notwithſtanding all this loſs, his undaunted ſpirit began again, but his fleet fell with Newfoundland, and he periſhed in his return, as at large you may read in the third volume of the Engliſh Voyages, written by Mr. Hackluit.

Upon all thoſe relations and inducements, Sir Walter Raleigh, a noble gentleman, and then in great eſteem, undertook to ſend to diſcover to the ſouthward. And though his occaſions and other employments were ſuch he could not go himſelf, yet he procured Her Majeſty's letters patent, and perſuaded many worthy knights and gentlemen to adventure with him to find a place fit for a plantation. Their proceedings followeth.

The moſt famous, renowned, and ever worthy of all memory, for her courage, learning, judgment, and virtue, Queen Elizabeth, granted her letters patents to Sir Walter Raleigh, for the diſcovering and planting new lands and countries, not actually poſſeſſed by any Chriſtians. This patentee got to be his aſſiſtants Sir Richard Grenvell, the valiant; Mr. William Sanderſon, a great friend to all ſuch noble and worthy actions; and divers other gentlemen and merchants, who with all ſpeed provided two ſmall barks well furniſhed with all neceſſaries, under the command of Captain Philip

Amidas and Captain Barlow. The 27th of April they ſet ſail from the Thames, the 10th of May paſſed the Canaries, and the 10th of June the Weſt Indies; which unneedful ſoutherly courſe (but then no better was known) occaſioned them in that ſeaſon much ſickneſs.

The 2d of July they fell in with the coaſt of Florida in ſhoal water, where they felt a moſt delicate ſweet ſmell, though they ſaw no land, which ere long they eſpied, thinking it the continent: an hundred and twenty miles they ſailed, not finding any harbour. The firſt that appeared with much difficulty they entered, and anchored, and after thanks to God, they went to view the next land adjoining, to take poſſeſſion of it for the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty; which done, they found their firſt landing-place very ſandy and low, but ſo full of grapes that the very ſurge of the ſea ſometimes overflowed them; of which they found ſuch plenty in all places, both on the ſand, the green ſoil, and hills, as in the plains, as well on every little ſhrub, as alſo climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that they did think in the world were not the like abundance.

We paſſed by the ſea-ſide towards the tops of the next hills, being not high, from whence we might ſee the ſea on both ſides, and found it an iſle of twenty miles in length and ſix in breadth, the vallies repleniſhed with goodly tall cedars. Diſcharging our muſquets, ſuch a flock of cranes, the moſt white, aroſe by us, with ſuch a cry, as if an army of men had ſhouted altogether. This iſle hath many goodly woods, and deer, conies, and fowl in incredible abundance; and, uſing the author's own phraſe, the woods are not ſuch as you find in Bohemia, Muſcovy, or Hircinia, barren and fruitleſs, but the higheſt and reddeſt cedars of the world, bettering them of the Azores, Indies, or Libanus; pines, cypreſs, ſaſſafras, the lentiſk that beareth maſtic, and many other of excellent ſmell and quality. Till the third day we ſaw not any of the people; then in a little boat three of them appeared; one of them went on ſhore, to whom we rowed, and he attended us without any ſign of fear. After he had ſpoke much, though we underſtood not a word, of his own accord he came boldly aboard us; we gave him a ſhirt, a hat, wine, and meat, which he liked well, and after he had well viewed the barks and us, he went away in his own boat, and within a quarter of a mile of us, in half an hour, had loaden his boat with fiſh, with which he came again to the point of land, and there divided it in two parts, pointing one part to the ſhip the other to the pinnace, and ſo departed.'

The next day came divers boats, and in one of them the King's brother, with forty or fifty men, proper people, and in their behaviour very civil; his name was Granganameo, the King is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa. Leaving his boats a little from our ſhips, he came with his train to the point: where ſpreading a mat he ſat down. Though we came to him well armed, he made ſigns to us to ſit down without any ſhew of fear, ſtroking his head and breaſt, and alſo ours to expreſs his love. After he had made a long ſpeech unto us, we preſented him with divers toys, which he kindly accepted. He was greatly regarded by his people, for none of them did ſit, nor ſpeak a word, but four, on whom we beſtowed preſents alſo, but he took all from them, making ſigns all things did belong to him.

The King himſelf in a conflict with a King his next neighbour and mortal enemy, was ſhot in two places through the body, and the thigh, yet recovered, whereby he lay at his chief town, ſix days journey from thence.

A day or two after ſhewing them what we had, Granganameo taking moſt liking to a pewter diſh, made a hole in it, hung it about his neck for a breaſt-plate, for which he gave

gave us twenty deer ſkins, worth twenty crowns; and for a copper kettle, fifty ſkins, worth fifty crowns. Much other truck we had, and after two days he came aboard, and did eat and drink with us very merrily. Not long after he brought his wife and children; they were but of mean ſtature, but well-favoured and very baſhful; ſhe had a long coat of leather, and about her privities a piece of the ſame, about her forehead a band of white coral, and ſo had her huſband, in her ears were bracelets of pearl, hanging down to her middle, of the bigneſs of great peas; the reſt of the women had pendants of copper, and the noblemen five or ſix in an ear; his apparel as his wives, only the women wear their hair long on both ſides, and the men but on one; they are of colour yellow, but their hair is black, yet we ſaw children that had very fair cheſnut-coloured hair.

After that theſe women had been here with us, there came down from all parts great ſtore of people, with leather, coral, and divers kinds of dyes, but when Granganameo was preſent, none durſt trade but himſelf, and them that wore red copper on their heads, as he did. Whenever he came, he would ſignify by ſo many fires he came with ſo many boats, that we might know his ſtrength. Their boats are but one great tree, which is but burnt in the form of a trough with gins and fire, till it be as they would have it. For an armour he would have engaged us a bag of pearl, but we refuſed, as not regarding it, that we might the better learn where it grew. He was very juſt of his promiſe, for often we truſted him, and he would come within his day to keep his word. He ſent us commonly every day a brace of bucks, conies, hares, and fiſh, ſometimes melons, walnuts, cucumbers, peas, and divers roots. This author ſayeth, their corn groweth three times in five months; in May they ſow, in July reap; in June they ſow, in Auguſt reap; in July ſow, in Auguſt reap. We put ſome of our peas in the ground, which in ten days were fourteen inches high.

The ſoil is moſt plentiful, ſweet, wholeſome, and fruitful of all other; there are about fourteen ſeveral ſorts of ſweet ſwelling timber trees: the moſt parts of the underwood, bays, and ſuch like: ſuch oaks as we, but far greater and better. After this acquaintance, myſelf with ſeven more went twenty mile into the river Occam, that runneth toward the city Skicoack, and the evening following we came to an iſle called Roanoak, from the harbour where we entered ſeven leagues; at the north end was nine houſes, builded with cedar, fortified round with ſharp trees, and the entrance like a turnpike. When we came towards it, the wife of Granganameo came running out to meet us (her huſband was abſent,) commanding her people to draw our boat aſhore for beating on the billows, others ſhe appointed to carry us on their backs aland, others to bring our oars into the houſe for ſtealing. When we came into the other room, (for there was five in the houſe,) ſhe cauſed us to ſit down by a great fire; after, took off our clothes and waſhed them, of ſome our ſtockings, and ſome our feet in warm water, and ſhe herſelf took much pains to ſee all things well ordered, and to provide us victual.

After we had thus dried ourſelves, ſhe brought us into an inner room, where ſhe ſet on the board ſtanding along the houſe ſomewhat like frumenty, ſodden veniſon, and roaſted fiſh; in like manner melons raw, boiled roots and fruits of divers kinds. There, drink is commonly water boiled with ginger, ſometimes with ſaſſafras, and wholeſome herbs, but whilſt the grape laſteth they drink wine. More love ſhe could not expreſs to entertain us; they care but only to defend themſelves from the ſhort winter, and feed on what they find natural in ſummer. In this feaſting houſe was their idol, of whom they told us incredible things. When we were at meat two or three of her men came amongſt us with their bows and arrows, which cauſed us to take our

arms in hand. She perceiving our diſtruſt, cauſed their bows and arrows to be broken, and they beaten out of the gate: but the evening approaching we returned to our boat, where at ſhe much grieving, brought our ſupper half-boiled, pots and all, but when ſhe ſaw us, but put our boat a little off from the ſhore and lie at anchor, perceiving our jealouſy, ſhe ſent divers men and thirty women to ſit all night on the ſhore ſide againſt us, and ſent us five mats to cover us from the rain, doing all ſhe could to perſuade us to her houſe. Though there was no cauſe of doubt, we would not adventure: for on our ſafety depended the voyage: but a more kind loving people cannot be. Beyond this iſle is the main land and the great river Occam, on which ſtandeth a town called Pomeiock, and ſix days higher, their city Skicoak: thoſe people never ſaw it, but ſay their fathers affirm it to be above two hours journey about. Into this river falleth another called Cipo, where is found many muſſels wherein are pearls: likewiſe another river called Nomapona, on the one ſide whereof ſtandeth a great town called Chamanock, the lord of the country is not ſubject to Wingandacoa. Beyond him another King they call Menatonon. Theſe three are in league with each other. Towards the ſouth, four days journey, is Sequotan, the ſouthernmoſt part of Wingandacoa.

Adjoining to Secotan beginneth the country Pomouik, belonging to the King called Piamacum, in the country Nuſiok, upon the great river Neus. Theſe have mortal wars with Wingina, King of Wingandacoa. Betwixt Piemacum and the lord of Secotan, a peace was concluded, notwithſtanding there is a mortal malice in the Secotans, becauſe this Piemacum invited divers men and thirty women to a feaſt, and when they were altogether merry before their idol, which is but a mere illuſion of the devil, they ſuddenly ſlew all the men of Secotan, and kept the women for their uſe. Beyond Roanoak are many iſles full of fruits and other natural increaſes, with many towns along the ſide of the continent. Thoſe iſles lie two hundred miles in length, and between them and the main, a great long ſea, in ſome places twenty, forty, or fifty miles broad, in others more, ſomewhere leſs. And in this ſea are one hundred iſles of divers bigneſſes, but to get into it, you have but three paſſages, and they very dangerous. Though this you ſee for moſt part be but the relations of ſavages, becauſe it is the firſt, I thought it not amiſs to remember them as they are written by them that returned and arrived in England about the midſt of September the ſame year. This diſcovery was ſo welcome into England that it pleaſed Her Majeſty to call this country of Wingandacoa, Virginia, by which name now you are to underſtand how it was planted, diſſolved, reuned, and enlarged.

The performers of this voyage were theſe following:

Philip Amadas, Arthur Barlow,	Captains.	William Grenvill, John Wood, James Browewich, Henry Greene,	Benjamin Wood, Simon Ferdinando, Nicholas Peryman, John Hewes,	of the company.

Sir Richard Grenvill's Voyage to Virginia, for Sir Walter Raleigh, 1585.

THE 9th of April he departed from Plymouth, with ſeven ſail: the chief men with him in command, were Mr. Ralph Layne, Mr. Thomas Candiſh, Mr. John Arundel, Mr. Stukley, Mr. Bremige, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Heryot and Mr. John Clarke. The 14th

14th day we fell with the Canaries, and the 7th of May with Dominico in the Weſt Indies; we landed at Portorico, after with much ado at Izabella on the north of Hiſpaniola, paſſing by many iſles. Upon the 20th, we fell with the main of Florida, and were put in great danger upon Cape Fear. The 26th we anchored at Wocokon, where the Admiral had like to been caſt away; preſently we ſent to Wingina, to Roanoak, and Mr. Arundel went to the main, with Manteo a ſavage, and that day to Crooton. The 11th the General victualled for eight days, with a ſelected company went to the main, and diſcovered the towns of Pomeiok, Aquaſcogoc, Secotan, and the great lake called Paquipe. At Aquaſcogoc the Indians ſtole a ſilver cup, wherefore we burnt the town and ſpoiled their corn, ſo returned to our fleet at Tocokon. Whence we wayed for Hatoraſk, where we reſted, and Granganumeo, King Wingina's brother, with Manteo, came aboard our Admiral, the Admiral went for Weapomeiok, and Mr. John Arundel for England. Our General in his way home took a rich laden ſhip of 300 tons, with which he arrived at Plymouth the 18th of September, 1585.

Theſe were left under the command of Mr. Ralph Layne to inhabit the country, but they returned within a year.

Philip Amidas, Admiral	Mr. Kendall	Mr. Allen
Mr. Thomas Heryot	Mr. Gardiner	Mr. Michael Polliſon
Mr. Acton	Mr. Predeox	Mr. Thomas Bockner
Mr. Stafford	Mr. Rogers	Mr. James Maſon
Mr. Thomas Luddington	Mr. Harvy	Mr. David Salter
Mr. Marvyn	Mr. Snelling	Mr. James Skinner.
Captain Vaughan	Mr. Antony Ruffe	

With divers others, to the number of 108.

Touching the moſt remarkable things of the country, and our proceeding from the 17th of Auguſt 1585, till the 18th of June 1586, we made Roanoack our habitation. The utmoſt of our diſcovery ſouthward was Secotan, as we eſteemed 80 leagues from Roanoacke. The paſſage from thence was thought a broad ſound within the main, being without kenning of land, yet full of flats and ſhoals that our pinnaſſe could not paſs, and we had but one boat with four oars, that would carry but fifteen men with their proviſions for ſeven days: ſo that becauſe the winter approached we left thoſe diſcoveries till a ſtronger ſupply. To the northward, our fartheſt was to a town of the Cheſapeaks, from Roanoack 130 miles. The paſſage is very ſhallow and dangerous by reaſon of the breadth of the ſound, and the little ſuccour for a ſtorm, but this territory being 15 miles from the ſhore, for pleaſantneſs of ſeat, for temperature of climate, fertility of ſoil, and commodities of the ſea, beſides bears good woods, ſaxefras, walnuts, &c. is not to be excelled, by any other whatſoever.

There be ſundry other kings they call Weroances as the Mangoacks, Trypaniks and Oppoſians, which came to viſit us.

To the north-weſt our fartheſt was Chawonock from Roanoack, 130 miles; our paſſage lieth through a broad ſound, but all freſh water, and the channel navigable for a ſhip, but out of it full of ſhoals.

The towns by the way by the water, are Paſſaquenock the womens' town, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok; from Muſcamunge we enter the river and juriſdiction of Chawonock, there it beginneth to ſtraiten, and at Chawonock it is as Thames at Lambeth: betwixt them as we paſſed is goodly high land on the left hand, and there is a town called Ohanock,

Ohanock, where is a great corn field, it is ſubject to Chawonock, which is the greateſt province upon the river, and the town itſelf can put ſeven hundred men into the field, beſides the forces of the reſt. The king is lame, but hath more underſtanding than all the reſt.

The river of Moratoc is more famous than all the reſt, and openeth into the ſound of Weapomeiok, and where there is but a very ſmall current in Chawonock, it hath ſo ſtrong a current from the ſouth-weſt, as we doubted how to row againſt it. Strange things they report of the head of this river, and of Moratoc itſelf, a principal town on it, and is thirty or forty days journey to the head. This lame king is called Menatonon. When I had him priſoner two days, he told me that three days journey in a canoe up the river Chawonock, then landing and going four days journey north-eaſt, there is a king whoſe country lieth on the ſea, but his beſt place of ſtrength is an iſland in a bay environed with deep water, where he taketh that abundance of pearl, that not only his ſkins, and his nobles, but alſo his beds and houſes are garniſhed therewith. This king was at Chawonock two years ago to trade with black pearl, his worſt ſort whereof I had a rope, but they were nought; but that king he ſayeth hath ſtore of white, and had traffick with white men, for whom he reſcued them; he promiſed me guides to him, but adviſed me to go ſtrong, for he was unwilling ſtrangers ſhould come in his country, for his country is popu!ous and valiant men. If a ſupply had come in April, I reſolved to have ſent a ſmall bark to the northward to have found it, whilſt I with ſmall boats and 200 men, would have gone to the head of the river Chawonock, with ſufficient guides by land, inſconſing myſelf every two days, where I would leave garriſons for my retreat till I came to this bay.

Very near unto it is the river of Moratoc, directly from the weſt, the head of it ſpringeth out of a main rock, which ſtandeth ſo near the ſea, that in ſtorms the ſea beats over it into this freſh ſpring, that of itſelf at the ſurf is a violent ſtream. I intended with two wherries and forty perſons to have Menatonons ſoon for guide, to try this preſently, till I could meet with ſome of the Moratocks, or Mangoaks, but hoping of getting more victuals from the ſavages, we as narrowly eſcaped ſtarving in that diſcovery as ever men did.

For Pemiſſapan, who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganameo, had given both the Chawoneſts, and Mangoaks word of my purpoſe: alſo he told me the Chawonocks had aſſembled two or three thouſand to aſſault me at Roanock, urging me daily to go againſt them, and them againſt us; a great aſſembly I found at my coming thither, which ſudden approach did ſo diſmay them, that we had the better of them; and this confederacy againſt us was procured by Pemiſſapan himſelf, our chief friend we truſted; he ſent word alſo to the Moratocks and the Mangoaks, I came to invade them, that they all fled up into the high country, ſo that where I aſſured myſelf both of ſuccour and proviſion, I found all abandoned. But being thus far on my journey 160 miles from home, and but victuals for two days, beſides the caſualties of croſs winds, ſtorms, and the ſavages treachery, though we intended no hurt to any: I gave my company to underſtand we were only drawn forth upon theſe vain hopes by the ſavages to bring us to confuſion: a council we held, to go forward or return, but they all were abſolutely reſolved but three, that whilſt there was but one pint of corn for a man, they would not leave the ſearch of that river; for they had two maſtiff dogs, which boiled with ſaſſafras leaves (if the worſt fell out) upon them, and the pottage they would live two days, which would bring them to the Sound, where they ſhould find fiſh for two days more to paſs it to Roanock, which two days they had

rather faſt than go back a-foot till they had ſeen the Mangoaks either as friends or foes.

Though I did forefee the danger and miſery, yet the deſire I had to ſee the Mangoaks was, for that there is a province called Chaunis Temoatan, frequented by them and well known to all thoſe countries, where is a mine of copper they call Waſſador; they ſay they take it out of a river that falleth ſwiftly from high rocks in ſhallow water, in great bowls, covered with leather, leaving a part open to receive the metal, which by the change of the colour of the water where the ſpout falleth, they ſuddenly chop down, and have the bowl full, which they caſt into the fire; it preſently melteth, and doth yield in five parts at the firſt melting two parts metal for three of ore. The Mangoaks have ſuch plenty of it, they beautify their houſes with great plates thereof: this the ſavages report; and young Skiko the king of Chawonock's ſon, my priſoner, that had been priſoner among the Mangoaks, but never at Chaunis Temoatan, for he ſaid that was twenty days journey over-land from the Mangoaks.

Menatonon alſo confirmed all this, and promiſed me guides to this metal country; by land to the Mangoaks is but one day's journey, but ſeven by water, which made me ſo willing to have met them for ſome aſſay of this metal: but when we came there we found no creature, only we might ſee where had been their fires. After our two days journey, and our victuals ſpent, in the evening we heard ſome call as we thought Manteo, who was with me in the boat; this made us glad; he made them a friendly anſwer, which they anſwered with a ſong, we thought for welcome, but he told us they came to fight. Preſently they did let fly their arrows about the boat, but did no hurt, the other boat ſcouring the ſhore we landed: but they all were fled, and how to find them we knew not. So the next morning we returned to the mouth of the river, that coſt us four days rowing up, and here our dogs' pottage ſtood us in good ſtead, for we had nothing elſe: the next day we faſted being wind-bound, and could not paſs the Sound, but the day following we came to Chippanum, where the people were fled, but their wires afforded us fiſh: thus being near ſpent, the next day God brought us to Roanock. I conclude a good mine, or the South-ſea will make this country quickly inhabited, and ſo for pleaſure and profit comparable with any in the world: otherwiſe there will be nothing worth the fetching. Provided there be found a better harbour then yet there is, which muſt be northward if there be any. Mr. Vaughan no leſs hoped of the goodneſs of the mine, then Mr. Heriot that the river Moratock's head, either riſeth by the Bay of Mexico, or very near the South Sea, or ſome part that openeth near the ſame, which cannot with that facility be done as from the Bay of Pearls, by inſconcing four days journey to the Chawonocks, Mangoaks, and Moratocks, &c.

The Conſpiracy of Pemiſſapan; the Diſcovery of it; and our Return for England with Francis Drake.

ENSENORE, a ſavage, father to Pemiſſapan, the beſt friend we had after the death of Granganimeo, when I was in thoſe diſcoveries, could not prevail any thing with the King from deſtroying us, that all this time God had preſerved, by his good counſel to the King to be friendly unto us. Pemiſſapan thinking as the brute was in this laſt journey we were ſlain and ſtarved, began to blaſpheme our God that would ſuffer it, and not defend us, ſo that old Enſenore had no more credit for us; for he began by all the devices he could to invade us. But in the beginning of this brute, when they ſaw us all return, the report falſe, and had Manteo, and three ſavages more

with us, how little we eſteemed all the people we met, and feared neither hunger, killing, or any thing, and had brought their greateſt king's ſon priſoner with us to Roanock, it a little aſſuaged all his deviſes, and brought Enſenore in reſpect again, that our God was good, and we their friends, and our foes ſhould periſh, for we could do them more hurt being dead, than living, and that being an hundred miles from them, ſhot, and ſtruck them ſick to death, and that when we die it is but for a time, then we return again. But that which wrought the moſt fear among them, was the handy-work of Almighty God. For certain days after my return, Menatonon ſent meſſengers to me with pearl, and Okiſco, King of Weopomeoke, to yield himſelf ſervant to the Queen of England. Okiſco, with twenty-four of his principal men, came to Pemiſſapan, to acknowledge this duty and ſubjection, and would perform it. All which ſo changed the heart of Pemiſſappan, that upon the advice of Enſenore, when we were ready to famiſh they came and made us wires, and planted their fields they intended to abandon, (we not having one corn till the next harveſt to ſuſtain us.) This being done, our old friend Enſenore died the twentieth of April; then all our enemies wrought with Pemiſſapan to put in practice his deviſes, which he eaſily embraced, though they had planted corn by us, and at Daſamonpeack, two leagues from us: yet they got Okiſco our tributary, to get ſeven or eight hundred, (and the Mandoages, with the Chiſapeans, ſhould do the like,) to meet (as their cuſtom is,) to ſolemnize the funeral of Enſenore: half of whom ſhould lie hid, to cut off the ſtragglers ſeeking crabs and proviſion; the reſt come out of the main upon the ſignal by fire. Twenty of the principal of Pemiſſapan's men had charge in the night to beſet my houſe, put fire in the reeds that covered it, which might cauſe me run out ſo naked and amazed, they might without danger knock out my brains. The ſame order for Mr. Heriots, and the reſt; for all ſhould have been fired at an inſtant. In the mean time they ſhould ſell us nothing, and in the night ſpoil our wires, to make neceſſity diſperſe us; for if we were but ten together, a hundred of them would not meddle with us. So our famine increaſed; I was forced to ſend Captain Stafford to Croaten, with twenty, to feed himſelf, and ſee if he could eſpy any ſail paſs the coaſt; Mr. Predeox with ten, to Hataraſk, upon the ſame occaſion; and other ſmall parties to the main to live upon roots and oyſters.

Pemiſſapan ſequeſtering himſelf, I ſhould not importune him for victuals, and to draw his troops, found not the Chawoneſts ſo forward as he expected, being a people more faithful and powerful, and deſired our friendſhip, and was offended with him for raiſing ſuch tales, and all his projects were revealed to me by Skico my priſoner; who, finding himſelf as well uſed by me as Pemiſſapan, told me all. Theſe troubles cauſed me to ſend to Pemiſſapan, to put ſuſpicion in his head, I was to go preſently to Croatan to meet a fleet coming to me, though I knew no ſuch matter; and that he would lend me men to fiſh and hunt. He ſent me word he would come himſelf to Roanock, but delaying time eight days, that all his men were there to be aſſembled; not liking ſo much company, I reſolved the next day to go viſit him, but firſt to give them in the iſle a canviſado, and at an inſtant to ſeize on all their canoes about the iſle; but the town took the alarm before I meant it; for when I ſent to take the canoes, he met one going from the ſhore, overthrew her, and cut off two ſavages heads; whereupon the cry aroſe, being by their ſpies perceived, for they kept as good watch over us, as we of them. Upon this they to their bows, and we to our arms; three or four of them at the firſt were ſlain, the reſt fled into the woods. The next morning I went to Daſſamonpeack, and ſent Pemiſſapan word I was going to Croatan, and took him in my way

to complain Oſocon would have ſtole my priſoner Skico. Hereupon he did abide my coming; and being among eight of the principal, I gave the watch-word to my men, and immediately they had that they purpoſed for us; himſelf being ſhot through with a piſtol, fell down as dead, but preſently ſtarted up and ran away from them all, till an Iriſh boy ſhot him over the buttocks, where they took him and cut off his head.

Seven days after Captain Stafforton ſent to me, he deſcried twenty-three ſail. The next day came to me himſelf, (of whom I muſt ſay this, from the firſt to the laſt, he neither ſpared labour or peril, by land or ſea, fair weather or foul, to perform any ſerious ſervice committed to him.) He brought me a letter from Sir Francis Drake, whoſe generous mind offered to ſupply all my defects, of ſhipping, boats, munition, victuals, cloaths, and men, to further this action; and upon good conſultation and deliberation, he appointed me a ſhip of ſeventy tons, with an hundred men, and four months victuals, two pinnaces, four ſmall boats, with two ſufficient maſters, with ſufficient gangs. All this being made ready for me, ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a ſtorm for four days, that had like to have driven the whole fleet on ſhore; many of them were forced to the ſea, whereof my ſhip ſo lately given me was one, with all my proviſion and company appointed.

Notwithſtanding, the ſtorm ceaſing, the General appointed me a ſhip of one hundred and ſeventy tons, with all proviſions as before, to carry me into England the next Auguſt, or when I had performed ſuch diſcoveries as I thought fit. Yet they durſt not undertake to bring her into the harbour, but ſhe muſt ride in the road, leaving the care of the reſt to myſelf, adviſing me to conſider with my company what was fitteſt, and with my beſt ſpeed return him anſwer.

Hereupon, calling my company together, who were all as privy of the General's offer as myſelf; their whole requeſt was, (in regard of all thoſe former miſeries, and no hope of the return of Sir Richard Grenvill,) and with a general conſent, they deſired me to urge him, we might all go with him for England in his fleet, for whoſe relief in that ſtorm he had ſuſtained more peril of wreck, than in all his honourable actions againſt his enemies. So with praiſes to God we ſet ſail in June 1586, and arrived in Portſmouth the 27th of July the ſame year, leaving this remembrance to poſterity.

To reaſon lend me thine attentive ears,
Exempt thyſelf from mind-diſtracting cares:
Leſt that's here thus projected for thy good,
By thee rejected be, ere underſtood.

Written by Mr. RALPH LAYNE, Governor.

The Obſervations of Mr. Thomas Heriot in this Voyage, for Merchandiſe and Victuals.

WHAT before is writ is alſo confirmed by that learned mathematician Mr. Thomas Heriot, with them in the country, whoſe particular relation of all the beaſts, birds, fiſhes, fowls, fruits, and roots, and how they may be uſeful; becauſe I have writ it before, for the moſt part, in the diſcourſe of Captain Amidas, and Captain Layne, except ſilk-graſs, worm-ſilk, flax like hemp, allum, wapeith, or terra ſigillata, tar, roſin, and turpentine, civet-cats, iron ore, copper that held ſilver, coproſe and pearl: let thoſe briefs ſuffice, becauſe I would not trouble you with one thing twice.

Dyes.]

Dyes.] For dyes, ſhumack, the herb waſebur, little roots called chapacor, and the bark of a tree, called by the inhabitants tangomockonominge, which are for divers ſorts of red.

What more then is related is an herb, in Dutch called melden, deſcribed like an orange, growing four feet high; the ſeed will make good broth, and the ſtalk, burnt to aſhes, makes a kind of ſalt; other ſalt they know not, and we uſed of it for pot-herbs. Of their tobacco we found plenty, which they eſteem their chief phyſic.

Ground-nuts, tiſwaw we call China roots; they grow in cluſters, and bring forth a bryer ſtalk, but the leaf is far unlike, which will climb up to the top of the higheſt tree; the uſe known is to cut it in ſmall pieces, then ſtamp and ſtrain it with water, and boiled makes a jelly good to eat. Caſſavia grows in marſhes, which the Indians often uſe for bread and broth. Habaſcon is like a parſnip, nought of itſelf, except compounded; and their leeks like thoſe in England.

Sequenummener, a kind of berry like capers, and three kinds of berries like acorns, called ſagatamenor, oſamenor, and pummuckoner.

Saquenuckot and maquowoc, two kind of beaſts, greater than conies, and very good meat; in ſome places, ſuch plenty of grey conies, like hares, that all the people make them mantles of their ſkins. I have the names of 28, ſeveral ſorts that are diſperſed in the country; of which, 12 kinds we have diſcovered, and good to eat; but the ſavages ſometimes kill a lion and eat him.

There is plenty of ſturgeon in February, March, April, and May; all herrings in abundance; ſome ſuch as ours, but the moſt part of 18, 20, or 24 inches long, and more. Trouts, porpoiſes, rays, mullets, old wives, plaice, tortoiſes, both by ſea and land; crabs, oyſters, muſcles, ſcalops, perriwinkles, crevices, ſecanank: we have the pictures of twelve ſorts more, but their names we know not.

Turkies, ſtock-doves, partridges, cranes, herns, ſwans, geeſe, parrots, falcons, merlins; I have the names in their language, of eighty-ſix ſeveral ſorts. Their woods are ſuch as ours in England for the moſt part, except rakeock, a great ſweet tree, whereof they make their canoes; and aſcopo, a kind of tree like laurel and ſaſſafras.

Their Natures and Manners.] Their clothing, towns, houſes, wars, arts, tools, handicrafts, and educations, are much like them in that part of Virginia we now inhabit: which at large you may read in the deſcription thereof; but the relation of their religion is ſtrange, as this author reporteth.

Some religion they have, which, although it be far from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be eaſier reformed. They believe there are many gods, which they call mantoac, but of different ſorts and degrees. Alſo that there is one chief god, that hath been from all eternity, who, as they ſay, when he purpoſed firſt to make the world, made firſt other gods of a principal order, to be as inſtruments to be uſed in the creation and government to follow; and after, the ſun, moon, and ſtars, as petty gods; and the inſtruments of the other order more principal. Firſt, they ſay, were made waters, out of which, by the gods, were made all diverſity of creatures that are viſible or inviſible.

For mankind, they ſay, a woman was made firſt, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought forth children; and ſo they had their beginning, but how many years or ages ſince, they know not, having no records, but only tradition from father to ſon.

They think that all the gods are of human ſhape, and therefore repreſent them by images,

images, in the forms of men, which they call kewaſowok; one alone is called kewaſa; them they place in their temples, where they worſhip, pray, ſing, and make many offerings. The common ſort think them alſo gods.

They believe the immortality of the ſoul, when life departing from the body, according to the good or bad works it hath done, it is carried up to the tabernacles of the gods, to perpetual happineſs, or to popoguſſo, a great pit, which they think to be at the furtheſt parts of the world, where the ſun ſets, and there burn continually.

To confirm this, they told me of two men that had been lately dead, and revived again; the one happened but few years before our coming into the country, of a bad man, which being dead and buried, the next day the earth over him being ſeen to move, was taken up, who told them his ſoul was very near entering into popoguſſo, had not one of the gods ſaved him, and gave him leave to return again, to teach his friends what they ſhould do to avoid ſuch torment. The other happened the ſame year we were there, but ſixty miles from us, which they told me for news; that one being dead, buried, and taken up, as the firſt, ſhewed, that although his body had lain dead in the grave, yet his ſoul lived, and had travelled far in a long broad way, on both ſides whereof grew more ſweet, fair, and delicate trees and fruits, than ever he had ſeen before; at length, he came to moſt brave and fair houſes, near which he met his father, that was dead long ago, who gave him charge to go back, to ſhew his friends what good there was to do, to enjoy the pleaſures of that place; which when he had done, he ſhould come again.

What ſubtlety ſoever be in the weroances and prieſts, this opinion worketh ſo much in the common ſort, that they have great reſpect to their governors; and as great care to avoid torment after death, and to enjoy bliſs. Yet they have divers ſorts of puniſhments, according to the offence, according to the greatneſs of the fact. And this is the ſum of their religion, which I learned by having ſpecial familiarity with their prieſts, wherein they were not ſo ſure grounded, nor gave ſuch credit, but through converſing with us, they were brought into great doubts of their own, and no ſmall admiration of ours; of which many deſired to learn more than we had means, for want of utterance in their language, to expreſs.

Moſt things they ſaw with us, as mathematical inſtruments, ſea-compaſſes, the virtue of the loadſtone, perſpective glaſſes, burning glaſſes; clocks to go of themſelves; books, writing, guns, and ſuch like, ſo far exceeded their capacities, that they thought they were rather the works of god than men; or at leaſt the gods had taught us how to make them, which loved us ſo much better than them; and cauſed many of them to give credit to what we ſpoke concerning our God. In all places where I came, I did my beſt to make his immortal glory known. And I told them, although the bible I ſhewed them contained all, yet of itſelf it was not of any ſuch virtue as I thought they did conceive. Notwithſtanding many would be glad to touch it, to kiſs, and embrace it, to hold it to their breaſts, and heads, and ſtroke all their body over with it.

The King Wingina where we dwelt, would oft be with us at prayer. Twice he was exceeding ſick and like to die. And doubting of any help from his prieſts, thinking he was in ſuch danger for offending us and our God, ſent for ſome of us to pray, and be a means to our God, he might live with him after death. And ſo did many others in the like caſe. One other ſtrange accident (leaving others) will I mention before I end, which moved the whole country that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderful admiration.

There was no town where they had practiſed any villainy againſt us (we leaving it unpuniſhed,

unpuniſhed, becauſe we ſought by all poſſible means to win them by gentleneſs) but within a few days after our departure, they began to die; in ſome towns twenty, in ſome forty, in ſome ſixty, and in one an hundred and twenty, which was very many in reſpect of their numbers. And this happened in no place (we could learn) where we had been, but where they had uſed ſome practice to betray us. And this diſeaſe was ſo ſtrange, they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it; nor had they known the like time out of mind; a thing ſpecially obſerved by us, as alſo by themſelves, in ſo much that ſome of them who were our friends, eſpecially Wingina, had obſerved ſuch effects in four or five towns, that they were perſuaded it was the work of God through our means: and that we by him might kill and ſlay whom we would, without weapons, and not come near them. And thereupon, when they had any underſtanding that any of their enemies abuſed us in our journies, they would intreat us, we would be a means to our God, that they, as the others that had dealt ill with us, might die in like ſort: although we ſhewed them their requeſts were ungodly, and that our God would not ſubject himſelf to any ſuch requeſts of men, but all things as he pleaſed came to paſs: and that we to ſhew ourſelves his true ſervants, ought rather to pray for the contrary: yet becauſe the effect fell out ſo ſuddenly after, according to their deſires, they thought it came to paſs by our means, and would come give us thanks in their manner, that though we ſatisfied them not in words, yet in deeds we had fulfilled their deſires.

This marvellous accident in all the country wrought ſo ſtrange opinions of us, that they could not tell whether to think us gods or men. And the rather that all the ſpace of their ſickneſs, there was no man of ours known to die, or much ſick. They noted alſo we had no women, nor cared for any of theirs: ſome therefore thought we were not born of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many years paſt, and riſen again from immortality. Some would propheſy there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places. Thoſe that were to come after us they imagined to be in the air, yet inviſible and without bodies: and that they by our intreaties, for love of us, did make the people die as they did, by ſhooting inviſible bullets into them.

To confirm this, their phyſicians to excuſe their ignorance in curing the diſeaſe, would make the ſimple people believe, that the ſtrings of blood they ſucked out of the ſick bodies, were the ſtrings wherein the inviſible bullets were tied, and caſt. Some thought we ſhot them ourſelves from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people that had offended us, as we liſted, how far diſtant ſoever. And others ſaid it was the ſpecial work of God for our ſakes, as we had cauſe in ſome ſort to think no leſs, whatſoever ſome do, or may imagine to the contrary; eſpecially ſome aſtrologers by the eclipſe of the ſun we ſaw that year before our voyage, and by a comet which began to appear but a few days before the ſickneſs began: but to exclude them from being the ſpecial cauſes of ſo ſpecial an accident, there are farther reaſons than I think fit to preſent or allege.

Theſe their opinions I have ſet down, that you may ſee there is hope to embrace the truth, and honor, obey, fear and love us, by good dealing and government: though ſome of our company towards the latter end, before we came away with Sir Francis Drake, ſhewed themſelves too furious in ſlaying ſome of the people in ſome towns, upon cauſes that on our part might have been borne with more mildneſs; notwithſtanding they juſtly had deſerved it. The beſt nevertheleſs in this, as in all actions beſides, is to be endeavoured and hoped; and of the worſt that may happen, notice

to

to be taken with conſideration ; and as much as may be eſchewed ; the better to allure them hereafter to civility and Chriſtianity. Thus you may ſee

How
Nature herſelf delights herſelf in ſundry Inſtruments,
That ſundry things be done to deck the earth with Ornaments ;
Nor ſuffers ſhe her ſervants all ſhould run one race,
But wills the walk of every one frame in a divers pace ;
That divers ways and divers works, the world might better grace.

Written by THOMAS HERIOT, one of the voyage.

How Sir Richard Grenvill went to relieve them.

IN the year of our Lord 1586, Sir Walter Raleigh and his aſſociates prepared a ſhip of a hundred tons, freighted plentifully of all things neceſſary ; but before they ſet ſail from England it was Eaſter. And arriving at Hatoraſk, they after ſome time ſpent in ſeeking the colony up in the country, and not finding them, returned with all the proviſion again to England.

About fourteen or fifteen days after, Sir Richard Grenvill, accompanied with three ſhips well appointed, arrived there : who not finding the aforeſaid ſhip according to his expectation, nor hearing any news of the colony there ſeated, and left by him as is ſaid 1585, travelling up and down to ſeek them, but when he could hear no news of them, and found their habitation abandoned, unwilling to loſe the poſſeſſion of the country, after good deliberation he landed fifty men in the iſle of Roanoak, plentifully furniſhed with all manner of proviſion for two years, and ſo returned for England.

Where many began ſtrangely to deſcant of thoſe croſs beginnings, and him ; which cauſed me to remember an old ſaying of Euripides.

Who broacheth ought that's new, to fools untaught,
Himſelf ſhall judged be unwiſe, and good for nought.

Three Ships more ſent to relieve them by Mr. White.

WE went the old courſe by the Weſt Indies, and Simon Ferdinando our continual pilot miſtaking Virginia for Cape Fear, we failed not much to have been caſt away, upon the conceit of our all-knowing Ferdinando, had it not been prevented by the vigilance of Captain Stafford. We came to Hatoraſk the 22d of July, and with forty of our beſt men, intending at Roanoack to find the fifty men left by Sir Richard Grenvill. But we found nothing but the bones of a man, and where the plantation had been the houſes unhurt, but overgrown with weeds, and the fort defaced, which much perplexed us.

By the hiſtory it ſeems Simon Ferdinando did what he could to bring this voyage to confuſion ; but yet they all arrived at Hatoraſk. They repaired the old houſes at Roanoack, and Mr. George How, one of the council, ſtraggling abroad, was ſlain by the ſavages. Not long after Mr. Stafford, with twenty men, went to Croatan with Manteo, whoſe friends dwelt there : one of whom we thought to have ſome news of our fifty men. They at firſt made ſhew to fight, but when they heard Manteo, they

threw away their arms, and were friends, and desired there might be a token given to be known by, lest we might hurt them by misprision, as the year before one had been by Mr. Layne, that was ever their friend, and there present yet lame.

The next day we had conference with them concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Pomeiok, willing them of Croatan to see if they would accept our friendship, and renew our old acquaintance: which they willingly embraced, and promised to bring their King and governors to Roanoack, to confirm it. We also understood that Mr. Howe was slain by the men of Wingina, of Dassamonpeak: and by them of Roanoack, that the fifty men left by Sir Richard Grenvill, were suddenly set upon by three hundred of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Dassamonpeak. First they intruded themselves among eleven of them by friendship, one they slew, the rest retiring to their houses, they set them on fire, that our men with what came next to hand were forced to make their passage among them; where one of them was shot in the mouth, and presently died, and a savage slain by him. On both sides more were hurt; but our men retiring to the water side, got their boat, and ere they had rowed a quarter of a mile towards Hatorask, they took up four of their fellows, gathering crabs and oysters: at last they landed on a little isle by Hatorask, where they remained awhile, but after departed they knew not whither. So taking our leaves of the Croatans, we came to our fleet at Hatorask.

The governor having long expected the King and governors of Pomeiok, Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Dassamonpeak, and the seven days expired, and no news of them, being also informed by those of Croatan, that they of Dassamonpeak slew Mr. Howe, and were at the driving our men from Roanoack, he thought no longer to defer the revenge. Wherefore about midnight, with Captain Stafford, and twenty-four men, whereof Manteo was one, for our guide, (that behaved himself towards us as a most faithful Englishman) he set forward.

The next day by break of day we landed, and got beyond their houses, where seeing them sit by the fire we assaulted them. The miserable souls amazed fled into the reeds, where one was shot through, and we thought to have been fully revenged, but we were deceived, for they were our friends come from Croatan to gather their corn, because they understood our enemies were fled after the death of Mr. Howe, and left all behind them for the birds. But they had like to have paid too dear for it, had we not chanced upon a Weroances wife, with a child at her back, and a savage that knew Captain Stafford, that ran to him, calling him by his name. Being thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered the fruit we found ripe, left the rest unspoiled, and took Menatonon his wife, with her child, and the rest with us to Roanoack. Though this mistake grieved Manteo, yet he imputed it to their own folly, because they had not kept promise to come to the governor at the day appointed. The 13th of August our savage Manteo was christened, and called Lord of Dassamonpeak, in reward of his faithfulness. And the 18th, Ellinor the governor's daughter, and wife to Ananias Dare, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoack; which being the first Christian there born, was called Virginia.

Our ships being ready to depart, such a storm arose, as the admiral was forced to cut her cables: and it was six days ere she could recover the shore, that made us doubt she had been lost, because the most of her best men were on shore. At this time controversies did grow betwixt our governor and the assistants, about choosing one of them twelve to go as factor for them all to England; for all refused save one, whom all men thought most insufficient: the conclusion was by a general consent, they would have the governor go himself, for that they thought none would so truly procure their supplies

as he. Which, though he did what he could to excuſe it, yet their importunity would not ceaſe till he undertook it, and had it under all their hands how unwilling he was, but that neceſſity and reaſon did doubly conſtrain him. At their ſetting ſail for England, weighing anchor, twelve of the men in the fly-boat were thrown from the capſtern, by the breaking of a bar, and moſt of them ſo hurt that ſome never recovered it. The ſecond time they had the like fortune, being but fifteen, they cut the cable and kept company with their admiral to Flowres and Coruos; the admiral ſtayed there looking for purchaſe: but the fly-boats men grew ſo weak they were driven to Smerwick in the weſt of Ireland. The governor went for England; and Simon Ferdinando with much ado at laſt arrived at Portſmouth 1587.

The names of thoſe landed in this plantation were,

John White, Governor,	Chriſtopher Couper,	Dionis Harvie,
Roger Bayley,	Thomas Stevens,	Roger Prat,
Ananias Dare,	John Samſon,	George How,
Simon Ferdinando,	Thomas Smith,	Anthony Cage.

With divers others to the number of about 115.

The Fifth Voyage to Virginia; undertaken by Mr. John White, 1589.

THE 20th of March three ſhips went from Plymouth, and paſſed betwixt Barbary and Mogadoro to Dominico in the Weſt Indies. After we had done ſome exploits in thoſe parts, the 3d of Auguſt we fell with the low ſandy iſles weſtward of Wokokon. But by reaſon of ill weather it was the 11th ere we could anchor there; and on the 12th we came to Croatan, where is a great breach in 35° and a half, in the north-eaſt point of the iſle. The 15th we came to Hatoraſk in 36° and a terſe, at four fathoms, three leagues from ſhore, where we might perceive a ſmoke at the place where I left the colony, 1587. The next morning Captain Cook, Captain Spicer, and their companies, with two boats left our ſhips, and diſcharged ſome ordnance to give them notice of our coming; but when we came there, we found no man nor ſign of any that had been there lately, and ſo returned to our boats. The next morning we prepared again for Roanoack. Captain Spicer had then ſent his boat aſhore for water, ſo it was ten of the clock ere we put from the ſhips, which rode two miles from the ſhore. The admiral's boat being a mile before the other as ſhe paſſed the bar, a ſea broke into the boat and filled her half full of water, but by God's good will, and the careful ſteerage of Captain Cook, though our proviſions were much wet, we ſafe eſcaped; the wind blew hard at north-eaſt, which cauſed ſo great a current and a breach upon the bar; Captain Spicer paſſed half over, but by the indiſcreet ſteering of Ralph Skinner, their boat was overſet, the men that could catch hold hung about her, the next ſea caſt her on ground, where ſome let go their hold to wade to ſhore, but the ſea beat them down. The boat thus toſſed up and down Captain Spicer and Skinner hung there till they were drowned, but four that could ſwim a little, kept themſelves in deeper water, were ſaved by the means of Captain Cook, that preſently upon the overſetting of their boat, ſhipped himſelf to ſave what he could. Thus of eleven, ſeven of the chiefeſt were drowned. This ſo diſcomfited all the ſailors, we had much to do to get them any more to ſeek further for the planters, but by their captain's forwardneſs at laſt they fitted themſelves again for Hatoraſk in two boats, with nineteen perſons. It was late ere we arrived, but ſeeing a fire through the woods, we ſounded a trumpet, but no anſwer could we hear. The next morning we went to it, but could ſee nothing but the graſs,

and

and ſome rotten trees burning. We went up and down the iſle, and at laſt found three fair Roman letters carved C. R. O. which preſently we knew to ſignify the place where I ſhould find them, according to a ſecret note between them and me, which was to write the name of the place they would be in upon ſome tree, door, or poſt: and if they had been in any diſtreſs to ſignify it by making a croſs over it. For at my departure they intended to go fifty miles into the main. But we found no ſign of diſtreſs; then we went to a place where they were left in ſundry houſes, but we found them all taken down, and the place ſtrongly incloſed with a high palizado, very fortlike; and in one of the chief poſts carved in fair capital letters CROATAN, without any ſign of diſtreſs, and many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four fowlers, iron ſhot, and ſuch like heavy things thrown here and there, overgrown with graſs and weeds. We went by the ſhore to ſeek for their boats but could find none, nor any of the ordnance I left them. At laſt ſome of the ſailors found divers cheſts had been hidden and digged up again, and much of the goods ſpoiled, and ſcattered up and down, which, when I ſaw, I knew three of them to be my own; but books, pictures, and all things elſe were ſpoiled. Though it much grieved me, yet it did much comfort me that I did know they were at Croatan; ſo we returned to our ſhips, but had like to have been caſt away by a great ſtorm that continued all that night.

The next morning we weighed anchor for Croatan, having the anchor a-peak, the cable broke, by the means whereof we loſt another: letting fall the third, the ſhip yet went ſo faſt a drift, we failed not much there to have ſplit. But God bringing us into deeper water, conſidering we had but one anchor, and our proviſion near ſpent, we reſolved to go forthwith to St. John's Iſle, Hiſpaniola, or Trinidada, to refreſh ourſelves and ſeek for purchaſe that winter, and the next ſpring come again to ſeek our countrymen. But our vice-admiral would not, but went directly for England, and we our courſe for Trinidada. But within two days after, the wind changing, we were conſtrained for the Weſtern Iſles to refreſh ourſelves, where we met with many of the Queen's ſhips, our own conſort, and divers others, the 23d of September 1590. And thus we left ſeeking our colony, that was never any of them found, nor ſeen to this day, 1622. And this was the concluſion of this plantation, after ſo much time, labour, and charge conſumed. Whereby we ſee,

Not all at once, nor all alike, nor ever hath it been,
That God doth offer and confer his bleſſings upon men.

Written by Mr. JOHN WHITE.

A brief Relation of the Deſcription of Elizabeth's Iſle, and ſome others towards the North Part of Virginia; and what elſe they diſcovered in the Year 1602; by Captain Bartholomew Goſnoll, and Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, and divers other Gentlemen their Aſſociates.

ALL hopes of Virginia thus abandoned, it lay dead and obſcured from 1590 till this year 1602, that Captain Goſnoll with thirty-two and himſelf in a ſmall bark, ſet ſail from Dartmouth upon the 26th of March. Though the wind favoured us not at the firſt, but forced us as far ſouthward as the Azores, which was not much out of our way; we ran directly weſt from thence, whereby we made our journey ſhorter than heretofore by five hundred leagues: the weakneſs of our ſhip, the badneſs of our ſailors, and our ignorance of the coaſt, cauſed us carry but a low ſail, that made our paſſage longer than we expected.

On Friday the 11th of May, we made land, it was ſomewhat low, where appeared certain hummocks or hills in it: the ſhore white ſand, but very rocky, yet overgrown with fair trees. Coming to an anchor, eight Indians in a baſk ſhallop, with maſt and ſail came boldly aboard us. It ſeemed by their ſigns and ſuch things as they had, ſome Biſkiners had fiſhed there, being about the latitude of 43. But the harbour, being naught, and doubting the weather, we went not aſhore, but weighed and ſtood to the ſouthward into the ſea. The next morning we found ourſelves imbayed with a mighty head-land: within a league of the ſhore we anchored, and Captain Goſnoll, myſelf, and three others, went to it in our boat, being a white ſand and a bold coaſt. Though the weather was hot, we marched to the higheſt hills we could ſee, where we perceived this head-land part of the main, near invironed with iſlands. As we were returning to our ſhip, a good proper luſty young man came to us, with whom we had but ſmall conference, and ſo we left him. Here in five or ſix hours we took more cod than we knew what to do with, which made us perſuade ourſelves there might be found a good fiſhing in March, April, and May.

At length we came among theſe fair iſles, ſome a league, two, three, five, or ſix from the main; by one of them we anchored. We found it four miles in compaſs, without houſe or inhabitant. In it is a lake near a mile in circuit, the reſt overgrown with trees, which, ſo well as the buſhes, were ſo overgrown with vines, we could ſcarce paſs them. And by the bloſſoms we might perceive there would be plenty of ſtrawberries, reſpiſes, gooſeberries, and divers other fruits: beſides, deer and other beaſts we ſaw, and cranes, herns, with divers other ſorts of fowl, which made us call it Martha's Vineyard.

The reſt of the iſles are repleniſhed with ſuch like, very rocky, and much tinctured ſtone-like mineral. Though we met many Indians, yet we could not ſee their habitations: they gave us fiſh, tobacco, and ſuch things as they had. But the next iſle we arrived at was but two leagues from the main, and ſixteen miles about, environed ſo with creeks and coves, it ſeemed like many iſles linked together by ſmall paſſages like bridges. In it is many places of plain graſs, and ſuch other fruits and berries as before were mentioned. In mid May we did ſow wheat, barley, oats, and peas, which in fourteen days ſprung up nine inches. The ſoil is fat and luſty, the cruſt thereof grey, a foot or leſs in depth. It is full of high timbered oaks, their leaves thrice ſo broad as ours: cedar ſtraight and tall, beech, holly, walnut, hazel, cherry-trees like ours, but the ſtalk beareth the bloſſom or fruit thereof like a cluſter of grapes, forty or fifty in a bunch. There is a tree of orange colour, whoſe bark in the filing is as ſmooth as velvet. There is a lake of freſh water three miles in compaſs, in the midſt an iſle containing an acre or thereabout, overgrown with wood: here are many tortoiſes, and abundance of all ſorts of fowls, whoſe young ones we took and eat at our pleaſure. Ground nuts as big as eggs, as good as potatoes, and forty on a ſtring, not two inches under ground. All ſorts of ſhell-fiſh, as ſcalops, muſſels, cockles, crabs, lobſters, welks, oyſters, exceeding good and very great; but not to cloy you with particulars, what God and nature hath beſtowed on thoſe places, I refer you to the author's own writing at large. We called this iſle Elizabeth's Iſle, from whence we went right over to the main, where we ſtood awhile as raviſhed at the beauty and delicacy of the ſweetneſs, beſides divers clear lakes, whereof we ſaw no end, and meadows very large and full of green graſs, &c.

Here we eſpied ſeven ſavages, at firſt they expreſſed ſome fear, but by our courteous uſage of them, they followed us to the neck of land, which we thought had been ſevered from the main, but we found it otherwiſe. Here we imagined was a river, but becauſe the day was far ſpent, we left to diſcover it till better leiſure. But of good harbours, there is no doubt, conſidering the land is all rocky and broken lands. The

next day we determined to fortify ourſelves in the iſle in the lake. Three weeks we ſpent in building us there a houſe. But the ſecond day after our coming from the main, eleven canoes with near fifty ſavages, came towards us. Being unwilling they ſhould ſee our building, we went to, and exchanged with them knives, hatchets, beads, bells, and ſuch trifles, for ſome beavers, lizards, martins, foxes, wild-cat ſkins, and ſuch like. We ſaw them have much red copper, whereof they make chains, collars, and drinking cups, which they ſo little eſteemed they would give us for ſmall toys, and ſignified unto us they had it out of the earth in the main: three days they ſtayed with us, but every night retired two or three miles from us: after, with many ſigns of love and friendſhip, they departed, ſeven of them ſtaying behind, that did help us to dig and carry ſaſſafras, and do any thing they could, being of a comely proportion, and the beſt condition of any ſavages we had yet encountered. They have no beards but counterfeits, as they did think ours alſo was, for which they would have changed with ſome of our men that had great beards. Some of the baſer ſort would ſteal, but the better ſort we found very civil and juſt. We ſaw but three of their women, and they were but of mean ſtature, attired in ſkins like the men, but fat and well favoured. The wholeſomeneſs and temperature of this climate, doth not only argue the people to be anſwerable to this deſcription, but alſo of a perfect conſtitution of body, active, ſtrong, healthful, and very witty, as the ſundry toys by them ſo cunningly wrought may well teſtify. For ourſelves, we found ourſelves rather increaſe in health and ſtrength than otherwiſe, for all our toil, bad diet, and lodging, yet not one of us was touched with any ſickneſs. Twelve intended here awhile to have ſtayed, but upon better conſideration, how meanly we were provided, we left this iſland (with as many true ſorrowful eyes as were before deſirous to ſee it) the 18th of June, and arrived at Exmouth the 23d of July.

But yet man's mind doth ſuch itſelf explay,
As God's great will doth frame it every way.

Such thoughts men have, on earth that do but live,
As men may crave, but God doth only give.

Written by JOHN BRIERTON, one of the voyage.

A Voyage of Captain Martin Pring, with two Barks from Briſtow, for the North Part of Virginia, 1603.

BY the inducements and perſuaſions of Mr. Richard Hackluite, Mr. John Whitſon being mayor, with his brethren the aldermen, and moſt of the merchants of the city of Briſtow, raiſed a ſtock of one thouſand pounds, to furniſh out two barks, the one of fifty tons, with thirty men and boys, the other twenty-ſix tons, with thirteen men and boys, having Martin Pring an underſtanding gentleman, and a ſufficient mariner, for captain, and Robert Salterne, his aſſiſtant, who had been with Captain Goſnoll there the year before for pilot. Though they were much croſſed by contrary winds upon the coaſt of England, and the death of that ever moſt memorable miracle of the world, our moſt dear ſovereign Lady and Queen Elizabeth: yet at laſt they paſſed by the Weſtern Iſles, and about the 7th of June, fell upon the north part of Virginia, about the degrees of 43, where they found plenty of moſt ſorts of fiſh, and ſaw a high country full of great woods of ſundry ſorts. As they ranged the coaſt at a place they named Whitſun Bay, they were kindly uſed by the natives that came to them in troops of tens, twenties, and thirties, and ſometimes more. But becauſe in this voyage for moſt part they followed

followed the courſe of Captain Goſnoll, and have made no relation but to the ſame effect he writ before, we will thus conclude:

Lay hands unto this work with all thy wit,
But pray that God would ſpeed and perfect it.

ROBERT SALTERNE.

A Relation of a Diſcovery towards the Northward of Virginia, by Captain George Waymouth, 1605; employed thither by the Right Honourable Thomas Arundel, Baron of Warder, in the Reign of our moſt royal King James.

UPON Tueſday the 5th of March we ſet ſail from Ratcliff, but by contrary winds we were forced into Dartmouth till the laſt of this month, then with twenty-nine as good ſeamen, and all neceſſary proviſions as could poſſibly be gotten, we put to ſea, and the 24th of April fell with Flowres and Corvos. We intended, as we were directed, towards the ſouthward of 39°; but the winds ſo croſſed us we fell more northwards, about 41° 20′: we ſounded at one hundred fathom, and by that we had run ſix leagues, we had but five, yet ſaw no land. From the main-top we deſcried a whitiſh ſandy cliff, weſt-north-weſt, ſome ſix leagues from us; but ere we had run two leagues further, we found many ſhoals and breaches, ſometimes in four fathom, and the next through fifteen or eighteen. Being thus embayed among thoſe ſhoals, we were conſtrained to put back again, which we did with no ſmall danger, though both the wind and weather were as fair as we could deſire. Thus we parted from the land, which we had not before ſo much deſired, and at the firſt ſight rejoiced, as now we all joyfully praiſed God that he had delivered us from ſo imminent danger. Here we found excellent cod, and ſaw many whales, as we had done two or three days before. Being thus conſtrained to put to ſea, the want of wood and water cauſed us take the beſt advantage of the wind, to fall with the ſhore whereſoever; but we found our ſea-cards moſt directly falſe. The 17th of May we made the land again, but it blew ſo hard we durſt not approach it. The next day it appeared to us a main high land, but we found it an iſland of ſix miles in compaſs: within a league of it we came to an anchor, and went on ſhore for wood and water, of which we found ſufficient, the water guſhing forth down the rocky cliffs in many places, which are all overgrown with fir, birch, beech, and oak, as the verge is with gooſeberries, ſtrawberries, wild peas, and roſe buſhes, and much fowl of divers ſorts that breed among the rocks. Here, as in all places elſe where we came, we found cod enough.

From hence we might diſcern the main land and very high mountains; the next day becauſe we rode too open to the ſea, we weighed, and came to the iſles adjoining to the main, among which we found an excellent road, defended from all winds, for ſhips of any burthen, in ſix, ſeven, eight, nine, or ten fathom, upon a clay ooze. This was upon Whit-Sunday, wherefore we called it Pentecoſt Harbour. Here I cannot omit, for fooliſh fear of imputation of flattery, the painful induſtry of our captain, who, as at ſea, he was always moſt careful and vigilant, ſo at land he refuſed no pains; but his labour was ever as much, or rather more, than any man's; which not only encouraged others with better content, but alſo effected much with great expedition. We digged a garden the 22d of May, where, among our garden ſeeds, we ſowed peas and barley, which in ſixteen days grew up eight inches, although this was but the cruſt of the ground, and much inferior to the mould we after found in the main.

After we had taken order for all our neceſſary buſineſſes, we marched through two of theſe iſles. The biggeſt was four or five miles in compaſs; we found here all ſorts

of ordinary trees, beſides vines, currants, ſpruce, yew, angelica, and divers gums, inſomuch many of our company wiſhed themſelves ſettled here. Upon the 30th our captain with thirteen went to diſcover the main: we in the ſhip eſpied three canoes that came towards the ſhip, which, after they had well viewed, one of them came aboard with three men, and by our good uſage of them, not long after the reſt. Two days we had their companies; in all reſpects they are but like them at Elizabeth's Iſles, therefore this may ſuffice for their deſcription. In this time our captain had diſcovered a fair river, trending into the main forty miles, and returned back to bring in the ſhip. The ſavages alſo kept their words, and brought us forty beaver, otter, and ſable ſkins, for the value of five ſhillings in knives, glaſſes, combs, and ſuch toys, and thus we uſed them ſo kindly as we could, becauſe we intended to inhabit in their country, they lying aboard with us, and we aſhore with them; but it was but as changing man for man as hoſtages, and in this manner many times we had their companies.

At laſt they deſired our captain to go with them to the main to trade with their Baſhabes, which is their chief lord, which we did, our boat well manned with fourteen, yet would they row faſter with three oars in their canoes than we with eight; but when we ſaw our old acquaintance would not ſtay aboard us as before for hoſtage, but did what they could to draw us into a narrow cirque, we exchanged one Owen Griffin with them for a young fellow of theirs, that he might ſee if he could diſcover any treachery, as he did, for he found there aſſembled two hundred and eighty-three ſavages with bows and arrows, but not any thing at all to trade as they pretended. Theſe things conſidered, we conceited them to be but as all ſavages ever had been, kind till they found opportunity to do miſchief. Wherefore we determined to take ſome of them, before they ſhould ſuſpect we had diſcovered their plot, leſt they ſhould abſent themſelves from us; ſo the firſt that ever after came into the ſhip were three, which we kept, and two we took on ſhore with much ado, with two canoes, their bows and arrows.

Some time we ſpent in ſounding all the iſles, channels, and inlets thereabouts, and we found four ſeveral ways a ſhip might be brought into this bay. In the interim there came two canoes more boldly aboard us, ſignifying we ſhould bring our ſhip to the place where he dwelt to trade. We excuſed ourſelves why we could not, but uſed them kindly, yet got them away with all the ſpeed we could, that they ſhould not be perceived by them in the hole; then we went up the river twenty-ſix miles, of which I had rather not write, than by my relation detract from it. It is in breadth a mile, near forty miles, and a channel of ſix, ſeven, eight, nine, or ten fathoms; and on both ſides, every half-mile, gallant coves, to contain in many of them one hundred ſail, where they may lie on oze, without cable or anchor, only moored with a hawſer, and it floweth eighteen feet, that you may make, dock, or careen ſhips with much facility. Beſides, the land is moſt rich, trending all along on both ſides in an equal plain, neither rocky nor mountainous, but verged with a green border of graſs, doth make tender to the beholder her pleaſant fertility, if by cleanſing away the woods ſhe were converted into meadow.

The woods are great and tall, ſuch as are ſpoken of in the iſlands, and well watered with many freſh ſprings. Our men that had ſeen Oronoque, ſo famous in the world's ears, Reogrande, Loyer, and Slion report, though they be great and goodly rivers, yet are not comparable to it. Leaving our ſhip we went higher, till we were ſeven miles higher than the ſalt water flowed; we marched towards the mountains we had ſeen, but the weather was ſo hot, and our labour ſo great, as our captain was contented to return. After we had erected a croſs, we left this fair land and river, in which

which the higher we went the better we liked it, and returned to our ſhip. By the way we met a canoe, that much deſired one of our men to go up to their Baſhabes; but we knew their intents, and ſo turned them off; and though we had both time and proviſion to have diſcovered much more, and might have found peradventure good trade; yet becauſe our company was but ſmall, we would not hazard ſo hopeful a buſineſs as this was, either for our private or particular ends, being more regardful of a public good, and promulgating God's holy church by planting Chriſtianity, which was the intent of our adventurers ſo well as ours. Returning by the iſles in the entry of the Sound, we called them St. George's Iſles, and becauſe on Sunday we ſet out of England, on Sunday alſo the 16th of June we departed hence. When we had run thirty leagues, we had forty fathoms, then ſeventy, then one hundred. After two or three watches more we were in twenty-four fathoms, where we took ſo much cod as we did not know what to do with: and the 18th of July came to Dartmouth, and all our men as well, God be thanked, as when they went forth.

Thus may you ſee,

God hath not all his gifts beſtowed on all or any one,
Words ſweeteſt, and wits ſharpeſt, courage, ſtrength of bone;
All rarities of mind and parts do all concur in none.

Written by JAMES ROSIER, one of the voyage.

BOOK II.

The Sixth Voyage 1606, *to another Part of Virginia, where now are planted our Engliſh Colonies, (whom God increaſe and preſerve,) diſcovered and deſcribed by Captain John Smith, ſometime Governor of the Country.*

BY theſe former relations you may ſee what inconveniences ſtill croſſed thoſe good intents, and how great a matter it was all this time to find but a harbour, although there be ſo many. But this Virginia is a country in America, between the degrees of 34 and 45 of the north latitude. The bounds thereof on the eaſt ſide are the great ocean; on the ſouth lieth Florida; on the north, Nova Francia; as for the weſt thereof, the limits are unknown. Of all this country we purpoſe not to ſpeak, but only of that part which was planted by the Engliſhmen, in the year of our Lord 1606, and this is under the degrees 37, 38, and 39. The temperature of this country doth agree well with Engliſh conſtitutions, being once ſeaſoned to the country; which appeared by this, that though by many occaſions our people fell ſick, yet did they recover by very ſmall means, and continued in health, though there were other great cauſes, not only to have made them ſick, but even to end their days, &c.

The ſummer is hot as in Spain, the winter cold as in France or England. The heat of ſummer is in June, July, and Auguſt, but commonly the cool breezes aſſuage the vehemency of the heat. The chief of winter is half December, January, February, and half March. The cold is extreme ſharp; but here the proverb is true, that no extreme long continueth.

In the year 1607, was an extraordinary froſt in moſt of Europe, and this froſt was found as extreme in Virginia. But the next year, for 8 or 10 days of ill weather, other 14 days would be as ſummer.

The winds here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purify the air, I have ſeldom either ſeen or heard in Europe. From the ſouth-weſt came the greateſt guſts,

guſts, with thunder and heat. The north-weſt wind is commonly cool, and bringeth fair weather with it. From the north is the greateſt cold; and from the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt, as from the Bermudas, fogs and rains.

Sometimes there are great droughts, other times much rain, yet great neceſſity of neither, by reaſon we ſee not but that all the rarity of needful fruits in Europe may be there in great plenty, by the induſtry of men, as appeareth by thoſe we there planted.

There is but one entrance by ſea into this country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly bay, eighteen or twenty miles broad. The cape on the ſouth is called Cape Henry, in honour of our moſt noble Prince. The land, white hilly ſands, like unto the Downs, and all along the ſhores great plenty of pines and firs.

The north cape is called Cape Charles, in honour of the worthy Duke of York. The iſles before it, Smith's Iſles, by the name of the diſcoverer. Within is a country that may have the prerogative over the moſt pleaſant places known, for large and pleaſant navigable rivers; heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation, were it fully manured and inhabited by induſtrious people. Here are mountains, hills, plains, vallies, rivers, and brooks all running moſt pleaſantly into a fair bay, compaſſed, but for the mouth, with fruitful and delightſome land. In the bay and rivers are many iſles both great and ſmall, ſome woody, ſome plain, moſt of them low and not inhabited. This bay lieth north and ſouth, in which the water floweth near two hundred miles, and hath a channel for one hundred and forty miles of depth, betwixt ſix and fifteen fathoms, holding in breadth for the moſt part ten or fourteen miles. From the head of the bay to the north-weſt, the land is mountainous and ſo in a manner from thence by a ſouth-weſt line; ſo that the more ſouthward, the farther off from the bay are thoſe mountains; from which fall certain brooks, which after come to fine principal navigable rivers. Theſe run from the north-weſt into the ſouth-eaſt, and ſo into the weſt ſide of the bay, where the fall of every river is within twenty or fifteen miles one of another.

The mountains are of divers natures, for at the head of the bay the rocks are of a compoſition like mill-ſtones; ſome of marble, &c.; and many pieces like chriſtal, we found, as thrown down by water from theſe mountains. For in winter they are covered with much ſnow, and when it diſſolveth the waters fall with ſuch violence, that it cauſeth great inundations in ſome narrow vallies, which is ſcarce perceived, being once in the rivers. Theſe waters waſh from the rocks ſuch gliſtering tinctures, that the ground in ſome places ſeemeth as gilded, where both the rocks and the earth are ſo ſplendent to behold, that better judgments than ours might have been perſuaded they contained more than probabilities. The veſture of the earth in moſt places doth manifeſtly prove the nature of the ſoil to be luſty and very rich. The colour of the earth we found in divers places, reſembleth bole armoniac, terra ſigillata, and lemnia, fuller's-earth, marl, and divers other ſuch appearances: but generally for the moſt part it is a black ſandy mould, in ſome places a fat ſlimy clay, in other places a very barren gravel. But the beſt ground is known by the veſture it beareth, as by the greatneſs of trees, or abundance of weeds, &c.

The country is not mountainous, nor yet low, but ſuch pleaſant plain hills, and fertile vallies, one prettily croſſing another, and watered ſo conveniently with freſh brooks and ſprings, no leſs commodious than delightſome. By the rivers are many plain marſhes, containing ſome twenty, ſome one hundred, ſome two hundred acres, ſome more, ſome leſs. Other plains there are few, but only where the ſavages inhabit,

bit, but all overgrown with trees and weeds, being a plain wilderneſs as God firſt made it.

On the weſt ſide of the bay we ſaid were five fair and delightful navigable rivers. The firſt of thoſe, and the next to the mouth of the bay, hath its courſe from the weſt-north-weſt; it is called Powhatan, according to the name of a principal country that lieth upon it. The mouth of this river is near three miles in breadth, yet do the ſhoals force the channel ſo near the land, that a ſacre will overſhoot it at point blank. It is navigable one hundred and fifty miles, the ſhoals and ſoundings are here needleſs to be expreſſed. It falleth from rocks far weſt in a country inhabited by a nation they call Monacans. But where it cometh into our diſcovery it is Powhatan. In the fartheſt place that was diligently obſerved, are falls, rocks, ſhoals, &c. which makes it paſt navigation any higher. Thence in the running downward, the river is enriched with many goodly brooks, which are maintained by an infinite number of ſmall rundles and pleaſant ſprings, that diſperſe themſelves for beſt ſervice, as do the veins of a man's body. From the ſouth there falls into it, firſt, the pleaſant river of Apamatuck; next, more to the eaſt, are two ſmall rivers of Quiyougcohanocke; a little farther is a bay, wherein falleth three or four pretty brooks and creeks, that half intrench the inhabitants of Warraſkoyac; then the river of Nandſamund; and laſtly, the brook of Cheſapeack. From the north ſide is the river of Chickahamania, the back river of James Town; another by the Cedar Iſle, where we lived ten weeks upon oyſters, then a convenient harbour for fiſher boats at Kencoughtan, that ſo turneth itſelf into bays and creeks, it makes that place very pleaſant to inhabit, their corn-fields being girded therein in a manner as peninſulas. The moſt of theſe rivers are inhabited by ſeveral nations, or rather families, of the name of the rivers. They have alſo over theſe ſome governor, as their king, which they call Werowances. In a peninſula on the north ſide of this river are the Engliſh planted in a place by them called James Town, in honour of the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The firſt, and next the river's mouth, are the Kecoughtans, who, beſides their women and children, have not paſt twenty fighting men. The Paſpaheghes (on whoſe land is ſeated James Town, ſome forty miles from the bay) have not paſt forty. The river called Chickahamania near two hundred and fifty; the Weanocks one hundred; the Arrowhatocks thirty; the place called Towhatan, ſome forty; on the ſouth ſide this river, the Appamatucks have ſixty fighting men; the Quiyougcohanocks twenty five; the Nandſamunds two hundred; the Cheſapeacks one hundred; of this laſt place the bay beareth the name. In all theſe places is a ſeveral commander, which they call Werowance, except the Chickahamanians, who are governed by the prieſts and their aſſiſtants, or their elders, called Caw-cawwaſſoughes. In ſummer, no place affordeth more plenty of ſturgeon, nor n winter more abundance of fowl, eſpecially in the time of froſt. I took once fifty-two ſturgeons at a draught, at another ſixty-eight. From the latter end of May till the end of June are taken few, but young ſturgeons of two feet or a yard long. From thence till the midſt of September, them of two or three yards long, and few others; and in four or five hours, with one net, were ordinarily taken ſeven or eight; often more, ſeldom leſs. In the ſmall rivers, all the year, there is good plenty of ſmall fiſh; ſo that with hooks, thoſe that would take pains had ſufficient.

Fourteen miles northward from the river Powhatan is the river Pamaunkee, which is navigable ſixty or ſeventy miles, but with catches and ſmall barks, thirty or forty miles farther. At the ordinary flowing of the ſalt water, it divideth itſelf into two gallant

branches. On the ſouth ſide inhabit the people of Youghtanund, who have about ſixty men for wars. On the north branch Mattapament, who have thirty men. Where this river is divided the country is called Pamaunkee, and nouriſheth near three hundred able men. About twenty-five miles lower, on the north ſide of this river, is Werawocomoco, where their great king inhabited when I was delivered him priſoner; yet there are not paſt forty able men. Ten or twelve miles lower, on the ſouth ſide of this river, is Chiſkiack, which hath ſome forty or fifty men. Theſe, as alſo Apamatuck, Irrohatock, and Powhatan, are their great king's chief alliance, and inhabitants; the reſt his conqueſts.

Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountains, there is another river, ſome thirty miles navigable, that cometh from the inland, called Payankatanke, the inhabitants are about fifty or ſixty ſerviceable men.

The third navigable river is called Toppahanock: this is navigable ſome hundred and thirty miles; at the top of it inhabit the people called Mannahoacks, amongſt the mountains, but they are above the place we deſcribed. Upon this river, on the north ſide, are the people Cuttatawomen, with thirty fighting men. Higher are the Moraughtacunds, with eighty. Beyond them Rapahanock, with one hundred. Far above is another, Cuttatawomen, with twenty. On the ſouth is the pleaſant ſeat of Nantaughtacund, having one hundred and fifty men. This river alſo, as the two former, is repleniſhed with fiſh and fowl.

The fourth river is called Patawomeke, ſix or ſeven miles in breadth; it is navigable one hundred and forty miles, and fed as the reſt with many ſweet rivers and ſprings, which fall from the bordering hills: theſe hills many of them are planted, and yield no leſs plenty and variety of fruit, than the river exceedeth with abundance of fiſh; it is inhabited on both ſides: firſt, on the ſouth ſide, at the very entrance is Wighcocomoco, and hath ſome hundred and thirty men, beyond them Sekacawone, with thirty; the Onawmanient, with one hundred; and the Patawomekes more than two hundred. Here doth the river divide itſelf into three or four convenient branches: the greateſt of the leaſt is called Quiyough, trending north-weſt, but the river itſelf turneth north-eaſt, and is ſtill a navigable ſtream. On the weſtern ſide of this bought is Tauxenent, with forty men: on the north of this river is Secowocomoco, with forty: ſomewhat further Potapaco, with twenty: in the eaſt part is Pamacaeack, with ſixty: after Moyowance, with one hundred: and laſtly, Nacotchtanke, with eighty. The river above this place maketh his paſſage down a low pleaſant valley, overſhadowed in many places with high rocky mountains, from whence diſtil innumerable ſweet and pleaſant ſprings.

The fifth river is called Pawtuxunt, of a leſs proportion than the reſt; but the channel is ſixteen fathoms deep in ſome places. Here are infinite ſkulls of divers kinds of fiſh more than elſewhere. Upon this river dwell the people called Acquintanackſuak, Pawtuxunt, and Mattapanient. Two hundred men was the greateſt ſtrength that could be there perceived; but they inhabit together, and not ſo diſperſed as the reſt. Theſe of all other we found moſt civil to give entertainment.

Thirty leagues northward is a river, not inhabited, yet navigable, for the red clay reſembling bole armoniack, we called it Bolus. At the end of the bay, where it is ſix or ſeven miles in breadth, it divides itſelf into four branches; the beſt cometh north-weſt from among the mountains, but though canoes may go a day's journey or two up it, we could not get two miles up it with our boats for rocks; upon it is ſeated the Saſqueſahanocks, near it north-and-by-weſt runneth a creek a mile and a half; at the head whereof, the Eble left us on ſhore, where we found many trees cut with hatchets.

The next tide, keeping the ſhore, to ſeek for ſome ſavages, (for within thirty leagues ſailing we ſaw not any, being a barren country,) we went up another ſmall river like a creek, ſix or ſeven miles: from thence returning, we met ſeven canoes of the Maſſowomeks, with whom we had conference by ſigns, for we underſtood one another ſcarce a word: the next day we diſcovered the ſmall river and people of Tockwhogh trending eaſtward.

Having loſt our grapnel among the rocks of Saſqueſahanocks, we were then near two hundred miles from home, and our barge about two tons, and had in it but twelve men to perform this diſcovery, wherein we lay above twelve weeks upon thoſe great waters in thoſe unknown countries, having nothing but a little meal, oatmeal, and water to feed us, and ſcarce half ſufficient of that for half that time, but what proviſion we got among the ſavages, and ſuch roots and fiſh as we caught by accident, and God's direction; nor had we a mariner, nor any had ſkill to trim the ſails, but two ſailors and myſelf, the reſt being gentlemen, or them were as ignorant in ſuch toil and labour. Yet neceſſity in a ſhort time, by good words and examples, made them do that that cauſed them ever after to fear no colours. What I did with this ſmall means, I leave to the reader to judge, and the map I made of the country, which is but a ſmall matter, in regard of the magnitude thereof. But to proceed, ſixty of thoſe Saſqueſahanocks came to us with ſkins, bows, arrows, targets, beads, ſwords, and tobacco-pipes, for preſents. Such great and well-proportioned men are ſeldom ſeen, for they ſeemed like giants to the Engliſh, yea, and to their neighbours, yet ſeemed of an honeſt and ſimple diſpoſition, with much ado reſtrained from adoring us as gods. Thoſe are the ſtrangeſt people of all thoſe countries, both in language and attire; for their language, it may well beſeem their proportions, ſounding from them as a voice in a vault. Their attire is the ſkins of bears and wolves; ſome have caſſocks made of bears' heads and ſkins, that a man's head goes through the ſkin's neck, and the ears of the bear faſtened to his ſhoulders, the noſe and teeth hanging down his breaſt, another bear's face ſplit behind him, and at the end of the noſe hung a paw, the half ſleeves coming to the elbows, were the necks of bears, and the arms through the mouth, with paws hanging at their noſes. One had the head of a wolf hanging in a chain for a jewel, his tobacco pipe, three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved, with a bird, a deer, or ſome ſuch device at the great end, ſufficient to beat out one's brains; with bows, arrows, and clubs, ſuitable to their greatneſs. Theſe are ſcarce known to Powhatan. They can make near ſix hundred able men, and are palliſadoed in their towns, to defend them from the Maſſawomekes, their mortal enemies. Five of their chief Werowances came aboard us, and croſſed the bay in their barge. The picture of the greateſt of them is ſignified in the map; the calf of whoſe leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the reſt of his limbs ſo anſwerable to that proportion, that he ſeemed the goodlieſt man we ever beheld. His hair, the one ſide was long, the other ſhorn cloſe, with a ridge over his crown, like a coxcomb. His arrows were five quarters long, headed with the ſplinters of a white cryſtal-like ſtone, in form of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a half or more long: theſe he wore in a wolf's ſkin at his back, for his quiver, his bow in the one hand, and his club in the other, as is deſcribed.

On the eaſt ſide of the bay is the river Tockwhogh, and upon it a people that can make one hundred men, ſeated ſome ſeven miles within the river: where they have a fort very well palliſadoed and mantled with bark of trees. Next them is Ozinies, with ſixty men. More to the ſouth of that eaſt ſide of the bay, the river Rapahanock, near unto which is the river Kuſkarawaock, upon which is ſeated a people, with two hundred men. After that, is the river Tants Wighcocomoco, and on it a people with one

one hundred men. The people of thoſe rivers are of little ſtature, of another language from the reſt, and very rude. But they on the river Acohanock, with forty men, and they of Accomack, eighty men, doth equalize any of the territories of Powhatan, and ſpeak his language, who over all thoſe doth rule as king.

Southward we went to ſome parts of Chawonock and the Mangoags to ſearch for them left by Mr. White. Amongſt thoſe people are thus many ſeveral nations of ſundry languages, that environ Powhatans territories. The Chawonocks, the Mangoags, the Monacans, the Mannahokes, the Maſawomekes, the Powhatans, the Saſqueſahanocks, the Atquanachukes, the Tockwoghes, and the Kuſcarawaockes. All thoſe not any one underſtandeth another but by interpreters. Their ſeveral habitations are more plainly deſcribed by this annexed map, which will preſent to the eye the way of the mountains, and current of the rivers, with their ſeveral turnings, bays, ſhoals, iſles, inlets, and creeks, the breadth of the waters, the diſtances of places, and ſuch like. In which map obſerve this, that as far as you ſee the little croſſes on rivers, mountains, or other places have been diſcovered; the reſt was had by information of the ſavages, and are ſet down according to their inſtructions.

Thus have I walked a wayleſs way, with uncouth pace,
Which yet no Chriſtian man did ever trace:
But yet I know this not affects the mind,
Which ears doth hear, as that which eyes do find.

Of ſuch Things which are naturally in Virginia, and how they uſe them.

VIRGINIA doth afford many excellent vegetables, and living creatures, yet graſs there is little or none, but what groweth in low marſhes: for all the country is overgrown with trees, whoſe droppings continually turneth their graſs to weeds, by reaſon of the rankneſs of the ground, which would ſoon be amended by good huſbandry. The wood that is moſt common is oak and walnut; many of their oaks are ſo tall and ſtraight that they will bear two foot and a half ſquare of good timber for twenty yards long. Of this wood there is two or three ſeveral kinds. The acorns of one kind, whoſe bark is more white than the other, and ſomewhat ſweetiſh, which being boiled, at laſt affords a ſweet oil, that they keep in gourds to annoint their heads and joints. The fruit they eat made in bread or otherwiſe. There is alſo ſome elms, ſome black walnut-tree, and ſome aſh: of aſh and elm they make ſoap aſhes. If the trees be very great, the aſhes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be ſmall, it will but powder, and not ſo good as the other. Of walnuts there is two or three kinds; there is a kind of wood we called cypreſs, becauſe both the wood, the fruit, and leaf did moſt reſemble it, and of thoſe trees there are ſome near three fathom about at the foot, very ſtraight, and fifty, ſixty, or eighty feet without a branch. By the dwelling of the ſavages are ſome great mulberry-trees, and in ſome parts of the country they are found growing naturally in pretty groves. There was an eſſay made to make ſilk, and ſurely the worms proſpered excellent well, till the maſter workman fell ſick. During which time they were eaten with rats.

In ſome parts were found ſome cheſnuts, whoſe wild fruit equal the beſt in France, Spain, Germany, or Italy. Plums there are of three ſorts. The red and white are like our hedge plums, but the other, which they call putchamins, grow as high as a palmeta: the fruit is like a medlar; it is firſt green, then yellow, and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe, it will draw a man's mouth awry, with much torment; but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an apricot.

They

They have cherries, and thoſe are much like a damſen, but for their taſte and colour we called them cherries. We ſaw ſome few crabs, but very ſmall and bitter. Of vines great abundance, in many parts that climb the tops of the higheſt trees in ſome places, but theſe bear but few grapes. Except by the rivers and ſavage habitations, where they are not overſhadowed from the ſun, they are covered with fruit, though never pruned nor manured. Of thoſe hedge-grapes we made near twenty gallons of wine, which was like our French Britiſh wine, but certainly they would prove good were they well manured. There is another ſort of grape near as great as a cherry, this they call meſſamins; they be fat, and the juice thick. Neither doth the taſte ſo well pleaſe when they are made in wine. They have a ſmall fruit growing on little trees, huſked like a cheſnut, but the fruit moſt like a very ſmall acorn. This they call chechinquamins, which they eſteem a great dainty. They have a berry much like our gooſeberry, in greatneſs, colour, and taſte; thoſe they call rawcomens, and do eat them raw or boiled. On theſe natural fruits they live a great part of the year, which they uſe in this manner; the walnuts, cheſnuts, acorns, and chechinquamins are dried to keep. When they need walnuts they break them between two ſtones, yet ſome part of the ſhells will cleave to the fruit. Then do they dry them again upon a mat over a hurdle. After they put it into a mortar of wood, and beat it very ſmall; that done they mix it with water, that the ſhells may ſink to the bottom. This water will be coloured as milk, which they call pawcohiccora, and keep it for their uſe. The fruit like medlars, they call putchamins, they caſt upon hurdles on a mat, and preſerve them as prunes. Of their cheſnuts and chechinquamins boiled, they make both broth and bread for their chief men, or at their greateſt feaſts. Beſides thoſe fruit-trees, there is a white poplar, and another tree like unto it, that yieldeth a very clear and an odoriferous gum like turpentine, which ſome called balſam. There are alſo cedars and ſaſſafras trees. They alſo yield gums in a ſmall proportion of themſelves. We tried concluſions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more than our arts.

In the watery vallies grow a berry which they call ocoughtanamnis very much like unto capers. Theſe they dry in ſummer. When they eat them they boil them near half a day; for otherwiſe they differ not much from poiſon. Mattoum groweth as our bents. The ſeed is not much unlike to rye, though much ſmaller. This they uſe for a dainty bread buttered with deer ſuet.

During ſummer there are either ſtrawberries, which ripen in April, or mulberries which ripen in May and June. Raſpi ſes, hurts, or a fruit that the inhabitants call maracock, which is a pleaſant wholeſome fruit much like a lemon. Many herbs in the ſpring are commonly diſperſed throughout the woods, good for broths and ſallads, as violets, parſley, ſorrell, &c. Beſides many we uſed whoſe names we know not.

The chief root they have for food is called tockawhoughe. It grows like a flag in marſhes. In one day a ſavage will gather ſufficient for a week. Theſe roots are much of the greatneſs and taſte of potatoes. They uſed to cover a great many of them with oak leaves and fern, and then cover all with earth in the manner of a coalpit; over it, on each ſide, they continue a great fire twenty-four hours before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better than poiſon, and being roaſted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or ſliced and dried in the ſun, mixed with ſorrel and meal, or ſuch like, it will prick and torment the throat extremely, and yet in ſummer they uſe this ordinarily for bread.

They have another root which they call wighſacan: as the other feedeth the body, ſo this cureth their hurts and diſeaſes. It is a ſmall root, which they bruiſe and apply to the wound. Pocones is a ſmall root that groweth in the mountains, which being dried and beat in powder turns red; and this they uſe for ſwellings, aches, anointing their

their joints, painting their heads and garments. They account it very precious, and of much worth. Muſquaſpen is a root of the bigneſs of a finger, and as red as blood. In drying it will wither almoſt to nothing. This they uſe to paint their mats, targets, and ſuch like.

There is alſo pellitory of Spain, ſaſſafras, and divers other ſimples, which the apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good and medicinable.

In the low marſhes grow plots of onions, containing an acre of ground, or more, in many places; but they are ſmall, not paſt the bigneſs of the top of one's thumb.

Of beaſts the chief are deer, nothing differing from ours. In the deſerts towards the heads of rivers there are many, but amongſt the rivers few. There is a beaſt they call aroughcun, much like a badger, but uſeth to live on trees, as ſquirrels do. Their ſquirrels ſome are near as great as our ſmalleſt ſort of wild rabbits, ſome blackiſh or black and white, but the moſt are grey.

A ſmall beaſt they have they call aſſapanic, but we call them flying ſquirrels, becauſe ſpreading their legs, and ſo ſtretching the largeneſs of their ſkins, that they have been ſeen to fly thirty or forty yards. An opoſſum hath a head like a ſwine and a tail like a rat, and is of the bigneſs of a cat. Under her belly ſhe hath a bag, wherein ſhe lodgeth, carrieth, and ſuckleth her young. A muſſaſcus is a beaſt of the form and nature of our water-rats, but many of them ſmell exceedingly ſtrong of muſk. Their hares no bigger than our conies, and few of them to be found.

Their bears are very little in compariſon of thoſe of Muſcovy and Tartary. The beaver is as big as an ordinary water-dog, but his legs exceeding ſhort; his fore-feet like a dog's, his hinder feet like a ſwan's. His tail ſomewhat like the form of a racket, bare without hair, which to eat the ſavages eſteem a great delicacy. They have many otters, which, as the beavers, they take with ſnares, and eſteem the ſkins great ornaments, and of all thoſe beaſts they uſe to feed when they catch them. An utchunquoyes is like a wild cat. Their foxes are like our ſilver-haired conies, of a ſmall proportion, and not ſmelling like thoſe in England. Their dogs of that country are like their wolves, and cannot bark, but howl, and the wolves not much bigger than our Engliſh foxes. Martins, polecats, weaſels, and minks, we know they have, becauſe we have ſeen many of their ſkins, though very ſeldom any of them alive. But one thing is ſtrange, that we could never perceive their vermin deſtroy our hens, eggs, nor chickens, nor do any hurt, nor their flies nor ſerpents any way pernicious, where in the ſouth parts of America they are always dangerous, and often deadly.

Of birds the eagle is the greateſt devourer. Hawks there be of divers ſorts, as our falconers called them: ſparrow-hawks, lanarets, goſhawks, falcons, and oſpreys, but they all prey moſt upon fiſh. Their partridges are little bigger than our quails. Wild turkies are as big as our tame. There are wooſels or blackbirds with red ſhoulders, thruſhes, and divers ſorts of ſmall birds, ſome red, ſome blue, ſcarce ſo big as a wren; but few in ſummer. In winter there are great plenty of ſwans, cranes, grey and white, with black wings, herons, geeſe, brants, duck, wigeon, dotterell, oxies, parrots, and pigeons. Of all thoſe ſorts great abundance, and ſome other ſtrange kinds, to us unknown by name; but in ſummer not any, or a very few to be ſeen.

Of fiſh we were beſt acquainted with ſturgeon, grampus, porpus, ſeals, ſtingrays, whoſe tails are very dangerous, brets, mullets, white ſalmons, trouts, ſoals, plaice, herrings, coney-fiſh, rock-fiſh, eels, lampreys, cat-fiſh, ſhads, perch of three ſorts, crabs, ſhrimps, crevices, oyſters, cockles, and muſcles. But the moſt ſtrange fiſh is a ſmall one, ſo like the picture of St. George and the Dragon as poſſible can be, except

except his legs and wings, and the toad-fiſh, which will ſwell till it be like to burſt, when it cometh into the air.

Concerning the entrails of the earth little can be ſaid for certainty. There wanted good refiners; for thoſe that took upon them to have ſkill this way, took up the waſhings from the mountains, and ſome moſkered ſhining ſtones and ſpangles which the waters brought down, flattering themſelves in their own vain conceits to have been ſuppoſed what they were not, by the means of that ore, if it proved as their arts and judgments expected. Only this is certain, that many regions lying in the ſame latitude afford mines very rich, of divers natures. The cruſt alſo of theſe rocks would eaſily perſuade a man to believe there are other mines than iron and ſteel, if there were but means and men of experience that knew the mine from ſpar.

Of their planted Fruits in Virginia, and how they uſe them.

THEY divide the year into five ſeaſons. Their winter ſome call popanow, the ſpring catapeuk, the ſummer cohattayough, the earing of their corn nepinough, the harveſt and fall of leaf taquitock. From September until the midſt of November are the chief feaſts and ſacrifice. Then have they plenty of fruits, as well planted as natural, as corn, green and ripe, fiſh, fowl, and wild beaſts exceeding fat.

The greateſt labour they take is in planting their corn, for the country naturally is overgrown with wood. To prepare the ground, they bruiſe the bark of the trees near the root, then do they ſcorch the roots with fire that they grow no more. The next year with a crooked piece of wood they beat up the weeds by the roots, and in that mould they plant their corn. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a ſtick, and into it they put four grains of wheat and two of beans. Theſe holes they make four feet one from another. Their women and children do continually keep it weeding, and when it is grown middle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

In April they begin to plant, but their chief plantation is in May, and ſo they continue till the midſt of June. What they plant in April they reap in Auguſt, for May in September, for June in October. Every ſtalk of their corn commonly beareth two ears, ſome three, ſeldom any four, many but one, and ſome none. Every ear ordinarily hath between two hundred and five hundred grains. The ſtalk being green hath a ſweet juice in it, ſomewhat like a ſugar cane, which is the cauſe that when they gather their corn green, they ſuck the ſtalks: for as we gather green peas, ſo do they their corn being green, which excelleth their old. They plant alſo peas they call aſſentamens, which are the ſame they call in Italy fagioli. Their beans are the ſame the Turks call garnanſes; but theſe they much eſteem for dainties.

Their corn they roaſt in the ear green, and bruiſing it in a mortar of wood with a polt, lap it in rolls in the leaves of their corn, and ſo boil it for a dainty. They alſo reſerve that corn late planted that will not ripe, by roaſting it in hot aſhes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they eſteem it being boiled with beans for a rare diſh, they call pauſarowmena. Their old wheat they firſt ſteep a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a mortar. They uſe a ſmall baſket for their temmes, then pound again the great, and ſo ſeparating by daſhing their hand in the baſket, receive the flour in a platter made of wood, ſcraped to that form with burning and ſhells. Tempering this flour with water, they make it either in cakes, covering them with aſhes till they be baked, and then waſhing them in fair water, they dry preſently with their own heat:

or elſe boil them in water, eating the broth with the bread, which they call ponap. The grouts and pieces of the corns remaining, by fanning in the platter or in the wind, away; the bran they boil three or four hours with water, which is an ordinary food they call uſtatahamen. But ſome more thrifty than cleanly do burn the core of the ear to powder, which they call pungnough, mingling that in their meal, but it never taſted well in bread nor broth. Their fiſh and fleſh they boil either very tenderly, or boil it ſo long on hurdles over the fire; or elſe after the Spaniſh faſhion, putting it on a ſpit, they turn firſt the one ſide, then the other, till it be as dry as their jerkin beef in the Weſt Indies, that they may keep it a month or more without putrifying. The broth of fiſh or fleſh they eat as commonly as the meat.

In May alſo amongſt their corn they plant pumpions, and a fruit like unto a muſkmelon, but leſs and worſe, which they call macocks. Theſe increaſe exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of July, and continue until September. They plant alſo maracocks, a wild fruit like a lemon, which alſo increaſe infinitely. They begin to ripen in September, and continue till the end of October. When all their fruits be gathered, little elſe they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long ſuffice them, for near three parts of the year they only obſerve times and ſeaſons, and live of what the country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

The Commodities in Virginia, or that may be had by Induſtry.

THE mildneſs of the air, the fertility of the ſoil, and ſituation of the rivers, are ſo propitious to the nature and uſe of man, as no place is more convenient for pleaſure, profit, and man's ſuſtenance, under that latitude or climate.

Here will live any beaſts, as horſes, goats, ſheep, aſſes, hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thither. The waters, iſles, and ſhoals, are full of ſafe harbours for ſhips of war or merchandize, for boats of all ſorts, for tranſportation or fiſhing, &c. The bay and rivers have much merchantable fiſh, and places fit for ſalt coats, building of ſhips, making of iron, &c.

Muſcovia and Polonia do yearly receive many thouſands for pitch, tar, ſoap-aſhes, roſin, flax, cordage, ſturgeon, maſts, yards, wainſcot, furs, glaſs, and ſuch like; alſo Sweedland for iron and copper. France in like manner for wine, canvas, and ſalt. Spain as much for iron, ſteel, figs, raiſins, and ſacks. Italy with ſilks and velvets conſumes our chief commodities. Holland maintains itſelf by fiſhing and trading at our own doors. All theſe temporize with other for neceſſities, but all as uncertain as peace or wars. Beſides the charge, travel, and danger in tranſporting them by ſeas, lands, ſtorms, and pirates. Then how much hath Virginia the prerogative of all thoſe flouriſhing kingdoms, for the benefit of our land, when as within one hundred miles all thoſe are to be had, either ready provided by nature, or elſe to be prepared, were there but induſtrious men to labour. Only of copper we may doubt is wanting, but there is good probability that both copper and better minerals are there to be had for their labour. Other countries have it. So then here is a place a nurſe for ſoldiers, a practice for mariners, a trade for merchants, a reward for the good, and that which is moſt of all, a buſineſs (moſt acceptable to God) to bring ſuch poor infidels to the knowledge of God and his holy goſpel.

Of the natural Inhabitants of Virginia.

THE land is not populous, for the men be few; their far greater number is of women and children. Within ſixty miles of James Town, there are about ſome five thouſand

people, but of able men fit for their wars ſcarce fifteen hundred. To nouriſh ſo many together they have yet no means, becauſe they make ſo ſmall a benefit of their land, be it never ſo fertile. Six or ſeven hundred have been the moſt hath been ſeen together, when they gathered themſelves to have ſurprized me at Pamaunkee, having but fifteen to withſtand the worſt of their fury. As ſmall as the proportion of ground that hath yet been diſcovered, is in compariſon of that yet unknown: the people differ very much in ſtature, eſpecially in language, as before is expreſſed. Some being very great as the Seſqueſahanocks, others very little as the Wighcocomocoes, but generally tall and ſtraight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour brown when they are of any age, but they are born white. Their hair is generally black, but few have any beards. The men wear half their beards ſhaven, the other half long, for barbers they uſe their women, who with two ſhells will grate away the hair of any faſhion they pleaſe. The women are cut in many faſhions agreeable to their years, but ever ſome part remaineth long. They are very ſtrong, of an able body and full of agility, able to endure to lie in the woods under a tree by the fire, in the worſt of winter, or in the weeds and graſs, in ambuſcade in the ſummer. They are inconſtant in every thing, but what fear conſtraineth them to keep. Crafty, timorous, quick of apprehenſion, and very ingenuous. Some are of diſpoſition fearful, ſome bold, moſt cautelous, all ſavage, generally covetous of copper, beads, and ſuch like traſh. They are ſoon moved to anger, and ſo malicious that they ſeldom forget an injury: they ſeldom ſteal one from another, leſt their conjurors ſhould reveal it, and ſo they be purſued and puniſhed, that they are thus feared is certain, but that any can reveal their offences by conjuration I am doubtful. Their women are careful not to be ſuſpected of diſhoneſty without the leave of their huſbands. Each houſhold knoweth their own lands and gardens, and moſt live of their own labour. For their apparel, they are ſometime covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts, which in winter are dreſſed with the hair, but in ſummer without. The better ſort uſe large mantles of deer ſkins, not much differing in faſhion from the Iriſh mantles. Some embroidered with white beads, ſome with copper, others painted after their manner, but the common ſort have ſcarce to cover their nakedneſs but with graſs, the leaves of trees, or ſuch like. We have ſeen ſome uſe mantles made of turkey feathers, ſo prettily wrought and woven with threads that nothing could be diſcerned but the feathers, that was exceeding warm and very handſome; but the women are always covered about their middles with a ſkin, and very ſhamefaſt to be ſeen bare. They adorn themſelves moſt with copper beads and paintings. Their women ſome have their legs, hands, breaſts, and face, cunningly embroidered with divers works, as beaſts, ſerpents, artificially wrought into their fleſh with black ſpots; in each ear commonly they have three great holes, whereat they hang chains, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men wear in thoſe holes a ſmall green and yellow coloured ſnake near half a yard in length, which crawling and lapping herſelf about his neck oftentimes familiarly would kiſs his lips; others wear a dead rat tied by the tail, ſome on their heads wear the wing of a bird, or ſome large feather with a rattle; thoſe rattles are ſomewhat like the ſhape of a rapier, but leſs, which they take from the tail of a ſnake. Many have the whole ſkin of a hawk or ſome ſtrange fowl ſtuffed with the wings abroad, others a broad piece of copper, and ſome the hand of their enemy dried. Their heads and ſhoulders are painted red with the root pocone bruiſed to powder, mixed with oil, this they hold in ſummer to preſerve them from the heat, and in winter from the cold. Many other forms of paintings they uſe, but he is the moſt gallant that is the moſt monſtrous to behold.

Their buildings and habitations are for the moſt part by the rivers, or not far diſtant

from ſome freſh ſpring; their houſes are built like our arbours, of ſmall young ſprings bowed and tied, and ſo cloſe covered with mats, or the barks of trees very handſomely, that notwithſtanding either wind, rain, or weather, they are as warm as ſtoves, but very ſmoky, yet at the top of the houſe there is a hole made for the ſmoke to go into right over the fire.

Againſt the fire they lie on little hurdles of reeds covered with a mat, borne from the ground a foot and more by a hurdle of wood, on theſe round about the houſe they lie heads and points one by the other againſt the fire, ſome covered with mats, ſome with ſkins, and ſome ſtark naked lie on the ground, from ſix to twenty in a houſe. Their houſes are in the midſt of their fields or gardens, which are ſmall plots of ground, ſome twenty acres, ſome forty, ſome one hundred, ſome two hundred, ſome more, ſome leſs. In ſome places from two to fifty of thoſe houſes together, or but a little ſeparated by groves of trees. Near their habitations is little ſmall wood or old trees on the ground by reaſon of their burning of them for fire, ſo that a man may gallop a horſe amongſt theſe woods any way, but where the creeks or rivers ſhall hinder.

Men, women, and children have their ſeveral names according to the ſeveral humour of their parents. Their women (they ſay) are eaſily delivered of child; yet do they love children very dearly. To make them hardy in the cold mornings they them waſh in the rivers, and by painting and ointments ſo tan their ſkins, that after a year or two no weather will hurt them.

The men beſtow their times in fiſhing, hunting, wars, and ſuch man-like exerciſes, ſcorning to be ſeen in any woman-like exerciſe, which is the cauſe that the women be very painful, and the men often idle. The women and children do the reſt of the work, they make mats, baſkets, pots, mortars, pound their corn, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corn, gather their corn, bear all kind of burdens, and ſuch like.

Their fire they kindle preſently by chafing a dry pointed ſtick in a hole of a little ſquare piece of wood, that firing itſelf, will ſo fire moſs, leaves, or any ſuch like dry thing that will quickly burn. In March and April they live much upon their fiſhing wires, and feed on fiſh, turkies, and ſquirrels. In May and June they plant their fields, and live moſt of acorns, walnuts, and fiſh. But to amend their diet, ſome diſperſe themſelves in ſmall companies, and live upon fiſh, beaſts, crabs, oyſters, land-tortoiſes, ſtrawberries, mulberries, and ſuch like. In June, July, and Auguſt, they feed upon the roots of tocknough berries, fiſh, and green wheat. It is ſtrange to ſee how their bodies alter with their diet, even as the deer and wild beaſts they ſeem fat and lean, ſtrong and weak. Powhatan, their great king, and ſome others, that are provident, roaſt their fiſh and fleſh upon hurdles as before is expreſſed, and keep it till ſcarce times.

For fiſhing, hunting, and wars, they uſe much their bow and arrows. They bring their bows to the form of ours, by the ſcraping of a ſhell. Their arrows are made ſome of ſtraight young ſprigs, which they head with bone, ſome two or three inches long; theſe they uſe to ſhoot at ſquirrels on trees. Another ſort of arrows they uſe made of reeds; theſe are pierced with wood, headed with ſplinters of chryſtal, or ſome ſharp ſtone, the ſpurs of a turkey, or the bill of ſome bird. For his knife he hath the ſplinter of a reed to cut his feathers in form: with this knife alſo he will joint a deer, or any beaſt, ſhape his ſhoes, buſkins, mantles, &c. To make the notch of his arrow he hath the tooth of a beaver, ſet in a ſtick, wherewith he grateth it by degrees: his arrow-head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever

weareth at his bracert, of any ſplint of a ſtone, or glaſs, in the form of a heart, and theſe they glue to the end of their arrows. With the ſinews of deer, and the tops of deers horns, boiled to a jelly, they make a glue that will not diſſolve in cold water.

For their wars alſo they uſe targets that are round, and made of the barks of trees, and a ſword of wood at their backs, but oftentimes they uſe for ſwords the horn of a deer, put through a piece of wood in form of a pickaxe; ſome a long ſtone ſharpened at both ends, uſed in the ſame manner: this they were wont to uſe alſo for hatchets, but now by trucking they have plenty of the ſame form of iron; and thoſe are their chief inſtruments and arms.

Their fiſhing is much in boats; theſe they make of one tree, by burning and ſcratching away the coals with ſtones and ſhells, till they have made it in form of a trough. Some of them are an ell deep, and forty or fifty feet in length, and ſome will bear forty men, but the moſt ordinary are ſmaller, and will bear ten, twenty, or thirty, according to their bigneſs. Inſtead of oars, they uſe paddles and ſticks, with which they will row faſter than our barges. Betwixt their hands and thighs, their women uſe to ſpin the barks of trees, deer ſinews, or a kind of graſs they call pemmenaw, of theſe they make a thread very even and readily. This thread ſerveth for many uſes, as about their houſing, apparel, as alſo they make nets for fiſhing, for the quantity as formally braided as ours; they make alſo with it lines for angles. Their hooks are either a bone grated, as they notch their arrows, in the form of a crooked pin or fiſh-hook, or of the ſplinter of a bone tied to the clift of a little ſtick, and with the end of the line they tie on the bait. They uſe alſo long arrows tied in a line, wherewith they ſhoot at fiſh in the rivers; but they of Accawmack uſe ſtaves like unto javelins, headed with bone; with theſe they dart fiſh ſwimming in the water. They have alſo many artificial wires, in which they get abundance of fiſh.

In their hunting and fiſhing they take extreme pains, yet it being their ordinary exerciſe from their infancy, they eſteem it a pleaſure, and are very proud to be expert therein; and by their continual ranging and travel, they know all the advantages and places moſt frequented with deer, beaſts, fiſh, fowl, roots, and berries. At their huntings they leave their habitations, and reduce themſelves into companies, as the Tartars do, and go to the moſt deſert places with their families, where they ſpend their time in hunting and fowling up towards the mountains, by the heads of their rivers, where there is plenty of game; for betwixt the rivers the grounds are ſo narrow, that little cometh here which they devour not: it is a marvel they can ſo directly paſs theſe deſerts, ſome three or four days journey, without habitation. Their hunting-houſes are like unto arbours covered with mats; theſe their women bear after them, with corn, acorns, mortars, and all bag and baggage they uſe. When they come to the place of exerciſe, every man doth his beſt to ſhew his dexterity, for by their excelling in thoſe qualities they get their wives. Forty yards will they ſhoot level, or very near the mark, and one hundred and twenty is their beſt at random. At their huntings in the deſerts they are commonly two or three hundred together. Having found the deer, they environ them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themſelves, and ſome take their ſtands in the midſt. The deer being thus frightened by the fires and their voices, they chaſe them ſo long within that circle, that many times they kill ſix, eight, ten, or fifteen at a hunting. They uſe alſo to drive them into ſome narrow point of land, when they find that advantage, and ſo force them into the river, where, with their boats, they have ambuſcadoes to kill them. When they have ſhot a deer by land, they follow him like blood-hounds by the blood and ſtrain, and

oftentimes

oftentimes ſo take them. Hares, partridges, turkies, or eggs, fat or lean, young or old, they devour all they can catch in their power. In one of theſe huntings they found me in the diſcovery of the head of the river of Chickahamania, where they ſlew my men, and took me priſoner in a bogmire, where I ſaw thoſe exerciſes, and gathered theſe obſervations.

One ſavage hunting alone uſeth the ſkin of a deer ſlit on the one ſide, and ſo put on his arm through the neck, ſo that his hand comes to the head, which is ſtuffed, and the horns, head, eyes, ears, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can deviſe; thus ſhrouding his body in the ſkin, by ſtalking he approacheth the deer, creeping on the ground from one tree to another; if the deer chance to find fault, or ſtand at gaze, he turneth the head with his hand to his beſt advantage to ſeem like a deer, alſo gazing and licking himſelf; ſo watching his beſt advantage to approach, having ſhot him, he chaſeth him by his blood and ſtrain till he get him.

When they intend any wars, the Werowances uſually have the advice of their prieſts and conjurors, and their allies, and ancient friends, but chiefly the prieſts determine their reſolution. Every Werowance, or ſome luſty fellow, they appoint captain over every nation. They ſeldom make war for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They have many enemies, namely, all their weſternly countries beyond the mountains, and the heads of the rivers. Upon the head of the Powhatans are the Monacans, whoſe chief habitation is at Raſauweak, unto whom the Mowhemenchughes, the Maſſinnacacks, the Monahaſſanughs, the Monaſickapanoughs, and other nations, pay tributes. Upon the head of the river of Toppahanock, is a people called Mannahoacks, to theſe are contributors the Tauxanias, the Shackaconias, the Ontponeas, the Tegninateos, the Whonkenteaes, the Stegarakes, the Haſſinnungaes, and divers others, all confederates with the Monacans, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, living for the moſt part of wild beaſts and fruits. Beyond the mountains, from whence is the head of the river Patawomeke, the ſavages report, inhabit their moſt mortal enemies, the Maſſawomekes, upon a great ſalt water, which by all likelihood is either ſome part of Canada, ſome great lake, or ſome inlet of ſome ſea that falleth into the South Sea. Theſe Maſſawomekes are a great nation and very populous; for the heads of all thoſe rivers, eſpecially the Pattawomekes, the Pautuxuntes, the Saſqueſahanocks, the Tockwoughes, are continually tormented by them, of whoſe cruelty they generally complained, and very importunate they were with me and my company to free them from theſe tormentors: to this purpoſe they offered food, conduct, aſſiſtance, and continual ſubjection; which I concluded to effect: but the council then preſent emulating my ſucceſs, would not think it fit to ſpare me forty men to be hazarded in thoſe unknown regions, having paſſed (as before was ſpoken of,) but with twelve, and ſo was loſt that opportunity. Seven boats full of theſe Maſſawomekes we encountered at the head of the bay, whoſe targets, baſkets, ſwords, tobaccopipes, platters, bows and arrows, and every thing ſhewed they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexterity in their ſmall boats, made of the barks of trees, ſewed with bark, and well luted with gum, argueth that they are ſeated upon ſome great water.

Againſt all theſe enemies the Powhatans are conſtrained ſometimes to fight. Their chief attempts are by ſtratagems, treacheries, or ſurpriſals. Yet the Werowance's women and children they put not to death, but keep them captives. They have a method

method in war, and for our pleaſures they ſhewed it to us, and it was in this manner performed at Mattapanient.

Having painted and diſguiſed themſelves in the fierceſt manner they could deviſe, they divided themſelves into two companies, near a hundred in a company; the one company called Monacas, the other Powhatans; either army had their captain. Theſe, as enemies, took their ſtand a muſket ſhot one from another, ranked themſelves fifteen abreaſt, and each rank from another four or five yards, not in file, but in the opening betwixt their files; ſo the rear could ſhoot as conveniently as the front. Having thus pitched the fields, from either part went a meſſenger with theſe conditions; that whoſoever were vanquiſhed, ſuch as eſcape upon their ſubmiſſion in two days after ſhould live, but their wives and children ſhould be prize for the conquerors. The meſſengers were no ſooner returned, but they approached in their orders; on each flank a ſerjeant, and in the rear an officer for lieutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and ſinging after their accuſtomed tune, which they only uſe in wars. Upon the firſt flight of arrows they gave ſuch horrible ſhouts and ſcreaches, as ſo many infernal hell-hounds could not have made them more terrible. When they had ſpent their arrows, they joined together prettily, charging and retiring, every rank ſeconding other; as they got advantage, they catched their enemies by the hair of the head, and down he came that was taken; his enemy with his wooden ſword ſeemed to beat out his brains, and ſtill they crept to the rear to maintain the ſkirmiſh. The Monacans decreaſing, the Powhatans charged them in the form of a half moon; they, unwilling to be incloſed, fled all in a troop to their ambuſcadoes, on whom they led them very cunningly. The Monacans diſperſe themſelves among the freſh men, whereupon the Powhatans retired with all ſpeed to their ſeconds, which the Monacans ſeeing, took that advantage to retire again to their own battle, and ſo each returned to their own quarter. All their actions, voices, and geſtures, both in charging and retiring, were ſo ſtrained to the height of their quality and nature, that the ſtrangeneſs thereof made it ſeem very delightful.

For their muſic they uſe a thick cane, on which they pipe as on a recorder. For their wares they have a great deep platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a ſkin, at each corner they tie a walnut, which meeting on the back ſide near the bottom, with a ſmall rope they twitch them together till it be ſo tough and ſtiff, that they may beat upon it as upon a drum. But their chief inſtruments are rattles made of ſmall gourds or pumpeons ſhells. Of theſe they have baſe, tenor, counter-tenor, mean, and treble. Theſe mingled with their voices, ſometimes twenty or thirty together, make ſuch a terrible noiſe as would rather affright than delight any man. If any great commander arrive at the habitation of a Werowance, they ſpread a mat, as the Turks do, a carpet for him to ſit upon. Upon another right oppoſite, they ſit themſelves. Then do all with a tunable voice of ſhouting bid him welcome. After this do two or more of their chiefeſt men make an oration, teſtifying their love. Which they do with ſuch vehemency, and ſo great paſſions, that they ſweat till they drop, and are ſo out of breath they can ſcarce ſpeak. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or ſtark mad. Such victuals as they have, they ſpend freely, and at night, where his lodging is appointed, they ſet a woman freſh painted red with pocones and oil, to be his bed fellow.

Their manner of trading is for copper, beads, and ſuch like, for which they give ſuch commodities as they have, as ſkins, fowls, fiſh, fleſh, and their country corn. But their victuals are their chiefeſt riches.

Every

Every Spring they make themſelves ſick with drinking the juice of a root they call wighſacan, and water; whereof they pour ſo great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; ſo that in three or four days after, they ſcarce recover their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with dropſies, ſwellings, aches, and ſuch like diſeaſes; for cure whereof they build a ſtove in the form of a dove-houſe with mats, ſo cloſe that a few coals therein covered with a pot, will make the patient ſweat extremely. For ſwellings alſo they uſe ſmall pieces of touch-wood, in the form of cloves, which pricking on the grief they burn cloſe to the fleſh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root wighſacan they ordinarily heal green wounds. But to ſcarify a ſwelling or make inciſion their beſt inſtruments are ſome ſplinted ſtone. Old ulcers, or putrified hurts are ſeldom ſeen cured amongſt them. They have many profeſſed phyſicians, who with their charms and rattles, with an infernal rout of words and actions, will ſeem to ſuck their inward grief from their navels, or their grieved places; but of our chirurgeons they were ſo conceited, that they believed any plaiſter would heal any hurt.

But 'tis not always in phyſicians' ſkill
To heal the patient that is ſick and ill:
For ſometimes ſickneſs on the patient's part,
Proves ſtronger far than all phyſicians' art.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in Virginia no place diſcovered to be ſo ſavage in which they have not a religion, deer, and bow and arrows. All things that are able to do them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kind of divine worſhip; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordnance, pieces, horſes, &c. But their chief god they worſhip is the devil. Him they call Okee, and ſerve him more of fear than love. They ſay they have conference with him, and faſhion themſelves as near to his ſhape as they can imagine. In their temples they have his image evil favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chains of copper, and beads, and covered with a ſkin in ſuch manner as the deformities may well ſuit with ſuch a god. By him is commonly the ſepulchre of their kings. Their bodies are firſt bowelled, then dried upon hurdles till they be very dry, and ſo about the moſt of their joints and neck they hang bracelets, or chains of copper, pearl, and ſuch like, as they uſe to wear, their inwards they ſtuff with copper beads, hatchets, and ſuch traſh. Then lap they them very carefully in white ſkins, and ſo roll them in mats for their winding ſheets. And in the tomb which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kind of wealth their kings have, they ſet at their feet in baſkets. Theſe temples and bodies are kept by their prieſts.

For their ordinary burials they dig a deep hole in the earth with ſharp ſtakes, and the corpſe being lapped in ſkins and mats with their jewels, they lay them upon ſticks in the ground, and ſo cover them with earth. The burial ended, the women, being painted all their faces with black coal and oil, do ſit twenty-four hours in the houſes mourning and lamenting by turns, with ſuch yelling and howling, as may expreſs their great paſſions.

In every territory of a Werowance is a temple and a prieſt, two or three or more. Their principal temple or place of ſuperſtition is at Uttamuſſack, at Pamaunkee, near unto which is a houſe, temple, or place of Powhatans.

Upon the top of certain red ſandy hills in the woods, there are three great houſes filled

filled with images of their kings and devils, and tombs of their predeceſſors. Thoſe houſes are near ſixty feet in length, built harbour-wiſe, after their building. This place they count ſo holy as that but the prieſts and kings dare come into them; nor the ſavages dare not go up the river in boats by it, but they ſolemnly caſt ſome piece of copper, white beads, or pocones into the river, for fear their Okee ſhould be offended and revenged of them. Thus

Fear was the firſt their gods begot:
Till fear began their gods were not.

In this place commonly are reſident ſeven prieſts. The chief differed from the reſt in his ornaments, but inferior prieſts could hardly be known from the common people, but that they had not ſo many holes in their ears to hang their jewels at. The ornaments of the chief prieſt were certain attires for his head made thus: they took a dozen or ſixteen or more ſnake ſkins and ſtuffed them with moſs, and of weaſels and other vermin ſkins a good many. All theſe they tie by their tails, ſo as all their tails meet in the top of their head like a great taſſel. Round about this taſſel is as it were a crown of feathers, the ſkins hang round about his head, neck and ſhoulders, and in a manner cover his face. The faces of all their prieſts are painted as ugly as they can deviſe, in their hands they had every one his rattle, ſome baſs, ſome ſmaller. Their devotion was moſt in ſongs, which the chief prieſt beginneth and the reſt followed him; ſome times he maketh invocations with broken ſentences by ſtarts and ſtrange paſſions, and at every pauſe, the reſt give a ſhort groan.

Thus ſeek they in deep fooliſhneſs,
To climb the height of happineſs.

It could not be perceived that they keep any day as more holy than other; but only in ſome great diſtreſs of want, fear of enemies, times of triumph, and gathering together their fruits, the whole country of men, women, and children come together to ſolemnities. The manner of their devotion is ſometimes to make a great fire in the houſe or fields, and all to ſing and dance about it with rattles and ſhouts together, four or five hours. Sometimes they ſet a man in the midſt, and about him they dance and ſing, he all the while clapping his hands, as if he would keep time, and after their ſongs and dancing ended they go to their feaſts.

Through god begetting fear,
Man's blinded mind did rear
A hell-god to the ghoſts;
A heaven-god to the hoaſts;
Yea god unto the ſeas:
Fear did create all theſe.

They have alſo divers conjurations, one they made when I was their priſoner; of which hereafter you ſhall read at large.

They have alſo certain altar ſtones they call pawcorances; but theſe ſtand from their temples, ſome by their houſes, others in the woods and wilderneſſes, where they have have had any extraordinary accident or encounter. And as you travel, at thoſe ſtones they will tell you the cauſe why they were there erected, which from age to age they inſtruct their children, as their beſt records of antiquities. Upon theſe they offer blood, deer ſuet, and tobacco. This they do when they return from the wars, from

 hunting,

hunting, and upon many other occaſions. They have alſo another ſuperſtition that they uſe in ſtorms, when the waters are rough in the rivers and ſea coaſts. Their conjurers run to the water ſides, or paſſing in their boats, after many helliſh outcries and invocations, they caſt tobacco, copper, pocones, or ſuch traſh into the water, to pacify that god whom they think to be very angry in thoſe ſtorms. Before their dinners and ſuppers, the better ſort will take the firſt bit, and caſt it in the fire, which is all the grace they are known to uſe.

In ſome part of the country they have yearly a ſacrifice of children. Such a one was at Quiyoughcohanock, ſome ten miles from James Town, and thus performed. Fifteen of the propereſt young boys, between ten and fifteen years of age, they painted white. Having brought them forth, the people ſpent the forenoon in dancing and ſinging about them with rattles. In the afternoon they put thoſe children to the root of a tree. By them all the men ſtood in a guard, every one having a baſtinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This made a lane between them all along, through which there were appointed five young men to fetch theſe children: ſo every one of the five went through the guard to fetch a child each after other by turns, the guard fiercely beating them with their baſtinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receiving all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the unmerciful blows that pay them ſoundly, though the children eſcape. All this while the women weep and cry out very paſſionately, providing mats, ſkins, moſs, and dry wood, as things fitting their children's funerals. After the children were thus paſſed the guard, the guard tore down the trees, branches and boughs with ſuch violence that they rent the body, and made wreaths for their heads, or bedecked their hair with the leaves. What elſe was done with the children was not ſeen; but they were all caſt on a heap, in a valley, as dead, where they made a great feaſt for all the company. The Werowance being demanded the meaning of this ſacrifice, anſwered, that the children were not all dead, but that the okee or devil did ſuck the blood from their left breaſt, who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead, but the reſt were kept in the wilderneſs by the young men till nine months were expired, during which time they muſt not converſe with any; and of theſe were made their prieſts and conjurers. This ſacrifice they held to be ſo neceſſary, that if they ſhould omit it, their okee, or devil, and all their other quiyoughcoſughs, which are their gods, would let them have no deer, turkies, corn, nor fiſh, and yet beſides, he would make a great ſlaughter amongſt them.

They think that their Werowances and prieſts, which they alſo eſteem quiyoughcoſughs, when they are dead, do go beyond the mountains towards the ſetting of the ſun, and ever remain there in form of their okee, with their heads painted red with oil and pocones, finely trimmed with feathers, and ſhall have beads, hatchets, copper, and tobacco, doing nothing but dance and ſing, with all their predeceſſors. But the common people, they ſuppoſe, ſhall not live after death, but rot in their graves, like dead dogs.

To divert them from this blind idolatry, we did our beſt endeavours, chiefly with the Werowance of Quiyoughcohanock, whoſe devotion, apprehenſion, and good diſpoſition much exceeded any in thoſe countries, with whom although we could not as yet prevail to forſake his falſe gods, yet this he did believe, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our guns did their bows and arrows, and many times did ſend to me at James Town, intreating me to pray to my God for rain, for their gods would not ſend them any. And in this lamentable ignorance do theſe poor ſouls ſacrifice themſelves to the devil, not knowing their creator; and we had not language

 ſufficient

ſufficient ſo plainly to expreſs it, as make them underſtand it; which God grant they may; for

> Religion 'tis that doth diſtinguiſh us
> From their brute humour, well we may it know;
> That can with underſtanding argue thus,
> Our God is truth; but they cannot do ſo.

Of the Manner of the Virginians' Government.

Although the country people be very barbarous, yet have they amongſt them ſuch government as that their magiſtrates for good commanding, and their people for due ſubjection and obeying, excel many places that would be counted very civil. The form of their commonwealth is a monarchical government, one as emperor, ruleth over many kings or governors. Their chief ruler is called Powhatan, and taketh his name of his principal place of dwelling called Powhatan; but his proper name is Wahunſonacock. Some countries he hath which have been his anceſtors, and came unto him by inheritance, as the country called Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamatuck, Pamaunkee, Youghtanund, and Mattapanient. All the reſt of his territories expreſſed in the map, they report, have been his ſeveral conqueſts. In all his ancient inheritances he hath houſes built after their manner, like arbours, ſome thirty, ſome forty yards long, and at every houſe proviſion for his entertainment, according to the time. At Werowcomoco, on the north ſide of the river Pamaunkee, was his reſidence, when I was delivered him priſoner, ſome fourteen miles from James Town, where, for the moſt part, he was reſident; but at laſt he took ſo little pleaſure in our near neighbourhood, that he retired himſelf to Orapakes, in the deſert betwixt Chickahamanta and Youghtanund. He is of perſonage a tall well-proportioned man, with a ſour look, his head ſomewhat grey, his beard ſo thin that it ſeemeth none at all, his age near ſixty, of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour; about his perſon ordinarily attendeth a guard of forty or fifty of the talleſt men his country doth afford. Every night, upon the four quarters of his houſe, are four centinels, each from other a ſlight ſhoot, and at every half hour one from the corps du guard doth hollow, ſhaking his lips with his finger between them; unto whom every ſentinel doth anſwer round from his ſtand: if any fail, they preſently ſend forth an officer that beateth him extremely.

A mile from Orapakes, in a thicket of wood, he hath a houſe, in which he keepeth his kind of treaſure, as ſkins, copper, pearl, and beads, which he ſtoreth up againſt the time of his death and burial. Here alſo is his ſtore of red paint, for ointment, bows and arrows, targets and clubs. This houſe is fifty or ſixty yards in length, frequented only by prieſts. At the four corners of this houſe ſtand four images as ſentinels, one of a dragon, another a bear, the third like a leopard, and the fourth like a giant-like man, all made evil favouredly, according to their beſt workmanſhip.

He hath as many women as he will, whereof, when he lieth on his bed, one ſitteth at his head, and another at his feet; but when he ſitteth, one ſitteth on his right hand, and another on his left; as he is weary of his women, he beſtoweth them on thoſe that beſt deſerve them at his hands; when he dineth or ſuppeth, one of his women before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wooden platter to waſh his hands; another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them, inſtead of a towel, and the feathers, when he hath wiped, are dried again. His kingdoms deſcend not to his ſons nor children, but firſt to his brethren, whereof he hath three, namely, Opitchapan, Opechan-

Opechancanough, and Catataugh, and after their deceaſe, to his ſiſters: firſt, to the eldeſt ſiſter, then to the reſt, and after them, to the heirs male or female of the eldeſt ſiſter, but never to the heirs of the males.

He nor any of his people underſtand any letters, whereby to write or read, only the laws whereby he ruleth is cuſtom. Yet, when he liſteth, his will is a law, and muſt be obeyed; not only as a king, but as half a god, they eſteem him. His inferior kings, whom they call Werowances, are tied to rule by cuſtom, and have power of life and death at their command in that nature. But this word Werowance, which we call and conſtrue for a king, is a common word, whereby they call all commanders; for they have but few words in their language, and but few occaſions to uſe any officers more than one commander, which commonly they call Werowance or Caucorouſe, which is captain. They all know their ſeveral lands, habitations, and limits, to fiſh, fowl, or hunt in; but they hold all of their great Werowance Powhatan, unto whom they pay tribute of ſkins, beads, copper, pearl, deer, turkies, wild beaſts, and corn. What he commandeth, they dare not diſobey in the leaſt thing. It is ſtrange to ſee with what great fear and adoration all theſe people do obey this Powhatan; for at his feet they preſent whatſoever he commandeth, and at the leaſt frown of his brow, their greateſt ſpirits will tremble with fear; and no marvel, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in puniſhing ſuch as offend him: for example, he cauſed certain malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then having of many fires gathered great ſtore of burning coals, they rake theſe coals round in the form of a cock-pit, and in the midſt they caſt the offenders to broil to death. Sometimes he cauſeth the heads of them that offend him to be laid upon the altar of ſacrificing ſtone, and one with clubs beats out their brains: when he would puniſh any notorious enemy or malefactor, he cauſeth them to be tied to a tree, and with muſcle-ſhells or reeds, the executioner cutteth off his joints one after another, ever caſting what they cut off into the fire; then doth he proceed with ſhells and reeds to caſe the ſkin from his head and face; then do they rip up his belly, and ſo burn him with the tree and all. Thus themſelves reported they executed George Caſſen. Their ordinary correction is to beat them with cudgels. We have ſeen a man kneeling on his knees, and at Powhatan's command, two men have beat him on the bare ſkin, till he hath fallen ſenſeleſs in a ſwoon, and yet never cry nor complained. And he made a woman, for playing the whore, ſit upon a great ſtone, on her bare breech, twenty-four hours, only with corn and water, every three days, till nine days were paſt, yet he loved her exceedingly; notwithſtanding, there are common whores by profeſſion.

In the year 1608, he ſurpriſed the people of Payankatank, his near neighbours and ſubjects. The occaſion was to us unknown, but the manner was thus: firſt, he ſent divers of his men as to lodge amongſt them that night, then the ambuſcadoes environed all their houſes, and at the hour appointed they all fell to the ſpoil: twenty-four men they ſlew, the long hair of the one ſide of their heads, with the ſkin caſed off with ſhells or reeds, they brought away. The ſurpriſed alſo the women and the children, and the werowance: all theſe they preſented to Powhatan. The werowance, women, and children became his priſoners, and do him ſervice. The locks of hair, with their ſkins, he hanged on a line betwixt two trees; and thus he made oſtentation of his triumph at Werowocomoco, where he intended to have done as much to me and my company.

And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthy of note; which I have purpoſely collected, to ſatisfy my friends of the true worth and quality of Virginia. Yet ſome bad natures will not ſtick to ſlander the country, that will ſlovenly ſpit at all things, eſpecially in company, where they can find none to contradict them. Who

though they were ſcarce ever ten miles from James Town, or at the moſt, but at the falls; yet holding it a great diſgrace that amongſt ſo much action their actions were nothing, exclaim of all things, though they never adventured to know any thing, nor ever did any thing but devour the fruits of other men's labours; being for moſt part of ſuch tender educations, and ſmall experience in martial accidents, becauſe they found not Engliſh cities, nor ſuch fair houſes, nor at their own wiſhes any of their accuſtomed dainties, with feather-beds and down pillows, taverns and ale-houſes in every breathing place, neither ſuch plenty of gold and ſilver and diſſolute liberty, as they expected, had little or no care of any thing but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our pinnaces, or procure their means to return for England. For the country was to them a miſery, a ruin, a death, a hell; and their reports here, and their actions there according.

Some other there were that had yearly ſtipends to paſs to and again for tranſportation: who to keep the myſtery of the buſineſs in themſelves, though they had neither time nor means to know much of themſelves; yet all men's actions or relations they ſo formally turned to the temporizing times ſimplicity, as they could make their ignorance ſeem much more, than all the true actors could by their experience. And thoſe with their great words deluded the world with ſuch ſtrange promiſes as abuſed the buſineſs much worſe than the reſt; for the buſineſs being built upon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the money, and means have ſtill miſcarried: yet they ever returning and the planters ſo far abſent, who could contradict their excuſes? which, ſtill to maintain their vain glory and eſtimation, from time to time have uſed ſuch diligence as made them paſs for truths, though nothing more falſe. And that the adventurers might be thus abuſed let no man wonder; for the wiſeſt living is ſooneſt abuſed by him that hath a fair tongue and a diſſembling heart.

There were many in Virginia merely projecting, verbal, and idle contemplators, and thoſe ſo devoted to pure idleneſs, that though they had lived two or three years in Virginia lordly, neceſſity itſelf could not compel them to paſs the peninſula, or palliſadoes of James Town; and thoſe witty ſpirits, what would they not affirm in the behalf of our tranſporters, to get victuals from their ſhips, or obtain their good words in England, to get their paſſes? Thus from the clamours and the ignorance of falſe informers are ſprung thoſe diſaſters that ſprung in Virginia: and our ingenious verbaliſts were no leſs plague to us in Virginia, than the locuſts to the Egyptians. For the labour of twenty or thirty of the beſt only preſerved in chriſtianity, by their induſtry, the idle livers of near two hundred of the reſt: who living near ten months of ſuch natural means as the country naturally of itſelf afforded, notwithſtanding all this, and the worſt fury of the ſavages, the extremity of ſickneſs, mutinies, faction, ignorance, and want of victual; in all that time I loſt but ſeven or eight men, yet ſubjected the ſavages to our deſired obedience, and received contribution from thirty-five of their kings, to protect and aſſiſt them againſt any that ſhould aſſault them, in which order they continued true and faithful, and as ſubjects to his Majeſty, ſo long after as I did govern there, until I left the country; ſince, how they have revolted, the country loſt, and again replanted, and the buſineſſes hath ſucceeded from time to time, I refer you to the relations of them returned from Virginia, that have been more diligent in ſuch obſervations.

JOHN SMITH writ this with his own hand.

Becauſe

Becauſe many do deſire to know the manner of their language, I have inſerted theſe few words:

Ka katorawincs yowo? What call you this?
Nemarough, a man.
Crenepo, a woman.
Marowancheſſo, a boy.
Yehawkans, houſes.
Matchcores, ſkins or garments.
Mocaſins, ſhoes.
Tuſſan, beds.
Pokatawer, fire.
Attawp, a bow.
Attonce, arrows.
Monacookes, ſwords.
Aumouhhowgh, a target.
Pawcuſſacks, guns.
Tomahacks, axes.
Tockahacks, pickaxes.
Pameſacks, knives.
Accowprets, ſhears.
Pawpecones, pipes.
Mattaſin, copper.
Uſſawaſſin, iron, braſs, ſilver, or any white metal.
Muſſes, woods.
Attaſkuſſ, leaves, weeds, or graſs.
Chepſin, land.
Shacquohocan, a ſtone.
Wepenter, a cuckold.
Suckahanna, water.
Noughmaff, fiſh.
Copotone, ſturgeon.
Weghſhaughes, fleſh.
Sawwehone, blood.
Netoppew, friends.
Marrapough, enemies.
Maſkapow, the worſt of enemies.
Mawchick chammay, the beſt of friends.
Caſacunnakack, peya quagh acquintan uttaſantaſough? In how many days will there come hither any more Engliſh ſhips?

Their numbers:

Necut, 1; *Ningh*, 2; *Nuſs*, 3; *Yowgh*, 4; *Paranſke*, 5; *Comotinch*, 6; *Toppawoſs*, 7; *Nuſſwaſh*, 8; *Kekatawgh*, 9; *Kaſkeke*, 10.

They count no more but by tens, as followeth:

Caſe, how many.
Ninghſapoockſku, 20;
Nuſſapoockſku, 30;
Yowghapoockſku, 40;
Parankeſtaſſapoockſku, 50;
Comatinchitaſſapoockſku, 60;
Nuſſwaſhtaſſapoockſku, 70;
Kekataughtaſſapoockſku, 90;
Necuttoughtyſmough, 100;
Necuttweunquaough, 1000.
Rawcoſowghs, days.
Keſkowghes, ſuns.
Toppquough, nights.
Nepawweſhowghs, moons.
Pawpaxſoughes, years.
Pummahumps, ſtars.
Oſies, heavens.
Okees, gods.
Quiyoughcoſoughs, petty gods, and their affinities.
Righcomoughes, deaths.
Kekughes, lives.
Mowchick woyawgh tawgh noeragh kaquere mecher? I am very hungry; what ſhall I eat?
Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan? Where dwells Powhatan?
Mache, nehiegh yourowgh, Orapaks, Now he dwells a great way hence, at Orapaks.
Vittapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper Werowacomoco, You lie, he ſtaid ever at Werowacomoco.
Kator nehiegh mattagh neer uttapitchewayne, Truly he is there, I do not lie.
Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekate wawgh peyaquaugh, Run you then to the King Mawmarynough, and bid him come hither.
Utteke, e peya weyack wighwhip, Get you gone, and come again quickly.
Kekaten Pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotyens neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh, Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little baſkets, and I will give her white beads, to make her a chain.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.— *The Proceedings and Accidents of the Engliſh Colony in Virginia, extracted from the Authors following, by William Simons, Doctor of Divinity.*

IT might be well thought a country ſo fair as Virginia is, and a people ſo tractable, would long ere this have been quietly poſſeſſed, to the ſatisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memory of thoſe that effected it. But becauſe all the world do ſee a defailment, this following treatiſe ſhall give ſatisfaction to all indifferent readers, how the buſineſs hath been carried; where, no doubt, they will eaſily underſtand and anſwer to their queſtion, how it came to paſs, there was no better ſpeed and ſucceſs in thoſe proceedings.

Captain Bartholomew Goſnoll, one of the firſt movers of this plantation, having many years ſolicited many of his friends, but found ſmall aſſiſtance, at laſt prevailed with ſome gentlemen, as Captain John Smith, Mr. Edward Maria Wingfield, Mr. Robert Hunt, and divers others, who depended a year upon his projects, but nothing could be effected, till, by their great charge and induſtry, it came to be apprehended by certain of the nobility, gentry, and merchants, ſo that His Majeſty, by his letters patents, gave commiſſion for eſtabliſhing councils, to direct here; and to govern, and to execute there. To effect this, was ſpent another year, and by that, three ſhips were provided, one of one hundred tons, another of forty, and a pinnace of twenty. The tranſportation of the company was committed to Captain Chriſtopher Newport, a mariner well practiſed for the weſtern parts of America. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governors known until they arrived in Virginia.

On the 19th of December, 1606, we ſet ſail from Blackwall, but by unproſperous winds were kept ſix weeks in the ſight of England; all which time Mr. Hunt, our preacher, was ſo weak and ſick, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twenty miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downs), and notwithſtanding the ſtormy weather, nor the ſcandalous imputations (of ſome few, little better than atheiſts, of the greateſt rank amongſt us) ſuggeſted againſt him, all this could never force from him ſo much as a ſeeming deſire to leave the buſineſs, but preferred the ſervice of God, in ſo good a voyage, before any affection to conteſt with his godleſs foes, whoſe diſaſtrous deſigns (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrown the buſineſs, ſo many diſcontents did then ariſe, had he not, with the water of patience and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched thoſe flames of envy and diſſention.

We watered at the Canaries; we traded with the ſavages at Dominica; three weeks we ſpent in refreſhing ourſelves amongſt theſe Weſt India iſles; in Guardalupa we found a bath ſo hot, as in it we boiled pork as well as over the fire. And at a little iſle called Monica, we took from the buſhes with our hands, near two hogſheads full of birds in three or four hours. In Mevis, Mona, and the Virgin iſles, we ſpent ſome time, where, with a loathſome beaſt like a crocodile, called a guayn, tortoiſes, pelicans, parrots, and fiſhes, we daily feaſted. Gone from thence in ſearch of Virginia, the company was not a little diſcomforted, ſeeing the mariners had three days paſſed their reckoning, and found no land, ſo that Captain Ratliffe (captain of the pinnace) rather deſired to bear up the helm to return for England, than make further ſearch. But God, the guide of all good actions, forcing them by an extreme ſtorm to hull all

night, did drive them by his providence to their desired port, beyond all their expectations, for never any of them had seen that coast. The first land they made they called Cape Henry; where thirty of them recreating themselves on shore, were assaulted by five savages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously. That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnell, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be the counsel, and to choose a president amongst them for a year, who with the council should govern. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president had two voices. Until the 13th of May they sought a place to plant in, then the council was sworn, Mr. Wingfield was chosen president, and an oration made, why Captain Smith was not admitted of the council as the rest.

Now falleth every man to work, the council contrive the fort, the rest cut down trees to make place to pitch their tents; some provide clapboard to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, &c. The savages often visited us kindly. The president's overweening jealousy would admit no exercise at arms, or fortification, but the boughs of trees cast together in the form of a half moon by the extraordinary pains and diligence of Captain Kendall. Newport, Smith, and twenty others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six days they arrived at a town called Powhatan, consisting of some twelve houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile isles, about it many of their corn fields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature; of this place the prince is called Powhatan, and his people Powhatans; to this place the river is navigable: but higher within a mile, by reason of the rocks and isles, there is not passage for a small boat; this they call the falls: the people in all parts kindly treated them, till being returned within twenty miles of James Town, they gave just cause of jealousy, but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise than those at the fort, there had then been an end of that plantation; for at the fort, where they arrived the next day, they found seventeen men hurt, and a boy slain by the savages, and had it not chanced a cross bar shot from the ships struck down a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all been slain, being securely all at work, and their arms in dry fats.

Hereupon the president was contented the fort should be palliſadoed, the ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised, for many were the assaults, and ambuscades of the savages, and our men by their disorderly straggling were often hurt, when the savages by the nimbleness of their heels well escaped. What toil we had, with so small a power to guard our workmen adays, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our business, to relade the ships, cut down trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corn, &c. I refer to the reader's consideration. Six weeks being spent in this manner, Captain Newport (who was hired only for our transportation) was to return with the ships. Now Captain Smith, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefs (envying his repute) who fained he intended to usurp the government, murder the council, and make himself king, that his confederates were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederates that revealed it, would affirm it; for this he was committed as a prisoner: thirteen weeks he remained thus suspected; and by that time the ships should return, they pretended out of their commiserations, to refer him to the council in England to receive a check, rather than by particularising his designs make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or utterly overthrow his reputation. But he so much scorned their charity, and publicly defied the uttermost of their

cruelty,

cruelty, he wiſely prevented their policy, though he could not ſuppreſs their envy, yet ſo well he demeaned himſelf in this buſineſs, as all the company did ſee his innocence, and his adverſaries malice, and thoſe ſuborned to accuſe him, accuſed his accuſers of ſubornation; many untruths were alleged againſt him; but being ſo apparently diſproved, begat a general hatred in the hearts of the company againſt ſuch unjuſt commanders, that the preſident was adjudged to give him 200l. ſo that all he had was ſeized upon, in part of ſatisfaction, which Smith preſently returned to the ſtore for the general uſe of the colony. Many were the miſchiefs that daily ſprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) ſpirits, but the good doctrine and exhortation of our preacher Mr. Hunt reconciled them, and cauſed Captain Smith to be admitted of the council; the next day all received the communion, the day following the ſavages voluntarily deſired peace, and Captain Newport returned for England with news; leaving in Virginia one hundred, the 15th of June 1607. By this obſerve;

Good men did ne'er their countries ruin bring.
But when evil men ſhall injuries begin;
Not caring to corrupt and violate
The judgment-ſeat for their own lucre's ſake:
Then look that country cannot long have peace,
Though for the preſent it have reſt and eaſe.

The names of them that were the firſt planters, were theſe following:

Mr. Edward Maria Wingfield	Council.	Nathaniel Powell	Gent.
Captain Bartholomew Goſnoll		Edward Brown	
Captain John Smith		Robert Behethland	
Captain John Ratliffe		John Penington	
Captain John Martin		Jeremy Alicock	
Captain George Kendall		George Walker	
		Thomas Studley	
Mr. Robert Hunt, Preacher	Gent.	Richard Crofts	
Mr. George Percie		Nicholas Houlgrave	
Anthony Goſnoll		Thomas Webbe	
George Flower		John Waller	
Captain Gabriell Archer		John Short	
Robert Fenton		William Tankard	
Robert Ford		William Smethes	
William Bruſter		Francis Snarſbrough	
Edward Harrington		Richard Simons	
Dru Pickhouſe		Edward Brookes	
Thomas Jacob		Richard Dixon	
John Brookes		John Martin	
Ellis Kingſton		Roger Cooke	
Thomas Sands		Anthony Goſnold	
Benjamin Beaſt		Thomas Wotton, Chirurgeon	
John Robinſon		John Stevenſon	
Thomas Mouton		Thomas Gore	
Euſtace Clovill		Henry Adling	
Stephen Halthrop		Francis Midwinter	
Kellam Throgmorton		Richard Frith	
Edward Moriſh			

William

William Laxon Edward Piſing Thomas Emry Robert Small	Carpenters.	James Read, blackſmith, Jonas Profit, ſailor, Thomas Cowper, barber, William Garret, bricklayer, Edward Brinto, maſon,
John Laydon William Caſſen George Caſſen Thomas Caſſen William Rodes William White Old Edward Henry Tavin George Goulding John Dods William Johnſon William Unger	Labourers.	William Love, tailor, Nic. Scot, drummer, William Wilkinſon, chirurgeon, Samuel Collier, boy, Nat. Pecock, boy, James Brumfield, boy, Richard Mutton, boy, With divers others to the number of 100.

CHAP. II.—*What happened till the firſt Supply.*

BEING thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten days ſcarce ten amongſt us could either go, or well ſtand, ſuch extreme weakneſs and ſickneſs oppreſſed us. And thereat none need marvel, if they conſider the cauſe and reaſon, which was this; whilſt the ſhips ſtayed, our allowance was ſomewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of biſcuit, which the ſailors would pilfer to ſell, give, or exchange with us, for money, ſaſſafras, furs, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither tavern, beer-houſe, nor place of relief, but the common kettle. Had we been as free from all ſins as gluttony and drunkenneſs, we might have been canonized for ſaints; but our preſident would never have been admitted, for ingroſſing to his private, oatmeal, ſack, oil, aquavitæ, beef, eggs, or what not, but the kettle; that indeed he allowed equally to be diſtributed, and that was half a pint of wheat, and as much barley boiled with water for a man a day, and this having fried ſome twenty-ſix weeks in the ſhip's hold, contained as many worms as grains; ſo that we might truly call it rather ſo much bran than corn; our drink was water, our lodgings caſtles in the air: with this lodging and diet, our extreme toil in bearing and planting palliſadoes, ſo ſtrained and bruiſed us, and our continual labour in the extremities of the heat had ſo weakened us, as were cauſe ſufficient to have made us as miſerable in our native country, or any other place in the world. From May to September, thoſe that eſcaped, lived upon ſturgeon, and ſea-crabs; fifty in this time we buried: the reſt ſeeing the preſident's projects to eſcape theſe miſeries in our pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor ſickneſs) ſo moved our dead ſpirits, as we depoſed him; and eſtabliſhed Ratcliffe in his place (Goſnoll being dead), Kendall depoſed, Smith newly recovered, Martin and Ratcliffe was by his care preſerved and relieved, and the moſt of the ſoldiers recovered, with the ſkilful diligence of Mr. Thomas Wotton our chirurgeon-general. But now was all our proviſion ſpent, the ſturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each hour expecting the fury of the ſavages; when God, the patron of all good endeavours, in that deſperate extremity ſo changed the hearts of the ſavages, that they brought ſuch plenty of their fruits and proviſion as no man wanted.

And now where ſome affirmed it was ill done of the council to ſend forth men ſo badly provided, this incontradictable reaſon will ſhew them plainly they are too ill adviſed to nouriſh ſuch ill conceits; firſt, the fault of our going was our own: what could be thought fitting or neceſſary we had; but what we ſhould find, or want, or where we ſhould be, we were all ignorant, and ſuppoſing to make our paſſage in two months, with victuals to live, and the advantage of the ſpring to work; we were at ſea five months, where we both ſpent our victuals and loſt the opportunity of the time and ſeaſon to plant, by the unſkilful preſumption of our ignorant tranſporters, that underſtood not at all what they undertook.

Such actions have ever ſince the world's beginning been ſubject to ſuch accidents; and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties; but nothing ſo difficult as to eſtabliſh a commonwealth ſo far remote from men and means, and where men's minds are ſo untoward as neither do well themſelves, nor ſuffer others. But to proceed.

The new preſident and Martin, being little beloved, of weak judgment in dangers, and leſs induſtry in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captain Smith, who, by his own example, good words, and fair promiſes, ſet ſome to mow, others to bind thatch, ſome to build houſes, others to thatch them, himſelf always bearing the greateſt taſk for his own ſhare; ſo that in ſhort time, he provided moſt of them lodgings, neglecting any for himſelf. This done, ſeeing the ſavages ſuperfluity begin to decreaſe (with ſome of his workmen) ſhipped himſelf in the ſhallop to ſearch the country for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to manage his boat without ſails, the want of a ſufficient power, (knowing the multitude of the ſavages) apparel for his men, and other neceſſaries, were infinite impediments, yet no diſcouragement. Being but ſix or ſeven in company, he went down the river to Kecoughtan, where at firſt they ſcorned him, as a famiſhed man, and would in deriſion offer him a handful of corn, a piece of bread, for their ſwords and muſkets, and ſuch like proportions alſo for their apparel. But ſeeing by trade and courteſy there was nothing to be had, he made bold to try ſuch concluſions as neceſſity inforced, though contrary to his commiſſion, let fly his muſkets, ran his boat on ſhore, whereat they all fled into the woods. So marching towards their houſes, they might ſee great heaps of corn, much ado he had to reſtrain his hungry ſoldiers from preſent taking of it, expecting (as it happened) that the ſavages would aſſault them, as not long after they did with a moſt hideous noiſe: ſixty or ſeventy of them, ſome black, ſome red, ſome white, ſome party-coloured, came in a ſquare order, ſinging and dancing out of the woods, with their okee (which was an idol made of ſkins, ſtuffed with moſs, all painted and hung with chains and copper) borne before them; and in this manner being well armed with clubs, targets, bows and arrows, they charged the Engliſh, that ſo kindly received them with their muſkets loaden with piſtol ſhot, that down fell their god, and divers lay ſprawling on the ground, the reſt fled again to the woods, and ere long ſent one of their quiyoughkaſoucks to offer peace, and redeem their okee. Smith told them, if only ſix of them would come unarmed and load his boat, he would not only be their friend, but reſtore them their okee, and give them beads, copper, and hatchets beſides, which, on both ſides, was to their contents performed; and then they brought him veniſon, turkies, wild fowl, bread, and what they had, ſinging and dancing in ſign of friendſhip till they departed. In his return he diſcovered the town and country of Warraſkoyack.

Thus God, unboundleſs by his power,
Made them thus kind, would us devour.

Smith perceiving (notwithſtanding their late miſery) not any regarded but from hand to mouth (the company being well recovered), cauſed the pinnace to be provided with things fitting to get proviſion for the year following; but in the interim he made three or four journies, and diſcovered the people of Chickahamania: yet what he carefully provided the reſt careleſsly ſpent. Wingfield and Kendall living in diſgrace, ſeeing all things at random in the abſence of Smith, the company's diſlike of their preſident's weakneſs, and their ſmall love to Martin's never-mending ſickneſs, ſtrengthened themſelves with the ſailors, and other confederates, to regain their former credit and authority, or at leaſt, ſuch means aboard the pinnace, (being fitted to ſail as Smith had appointed, for trade) to alter her courſe and to go for England. Smith unexpectedly returning had the plot diſcovered to him, much trouble he had to prevent it, till with ſtore of ſakre and muſket ſhot he forced them to ſtay or ſink in the river, which action coſt the life of Captain Kendall. Theſe brawls are ſo diſguſtful, as ſome will ſay they were better forgotten; yet all men of good judgment will conclude, it were better their baſeneſs ſhould be manifeſt to the world than the buſineſs bear the ſcorn and ſhame of their excuſed diſorders. The preſident and Captain Archer not long after intended alſo to have abandoned the country, which project alſo was curbed and ſuppreſſed by Smith. The Spaniard never more greedily deſired gold than he victuals, nor his ſoldiers more to abandon the country, than he to keep it. But finding plenty of corn in the river of Chickahamania, where hundreds of ſavages in divers places ſtood with baſkets expecting his coming. And now the winter approaching, the rivers became ſo covered with ſwans, geeſe, ducks, and cranes, that we daily feaſted with good bread, Virginia peas, pumpions, and putchamins, fiſh, fowl, and divers ſorts of wild beaſts as fat as we could eat them, ſo that none of our tuftaffaty humouriſts deſired to go for England. But our comedies never endured long without a tragedy; ſome idle exceptions being muttered againſt Captain Smith, for not diſcovering the head of Chickahamania river, and taxed by the council to be too ſlow in ſo worthy an attempt. The next voyage he proceeded ſo far, that with much labour by cutting of trees aſunder he made his paſſage, but when his barge could paſs no further, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of ſhot, commanding none ſhould go aſhore till his return; himſelf with two Engliſh and two ſavages went up higher in a canoe, but he was not long abſent; but his men went aſhore, whoſe want of government gave both occaſion and opportunity to the ſavages to ſurpriſe one George Caſſen, whom they ſlew, and much failed not to have cut off the boat and all the reſt. Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marſhes at the river's head, twenty miles in the deſert, had his two men ſlain (as is ſuppoſed) ſleeping by the canoe, whilſt himſelf, by fowling, fought them victuals; who finding he was beſet with two hundred ſavages, two of them he ſlew, ſtill defending himſelf with the aid of a ſavage his guide, whom he bound to his arm with his garters, and uſed him as a buckler, yet he was ſhot in his thigh a little, and had many arrows that ſtuck in his cloaths, but no great hurt, till at laſt they took him priſoner. When this news came to James Town, much was their ſorrow for his loſs, few expecting what enſued. Six or ſeven weeks thoſe barbarians kept him priſoner, many ſtrange triumphs and conjurations they made of him, yet he ſo demeaned himſelf amongſt them, as he not only diverted them from ſurpriſing the fort, but procured his own liberty, and got himſelf and his company ſuch eſtimation amongſt them, that thoſe ſavages admired him more than their own quiyouckaſoucks. The manner how they uſed and delivered him, is as followeth.

The ſavages having drawn from George Caſſen whither Captain Smith was gone, proſecuting that opportunity they followed him with three hundred bow-men, conducted by

by the King of Pamaunkee, who, in diviſions, ſearching the turnings of the river, found Robinſon and Emry by the fire-ſide, thoſe they ſhot full of arrows and ſlew. Then finding the captain, as is ſaid, that uſed the ſavage that was his guide as his ſhield (three of them being ſlain and divers others ſo galled), all the reſt would not come near him. Thinking thus to have returned to his boat, regarding them as he marched more than his way, ſlipped up to the middle in an oozy creek, and his ſavage with him; yet durſt they not come to him, till being near dead with cold he threw away his arms; then according to their compoſition, they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were ſlain: diligently they chafed his benumbed limbs. He demanding for their captain, they ſhewed him Opechankanough, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he gave a round ivory double compaſs dial. Much they marvelled at the playing of the fly and needle, which they could ſee ſo plainly, and yet not touch it, becauſe of the glaſs that covered them. But when he demonſtrated by that globe-like jewel, the roundneſs of the earth and ſkies, the ſphere of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, and how the ſun did chaſe the night round about the world continually, the greatneſs of the land and ſea, the diverſity of nations, variety of complexions, and how we were to them antipodes, and many other ſuch like matters, they all ſtood as amazed with admiration. Notwithſtanding, within an hour after they tied him to a tree, and as many as could ſtand about him prepared to ſhoot him, but the King holding up the compaſs in his hand, they all laid down their bows and arrows, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks, where he was after their manner kindly feaſted and well uſed.

Their order in conducting him was thus: drawing themſelves all in file, the King in the midſt had all their pieces and ſwords borne before him. Captain Smith was led after him by three great ſavages, holding him faſt by each arm; and on each ſide ſix went in file with their arrows nocked. But arriving at the town (which was but only thirty or forty hunting-houſes made of mats, which they remove as they pleaſe, as we our tents) all the women and children ſtaring to behold him; the ſoldiers firſt, all in file, performed the form of a biſſone ſo well as could be, and on each flank officers, as ſerjeants, to ſee them keep their order. A good time they continued this exerciſe, and then caſt themſelves in a ring, dancing in ſuch ſeveral poſtures, and ſinging and yelling out ſuch helliſh notes and ſcreeches; being ſtrangely painted, every one his quiver of arrows, and at his back a club; on his arm a fox or an otter's ſkin, or ſome ſuch matter for his vambrace; their heads and ſhoulders painted red, with oil and pocones mingled together, which ſcarlet-like colour made an exceeding handſome ſhew; his bow in his hand, and the ſkin of a bird, with her wings abroad dried, tied on his head, a piece of copper, a white ſhell, a long feather, with a ſmall rattle growing at the tails of their ſnakes, tied to it, or ſome ſuch like toy. All this while Smith and the King ſtood in the midſt, guarded, as before is ſaid, and after three dances they all departed. Smith they conducted to a long houſe, where thirty or forty tall fellows did guard him, and ere long more bread and veniſon was brought him than would have ſerved twenty men; I think his ſtomach at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baſkets and tied over his head. About midnight they ſet the meat again before him; all this time not one of them would eat a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more, and then did they eat all the old, and reſerved the new as they had done the other, which made him think they would fat him to eat him: yet in this deſperate eſtate to defend him from the cold, one Maocaſſater brought him his gown, in requital of ſome beads and toys Smith had given him at his firſt arrival in Virginia.

Two days after a man would have ſlain him (but that the guard prevented it) for

the death of his ſon, to whom they conducted him, to recover the poor man then breathing his laſt. Smith told them, that at James Town he had a water would do it, if they would let him fetch it; but they would not permit that, but made all the preparations they could to aſſault James Town, craving his advice, and for recompence he ſhould have life, liberty, land, and women. In part of a table-book he writ his mind to them at the fort, what was intended, how they ſhould follow that direction to affright the meſſengers, and without fail ſend him ſuch things as he writ for, and an inventory with them. The difficulty and danger, he told the ſavages, of the mines, great guns, and other engines, exceedingly affrighted them; yet according to his requeſt, they went to James Town, in as bitter weather as could be of froſt and ſnow, and within three days returned with an anſwer.

But when they came to James Town, ſeeing men ſally out, as he had told them they would, they fled; yet in the night they came again to the ſame place where he had told them they ſhould receive an anſwer, and ſuch things as he had promiſed them, which they found accordingly, and with which they returned with no ſmall expedition, to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could ſpeak; then they led him to the Youthtanunds, the Mattapanients, the Payankatanks, the Nantaughtacunds, and Onawmanients, upon the rivers of Raphanock and Patawomek, over all thoſe rivers, and back again by divers other ſeveral nations, to the King's habitation at Pamaunkee, where they entertained him with moſt ſtrange and fearful conjurations,

As if near led to hell,
Amongſt the devils to dwell.

Not long after, early in a morning, a great fire was made in a long houſe, and a mat ſpread on the one ſide as on the other; on the one they cauſed him to ſit, and all the guard went out of the houſe, and preſently came ſkipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coal mingled with oil, and many ſnakes and weaſels ſkins ſtuffed with moſs, and all their tails tied together, ſo as they met on the crown of his head in a taſſel, and round about the taſſel was as a coronet of feathers, the ſkins hanging round about his head, back, and ſhoulders, and in a manner covered his face, with a helliſh voice, and a rattle in his hand. With moſt ſtrange geſtures and paſſions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meal; which done, three more ſuch like devils came ruſhing in with the like antic tricks, painted half black, half red; but all their eyes were painted white, and ſome red ſtrokes like muſtachoes along their cheeks: round about him thoſe fiends danced a pretty while, and then came in three more as ugly as the reſt, with red eyes, and white ſtrokes over their black faces: at laſt they all ſat down right againſt him, three of them on the one hand of the chief prieſt, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a ſong, which ended, the chief prieſt laid down five wheat corns; then ſtraining his arms and hands with ſuch violence that he ſweat, and his veins ſwelled, he began a ſhort oration; at the concluſion they all gave a ſhort groan, and then laid down three grains more. After that they began their ſong again, and then another oration, ever laying down ſo many corns as before, till they had twice encircled the fire; that done, they took a bunch of little ſticks prepared for that purpoſe, continuing ſtill their devotion, and at the end of every ſong and oration they laid down a ſtick betwixt the diviſions of corn. Till night neither he nor they did either eat or drink, and then they feaſted merrily, with the beſt proviſions they could make. Three days they uſed this ceremony, the meaning whereof they told him was to know if he intended them well

well or no. The circle of meal ſignified their country, the circles of corn the bounds of the ſea, and the ſticks his country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher, and they in the midſt. After this they brought him a bag of gunpowder, which they carefully preſerved till the next ſpring, to plant as they did their corn, becauſe they would be acquainted with the nature of that ſeed. Opicahapam, the King's brother, invited him to his houſe, where, with as many platters of bread, fowl, and wild beaſts, as did environ him, he bid him welcome; but not any of them would eat a bit with him, but put up all the remainder in baſkets. At his return to Opechancanoughs, all the King's women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts, as a due by cuſtom, to be merry with ſuch fragments.

> But his waking mind in hideous dreams did oft ſee wondrous ſhapes
> Of bodies ſtrange, and huge in growth, and of ſtupendous makes.

At laſt they brought him to Meronomoco, where was Powhatan their emperor. Here more than two hundred of thoſe grim courtiers ſtood wondering at him, as he had been a monſter, till Powhatan and his train had put themſelves in their greateſt braveries. Before a fire, upon a ſeat like a bedſtead, he ſat covered with a great robe, made of rarowcun ſkins, and all the tails hanging by. On either hand did ſit a young wench of ſixteen or eighteen years, and along on each ſide the houſe two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and ſhoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white down of birds, but every one with ſomething, and a great chain of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King all the people gave a great ſhout. The Queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to waſh his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, inſtead of a towel to dry them. Having feaſted them after the beſt barbarous manner they could, a long conſultation was held; but the concluſion was, two great ſtones were brought before Powhatan; then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs to beat out his brains, Pocahontas, the King's deareſt daughter, when no intreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his to ſave him from death: whereat the Emperor was contented he ſhould live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper, for they thought him as well of all occupations as themſelves; for the King himſelf will make his own robes, ſhoes, bows, arrows, pots; plant, hunt, or do any thing as well as the reſt.

> They ſay, he bore a pleaſant ſhew;
> But ſure his heart was ſad;
> For who can pleaſant be, and reſt,
> That lives in fear and dread:
> And having life ſuſpected, doth
> It ſtill ſuſpected lead?

Two days after Powhatan having diſguiſed himſelf in the moſt fearful manner he could, cauſed Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great houſe in the woods, and there, upon a mat by the fire, to be left alone: not long after, from behind a mat that divided the houſe, was made the moſt doleful noiſe he ever heard; then Powhatan, more like a devil than a man, with ſome two hundred more as black as himſelf, came unto him, and told him now they were friends, and preſently he ſhould go to James Town, to ſend him two great guns and a grindſtone, for which he would give him the country of the Capehowoſick, and for ever eſteem him as his ſon Nantaquoud. So to James Town, with twelve guides, Powhatan ſent him. That night they

they quartered in the woods, he ſtill expecting (as he had done all this long time of his impriſonment) every hour to be put to one death or other, for all their feaſting. But almighty God (by his divine Providence) had mollified the hearts of thoſe ſtern barbarians with compaſſion. The next morning betimes they came to the fort, where Smith having uſed the ſavages with what kindneſs he could, he ſhewed Rawhunt, Powhatan's truſty ſervant, two demi-culverines and a millſtone to carry Powhatan. They found them ſomewhat too heavy; but when they did ſee him diſcharge them, being loaded with ſtones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with iſicles, the ice and branches came ſo tumbling down, that the poor ſavages ran away half dead with fear. But at laſt we regained ſome conference with them, and gave them ſuch toys, and ſent to Powhatan, his women, and children ſuch preſents, as gave them in general full content. Now in James Town they were all in combuſtion, the ſtrongeſt preparing once more to run away with the pinnace, which, with the hazard of his life, with ſakre, falcon, and muſket-ſhot, Smith forced now the third time to ſtay or ſink. Some no better than they ſhould be, had plotted with the preſident the next day to have put him to death by the Levitical law, for the lives of Robinſon and Emry, pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends; but he quickly took ſuch order with ſuch lawyers, that he laid them by the heels, till he ſent ſome of them priſoners for England. Now ever once in four or five days, Pocahontas, with her attendants, brought him ſo much proviſion that ſaved ſo many of their lives, that elſe for all this had ſtarved with hunger.

Thus from numb death our good God ſent relief,
The ſweet aſſuager of all other grief.

His relation of the plenty he had ſeen, eſpecially at Werawocomoco, and of the ſtate and bounty of Powhatan (which till that time was unknown) ſo revived their dead ſpirits (eſpecially the love of Pocahontas) as all men's fear was abandoned. Thus you may ſee what difficulties ſtill croſſed any good endeavour, and the good ſucceſs of the buſineſs being thus brought to the very period of deſtruction, yet you ſee by what ſtrange means God hath ſtill delivered it. As for the inſufficiency of them admitted in commiſſion, that error could not be prevented by the electors, there being no other choice, and all ſtrangers to each other's education, qualities, or diſpoſition: and if any deem it a ſhame to our nation to have any mention made of thoſe enormities, let them peruſe the hiſtories of the Spaniards' diſcoveries and plantations, where they may ſee how many mutinies, diſorders, and diſſentions have accompanied them, and croſſed their attempts; which being known to be particular men's offences, doth take away the general ſcorn and contempt which malice, preſumption, covetouſneſs, or ignorance might produce, to the ſcandal and reproach of thoſe whoſe actions and valiant reſolutions deſerve a more worthy reſpect.

Now whether it had been better for Captain Smith to have concluded with any of thoſe ſeveral projects, to have abandoned the country, with ſome ten or twelve of them, who were called the better ſort, and have left Mr. Hunt, our preacher, Mr. Anthony Goſnoll, a moſt honeſt, worthy, and induſtrious gentleman, Mr. Thomas Wotton, and ſome twenty-ſeven others of his countrymen, to the fury of the ſavages, famine, and all manner of miſchiefs and inconveniencies (for they were but forty in all to keep poſſeſſion of this large country), or ſtarve himſelf with them for company, for want of lodging; or but adventuring abroad to make them proviſion, or by his oppoſition to preſerve the action, and ſave all their lives, I leave to the cenſure of all honeſt men to conſider. But

We

We men imagine in our jollity,
That 'tis all one, or good or bad to be;
But then anon we alter this again,
If happily we feel the ſenſe of pain;
For then we're turn'd into a mourning vein.

Written by THOMAS STUDLEY, the firſt Cape merchant in Virginia, ROBERT FENTON EDWARD HARRINGTON, and I. S.

CHAP. III.—*The Arrival of the firſt Supply, with their Proceedings, and the Ship's Return.*

ALL this time our care was not ſo much to abandon the country, but the treaſurer and council in England were as diligent and careful to ſupply us; two good ſhips they ſent us, with near a hundred men, well furniſhed with all things could be imagined neceſſary, both for them and us; the one commanded by Captain Newport, the other by Captain Francis Nelſon, an honeſt man, and an expert mariner; but ſuch was the leewardneſs of his ſhip, (that though he was within the ſight of Cape Henry) by ſtormy contrary winds was he forced ſo far to ſea that the Weſt Indies was the next land for the repair of his maſts, and relief of wood and water; but Newport got in, and arrived at James Town, not long after the redemption of Captain Smith, to whom the ſavages, as is ſaid, every other day repaired with ſuch proviſions that ſufficiently did ſerve them from hand to mouth; part always they brought him as preſents from their Kings or Pocahontas; the reſt he, as their market clerk, ſet the price himſelf how they ſhould ſell: ſo he had enchanted theſe poor ſouls, being their priſoner; and now Newport, whom he called his father, arriving, near as directly as he foretold, they eſteemed him as an oracle, and had them at that ſubmiſſion he might command them what he liſted. That God that created all things, they knew, he adored for his God; they would alſo in their diſcourſes term the God of Captain Smith.

Thus the Almighty was the bringer on,
The guide, path, term, all which was God alone.

But the preſident and council ſo much envied his eſtimation among the ſavages, (though we all in general equally participated with him of the good thereof,) that they wrought it into the ſavages' underſtandings, (by their great bounty in giving four times more for their commodities than Smith appointed,) that their greatneſs and authority as much exceeded his, as their bounty and liberality. Now the arrival of this firſt ſupply ſo overjoyed us, that we could not deviſe too much to pleaſe the mariners. We gave them liberty to truck or trade at their pleaſures; but in a ſhort time it followed, that could not be had for a pound of copper which before was ſold us for an ounce: thus ambition and ſufferance cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of the greatneſs of Captain Newport, (wherewith Smith had poſſeſſed Powhatan,) eſpecially by the great preſents Newport often ſent him, before he could prepare the pinnace to go and viſit him; ſo that this great ſavage deſired alſo to ſee him. A great coil there was to ſet him forward. When he went, he was accompanied with Captain Smith, and Mr. Scrivener, a very wiſe underſtanding gentleman, newly arrived, and admitted of the council, with thirty or forty choſen men for their guard. Arriving at Werowocomoco, Newport's conceit of this great ſavage bred many doubts and ſuſpicions of treacheries, which Smith to make appear

appear was needleſs, with twenty men well appointed, undertook to encounter the worſt that could happen: knowing

All is but one and ſelf-ſame hand, that thus
Both one while ſcourgeth, and that helpeth us.

Nathaniell Powell, Robert Behethland, Michell Phittiplace, William Phittiplace, Anthony Goſſnell, Richard Wyſſin,	Gent.	John Taverner, William Dyer, Thomas Coe, Thomas Hope, Anas Todkill,	Gent.

Theſe, with nine others (whoſe names I have forgotten), coming aſhore, landed amongſt a many of creeks, over which they were to paſs ſuch poor bridges, only made of a few cratches thruſt in the oſe, and three or four poles laid on them, and at the end of them the like, tied together only with barks of trees, that it made them much ſuſpect thoſe bridges were but traps, which cauſed Smith to make divers ſavages go over firſt, keeping ſome of the chief as hoſtage till half his men were paſſed to make a guard for himſelf and the reſt. But finding all things well, by two or three hundred ſavages they were kindly conducted to their town, where Powhatan ſtrained himſelf to the utmoſt of his greatneſs to entertain them, with great ſhouts of joy, orations of proteſtations, and with the moſt plenty of victuals he could provide to feaſt them; ſitting upon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather embroidered, (after their rude manner, with pearl and white beads,) his attire a fair robe of ſkins, as large as an Iriſh mantle, at his head and feet a handſome young woman, on each ſide of his houſe ſat twenty of his concubines, their heads and ſhoulders painted red, with a great chain of white beads about each of their necks. Before thoſe ſat his chiefeſt men in like order in his arbour-like houſe, and more than forty platters of fine bread ſtood as a guard in two files on each ſide the door; four or five hundred people made a guard behind them for our paſſage; and proclamation was made, none upon pain of death to preſume to do us any wrong or diſcourteſy. With many pretty diſcourſes to renew their old acquaintance, this great king and our captain ſpent the time, till the ebb left our barge aground. Then renewing their feaſts with feats, dancing and ſinging, and ſuch like mirth, we quartered that night with Powhatan. The next day Newport came aſhore, and received as much content as thoſe people could give him. A boy named Thomas Savage was then given unto Powhatan, whom Newport called his ſon, for whom Powhatan gave him Namontack his truſty ſervant, and one of a ſhrewd, ſubtle capacity. Three or four days more we ſpent in feaſting, dancing, and trading, wherein Powhatan carried himſelf ſo proudly, yet diſcreetly, (in his ſavage manner,) as made us all admire his natural gifts, conſidering his education. As ſcorning to trade as his ſubjects did, he beſpake Newport in this manner.

Captain Newport, it is not agreeable to my greatneſs, in this pedling manner to trade for trifles, and I eſteem you alſo a great Werowance; therefore lay me down all your commodities together, what I like I will take, and in recompence give you what I think fitting their value. Captain Smith being our interpreter, regarding Newport as his father, knowing beſt the diſpoſition of Powhatan, told us his intent was but only to cheat us; yet Captain Newport thinking to out-brave this ſavage in oſtentation of greatneſs, and ſo to bewitch him with his bounty, as to have what he liſted; it ſo happened that Powhatan having his deſire, valued his corn at ſuch a rate, that I think it

it better cheap in Spain, for we had not four buſhels for that we expected to have twenty hogſheads. This bred ſome unkindneſs between our two captains; Newport ſeeking to pleaſe the unſatiable deſire of the ſavage, Smith to cauſe the ſavage to pleaſe him; but ſmothering his diſtaſte to avoid the ſavages' ſuſpicion, glanced in the eyes of Powhatan many trifles, who fixed his humour upon a few blue beads. A long time he importunately deſired them, but Smith ſeemed ſo much the more to affect them, as being compoſed of a moſt rare ſubſtance of the colour of the ſkies, and not to be worn but by the greateſt kings in the world. This made him half mad to be the owner of ſuch ſtrange jewels, ſo that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blue beads, he brought over my king for two or three hundred buſhels of corn, yet parted good friends. The like entertainment we found of Opechankanough, King of Pamaunkee, whom alſo he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blue beads, which grew, by this means, of that eſtimation, that none durſt wear any of them but their great kings, their wives and children. And ſo we returned all well to James Town, where this new ſupply being lodged with the reſt, accidently fired their quarters and ſo the town, which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was ſo fierce as it burnt their palliſados (though eight or ten yards diſtant), with their arms, bedding, apparel, and much private proviſion; good Mr. Hunt, our preacher, loſt all his library and all he had but the cloaths on his back, yet none never heard him repine at his loſs. This happened in the winter in that extreme froſt, 1607. Now though we had victuals ſufficient, I mean only of oatmeal, meal, and corn, yet the ſhip ſtaying fourteen weeks when ſhe might as well have been gone in fourteen days, ſpent a great part of that, and near all the reſt that was ſent to be landed. When they departed what their diſcretion could ſpare us, to make a little poor meal or two, we called feaſts, to reliſh our mouths, of each ſomewhat they left us, yet I muſt confeſs, thoſe that had either money, ſpare cloaths, credit to give bills of payment, gold rings, furs, or any ſuch commodities, were ever welcome to this removing tavern, ſuch was our patience to obey ſuch vile commanders, and buy our own proviſions at fifteen times the value, ſuffering them feaſt (we bearing the charge) yet muſt not repine, but faſt, leſt we ſhould incur the cenſure of factious and ſeditious perſons: and then leakage, ſhip-rats, and other caſualties occaſioned them loſs, but the veſſels and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receive with all our hearts to make up the account, highly commending their Providence for preſerving that, leſt they ſhould diſcourage any more to come to us. Now for all this plenty our ordinary was but meal and water, ſo that this great charge little relieved our wants, whereby with the extremity of the bitter cold froſt and thoſe defects, more than half of us died; I cannot deny but both Smith and Scrivener did their beſt to amend what was amiſs, but with the preſident went the major part, that their horns were too ſhort. But the worſt was our gilded refiners with their golden promiſes made all men their ſlaves in hope of recompences; there was no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, waſh gold, refine gold, load gold, ſuch a bruit of gold, that one mad fellow deſired to be buried in the ſands leſt they ſhould by their art make gold of his bones: little need there was and leſs reaſon the ſhip ſhould ſtay, their wages run on, our victuals conſume fourteen weeks, that the mariners might ſay, they did help to build ſuch a golden church that we can ſay the rain waſhed near to nothing in fourteen days. Were it that Captain Smith would not applaud all thoſe golden inventions, becauſe they admitted him not to the ſight of their trials nor golden conſultations, I know not; but I have heard him often queſtion with Captain Martin and tell him, except he could ſhew him a more ſubſtantial trial, he was not enamoured with their dirty ſkill, breathing out theſe and many other paſſions, never any thing did more

more torment him, than to ſee all neceſſary buſineſs neglected, to fraught ſuch a drunken ſhip with ſo much gilded dirt. Till then we never accounted Captain Newport a refiner, who being ready to ſet ſail for England, and we not having any uſe of parliaments, plays, petitions, admirals, recorders, interpreters, chronologers, courts of plea, nor juſtices of peace, ſent Mr. Wingfield and Captain Archer home with him, that had engroſſed all thoſe titles, to ſeek ſome better place of employment.

Oh curſed gold, thoſe hunger-ſtarved movers,
To what misfortunes leadeſt thou all thoſe lovers;
For all the China wealth, nor Indies, can
Suffice the mind of avaricious man.

CHAP. IV. — *The Arrival of the Phœnix; her Return; and other Accidents.*

THE authority now conſiſting in Captain Martin, and the ſtill ſickly preſident, the ſale of the ſtores' commodities maintained his eſtate, as an inheritable revenue. The ſpring approaching, and the ſhip departing, Mr. Scrivener and Captain Smith divided betwixt them the rebuilding James Town; the repairing our palliſadoes; the cutting down trees; preparing our fields; planting our corn, and to rebuild our church, and recover our ſtore-houſe. All men thus buſy at their ſeveral labours, Mr. Nelſon arrived with his loſt Phœnix; loſt (I ſay) for that we all deemed him loſt. Landing ſafely all his men, (ſo well he had managed his ill hap,) cauſing the Indian iſles to feed his company, that his victuals, to that we had gotten, as is ſaid before, was near after our allowance ſufficient for half a year. He had not any thing but he freely imparted it, which honeſt dealing (being a mariner) cauſed us to admire him: we would not have wiſhed more than he did for us. Now to reload this ſhip with ſome good tidings, the preſident (not holding it ſtood with the dignity of his place to leave the fort) gave orders to Captain Smith to diſcover and ſearch the commodities of the Monacans country beyond the falls. Sixty able men was allotted them, the which, within ſix days, Smith had ſo well trained to their arms and orders, that they little feared with whom they ſhould encounter: yet ſo unſeaſonable was the time, and ſo oppoſite was Captain Martin to any thing, but only to freight his ſhip alſo with this phantaſtical gold, as Captain Smith rather deſired to reload her with cedar, (which was a preſent diſpatch) than either with dirt, or the hopes and reports of an uncertain diſcovery, which he would perform when they had leſs charge and more leiſure. But,

The God of Heaven, he eaſily can
Immortaliſe a mortal man,
With glory and with ſhame:
The ſame God e'en as eaſily may,
Afflict a mortal man, I ſay,
With ſorrow and with ſhame.

Whilſt the concluſion was a reſolving, this happened.

Powhatan (to expreſs his love to Newport) when he departed, preſented him with twenty turkies, conditionally to return him twenty ſwords, which immediately was ſent him; now after his departure he preſented Captain Smith with the like luggage, but not finding his humour obeyed in not ſending ſuch weapons as he deſired, he cauſed his people with twenty devices to obtain them. At laſt by ambuſcades at our very ports they would take them perforce, ſurpriſe us at work, or any way; which was ſo long permitted, they became ſo inſolent there was no rule; the command from England was

ſo ſtrait not to offend them, as our authority-bearers (keeping their houſes) would rather be any thing than peace-breakers. This charitable humour prevailed, till well it chanced they meddled with Captain Smith, who without farther deliberation gave them ſuch an encounter, as ſome he ſo hunted up and down the iſle, ſome he ſo terrified with whipping, beating, and impriſonment, as for revenge they ſurprized two of our foraging diſorderly ſoldiers, and having aſſembled their forces, boldly threatened at our ports to force Smith to re-deliver ſeven ſavages, which for their villanies he detained priſoners, or we were all but dead men. But to try their fury, he ſallied out amongſt them, and in leſs than an hour, he ſo hampered their inſolence, they brought them his two men, deſiring peace without any further compoſition for their priſoners. Thoſe he examined, and cauſed them all to believe, by ſeveral vollies of ſhot, one of their companions was ſhot to death becauſe they would not confeſs the intents and plotters of thoſe villainies. And thus they all agreed in one point, they were directed only by Powhatan to obtain him our weapons, to cut our own throats, with the manner where, how, and when, which we plainly found moſt true and apparent: yet he ſent his meſſengers, and his deareſt daughter Pocahontas with preſents to excuſe him of the injuries done by ſome raſh untoward captains his ſubjects, deſiring their liberties for this time, with the aſſurance of his love for ever. After Smith had given the priſoners what correction he thought fit, uſed them well a day or two after, and then delivered them Pocahontas, for whoſe ſake only he fained to have ſaved their lives, and gave them liberty. The patient council, that nothing would move to war with the ſavages, would gladly have wrangled with Captain Smith for his cruelty, yet none was ſlain to any man's knowledge, but it brought them in ſuch fear and obedience as his very name would ſufficiently affright them; where before we had ſometime peace and war twice in a day, and very ſeldom a week, but we had ſome treacherous villainy or other.

The freight of this ſhip being concluded to be cedar, by the diligence of the maſter, and Captain Smith, ſhe was quickly reloaded: Mr. Scrivener was neither idle nor ſlow to follow all things at the fort; the ſhip being ready to ſet ſail, Captain Martin being always very ſickly, and unſerviceable, and deſirous to enjoy the credit of his ſuppoſed art of finding the golden mine, was moſt willingly admitted to return for England; for

> He hath not fill'd his lap,
> That ſtill doth hold it ope.

From the writings of THOMAS STUDLEY, and ANAS TODKIL.

Their names that were landed in this ſupply.

Mathew Scrivener, appointed to be one of the council.

Gent.

Michael Phittiplace
William Phittiplace
Ralph Morton
Richard Wyffing
John Taverner
William Cantrell
Robert Barnes
Richard Fetherſtone
George Hill
George Pretty
Nathaniel Cauſy
Peter Pory

Gent.

Robert Cutler
Michael Sicklemore
William Bentley
Thomas Coe
Doctor Ruſſel
Jeffrey Abbot
Edward Gurgana
Richard Worley
Timothy Leeds
Richard Killingbeck
William Spence
Richard Prodger

Richard

Richard Pots
Richard Mullinax
William Bayley
Francis Perkins
John Harper
George Foreſt
John Nichols
William Grivell
} Gent.

Thomas Hope
William Ward
John Powell
William Yong
William Beckwith
Lawrence Towtales
} Taylors.

Thomas Field
John Harford
} Apothecaries.

Raymond Goodiſon
William Simons
John Spearman
Richard Briſtow
William Perce
James Watkins
John Bouth
Chriſtopher Rods
Richard Burket
James Burre
Nicholas Ven
Francis Perkins
Richard Gradon
Rawland Nelſtrop
Richard Savage
Thomas Savage
Richard Milmer
William May
Vere
Michaell
Biſhop Wiles
} Labourers.

Daniel Stallings, jeweller,
William Dawſon, a refiner,
Abram Ranſack, a refiner,
Wm. Johnſon, a goldſmith,
Peter Keffer, a gunſmith,
Robert Alberton, a perfumer,
Richard Belfield, a goldſmith,
Poſt Ginnat, a chirurgeon,
John Lewes, a cooper,
R. Cotton, tobacco-pipe-maker,
Richard Dole, a blackſmith.

And divers others to the number of one hundred and twenty.

CHAP. V.— *The Accidents that happened in the Diſcovery of the Bay of Cheſapeak.*

THE prodigality of the preſident's ſtate went ſo deep into our ſmall ſtore, that Smith and Scrivener tied him and his paraſites to the rules of proportion: but now Smith being to depart, the preſident's authority ſo overſwayed the diſcretion of Mr. Scrivener, that our ſtore, our time, our ſtrength and labours were idly conſumed to fulfil his fantaſies. The ſecond of June 1608, Smith left the fort to perform his diſcovery with this company:

Walter Ruſſell, doctor of phyſic.
Ralfe Murton
Thomas Momford
William Cantrill
Richard Fetherſton
James Burne
Michell Sicklemore
} Gent.

Jonas Profit
Anas Todkill
Robert Small
James Watkins
John Powell
James Read
Richard Keale
} Soldiers.

Theſe

Theſe being in an open barge near three tons burthen, leaving the Phœnix at Cape Henry, they croſſed the bay to the eaſtern ſhore, and fell with the iſles called Smith's Iſles, after our captain's name. The firſt people we ſaw were two grim and ſtout ſavages upon Cape Charles, with long poles like lavelings, headed with bone; they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would; but after many circumſtances they ſeemed very kind, and directed us to Accomack, the habitation of their werowance, where we were kindly intreated. This king was the comelieſt, proper, civil ſavage we encountered. His country is a pleaſant fertile clay ſoil, ſome ſmall creeks; good harbours for ſmall barks, but not for ſhips. He told us of a ſtrange accident lately happened to him, and it was, two children being dead, ſome extreme paſſions, or dreaming viſions, phantaſies, or affection, moved their parents again to reviſit their dead carcaſes, whoſe benumbed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders ſuch delightful countenances, as though they had regained their vital ſpirits. This, as a miracle, drew many to behold them, all which being a great part of his people, not long after died, and but few eſcaped. They ſpake the language of Powhatan, wherein they made ſuch deſcriptions of the bay iſles, and rivers, that often did us exceeding pleaſure. Paſſing along the coaſt, ſearching every inlet and bay, fit for harbours and habitations. Seeing many iſles in the midſt of the bay, we bore up for them; but ere we could obtain them, ſuch an extreme guſt of wind, rain, thunder, and lightening happened, that with great danger, we eſcaped the unmerciful raging of that ocean-like water. The higheſt land on the main, yet it was but low, we called Keale's Hill, and thoſe uninhabited iſles, Ruſſels Iſles. The next day, ſearching them for freſh water, we could find none, the defect whereof forced us to follow the next eaſtern channel, which brought us to the river of Wighcocomoco. The people, at firſt, with great fury ſeemed to aſſault us, yet at laſt, with ſongs and dances and much mirth, became very tractable; but ſearching their habitations for water, we could fill but three barricoes, and that ſuch puddle, that never till then we ever knew the want of good water: we digged and ſearched in many places, but before two days were expired, we would have refuſed two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of Wighcocomoco. Being paſt theſe iſles, which are many in number, but all nought for habitation, falling with a high land upon the main, we found a great pond of freſh water, but ſo exceeding hot, we ſuppoſed it ſome bath; that place we called Point Ployer, in honour of that moſt honourable houſe of Mouſay, in Britain, that in an extreme extremity once relieved our captain. From Wighcomoco to this place, all the coaſt is low broken iſles of Morap, growing a mile or two in breadth, and ten or twelve in length, good to cut for hay in ſummer, and to catch fiſh and fowl in winter; but the land beyond them is all covered over with wood, as is the reſt of the country.

Being thus refreſhed in croſſing over from the main to other iſles, we diſcovered the wind and waters ſo much increaſed with thunder, lightning, and rain, that our maſt and ſail blew overboard, and ſuch mighty waves overracked us in that ſmall barge, that with great labour we kept her from ſinking, by freeing out the water. Two days we were forced to inhabit theſe uninhabited iſles, which for the extremity of guſts, thunder, rain, ſtorms, and ill weather, we called Limbo. Repairing our ſail with our ſhirts, we ſet ſail for the main, and fell with a pretty convenient river on the eaſt called Cuſkarawack; the people ran, as amazed, in troops from place to place, and divers got into the tops of trees; they were not ſparing of their arrows, nor the greateſt paſſion they could expreſs of their anger. Long they ſhot, we ſtill riding at anchor, without their reach, making all the ſigns of friendſhip we could. The next day, they came unarmed, with every one a baſket, dancing in a ring, to draw us on ſhore; but

ſeeing there was nothing in them but villainy, we diſcharged a volley of muſkets, charged with piſtol ſhot, whereat they all lay tumbling on the ground, creeping ſome one way, ſome another, into a great cluſter of reeds hard by, where their companies lay in ambuſcado. Towards the evening, we weighed, and approaching the ſhore, diſcharged five or ſix ſhot among the reeds; we landed where there lay a many of baſkets, and much blood, but ſaw not a ſavage. A ſmoke appearing on the other ſide the river, we rowed thither, where we found two or three little houſes, in each a fire; there we left ſome pieces of copper, beads, bells, and looking-glaſſes, and then went into the bay, but when it was dark, we came back again. Early in the morning, four ſavages came to us in their canoe, whom we uſed with ſuch courteſy, not knowing what we were, nor had done, having been in the bay a fiſhing, bade us ſtay, and ere long they would return, which they did, and ſome twenty more with them; with whom, after a little conference, two or three thouſand men, women, and children came cluſtering about us, every one preſenting us with ſomething, which a little bead would ſo well requite, that we became ſuch friends, they would contend who ſhould fetch us water, ſtay with us for hoſtage, conduct our men any whither, and give us the beſt content. Here doth inhabit the people of Sarapinagh, Nauſe, Arſeek, and Nantaquak, the beſt merchants of all other ſavages. They much extolled a great nation called Maſſawomekes, in ſearch of whom we returned by Limbo; this river but only at the entrance is very narrow, and the people of ſmall ſtature as them of Wightcocomoco; the land but low, yet it may prove very commodious, becauſe it is but a ridge of land betwixt the bay and the main ocean. Finding this eaſtern ſhore ſhallow broken iſles, and for moſt part without freſh water, we paſſed by the ſtraits of Limbo for the weſtern ſhore; ſo broad is the bay here, we could ſcarce perceive the great high cliffs on the other ſide; by them we anchored that night, and called them Rickard's Clifts; thirty leagues we ſailed more northwards, not finding any inhabitants, leaving all the eaſtern ſhore low iſlands, but overgrown with wood, as all the coaſt beyond them ſo far as we could ſee; the weſtern ſhore, by which we ſailed, we found all along well watered, but very mountainous and barren; the vallies very fertile, but extremely thick of ſmall wood, as well as trees, and much frequented with wolves, bears, deer, and other wild beaſts. We paſſed many ſhallow creeks, but the firſt we found navigable for a ſhip we called Bolus, for that the clay in many places under the cliffs, by the high-water mark, did grow up in red and white knots, as gum out of trees, and in ſome places ſo participated together as though they were all of one nature, excepting the colour; the reſt of the earth on both ſides being hard ſandy gravel, which made us think it Bole-Armoniack and Terra-ſigillata. When we firſt ſet ſail, ſome of our gallants doubted nothing but that our captain would make too much haſte home; but having lain in this ſmall barge not above twelve or fourteen days, often tired at the oars, our bread ſpoiled with wet, ſo much that it was rotten, (yet ſo good were their ſtomachs, that they could digeſt it,) they did with continual complaints ſo importune him now to return, as cauſed him beſpeak them in this manner:

"Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable hiſtory of Sir Ralph Layne, how his company importuned him to proceed in the diſcovery of Moratico, alledging they had yet a dog, that being boiled with ſaſſafras leaves, would richly feed them in their return; then what a ſhame would it be for you (that have been ſo ſuſpicious of my tenderneſs) to force my return, with ſo much proviſion as we have, and ſcarce able to ſay where we have been, nor yet heard of that we were ſent to ſeek? You cannot ſay but I have ſhared with you in the worſt which is paſt; and for what is to come, of lodging, diet, or whatſoever, I am contented you allot the worſt part to myſelf. As for

for your fears that I will loſe myſelf in theſe unknown waters, or be ſwallowed up in ſome ſtormy guſt; abandon theſe childiſh fears, for worſe than is paſt is not likely to happen; and there is as much danger to return as to proceed. Regain therefore your old ſpirits, for return I will not (if God pleaſe) till I have ſeen the Maſſawomeks, found Patawomek, or the head of this water, you conceit to be endleſs." Two or three days we expected wind and weather, whoſe adverſe extremities added ſuch diſcouragement, that three or four fell ſick, whoſe pitiful complaints cauſed us to return, leaving the bay ſome nine miles broad, at nine and ten fathom water.

The 16th of June we fell with the river Patowomek: fear being gone, and our men recovered, we were all content to take ſome pains, to know the name of that ſeven mile broad river: for thirty miles ſail we could ſee no inhabitants: then we were conducted by two ſavages up a little bayed creek, towards Onawmanient, where all the woods were laid with ambuſcados to the number of three or four thouſand ſavages, ſo ſtrangely painted, grimmed and diſguiſed, ſhouting, yelling and crying as ſo many ſpirits from hell could not have ſhewed more terrible. Many bravadoes they made, but to appeaſe their fury, our captain prepared with as ſeeming willingneſs as they to encounter them. But the grazing of our bullets upon the water (many being ſhot on purpoſe they might ſee them) with the echo of the woods ſo amazed them, as down went their bows and arrows; and exchanging hoſtage James Watkins was ſent ſix miles up the woods to their King's habitation. We were kindly uſed of thoſe ſavages, of whom we underſtood, they were commanded to betray us, by the direction of Powhatan, and he ſo directed from the diſcontents at James Town, becauſe our captain did cauſe them ſtay in their country againſt their wills.

The like encounters we found at Patowomek Cecocawonee and divers others places; but at Moyaones, Nacotchtant and Toags the people did their beſt to content us. Having gone ſo high as we could with the boat, we met divers ſavages in canoes, well loaden with the fleſh of bears, deer and other beaſts, whereof we had part: here we found mighty rocks, growing in ſome places above the ground as high as ſhrubby trees, and divers other ſolid quarries of divers tinctures: and divers places where the waters had fallen from the high mountains they had left a tinctured ſpagled ſkurf, that made many bare places ſeem as gilded. Digging the ground above in the higheſt clifts of rocks, we ſaw it was a clay ſand ſo mingled with yellow ſpangles as if it had been half pinduſt. In our return, inquiring ſtill for this Matchqueon, the king of Patawomeke gave us guides to conduct us up a little river called Quiyough, up which we rowed as high as we could. Leaving the boat, with ſix ſhot, and divers ſavages, he marched ſeven or eight miles before they came to the mine: leading his hoſtages in a ſmall chain they were to have for their pains, being proud ſo richly to be adorned. The mine is a great rocky mountain like Antimony; wherein they digged a great hole with ſhells and hatchets: and hard by it, runneth a fair brook of chriſtal-like water, where they waſh away the droſs and keep the remainder, which they put in little bags and ſell it all over the country to paint their bodies, faces, or idols; which makes them look like blackmoors duſted over with ſilver. With ſo much as we could carry we returned to our boat, kindly requiting this kind King and all his kind people. The cauſe of this diſcovery was to ſearch this mine, of which Newport did aſſure us that thoſe ſmall bags (we had given him) in England he had tried to hold half ſilver; but all we got proved of no value: alſo to ſearch what furs, the beſt whereof is at Cuſcarawaoke, where is made ſo much rawranoke or white beads that occaſion as much diſſention among the ſavages, as gold and ſilver amongſt Chriſtians; and what other minerals, rivers, rocks, nations, woods, fiſhings, fruits, victuals, and what other commodities the land afforded:

and whether the bay was endleſs or how far it extended: of mines we were all ignorant, but a few beavers, otters, bears, martins and minks we found, and in divers places that abundance of fiſh, lying ſo thick with their heads above the water, as for want of nets (our barge driving amongſt them) we attempted to catch them with a frying-pan: but we found it a bad inſtrument to catch fiſh with: neither better fiſh, more plenty, nor more variety for ſmall fiſh, had any of us ever ſeen in any place ſo ſwimming in the water, but they are not to be caught with frying-pans: ſome ſmall cod alſo we did ſee ſwim cloſe by the ſhore by Smith's Iſles, and ſome as high as Riccards Clifts. And ſome we have found dead upon the ſhore.

To expreſs all our quarrels, treacheries and encounters amongſt thoſe ſavages I ſhould be too tedious: but in brief, at all times we ſo encountred them, and curbed their inſolencies, that they concluded with preſents to purchaſe peace, yet we loſt not a man: at our firſt meeting, our captain ever obſerved this order to demand their bows and arrows, ſwords, mantles and furs, with ſome child or two for hoſtage, whereby we could quickly perceive, when they intended any villainly. Having finiſhed this diſcovery (though our victuals was near ſpent) he intended to ſee his impriſoned acquaintances upon the river of Rapahanok, by many called Toppahanock, but our boat by reaſon of the ebb, chancing to ground upon many ſhoals lying in the entrances, we ſpied many fiſhes lurking in the reeds: our captain ſporting himſelf by nailing them to the ground with his ſword, ſet us all a fiſhing in that manner: thus we took more in one hour than we could eat in a day. But it chanced our captain taking a fiſh from his ſword (not knowing her condition) being much of the faſhion of a thornback, but a long tail like a riding rod, whereon the middeſt is a moſt poiſoned ſting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a ſaw on each ſide, which ſhe ſtruck into the wreſt of his arm near an inch and a half; no blood nor wound was ſeen, but a little blue ſpot, but the torment was inſtantly ſo extreme, that in four hours had ſo ſwollen his hand, arm and ſhoulder, we all with much ſorrow concluded his funeral, and prepared his grave in an iſland by, as himſelf directed: yet it pleaſed God, by a precious oil Doctor Ruſſel at the firſt applied to it when he ſounded it with probe, ere night, his tormenting pains was ſo well aſſuaged that he eat of the fiſh to his ſupper, which gave no leſs joy and content to us than eaſe himſelf, for which we called the iſland Stingray Iſle, after the name of the fiſh.

Having neither ſurgeon, nor ſurgery, but that preſervative oil, we preſently ſet ſail for James Town, paſſing the mouths of the rivers of Payankatank, and Pamaunkee: the next day we ſafely arrived at Kecougtan. The ſimple ſavages ſeeing our captain hurt, and an other bloody by breaking his ſhin, our numbers of bows, arrows, ſwords, mantles, and furs, would needs imagine we had been at war; the truth of theſe accidents would not ſatisfy them, but impatiently importuned us to know with whom. Finding their aptneſs to believe we failed not (as a great ſecret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what ſpoil we had got and made of the Maſſawomeks. This rumour went faſter up the river then our barge, that arrived at Waraſkoyack the 20th of July; where trimming her with painted ſtreamers, and ſuch devices as we could, we made them at James Town jealous of a Spaniſh frigate, where we all, God be thanked, ſafely arrived the 21ſt of July. There we found the laſt ſupply were all ſick, the reſt ſome lame, ſome bruiſed; all unable to do any thing but complain of the pride and unreaſonable needleſs cruelty of the ſilly preſident, that had riotouſly conſumed the ſtore: and to fulfil his follies about building him an unneceſſary building for his pleaſure in the woods, had brought them all to that miſery; that had we not arrived, they had as ſtrangely tormented him with revenge: but the good news of our diſcovery,

covery, and the good hope we had by the ſavage's relation, that our bay had ſtretched into the South Sea, or ſomewhat near it, appeaſed their fury; but conditionally that Ratliffe ſhould be depoſed, and that Captain Smith would take upon him the government, as by courſe it did belong. Their requeſt being effected, he ſubſtituted Mr. Scrivener, his dear friend, in the preſidency, equally diſtributing those private proviſions the other had ingroſſed, appointing more honeſt officers to aſſiſt Mr. Scrivener (who then lay exceeding ſick of a callenture); and in regard of the weakneſs of the company, and heat of the year, they being unable to work, he left them to live at eaſe, to recover their health, but embarked himſelf to finiſh his diſcovery.

Written by Walter Ruſſell, Anas Todkill, and Thomas Momford.

CHAP. VI. — *The Government ſurrendered to Mr. Scrivener. — What happened the Second Voyage in diſcovering the Bay.*

THE 24th of July, Captain Smith ſet forward to finiſh the diſcovery with twelve men: their names were

Nathaniel Powell	Gentlemen.	James Profit	Soldiers.
Thomas Momford		Anas Todkill	
Richard Fetherſton		Edward Piſing	
Michael Sicklemore		Richard Keale	
James Bourne		James Watkins	
Anthony Bagnall, chirurg.		William Ward	

The wind being contrary, cauſed our ſtay two or three days at Kecoughtan: the King feaſted us with much mirth; his people were perſuaded we went purpoſely to be revenged of the Maſſawomeks. In the evening we fired a few rockets, which flying in the air ſo terrified the poor ſavages, they ſuppoſed nothing impoſſible we attempted, and deſired to aſſiſt us. The firſt night we anchored at Stingray Iſle. The next day croſſed Patawomeks River, and haſtened to the river Bolus. We went not much further before we might ſee the bay to divide in two heads, and arriving there we found it divided in four, all which we ſearched ſo far as we could ſail them. Two of them we found inhabited, but in croſſing the bay we encountered ſeven or eight canoes full of Maſſawomeks; we ſeeing them prepare to aſſault us, left our oars and made way with our ſail to encounter them, yet were we but five with our captain that could ſtand; for within two days after we left Kecoughtan, the reſt (being all of the laſt ſupply) were ſick almoſt to death, until they were ſeaſoned to the country. Having ſhut them under our tarpauling, we put their hats upon ſticks by the barge ſide, and betwixt two hats a man with two pieces, to make us ſeem many; and ſo we think the Indians ſuppoſed thoſe hats to be men, for they fled with all poſſible ſpeed to the ſhore, and there ſtayed, ſtaring at the ſailing of our barge till we anchored right againſt them. Long it was ere we could draw them to come unto us: at laſt they ſent two of their company unarmed in a canoe, the reſt all followed to ſecond them if need required. Theſe two being but each preſented with a bell, brought aboard all their fellows, preſenting our captain with veniſon, bears' fleſh, fiſh, bows, arrows, clubs, targets, and bears' ſkins. We underſtood them nothing at all but by ſigns, whereby they ſignified unto us they had been at wars with the Tockwoghes, the which they confirmed by ſhewing us their green wounds; but the night parting us, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meet, but after that we never ſaw them.

Entering the river of Tockwogh, the ſavages all armed in a fleet of boats, after their barbarous manner, round invironed us, ſo it chanced one of them could ſpeak the language of Powhatan, who perſuaded the reſt to a friendly parley. But when they ſaw us furniſhed with the Maſſawomeks weapons, and we faining the invention of Kecoughtan, to have taken them perforce; they conducted us to their palliſadoed town, mantled with the barks of trees, with ſcaffolds like mounts, breaſted about with breaſts very formally. Their men, women, and children with dances, ſongs, fruits, furs, and what they had kindly welcomed us, ſpreading mats for us to ſit on, ſtretching their beſt abilities to expreſs their loves.

Many hatchets, knives, pieces of iron and braſs, we ſaw amongſt them, which they reported to have from the Saſqueſahanocks; a mighty people and mortal enemies with the Maſſawomeks. The Saſqueſahanocks inhabit upon the chief ſpring of theſe four branches of the bay's head, two days journey higher than our barge could paſs for rocks, yet we prevailed with the interpreter to take with him another interpreter, to perſuade the Saſqueſahanocks to come viſit us, for their language are different. Three or four days we expected their return, then ſixty of thoſe giant-like people came down, with preſents of veniſon, tobacco-pipes three foot in length, baſkets, targets, bows and arrows. Five of their chief Werowances came boldly aboard us to croſs the bay for Tockwhogh, leaving their men and canoes, the wind being ſo high they durſt not paſs.

Our order was daily to have prayer, with a pſalm, at which ſolemnity the poor ſavages much wondered; our prayers being done, awhile they were buſied with a conſultation till they had contrived their buſineſs, then they began in a moſt paſſionate manner to hold up their hands to the ſun with a moſt fearful ſong, then embracing our captains they begun to adore him in like manner; though we rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their ſong was finiſhed, which done, with a moſt ſtrange furious action, and a helliſh voice, began an oration of their loves; that ended, with a great painted bear's ſkin they covered him, then one ready with a great chain of white beads, weighing at leaſt ſix or ſeven pounds, hung it about his neck, the others had eighteen mantles, made of divers ſorts of ſkins ſewed together, all theſe with many other toys they laid at his feet, ſtroking their ceremonious hands about his neck for his creation to be their governor and protector, promiſing their aids, victuals, or what they had to be his if he would ſtay with them to defend and revenge them of the Maſſawomeks. But we left them at Tockwhogh, ſorrowing for our departure, yet we promiſed the next year again to viſit them. Many deſcriptions and diſcourſes they made us of Atquanachuck, Maſſawomek, and other people, ſignifying they inhabit upon a great water beyond the mountains, which we underſtood to be ſome great lake, or the river of Canada, and from the French to have their hatchets and commodities by trade. Theſe know no more of the territories of Powhatan then his name, and he as little of them, but the Atquanachuks are on the ocean ſea.

The higheſt mountain we ſaw northward we called Peregrine's Mount, and a rocky river, where the Maſſawomeks went up, Willowbyes River, in honour of the town our captain was born in, and that honourable houſe the Lord Willoughby, his moſt honoured good friend. The Saſqueſahanocks River we called Smith's Falls; the next point to Tockwhogh, Piſing's Point; the next it Point Bourne. Powell's Iſles and Smal's Point is by the river Bolus, and the little bay at the head Profit's Poole; Watkin's, Read's, and Momford's Points are on each ſide Limbo; Ward, Cantrell, and Sicklemore, betwixt Patawomek and Pamaunkee, after the names of the diſcoverers. In all thoſe places and the furtheſt we came up the rivers, we cut in trees

ſo many croſſes as we would, and in many places made holes in trees, wherein we writ notes, and in ſome places croſſes of braſs, to ſignify to any, Engliſhmen had been there.

Thus having ſought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to diſcover the river of Pawtuxunt; theſe people we found very tractable, and more civil than any: we promiſed them, as alſo the Patawomeks, to revenge them of the Maſſawomeks, but our purpoſes were croſſed.

In the diſcovery of this river ſome call Rapahanock, we were kindly entertained by the people of Moraughtacund; here we encountered our old friend Moſco, a luſty ſavage of Wighcocomoco, upon the river Patawomek: we ſuppoſed him ſome Frenchman's ſon, becauſe he had a thick black buſh beard, and the ſavages ſeldom have any at all, of which he was not a little proud to ſee ſo many of his countrymen. Wood and water he would fetch us, guide us any whither, nay, cauſe divers of his countrymen help us tow againſt wind or tide from place to place till we came to Patawomek; there he reſted till we returned from the head of the river, and occaſioned our conduct to the mine we ſuppoſed antimony; and in the place he failed not to do us all the good he could, perſuading us in any caſe not to go to the Rapahanocks, for they would kill us for being friends with the Moraughtacunds, that but lately had ſtolen three of the King's women. This we did think was but that his friends might only have our trade, ſo we croſſed the river to the Rapahanocks. There ſome twelve or ſixteen ſtanding on the ſhore, directed us a little creek, where was good landing, and commodities for us in three or four canoes we ſaw lie there; but according to our cuſtom, we demanded to exchange a man in ſign of love, which after they had a little conſulted, four or five came up to the middle to fetch our man, and leave us one of them, ſhewing we need not fear them, for they had neither clubs, bows, nor arrows. Notwithſtanding, Anas Todkill, being ſent on ſhore to ſee if he could diſcover any ambuſcadoes, or what they had deſired to go over the plain to fetch ſome wood, but they were unwilling, except we would come into the creek, where the boat might come cloſe aſhore. Todkill by degrees having got ſome two ſtones-throws up the plain, perceived two or three hundred men (as he thought) behind the trees, ſo that offering to return to the boat, the ſavages eſſayed to carry him away per force, that he called to us we were betrayed, and by that he had ſpoke the word, our hoſtage was overboard, but Watkins his keeper, ſlew him in the water. Immediately we let fly amongſt them, ſo that they fled, and Todkill eſcaped, yet they ſhot ſo faſt that he fell flat on the ground ere he could recover the boat. Here the Maſſawomek targets ſtood us in good ſtead, for upon Moſco's words, we had ſet them about the forepart of our boat like a forecaſtle, from whence we ſecurely beat the ſavages from off the plain without any hurt, yet they ſhot more than a thouſand arrows, and then fled into the woods. Arming ourſelves with theſe light targets (which are made of little ſmall ſticks woven betwixt ſtrings of their hemp and ſilk graſs, as is our cloth, but ſo firmly that no arrow can poſſibly pierce them): we reſcued Todkill, who was all bloody by ſome of them who were ſhot by us that held him, but as God pleaſed, he had no hurt; and following them up to the woods we found ſome ſlain, and in divers places much blood. It ſeems all their arrows were ſpent, for we heard no more of them; their canoes we took, the arrows we found we broke, ſave them we kept for Moſco, to whom we gave the canoes for his kindneſs, that entertained us in the beſt triumphing manner, and warlike order in arms of conqueſt he could procure of the Moraughtacunds.

The reſt of the day we ſpent in accommodating our boat, inſtead of thoules we made ſticks like bed-ſtaves, to which we faſtened ſo many of our Maſſawomek targets, that

that environed her as waſte cloaths. The next morning we went up the river, and our friend Moſco followed us along the ſhore, and at laſt deſired to go with us in our boat. But as we paſſed by Piſacack, Matchopeak, and Mecuppom, three towns ſituated upon high white clay clifts, the other ſide all a low plain marſh, and the river there but narrow, thirty or forty of the Rapahanocks had ſo accommodated themſelves with branches, as we took them for little buſhes growing among the ſedge, ſtill ſeeing their arrows ſtrike the targets, and dropped in the river, whereat Moſco fell flat in the boat on his face, crying the Rapahanocks, which preſently we eſpied to be the buſhes, which at our firſt volley fell down in the ſedge, when we were near half a mile from them, they ſhewed themſelves dancing and ſinging very merrily.

The Kings of Piſſaſſack, Nandtaughtacund, and Cuttatawomen, uſed us kindly, and all their people neglected not any thing to Moſco to bring us to them. Betwixt Secobeck and Maſſawteck is a ſmall iſle or two, which cauſeth the river to be broader than ordinary; there it pleaſed God to take one of our company, called Mr. Fetherſtone, that all the time he had been in this country had behaved himſelf honeſtly, valiantly, and induſtriouſly, where, in a little bay we called Fetherſtone's Bay, we buried him with a volley of ſhot: the reſt, notwithſtanding their ill diet and bad lodging, crowded in ſo ſmall a barge, in ſo many dangers never reſting, but always toſſed to and again, had all well recovered their healths. The next day we ſailed ſo high as our boat would float, there ſetting up croſſes, and engraving our names in the trees. Our centinel ſaw an arrow fall by him, though we had ranged up and down more than an hour in digging in the earth, looking of ſtones, herbs, and ſprings, not ſeeing where a ſavage could well hide himſelf.

Upon the alarum by that we had recovered our arms, there was about an hundred nimble Indians ſkipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrows ſo faſt as they could: the trees here ſerved us for barricadoes as well as they. But Moſco did us more ſervice than we expected, for having ſhot away his quiver of arrows, he ran to the boat for more. The arrows of Moſco at the firſt made them pauſe upon the matter, thinking by his bruit and ſkipping there were many ſavages. About half an hour this continued, then they all vaniſhed as ſuddenly as they approached. Moſco followed them ſo far as he could ſee us till they were out of ſight. As we returned there lay a ſavage as dead, ſhot in the knee, but taking him up we found he had life, which Moſco ſeeing, never was dog more furious againſt a bear than Moſco was to have beat out his brains, ſo we had him to our boat, where our chirurgeon who went with us to cure our captain's hurt of the ſtingray, ſo dreſſed this ſavage that within an hour after he looked ſomewhat cheerfully, and did eat and ſpeak. In the meantime we contented Moſco in helping him to gather up their arrows, which were an arm full, whereof he gloried not a little. Then we deſired Moſco to know what he was and what countries were beyond the mountains: the poor ſavage mildly anſwered, he and all with him were of Haſinninga, where there are three kings more like unto them, namely, the King of Stegora, the King of Tauxuntania, and the King of Shakahonea, that were come to Mohaſkahod, which is only a hunting town, and the bounds betwixt the kingdom of the Mannahocks and the Nandtaughtacunds, but hard by where we were. We demanded why they came in that manner to betray us that came to them in peace and to ſeek their loves; he anſwered, they heard we were a people come from under the world to take their world from them. We aſked him how many worlds he did know; he replied, he knew no more but that which was under the ſky that covered him, which were the Powhatans, with the Monacnas, and the Maſſawomeks, that were higher up in the mountains. Then we aſked him what was beyond the mountains, he anſwered,

anſwered, the ſun: but of any thing elſe he knew nothing, becauſe the woods were not burnt. Theſe and many ſuch queſtions we demanded concerning the Maſſawomeks, the Monacans, their own country, and where were the Kings of Stegora, Tauxſintania, and the reſt. The Monacans, he ſaid, were their neighbours and friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly countries by ſmall rivers, living upon roots and fruits, but chiefly by hunting. The Maſſawomeks did dwell upon a great water and had many boats, and ſo many men that they made war with all the world, for their kings; they were gone every one a ſeveral way with their men on hunting, but thoſe with him came thither a fiſhing till they ſaw us, notwithſtanding they would be altogether at night at Mahaſkahod. For his relation we gave him many toys, with perſuaſions to go with us, and he as earneſtly deſired us to ſtay the coming of thoſe kings, that for his good uſage ſhould be friends with us, for he was brother to Haſinninga. But Moſco adviſed us preſently to be gone, for they were all naught, yet we told him we would not till it was night. All things we made ready to entertain what came, and Moſco was as diligent in trimming his arrows. The night being come we all embarked, for the river was ſo narrow, had it been light, the land on the one ſide was ſo high, they might have done us exceeding much miſchief. All this while the King of Haſinninga was ſeeking the reſt, and had conſultation a good time what to do, but by their ſpies, ſeeing we were gone, it was not long before we heard their arrows dropping on every ſide the boat; we cauſed our ſavages to call unto them, but ſuch a yelling and hallooing they made that they heard nothing, but now and then a piece, aiming ſo near as we could where we heard the moſt voices. More than twelve miles they followed us in this manner; then the day appearing, we found ourſelves in a broad bay, out of danger of their ſhot, where we came to an anchor, and fell to breakfaſt. Not ſo much as ſpeaking to them till the ſun was riſen; being well refreſhed, we untied our targets that covered us as a deck, and all ſhewed ourſelves with thoſe ſhields on our arms, and ſwords in our hands, and alſo our priſoner, Amoroleck; a long diſcourſe there was betwixt his countrymen and him, how good we were, how well we uſed him, how we had a Patawomek with us, loved us as his life, that would have ſlain him had we not preſerved him, and that he ſhould have his liberty, would they be but friends, and to do us any hurt it was impoſſible. Upon this they all hung their bows and quivers upon the trees, and one came ſwimming aboard us with a bow tied on his head, and another with a quiver of arrows, which they delivered our captain as a preſent. The captain having uſed them ſo kindly as he could, told them the other three kings ſhould do the like, and then the great King of our world ſhould be their friend, whoſe men we were. It was no ſooner demanded but performed; ſo upon a low mooriſh point of land we went to the ſhore, where thoſe four kings came and received Amoroleck. Nothing they had but bows, arrows, tobacco-bags, and pipes: what we deſired none refuſed to give us, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done; our piſtols they took for pipes, which they much deſired, but we did content them with other commodities; and ſo we left four or five hundred of our merry Mannahocks, ſinging, dancing, and making merry, and ſet ſail for Moraughtacund.

In our return we viſited all our friends, that rejoiced much at our victory againſt the Mannahocks, who many times had wars alſo with them, but now they were friends, and deſired we would be friends with the Rapahanocks, as we were with the Mannahocks. Our captain told them, they had twice aſſaulted him that came only in love to do them good, and therefore he would now burn all their houſes, deſtroy their corn, and for ever hold them his enemies, till they made him ſatisfaction; they deſired to know what that ſhould be; he told them they ſhould preſent him the king's bow and arrows,

arrows, and not offer to come armed where he was; that they ſhould be friends with the Moraughtacunds his friends, and give him their King's ſon in pledge to perform it, and then all King James's men ſhould be their friends. Upon this they preſently ſent to the Rapahanocks to meet him at the place where they firſt fought, where would be the Kings of Nantautacund and Piſſaſſac: which according to their promiſe were there ſo ſoon as we, where Rapahanock preſented his bow and arrows, and confirmed all we deſired, except his ſon, having no more but him he could not live without him, but inſtead of his ſon he would give him the three women Moraughtacund had ſtolen. This was accepted; and ſo in three or four canoes, ſo many as could, went with us to Moraughtacund, where Moſco made them ſuch relations, and gave to his friends ſo many bows and arrows, that they no leſs loved him than admired us. The three women were brought our captain, to each he gave a chain of beads; and then cauſing Moraughtacund, Moſco, and Rapahanock to ſtand before him, bid Rapahanock take her loved beſt, and Moraughtacund choſe next, and to Moſco he gave the third. Upon this away went their canoes over the water, to fetch their veniſon, and all the proviſion they could, and they that wanted boats ſwam over the river: the dark commanded us then to reſt. The next day there was of men, women, and children, as we conjectured, ſix or ſeven hundred, dancing and ſinging, and not a bow nor arrow ſeen amongſt them. Moſco changed his name Uttaſantaſough, which we interpret, ſtranger, for ſo they call us: all promiſing ever to be our friends, and to plant corn purpoſely for us; and we to provide hatchets, beads, and copper for them; we departed, giving them a volley of ſhot, and they us as loud ſhouts and cries as their ſtrength could utter. That night we anchored in the river of Payankatank, and diſcovered it ſo high as it was navigable; but the people were moſt a hunting, ſave a few old men, women, and children, that were tending their corn, of which they promiſed us part when we would fetch it, as had done all the nations wherever we had yet been.

In a fair calm, rowing towards point Comfort, we anchored in Goſnoll's Bay, but ſuch a ſudden guſt ſurpriſed us in the night with thunder and rain, that we never thought more to have ſeen James Town. Yet running before the wind, we ſometimes ſaw the land by the flaſhes of fire from heaven, by which light only we kept from the ſplitting ſhore, until it pleaſed God in that black darkneſs to preſerve us by that light to find Point Comfort: there refreſhing ourſelves, becauſe we had only but heard of the Cheſapeak and Nanſamunds, we thought it as fit to know all our neighbours near home, as ſo many nations abroad.

So ſetting ſail for the ſouthern ſhore, we ſailed up a narrow river up the country of Cheſapeak; it hath a good channel, but many ſhoals about the entrance. By that we had ſailed ſix or ſeven miles, we ſaw two or three little garden-plots with their houſes, the ſhores overgrown with the greateſt pine and fir trees we ever ſaw in the country. But not ſeeing nor hearing any people, and the river very narrow, we returned to the great river to ſee if we could find any of them. Coaſting the ſhore towards Nanſamund, which is moſt oyſter banks; at the mouth of that river we eſpied ſix or ſeven ſavages making their wires, who preſently fled: aſhore we went, and where they wrought we threw divers toys, and ſo departed. Far we were not gone ere they came again, and began to ſing and dance and recall us; and thus we began our firſt acquaintance. At laſt one of them deſired us to go to his houſe up that river; into our boat voluntarily he came, the reſt ran after us by the ſhore with all ſhew of love that could be. Seven or eight miles we ſailed up this narrow river: at laſt on the weſtern ſhore we ſaw large corn-fields, in the midſt a little iſle, and in it was abundance of corn; the people, he told us, were all a hunting; but in the

iſle

iſle was his houſe, to which he invited us with much kindneſs; to him, his wife, and children we gave ſuch things as they ſeemed much contented them. The others being come, deſired us alſo to go but a little higher to ſee their houſes: here our hoſt left us, the reſt rowed by us in a canoe, till we were ſo far paſt the iſle the river became very narrow. Here we deſired ſome of them to come aboard us, whereat pauſing a little, they told us they would but fetch their bows and arrows, and go all with us; but being aſhore and thus armed, they perſuaded us to go forward, but we could neither perſuade them into their canoe, nor into our boat. This gave us cauſe to provide for the worſt. Far we went not ere ſeven or eight canoes full of men armed appeared following us, ſtaying to ſee the concluſion. Preſently from each ſide of the river came arrows ſo faſt as two or three hundred could ſhoot them, whereat we returned to get the open. They in the canoes let fly alſo as faſt, but amongſt them we beſtowed ſo many ſhot, the moſt of them leaped overboard and ſwam aſhore, but two or three eſcaped by rowing, being againſt their plains: our muſkets they found ſhot further than their bows, for we made not twenty ſhot ere they all retired behind the next trees. Being thus got out of their trap, we ſeized on all their canoes, and moored them in the midſt of the open. More than an hundred arrows ſtuck in our targets, and about the boat, yet none hurt, only Anthony Bagnall was ſhot in his hat, and another in his ſleeve. But ſeeing their multitudes, and ſuſpecting, as it was, that both the Nanſamunds, and the Cheſapeaks were together, we thought it beſt to ride by their canoes a while, to bethink if it were better to burn all in the iſle, or draw them to compoſition, till we were provided to take all they had, which was ſufficient to feed all our colony; but to burn the iſle at night it was concluded. In the interim we began to cut in pieces their canoes, and they preſently to lay down their bows, making ſigns of peace: peace, we told them, we would accept, would they bring us their King's bows and arrows, with a chain of pearl; and when we came again, give us four hundred baſkets full of corn, otherwiſe we would break all their boats, and burn their houſes and corn, and all they had. To perform all this they alleged only the want of a canoe, ſo we put one adrift, and bid them ſwim to fetch her; and till they performed their promiſe, we would but only break their canoes. They cried to us to do no more; all ſhould be as we would: which preſently they performed, away went their bows and arrows, and tag and rag came with their baſkets: ſo much as we could carry we took, and ſo departing good friends, we returned to James Town, where we ſafely arrived the 7th of September, 1608. There we found Mr. Scrivener, and divers others, well recovered; many dead; ſome ſick; the late preſident priſoner for mutiny; by the honeſt diligence of Mr. Scrivener, the harveſt gathered, but the proviſion in the ſtore much ſpoiled with rain. Thus was that ſummer (when little wanted) conſumed and ſpent, and nothing done (ſuch was the government of Captain Ratliff) but only this diſcovery; wherein to expreſs all the dangers, accidents, and encounters this ſmall number paſſed in that ſmall barge, by the ſcale of proportion, about three thouſand miles, with ſuch watery diet in thoſe great waters and barbarous countries (till then to any Chriſtian utterly unknown) I rather refer their merit to the cenſure of the courteous and experienced reader, than I would be tedious or partial, being a party.

But to this place to come who will adventure,
With judgment's guide and reaſon how to enter;
Finds in this world's broad ſea, with wind and tide,
There's ſafer ſail than any where beſide.
But cauſe to wanton novices it is
A province full of fearfulneſs I wiſs;

Into

Into the great vaſt deep to venture out,
Thoſe ſhallow rivers let them coaſt about,
And by a ſmall boat learn there firſt, and mark
How they may come to make a greater bark.

Written by ANTHONY BAGNALL, NATHANIEL POWELL, and ANAS TODKILL.

CHAP. VII.—*The Preſidency ſurrendered to Captain Smith: the Arrival and Return of the ſecond Supply, and what happened.*

THE 10th of September, by the election of the council and requeſt of the company, Captain Smith received the letters patent, which till then by no means he would accept, though he was often importuned thereunto. Now the building of Ratcliffe's palace ſtaid as a thing needleſs; the church was repaired; the ſtorehouſe recovered; buildings prepared for the ſupplies we expected; the fort reduced to a fine ſquare form; the order of the watch renewed; the ſquadrons (each ſetting of the watch) trained; the whole company every Saturday exerciſed in the plain by the weſt bulwark, prepared for that purpoſe, we called Smithfield, where ſometimes more than a hundred ſavages would ſtand in an amazement to behold how a file would batter a tree, where he would make them a mark to ſhoot at; the boats trimmed for trade, which being ſent out with Lieutenant Percy, in their journey encountered the ſecond ſupply, that brought them back to diſcover the country of Monacan. How or why Captain Newport obtained ſuch a private commiſſion, as not to return without a lump of gold, a certainty of the South Sea, or one of the loſt company ſent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, I know not; nor why he brought ſuch a fine pieced barge, nor to bear us to that South Sea, till we had borne her over the mountains, which how far they extend is yet unknown. As for the coronation of Powhatan, and his preſents of baſon and ewer, bed, bedſtead, clothes, and ſuch coſtly novelties, they had been much better well ſpared than ſo ill ſpent, for we had his favour much better only for a plain piece of copper, till this ſtately kind of ſoliciting made him ſo much overvalue himſelf, that he reſpected us as much as nothing at all. As for the hiring of the Poles and Dutchmen to make pitch, tar, glaſs, mills, and ſoap-aſhes when the country is repleniſhed with people, and neceſſaries, would have done well; but to ſend them and ſeventy more without victuals to work, was not ſo well adviſed nor conſidered of, as it ſhould have been. Yet this could not have hurt us had they been two hundred, though then we were one hundred and thirty that wanted for ourſelves; for we had the ſavages in that decorum (their harveſt being newly gathered) that we feared not to get victuals for five hundred. Now was there no way to make us miſerable but to neglect that time to make proviſion whilſt it was to be had, the which was done by the direction from England to perform this ſtrange diſcovery; but a more ſtrange coronation to loſe that time, ſpend that victuals we had, tire and ſtarve our men, having no means to carry victuals, munition, the hurt or ſick, but on their own backs. How or by whom they were invented I know not; but Captain Newport we only accounted the author, who, to effect theſe projects, had ſo gilded men's hopes with great promiſes, that both company and council concluded his reſolution for the moſt part. God doth know they little knew what they did, nor underſtood their own eſtates, to conclude his concluſions, againſt all the inconveniencies the foregoing preſident alledged. Of this ſupply there was added to the council one Captain Richard Waldo and Captain Richard Wynne, two ancient ſoldiers and valiant gentlemen, but yet ignorant of the buſineſs (being but newly arrived). Ratcliffe was alſo permitted

to have his voice, and Mr. Scrivener, desirous to see strange countries; so that although Smith was president, yet the major part of the council had the authority, and ruled it as they listed. As for clearing Smith's objections, how pitch and tar, wainscot, clapboard, glass, and soap-ashes, could be provided to relade the ship, or provision got to live withal, when none was in the country, and that we had, spent, before the ship departed to effect these projects. The answer was, Captain Newport undertook to freight the pinnace of twenty tons with corn in going and returning in his discovery, and to refreight her again from Werowocomoco of Powhatan; also promising a great proportion of victuals from the ship; inferring that Smith's propositions were only devices to hinder his journey, to effect it himself, and that the cruelty he had used to the savages might well be the occasion to hinder these designs, and seek revenge on him; for which taxation all works were left, and one hundred and twenty chosen men were appointed for Newport's guard in this discovery. But Captain Smith, to make clear all those seeming suspicions that the savages were not so desperate as was pretended by Captain Newport, and how willing (since by their authority they would have it so) he was to assist them what he could, because the coronation would consume much time, he undertook himself their message to Powhatan, to entreat him to come to James Town to receive his presents; and where Newport durst not go with less than one hundred and twenty, he only took with him Captain Waldo, Mr. Andrew Buckler, Edward Brinton, and Samuel Collier. With these four he went over-land to Werowocomoco, some twelve miles; there he passed the river of Pamaunkee in a savage canoe. Powhatan being thirty miles off, was presently sent for: in the mean time, Pocahontas and her women entertained Captain Smith in this manner:

In a fair plain field they made a fire, before which he sitting upon a mat, suddenly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shrieking, that the English betook themselves to their arms, and seized on two or three old men by them, supposing Powhatan with all his power was come to surprize them. But presently Pocahontas came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended; and the beholders, which were men, women, and children, satisfied the Captain there was no such matter. Then presently they were presented with this antic: thirty young women came naked out of the woods, only covered behind and before with a few green leaves, their bodies all painted, some of one colour some of another, but all differing: their leader had a fair pair of buck's horns on her head, and an otter's skin at her girdle, and another at her arm, a quiver of arrows at her back, a bow and arrows in her hand; the next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a pot-stick, all horned alike; the rest every one with their several devices. These fiends, with most hellish shouts and cries, rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with most excellent ill variety, oft falling into their infernal passions, and solemnly again to sing and dance. Having spent near an hour in this masquerade, as they entered in like manner they departed.

Having re-accommodated themselves, they solemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no sooner within the house, but all these nymphs more tormented him than ever with crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying, "Love you not me? Love you not me?" This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the savage dainties they could devise; some attending, others singing and dancing about them; which mirth being ended, with firebrands instead of torches they conducted him to his lodging.

Thus did they shew their feats of arms, and others art in dancing,
Some other used their oaten pipe, and others voices chaunting.

The

The next day came Powhatan. Smith delivered his meſſage of the preſents ſent him, and redelivered him Namontack he had ſent for England, deſiring him to come to his father Newport, to accept thoſe preſents, and conclude their revenge againſt the Monacans. Whereunto this ſubtle ſavage thus replied:

"If your King have ſent me preſents, I alſo am a king, and this is my land: eight days I will ſtay to receive them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort, neither will I bite at ſuch a bait. As for the Monacans I can revenge my own injuries; and as for Atquanachuk, where you ſay your brother was ſlain, it is a contrary way from thoſe parts you ſuppoſe it: but for any ſalt-water beyond the mountains, the relations you have had from my people are falſe." Whereupon he began to draw plots upon the ground (according to his diſcourſe) of all thoſe regions. Many other diſcourſes they had (yet both content to give each other content in complimental courteſies); and ſo Captain Smith returned with this anſwer.

Upon this the preſents were ſent by water, which is near a hundred miles, and the captain's went by land with fifty good ſhot. All being met at Werowocomoco, the next day was appointed for his coronation; then the preſents were brought him, his baſon and ewer, bed and furniture ſet up, his ſcarlet cloak and apparel with much ado put on him, being perſuaded by Namontack they would not hurt him; but a foul trouble there was to make him kneel to receive his crown, he neither knowing the majeſty nor meaning of a crown, nor bending of the knee, endured ſo many perſuaſions, examples, and inſtructions, as tired them all; at laſt, by leaning hard on his ſhoulders, he a little ſtooped, and three having the crown in their hands put it on his head, when by the warning of a piſtol the boats were prepared with ſuch a volley of ſhot, that the King ſtarted up in a horrible fear, till he ſaw all was well. Then remembering himſelf, to congratulate their kindneſs, he gave his old ſhoes and his mantle to Captain Newport: but perceiving his purpoſe was to diſcover the Monacans, he laboured to divert his reſolution, refuſing to lend him either men or guides more than Namontack; and ſo, after ſome ſmall complimental kindneſs on both ſides, in requital of his preſents, he preſented Newport with a heap of wheat ears, that might contain ſome ſeven or eight buſhels, and as much more we bought in the town, wherewith we returned to the fort.

The ſhip having diſburdened herſelf of ſeventy perſons, with the firſt gentlewoman and woman-ſervant that arrived in our colony, Captain Newport, with one hundred and twenty choſen men, led by Captain Waldo, Lieutenant Percy, Captain Winne, Mr. Weſt, and Mr. Scrivener, ſet forward for the diſcovery of Monacan, leaving the preſident at the fort with about eighty or ninety (ſuch as they were) to relade the ſhip. Arriving at the Falls, we marched by land ſome forty miles in two days and a half, and ſo returned down the ſame path we went. Two towns we diſcovered of the Monacans, called Maſſinacak and Mowhemenchouch; the people neither uſed us well nor ill; yet for our ſecurity we took one of their petty kings, and led him bound to conduct us the way; and in our return, ſearched many places we ſuppoſed mines, about which we ſpent ſome time in refining, having one William Callicut, a refiner, fitted for that purpoſe. From that cruſt of earth we digged he perſuaded us to believe he extracted ſome ſmall quantity of ſilver; and (not unlikely) better ſtuff might be had for the digging. With this poor trial, being contented to leave this fair, fertile, well-watered country; and coming to the falls, the ſavages feigned there were divers ſhips come into the bay to kill them at James Town. Trade they would not, and find their corn we could not, for they had hid it in the woods; and being thus deluded, we arrived

at James Town, half ſick, all complaining, and tired with toil, famine, and diſcontent, to have only but diſcovered our gilded hopes, and ſuch fruitleſs certainties as Captain Smith foretold us.

> But thoſe that hunger ſeek to ſlake,
> Which thus abounding wealth would rake;
> Not all the gems of Iſter ſhore,
> Nor all the gold of Lydia's ſtore,
> Can fill their greedy appetite,
> It is a thing ſo infinite.

No ſooner were we landed, but the preſident diſperſed ſo many as were able, ſome for glaſs, others for tar, pitch, and ſoap-aſhes, leaving them with the fort to the councils' overſight, but thirty of us he conducted down the river ſome five miles from James Town, to learn to make clapboard, cut down trees, and lie in woods. Amongſt the reſt he had choſen Gabriel Beadle, and John Ruſſell, the only two gallants of this laſt ſupply, and both proper gentlemen. Strange were theſe pleaſures to their conditions; yet lodging, eating, and drinking, working or playing, they but doing as the preſident did himſelf. All theſe things were carried ſo pleaſantly as within a week they became maſters: making it their delight to hear the trees thunder as they fell; but the axes ſo oft bliſtered their tender fingers, that many times every third blow had a loud oath to drown the echo; for remedy of which ſin, the preſident deviſed how to have every man's oath numbered, and at night for every oath to have a can of water poured down his ſleeve, with which every offender was ſo waſhed, (himſelf and all) that a man ſhould ſcarce hear an oath in a week.

> For he who ſcorns, and makes but jeſts of curſings, and his oath,
> He doth contemn, not man but God, nor God, nor man, but both.

By this, let no man think that the preſident and theſe gentlemen ſpent their times as common wood-haggers at felling of trees, or ſuch other like labours, or that they were preſſed to as hirelings, or common ſlaves; for what they did, after they were but once a little inured, it ſeemed and ſome conceited it only as a pleaſure and recreation, yet thirty or forty of ſuch voluntary gentlemen would do more in a day then one hundred of the reſt that muſt be preſt to it by compulſion, but twenty good workmen had been better than them all.

Mr. Scrivener, Captain Waldo, and Captain Winne at the fort, every one in like manner carefully regarded their charge. The preſident returning from amongſt the woods, ſeeing the time conſumed and no proviſion gotten, (and the ſhip lay idle at a great charge and did nothing,) preſently embarked himſelf in the diſcovery barge, giving order to council to ſend Lieutenant Percie after him with the next barge that arrived at the fort; two barges he had himſelf and eighteen men, but arriving at Chickahamania, that dogged nation was too well acquainted with our wants, refuſing to trade with as much ſcorn and inſolency as they could expreſs. The preſident perceiving it was Powhatan's policy to ſtarve us, told them he came not ſo much for their corn, as to revenge his impriſonment, and the death of his men murdered by them, and ſo landing his men, and ready to charge them, they immediately fled: and preſently after ſent their ambaſſadors with corn, fiſh, fowl, and what they had to make their peace, (their corn being that year but bad) they complained extremely of their own wants, yet freighted our boats with an hundred buſhels of corn, and in like manner Lieutenant Percie that not long after arrived, and having done the beſt they could to content us, we parted good friends, and returned to James Town.

Though

Though this much contented the company, (that feared nothing more than ſtarving) yet ſome ſo envied his good ſucceſs, that they rather deſired to hazard a ſtarving then his pains ſhould prove ſo much more effectual than theirs. Some projects there were invented by Newport and Ratliffe, not only to have depoſed him, but to have kept him out of the fort; for that being preſident, he would leave his place and the fort without their conſent, but their horns were ſo much too ſhort to effect it, as they themſelves more narrowly eſcaped a greater miſchief.

All this time our old tavern made as much of all them that had either money or ware as could be deſired: by this time they were become ſo perfect on all ſides (I mean the ſoldiers, ſailors, and ſavages) as there was ten times more care to maintain their damnable and private trade than to provide for the colony things that were neceſſary. Neither was it a ſmall policy in Newport and the mariners to report in England we had ſuch plenty, and bring us ſo many men without victuals, when they had ſo many private factors in the fort, that within ſix or ſeven weeks, of two or three hundred axes, chiſſels, hoes, and pick-axes, ſcarce twenty could be found: and for pike-heads, ſhot, powder, or any thing they could ſteal from their fellows, was vendible; they knew as well (and as ſecretly) how to convey them to trade with the ſavages for fur, baſkets, Muſſaneeks, young beaſt, or ſuch like commodities, as exchange them with the ſailors for butter, cheeſe, beef, pork, aqua vitæ, beer, biſcuit, oatmeal, and oil: and then feign all was ſent them from their friends. And though Virginia afforded no furs for the ſtore, yet one maſter in one voyage hath got ſo many by this indirect means, as he confeſſed to have ſold in England for 30l.

Thoſe are the ſaint-ſeeming worthies of Virginia, that have notwithſtanding all this meat, drink, and wages; but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented; none hath been in Virginia that hath obſerved any thing, which knows not this to be true, and yet the loſs, the ſcorn, the miſery, and ſhame, was the poor officers, gentlemen, and careleſs governors, who were all thus bought and ſold; the adventurers cozened, and the action overthrown by their falſe excuſes, informations, and directions. By this let all men judge, how this buſineſs could proſper, being thus abuſed by ſuch pilfering occaſions. And had not Captain Newport cried *peccavi*, the preſident would have diſcharged the ſhip, and cauſed him to have ſtaid one year in Virginia, to learn to ſpeak of his own experience.

Mr. Scrivener was ſent with the barges and pinnace to Werowocomoco, where he found the ſavages more ready to fight than trade; but his vigilancy was ſuch as prevented their projects, and by the means of Namontack got three or four hogſheads of corn, and as much pocones, which is a red root, which then was eſteemed an excellent dye.

Captain Newport being diſpatched, with the trials of pitch, tar, glaſs, frankincenſe, ſoap-aſhes, with that clapboard and wainſcot that could be provided, met with Mr. Scrivener at Point Comfort, and ſo returned for England. We remaining were about two hundred.

The Copy of a Letter ſent to the Treaſurer and Council of Virginia from Captain Smith then Preſident in Virginia.

" Right Honorable, &c.

" I received your letter, wherein you write, that our minds are ſo ſet upon faction and idle conceits in dividing the country without your conſents, and that we feed you but with ifs and ands, hopes, and ſome few proofs; as if we would keep the myſtery of the

buſineſs to ourſelves: and that we muſt expreſsly follow your inſtructions ſent by Captain Newport: the charge of whoſe voyage amounts to near two thouſand pounds, the which, if we cannot defray by the ſhip's return, we are like to remain as baniſhed men. To theſe particulars I humbly intreat your pardon, if I offend you with my rude anſwer.

"For our factions, unleſs you would have me run away and leave the country, I cannot prevent them: becauſe I do make many ſtay that would elſe fly any weather. For the idle letter ſent to my Lord of Saliſbury, by the preſident and his confederates, for dividing the country, &c. what it was I know not, for you ſaw no hand of mine to it; nor ever dreamed I of any ſuch matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c.; though I be no ſcholar, I am paſt a ſchool-boy; and I deſire but to know what either you, and theſe here do know, but that I have learned to tell you by the continual hazard of my life. I have not concealed from you any thing I know; but I fear ſome cauſe you to believe much more than is true.

"Expreſsly to follow your directions by Captain Newport, though they be performed, I was directly againſt it; but according to our commiſſion, I was content to be overruled by the major part of the council, I fear to the hazard of us all, which now is generally confeſſed when it is too late. Only Captain Winne and Captain Waldo I have ſworn of the council, and crowned Powhatan, according to your inſtructions.

"For the charge of this voyage of two or three thouſand pounds, we have not received the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartered boat to be borne by the ſoldiers over the falls, Newport had one hundred and twenty of the beſt men he could chuſe. If he had burnt her to aſhes, one might have carried her in a bag, but as ſhe is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the falls. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a mine of gold; or any of them ſent by Sir Walter Raleigh: at our conſultation I told them was as likely as the reſt. But during this great diſcovery of thirty miles, (which might as well have been done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of copper at a ſeaſonable time,) they had the pinnace and all the boats with them, but one that remained with me to ſerve the fort. In their abſence I followed the new begun works of pitch and tar, glaſs, ſoap-aſhes, and clapboard, whereof ſome ſmall quantities we have ſent you. But if you rightly conſider what an infinite toil it is in Ruſſia and Sweden, where the woods are proper for nothing elſe, and though there be the help both of man and beaſt in thoſe ancient commonwealths, which many an hundred years have uſed it, yet thouſands of thoſe poor people can ſcarce get neceſſaries to live, but from hand to mouth. And though your factors there can buy as much in a week as will freight you a ſhip, or as much as you pleaſe, you muſt not expect from us any ſuch matter, which are but a many of ignorant miſerable ſouls, that are ſcarce able to get wherewith to live, and defend ourſelves againſt the inconſtant ſavages: finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpoſe, and want all things elſe that the Ruſſians have. For the coronation of Powhatan, by whoſe advice you ſent him ſuch preſents, I know not; but this give me leave to tell you, I fear they will be the confuſion of us all ere we hear from you again. At your ſhip's arrival, the ſavages harveſt was newly gathered, and we going to buy it, our own not being half ſufficient for ſo great a number. As for the two ſhips loading of corn, Newport promiſed to provide us from Powhatan, he brought us but fourteen buſhels; and from the Monacans nothing, but the moſt of the men ſick and near famiſhed. From your ſhip we had not proviſion in victuals worth twenty pounds, and we are more than two hundred to live upon this; the one half ſick, the other little better. For the ſailors (I confeſs) they daily make good cheer, but our diet is a little meal and water, and not

ſufficient of that. Though there be fiſh in the ſea, fowls in the air, and beaſts in the woods, their bounds are ſo large, they ſo wild, and we ſo weak and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captain Newport we much ſuſpect to be the author of thoſe inventions. Now that you ſhould know I have made you as great a diſcovery as he, for leſs charge than he ſpendeth you every meal, I have ſent you this map of the bay and rivers, with an annexed relation of the countries and nations that inhabit them, as you may ſee at large. Alſo two barrels of ſtones, and ſuch as I take to be good iron ore at the leaſt; ſo divided, as by their notes you may ſee in what places I found them. The ſoldiers ſay, many of your officers maintain their families out of that you ſend us; and that Newport hath an hundred pounds a year for carrying news. For every maſter you have yet ſent can find the way as well as he, ſo that an hundred pounds might be ſpared, which is more than we have all, that help to pay him wages. Captain Ratliff is now called Sicklemore, a poor counterfeited impoſture. I have ſent you him home, leſt the company ſhould cut his throat. What he is, now every one can tell you: if he and Archer return again, they are ſufficient to keep us always in factions. When you ſend again I entreat you rather ſend but thirty carpenters, huſbandmen, gardeners, fiſhermen, blackſmiths, maſons, and diggers up of trees, roots, well provided, than a thouſand of ſuch as we have: for except we be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the moſt will conſume with want of neceſſaries before they can be made good for any thing. Thus if you pleaſe to conſider this account, and of the unneceſſary wages to Captain Newport, or his ſhip's ſo long lingering and ſtaying here (for notwithſtanding his boaſting to leave us victuals for twelve months, though we had eighty-nine by this diſcovery lame and ſick, and but a pint of corn a day for a man, we were conſtrained to give him three hogſheads of that to victual him homeward) or yet to ſend into Germany or Poland for glaſs men and the reſt, till we be able to ſuſtain ourſelves, and relieve them when they come. It were better to give five hundred pound a ton for thoſe groſs commodities in Denmark, than ſend for them hither, till more neceſſary things be provided. For in over-toiling our weak and unſkilful bodies, to ſatisfy this deſire of preſent profit, we can ſcarce ever recover ourſelves from one ſupply to another: and I humbly entreat you hereafter, let us know what we ſhould receive, and not ſtand to the ſailors courteſy to leave us what they pleaſe, elſe you may charge us with what you will, but we not you with any thing. Theſe are the cauſes that have kept us in Virginia, from laying ſuch a foundation, that ere this might have given much better content and ſatisfaction; but as yet you muſt not look for any profitable returns: ſo I humbly reſt.

The names of thoſe in this ſupply were theſe; with their proceedings and accidents:

Captain Peter Wynne,
Captain Richard Waldo,
} were appointed to be of the council.

Mr. Francis Weſt, brother to the Lord La Warre.

Thomas Graves,
Raleigh Chroſhaw,
Gabriel Beadle,
John Beadle,
John Ruſſell,
William Ruſſell,
John Cuderington,
} Gent.

William Sambage,
Henry Leigh,
Henry Philpot,
Harmon Harriſon,
Daniel Tucker,
Henry Collins,
Hugh Wolleſton,
} Gent.

John

John Hoult,	Gent.	Thomas Lavander,	Tradeſmen.
Thomas Norton,		Henry Bell,	
George Yarington,		Mr. Powell,	
George Burton,		David Ellis,	
Thomas Abbay,		Thomas Gibſon,	
William Dowman,			
Thomas Maxes,		Thomas Dawſe,	Labourers.
Michael Lowick,		Thomas Mallard,	
Mr. Hunt,		William Taylor,	
Thomas Forreſt,		Thomas Fox,	
John Dauxe,		Nicholas Hancock,	
		Walker,	
Thomas Phelps,	Tradeſmen.	Williams,	
John Prat,		Floud,	
John Clarke,		Morley,	
Jeffrey Shortridge,		Roſe,	
Dionis Oconor,		Scot,	
Hugh Wynne,		Hardwyn,	
David ap Hugh,			
Thomas Bradley,		Millman,	Boys.
John Burras,		Hilliard,	

Mrs. Forreſt, and Anne Burras her maid; eight Dutchmen and Poles, with ſome others, to the number of ſeventy perſons, &c.

Theſe poor concluſions ſo affrighted us all with famine, that the preſident provided for Nanſamund, and took with him Captain Wynne, and Mr. Scrivener, then returning from Captain Newport. Theſe people alſo long denied him not only the four hundred baſkets of corn they promiſed, but any trade at all; (excuſing themſelves they had ſpent moſt they had, and were commanded by Powhatan to keep that they had, and not to let us come into their river) till we were conſtrained to begin with them perforce. Upon the diſcharging of our muſkets they all fled and ſhot not an arrow; the firſt houſe we came to we ſet on fire, which when they perceived, they deſired we would make no more ſpoil, and they would give us half they had: how they collected it I know not, but before night they loaded our three boats; and ſo we returned to our quarter ſome four miles down the river, which was only the open woods under the lay of a hill, where all the ground was covered with ſnow, and hard frozen; the ſnow we digged away and made a great fire in the place; when the ground was well dried, we turned away the fire; and covering the place with a mat, there we lay very warm. To keep us from the wind we made a ſhade of another mat; as the wind turned we turned our ſhade, and when the ground grew cold we removed the fire. And thus many a cold winter night have we lain in this miſerable manner, yet thoſe that moſt commonly went upon all thoſe occaſions, were always in health, luſty, and fat. For ſparing them this year, the next year they promiſed to plant purpoſely for us; and ſo we returned to James Town. About this time there was a marriage betwixt John Laydon and Anne Burras; which was the firſt marriage we had in Virginia.

Long he ſtaid not, but fitting himſelf and Captain Waldo with two barges. From Chawopoweanock, and all parts thereabouts, all the people were fled, as being jealous of our intents, till we diſcovered the river and people of Apamatuck; where we found not much, that they had we equally divided, but gave them copper, and ſuch things as contented

tented them in conſideration. Mr. Scrivener and Lieutenant Percie went alſo abroad, but could find nothing.

The preſident ſeeing the procraſtinating of time, was no courſe to live, reſolved, with Captain Waldo, (whom he knew to be ſure in time of need) to ſurpriſe Powhatan, and all his proviſion, but the unwillingneſs of Captain Winne and Mr. Scrivener, for ſome private reſpect, plotted in England to ruin Captain Smith, did their beſt to hinder the project; but the preſident, whom no perſuaſions could perſuade to ſtarve, being invited by Powhatan to come unto him; and if he would ſend him but men to build him a houſe, give him a grindſtone, fifty ſwords, ſome pieces, a cock and a hen, with much copper and beads, he would load his ſhip with corn. The preſident, not ignorant of his deviſes and ſubtilty, yet unwilling to neglect any opportunity, preſently ſent three Dutchmen and two Engliſh, having ſo ſmall allowance, few were able to do any thing to purpoſe; knowing there needed no better a caſtle to effect this project, took order with Captain Waldo to ſecond him, if need required; Scrivener he left his ſubſtitute, and ſet forth with the pinnace, two barges, and forty-ſix men, which only were ſuch as voluntarily offered themſelves for his journey, the which, by reaſon of Mr. Scrivener's ill ſucceſs, was cenſured very deſperate, they all knowing Smith would not return empty, if it were to be had; howſoever, it cauſed many of thoſe that he had appointed, to find excuſes to ſtay behind.

CHAP. VIII.—*Captain Smith's Journey to Pamaunkee.*

THE 29th of December he ſet forward for Werowocomoco; his companions were theſe:

In the Diſcovery barge himſelf.

- Robert Behethland
- Nathaniel Graves
- John Ruſſell
- Raleigh Chraſhow
- Michael Sicklemore
- Richard Worley

} Gent.

- Anas Todkill
- William Love
- William Bentley
- Jeffery Shortridge
- Edward Piſing
- William Ward

} Soldiers.

In the pinnace.

- Lieut. Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland.
- Mr. Francis Weſt, brother to the Lord La Warre.
- William Phittiplace, Captain of the pinnace.
- Michael Phittiplace
- Jeffery Abbott, ſerjeant
- William Tankard
- George Yarington

} Gent.

- James Browne
- Edward Brinton
- George Burton
- Thomas Coe
- John Dods
- Henry Powell

} Soldiers.

- Jonas Profit, maſter.
- Robert Ford, clerk of the council.

Thomas Gibſon, David Ellis, Nathaniel Peacock, ſailors; John Prat, George Acrig, James Read, Nicholas Hancock, James Watkins, Thomas Lambert, four Dutchmen, and Richard Salvage, were ſent by land before, to build the houſe for Powhatan againſt our arrival.

This company being victualled but for three or four days, lodged the firſt night at Warraſkoyack, where the preſident took ſufficient proviſion. This kind King did his beſt to divert him from ſeeing Powhatan; but perceiving he could not prevail, he adviſed in

this manner: "Captain Smith, you ſhall find Powhatan to uſe you kindly, but truſt him not, and be ſure he have no opportunity to ſeize on your arms, for he hath ſent for you only to cut your throats." The captain thanking him for his good counſel, yet the better to try his love, deſired guides to Chawwonock, for he would ſend a preſent to that King, to bind him his friend. To perform this journey was ſent Mr. Sicklemore, a very valiant, honeſt, and painful ſoldier; with him two guides, and directions how to ſeek for the loſt company of Sir Walter Raleigh, and ſilk graſs. Then we departed thence, the preſident aſſuring the King perpetual love; and left with him Samuel Collier, his page, to learn the language.

So this King's deeds by ſacred oath adjur'd,
More wary proves, and circumſpect by odds;
Fearing at leaſt his double forfeiture,
To offend his friends, and ſin againſt his gods.

The next night being lodged at Kecoughtan; ſix or ſeven days the extreme wind, rain, froſt, and ſnow, cauſed us to keep Chriſtmas among the ſavages, where we were never more merry, nor fed on more plenty of good oyſters, fiſh, fleſh, wild-fowl, and good bread; nor ever had better fires in England, than in the dry ſmoaky houſes of Kecoughtan; but departing thence, when we found no houſes, we were not curious in any weather to lie three or four nights together under the trees by a fire, as formerly is ſaid. An hundred and forty-eight fowls the preſident, Anthony Bagnall, and Serjeant Piſing did kill at three ſhots. At Kiſkiack, the froſt and contrary winds forced us three or four days alſo (to ſuppreſs the inſolence of thoſe proud ſavages) to quarter in their houſes, yet guard our barge, and cauſe them to give us what we wanted; though we were but twelve and himſelf, yet we never wanted ſhelter where we found any houſes. The 12th of January we arrived at Werowocomoco, where the river was frozen nearly half a mile from the ſhore; but to neglect no time, the preſident with his barge ſo far had approached by breaking the ice, as the ebb left him amongſt thoſe oozy ſhoals, yet rather than to lie there frozen to death, by his own example he taught them to march near middle deep, a flight ſhot through this muddy frozen ooze. When the barge floated, he appointed two or three to return her on board the pinnace. Where for want of water in melting the ice, they made freſh water, for the river there was ſalt. But in this march Mr. Ruſſell, (whom none could perſuade to ſtay behind) being ſomewhat ill, and exceeding heavy, ſo overtoiled himſelf, as the reſt had much ado (ere he got aſhore) to regain life into his dead benumbed ſpirits. Quartering in the next houſes we found, we ſent to Powhatan for proviſion, who ſent us plenty of bread, turkies, and veniſon; the next day, having feaſted us after his ordinary manner, he began to aſk us when we would be gone, feigning, he ſent not for us, neither had he any corn, and his people much leſs; yet, for forty ſwords he would procure us forty baſkets. The preſident ſhewing him the men there preſent that brought him the meſſage and conditions, aſked Powhatan how it chanced he became ſo forgetful; thereat the king concluded the matter with a merry laughter, aſking for our commodities, but none he liked without guns and ſwords, valuing a baſket of corn more precious than a baſket of copper, ſaying, he could rate his corn, but not the copper.

Captain Smith ſeeing the intent of this ſubtle ſavage, began to deal with him after this manner: Powhatan, though I had many courſes to have made my proviſion, yet believing your promiſes to ſupply my wants, I neglected all to ſatisfy your deſire; and to teſtify my love, I ſent you my men for your building, neglecting my own. What your people had you have engroſſed, forbidding them our trade; and now you think, by

by conſuming the time, we ſhall conſume for want, not having to fulfil your ſtrange demands. As for ſwords and guns, I told you long ago I had none to ſpare; and you muſt know thoſe I have can keep me from want; yet ſteal or wrong you I will not, nor diſſolve that friendſhip we have mutually promiſed, except you conſtrain me by our bad uſage.

The King having attentively liſtened to this diſcourſe, promiſed that both he and his country would ſpare him what he could, the which within two days they ſhould receive. "Yet Captain Smith, (ſaith the King,) ſome doubt I have of your coming hither, that makes me not ſo kindly ſeek to relieve you as I would: for many do inform me, your coming hither is not for trade, but to invade my people, and poſſeſs my country, who dare not come to bring you corn, ſeeing you thus armed with your men. To free us of this fear, leave aboard your weapons, for here they are needleſs, we being all friends, and for ever Powhatans."

With many ſuch diſcourſes they ſpent the day, quartering that night in the King's houſes. The next day he renewed his building, which he little intended ſhould proceed. For the Dutchmen finding his plenty, and knowing our want, and perceiving his preparations to ſurpriſe us, little thinking we could eſcape both him and famine, (to obtain his favour) revealed to him ſo much as they knew of our eſtates and projects, and how to prevent them. One of them being of ſo great a ſpirit, judgement, and reſolution, and a hireling that was certain of his wages for his labour, and ever well uſed, both he and his countrymen, that the preſident knew not whom better to truſt; and not knowing any fitter for that employment, had ſent him as a ſpy to diſcover Powhatan's intent, then little doubting his honeſty, nor could ever be certain of his villany till near half a year after.

Whilſt we expected the coming in of the country, we wrangled out of the King ten quarters of corn for a copper kettle, the which the preſident perceiving him much to affect, valued it at a much greater rate; but in regard of his ſcarcity he would accept it, provided we ſhould have as much more the next year, or elſe the country of Monacan. Wherewith each ſeemed well contented, and Powhatan began to expoſtulate the difference of peace and war after this manner.

"Captain Smith, you may underſtand that I having ſeen the death of all my people thrice, and not any one living of thoſe three generations but myſelf; I know the difference of peace and war better than any in my country. But now I am old and ere long muſt die, my brethren, namely Opitchapam, Opechancanough, and Kekataugh, my two ſiſters, and their two daughters, are diſtinctly each others ſucceſſors. I wiſh their experience no leſs than mine, and your love to them no leſs than mine to you. But this bruit from Nandſamund, that you are come to deſtroy my country, ſo much affrighteth all my people as they dare not viſit you. What will it avail you to take that by force you may quickly have by love, or to deſtroy them that provide you food? What can you get by war, when we can hide our proviſions and fly to the woods? whereby you muſt famiſh by wronging us, your friends. And why are you thus jealous of our loves, ſeeing us thus unarmed, and both do, and are willing ſtill to feed you, with that you cannot get but by our labours? Think you I am ſo ſimple not to know it is better to eat good meat, lie well, and ſleep quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, have copper, hatchets, or what I want, being your friend, than be forced to fly from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns, roots, and ſuch traſh, and be ſo hunted by you that I can neither reſt, eat, nor ſleep; but my tired men muſt watch, and if a twig but break, every one crieth, There cometh Captain Smith! then muſt I fly I know not whither: and thus with miſerable fear end my miſerable life, leaving

my pleaſures to ſuch youths as you, which, through your raſh unadviſedneſs, may quickly as miſerably end, for want of that you never know where to find. Let this therefore aſſure you of our loves, and every year our friendly trade ſhall furniſh you with corn; and now alſo, if you would come in friendly manner to ſee us, and not thus with your guns and ſwords as to invade your foes."

To this ſubtle diſcourſe the preſident thus replied:

"Seeing you will not rightly conceive of our words, we ſtrive to make you know our thoughts by our deeds; the vow I made you of my love, both myſelf and my men have kept. As for your promiſe I find it every day violated by ſome of your ſubjects: yet we finding your love and kindneſs, our cuſtom is ſo far from being ungrateful, that for your ſake only, we have curbed our thirſting deſire of revenge; elſe had they known as well the cruelties we uſe to our enemies, as our true love and courteſy to our friends. And I think your judgement ſufficient to conceive, as well by the adventures we have undertaken, as by the advantage we have (by our arms) of yours, that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this we could have effected it. Your people coming to James Town are entertained with their bows and arrows without any exceptions; we eſteeming it with you as it is with us, to wear our arms as our apparel. As for the danger of our enemies, in ſuch wars conſiſt our chiefeſt pleaſure: for your riches we have no uſe: as for the hiding your proviſions, or by your flying to the woods, we ſhall not ſo unadviſedly ſtarve as you conclude; your friendly care in that behalf is needleſs, for we have a rule to find beyond your knowledge."

Many other diſcourſes they had, till at laſt they began to trade. But the King ſeeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard diſperſed, nor our men diſarmed, he ſighing breathed his mind once more in this manner.

"Captain Smith, I never uſe any Werowance ſo kindly as yourſelf, yet from you I receive the leaſt kindneſs of any. Captain Newport gave me ſwords, copper, clothes, a bed, towels, or what I deſired; ever taking what I offered him, and would ſend away his guns when I intreated him: none doth deny to lie at my feet, or refuſe to do what I deſire, but only you; of whom I can have nothing but what you regard not, and yet you will have whatſoever you demand. Captain Newport you call father, and ſo you call me; but I ſee for all us both you will do what you liſt, and we muſt both ſeek to content you. But if you intend ſo friendly as you ſay, ſend hence your arms, that I may believe you; for you ſee the love I bear you, doth cauſe me thus nakedly to forget myſelf."

Smith ſeeing this ſavage but trifle the time to cut his throat, procured the ſavages to break the ice that his boat might come to fetch his corn and him: and gave order for more men to come on ſhore, to ſurpriſe the King, with whom alſo he but trifled the time till his men were landed: and to keep him from ſuſpicion, entertained the time with this reply:

"Powhatan you muſt know, as I have but one God, I honour but one King; and I live not here as your ſubject, but as your friend to pleaſure you with what I can. By the gifts you beſtow on me, you gain more than by trade: yet would you viſit me as I do you, you ſhould know it is not our cuſtom to ſell our courteſy as a vendible commodity. Bring all your country with you for your guard, I will not diſlike it as being over jealous. But to content you, to-morrow I will leave my arms, and truſt to your promiſe. I call you father indeed, and as a father you ſhall ſee I will love you: but the ſmall care you have of ſuch a child cauſed my men to perſuade me to look to myſelf."

By this time Powhatan having knowledge his men were ready whilſt the ice was a breaking, with his luggage, women, and children, fled. Yet to avoid ſuſpicion, left two

or three of the women talking with the captain, whilſt he ſecretly ran away, and his men that ſecretly beſet the houſe. Which being preſently diſcovered to Captain Smith, with his piſtol, ſword, and target he made ſuch a paſſage among theſe naked devils, that at his firſt ſhoot, they next him tumbled one over another, and the reſt quickly fled ſome one way, ſome another: ſo that without any hurt, only accompanied with John Ruſſell, he obtained the corps du guard. When they perceived him ſo well eſcaped, and with his eighteen men (for he had no more with him on ſhore), to the uttermoſt of their ſkill they ſought excuſes to diſſemble the matter: and Powhatan to excuſe his flight and the ſudden coming of this multitude, ſent our Captain a great bracelet and a chain of pearl, by an ancient orator that beſpoke us to this purpoſe, perceiving even then from our pinnace, a barge and men departing and coming unto us.

"Captain Smith, our Werowance is fled, fearing your guns, and knowing when the ice was broken there would come more men, ſent theſe numbers but to guard his corn from ſtealing, that might happen without your knowledge: now though ſome be hurt by your miſpriſion, yet Powhatan is your friend and ſo will for ever continue. Now ſince the ice is open, he would have you ſend away your corn, and if you would have his company, ſend away alſo your guns, which ſo affrighteth his people, that they dare not come to you as he promiſed they ſhould."

Then having provided baſkets for our men to carry our corn to the boats, they kindly offered their ſervice to guard our arms that none ſhould ſteal them. A great many they were of goodly well proportioned fellows, as grim as devils; yet the very ſight of cocking our matches and being to let fly, a few words cauſed them to leave their bows and arrows to our guard, and bear down our corn on their backs; we needed not importune them to make diſpatch. But our barges being left on the ooſe by the ebb, cauſed us ſtay till the next high water, ſo that we returned again to our old quarter. Powhatan and his Dutchmen burſting with deſire to have the head of Captain Smith, for if they could but kill him they thought all was theirs, neglected not any opportunity to effect his purpoſe. The Indians with all the merry ſports they could deviſe, ſpent the time till night, then they all returned to Powhatan, who all this time was making ready his forces to ſurpriſe the houſe and him at ſupper, notwithſtanding the eternal all-ſeeing God did prevent him, and by a ſtrange means; for Pocahontas, his deareſt jewel and daughter, in that dark night came through the irkſome woods, and told our captain great cheer ſhould be ſent us by-and-by, but Powhatan and all the power he could make, would after come kill us all, if they that brought it could not kill us with our own weapons when we were at ſupper. Therefore if we would live ſhe wiſhed us preſently to be gone. Such things as ſhe delighted in he would have given her, but with the tears running down her cheeks, ſhe ſaid ſhe durſt not be ſeen to have any, for if Powhatan ſhould know it ſhe were but dead, and ſo ſhe ran away by herſelf as ſhe came. Within leſs then an hour came eight or ten luſty fellows with great platters of veniſon and other victuals, very importunate to have us put out our matches (whoſe ſmoke made them ſick) and ſit down to our victuals. But the captain made them taſte every diſh, which done, he ſent ſome of them back to Powhatan, to bid him make haſte, for he was prepared for his coming. As for them he knew they came to betray him at his ſupper, but he would prevent them and all their other intended villanies, ſo that they might be gone. Not long after came more meſſengers to ſee what news, not long after them others. Thus we ſpent the night as vigilantly as they till it was high water, yet ſeemed to the ſavages as friendly as they to us, and that we were ſo deſirous to give Powhatan content, as he requeſted, we did leave him Edward Brynton to kill him fowl, and the Dutchmen to

finiſh his houſe; thinking at our return from Pamaunkee the froſt would be gone, and then we might find a better opportunity if neceſſity did occaſion it, little dreaming yet of the Dutchmen's treachery, whoſe humour well ſuited this verſe:

Is any free, that may not live as freely as he liſt?
Let us live ſo, then we're as free and brutiſh as the beſt.

CHAP. IX. — *How we eſcaped ſurpriſing at Pamaunkee.*

WE had no ſooner ſet ſail but Powhatan returned, and ſent Adam and Francis (two ſtout Dutchmen) to James Town, who feigning to Captain Winne that all things were well, and that Captain Smith had uſe of their arms, wherefore they requeſted new (the which were given them) they told him their coming was for ſome extraordinary tools and ſhift of apparel, by which colourable excuſe they obtained ſix or ſeven more to their confederacy, ſuch expert thieves, that preſently furniſhed them with a great many ſwords, pike-heads, pieces, ſhot, powder, and ſuch like, ſavages they had at hand to carry it away, and the next day they returned unſuſpected, leaving their confederates to follow, and in the interim to convey them ſuch things as they could, for which ſervice they ſhould live with Powhatan, as his chief affected, free from thoſe miſeries that would happen to the colony. Samuel, their other conſort, Powhatan kept for their pledge, whoſe diligence had provided them three hundred of their kind of hatchets, the reſt fifty ſwords, eight pieces, and eight pikes. Brynton and Richard Salvage ſeeing the Dutchmen ſo diligent to accommodate the ſavages with weapons, attempted to have gotten to James Town, but they were apprehended, and expected ever when to be put to death.

Within two or three days we arrived at Pamaunkee, the king as many days entertained us with feaſting and much mirth. And the day appointed to begin our trade, the preſident, Lieutenant Percie, Mr. Weſt, Mr. Ruſſell, Mr. Behethland, Mr. Craſhaw, Mr. Powell, Mr. Ford, and ſome others to the number of fifteen, went up to Opechancanough's houſe a quarter of a mile from the river, where we found nothing but a lame fellow and a boy, and all the houſes round about of all things abandoned. Not long we ſtayed ere the king arrived, and after him came divers of his people loaden with bows and arrows, but ſuch pinching commodities, and thoſe eſteemed at ſuch a value, as our captain began with the king after this manner:

"Opechancanough, the great love you profeſs with your tongue ſeems mere deceit by your actions. Laſt year you kindly freighted our ſhip, but now you have invited me to ſtarve with hunger, you know my want, and I your plenty, of which by ſome means I muſt have part, remember it is fit for kings to keep their promiſe. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice, the reſt I will proportion fit bargains for your people.'

The King ſeemed kindly to accept his offer, and the better to colour his project, ſold us what they had to our own content, promiſing the next day more company, better provided. The barges and pinnace being committed to the charge of Mr. Phetiplace, the preſident, with his old fifteen, marched up to the King's houſe, where we found four or five men newly arrived, each with a great baſket. Not long after came the King, who with a ſtrained cheerfulneſs held us with diſcourſe what pains he had taken to keep his promiſe; till Mr. Ruſſell brought us in news that we were all betrayed, for at leaſt ſeven hundred ſavages well armed had environed the houſe and beſet the fields. The King conjecturing what Ruſſel related, we could well

well perceive how the extremity of his fear bewrayed his intent, whereat ſome of our company ſeeming diſmayed with the thought of ſuch a multitude, the captain encouraged us to this effect:

" Worthy countrymen, were the miſchiefs of my ſeeming friends no more than the danger of theſe enemies, I little cared were they as many more, if you dare do but as I. But this is my torment, that if I eſcape them our malicious council with their open mouthed minions, will make me ſuch a peace-breaker (in their opinions in England) as will break my neck. I could wiſh thoſe here, that make theſe ſeem-ſaints and me an oppreſſor. But this is the worſt of all, wherein I pray you aid me with your opinions. Should we begin with them and ſurpriſe the King, we cannot keep him and defend well ourſelves. If we ſhould each kill our man and ſo proceed with all in the houſe, the reſt will all fly, then ſhall we get no more than the bodies that are ſlain, and ſo ſtarve for victuals. As for their fury it is the leaſt danger, for well you know, being alone aſſaulted with two or three hundred of them, I made them by the help of God, compound to ſave my life. And we are ſixteen, and they but ſeven hundred at the moſt; and aſſure yourſelves, God will ſo aſſiſt us that if you dare ſtand but to diſcharge your pieces, the very ſmoke will be ſufficient to affright them. Yet howſoever, let us fight like men and not die like ſheep, for by that means you know God hath often delivered me, and ſo I truſt will now. But firſt I will deal with them to bring it to paſs we may fight for ſomething, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion promiſe me you will be valiant."

The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatſoever he attempted or die: whereupon the captain in plain terms told the King this:

" I ſee Opechancanough your plot to murder me, but I fear it not. As yet your men and mine have done no harm but by our direction. Take therefore your arms, you ſee mine, my body ſhall be as naked as yours, the iſle in your river is a fit place if you be contented, and the conqueror of us two ſhall be lord and maſter over all our men. If you have not enough take time to fetch more and bring what number you will, ſo every one bring a baſket of corn, againſt all which I will ſtake the value in copper, you ſee I have but fifteen, and our game ſhall be, the conqueror take all."

The King being guarded with forty or fifty of his chief men, ſeemed kindly to appeaſe Smith's ſuſpicion of unkindneſs, by a great preſent at the door, they entreated him to receive; this was to draw him out of the door, where the bait was guarded with at leaſt two hundred men, and thirty lying under a great tree (that lay thwart as a barricado) each his arrow knock ready to ſhoot. The preſident commanded one to go ſee what kind of deceit this was, and to receive the preſent, but he refuſed to do it, yet the gentlemen and all the reſt were importunate to go, but he would not permit them, being vexed at that coward: and commanded Lieutenant Percie, Mr. Weſt, and the reſt to make good the houſe, Mr. Powell and Mr. Behethland he commanded to guard the door, and in ſuch a rage ſnatched the King by his long lock in the midſt of his men, with his piſtol ready bent againſt his breaſt. Thus he led the trembling King near dead with fear amongſt all his people, who delivering the captain his vambrace, bow, and arrows, all his men were eaſily entreated to caſt down their arms, little dreaming any durſt in that manner have uſed their King, who then to eſcape himſelf beſtowed his preſents in good ſadneſs, and cauſing a great many of them come before him unarmed, holding the King by the hair (as is ſaid) he ſpake to them to this effect:

" I ſee (you Pamaunkees) the great deſire you have to kill me, and my long ſuffering your injuries hath emboldened you to this preſumption. The cauſe I have for-

borne your inſolences is the promiſe I made you (before the God I ſerve) to be your friend till you give me juſt cauſe to be your enemy. If I keep this vow my God will keep me, you cannot hurt me, if I break it, he will deſtroy me. But if you ſhoot but one arrow to ſhed one drop of blood of any of my men, or ſteal the leaſt of theſe beads or copper, I ſpurn here before you with my foot; you ſhall ſee I will not ceaſe revenge (if once I begin) ſo long as I can hear where to find one of your nation that will not deny the name of Pamaunkee. I am not now at Raſſaweak half drowned with mire, where you took me priſoner, yet then for keeping your promiſe and your good uſage and ſaving my life, I ſo affect you, that your denials of your treachery do half perſuade me to miſtake myſelf. But if I be the mark you aim at, here I ſtand, ſhoot he that dare. You promiſed to freight my ſhip ere I departed, and ſo you ſhall, or I mean to load her with your dead carcaſſes, yet, if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promiſe not to trouble you, except you give me the firſt occaſion; and your King ſhall be free and be my friend, for I am not come to hurt him or any of you."

Upon this away went their bows and arrows, and men, women, and children, brought in their commodities, two or three hours they ſo thronged about the preſident and ſo overwearied him as he retired himſelf to reſt, leaving Mr. Behethland and Mr. Powell to receive their preſents; but ſome ſavages perceiving him faſt aſleep, and the guard ſomewhat careleſsly diſperſed, forty or fifty of their choice men, each with a club or an Engliſh ſword in his hand, began to enter the houſe, with two or three hundred others that preſſed to ſecond them. The noiſe and haſte they made in did ſo ſhake the houſe they awoke him from his ſleep, and being half amazed with this ſudden fight, betook him ſtrait to his ſword and target, Mr. Chraſhaw and ſome others charged in like manner, whereat they quickly thronged faſter back than before forward. The houſe thus cleanſed, the King and ſome of his ancients we kept yet with him, who with a long oration excuſed this intruſion. The reſt of the day was ſpent with much kindneſs, the company again renewing their preſents with their beſt proviſions, and whatſoever he gave them they ſeemed therewith well contented.

Now in the mean while ſince our departure, this happened at our fort. Mr. Scrivener having received letters from England, to make himſelf either Cæſar or nothing, he began to decline in his affection to Captain Smith, that ever regarded him as himſelf, and was willing to croſs the ſurpriſing of Powhatan. Some certain days after the preſident's departure, he would needs go viſit the Iſle of Hogs, and took with him Captain Waldo (though the preſident had appointed him to be ready to ſecond his occaſions) with Mr. Anthony Goſnoll and eight others; but ſo violent was the wind (that extreme frozen time) that the boat ſunk, but where or how none doth know. The ſkiff was much over-loaden, and would ſcarce have lived in that extreme tempeſt had ſhe been empty; but by no perſuaſion he could be diverted, though both Waldo and an hundred others doubted as it happened. The ſavages were the firſt that found their bodies, which ſo much the more encouraged them to effect their projects. To advertiſe the preſident of this heavy news, none could be found would undertake it, but the journey was often refuſed of all in the fort, until Mr. Richard Wyffin undertook alone the performance thereof.

In this journey he was encountered with many dangers and difficulties in all parts as he paſſed. As for that night he lodged with Powhatan, perceiving ſuch preparation for war, not finding the preſident there, he did aſſure himſelf ſome miſchief was intended. Pocahontas hid him for a time, and ſent them who purſued him the clean contrary way to ſeek him; but by her means, and extraordinary bribes, and much trouble in three days travel, at length he found us in the midſt of theſe turmoils.

This

This unhappy news the preſident ſwore him to conceal from the company, and ſo diſſembling his ſorrow with the beſt countenance he could, when the night approached, went ſafely on board with all his ſoldiers; leaving Opechancanough at liberty, according to his promiſe, the better to have Powhatan in his return.

Now ſo extremely Powhatan had threatened the death of his men, if they did not by ſome means kill Captain Smith, that the next day they appointed all the country ſhould come to trade unarmed; yet unwilling to be treacherous, but that they were conſtrained, hating fighting with him almoſt as ill as hanging, ſuch fear they had of bad ſucceſs. The next morning the ſun had not long appeared, but the fields appeared covered with people and baſkets, to tempt us on ſhore; but nothing was to be had without his preſence, nor they would not indure the ſight of a gun. When the preſident ſaw them begin to depart, being unwilling to looſe ſuch a booty, he ſo well contrived the pinnace, and his barges with ambuſcades, as only with Lieutenant Percy, Mr. Weſt, and Mr. Ruſſell, with their arms, went on ſhore; others he appointed unarmed to receive what was brought. The ſavages flocked before him in heaps, and the bank ſerving as a trench for a retreat, he drew them fair open to his ambuſcades. For he not being to be perſuaded to go viſit their king, the king knowing the moſt of them unarmed, came to viſit him with two or three hundred men, in the form of two half moons; and with ſome twenty men, and many women laden with painted baſkets. But when they approached ſomewhat near us, their women and children fled. For when they had environed and beſet the fields in this manner, they thought their purpoſe ſure, yet ſo trembled with fear as they were ſcarce able to nock their arrows; Smith ſtanding with his three men ready bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our ambuſcades, who upon the word diſcovered themſelves, and he retired to the barge, which the ſavages no ſooner perceived than away they fled, eſteeming their heels for their beſt advantage.

That night we ſent Mr. Chraſhaw and Mr. Ford to James Town, to Captain Winne. In the way between Werowocomoco and the fort, they met four or five of the Dutchmen's confederates going to Powhatan; the which to excuſe thoſe gentlemen's ſuſpicion of their running to the ſavages, returned to the fort, and there continued.

The ſavages hearing our barge go down the river in the night, were ſo terribly afraid, that we ſent for more men (we having ſo much threatened their ruin, and the raiſing of their houſes, boats, and wires), that the next day the King ſent our captain a chain of pearl, to alter his purpoſe and ſtay his men; promiſing, though they wanted themſelves, to freight our ſhip and bring it aboard to avoid ſuſpicion. So that five or ſix days after, from all parts of the country within ten or twelve miles, in the extreme froſt and ſnow, they brought us proviſion on their naked backs.

Yet notwithſtanding this kindneſs and trade, had their art and poiſon been ſufficient, the preſident, Mr. Weſt, and ſome others, had been poiſoned; it made them ſick, but expelled itſelf. Wecuttanow, a ſtout young fellow, knowing he was ſuſpected for bringing this preſent of poiſon, with forty or fifty of his chief companions (ſeeing the preſident but with a few men at Potauncak,) ſo proudly braved it, as though he expected to encounter a revenge. Which the preſident perceiving in the midſt of his company, did not only beat, but ſpurned like a dog, as ſcorning to do him any worſe miſchief. Whereupon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to have ſo well eſcaped; and the townſmen remaining, preſently freighted our barge to be rid of our companies; framing many excuſes to excuſe Wecuttanow, (being ſon to their chief King, but Powhatan) and told us if we would ſhew them him

that brought the poiſon, they would deliver him to us to puniſh as we pleaſed. Men may think it ſtrange there ſhould be ſuch a ſtir for a little corn; but had it been gold, with more eaſe we might have got it; and had it wanted, the whole colony had ſtarved. We may be thought very patient to endure all thoſe injuries, yet only with fearing them we got what they had. Whereas if we had taken revenge, then, by their loſs, we ſhould have loſt ourſelves. We ſearched alſo the countries of Youghtanund and Mattapanient, where the people imparted that little they had with ſuch complaints and tears from the eyes of women and children, as he had been too cruel to have been a Chriſtian, that would not have been ſatisfied and moved with compaſſion. But had this happened in October, November, and December, when that unhappy diſcovery of Monacan was made, we might have freighted a ſhip of forty tuns, and twice as much might have been had from the rivers of Rapahanock, Patawomek, and Pawtuxunt.

The main occaſion of our thus temporizing with them was to part friends as we did, to give the leſs cauſe of ſuſpicion to Powhatan to fly, by whom we now returned with a purpoſe to have ſurpriſed him and his proviſion. For effecting whereof (when we came againſt the town) the preſident ſent Mr. Wyffin and Mr. Coe aſhore to diſcover and make way for his intended project. But they found that thoſe damned Dutchmen had cauſed Powhatan to abandon his new houſe and Werowocomoco, and to carry away all his corn and proviſion; and the people they found ſo ill affected, that they were in great doubt how to eſcape with their lives. So the preſident finding his intent fruſtrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an unfit time to revenge their abuſes, ſent Mr. Michael Phittiplace by land to James Town, where we ſailed with all the ſpeed we could; we having in this journey (for twenty-five pounds of copper, and fifty pounds of iron and beads) enough to keep forty-ſix men ſix weeks, and every man for his reward a month's proviſion extraordinary (no trade being allowed but for the ſtore); we got near two hundred pounds weight of deer ſuet, and delivered to the Cape merchant four hundred and ſeventy-nine buſhels of corn.

Thoſe temporizing proceedings to ſome may ſeem too charitable, to ſuch a daily daring, treacherous people: to others not pleaſing, that we waſhed not the ground with their blood, nor ſhewed ſuch ſtrange inventions in mangling, murdering, ranſacking, and deſtroying (as did the Spaniards) the ſimple bodies of ſuch ignorant ſouls; nor delightful, becauſe not ſtuffed with relations of heaps and mines of gold and ſilver, nor ſuch rare commodities as the Portugueſe and Spaniards found in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; the want whereof hath begot us (that were the firſt undertakers) no leſs ſcorn and contempt, than the noble conqueſts and valiant adventures beautified with it, praiſe and honour. Too much I confeſs the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit: and to clear us from the blind world's ignorant cenſure, theſe few words may ſuffice any reaſonable underſtanding.

It was the Spaniards good hap to happen in thoſe parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence, it afforded victuals at all times. And time had brought them to that perfection, they had the uſe of gold and ſilver, and the moſt of ſuch commodities as thoſe countries afforded: ſo that, what the Spaniard got was chiefly the ſpoil and pillage of thoſe country people, and not the labours of their own hands. But had thoſe fruitful countries been as ſavage, as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, laboured, and manured, as Virginia, their proper labours it is likely would have produced as ſmall profit as ours. But had Virginia been peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with ſuch ſtore of precious jewels, and

and rich commodities as was the Indies, then had we not gotten and done as much as by their examples might be expected from us; the world might then have traduced us and our merits, and have made ſhame and infamy our recompence and reward.

But we chanced in a land even as God made it, where we found only an idle, improvident, ſcattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold or ſilver, or any commodities, and careleſs of any thing but from hand to mouth, except baubles of no worth; nothing to encourage us but what accidentally we found nature afforded; which, ere we could bring to recompenſe our pains, defray our charges, and ſatisfy our adventurers, we were to diſcover the country, ſubdue the people, bring them to be tractable, civil, and induſtrious, and teach them trades, that the fruits of their labours might make us ſome recompence, or plant ſuch colonies of our own, that muſt firſt make proviſion how to live of themſelves, ere they can bring to perfection the commodities of the country, which doubtleſs will be as commodious for England as the Weſt Indies for Spain, if it be rightly managed, notwithſtanding all our home-bred opinions that will argue the contrary, as formerly ſome have done againſt the Spaniards and Portugueſe. But to conclude, againſt all rumour of opinion, I only ſay this, for thoſe that the three firſt years began this plantation, notwithſtanding all their factions, mutinies, and miſeries, ſo gently corrected and well prevented; peruſe the Spaniſh decades, the relations of Mr. Hackluit, and tell me how many ever, with ſuch ſmall means as a barge of twenty-two tons, ſometimes with ſeven, eight, or nine, or but at moſt twelve or ſixteen men, did ever diſcover ſo many fair and navigable rivers, ſubject to ſo many ſeveral kings, people, and nations, to obedience and contribution, with ſo little bloodſhed.

And if in the ſearch of thoſe countries we had happened where wealth had been, we had as ſurely had it as obedience and contribution; but if we have overſkipped it, we will not envy them that ſhall find it: yet can we not but lament it was our fortunes to end, when we had but only learned how to begin, and found the right courſe how to proceed.

By RICHARD WYFFIN, WILLIAM PHITTIPLACE, JEFFREY ABBOT, and ANAS TODKILL.

CHAP. X.—*How the Savages became ſubject to the Engliſh.*

WHEN the ſhips departed, all the proviſion of the ſtore (but that the preſident had gotten) was ſo rotten with the laſt ſummer's rain, and eaten with the rats and worms, as the hogs would ſcarcely eat it; yet it was the ſoldiers' diet till our return, ſo that we found nothing done, but our victuals ſpent, and the moſt part of our tools, and a good part of our arms conveyed to the ſavages. But now caſting up the ſtore, and finding ſufficient till the next harveſt, the fear of ſtarving was abandoned, and the company divided into tens, fifteens, or as the buſineſs required; ſix hours each day was ſpent in work, the reſt in paſtime and merry exerciſes; but the untowardneſs of the greateſt number cauſed the preſident to adviſe as followeth:

"Countrymen, the long experience of our late miſeries, I hope, is ſufficient to perſuade every one to a preſent correction of himſelf, and think not that either my pains, nor the adventurers' purſes, will ever maintain you in idleneſs and ſloth. I ſpeak not this to you all, for divers of you I know deſerve both honour and reward, better than is yet here to be had; but the greater part muſt be more induſtrious or ſtarve, however you have been heretofore tolerated by the authority of the council, from that I

have often commanded you. You ſee now that power reſteth wholly in myſelf: you muſt obey this now for a law, that he that will not work ſhall not eat (except by ſickneſs he be diſabled); for the labours of thirty or forty honeſt and induſtrious men ſhall not be conſumed to maintain a hundred and fifty idle loiterers: and though you preſume the authority here is but a ſhadow, and that I dare not touch the lives of any, but my own muſt anſwer it, the letters patent ſhall each week be read to you, whoſe contents will tell you the contrary. I would wiſh you, therefore, without contempt, ſeek to obſerve theſe orders ſet down, for there are now no more counſellors to protect you, nor curb my endeavours. Therefore, he that offendeth let him aſſuredly expect his due puniſhment."

He made alſo a table, as a public memorial of every man's deſerts, to encourage the good, and with ſhame to ſpur on the reſt to amendment. By this many became very induſtrious, yet more by puniſhment performed their buſineſs, for all were ſo taſked, that there was no excuſe could prevail to deceive him; yet the Dutchmen's conſorts ſo cloſely conveyed them powder, ſhot, ſwords, and tools, that though we could find the defect, we could not find by whom till it was too late.

All this time the Dutchmen remaining with Powhatan (who kindly entertained them to inſtruct the ſavages the uſe of our arms), and their conſorts not following them as they expected, to know the cauſe they ſent Francis, their companion, a ſtout young fellow, diſguiſed like a ſavage, to the glaſs-houſe, a place in the woods, near a mile from James Town, where was their rendezvous for all their unſuſpected villainy. Forty men they procured to lie in ambuſcade for Captain Smith, who no ſooner heard of this Dutchman, but he ſent to apprehend him (but he was gone); yet to croſs his return to Powhatan, the Captain preſently diſpatched twenty ſhot after him, himſelf returning from the glaſs-houſe alone. By the way he encountered the King of Paſpahegh, a moſt ſtrong, ſtout ſavage, whoſe perſuaſions not being able to perſuade him to his ambuſh, ſeeing him only armed but with a falchion, attempted to have ſhot him; but the preſident prevented his ſhot by grappling with him, and the ſavages as well prevented him for drawing his falchion, and perforce bore him into the river to have drowned them. Long they ſtruggled in the water, till the preſident got ſuch hold on his throat, he had near ſtrangled the King; but having drawn his falchion to cut off his head, ſeeing how pitifully he begged his life, he led him priſoner to James Town, and put him in chains.

The Dutchman ere long was alſo brought in, whoſe villainy, though all this time it was ſuſpected, yet he feigned ſuch a formal excuſe, that for want of language Captain Winne underſtood him not rightly, and for their dealings with Powhatan, that to ſave their lives they were conſtrained to accommodate his arms, of whom he extremely complained to have detained them perforce, and that he made this eſcape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to have returned, but was only walking in the woods to gather walnuts. Yet for all this fair tale there was ſo ſmall appearance of truth, and the plain confeſſion of Paſpahegh of his treachery, he went by the heels, Smith purpoſing to regain the Dutchmen by the ſaving his life. The poor ſavage did his beſt by his daily meſſengers to Powhatan, but all returned that the Dutchmen would not return, neither did Powhatan ſtay them, and to bring them fifty miles on his men's backs they were not able. Daily this King's wives, children, and people came to viſit him with preſents, which he liberally beſtowed to make his peace. Much truſt they had in the preſident's promiſe; but the King finding his guard negligent, though fettered yet eſcaped. Captain Winne thinking to purſue him, found ſuch troops of ſavages to hinder his paſſage, as they exchanged many vollies of ſhot for flights of

arrows. Captain Smith hearing of this in returning to the fort, took two ſavages priſoners, called Kemps and Tuſſore, the two moſt exact villains in all the country. With theſe he ſent Captain Winne and fifty choice men, and Lieutenant Percie, to have regained the King, and revenged this injury, and ſo had done, if they had followed his directions, or been adviſed with thoſe two villains, that would have betrayed both King and kindred for a piece of copper; but he trifling away the night, the ſavages the next morning, by the riſing of the ſun, braved him to come aſhore to fight: a good time both ſides let fly at other, but we heard of no hurt, only they took two canoes, burnt the King's houſe, and ſo returned to James Town.

The preſident, fearing thoſe bravadoes would but encourage the ſavages, began again himſelf to try his concluſions, whereby ſix or ſeven were ſlain, as many made priſoners. He burnt their houſes, took their boats, with all their fiſhing wires, and planted ſome of them at James Town for his own uſe, and now reſolved not to ceaſe till he had revenged himſelf of all who had injured him. But in his journey paſſing by Paſpahegh, towards Chickahamania, the ſavages did their beſt to draw him to their ambuſcades; but ſeeing him regardleſsly paſs their country, all ſhewed themſelves in their braveſt manner. To try their valour he could not but let fly; and ere he could land, they no ſooner knew him, but they threw down their arms and deſired peace. Their orator was a luſty young fellow, called Okaning, whoſe worthy diſcourſe deſerveth to be remembered. And thus it was:

"Captain Smith, my maſter is here preſent in the company, thinking it Captain Winne, and not you, (of him he intended to have been revenged) having never offended him. If he hath offended you in eſcaping your impriſonment, the fiſhes ſwim, the fouls fly, and the very beaſts ſtrive to eſcape the ſnare and live. Then blame not him being a man. He would entreat you remember, you being a priſoner, what pains he took to ſave your life. If ſince he hath injured you, he was compelled to it: but howſoever, you have revenged it with our too great loſs. We perceive and well know you intend to deſtroy us, that are here to intreat and deſire your friendſhip, and to enjoy our houſes, and plant our fields, of whoſe fruit you ſhall participate: otherwiſe you will have the worſe by our abſence; for we can plant any where, though with more labour; and we know you cannot live if you want our harveſt, and that relief we bring you. If you promiſe us peace, we will believe; if you proceed in revenge, we will abandon the country."

Upon theſe terms the preſident promiſed them peace, till they did us injury, upon condition they ſhould bring in proviſion. Thus all departed good friends, and ſo continued till Smith left the country.

Arriving at James Town, complaint was made to the preſident that the Chickahamanians, who all this while continued trade, and ſeemed our friends, by colour thereof were the only thieves: and amongſt other things a piſtol being ſtolen, and the thief fled, there was apprehended two proper young fellows, that were brothers, known to be his confederates. Now to regain this piſtol, the one was impriſoned, the other was ſent to return the piſtol again within twelve hours, or his brother to be hanged: yet the preſident, pitying the poor naked ſavage in the dungeon, ſent him victuals, and ſome charcoal for a fire. Ere midnight his brother returned with the piſtol; but the poor ſavage in the dungeon was ſo ſmothered with the ſmoke he had made, and ſo piteouſly burnt, that we found him dead. The other moſt lamentably bewailed his death, and broke forth into ſuch bitter agonies, that the preſident to quiet him told him, that if hereafter they would not ſteal, he would make him alive again: but he little thought he could be recovered; yet we doing our beſt with aqua vitæ and vinegar,

gar, it pleaſed God to reſtore him again to life, but ſo drunk and affrighted, that he ſeemed lunatic, the which as much tormented and grieved the other, as before to ſee him dead; of which malady, upon promiſe of their good behaviour, the preſident promiſed to recover him, and ſo cauſed him to be laid by a fire to ſleep, who in the morning, having well ſlept, had recovered his perfect ſenſes, and then being dreſſed of his burning, each a piece of copper given them, they went away ſo well contented, that this was ſpread among all the ſavages for a miracle, that Captain Smith could make a man alive that was dead.

Another ingenious ſavage of Powhatans, having gotten a great bag of powder, and the back of an armour, at Werowocomoco, amongſt many of his companions, to ſhew his extraordinary ſkill, he dried it on the back, as he had ſeen the ſoldiers at James Town; but he dried it ſo long, they peeping over it to ſee his ſkill, it took fire, and blew him to death, and one or two more, and the reſt ſo ſcorched, that they had little pleaſure to meddle any more with powder.

Theſe and many other ſuch pretty accidents ſo amazed and affrighted both Powhatan and all his people, that from all parts, with preſents, they deſired peace, returning many ſtolen things which we never demanded, nor thought of; and after that, thoſe that were taken ſtealing, both Powhatan and his people have ſent them back to James Town, to receive their puniſhment; and all the country became abſolutely as free for us as for themſelves.

CHAP. XI. — *What was done in three Months, having Victuals; the Store devoured by Rats; how we lived three Months on ſuch natural Fruits as the Country afforded.*

NOW we ſo quietly followed our buſineſs, that in three months we made three or four laſts of tar, pitch, and ſoap-aſhes, produced a trial of glaſs, made a well in the fort of excellent ſweet water, which till then was wanting; built ſome twenty houſes, recovered our church, provided nets and wires for fiſhing; and to ſtop the diſorders of our diſorderly thieves, and the ſavages, built a blockhouſe in the neck of our iſle, kept by a garriſon to entertain the ſavages' trade, and none to paſs or repaſs, ſavage nor chriſtian, without the preſident's order; thirty or forty acres of ground we digged and planted; of three ſows in eighteen months increaſed ſixty and odd pigs, and near five hundred chickens brought up themſelves, without having any meat given them; but the hogs were tranſported to Hog Iſle, where alſo we built a blockhouſe, with a garriſon, to give us notice of any ſhipping, and for their exerciſe they made a clapboard and wainſcot, and cut down trees; we built alſo a fort for a retreat, near a convenient river, upon a high commanding hill, very hard to be aſſaulted, and eaſy to be defended; but ere it was finiſhed, this defect cauſed a ſtay.

In ſearching our caſked corn, we found it half rotten, and the reſt ſo conſumed with ſo many thouſands of rats, that increaſed ſo faſt; but their original was from the ſhips, as we knew not how to keep that little we had. This did drive us all to our wit's end, for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded; until this time, Kemps and Taſſore were fettered priſoners, and did double taſk and taught us how to order and plant our fields, whom now for want of victuals we ſet at liberty, but ſo well they liked our companies, they did not deſire to go from us, and to expreſs their loves, for ſixteen days continuance the country people brought us (when leaſt) one hundred a day of ſquirrels, turkies, deer, and other wild beaſts: but this want of corn occaſioned the end of all our works, it being work ſufficient to provide victuals. Sixty or eighty, with Enſign Laxon, were ſent down the river to live upon oyſters, and twenty, with

Lieutenant Percy, to try for fiſhing at Point Comfort; but in ſix weeks they would not agree once to caſt out the net, he being ſick and burnt ſore with gunpowder. Mr. Weſt with as many went up to the falls, but nothing could be found but a few acorns; of that in ſtore every man had his equal proportion. Till this preſent, by the hazard and endeavours of ſome thirty or forty, this whole colony had ever been fed; we had more ſturgeon than could be devoured by dog and man, of which the induſtrious, by drying and pounding, mingled with caviare, ſorell, and other wholeſome herbs, would make bread and good meat; others would gather as much tockwhogh roots in a day as would make them bread a week; ſo that of thoſe wild fruits, and what we caught, we lived very well in regard of ſuch a diet; but ſuch was the ſtrange condition of ſome hundred and fifty, that had they not been forced, nolens, volens, perforce to gather and prepare their victuals, they would all have ſtarved, or have eaten one another. Of thoſe wild fruits the ſavages often brought us, and for that the preſident would not fulfil the unreaſonable deſire of thoſe diſtracted gluttonous loiterers, to ſell not only our kettles, hoes, tools, and iron, nay, ſwords, pieces, and the very ordnance and houſes, might they have prevailed to have been but idle; for thoſe ſavage fruits, they would have imparted all to the ſavages, eſpecially for one baſket of corn they heard of to be at Powhatan, fifty miles from our fort. Though he bought near half of it to ſatisfy their humours, yet to have had the other half they would have ſold their ſouls, though not ſufficient to have kept them a week. Thouſands were their exclamations, ſuggeſtions, and devices, to force him to thoſe baſe inventions, to have made it an occaſion to abandon the country. Want perforce conſtrained him to endure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one Dyer, a moſt crafty fellow, and his ancient maligner, whom he worthily puniſhed, and with the reſt he argued the caſe in this manner:

"Fellow ſoldiers, I did little think any ſo falſe to report, or ſo many to be ſo ſimple to be perſuaded, that I either intend to ſtarve you, or that Powhatan at this preſent hath corn for himſelf, much leſs for you; or that I would not have it, if I knew where it was to be had: neither did I think any ſo malicious as I now ſee a great many; yet it ſhall not ſo paſſionate me, but I will do my beſt for my moſt maligner. But dream no longer of this vain hope from Powhatan; not that I will longer forbear to force you from your idleneſs, and puniſh you if you rail; but if I find any more runners for Newfoundland with the pinnace, let him aſſuredly look to arrive at the gallows. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life many a time I have ſaved yours, when (might your own wills have prevailed,) you would have ſtarved; and will do ſtill whether I will or no; but I proteſt by that God that made me, ſince neceſſity hath not power to force you to gather for yourſelves thoſe fruits the earth doth yield, you ſhall not only gather for yourſelves, but thoſe that are ſick. As yet I never had more from the ſtore than the worſt of you, and all my Engliſh extraordinary proviſion that I have, you ſhall ſee me divide it amongſt the ſick; and this ſavage traſh you ſo ſcornfully repine at, being put in your mouths, your ſtomachs can digeſt; if you would have better, you ſhould have brought it, and therefore I will take a courſe you ſhall provide what is to be had. The ſick ſhall not ſtarve, but equally ſhare of all our labours; and he that gathereth not every day as much as I do, the next day ſhall be ſet beyond the river, and be baniſhed from the fort as a drone, till he amend his conditions or ſtarve." But ſome would ſay with Seneca,

I know thoſe things thou ſay'ſt are true, good nurſe,
But fury forceth me to follow worſe;
My mind is hurried headlong up and down,
Deſiring better counſel, yet finds none.

This

This order many murmured was very cruel; but it cauſed the moſt part to ſo well beſtir themſelves, that of two hundred, (except they were drowned) there died not paſt ſeven; as for Captain Winne and Mr. Leigh, they were dead ere this want happened, and the reſt died not for want of ſuch as preſerved the reſt; many were billetted amongſt the ſavages, whereby we knew all their paſſages, fields, and habitations, how to gather and uſe their fruits as well as themſelves; for they knew we had ſuch a commanding power at James Town, they durſt not wrong us of a pin.

So well thoſe poor ſavages uſed us that were thus billetted, that divers of the ſoldiers ran away to ſearch Kemps and Taſſore our old priſoners. Glad were theſe ſavages to have ſuch an opportunity to teſtify their love unto us; for inſtead of entertaining them, and ſuch things as they had ſtolen, with all their great offers and promiſes they made them how to revenge their injuries upon Captain Smith. Kemps firſt made himſelf ſport, in ſhewing his countrymen (by them) how he was uſed, feeding them with this law, who would not work muſt not eat, till they were near ſtarved indeed, continually threatening to beat them to death: neither could they get from him, till he and his conſorts brought them perforce to our captain, that ſo well contented him and puniſhed them, as many others that intended alſo to follow them, were rather contented to labour at home, than adventure to live idly amongſt the ſavages (of whom there was more hope to make better Chriſtians and good ſubjects, than the one-half of thoſe that counterfeited themſelves both). For ſo afraid were all thoſe kings and the better ſort of the people to diſpleaſe us, that ſome of the baſer ſort that we have extremely hurt and puniſhed for their villanies, would hire us we ſhould not tell it to their kings or countrymen, who would alſo re-puniſh them, and yet return them to James Town to content the preſident for a teſtimony of their loves.

Mr. Sicklemore well returned from Chawwonoke; but found little hope, and leſs certainty of them were left by Sir Walter Raleigh. The river he ſaw was not great, the people few, the country moſt overgrown with pines, where there did grow here and there ſtragglingly pemminaw, we call ſilk-graſs. But by the river the ground was good, and exceeding fertile.

Mr. Nathaniel Powell and Anas Todkill were alſo by the Quiyoughquohanocks conducted to the Mangoags to ſearch them there; but nothing could they learn but they were all dead. This honeſt proper good promiſe-keeping King, of all the reſt did ever beſt affect us, and though to his falſe gods he was very zealous, yet he would confeſs our God as much exceeded his as our guns did his bow and arrows, often ſending our preſident many preſents, to pray to his God for rain or his corn would periſh, for his gods were angry. Three days journey they conducted them through the woods, into a high country towards the ſouth-weſt, where they ſaw here and there a little corn field, by ſome little ſpring or ſmall brook, but no river they could ſee: the people in all reſpects like the reſt, except their language: they live moſt upon roots, fruits and wild beaſts; and trade with them towards the ſea and the fatter countries for dried fiſh and corn, for ſkins.

All this time to recover the Dutchmen and one Bentley, another fugitive, we employed one William Volday, a Swiſs by birth, with pardons and promiſes to regain them. Little we then ſuſpected this double villain of any villainy, who plainly taught us, in the moſt truſt was the greateſt treaſon; for this wicked hypocrite, by the ſeeming hate he bore to the lewd conditions of his curſed countrymen, (having this opportunity by his employment to regain them,) conveyed them every thing they deſired to effect their projects, to deſtroy the colony. With much devotion they expected the Spaniards, to whom they intended good ſervice, or any other, that would but carry them from us.

But

But to begin with the firſt opportunity: they ſeeing neceſſity thus enforced us to diſperſe ourſelves, importuned Powhatan to lend them but his forces, and they would not only deſtroy our hogs, fire our town, and betray our pinnace, but bring to his ſervice and ſubjection the moſt of our company. With this plot they had acquainted many diſcontents, and many were agreed to their deviliſh practice. But one Thomas Douſe, and Thomas Mallard (whoſe Chriſtian hearts relented at ſuch an unchriſtian act) voluntarily revealed it to Captain Smith, who cauſed them to conceal it, perſuading Douſe and Mallard to proceed in their confederacy: only to bring the irreclaimable Dutchmen and the inconſtant ſavages in ſuch a manner amongſt ſuch ambuſcadoes as he had prepared, that not many of them ſhould return from our peninſula. But this brute coming to the ears of the impatient multitude, they ſo importuned the preſident to cut off thoſe Dutchmen, as amongſt many that offered to cut their throats before the face of Powhatan, the firſt was Lieutenant Percy, and Mr. John Cuderington, two gentlemen of as bold reſolute ſpirits as could poſſibly be found. But the preſident had occaſion of other employment for them, and gave way to Mr. Wyffin and ſerjeant Jeffry Abbot, to go and ſtab them or ſhoot them. But the Dutchmen made ſuch excuſes, accuſing Volday, whom they ſuppoſed had revealed their project, as Abbot would not, yet Wyffin would, perceiving it but deceit. The King underſtanding of this their employment, ſent preſently his meſſengers to Captain Smith to ſignify it was not his fault to detain them, nor hinder his men from executing his command: nor did he nor would he maintain them, or any to occaſion his diſpleaſure.

But whilſt this buſineſs was in hand, arrived one Captain Argall, and Mr. Thomas Sedan, ſent by Mr. Cornelius to truck with the colony, and fiſh for ſturgeon, with a ſhip well furniſhed with wine, and much other good proviſion. Though it was not ſent us, our neceſſities was ſuch as enforced us to take it. He brought us news of a great ſupply, and preparation for the Lord La Warre, with letters that much taxed our preſident for his hard dealing with the ſavages, and not returning the ſhips freighted. Notwithſtanding, we kept this ſhip till the fleet arrived. True it is Argall loſt his voyage, but we reviſtualled him, and ſent him for England, with a true relation of the cauſes of our defailments, and how impoſſible it was to return that wealth they expected, or obſerve their inſtructions to endure the ſavages' inſolence, or do any thing to any purpoſe, except they would ſend us men and means that could produce that they ſo much deſired: otherwiſe all they did was loſt, and could not but come to confuſion. The villainy of Volday we ſtill diſſembled. Adam, upon his pardon, came home; but Samuel ſtill ſtayed with Powhatan, to hear further of their eſtates by this ſupply. Now all their plots Smith ſo well underſtood, they were his beſt advantages to ſecure us from any treachery could be done by them or the ſavages: which with facility he could revenge when he would, becauſe all thoſe countries more feared him than Powhatan, and he had ſuch parties with all his bordering neighbours; and many of the reſt for love or fear would have done any thing he would have them, upon any commotion, though theſe fugitives had done all they could to perſuade Powhatan King James would kill Smith, for uſing him and his people ſo unkindly.

By this you may ſee for all thoſe croſſes, treacheries, and diſſentions, how he wreſtled and overcame (without bloodſhed) all that happened; alſo what good was done; how few died; what food the country naturally afforded; what ſmall cauſe there is men ſhould ſtarve, or be murdered by the ſavages, that have diſcretion to manage them with courage and induſtry. The two firſt years, though by his adventures, he had oft brought the ſavages to a tractable trade, yet you ſee how the envious authority ever croſſed him, and fruſtrated his beſt endeavours. But it wrought in him that expe-

rience and eſtimation amongſt the ſavages, as otherwiſe it had been impoſſible he had ever effected that he did. Notwithſtanding the many miſerable, yet generous and worthy adventures, he had oft and long endured in the wide world, yet in this caſe he was again to learn his lecture by experience. Which with thus much ado having obtained, it was his ill chance to end, when he had but only learned how to begin. And though he left thoſe unknown difficulties (made eaſy and familiar) to his unlawful ſucceſſors, (who, only by living in James Town, preſumed to know more than all the world could direct them:) now though they had all his ſoldiers, with a triple power, and twice triple better means; by what they have done in his abſence, the world may ſee what they would have done in his preſence, had he not prevented their indiſcretions: it doth juſtly prove, what cauſe he had to ſend them for England, and that he was neither factious, mutinous, nor diſhoneſt. But they have made it more plain ſince his return for England; having his abſolute authority freely in their power, with all the advantages and opportunity that his labours had effected. As I am ſorry their actions have made it ſo manifeſt, ſo I am unwilling to ſay what reaſon doth compel me, but only to make apparent the truth, leaſt I ſhould ſeem partial, reaſonleſs, and malicious.

CHAP. XII.—*The Arrival of the third Supply.*

TO redreſs thoſe jars and ill proceedings, the treaſurer, council, and company of Virginia, not finding that return and profit they expected; and them engaged there not having means to ſubſiſt of themſelves, made means to His Majeſty to call in their commiſſion and take a new in their own names, as in their own publication, 1610, you may read at large. Having thus annihilated the old by virtue of a commiſſion made to the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Weſt, Lord de la Warre, to be General of Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant, Sir George Somers, admiral, Sir Thomas Dale, high marſhal, Sir Ferdinando Wainman, general of the horſe, and ſo all other offices to many other worthy gentlemen for their lives, (though not any of them had ever been in Virginia, except Captain Newport, who was alſo by patent made vice-admiral); thoſe noble gentlemen drew in ſuch great ſums of money, that they ſent Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, with nine ſhips and five hundred people, who had each of them a commiſſion, who firſt arrived to call in the old, without the knowledge or conſent of them that had endured all thoſe former dangers to beat the path, not any regard had at all of them. All things being ready, becauſe thoſe three captains could not agree for place, it was concluded they ſhould go all in one ſhip, ſo all their three commiſſions were in that ſhip with them called the Sea-Venture. They ſet ſail from England in May 1609. A ſmall catch periſhed at ſea in a hericano, the admiral with an hundred and fifty men, with the two knights, and their new commiſſions, their bills of loading, with all manner of directions, and the moſt part of their proviſion arrived not. With the other ſeven ſhips, as captains, arrived Ratliffe, whoſe right names (as is ſaid) was Sicklemore, Martin, and Archer, with Captain Wood, Captain Webbe, Captain Moone, Captain King, Captain Davis, and divers gentlemen of good means and great parentage. But the firſt as they had been troubleſome at ſea began again to mar all aſhore, for though (as is ſaid) they were formerly ſent for England, yet now returning again, graced by the titles of captains of the paſſengers, ſeeing the admiral wanting, and great probability of her loſs, ſtrengthened themſelves with thoſe new companies, ſo exclaiming againſt Captain Smith, that they mortally hated him ere ever they ſaw him. Who, underſtanding by

his ſcouts, the arrival of ſuch a fleet, little dreaming of any ſuch ſupply, ſuppoſed them Spaniards. But he quickly ſo determined and ordered our affairs, as we little feared their arrival, nor the ſucceſs of our encounter; nor were the ſavages any way negligent for the moſt part to aid and aſſiſt us with their beſt power. Had it ſo been we had been happy, for we would not have truſted them but as our foes, where receiving them as our countrymen and friends, they did what they could to murder our preſident, to ſurpriſe the ſtore, the fort, and our lodgings, to uſurp the government, and make us all their ſervants and ſlaves till they could conſume us and our remembrance; and rather indeed to ſupplant us then ſupply us, as Mr. William Box, an honeſt gentleman in this voyage, thus relateth.

In the tail of a hurricane we were ſeparated from the admiral, which although it was but the remainder of that ſtorm, there is ſeldom any ſuch in England, or thoſe northern parts of Europe. Some loſt their maſts, ſome their ſails blown from their yards; the ſeas ſo over-raking our ſhips, much of our proviſion was ſpoiled, our fleet ſeparated, and our men ſick, and many died, and in this miſerable ſtate we arrived at Virginia.

But in this ſtorm,

> When rattling thunder ran along the clouds,
> Did not the ſailors poor, and maſters proud,
> A terror feel as ſtruck with fear of God:
> Did not their trembling joints then dread his rod,
> Leaſt for foul deeds and black mouth'd blaſphemies,
> The rueful time be come that vengeance cries?

To a thouſand miſchiefs thoſe lewd captains led this lewd company, wherein were many unruly gallants, packed thither by their friends to eſcape ill deſtinies, and thoſe would diſpoſe and determine of the government, ſometimes to one, the next day to another, to-day the old commiſſion muſt rule, to-morrow the new, the next day neither, in fine they would rule all or ruin all: yet in charity we muſt endure them thus to deſtroy us, or by correcting their follies, have brought the world's cenſure upon us to be guilty of their bloods. Happy had we been had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned, and as we were left to our fortunes, for on earth for the number was never more confuſion or miſery, than their factions occaſioned.

The preſident ſeeing the deſire thoſe braves had to rule, ſeeing how his authority was ſo unexpectedly changed, would willingly have left all, and have returned for England. But ſeeing there was ſmall hope this new commiſſion would arrive, longer he would not ſuffer thoſe factious ſpirits to proceed. It would be too tedious, too ſtrange, and almoſt incredible, ſhould I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practices, he daily eſcaped amongſt this factious crew, the chief whereof he quickly laid by the heels, till his leiſure better ſerved to do them juſtice, and to take away all occaſions of further miſchief; Mr. Percie had his requeſt granted to return for England, being very ſick; and Mr. Weſt with an hundred and twenty of the beſt he could chooſe, he ſent to the Falles; Martin with near as many to Nandſamund, with their due proportions of all proviſions according to their numbers.

Now the preſident's year being near expired he made Captain Martin preſident to follow the order for the election of a preſident every year, but he knowing his own inſufficiency and the companies' untowardneſs and little regard of him, within three hours after reſigned it again to Captain Smith, and at Nandſamund thus proceeded. The people being contributers uſed him kindly, yet ſuch was his jealous fear, in the midſt of their mirth he did ſurpriſe this poor naked king with his monuments, houſes,

and the iſle he inhabited, and there fortified himſelf, but ſo apparently diſtracted with fear, as emboldened the ſavages to aſſault him, kill his men, releaſe their king, gather and carry away a thouſand buſhels of corn, he not once offering to intercept them; but ſent to the preſident, then at the Falls, for thirty good ſhot, which from James Town immediately was ſent him. But he ſo well employed them they did juſt nothing, but returned complaining of his tenderneſs, yet he came away with them to James Town, leaving his company to their fortunes.

Here I cannot omit the courage of George Forreſt, that had ſeventeen arrows ſticking in him and one ſhot through him, yet lived ſix or ſeven days, as if he had ſmall hurt, then for want of chirurgery died.

Mr. Weſt having ſeated his men by the Falls, preſently returned to reviſit James Town, the preſident followed him to ſee that company ſeated, met him by the way, wondering at his ſo quick return, and found his company planted ſo inconſiderately in a place not only ſubject to the river's inundation, but round environed with many intolerable inconveniences.

For remedy whereof he preſently ſent to Powhatan to ſell him the place called Powhatan, promiſing to defend him againſt the Monacans. And theſe ſhould be his conditions, (with his people) to reſign him the fort and houſes, and all that country for a proportion of copper; that all ſtealing offenders ſhould be ſent him, there to receive their puniſhment; that every houſe as a cuſtom ſhould pay him a buſhel of corn for an inch ſquare of copper, and a proportion of pocones, as a yearly tribute to King James for their protection, as a duty; what elſe they could ſpare to barter at their beſt diſcretion.

But both this excellent place and thoſe good conditions did thoſe furies refuſe, contemning both him, his kind care and authority. So much they depended on the Lord-General's new commſſion, as they regarded none: the worſt they could do to ſhew their ſpite they did; ſuppoſing all the Monacan's country, gold; and none ſhould come there but whom they pleaſed. I do more than wonder to think how only with five men, he either durſt or would adventure as he did, (knowing how greedy they were of his blood) to land amongſt them, and commit to impriſonment all the chieftains of thoſe mutinies, till by their multitudes, being an hundred and twenty, they forced him to retire; yet in that interim he ſurpriſed one of their boats, wherewith he returned to their ſhip; where indeed was their proviſion, which alſo he took; and well it chanced he found the mariners ſo tractable and conſtant, or there had been ſmall poſſibility he had ever eſcaped. There were divers other of better reaſon and experience, that from their firſt landing, hearing the general good report of his old ſoldiers, and ſeeing with their eyes his actions ſo well managed with diſcretion, as Captain Wood, Captain Webbe, Captain Moone, Captain Fitz-James, Mr. William Powell, Mr. Patridge, Mr. White, and divers others, when they perceive the malice of Ratliffe and Archer, and their faction, left their companies, and ever reſted his faithful friends. But the worſt was that the poor ſavages, that daily brought in their contribution to the preſident, that diſorderly company ſo tormented thoſe poor ſouls, by ſtealing their corn, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houſes, and keeping ſome priſoners that they daily complained to Captain Smith, he had brought them for protectors, worſe enemies then the Monacans themſelves: which, though till then, for his love they had endured, they deſired pardon if hereafter they defended themſelves; ſince he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would. So much they importuned him to puniſh their miſdemeanors, as they offered (if he would lead them) to fight for him againſt them. But having ſpent nine days in ſeeking to reclaim them; ſhewing them how much

much they did abuſe themſelves with theſe great gilded hopes of the South Sea mines, commodities, or victories, they ſo madly conceived; then ſeeing nothing would prevail, he ſet ſail for James Town.

> Thus oft we ſee from ſmall green wounds, and from a little grief,
> A greater ſore and ſickneſs grows, than will admit relief,
> For thus themſelves they did beguile, and with the reſt play'd thief.

Now no ſooner was the ſhip under ſail, but the ſavages aſſaulted thoſe hundred and twenty in their fort, finding ſome ſtraggling abroad in the woods: they ſlew many, and ſo affrighted the reſt, as their priſoners eſcaped, and they ſafely retired, with the ſwords and cloaks of thoſe they had ſlain. But ere we had ſailed half a league, our ſhip grounding, gave us once more liberty to ſummon them to a parley; where we found them all ſo ſtrangely amazed with this poor ſilly aſſault of twelve ſavages, that they ſubmitted themſelves upon any terms to the preſident's mercy; who preſently put by the heels ſix or ſeven of the chief offenders: the reſt he ſeated gallantly at Powhatan, in that ſavage fort, ready built, and prettily fortified with poles and barks of trees, ſufficient to have defended them from all the ſavages in Virginia, dry houſes for lodgings, and near two hundred acres of ground ready to be planted, and no place we knew ſo ſtrong, ſo pleaſant, and delightful in Virginia, for which we called it Non-ſuch. The ſavages alſo he preſently appeaſed, re-delivering to either party their former loſſes. Thus all were friends.

New officers appointed to command, and the preſident again ready to depart, at that inſtant arrived Captain Weſt, whoſe gentle nature (by the perſuaſions and compaſſion of thoſe mutinous priſoners, alledging they had only done this for his honour) was ſo much abuſed, that to regain their old hopes, new turboils did ariſe. For they aſhore being poſſeſſed of all their victuals, munition, and every thing, grew to that height in their former factions, as the preſident left them to their fortunes; they returned again to the open air at Weſts Fort, abandoning Non-ſuch, and he to James Town with his beſt expedition, but this happened him in that journey.

Sleeping in his boat, (for the ſhip was returned two days before) accidentally, one fired his powder-bag, which tore the fleſh from his body and thighs, nine or ten inches ſquare in a moſt pitiful manner, but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths, he leaped overboard into the deep river, where ere they could recover him he was near drowned. In this ſtate without either ſurgeon or ſurgery, he was to go near a hundred miles. Arriving at James Town, cauſing all things to be prepared for peace or war to obtain proviſion, whilſt thoſe things were providing, Ratliffe, Archer, and the reſt of their confederates, being to come to their trials; their guilty conſciences, fearing a juſt reward for their deſerts, ſeeing the preſident unable to ſtand, and near bereft of his ſenſes by reaſon of his torment, they had plotted to have murdered him in his bed. But his heart did fail him that ſhould have given fire to that mercileſs piſtol. So not finding that courſe to be the beſt, they joined together to uſurp the government, thereby to eſcape their puniſhment. The preſident had notice of their projects, the which to withſtand, though his old ſoldiers importuned him but permit them to take their heads that would reſiſt his command, yet he would not ſuffer them, but ſent for the maſters of the ſhips, and took order with them for his return for England. Seeing there was neither ſurgeon nor ſurgery in the fort to cure his hurt, and the ſhips to depart the next day, his commiſſion to be ſuppreſſed he knew not why, himſelf and ſoldiers to be rewarded he knew not how, and a new commiſſion granted they knew not to whom, (the which diſabled that authority he had, as made them preſume ſo oft to thoſe mutinies

mutinies as they did :) beſides ſo grievous were his wounds, and ſo cruel his torments (few expecting he could live) nor was he able to follow his buſineſs to regain what they had loſt, ſuppreſs thoſe factions, and range the countries for proviſion as he intended; and well he knew in thoſe affairs his own actions and preſence was as requiſite as his directions, which now could not be, he went preſently abroad, reſolving there to appoint them governors, and to take order for the mutineers, but he could find none, he thought fit for it, would accept it. In the mean time, ſeeing him gone, they perſuaded Mr. Percy to ſtay, who was then to go for England, and be their preſident. Within leſs than an hour was this mutation begun and concluded. For when the company underſtood Smith would leave them, and ſaw the reſt in arms called preſidents and councillors, divers began to fawn on thoſe new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him reſign them his commiſſion: who after much ado and many bitter repulſes; that their confuſion (which he told them was at their elbows) ſhould not be attributed to him, for leaving the colony without a commiſſion, he was not unwilling they ſhould ſteal it, but never would he give it to ſuch as they. And thus,

Strange violent forces drew us on unwilling,
Reaſon perſuading 'gainſt our loves rebelling;
We ſaw and knew the better, ah curſe accurſt,
That notwithſtanding we embrace the worſt

But had that unhappy blaſt not happened, he would quickly have qualified the heat of thoſe humors and factions, had the ſhips but once left them and us to our fortunes, and have made that proviſion from among the ſavages, as we neither feared Spaniard, ſavage, nor famine; nor would have left Virginia, nor our lawful authority, but at as dear a price as we had bought it, and paid for it. What ſhall I ſay but thus, we left him, that in all his proceedings, made juſtice his firſt guide, and experience his ſecond, even hating baſeneſs, ſloth, pride, and indignity, more than any dangers; that never allowed more for himſelf than his ſoldiers with him; that upon no danger would ſend them where he would not lead them himſelf; that would never ſee us want, what he either had, or could by any means get us; that would rather want than borrow, or ſtarve than not pay; that loved action more than words, and hated falſhood and covetouſneſs worſe than death; whoſe adventures were our lives, and whoſe loſs our deaths.

Leaving us thus with three ſhips, ſeven boats, commodities ready to trade, the harveſt newly gathered, ten weeks proviſion in the ſtore, four hundred ninety and odd perſons, twenty-four pieces of ordnance, three hundred muſkets, ſnaphances, and firelocks, ſhot, powder, and match ſufficient, curats, pikes, ſwords, and morrios, more than men; the ſavages, their language, and habitations well known to an hundred well-trained and expert ſoldiers, nets for fiſhing, tools of all ſorts to work, apparel to ſupply our wants, ſix mares and a horſe, five or ſix hundred ſwine, as many hens and chickens, ſome goats, ſome ſheep, what was brought or bred there remained. But they regarding nothing but from hand to mouth, did conſume what we had, took care for nothing, but to perfect ſome colourable complaints againſt Captain Smith; for effecting whereof, three weeks longer they ſtayed the ſhips, till they could produce them. That time and charge might much better have been ſpent, but it ſuited well with the reſt of their diſcretions.

Beſides James Town, that was ſtrongly palliſadoed, containing ſome fifty or ſixty houſes, he left five or ſix other ſeveral forts and plantations; though they were not ſo ſumptuous as our ſucceſſors expected, they were better than they provided any for us.

All

All this time we had but one carpenter in the country, and three others that could do little, but desired to be learners, two blacksmiths, two sailors, and those we write labourers were for most part footmen, and such as they that were adventurers brought to attend them, or such as they could persuade to go with them, that never did know what a day's work was, except the Dutchmen and Poles, and some dozen other; for all the rest were poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth, than either begin one, or but help to maintain one: for when neither the fear of God, nor the law, nor shame, nor displeasure of their friends, could rule them here, there is small hope ever to bring one in twenty of them ever to be good there. Notwithstanding, I confess divers amongst them had better minds, and grew much more industrious than was expected; yet ten good workmen would have done more substantial work in a day, than ten of them in a week; therefore men may rather wonder how we could do so much, than use us so badly, because we did no more, but leave those examples to make others beware, and the fruits of all, we know not for whom.

But to see the justice of God upon these Dutchmen; Valdo before spoke of, made a shift to get for England, where persuading the merchants what rich mines he had found, and great service he would do them, was very well rewarded, and returned with the Lord La Warre; but being found a mere impostor, he died most miserably. Adam and Francis, his two consorts, were fled again to Powhatan, to whom they promised, at the arrival of my Lord, what wonders they would do, would he suffer them but to go to him; but the King seeing they would be gone, replied, You, that would have betrayed Captain Smith to me, will certainly betray me to this great Lord for your peace: so caused his men to beat out their brains.

To conclude, the greatest honour that ever belonged to the greatest monarchs, was the enlarging their dominions, and erecting commonwealths. Yet, howsoever any of them have attributed to themselves the conquerors of the world, there is more of the world never heard of them, than ever any of them all had in subjection; for the Medes, Persians, and Assyrians never conquered all Asia, nor the Grecians but part of Europe and Asia: the Romans, indeed, had a great part of both, as well as Africa; but as for all the northern parts of Europe and Asia, the interior southern and western parts of Africa, all America and Terra Incognita, they were all ignorant: nor is our knowledge yet but superficial: that their beginnings, ending, and limitations, were proportioned by the Almighty is most evident; but to consider of what small means many of them have begun is wonderful; for some write that even Rome herself, during the reign of Romulus, exceeded not the number of a thousand houses, and Carthage grew so great a potentate, that at first was but encircled in the thongs of a bulls skin, as to fight with Rome for the empire of the world. Yea, Venice, at this time the admiration of the earth, was at first but a marsh, inhabited by poor fishermen; and likewise Ninevie, Thebes, Babylon, Delus, Troy, Athens, Mycena, and Sparta, grew from small beginnings to be most famous states, though now they retain little more than a naked name. Now this our young commonwealth, in Virginia, as you have read, once consisted but of thirty-eight persons, and in two years increased but to two hundred; yet by this small means, so highly was approved the plantation in Virginia, as how many lords, with worthy knights, and brave gentlemen, pretended to see it, and some did, and now after the expence of fifteen years more, and such massy sums of men and money, they grow disanimated. If we truly consider our proceedings with the Spaniards, and the rest, we have no reason to despair, for with so small charge, they never had either greater discoveries, with such certain trials of more several commodities, than in this short time

hath

hath been returned from Virginia, and by much leſs means. New England was brought out of obſcurity, and afforded freight for near two hundred ſail of ſhips where there is now erected a brave plantation. For the happineſs of Summer Iſles, they are no leſs than either, and yet thoſe have had a far leſs and a more difficult beginning than either Rome, Carthage, or Venice.

Written by RICHARD POTS, clerk of the council, WILLIAM TANKARD, and G. P.

BOOK IV.

TO make plain the true proceedings of the hiſtory for 1609, we muſt follow the examinations of Dr. Simons, and two learned orations publiſhed by the Company; with the relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De la Ware.

What happened in the firſt Government after the Alteration in the Time of Captain George Piercie, their Governor.

THE day before Captain Smith returned for England with the ſhips, Captain Davis arrived in a ſmall pinnace, with ſome ſixteen proper men more; to theſe were added a company from James Town, under the command of Captain John Sickelmore, alias Ratcliffe, to inhabit Point Comfort. Captain Martin and Captain Weſt, having loſt their boats and near half their men among the ſavages, were returned to James Town; for the ſavages no ſooner underſtood Smith was gone, but they all revolted, and did ſpoil and murder all they encountered. Now we were all conſtrained to live only on that Smith had only for his own company, for the reſt had conſumed their proportions, and now they had twenty preſidents, with all their appurtenances: Mr. Piercie, our new preſident, was ſo ſick he could neither go nor ſtand. But ere all was conſumed, Captain Weſt and Captain Sickelmore, each with a ſmall ſhip, and thirty or forty men well appointed, fought abroad to trade. Sickelmore, upon the confidence of Powhatan, with about thirty others as careleſs as himſelf, were all ſlain, only Jeffrey Shortridge eſcaped, and Pokahontas, the King's daughter, ſaved a boy called Henry Spilman, that lived many years after, by her means, amongſt the Patawomekes. Powhatan, ſtill as he found means, cut off their boats, denied them trade, ſo that Captain Weſt ſet ſail for England. Now we all found the loſs of Captain Smith, yea, his greateſt maligners could now curſe his loſs. As for corn, proviſion, and contribution from the ſavages, we had nothing but mortal wounds, with clubs and arrows; as for our hogs, hens, goats, ſheep, horſe, or what lived, our commanders, officers, and ſavages daily conſumed them; ſome ſmall proportions ſometimes we taſted, till all was devoured; then ſwords, arms, pieces, or any thing, we traded with the ſavages, whoſe cruel fingers were ſo oft imbrued in our bloods, that what by their cruelty, our governor's indiſcretion, and the loſs of our ſhips, of five hundred within ſix months after Captain Smith's departure, there remained not paſt ſixty men, women, and children, moſt miſerable and poor creatures; and thoſe were preſerved for the moſt part by roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fiſh: they that had ſtarch in theſe extremities made no ſmall uſe of it; yea, even the very ſkins of our horſes; nay, ſo great was our famine, that a ſavage we ſlew and buried, the poorer ſort took him up again and eat him, and ſo did divers one another, boiled and ſtewed with roots and herbs: and one amongſt the reſt did kill his wife, powdered her, and had eaten

part of her before it was known, for which he was executed, as he well deſerved; now whether ſhe was better roaſted, boiled, or carbonadoed, I know not, but of ſuch a diſh as powdered wife I never heard of. This was that time, which ſtill to this day we called the ſtarving time; it were too vile to ſay, and ſcarce to be believed what we endured: but the occaſion was our own, for want of providence, induſtry, and government, and not the barrenneſs and defect of the country, as is generally ſuppoſed; for till then in three years, for the numbers were landed us, we had never from England proviſion ſufficient for ſix months, though it ſeemed by the bills of lading ſufficient was ſent us, ſuch a glutton is the ſea, and ſuch good fellows the mariners, we as little taſted of the great proportion ſent us, as they of our want and miſeries; yet notwithſtanding they ever over-ſwayed and ruled the buſineſs, though we endured all that is ſaid, and chiefly lived on what this good country naturally afforded; yet had we been even in paradiſe itſelf with theſe governors, it would not have been much better with us; yet there was amongſt us, who had they had the government as Captain Smith appointed, but that they could not maintain it, would ſurely have kept us from thoſe extremities of miſeries. This in ten days more would have ſupplanted us all with death.

But God, that would not this country ſhould be unplanted, ſent Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Sommers, with one hundred and fifty people, moſt happily preſerved by the Bermudas to preſerve us: ſtrange it is to ſay, how miraculouſly they were preſerved in a leaking ſhip, as at large you may read in the enſuing hiſtory of thoſe iſlands.

The Government reſigned to Sir Thomas Gates, 1610.

WHEN theſe two noble knights did ſee our miſeries, being but ſtrangers in that country, and could underſtand no more of the cauſe, but by conjecture of our clamours and complaints, of accuſing and excuſing one another: they embarked us with themſelves, with the beſt means they could, and abandoning James Town, ſet ſail for England, whereby you may ſee the event of the government of the former commanders left to themſelves; although they had lived there many years, as formerly hath been ſpoken (who hindered now their proceedings, Captain Smith being gone).

At noon they fell to the Iſle of Hogs, and the next morning to Mulberry Point, at what time they deſcried the long-boat of the Lord La Ware, for God would not have it ſo abandoned. For this honourable Lord, then governor of the country, met them with three ſhips, exceedingly well furniſhed with all neceſſaries fitting, who again returned them to the abandoned James Town.

Out of the obſervations of WILLIAM SIMMONS, Doctor of Divinity.

The Government devolved to the Lord La Ware.

HIS LORDSHIP arrived the ninth of June, 1610, accompanied with Sir Ferdinando Waynman, Captain Houlcroft, Captain Lawſon, and divers other gentlemen of ſort; the 10th he came up with his fleet, went on ſhore, heard a ſermon, read his commiſſion, and entered into conſultation for the good of the colony, in which ſecret council we will a little leave them, that we may duly obſerve the revealed counſel of God. He that ſhall but turn up his eye, and behold the ſpangled canopy of heaven, or ſhall but caſt down his eye, and conſider the embroidered carpet of the earth, and withal ſhall mark how

the heavens hear the earth, and the earth the corn and oil, and they relieve the neceſſities of man, that man will acknowledge God's infinite providence: but he that ſhall further obſerve, how God inclineth all caſual events to work the neceſſary help of his ſaints, muſt needs adore the Lord's infinite goodneſs. Never had any people more juſt cauſe to caſt themſelves at the very footſtool of God, and to reverence his mercy, than this diſtreſſed colony; for if God had not ſent Sir Thomas Gates from the Bermudas, within four days they had almoſt been famiſhed; if God had not directed the heart of that noble knight to ſave the fort from firing at their ſhipping, for many were very importunate to have burnt it, they had been deſtitute of a preſent harbour and ſuccour; if they had abandoned the fort any longer time, and had not ſo ſoon returned, queſtionleſs the Indians would have deſtroyed the Fort, which had been the means of our ſafeties amongſt them, and a terror. If they had ſet ſail ſooner, and had launched into the vaſt ocean, who would have promiſed they ſhould have encountered the fleet of the Lord La Ware, eſpecially when they made for Newfoundland, as they intended, a courſe contrary to our navy approaching. If the Lord La Ware had not brought with him a year's proviſion, what comfort would thoſe poor ſouls have received to have been relanded to a ſecond deſtruction? This was the arm of the Lord of Hoſts, who would have his people paſs the Red Sea and wilderneſs, and then to poſſeſs the land of Canaan. It was divinely ſpoken of heathen Socrates, "If God for man be careful, why ſhould man be over-diſtruſtful? for he hath ſo tempered the contrary qualities of the elements,

That neither cold things want heat, nor moiſt things dry,
Nor ſad things ſpirits, to quicken them thereby,
Yet make they muſical content of contrariety,
Which conquer'd, knits them in ſuch links together,
They do produce even all this whatſoever.

The lord-governor, after mature deliberation, delivered ſome few words to the company, laying juſt blame upon them for their haughty vanities and ſluggiſh idleneſs, earneſtly entreating them to amend thoſe deſperate follies, leſt he ſhould be compelled to draw the ſword of juſtice, and to cut off ſuch delinquents, which he had rather draw, to the ſhedding of his vital blood, to protect them from injuries; heartening them with relation of that ſtore he had brought with him, conſtituting officers of all conditions, to rule over them, allotting every man his particular place, to watch vigilantly, and work painfully: this oration and direction being received with a general applauſe, you might ſhortly behold the idle and reſty diſeaſes of a divided multitude, by the unity and authority of this government to be ſubſtantially cured. Thoſe that knew not the way to goodneſs before, but cheriſhed ſingularity and faction, can now chalk out the path of all reſpective duty and ſervice: every man endeavoureth to outſtrip other in diligence: the French preparing to plant the vines, the Engliſh labouring in the woods and grounds; every man knoweth his charge, and diſchargeth the ſame with alacrity. Neither let any man be diſcouraged, by the relation of their daily labour (as though the ſap of their bodies ſhould be ſpent for other men's profit) the ſettled times of working, to effect all themſelves, or as the adventurer's need deſire, required no more pains than from ſix of the clock in the morning, until ten, and from two in the afternoon till four, at both which times they are provided of ſpiritual and corporal relief. Firſt, they enter into the church, and make their prayers unto God, next they return to their houſes and receive their proportion of food. Nor ſhould it be conceived that this buſineſs excludeth gentlemen, whoſe breeding never knew what a day's labour meant, for though they cannot dig, uſe the ſpade, nor practiſe the axe, yet

yet may the ſtaid ſpirits of any condition, find how to employ the force of knowledge, the exerciſe of council, the operation and power of their beſt breeding and qualities. The houſes which are built, are as warm and defenſive againſt wind and weather, as if they were tiled and ſlated, being covered above with ſtrong boards, and ſome matted round with Indian mats. Our forces are now ſuch as are able to tame the fury and treachery of the ſavages: our forts aſſure the inhabitants, and fruſtrate all aſſailants. And to leave no diſcouragement in the heart of any, who perſonally ſhall enter into this great action, I will communicate a double comfort; firſt, Sir George Sommers, that worthy admiral, hath undertaken a dangerous adventure for the good of the colony.

Upon the 15th of June, accompanied with Captain Samuel Argall, he returned in two pinnaces unto the Bermudas, promiſing (if by any means God will open a way to that iſland of rocks) that he would ſoon return with ſix months proviſion of fleſh. With much croſs weather at laſt he there ſafely arrived, but Captain Argall was forced back again to James Town, whom the Lord De la Ware not long after ſent to the river of Patawomeke, to trade for corn; where finding an Engliſh boy, one Henry Spilman, a young gentleman well deſcended, by thoſe people preſerved from the fury of Powhatan, by his acquaintance had ſuch good uſage of thoſe kind ſavages, that they freighted his ſhip with corn, wherewith he returned to James Town.

The other comfort is, that the Lord la Ware hath built two new forts, the one called Fort Henry, the other Fort Charles, in honour of our moſt noble Prince, and his hopeful brother, upon a pleaſant plain, and near a little rivulet they call Southampton river; they ſtand in a wholeſome air, having plenty of ſprings of ſweet water, they command a great circuit of ground, containing wood, paſture and marſh, with apt places for vines, corn and gardens; in which forts it is reſolved, that all thoſe that come out of England, ſhall be at their firſt landing quartered, that the weariſomeneſs of the ſea may be refreſhed in this pleaſing part of the country, and Sir Thomas Gates he ſent for England. But to correct ſome injuries of the Paſpahegs, he ſent Captain Piercie, Mr. Stacy, and fifty or threeſcore ſhot, where the ſavages flying, they burnt their houſes, took the Queen and her children priſoners, whom not long after they ſlew.

The fertility of the ſoil, the temperature of the climate, the form of government, the condition of our people, their daily invocating of the name of God being thus expreſſed, why ſhould the ſucceſs, by the rules of mortal judgment, be diſparaged? why ſhould not the rich harveſt of our hopes be ſeaſonably expected? I dare ſay, that the reſolution of Cæſar in France, the deſigns of Alexander, the diſcoveries of Hernando Cortes in the Weſt, and of Emanuel King of Portugal in the Eaſt, were not encouraged upon ſo firm grounds of ſtate and poſſibility.

But his lordſhip being at the Falls, the ſavages aſſaulted his troops, and ſlew three or four of his men. Not long after, his honour growing very ſick, he returned for England the 28th of March; in the ſhip were about five and fifty men, but ere we arrived at Fyall, forty of us were near ſick to death, of the ſcurvy, calenture, and other diſeaſes: the governor, being an Engliſhman, kindly uſed us, but ſmall relief we could get, but oranges, of which we had plenty, whereby within eight days we recovered, and all were well and ſtrong by that they came into England.

Written by WILLIAM BOX.

The counſel of Virginia finding the ſmallneſs of that return which they hoped ſhould have defrayed the charge of a new ſupply, entered into a deep conſultation, whether it were fit to enter into a new contribution, or in time to ſend for them home, and give

over the action, and therefore they adjured Sir Thomas Gates to deal plainly with them, who with a ſolemn and a ſacred oath replied, " That all things before reported were true, and that all men know that we ſtand at the devotion of politic princes and ſtates, who for their proper utility deviſe all courſes to grind our merchants, and by all pretences to confiſcate their goods, and to draw from us all manner of gain by their inquiſitive intentions, when in Virginia, a few years labour, by planting and huſbandry, will furniſh all our defects with honour and ſecurity."

Out of a declaration publiſhed by the council, 1610.

The Government left again to Captain George Piercie, and the return of the Lord La Ware, with his relation to the Council.

MY LORDS, now by accident returned from my charge at Virginia, contrary either to my own deſire, or other men's expectations, who ſpare not to cenſure me, in point of duty, and to diſcourſe and queſtion the reaſon, though they apprehend not the true cauſe of my return, I am forced out of a willingneſs to ſatisfy every man, to deliver unto your lordſhips and the reſt of this aſſembly, in what ſtate I have lived ever ſince my arrival to the colony, what hath been the juſt cauſe of my ſudden departure, and on what terms I have left the ſame, the rather becauſe I perceive, that ſince my coming into England, ſuch a coldneſs and irreſolution is bred in many of the adventurers, that ſome of them ſeek to withdraw their payments, by which the action muſt be ſupported, making this my return colour of their needleſs backwardneſs and unjuſt protraction: which that you may the better underſtand, I was welcomed to James Town by a violent ague; being cured of it, within three weeks after I began to be diſtempered with other grievous ſickneſs which ſucceſſively and ſeverally aſſailed me, for beſides a relapſe into the former diſeaſe, which with much more violence held me more than a month, and brought me to greater weakneſs; the flux ſurprized me, and kept me many days, then the cramp aſſaulted my weak body with ſtrong pains, and after, the gout; all thoſe drew me to that weakneſs, being unable to ſtir, brought upon me the ſcurvy, which though in others it be a ſickneſs of ſlothfulneſs, yet was it in me an effect of weakneſs, which never left me, till I was ready to leave the world.

In theſe extremities I reſolved to conſult with my friends, who finding nature ſpent in me, and my body almoſt conſumed, my pains likewiſe daily increaſing, gave me advice to prefer a hopeful recovery, before an aſſured ruin, which muſt neceſſarily have enſued, had I lived but twenty days longer in Virginia, wanting at that inſtant both food and phyſic, fit to remedy ſuch extraordinary diſeaſes (wherefore I ſhipped myſelf wtih Doctor Bohun and Captain Argall, for Mevis, in the Weſt Indies, but being croſſed with ſoutherly winds, I was forced to ſhape my courſe for the Weſtern Iſles, where I found help for my health, and my ſickneſs aſſuaged, by the means of freſh diet, eſpecially oranges and lemons, an undoubted remedy for that diſeaſe: then I intended to have returned back again to Virginia, but I was adviſed not to hazard myſelf, before I had perfectly recovered my ſtrength: ſo I came for England, in which accident, I doubt not but men of judgment will imagine, there would more prejudice have happened by my death there, than I hope can do by my return.

For the colony I left it to the charge of Captain George Piercie, a gentleman of honour and reſolution, until the coming of Sir Thomas Dale, whoſe commiſſion was likewiſe to be determined upon the arrival of Sir Thomas Gates, according to the order your Lordſhips appointed: the number I left were about two hundred, the moſt in health, and provided of at leaſt ten months victuals, and the country people tract-

able

able and friendly. What other defects they had, I found by Sir Thomas Gates at the Cowes; his fleet was ſufficiently furniſhed with ſupplies, but when it ſhall pleaſe God that Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Thomas Gates ſhall arrive in Virginia with the extraordinary ſupply of one hundred kine, and two hundred ſwine, beſides ſtore of other proviſion, for the maintenance of the colony, there will appear that ſucceſs in the action, as ſhall give no man cauſe of diſtruſt, that hath already adventured, but encourage every good mind to further ſo good a work, as will redound both to the glory of God, to the credit of our nation, and the comfort of all thoſe that have been inſtruments in the furthering of it."

Out of the Lord La Ware's diſcourſe, publiſhed by authority, 1611.

The Government ſurrendered to Sir Thomas Dale, who arrived in Virginia the 10th of May 1611. Out of Mr. Hamor's Book.

BEFORE the Lord La Ware arrived in England, the council and company had diſpatched away Sir Thomas Dale with three ſhips, men and cattle, and all other proviſions neceſſary for a year; all which arrived well the 10th of May 1611, where he found them growing again to their former ſtate of penury, being ſo improvident as not to put corn in the ground for their bread, but truſted to the ſtore, then furniſhed but with three months proviſion; his firſt care therefore was to employ all hands about ſetting of corn, at the two forts at Kecoughtan, Henry and Charles, whereby the ſeaſon then not fully paſt, though about the end of May, we had an indifferent crop of good corn.

This buſineſs taken order for, and the care and truſt of it committed to his under-officers, to James Town he haſtened, where moſt of the company were at their daily and uſual works, bowling in the ſtreets; theſe he employed about neceſſary works, as felling of timber, repairing their houſes ready to fall on their heads, and providing pales, poſts and rails, to impale his propoſed new town, which by reaſon of his ignorance, being but newly arrived, he had not reſolved where to ſeat; therefore to better his knowledge, with one hundred men he ſpent ſome time in viewing the river of Nauſamund, in deſpite of the Indians then our enemies; then our own river to the Falls, where upon a high land, environed with the main river, ſome twelve miles from the Falls, by Arſahattock, he reſolved to plant his new town.

It was no ſmall trouble to reduce his people ſo timely to good order, being of ſo ill a condition, as may well witneſs his ſecurity and ſtrict imprinted book of articles, then needful with all extremity to be executed; now much mitigated: ſo as if his laws had not been ſo ſtrictly executed, I ſee not how the utter ſubverſion of the colony ſhould have been prevented, witneſs Webbe's and Price's deſign the firſt year, ſince that of Abbot's, and others, more dangerous than the former. Here I entreat your patience for an apology, though not a pardon. This Jeffrey Abbots, however this author cenſures him, and the governor executes him, I know he had long ſerved both in Ireland and Netherlands; here he was a ſerjeant of my company, and I never ſaw in Virginia a more ſufficient ſoldier, leſs turbulent, a better wit, more hardy or induſtrious, nor any more forward to cut off them that ſought to abandon the country, or wrong the colony; how ungratefully thoſe deſerts might be rewarded, envied, or neglected, or his far inferiors preferred to over-top him, I know not, but ſuch occaſions might move a ſaint, much more a man, to an unadviſed paſſionate impatience; but however, it ſeems he hath been puniſhed for his offences, that was never rewarded for his deſerts. And even this ſummer Cole and Kitchins plot with three more, bending their courſe

courſe to Ocanahowan, five days journey from us, where they report are Spaniards inhabiting. Theſe were cut off by the ſavages, hired by us to hunt them home to receive their deſerts: ſo as Sir Thomas Dale hath not been ſo tyrannous nor ſevere by the half, as there was occaſion and juſt cauſe for it, and though the manner was not uſual, we were rather to have regard to thoſe, whom we would have terrified and made fearful to commit the like offences, than to the offenders juſtly condemned, for amongſt them ſo hardened in evil, the fear of a cruel, painful, and unuſual death more reſtrains them, than death itſelf. Thus much I have proceeded of his endeavours, until the coming of Sir Thomas Gates, in preparing himſelf to proceed as he intended.

Now in England again to ſecond this noble knight, the council and company with all poſſible expedition prepared for Sir Thomas Gates ſix tall ſhips, with three hundred men, and one hundred kine and other cattle, with ammunition and all other manner of proviſion that could be thought needful; and about the 1ſt or 2nd of Auguſt 1611, arrived ſafely at James Town.

The Government returned again to Sir Thomas Gates, 1611.

THESE worthy knights being met, after their welcome ſalutations, Sir Thomas Dale acquainted him what he had done, and what he intended, which deſign Sir Thomas Gates well approving, furniſhed him with three hundred and fifty men, ſuch as himſelf made choice of. In the beginning of September 1611, he ſet ſail, and arrived where he intended to build his new town: within ten or twelve days he had environed it with a pale, and in honour of our noble Prince Henry, called it Henrico. The next work he did, was building at each corner of the town, a high commanding watch-houſe, a church, and ſtore-houſes; which finiſhed, he began to think upon convenient houſes for himſelf and men, which, with all poſſible ſpeed he could, he effected, to the great content of his company, and all the colony.

This town is ſituated upon a neck of a plain riſing land, three parts environed with the main river, the neck of land well impaled, makes it like an iſle; it hath three ſtreets of well framed houſes, a handſome church, and the foundation of a better laid, to be built of brick, beſides ſtore-houſes, watch-houſes, and ſuch like: upon the verge of the river there are five houſes, wherein live the honeſter ſort of people, (as farmers in England) and they keep continual centinel for the town's ſecurity. About two miles from the town, into the main, is another pale, near two miles in length, from river to river, guarded with ſeveral commanders, with a good quantity of corn-ground impaled ſufficiently ſecured to maintain more than I ſuppoſe will come this three years.

On the other ſide of the river, for the ſecurity of the town, is intended to be impaled for the ſecurity of our hogs, about two miles and a half, by the name of Hope in Faith, and Coxendale, ſecured by five of our manner of forts, which are but paliſadoes, called Charity Fort, Mount Malado, a gueſt houſe for ſick people, a high ſeat and wholeſome air, Elizabeth Fort, and Fort Patience: and here hath Mr. Whitaker choſen his parſonage, impaled a fair framed parſonage, and one hundred acres called Rocke-hall, but theſe are not half finiſhed.

About Chriſtmas following in this ſame year 1611, in regard of the injury done us by them of Apamatuck, Sir Thomas Dale, without the loſs of any, except ſome few ſavages, took it and their corn, being but five miles by land from Henrico, and conſidering how commodious it might be for us, reſolved to poſſeſs and plant it, and at the inſtant called it the New Bermudas, whereunto he hath laid out and annexed to

the belonging freedom and corporation for ever, many miles of champaign and woodland ground in ſeveral hundreds, as the upper and nether hundreds, Rochdale hundred, Weſt Sherly hundred, and Dig's hundred. In the nether hundred he firſt began to plant, for there is the moſt corn ground, and with a pale of two miles, cut over from river to river, whereby we have ſecured eight Engliſh miles in compaſs; upon which circuit, within half a mile of each other, are many fair houſes already built, beſides particular men's houſes near to the number of fifty. Rochdale, by a croſs pale well nigh four miles long, is alſo planted with houſes along the pale, in which hundred our hogs and cattle have twenty miles circuit to graze in ſecurely. The building of the city is referred till our harveſt be in, which he intends to make a retreat againſt any foreign enemy.

About fifty miles from theſe is James Town, upon a fertile peninſula, which although formerly ſcandaled for an unhealthful air, we find it as healthful as any other part of the country; it hath two rows of houſes of framed timber, and ſome of them two ſtories, and a garret higher, three large ſtore-houſes joined together in length, and he hath newly ſtrongly impaled the town. This iſle, and much ground about it, is much inhabited: to Kecoughtan we accounted it forty miles, where they live well with half that allowance the reſt have from the ſtore, becauſe of the extraordinary quantity of fiſh, fowl, and deer, as you may read at large in the diſcoveries of Captain Smith. And thus I have truly related unto you the preſent eſtate of that ſmall part of Virginia we frequent and poſſeſs.

Since there was a ſhip freighted with proviſion and forty men; and another ſince then with the like number and proviſion, to ſtay twelve months in the country with Captain Argall, which was ſent not long after. After he had recreated and refreſhed his company, he was ſent to the river Patawomeke to trade for corn, the ſavages about us having ſmall quarter, but friends and foes as they found advantage and opportunity: but to conclude our peace, thus it happened. Captain Argall having entered into a great acquaintance with Iapazaws, an old friend of Captain Smith's, and ſo to all our nation, ever ſince he diſcovered the country: hard by him there was Pocahontas, whom Captain Smith's relations entitled the nonpareil of Virginia, and though ſhe had been many times a preſerver of him and the whole colony, yet till this accident ſhe was never ſeen at James Town ſince his departure, being at Patawomeke, as it ſeems, thinking herſelf unknown, was eaſily by her friend Iapazaws, perſuaded to go abroad with him and his wife to ſee the ſhip, for Captain Argall had promiſed him a copper kettle to bring her but to him, promiſing no way to hurt her, but keep her till they could conclude a peace with her father; the ſavage for this copper kettle would have done any thing it ſeemed by the relation, for though ſhe had ſeen and been in many ſhips, yet he cauſed his wife to fain how deſirous ſhe was to ſee one, and that he offered to beat her for her importunity till ſhe wept. But at laſt he told her if Pocahontas would go with her, he was content: and thus they betrayed the poor innocent Pocahontas aboard, where they were all kindly feaſted in the cabin. Iapazaws treading often on the captain's foot, to remember he had done his part, the captain when he ſaw his time, perſuaded Pocahontas to the gun-room, feigning to have ſome conference with Iapazaws, which was only that ſhe ſhould not perceive he was any way guilty of her captivity: ſo ſending for her again, he told her before her friends ſhe muſt go with him, and compound peace betwixt her country and us, before ſhe ever ſhould ſee Powhatan, whereat the old Jew and his wife began to howl and cry as faſt as Pocahontas, that upon the captain's fair perſuaſions, by degrees pacifying herſelf, and Iapazaws and his wife with the kettle and other toys, went merrily on ſhore,

ſhore, and ſhe to James Town. A meſſenger forthwith was ſent to her father, that his daughter Pocahontas he loved ſo dearly, he muſt ranſom with our men, ſwords, pieces, tools, &c. he treacherouſly had ſtolen.

This unwelcome news much troubled Powhatan, becauſe he loved both his daughter and our commodities well, yet it was three months after ere he returned us any anſwer: then by the perſuaſion of the council, he returned ſeven of our men, with each of them an unſerviceable muſket, and ſent us word that when we would deliver his daughter, he would make us ſatisfaction for all injuries done us, and give us five hundred buſhels of corn, and for ever be friends with us. That he ſent we received in part of payment, and returned him this anſwer, that his daughter ſhould be well uſed, but we could not believe the reſt of our arms were either loſt or ſtolen from him, and therefore till he ſent them we would keep his daughter.

This anſwer it ſeemed much diſpleaſed him, for we heard no more from him a long time after, when with Captain Argall's ſhip, and ſome other veſſels belonging to the colony, Sir Thomas Dale, with a hundred and fifty men well appointed, went up into his own river, to his chief habitation with his daughter; with many ſcornful bravadoes they affronted us, proudly demanding why we came thither; our reply was, we had brought his daughter, and to receive the ranſom for her that was promiſed or to have it perforce. They nothing diſmayed thereat, told us we were welcome if we came to fight, for they were provided for us, but adviſed us, if we loved our lives to retire, elſe they would uſe us as they had done Captain Ratliffe: we told them we would preſently have a better anſwer, but we were no ſooner within ſhot of the ſhore than they let fly their arrows among us in the ſhip.

Being thus juſtly provoked, we preſently manned our boats, went on ſhore, burned all their houſes, and ſpoiled all they had we could find, and ſo the next day proceeded higher up the river, where they demanded why we burnt their houſes, and we why they ſhot at us; they replied, it was ſome ſtraggling ſavage, with many other excuſes, they intended no hurt, but were our friends; we told them we came not to hurt them, but viſit them as friends alſo. Upon this we concluded a peace, and forthwith they diſpatched meſſengers to Powhatan, whoſe anſwer, they told us, we muſt expect four-and-twenty hours ere the meſſengers could return: then they told us our men were run away for fear we would hang them, yet Powhatan's men were run after them; as for our ſwords and pieces, they ſhould be brought us the next day, which was only but to delay time, for the next day they came not. Then we went higher to a houſe of Powhatan's, called Matchot, where we ſaw about four hundred men well appointed; here they dared us to come on ſhore, which we did; no ſhew of fear they made at all, nor offered to reſiſt our landing, but walking boldly up and down amongſt us, demanded to confer with our captain, of his coming in that manner, and to have truce till they could but once more ſend to their king to know his pleaſure, which if it were not agreeable to their expectation, then they would fight with us, and defend their own as they could, which was but only to defer the time to carry away their proviſion; yet we promiſed them truce till the next day at noon, and then if they would fight with us, they ſhould know when we would begin by our drums and trumpets.

Upon this promiſe, two of Powhatan's ſons came unto us to ſee their ſiſter, at whoſe ſight, ſeeing her well, though they heard to the contrary, they much rejoiced, promiſing they would perſuade her father to redeem her, and for ever be friends with us. And upon this, the two brethren went on board with us, and we ſent Mr. John Rolfe and Mr. Sparkes to Powhatan, to acquaint him with the buſineſs; kindly they were entertained, but not admitted the preſence of Powhatan, but they ſpoke with Opechaucanough,

canough, his brother and ſucceſſor; he promiſed to do the beſt he could to Powhatan, all might be well. So it being April, and time to prepare our ground, and ſet our corn, we returned to James Town, promiſing the forbearance of their performing their promiſe till the next harveſt.

Long before this, Mr. John Rolfe, an honeſt gentleman, and of good behaviour, had been in love with Pocahontas, and ſhe with him, which thing at that inſtant I made known to Sir Thomas Dale, by a letter from him, wherein he intreated his advice, and ſhe acquainted her brother with it, which reſolution Sir Thomas Dale well approved; the bruit of this marriage came ſoon to the knowledge of Powhatan, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his ſudden conſent; for within ten days, he ſent Opachiſco, an old uncle of hers, and two of his ſons, to ſee the manner of the marriage, and to do in that behalf what they were requeſted, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputy; which was accordingly done about the firſt of April; and ever ſince we have had friendly trade and commerce, as well with Powhatan himſelf as all his ſubjects.

Beſides this, by the means of Powhatan, we became in league with our next neighbours, the Chicahamanias, a luſty and a daring people, free of themſelves. Theſe people, ſo ſoon as they heard of our peace with Powhatan, ſent two meſſengers with preſents to Sir Thomas Dale, and offered them his ſervice, excuſing all former injuries, hereafter they would ever be King James's ſubjects, and relinquiſh the name of Chickahamania, to be called Taſſauteſſus, as they call us, and Sir Thomas Dale their governor, as the King's deputy; only they deſired to be governed by their own laws, which is eight of their elders as his ſubſtitutes. This offer he kindly accepted, and appointed the day he would come to viſit them.

When the appointed day came, Sir Thomas Dale and Captain Argall, with fifty men, well appointed, went to Chickahamania, where we found the people expecting our coming; they uſed us kindly, and the next morning ſat in council, to conclude their peace upon theſe conditions:

Firſt, they ſhould for ever be called Engliſhmen, and be true ſubjects to King James and his deputies.

Secondly, neither to kill nor detain any of our men, nor cattle, but bring them home.

Thirdly, to be always ready to furniſh us with three hundred men, againſt the Spaniards, or any.

Fourthly, they ſhall not enter our towns, but ſend word they are new Engliſhmen.

Fifthly, that every fighting man, at the beginning of harveſt, ſhall bring to our ſtore two buſhels of corn, for tribute, for which they ſhall receive ſo many hatchets.

Laſtly, the eight chief men ſhould ſee all this performed, or receive the puniſhment themſelves; for their diligence they ſhould have a red coat, a copper chain, and King James's picture, and be accounted his noblemen.

All this they concluded with a general aſſent, and a great ſhout to confirm it; then one of the old men began an oration, bending his ſpeech firſt to the old men, then to the young, and then to the women and children, to make them underſtand how ſtrictly they were to obſerve theſe conditions, and we would defend them from the fury of Powhatan, or any enemy whatſoever, and furniſh them with copper, beads, and hatchets; but all this was rather for fear Powhatan and we, being ſo linked together, would bring them again to his ſubjection; the which to prevent, they did rather chooſe to be protected by us, than tormented by him, whom they held a tyrant. And thus we returned again to James Town.

When our people were fed out of the common ſtore, and laboured jointly together, glad was he could ſlip from his labour, or ſlumber over his taſk he cared not how, nay,

the moſt honeſt amongſt them would hardly take ſo much true pains in a week, as now for themſelves they will do in a day; neither cared they for the increaſe, preſuming that howſoever the harveſt proſpered, the general ſtore muſt maintain them, ſo that we reaped not ſo much corn from the labours of thirty, as now three or four do provide for themſelves. To prevent which, Sir Thomas Dale hath allotted every man three acres of clear ground, in the nature of farms, except the Bermudas, who are exempted, but for one month's ſervice in the year, which muſt neither be in ſeed-time nor harveſt; for which doing, no other duty they pay yearly to the ſtore, but two barrels and a half of corn (from all thoſe farmers, whereof the firſt was William Spence, an honeſt, valiant, and an induſtrious man, and hath continued from 1607 to this preſent,) from thoſe is expected ſuch a contribution to the ſtore, as we ſhall neither want for ourſelves, nor to entertain our ſupplies; for the reſt, they are to work eleven months for the ſtore, and hath one month only allowed them to get proviſion to keep them for twelve, except two buſhels of corn they have out of the ſtore; if thoſe can live ſo, why ſhould any fear ſtarving; and it were much better to deny them paſſage, that would not ere they come, be content to engage themſelves to thoſe conditions: for only from the ſlothful and idle drones, and none elſe, hath ſprung the manifold imputations Virginia innocently hath undergone; and therefore I would deter ſuch from coming here, that cannot well brook labour, except they will undergo much puniſhment and penury, if they eſcape the ſcurvy; but for the induſtrious, there is a reward ſufficient; and if any think there is nothing but bread, I refer you to his relations that diſcovered the country firſt.

The Government left to Sir Thomas Dale, upon Sir Thomas Gates's Return for England.

SIR Thomas Dale underſtanding there was a plantation of Frenchmen in the north part of Virginia, about the degrees of 45, ſent Captain Argall to Port Royal and Santa Crux, where finding the Frenchmen abroad, diſperſed in the woods, ſurpriſed their ſhip and pinnace, which was but newly come from France, wherein was much good apparel, and other proviſion, which he brought to James Town, but the men eſcaped, and lived among the ſavages of thoſe countries.

It pleaſed Sir Thomas Dale, before my return to England, becauſe I would be able to ſpeak ſomewhat of my own knowledge, to give me leave to viſit Powhatan and his court; being provided, I had Thomas Savage with me for my interpreter; with him, and two ſavages for guides, I went from the Bermuda in the morning, and came to Matchet the next night, where the King lay upon the river of Pamaunke; his entertainment was ſtrange to me; the boy he knew well, and told him, "My child, I gave you leave, being my boy, to go ſee your friends, and theſe four years I have not ſeen you, nor heard of my own man Namoutack, I ſent to England, though many ſhips ſince have been returned thence." Having done with him, he began with me, and demanded for the chain of pearl he ſent his brother Sir Thomas Dale, at his firſt arrival, which was a token betwixt them, whenever he ſhould ſend a meſſenger from himſelf to him, he ſhould wear that chain about his neck, ſince the peace was concluded, otherwiſe he was to bind him, and ſend him home.

It is true, Sir Thomas Dale had ſent him ſuch word, and gave his page order to give it me, but he forgot it, and till this preſent I never heard of it; yet I replied I did know there was ſuch an order, but that was when upon a ſudden he ſhould have occaſion to find an Engliſhman without an Indian guide; but if his own people ſhould conduct his meſſenger, as two of his did me, who knew my meſſage, it was ſufficient; with

which anſwer he was contented, and ſo conducted us to his houſe, where was a guard of two hundred bow-men, that always attend his perſon. The firſt thing he did, he offered me a pipe of tobacco, then aſked me how his brother Sir Thomas Dale did, and his daughter, and unknown ſon, and how they lived, loved, and liked. I told him his brother was well, and his daughter ſo contented, ſhe would not live again with him; whereat he laughed, and demanded the cauſe of my coming. I told him my meſſage was private, and I was to deliver it only to himſelf and Papaſchicher, one of my guides that was acquainted with it; inſtantly he commanded all out of the houſe, but only his two Queens, that always ſit by him; and bade me ſpeak on.

I told him, by my interpreter, Sir Thomas Dale hath ſent you two pieces of copper, five ſtrings of white and blue beads, five wooden combs, ten fiſh-hooks, a pair of knives, and that when you would ſend for it, he would give you a grind ſtone. All this pleaſed him: but then I told him his brother Dale, hearing of the fame of his youngeſt daughter, deſiring in any caſe he would ſend her by me unto him, in teſtimony of his love, as well for that he intended to marry her, as the deſire her ſiſter had to ſee her, becauſe being now one people, and he deſirous for ever to dwell in his country, he conceived there could not be a truer aſſurance of peace and friendſhip, than in ſuch a natural band of an united union.

I needed not entreat his anſwer by his oft interrupting me in my ſpeech; and preſently with much gravity he thus replied:

"I gladly accept your ſalute of love and peace, which while I live, I ſhall exactly keep; his pledges thereof I receive with no leſs thanks, although they are not ſo ample as formerly he had received: but for my daughter, I have ſold her within this few days to a great Werowance, for two buſhels of rawrenoke, three days journey from me." I replied, I knew his greatneſs in reſtoring the rawrenoke; might call her again to gratify his brother, and the rather, becauſe ſhe was but twelve years old; aſſuring him, beſides the band of peace, he ſhould have for her three times the worth of the rawrenoke in beads, copper, hatchets, &c. His anſwer was, he loved his daughter as his life; and though he had many children, he delighted in none ſo much as ſhe, whom if he ſhould not often behold, he could not poſſibly live, which ſhe living with us he could not do. Having reſolved upon no terms to put himſelf into our hands, or come amongſt us, therefore deſired me to urge him no further, but return his brother this anſwer: that, "I deſire no firmer aſſurance of his friendſhip than the promiſe he hath made: from me he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which ſo long as ſhe lives ſhall be ſufficient, when ſhe dies, he ſhall have another: I hold it not a brotherly part to deſire to bereave me of my two children at once. Farther, tell him, though he had no pledge at all, he need not diſtruſt any injury from me or my people; there have been too many of his men and mine ſlain, and by my occaſion there ſhall never be more, (I, which have power to perform it, have ſaid it) although I ſhould have juſt cauſe, for I am now old, and would gladly end my days in peace: if you offer me injury, my country is large enough to go from you: thus much I hope will ſatisfy my brother. Now becauſe you are weary, and I ſleepy, we will thus end." So commanding us victuals and lodging, we reſted that night; and the next morning he came to viſit us, and kindly conducted us to the beſt cheer he had. WILLIAM PARKER.

While I here remained, by chance came an Engliſhman, whom there had been ſurpriſed three years ago at Fort Henry, grown ſo like, both in complexion and habit like a ſavage, I knew him not, but by his tongue: he deſired me to procure his liberty, which I intended, and ſo far urged Powhatan, that he grew diſcontented, and told me, you have one of my daughters, and I am content; but you cannot ſee one of your men with

with me, but you muſt have him away, or break friendſhip; if you muſt needs have him, you ſhall go home without guides, and if any evil befall you, thank yourſelves: I told him I would, but if I returned not well, he muſt expect a revenge; and his brother might have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect him. So in paſſion he left me till ſupper, and then gave me ſuch as he had with a cheerful countenance: about midnight he awaked us, and promiſed in the morning my return with Parker: but I muſt remember his brother to ſend him ten great pieces of copper, a ſhaving-knife, a frow, a grind ſtone, a net, fiſh-hooks, and ſuch toys; which leſt I ſhould forget, he cauſed me write in a table-book he had; however he got it, it was a fair one; I deſired he would give it me; he told me no, it did him much good in ſhewing to ſtrangers; yet in the morning when we departed, having furniſhed us well with proviſion, he gave each of us a buck's ſkin as well dreſſed as could be, and ſent two more to his ſon and daughter: and ſo we returned to James Town.

Written by Mr. RALPH HAMOR and JOHN ROLPH.

I have read the ſubſtance of this relation in a letter written by Sir Thomas Dale, another by Mr. Whitaker, and a third by Mr. John Rolfe, how careful they were to inſtruct her in chriſtianity, and how capable and deſirous ſhe was thereof; after ſhe had been ſome time thus tutored, ſhe never had deſire to go to her father, nor could well endure the ſociety of her own nation; the true affection ſhe conſtantly bore her huſband was much; and the ſtrange apparitions and violent paſſions he endured for her love, as he deeply proteſted, was wonderful; and ſhe openly renounced her country's idolatry, confeſſed the faith of Chriſt, and was baptized, but either the coldneſs of the adventurers, or the bad uſage of that was collected, or both, cauſed this worthy knight to write thus: "Oh why ſhould ſo many princes and noblemen engage themſelves, and thereby intermeddling herein, have cauſed a number of ſouls tranſport themſelves, and be tranſported hither? Why ſhould they, I ſay, relinquiſh this ſo glorious an action: for if their ends be to build God a church, they ought to perſevere; if otherwiſe, yet their honour engageth them to be conſtant; howſoever they ſtand affected, here is enough to content them. Theſe are the things have animated me to ſtay a little ſeaſon from them, I am bound in conſcience to return unto; leaving all contenting pleaſures and mundall delights, to reſide here with much turmoil, which I will rather do than ſee God's glory diminiſhed, my King and country diſhonoured, and theſe poor ſouls I have in charge revived, which would quickly happen if I ſhould leave them; ſo few I have with me fit to command or manage the buſineſs: Mr. Whitaker, their preacher, complaineth, and much muſeth, that ſo few of our Engliſh miniſters, that were ſo hot againſt the ſurplice and ſubſcription come hither, where neither is ſpoken of. Do they not wilfully hide their talents, or keep themſelves at home, for fear of loſing a few pleaſures; be there not any among them of Moſes's mind, and of the apoſtles, that forſook all to follow Chriſt? but I refer them to the Judge of all hearts, and to the King that ſhall reward every one according to his talent.

From Virginia, June 18, 1614.

The buſineſs being brought to this perfection, Captain Argall returned for England in the latter end of June 1614, arriving in England, and bringing theſe good tidings to the council and company by the aſſiſtances of Sir Thomas Gates, that alſo had returned from Virginia but the March before; it was preſently concluded, that to ſupply this good ſucceſs with all expedition, the ſtanding lottery ſhould be drawn with all diligent conveniency, and that poſterity may remember upon occaſion to uſe the like according to the declaration, I think it not amiſs to remember thus much.

The

The Contents of the Declaration of the Lottery publiſhed by the Council.

IT is apparent to the world, by how many former proclamations, we manifeſted our intents to have drawn out the great ſtanding lottery long before this, which not falling out as we deſired, and others expected, whoſe monies are adventured therein, we thought good, therefore, for the avoiding all unjuſt and ſiniſter conſtructions, to reſolve the doubts of all indifferent minded, in three ſpecial points for their better ſatiſfaction.

But ere I go any further, let us remember there was a running lottery uſed a long time in St. Paul's Church-yard, where this ſtood, that brought into the treaſury good ſums of money daily, though the lot was but ſmall.

Now for the points: the firſt is, for as much as the adventurers came in ſo ſlackly for the year paſt, without prejudice to the generality, in loſing the blanks and prizes, we were forced to petition to the Honourable Lords, who out of their noble care to further this plantation, have recommended their letters to the countries, cities, and good towns in England, which we hope by ſending in their voluntary adventurers will ſufficiently ſupply us.

The ſecond, for ſatisfaction to all honeſt well affected minds, is, that though this expectation anſwer not our hopes, yet we have not failed in our Chriſtian care the good of that colony, to whom we have lately ſent two ſundry ſupplies, and were they but now ſupplied with more hands, we ſhould ſoon reſolve the diviſion of the country by lot, and ſo leſſen the general charge.

The third is, our conſtant reſolution, that ſeeing our credits are ſo far engaged to the Honourable Lords and the whole ſtate, for the drawing this great lottery, which we intend ſhall be without delay the 26th of June next, deſiring all ſuch as have undertaken with books to ſolicit their friends, that they will not withhold their monies till the laſt month be expired, leſt we be unwillingly forced to proportion a leſs value and number of our blanks and prizes, which hereafter followeth.

Welcomes.

	Crowns.
To him that firſt ſhall be drawn out with a blank - - - - -	100
To the ſecond - - - - - - - - - - -	50
To the third - - - - - - - - - -	25
To him that every day during the drawing of this lottery ſhall be firſt drawn out with a blank - - - - - - - - - -	10

Prizes.

	Crowns.
1 Great prize of - - - - - - -	4500
2 Great prizes, each of - - - - -	2000
4 Great prizes, each of - - - - -	1000
6 Great prizes, each of - - - - -	500
10 Prizes, each of - - - - -	300
20 Prizes, each of - - - - -	200
100 Prizes, each of - - - - - -	100
200 Prizes, each of - - - - -	50
400 Prizes, each of - - - - - -	20
	1000

	Crowns.
1000 Prizes, each of	10
1000 Prizes, each of	8
1000 Prizes, each of	6
4000 Prizes, each of	4
1000 Prizes, each of	3
1000 Prizes, each of	2

Rewards.

	Crowns.
To him that ſhall be laſt drawn out with a blank	25
To him that putteth in the greateſt lot under one name	400
To him that putteth in the ſecond greateſt number	300
To him that putteth in the third greateſt number	200
To him that putteth in the fourth greateſt number	100

If divers be of equal number, their rewards are to be divided proportionally.

Addition of new Rewards.

The blank that ſhall be drawn out next before the great prize ſhall have	25
The blank that ſhall be drawn out next after the ſaid great prize	25
The blanks that ſhall be drawn out immediately before the two next great prizes ſhall have each of them	20
The ſeveral blanks next after them, each ſhall have	20
The ſeveral blanks next before the four great prizes, each ſhall have	15
The ſeveral blanks next after them, each ſhall have	15
The ſeveral blanks next before the ſix great prizes, each ſhall have	10
The ſeveral blanks next after them, each ſhall have	10

The prizes, welcomes, and rewards ſhall be paid in ready money, plate, or other goods reaſonably rated; if any diſlike of the plate or goods, he ſhall have money, abating only the tenth part, except in ſmall prizes of ten crowns or under.

The money for the adventurers is to be paid to Sir Thomas Smith, knight, and treaſurer for Virginia, or ſuch officers as he ſhall appoint in city or country, under the common ſeal of the company for the receipt thereof.

All prizes, welcomes, and rewards, drawn wherever they dwell, ſhall of the treaſurer have preſent pay; and whoſoever under one name or poeſy payeth three pounds in ready money, ſhall receive ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, or a ſilver ſpoon of that value at his choice.

About this time it chanced a Spaniſh ſhip beat to and again before Point Comfort, and at laſt ſent aſhore their boat as deſirous of a pilot. Captain James Davis, the governor, immediately gave them one, but he was no ſooner in the boat, but away they went with him, leaving three of their companions behind them, this ſudden accident occaſioned ſome diſtruſt, and a ſtrict examination of thoſe three thus left, yet with as good uſage as our eſtate could afford them. They only confeſſed having loſt their admiral; accident had forced them into thoſe parts, and two of them were captains, and in chief authority in the fleet; thus they lived till one of them was found to be an Engliſhman, and had been the Spaniards' pilot for England in 1588, and having here induced ſome mal-contents to believe his projects, to run away with a ſmall bark, which was apprehended, ſome executed, and he expecting but the hangman's courteſy, directly

directly confeſſed that two or three Spaniſh ſhips was at ſea, purpoſely to diſcover the eſtate of the colony, but their commiſſion was not to be opened till they arrived in the bay, ſo that of any thing more he was utterly ignorant. One of the Spaniards at laſt died, the other was ſent for England, but this reprieved, till Sir Thomas Dale hanged him at ſea in his voyage homeward; the Engliſh pilot they carried for Spain, whom after a long time impriſonment, with much ſuit was returned for England.

Whilſt thoſe things were effecting, Sir Thomas Dale having ſettled to his thinking all things in good order, made choice of one Mr. George Yearly to be deputy-governor in his abſence, and ſo returned for England, accompanied with Pocahontas, the King's daughter, and Mr. Rolfe her huſband, and arrived at Plymouth the 12th of June 1616.

The Government left to Captain Yearly.

NOW a little to commentary upon all theſe proceedings, let me leave but this as a caveat by the way; if the alteration of government hath ſubverted great empires, how dangerous is it then in the infancy of a commonwealth? The multiplicity of governors is a great damage to any ſtate, but uncertain daily changes are burdenſome, becauſe their entertainments are chargeable, and many will make hay whilſt the ſun doth ſhine, however it ſhall fare with the generality.

This dear bought land with ſo much blood and coſt, hath only made ſome few rich, and all the reſt loſers. But it was intended at the firſt, the firſt undertakers ſhould be firſt preferred and rewarded, and the firſt adventurers ſatisfied, and they of all the reſt are the moſt neglected; and thoſe that never adventured a groat, never ſaw the country, nor ever did any ſervice for it, employed in their places, adorned with their deſerts, and enriched with their ruins; and when they are fed fat, then in cometh others ſo lean as they were, who through their omnipotency doth as much. Thus what one officer doth another undoth, only aiming at their own ends; thinking all the world derides his dignity, cannot fill his coffers being in authority with any thing. Every man hath his mind free, but he can never be a true member to that eſtate, that to enrich himſelf beggars all the country. Which bad courſe there are many yet in this noble plantation, whoſe true honour and worth as much ſcorns it, as the other love it; for the nobility and gentry there is ſcarce any of them expects any thing but the proſperity of the action: and there are ſome merchants and others, I am confidently perſuaded, do take more care and pains, nay, and at their continual great charge, than they could be hired to for the love of money, ſo honeſtly regarding the general good of this great work, they would hold it worſe than ſacrilege, to wrong it but a ſhilling, or extort upon the common ſoldiers a penny. But to the purpoſe, and to follow the hiſtory.

Mr. George Yearly, now inveſted deputy-governor by Sir Thomas Dale, applied himſelf for the moſt part in planting tobacco, as the moſt preſent commodity they could deviſe for a preſent gain, ſo that every man betook himſelf to the beſt place he could for the purpoſe: now though Sir Thomas Dale had cauſed ſuch an abundance of corn to be planted, that every man had ſufficient, yet the ſupplies ſent us, came ſo unfurniſhed as quickly eaſed us of our ſuperfluity. To relieve their neceſſities, he ſent to the Chickahamanias for the tribute-corn Sir Thomas Dale and Captain Argall had conditioned for with them: but ſuch a bad anſwer they returned him, that he drew together one hundred of his beſt ſhot, with whom he went to Chickahamania; the people in ſome places uſed him indifferently, but in moſt places with

with much ſcorn and contempt, telling him he was but Sir Thomas Dale's man, and they had payed his maſter according to condition, but to give any to him they had no ſuch order, neither would they obey him as they had done his maſter; after he had told them his authority, and that he had the ſame power to enforce them that Dale had, they dared him to come on ſhore to fight, preſuming more of his not daring, than their own valour. Yearly ſeeing their inſolencies, made no great difficulty to go on ſhore at Ozinies, and they as little to encounter him: but marching from thence towards Mamanahunt, they put themſelves in the ſame order they ſee us, lead by their Captain Kiſſanacomen, governor of Ozinies, and ſo marched cloſe along by us, each as threatening other who ſhould firſt begin. But that night we quartered againſt Mamanahunt, and they paſſed the river. The next day we followed them; there are few places in Virginia had then more plain ground together, nor more plenty of corn, which although it was but newly gathered, yet they had hid it in the woods where we could not find it: a good time we ſpent thus in arguing the cauſe, the ſavages without fear ſtanding in troops amongſt us, ſeeming as if their countenances had been ſufficient to daunt us: what other practices they had I know not, but to prevent the worſt, our captain cauſed us all to make ready, and upon the word, to let fly among them, where he appointed: others alſo he commanded to ſeize on them they could for priſoners; all which being done according to our direction, the captain gave the word, and we preſently diſcharged, where twelve lay, ſome dead, the reſt for life ſprawling on the ground, twelve more we took priſoners, two whereof were brothers, two of their eight elders, the one took by Serjeant Boothe, the other by Robert, a Polonian; near one hundred buſhels of corn we had for their ranſoms, which was promiſed the ſoldiers for a reward, but it was not performed: now Opechancanough had agreed with our captain for the ſubjecting of thoſe people, that neither he nor Powhatan could ever bring to their obedience, and that he ſhould make no peace with them without his advice: in our return by Ozinies with our priſoners, we met Opechancanough, who with much ado feigned with what pains he had procured their peace, the which to requite, they called him the King of Ozinies, and brought him from all parts many preſents of beads, copper, and ſuch traſh as they had; here as at many other times we were beholden to Captain Henry Spilman our interpreter, a gentleman who had lived long time in this country, and ſometimes a priſoner among the ſavages, and done much good ſervice, though but badly rewarded. From hence we marched towards James Town; we had three boats loaded with corn and other luggage, the one of them, being more willing to be at James Town with the news than the other, was overſet, and eleven men caſt away with the boat, corn and all their proviſion; notwithſtanding, this put all the reſt of the ſavages in that fear, eſpecially in regard of the great league we had with Opechancanough, that we followed our labours quietly, and in ſuch ſecurity, that divers ſavages of other nations daily frequented us with what proviſions they could get, and would guide our men on hunting, and often hunt for us themſelves. Captain Yearly had a ſavage or two ſo well trained up to their pieces, they were as expert as any of the Engliſh, and one he kept purpoſely to kill him fowl. There were divers others had ſavages in like manner for their men. Thus we lived together as if we had been one people, all the time Captain Yearly ſtayed with us; but ſuch grudges and diſcontents daily increaſed among ourſelves, that upon the arrival of Captain Argall, ſent by the council and company to be our governor, Captain Yearly returned for England in the year 1617.

From the writings of Captain NATHANIEL POWELL, WILLIAM CANTRILL, Serjeant BOOTHE, EDWARD GURGANEY.

During

During this time the Lady Rebecca, alias Pocahontas, daughter to Powhatan, by the diligent care of Mr. John Rolfe, her huſband and his friends, was taught to ſpeak ſuch Engliſh as might well be underſtood, well inſtructed in chriſtianity, and was become very formal and civil after our Engliſh manner; ſhe had alſo by him a child, which ſhe loved moſt dearly, and the treaſurer and company took order both for the maintenance of her and it, beſides there were divers perſons of great rank and quality had been very kind to her; and before ſhe arrived at London, Captain Smith, to deſerve her former courteſies, made her qualities known to the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty and her court, and wrote a little book to this effect to the Queen: an abſtract whereof followeth:

To the moſt high and virtuous Princeſs Queen Anne of Great Britain.

Moſt admired Queen,

THE love I bear my God, my King, and country, hath ſo often emboldened me in the worſt of extreme dangers, that now honeſty doth conſtrain me preſume thus far beyond myſelf to preſent Your Majeſty this ſhort diſcourſe: if ingratitude be a deadly poiſon to all honeſt virtues, I muſt be guilty of that crime, if I ſhould omit any means to be thankful. So it is,

That ſome ten years ago, being in Virginia, and taken priſoner by the power of Powhatan, their chief king, I received from this great ſavage exceeding great courteſy, eſpecially from his ſon Nantaquaus, the moſt manlieſt, comelieſt, boldeſt ſpirit I ever ſaw in a ſavage, and his ſiſter Pocahontas, the king's moſt dear and well-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whoſe compaſſionate pitiful heart, of my deſperate ſtate, gave me much cauſe to reſpect her; I being the firſt chriſtian this proud King and his grim attendants ever ſaw, and thus enthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot ſay I felt the leaſt occaſion of want that was in the power of thoſe my mortal foes to prevent, notwithſtanding all their threats. After ſome ſix weeks fatting amongſt thoſe ſavage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, ſhe hazarded the beating out of her own brains to ſave mine, and not only that, but ſo prevailed with her father, that I was ſafely conducted to James Town, where I found about eight-and-thirty miſerable poor and ſick creatures, to keep poſſeſſion of all thoſe large territories of Virginia, ſuch was the weakneſs of this poor commonwealth, as had the ſavages not fed us, we directly had ſtarved.

And this relief, moſt gracious Queen, was commonly brought us by this Lady Pocahontas, notwithſtanding all theſe paſſages when inconſtant Fortune turned our peace to war, this tender virgin would ſtill not ſpare to dare to viſit us, and by her our jars have been oft appeaſed, and our wants ſtill ſupplied; were it the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his inſtrument, or her extraordinary affection to our nation, I know not; but of this I am ſure, when her father, with the utmoſt of his policy and power, ſought to ſurprize me, having but eighteen with me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irkſome woods, and with watered eyes, gave me intelligence, with her beſt advice, to eſcape his fury; which had he known, he had ſurely ſlain her. James Town, with her wild train, ſhe as freely frequented as her father's habitation; and during the time of two or three years, ſhe next, under God, was ſtill the inſtrument to preſerve this colony from death, famine, and utter confuſion, which if in thoſe times had once been diſſolved, Virginia might have lain as it was at our firſt arrival to this day. Since then this buſineſs having been

been turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at, it is moſt certain, after a long and troubleſome war, after my departure, betwixt her father and our colony, all which time ſhe was not heard of, about two years after ſhe herſelf was taken priſoner, being ſo detained near two years longer; the colony by that means was relieved, peace concluded, and at laſt, rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an Engliſh gentleman, with whom at this preſent ſhe is in England; the firſt Chriſtian ever of that nation, the firſt Virginian ever ſpake Engliſh, or had a child in marriage by an Engliſhman, a matter ſurely, if my meaning be truly conſidered and well underſtood, worthy a Princeſs's underſtanding.

Thus, moſt gracious Lady, I have related to Your Majeſty, what at your beſt leiſure our approved hiſtories will account you at large, and done in the time of Your Majeſty's life, and however this might be preſented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honeſt heart; as yet I never begged any thing of the ſtate, or any, and it is my want of ability and her exceeding deſert, your birth, means and authority, her birth, virtue, want, and ſimplicity, doth make me thus bold, humbly to beſeech Your Majeſty to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one ſo unworthy to be the reporter as myſelf, her huſband's eſtate not being able to make her fit to attend Your Majeſty: the moſt and leaſt I can do, is to tell you this, becauſe none ſo oft hath tried it as myſelf, and the rather being of ſo great a ſpirit, however her ſtature: if ſhe ſhould not be well received, ſeeing this kingdom may rightly have a kingdom by her means; her preſent love to us and chriſtianity, might turn to ſuch ſcorn and fury, as to divert all this good to the worſt of evil, where finding ſo great a Queen ſhould do her ſome honour more than ſhe can imagine, for being ſo kind to your ſervants and ſubjects, would ſo raviſh her with content, as endear her deareſt blood to effect that Your Majeſty and all the King's honeſt ſubjects moſt earneſtly deſire; and ſo I humbly kiſs your gracious hands.

Being about this time preparing to ſet ſail for New England, I could not ſtay to do her that ſervice I deſired, and ſhe well deſerved; but hearing ſhe was at Branford, with divers of my friends, I went to ſee her: after a modeſt ſalutation, without any word, ſhe turned about, obſcured her face, as not ſeeming well contented; and in that humour, her huſband, with divers others, we all left her two or three hours, repenting myſelf to have writ ſhe could ſpeak Engliſh. But not long after, ſhe began to talk, and remembered me well what courteſies ſhe had done; ſaying, "You did promiſe Powhatan what was yours ſhould be his, and he the like to you; you called him father, being in his land a ſtranger, and by the ſame reaſon, ſo muſt I do you:" which, though I would have excuſed, I durſt not allow of that title, becauſe ſhe was a King's daughter. With a well-ſet countenance, ſhe ſaid, "Were you not afraid to come into my father's country, and cauſed fear in him and all his people (but me); and fear you here I ſhould call you father? I tell you then I will, and you ſhall call me child, and ſo I will be for ever and ever your countryman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plymouth; yet Powhatan did command Vetamatomakkin to ſeek you, and know the truth, becauſe your countrymen will lie much."

This ſavage, one of Powhatan's council, being amongſt them held an underſtanding fellow, the King purpoſely ſent him, as they ſay, to number the people here, and inform him well what we were, and our ſtate. Arriving at Plymouth, according to his directions, he got a long ſtick, whereon by notches he did think to have kept the number of all the men he could ſee, but he was quickly weary of that taſk; coming to London, where by chance I met him, having renewed our acquaintance, where many were deſirous to hear and ſee his behaviour, he told me, Powhatan did bid him to find me out,

to

to ſhew him our God, the King, Queen, and Prince, I ſo much had told them of: concerning God, I told him the beſt I could; the King, I heard, he had ſeen, and the reſt he ſhould ſee when he would; he denied ever to have ſeen the King, till by circumſtances he was ſatisfied he had; then he replied very ſadly, "You gave Powhatan a white dog, which Powhatan fed as himſelf; but your King gave me nothing, and I am better than your white dog."

The ſmall time I ſtaid in London, divers courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with me to ſee her, that generally concluded, they did think God had a great hand in her converſion, and they have ſeen many Engliſh ladies worſe favoured, proportioned, and behavioured; and as ſince I have heard it pleaſed both the King and Queen's Majeſty honourably to eſteem her, accompanied with that honourable lady the Lady De la Warre, and that honourable Lord her huſband, and divers other perſons of good qualities, both publicly at the maſks and otherwiſe, to her great ſatisfaction and content, which doubtleſs ſhe would have deſerved, had ſhe lived to arrive in Virginia.

The Government devolved to Captain Samuel Argall, 1617.

THE treaſurer, council, and company having well furniſhed, Captain Samuel Argall, the lady Pocahontas alias Rebecca, with her huſband and others, in the good ſhip called the George, it pleaſed God, at Graveſend, to take this young lady to his mercy, where ſhe made not more ſorrow for her unexpected death, than joy to the beholders, to hear and ſee her make ſo religious and godly an end. Her little child, Thomas Rolfe, therefore was left at Plymouth, with Sir Lewis Stukly, that deſired the keeping of it. Captain Hamar, his vice-admiral, was gone before, but he found him at Plymouth. In March they ſet ſail, 1617, and in May he arrived at James Town, where he was kindly entertained by Captain Yearley and his company in a martial order, whoſe right hand file was led by an Indian. In James Town he found but five or ſix houſes, the church down, the palliſadoes broken, the bridge in pieces, the well of freſh water ſpoiled; the ſtore-houſe they uſed for the church, the market-place, and ſtreets, and all other ſpare places planted with tobacco, the ſavages as frequent in their houſes as themſelves, whereby they were become expert in our arms, and had a great many in their cuſtody and poſſeſſion, the colony diſperſed all about, planting tobacco. Captain Argall not liking thoſe proceedings, altered them agreeable to his own mind, taking the beſt order he could for repairing thoſe defects, which did exceedingly trouble us; we were conſtrained every year to build and repair our old cottages, which were always a decaying in all places of the country; yea, the very courts of guard built by Sir Thomas Dale, was ready to fall, and the palliſadoes not ſufficient to keep out hogs. Their number of people were about four hundred, but not paſt two hundred fit for huſbandry and tillage: we found there in all one hundred and twenty-eight cattle, and fourſcore and eight goats, beſides innumerable numbers of ſwine; and good plenty of corn in ſome places: yet the next year the captain ſent out a frigate and a pinnace, that brought us near ſix hundred buſhels more, which did greatly relieve the whole colony: for from the tenants we ſeldom had above four hundred buſhels of rent corn to the ſtore, and there was not remaining of the companies' company, paſt four-and-fifty men, women and children.

This year having planted our fields, came a great drought, and ſuch a cruel ſtorm of hail, which did ſuch ſpoil both to the corn and tobacco, that we reaped but ſmall profit, the magazine that came in the George, being five months in her paſſage, proved

very badly conditioned, but ere ſhe arrived, we had gathered and made up our tobacco, the beſt at three ſhillings the pound, the reſt at eighteen pence.

To ſupply us, the council and company, with all poſſible care and diligence, furniſhed a good ſhip, of ſome two hundred and fifty tons, with two hundred people and the Lord la Ware. They ſet ſail in April, and took their courſe by the weſtern iſles, where the governor of the iſle of Saint Michael received the Lord la Ware, and honourably feaſted him, with all the content he could give him. Going from thence, they were long troubled with contrary winds, in which time many of them fell very ſick, thirty died, one of which number was that moſt honourable lord governor the Lord La Ware, whoſe moſt noble and generous diſpoſition is well known, to his great coſt, had been moſt forward in this buſineſs, for his country's good: yet this tender ſtate of Virginia was not grown to that maturity to maintain ſuch ſtate and pleaſure as was fit for ſuch a perſonage, with ſo brave and great attendance: for ſome ſmall number of adventurous gentlemen to make diſcoveries, and lie in garriſon, ready upon any occaſion to keep in fear the inconſtant ſavages, nothing were more requiſite, but to have more to wait and play than work, or more commanders and officers than induſtrious labourers, was not ſo neceſſary: for in Virginia, a plain ſoldier, that can uſe a pick-axe and ſpade, is better than five knights, although they were knights that could break a lance; for men of great place, not inured to thoſe encounters, when they find things not ſuitable, grow many times ſo diſcontented, they forget themſelves, and oft become ſo careleſs, that a diſcontented melancholy brings to them much ſorrow, and to others much miſery. At laſt they ſtood in for the coaſt of New England, where they met a ſmall Frenchman, rich of beavers and other furs. Though we had here but ſmall knowledge of the coaſt nor country, yet they took ſuch an abundance of fiſh and fowl, and ſo well refreſhed themſelves there with wood and water, as by the help of God thereby, having been at ſea ſixteen weeks, got to Virginia, who without this relief had been in great danger to periſh. The Frenchmen made them ſuch a feaſt, with ſuch an abundance of variety of fiſh, fowl, and fruits, as they all admired, and little expected that wild wilderneſs could afford ſuch wonderful abundance of plenty. In this ſhip came about two hundred men, but very little proviſion, and the ſhip called the Treaſurer came in again not long after with forty paſſengers; the Lord la Ware ſhip, lying in Virginia three months, we victualled her with three ſcore buſhels of corn, and eight hogſheads of fleſh, beſides other victuals ſhe ſpent whilſt they tarried there: this ſhip brought us advice that great multitudes were a preparing in England to be ſent, and relied much upon that victuals they ſhould find here: whereupon our captain called a council, and writ to the council here in England the ſtate of the colony, and what a great miſery would enſue, if they ſent not proviſion as well as people; and what they did ſuffer for want of ſkilful huſbandmen, and means to ſet their ploughs on work, having as good ground as any man can deſire, and about forty bulls and oxen, but they wanted men to bring them to labour, and irons for the ploughs, and harneſs for the cattle. Some thirty or forty acres we had ſown with one plough, but it ſtood ſo long on the ground before it was reaped, it was moſt ſhaken, and the reſt ſpoiled with the cattle and rats in the barn, but no better corn could be for the quantity.

Richard Killingbeck being with the captain at Kekoughtan, deſired leave to return to his wife at Charles Hundred, he went to James Town by water, there he got four more to go with him by land, but it proved that he intended to go trade with the Indians of Chickahamania, where making ſhew of the great quantity of truck they had, which the ſavages perceiving, partly for their truck, partly for revenge of ſome friends they pretended

pretended ſhould have been ſlain by Captain Yearley, one of them, with an Engliſh piece, ſhot Killingbeck dead; the other ſavages aſſaulted the reſt and ſlew them, ſtripped them, and took what they had; but fearing this murther would come to light, and might cauſe them to ſuffer for it, would now proceed to the perfection of villainy; for preſently they robbed their Machacomocko houſe of the town, ſtole all the Indian treaſure thereout, and fled into the woods, as other Indians related. On Sunday following, one Parfax, that dwelt a mile from the town, going to church, left his wife and three ſmall children ſafe at home, as he thought, and a young youth: ſhe ſuppoſing prayer to be done, left the children, and went to meet her huſband; preſently after came three or four of thoſe fugitive ſavages, entered the houſe, and ſlew a boy and three children, and alſo another youth that ſtole out of the church in prayer time, meeting them, was likewiſe murdered. Of this diſaſter the captain ſent to Opechankanough for ſatisfaction; but he excuſed the matter, as altogether ignorant of it; at the ſame time the ſavages that were robbed were complaining to Opechankanough, and much feared the Engliſh would be revenged on them, ſo that Opechankanough ſent to Captain Argall, to aſſure him the peace ſhould never be broken by him, deſiring that he would not revenge the injury of thoſe fugitives upon the innocent people of that town, which town he ſhould have, and ſent him a baſket of earth, as poſſeſſion given of it, and promiſed, ſo ſoon as poſſibly they could catch theſe robbers, to ſend him their heads for ſatisfaction, but he never performed it.

SAMUEL ARGALL, JOHN ROLFE.

A Relation from Mr. John Rolfe, June 15, 1618.

CONCERNING the ſtate of our new common-wealth, it is ſomewhat bettered, for we have ſufficient to content ourſelves, though not in ſuch abundance as is vainly reported in England. Powhatan died this laſt April, yet the Indians continue in peace. Itopatin, his ſecond brother, ſucceeds him, and both he and Opechankanough have confirmed our former league. On the 11th of May, about ten of the clock in the night, happened a moſt fearful tempeſt, but it continued not paſt half an hour, which poured down hail-ſtones eight or nine inches about, that none durſt go out of their doors, and though it tore the bark and leaves of the trees, yet we find not they hurt either man or beaſt; it fell only about James Town, for but a mile to the eaſt, and twenty to the weſt there was no hail at all. Thus in peace every man followed his building and planting without any accidents worthy of note. Some private differences happened betwixt Captain Bruſter and Captain Argall, and Captain Argall and the company here in England; but of them I am not fully informed, neither are they here for any uſe, and therefore unfit to be remembered. In December one Captain Stallings, an old planter in thoſe parts, being employed by them of the weſt country, for a fiſhing voyage, in New-England, fell foul of a Frenchman, whom he took, leaving his own ſhip to return for England, himſelf with a ſmall company remained in the French bark, ſome ſmall time after upon the coaſt, and thence returned to winter in Virginia.

The Government ſurrrender to Sir George Yearley.

FOR to begin with the year of our Lord 1619, there arrived a little pinnace privately from England about Eaſter, for Captain Argall, who taking order for his affairs, within four or five days returned in her, and left for his deputy, Captain Nathaniel Powell.

On the 18th of April, which was but ten or twelve days after, arrived Sir George Yearley, by whom we underſtood Sir Edwin Sands was choſen treaſurer, and Mr. John Farrar his deputy, and what great ſupplies was a preparing to be ſent us, which did raviſh us ſo much with joy and content, we thought ourſelves now fully ſatisfied for our long toil and labours, and as happy men as any in the world. Notwithſtanding, ſuch an accident happened Captain Stallings, the next day his ſhip was caſt away, and he not long after ſlain in a private quarrel. Sir George Yearley, to begin his government, added to be of his council, Captain Francis Weſt, Captain Nathaniel Powell, Mr. John Pory, Mr. John Rolfe, and Mr. William Wickam, and Mr. Samuel Macocke, and propounded to have a general aſſembly with all expedition. Upon the 12th of this month, came in a pinnace of Captain Bargrave's, and on the 17th, Captain Lownes, and one Mr. Evans, who intended to plant themſelves at Waraſkoyack, but now Opechankanough will not come at us, that cauſes us to ſuſpect his former promiſes.

In May came in the Margaret of Briſtol, with four and thirty men, all well and in health, and alſo many devout gifts, and we were much troubled in examining ſome ſcandalous letters ſent into England, to diſgrace this country with barrenneſs, to diſcourage the adventurers, and ſo bring it and us to ruin and confuſion; notwithſtanding we find by them of beſt experience, an induſtrious man not other ways employed, may well tend four acres of corn, and one thouſand plants of tobacco, and where they ſay an acre will yield but three or four barrels, we have ordinarily four or five, but of new ground, ſix, ſeven, and eight, and a barrel of peaſe and beans, which we eſteem as good as two of corn, which is after thirty or forty buſhels an acre; ſo that one man may provide corn for five, and apparel for two, by the profit of his tobacco: they ſay alſo Engliſh wheat will yield but ſixteen buſhels an acre, and we have reaped thirty; beſides to manure the land, no place hath more white and blue marble than here, had we but carpenters to build and make carts and ploughs, and ſkilful men that know how to uſe them, and train up our cattle to draw them, which though we endeavour to effect, yet our want of experience brings but little to perfection but planting tobacco, and yet of that many are ſo covetous to have much, they make little good; beſides there are ſo many ſofiſticating tobacco-mongers in England, were it never ſo bad, they would ſell it for Verinas, and the traſh that remaineth ſhould be Virginia, ſuch deviliſh bad minds we know ſome of our own countrymen do bear, not only to the buſineſs, but alſo to our mother England herſelf; could they or durſt they as freely defame her.

The 25th of June came in the Trial with corn and cattle all in ſafety, which took from us clearly all fear of famine; then our governor and council cauſed burgeſſes to be choſen in all places, and met at a general aſſembly, where all matters were debated thought expedient for the good of the colony, and Captain Ward was ſent to Monahigan in New England, to fiſh in May, and returned the latter end of May, but to ſmall purpoſe, for they wanted ſalt: the George alſo was ſent to Newfoundland with the Cape merchant; there ſhe bought fiſh, that defrayed her charges, and made a good voyage in ſeven weeks. About the laſt of Auguſt came in a Dutch man of war that ſold us twenty negroes, and Iapazous, King of Patawomeck, came to James Town, to deſire two ſhips to come trade in his river, for a more plentiful year of corn had not been in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the treachery of one Poule in a manner turned heathen, we were very jealous the ſavages would ſurpriſe us. The governors have bounded four corporations; which is the companies, the univerſity, the governors and glebe land: Enſign William Spencer, and Thomas Barret a ſerjeant, with

ſome others of the ancient planters being ſet free, we are the firſt farmers that went forth, and have choſen places to their content, ſo that now knowing their own land, they ſtrive who ſhould exceed in building and planting. The fourth of November the Bonanoua came in with all her people luſtly and well; not long after one Mr. Dirmer ſent out by ſome of Plymouth, for New England, arrived in a bark of five tons, and returned the next ſpring; notwithſtanding the ill rumours of the unwholeſomeneſs of James Town, the new comers that were planted at Old Paſpaheghe, little more than a mile from it, had their healths better than any in the country. In December Captain Ward returned from Patawomeck; the people there dealt falſly with him, ſo that he took 800 buſhels of corn from them perforce. Captain Woddiffe of Briſtol, came in not long after, with all his people luſty and in health, and we had two particular governors ſent us, under the titles of deputies to the company, the one to have charge of the College Lands, the other of the Company's: now you are to underſtand, that becauſe there have been many complaints againſt the governors, captains, and officers in Virginia, for buying and ſelling men and boys, or to be ſet over from one to another for a yearly rent, was held in England a thing moſt intolerable, or that the tenants or lawful ſervants ſhould be put from their places, or abridged their covenants, was ſo odious, that the very report thereof brought a great ſcandal to the general action. The council in England did ſend many good and worthy inſtructions for the amending thoſe abuſes, and appointed a hundred men ſhould, at the companies' charge be allotted and provided to ſerve and attend the governor during the time of his government, which number he was to make good at his departure, and leave to his ſucceſſor in like manner, fifty to the deputy-governor of the College Land, and fifty to the deputy of the Company's Land, fifty to the treaſurer, to the ſecretary five and twenty, and more to the marſhal and Cape merchant; which they are alſo to leave to their ſucceſſors, and likewiſe to every particular officer ſuch a competency, as he might live well in his office, without oppreſſing any under their charge, which good law I pray God it be well obſerved; and then we may truly ſay in Virginia, we are the moſt happy people in the world.

By me, JOHN ROLFE.

There went this year by the Company's records eleven ſhips and twelve hundred and ſixteen perſons to be thus diſpoſed on: tenants for the governor's land four ſcore, beſides fifty ſent the former ſpring; for the Company's land a hundred and thirty; for the college a hundred; for the glebe land fifty; young women to make wives ninety; ſervants for public ſervice fifty; and fifty more whoſe labours were to bring up thirty of the infidels' children; the reſt were ſent to private plantations.

Two perſons unknown have given fair plate and ornaments for two communion tables, the one at the college, the other at the church of Mrs. Mary Robinſon, who towards the foundation gave two hundred pounds; and another unknown perſon ſent to the treaſurer five hundred and fifty pounds, for the bringing up of the ſavage children in Chriſtianity. Mr. Nicholas Farrar, deceaſed, hath by his will given three hundred pounds to the college, to be paid when there ſhall be ten young ſavages placed in it; in the mean time four-and-twenty pounds yearly to be diſtributed unto three diſcreet and godly young men in the colony, to bring up three wild young infidels in ſome good courſe of life; alſo there were granted eleven patents, upon condition to tranſport people and cattle to increaſe the plantation.

A deſ-

A deſperate Sea-fight betwixt two Spaniſh Men of War and a ſmall Engliſh Ship, at the Iſle of Dominica, going to Virginia, by Captain Anthony Cheſter.

HAVING taken our journey towards Virginia in the beginning of February, a ſhip called the Margaret and John, of one hundred and ſixty tons, eight iron pieces and a falcon, with eighty paſſengers beſides ſailors, after many tempeſts and foul weather, about the 14th of March we were in 13 and a half of northerly latitude, where we deſcried a ſhip at hull: it being but a fair gale of wind, we edged towards her to ſee what ſhe was, but ſhe preſently ſet ſail, and ran us quickly out of ſight. This made us keep our courſe for Metſalina, and the next day paſſing Dominica, we came to an anchor at Guadaloupe, to take in freſh water. Six Frenchmen there, caſt away ſixteen months ago, came aboard us; they told us, that a Spaniſh man of war, but ſeven days before, was ſeeking his conſort; and this was ſhe we deſcried at hull. At Mevis we intended to refreſh ourſelves, having been eleven weeks peſtered in this unwholeſome ſhip; but there we found two tall ſhips with the Hollanders' colours, but neceſſity forcing us on ſhore, we anchored fair by them, and in friendly manner ſent to hail them; but ſeeing they were Spaniards, retiring to our ſhip, they ſent ſuch a volley of ſhot after us, that ſhot the boat, ſplit the oars, and ſome through the cloaths, yet not a man hurt; and then followed with their great ordnance, that many times over-raked our ſhip, which being ſo cumbered with the paſſengers' proviſions, our ordnance was not well fitted, nor any thing as it ſhould have been; but perceiving what they were, we fitted ourſelves the beſt we could to prevent a miſchief, ſeeing them warp themſelves to windward, we thought it not good to be boarded on both ſides at an anchor; we intended to ſet ſail, but that the vice-admiral battered ſo hard our ſtarboard ſide, that we fell to our buſineſs, and anſwered their unkindneſs with ſuch fair ſhot from a demi-culverine, that ſhot her between wind and water, whereby ſhe was glad to leave us and her admiral together. Coming fair by our quarter, he took in his Holland flag, and put forth his Spaniſh colours, and ſo hailed us.

We quietly and quickly anſwered him, both what we were and whither bound, relating the effect of our commiſſion, and the cauſe of our coming thither for water, and not to annoy any of the King of Spain's ſubjects, nor any. She commanded us amain for the King of Spain; we replied, with enlarging the particulars, what friends both the Kings, our maſters, were; and as we would do no wrong, we would take none. They commanded us aboard to ſhew our commiſſion, which we refuſed, but if they would ſend their boat to us willingly, they ſhould ſee it. But for anſwer they made two great ſhot at us, with a volley of ſmall ſhot, which cauſed us to leave the decks; then, with many ill words, they laid us aboard, which cauſed us to raiſe our main-ſail, and give the word to our ſmall ſhot, which lay cloſe and ready, that paid them in ſuch ſort, they quickly retired. The fight continued half an hour, as if we had been environed with fire and ſmoke, until they diſcovered the waſte of our ſhip naked, where they bravely boarded us loofe for loofe, haſting with pikes and ſwords to enter, but it pleaſed God ſo to direct our captain, and encourage our men with valour, that our pikes being formerly placed under our half-deck, and certain ſhot lying cloſe for that purpoſe under the port-holes, encountered them ſo rudely, that their fury was not only rebated, but their haſtineſs intercepted, and their whole company beaten back: many of our men were hurt, but I am ſure they had two for one.

In the end they were violently repulſed, until they were reinforced to charge again by their commands, who ſtanding upon their honours, thought it a great indignity to be

be ſo affronted, which cauſed a ſecond charge, and that anſwered with a ſecond beating back: whereat the captain grew enraged, and conſtrained them to come on again afreſh, which they did ſo effectually, that queſtionleſs it had wrought an alteration, if the God that toſſeth monarchies, and teareth mountains, had not taught us to toſs our pikes with proſperous events, and poured out a volley of ſmall ſhot amongſt them, whereby that valiant commander was ſlain, and many of his ſoldiers dropped down likewiſe on the top of the hatches. This we ſaw with our eyes, and rejoiced with it at our hearts, ſo that we might perceive good ſucceſs coming on; our captain preſently took advantage of their diſcomfiture, though with much commiſeration of that reſolute captain, and not only plied them again with our ordnance, but had more ſhot under the pikes, which was beſtowed to good purpoſe, and amazed our enemies with the ſuddenneſs.

Amongſt the reſt, one Lucas, our carpenter's mate, muſt not be forgotten, who perceiving a way how to annoy them, as they were thus puzzled and in a confuſion, drew out a minion under the half-deck, and there bent it upon them in ſuch a manner, that when it was fired, the caſes of ſtones and pieces of iron fell upon them ſo thick, as cleared the deck, and ſlew many; and in ſhort time we ſaw few aſſailants, but ſuch as crept from place to place covertly from the fury of our ſhot, which now was thicker than theirs: for although as far as we may commend our enemies, they had done ſomething worthy of commendations; yet, either wanting men, or being overtaken with the unlooked for valour of our men, they now began to ſhrink, and give us leave to be wanton with our advantage. Yet we could only uſe but four pieces of ordnance, but they ſerved the turn as well as all the reſt: for ſhe was ſhot ſo oft between wind and water, we ſaw they were willing to leave us, but by reaſon ſhe was faſt in the latch of our cable, which in haſte of weighing our anchor hung aloof, ſhe could not clear herſelf as ſhe wrought to do, till one cut the cable with an axe, and was ſlain by freeing us. Having been aboard us two hours and a half, ſeeing herſelf clear, all the ſhot we had played on both ſides, which laſted till we were out of ſhot, then we diſcovered the vice-admiral coming to her aſſiſtance, who began a-far off to ply us with their ordnance, and put us in mind we had another work in hand. Whereupon we ſeparated the dead and hurt bodies, and manned the ſhip with the reſt, and were ſo well encouraged we waifed them amain. The admiral ſtood aloof off, and the other would not come within falcon ſhot, where ſhe lay battering us till ſhe received another payment from a demiculvering, which made her bear with the ſhore for ſmooth water to mend her leaks. The next morning they both came up again with us, as if they had determined to devour us at once, but it ſeemed it was but a bravado, though they forſook not our quarter for a time within muſket ſhot: yet all the night only they kept us company, but made not a ſhot, during which time we had leiſure to provide us better than before; but God be thanked they made only but a ſhew of another aſſault, ere ſuddenly the vice-admiral fell aſtern, and the other lay ſhaking in the wind, and ſo they both left us. The fight continued ſix hours, and was the more unwelcome, becauſe we were ſo ill provided, and had no intent to fight, nor give occaſion to diſturb them. As for the loſs of men, if religion had not taught us what by the providence of God is brought to paſs, yet daily experience might inform us, of the dangers of wars, and perils at ſea, by ſtorms, tempeſts, ſhipwrecks, encounters with pirates, meeting with enemies, croſs winds, long voyages, unknown ſhores, barbarous nations, and an hundred inconveniencies of which human policies are not capable, nor men's conjectures apprehenſive. We loſt Doctor Bohun, a worthy valiant gentleman, (a long time brought up amongſt the moſt learned ſurgeons, and phyſicians in Netherlands, and this his

ſecond journey to Virginia); and ſeven ſlain outright, two died ſhortly of their wounds, ſixteen was ſhot, whoſe limbs God be thanked was recovered without maim, and now ſettled in Virginia: how many they loſt we know not, but we ſaw a great many lie on the decks, and their ſkuppers run with blood, they were about three hundred tons a piece, each ſixteen or twenty braſs pieces. Captain Cheſter, who in this fight had behaved himſelf like a moſt vigilant, reſolute, and a courageous ſoldier, as alſo our honeſt and valiant maſter, did ſtill ſo comfort and encourage us by all the means they could, at laſt to all our great contents we arrived in Virginia, and from thence returned ſafely to England.

The Names of the Adventurers for Virginia, alphabetically ſet down, according to a printed Book, ſet out by the Treaſurer and Council in this preſent Year, 1620.

A

Sir William Aliffe,
Sir Roger Aſton,
Sir Anthony Aſhley,
Sir John Akland,
Sir Anthony Aucher,
Sir Robert Aſkwith,
Doctor Francis Anthony,
Charles Anthony,
Edward Allen,
Edmund Allen, Eſquire,
John Allen,
Thomas Allen,
William Atkinſon, Eſquire,
Richard Aſhcroft,
Nicholas Andrews,
John Andrews the elder,
John Andrews the younger,
James Aſcough,
Giles Allington,
Morris Abbot,
Ambroſe Aſten,
James Aſkew,
Anthony Abdey,
John Arundell, Eſquire.

B

Edward, Earl of Bedford,
James, Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells,
Sir Francis Barrington,
Sir Morice Barkley,
Sir John Benet,
Sir Thomas Beamont,
Sir Amias Bamfield,
Sir John Bourcher,
Sir Edmond Bowyer,
Sir Thomas Bludder,
Sir George Bolles,
Sir John Bingley,
Sir Thomas Button,
Sir Henry Beddingfield,
Company of barbers-ſurgeons,
Company of bakers,
Richard Baniſter,
John Bancks,
Miles Bancks,
Thomas Barber,
William Bonham,
James Bryerley,
William Barners,
Anthony Barners, Eſquire,
William Brewſter,
Richard Brooke,
Hugh Brooker, Eſquire,
Ambroſe Brewſey,
John Brooke,
Matthew Bromridge,
Chriſtopher Brooke, Eſquire,
Martin Bond,
Gabriel Beadle,
John Beadle,
David Borne,
Edward Barnes,
John Badger,
Edmund Brandvell,
Robert Bowyer, Eſquire,
Robert Bateman,
Thomas Britton,
Nicholas Benſon,
Edward Biſhop,
Peter Burgoney,
Thomas Burgoney,

Robert Burgoney,
Chriſtopher Baron,
Peter Benſon,
John Baker,
John Buſtoridge,
Francis Burley,
William Brown,
Robert Barker,
Samuel Burnham,
Edward Barkley,
William Bennet,
Captain Edward Brewſter,
Thomas Brocket,
John Bullock,
George Bache,
Thomas Bayly,
William Barkley,
George Butler,
Timothy Bathurſt,
George Burton,
Thomas Bret,
Captain John Brough,
Thomas Baker,
John Blunt,
Thomas Bayly,
Richard and Edward Blunt,
Mineon Burrell,
Richard Blackmore,
William Beck,
Benjamin Brand,
John Buſbridge,
William Burrell,
William Barrett,
Francis Baldwin,
Edward Barber,
Humphry Baſſe,
Robert Bell,
Matthew Bromrick,
John Beaumont,
George Barkley,
Peter Bartle,
Thomas Bretton,
John Blount,
Arthur Bromfeld, Eſquire,
William Berbloke,
Charles Beck.

C

George Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury,
William Lord Cranborne, now Earl of Saliſbury,
William Lord Compton, now Earl of Northampton,
William Lord Cavendiſh, now Earl of Devonſhire,
Richard, Earl of Clanricard,
Sir William Cavendiſh, now Lord Cavendiſh,
Gray, Lord Chandos,
Sir Henry Cary,
Sir George Calvert,
Sir Lionel Cranfield,
Sir Edward Cecill,
Sir Robert Cotten,
Sir Oliver Cromwell,
Sir Anthony Cope,
Sir Walter Cope,
Sir Edward Carr,
Sir Thomas Coniſbie,
Sir George Cary,
Sir Edward Conwey,
Sir Walter Chute,
Sir Edward Culpeper,
Sir Henry Cary, captain,
Sir William Craven,
Sir Walter Covert,
Sir George Coppin,
Sir George Chute,
Sir Thomas Coventry,
Sir John Cutts,
Lady Cary,
Company of Cloth-workers,
City of Chicheſter,
Robert Chamberlaine,
Richard Chamberlaine,
Francis Covill,
William Coyſe, Eſquire,
Abraham Chamberlayne,
Thomas Carpenter,
Anthony Crew,
Richard Cox,
William Croſley,
James Chatfeild,
Richard Caſwell,
John Cornelis,
Randall Carter,
Executors of Randall Carter,
William Canning,

Edward Carve, Eſquire,
Thomas Cannon, Eſquire,
Richard Champion,
Rawley Craſhaw,
Henry Collins,
Henry Cromwell,
John Cooper,
Richard Cooper,
John Caſſon,
Thomas Colthurſt,
Allen Cotten,
Edward Cage,
Abraham Carthwright,
Robert Coppin,
Thomas Conock,
John Clapham,
Thomas Church,
William Carpenter,
Laurence Campe,
James Cambell,
Chriſtopher Cletheroe,
Matthew Cooper,
George Chamber,
Captain John Cooke,
Captain Thomas Conwey, Eſquire,
Edward Culpeper, Eſquire,
Maſter William Craſhaw,
Abraham Colmer,
John Culpeper,
Edmund Colbey,
Richard Cooper,
Robert Creſwell,
John Cage, Eſquire,
Matthew Cave,
William Crowe,
Abraham Carpenter,
John Crowe,
Thomas Cordell,
Richard Connock, Eſquire,
William Compton,
William Cheſter,
Thomes Covel,
Richard Carmarden, Eſquire,
William and Paul Canning,
Henry Cromwell, Eſquire,
Simon Codrington,
Clement Chichley,
James Cullemore,
William Cantrell.

D

Richard Earl of Dorſet,
Edward Lord Denny,
Sir John Digbie, now Lord Digbie,
Sir John Doderidge,
Sir Drew Drewry the elder,
Sir Thomas Dennis,
Sir Robert Drewry,
Sir John Davers,
Sir Dudley Digs,
Sir Marmaduke Dorrel,
Sir Thomas Dale,
Sir Thomas Denton,
Company of Drapers,
Thomas Bond, Eſquire,
David Bent, Eſquire,
Company of Dyers,
Town of Dover,
Mr. Richard Deane, alderman,
Henry Dawkes,
Edward Dichfield,
William Dunne,
John Davis,
Matthew Dequeſter,
Philip Durdent,
Abraham Dawes,
John Dike,
Thomas Draper,
Lancelot Davis,
Rowley Dawſey,
William Dobſon, Eſquire,
Anthony Dyot, Eſquire,
Avery Dranfield,
Roger Dye,
John Downes,
John Drake,
John Delbridge,
Benjamin Decroe,
Thomas Dyke,
Jeffery Duppa,
Daniel Darnelly,
Sara Draper,
Clement and Henry Dawkney.

E

Thomas, Earl of Exeter,
Sir Thomas Everfield,
Sir Francis Egiock,
Sir Robert Edolph,

John

John Eldred, Eſquire,
Willſam Evans,
Richard Evans,
Hugh Evans,
Ralph Ewens, Eſquire,
John Elkin,
John Elkin,
Robert Evelin,
Nicholas Exton,
John Exton,
George Etheridge.

F

Sir Moyle Finch,
Sir Henry Fanſhaw,
Sir Thomas Freake,
Sir Peter Fretchuile,
Sir William Fleetwood,
Sir Henry Fane,
Company of Fiſhmongers,
John Fletcher,
John Farmer,
Martin Freeman, Eſquire,
Ralph Freeman,
William and Ralph Freeman,
Michael Fetiplace,
William Fettiplace,
Thomas Foreſt,
Edward Fleetwood, Eſquire,
William Felgate,
William Field,
Nicholas Ferrar,
John Farrar,
Giles Francis,
Edward Fawcet,
Richard Farrington,
John Francklin,
Richard Frith,
John Ferne,
George Farmer,
Thomas Francis,
John Fenner,
Nicholas Fuller, Eſquire,
Thomas Foxall,
William Fleet,
Peter Franck, Eſquire,
Richard Fiſhborne,
William Faldoe,
John Fletcher and Company,
William Ferrars.

G

Lady Elizabeth Gray,
Sir John Gray,
Sir William Godolfine,
Sir Thomas Gates,
Sir William Gee,
Sir Richard Grobham,
Sir William Garaway,
Sir Francis Goodwin,
Sir George Goring,
Sir Thomas Grantham,
Company of Grocers,
Company of Goldſmiths,
Company of Girdlers,
John Geering,
John Gardiner,
Richard Gardiner,
John Gilbert,
Thomas Grave,
John Gray,
Nicholas Griece,
Richard Goddard,
Thomas Gipps,
Peter Gates,
Thomas Gibbs, Eſquire,
Laurence Greene,
William Greenwell,
Robert Garſet,
Robert Gore,
Thomas Gouge,
Francis Glanvile, Eſquire.

H

Henry, Earl of Huntingdon,
Lord Theophilus Howard, L. Walden,
Sir John Harrington, L. Harington,
Sir John Hollis, now Lord Hautein,
Sir Thomas Holecroft,
Sir William Harris,
Sir Thomas Harefleet,
Sir George Haiward,
Sir Warwick Heale,
Sir Baptiſt Hicks,
Sir John Hanham,
Sir Thomas Horwell,

Sir

Sir Thomas Hewit,
Sir William Herrick,
Sir Euſtace Hart,
Sir Pory Huntley,
Sir Arthur Harris,
Sir Edward Heron,
Sir Perſevall Hart,
Sir Ferdinando Heiborne,
Sir Lawrence Hide,
Mr. Hugh Hamerſley, Alderman,
Mr. Richard Heron, Alderman,
Richard Humble, Eſquire,
Mr. Richard Hackleuit,
Edward Harriſon,
George Holeman,
Robert Hill,
Griffin Hinton,
John Hawkins,
William Hancocke,
John Harper,
George Hawger,
John Holt,
John Huntley,
Jeremy Heiden,
Ralph Hamer,
Ralph Hamer, jun.
John Hodgeſon,
John Hanford,
Thomas Harris,
Richard Howell,
Thomas Henſhaw,
Leonard Harwood,
Triſtram Hill,
Francis Haſelridge,
Tobias Hinſon,
Peter Heightley,
George Hawkenſon,
Thomas Hackſhaw,
Charles Hawkens,
John Hodgis,
William Holland,
Robert Hartley,
Gregory Herſt,
Thomas Hodgis,
William Hodgis,
Roger Harris,
John Harris,
Mr. John Haiward,
James Haiward,
Nicholas Hide, Eſquire,
John Hare, Eſquire,
William Hackwell, Eſquire,
Greſſam Hoogan,
Humfrey Hanford,
William Haſelden,
Nicholas Hooker,
Doctor Anthony Hunton,
John Hodſale,
George Hooker,
Anthony Hinton,
John Hogſell,
Thomas Hampton,
William Hicks,
William Holliland,
Ralph Harriſon,
Harman Harriſon.

I

Sir Thomas Jermyn,
Sir Robert Johnſon,
Sir Arthur Ingram,
Sir Francis Jones,
Company of Ironmongers,
Company of Innholders,
Company of Imbroiderers,
Bailiffs of Ipſwich,
Henry Jackſon,
Richard Ironſide,
Mr. Robert Johnſon, Alderman,
Thomas Jones,
William Jobſon,
Thomas Johnſon,
Thomas Jadwine,
John Joſua,
George Iſam,
Philip Jacobſon,
Peter Jacobſon,
Thomas Juxſon, ſen.
James Jewell,
Gabriel Jaques,
Walter Jobſon,
Edward James,
Zachary Jones, Eſquire,
Anthony Irbye, Eſquire,
William Janſon,
Humfrey Jobſon.

Sir

K

Sir Valentine Knightley,
Sir Robert Killegrew,
Sir Charles Kelke,
Sir John Kaile,
Richard Kirrill,
John Kirrill,
Ralph King,
Henry Kent,
Town of Kingſlynne,
John Kettleby, Eſquire,
Walter Kirkham, Eſquire.

L

Henry, Earl of Lincoln,
Robert, L. Liſle, now Earl of Leiceſter,
Thomas, Lord La Ware,
Sir Francis Leigh,
Sir Richard Lowlace,
Sir William Litton,
Sir John Lewſon,
Sir William Lower,
Sir Samuel Leonard,
Sir Samſon Leonard,
Company of Leatherſellers,
Thomas Laughton,
William Lewſon.
Peter Latham,
Peter Van Lore,
Henry Leigh,
Thomas Levar,
Chriſtopher Landman,
Morris Lewellin,
Edward Lewis,
Edward Lewkin,
Peter Lodge,
Thomas Layer,
Thomas Lawſon,
Francis Lodge,
John Langley,
David Loide,
John Levitt,
Thomas Fox and Luke Lodge,
Captain Richard Linley,
Arnold Lulls,
William Lawrence,
John Landman,
Nicholas Lichfield,
Nicholas Leate,
Gedeon de Laune.

M

Philip, Earl of Montgomerie,
Doctor George Mountaine, now Lord Biſhop of Lincoln,
William, Lord Mounteagle, now Lord Morley,
Sir Thomas Manſell,
Sir Thomas Mildmay,
Sir William Maynard,
Sir Humphrey May,
Sir Peter Manhood,
Sir John Merrick,
Sir George More,
Sir Robert Manſell,
Sir Arthur Mannering,
Sir David Murray,
Sir Edward Michelborn,
Sir Thomas Middleton,
Sir Robert Miller,
Sir Canaliero Maicott,
Doctor James Meddin,
Richard Martin, Eſquire,
Company of Mercers,
Company of Merchant Tailors,
Otho Mowdite,
Captain John Martin,
Arthur Mouſe,
Adrian More,
Thomas Mountford,
Thomas Morris,
Ralph Moorton,
Francis Mapes,
Richard Mapleſden,
James Monger,
Peter Monſell,
Robert Middleton,
Thomas Maile,
John Martin,
Joſias Maude,
Richard Morton,
George Maſon,
Thomas Maddock,
Richard Moore,
Nicholas Moone,
Alfonſus Van Medkerk,

Captain

Captain Henry Meoles,
Philip Mutes,
Thomas Mayall,
Humphrey Marret,
Jarvis Mundz,
Robert Mildmay,
William Millet,
Richard Morer,
John Miller,
Thomas Martin,
John Middleton,
Francis Middleton.

N

Dudly, Lord North,
Francis, Lord Norris,
Sir Henry Nevill of Berkſhire,
Thomas Nicols,
Chriſtopher Nicols,
William Nicols,
George Newce,
Joſeph Newberow,
Chriſtopher Newgate,
Thomas Norincott,
Jonathan Nuttall,
Thomas Norton.

O

William Oxenbridge, Eſquire,
Robert Offley,
Francis Oliver.

P

William, Earl of Pembroke,
William, Lord Paget,
John, Lord Petre,
George Percy, Eſquire,
Sir Chriſtopher Parkins,
Sir Amias Preſton,
Sir Nicholas Parker,
Sir William Poole,
Sir Stephen Powell,
Sir Henry Peyton,
Sir James Perrot,
Sir John Pettus,
Sir Robert Payne,
William Payne,
John Payne,
Edward Parkins,
Edward Parkins's widow,
Aden Perkins,
Thomas Perkin,
Richard Partridge,
William Palmer,
Miles Palmer,
Robert Parkhurſt,
Richard Percivall, Eſquire,
Richard Poyntell,
George Pretty,
George Pit,
Allen Percy,
Abraham Peirce,
Edmund Peirce,
Phenice Pet,
Thomas Philips,
Henry Philpot,
Mr. George Procter,
Robert Penington,
Peter Peate,
John Prat,
William Powell,
Edmund Peaſhall,
Captain William Proude,
Henry Price,
Nicholas Pewriffe,
Thomas Pelham,
Richard Piggot,
John Pawlet, Eſquire,
Robert Pory,
Richard Paulſon.

Q

William Quicke.

R

Sir Robert Rich, now Earl of Warwick,
Sir Thomas Row,
Sir Henry Rainsford.
Sir William Romney,
Sir John Ratcliffe,
Sir Stephen Ridleſdon,
Sir William Ruſſell,
Mr. Edward Rotheram, Alderman,
Robert Rich,
Tedder Roberts,
Henry Robinſon,

John Ruſſell,
Richard Rogers,
Arthur Robinſon,
Robert Robinſon,
Millicent Ramſden,
John Robinſon,
George Robins,
Nicholas Rainton,
Henry Rolfe,
John Reignolds,
Elias Roberts,
Henry Reignolds, Eſquire,
William Roſcarrocke, Eſquire,
Humphrey Raymell,
Richard Robins.

S

Henry, Earl of Southampton,
Thomas, Earl of Suffolk,
Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford,
Robert, Earl of Saliſbury,
Mary, Counteſs of Shrewſbury,
Edmund, Lord Sheffield,
Robert, Lord Spencer,
John, Lord Stanhope,
Sir John Saint John,
Sir Thomas Smith,
Sir John Samms,
Sir John Smith,
Sir Edwin Sandys,
Sir Samuel Sandys,
Sir Stephen Some,
Sir Ralph Shelton,
Sir Thomas Stewkley,
Sir William Saint John,
Sir William Smith,
Sir Richard Smith,
Sir Martin Stutevill,
Sir Nicholas Salter,
Doctor Matthew Sutcliffe of Exeter,
Captain John Smith,
Thomas Sandys, Eſquire,
Henry Sandys, Eſquire,
George Sandys, Eſquire,
Company of Skinners,
Company of Salters,
Company of Stationers,
John Stokley,
Richard Staper,

Robert Singleton,
Thomas Shipton,
Cleophas Smith,
Richard Strongtharm,
Hildebrand Spruſon,
Matthew Scrivener,
Othowell Smith,
George Scot,
Hewet Stapers,
James Swift,
Richard Stratford,
Edmund Smith,
Robert Smith,
Matthias Springham,
Richard Smith,
Edward Smith,
Jonathan Smith,
Humphrey Smith,
John Smith,
George Swinhow,
Joſeph Some,
William Sheckley,
John Southick,
Henry Shelley,
Walter Shelley,
Richard Snarſborow,
George Stone,
Hugh Shepley,
William Strachey,
Urion Spencer,
John Scarpe,
Thomas Scott,
William Sharpe,
Stephen Sparrow,
Thomas Stokes,
Richard Shepard,
Henry Spranger,
William Stonnard,
Stephen Sad,
John Stockley,
Thomas Stevens,
Matthew Shepard,
Thomas Sherwell,
William Seabright, Eſquire,
Nicholas Sherwell,
Auguſtine Steward,
Thomas Stile,
Abraham Speckhard,
Edmund Scot,

Francis Smalman,
Gregory Sprint, Eſquire,
Thomas Stacey,
William Sandbatch,
Auguſtine Stuard, Eſquire.

T

Sir William Twiſden,
Sir William Throckmorton,
Sir Nicholas Tufton,
Sir John Trever,
Sir Thomas Tracy,
George Thorpe, Eſquire,
Doctor William Turner,
The Trinity-Houſe,
Richard Turner,
John Taverner,
Daniel Tucker,
Charles Towler,
William Tayler,
Leonard Townſon,
Richard Tomlins,
Francis Tate, Eſquire,
Andrew Troughton,
George Tucker,
Henry Timberlake,
William Tucker,
Lewis Tite,
Robert Thornton.

V

Sir Horatio Vere,
Sir Walter Vaughan,
Henry Vincent,
Richard Venne,
Chriſtopher Vertue,
John Vaſſell,
Arthur Venne.

W

Henry Biſhop of Worceſter,
Francis Weſt, Eſquire,
Sir Ralph Winwood,
Sir John Wentworth,
Sir William Waad,
Sir Robert Wroth,
Sir Percival Willoby,
Sir Charles Wilmott,
Sir John Wats,
Sir Hugh Worrell,
Sir Edward Waterhouſe,
Sir Thomas Wilsford,
Sir Richard Williamſon,
Sir John Wolſtenholm,
Sir Thomas Walſingham,
Sir Thomas Watſon,
Sir Thomas Wilſon,
Sir John Weld,
Mrs. Kath. Weſt, now Lady Conway,
John Wroth, Eſquire,
Captain Maria Winckfield, Eſquire,
Thomas Webb,
Rice Webb,
Edward Webb,
Sands Webb,
Felix Wilſon,
Thomas White,
Richard Wiffin,
William Williamſon,
Humfrey Weſtwood,
Hugh Willeſton,
Thomas Wheatley,
William Wattey,
William Webſter,
James White,
Edmund Winne,
John Weſt,
John Wright,
Edward Wooller,
Thomas Walker,
John Wooller,
John Weſtrow,
Edward Welch,
Nathaniel Waad,
Richard Widowes,
David Waterhouſe, Eſquire,
Captain Owen Winne,
Randall Wetwood,
George Wilmer, Eſquire,
Edward Wilkes,
Leonard White,
Andrew Willmer,
Clement Willmer,
George Walker,
William Welbie,
Francis Whiſtler,
Thomas Wells,
Captain Thomas Winne,

John

John Whittingham,
Thomas Wheeler,
William Willet,
Devereux Woogan,
John Walker,
Thomas Wood,
John Willet,
Nicholas Wheeler,
Thomas Wale,
William Wilſton,
John Waller,
William Ward,
William Willeſton,
John Water,
Thomas Warr, Eſquire,
David Wiffen,
Garret Weſton.

Y

Sir George Yeardley, now Governor of Virginia
William Yong,
Simon Yeomans.

Z

Edward, Lord Zouch,
John Zouch, Eſquire.

That moſt generous and moſt honourable Lord, the Earl of Southampton, being pleaſed to take upon him the title of treaſurer, and Mr. John Farrar his deputy, with ſuch inſtructions as were neceſſary, and admonitions to all officers to take heed of extortion, ingroſſing commodities, foreſtalling of markets, eſpecially to have a vigilant care, the familiarity of the ſavages living amongſt them made them not way to betray or ſurpriſe them, for the building of gueſt-houſes to relieve the weak in, and that they did wonder in all this time they had made no diſcoveries, nor knew no more than the very place whereon they did inhabit, nor yet could ever ſee any return for all this continual charge and trouble, therefore they ſent to be added to the council ſeven gentlemen, namely Mr. Thorp, Captain Nuce, Mr. Tracy, Captain Middleton, Captain Blount, Mr. John Pountas, and Mr. Harwood, with men, ammunition, and all things thought fitting: but they write from Virginia, many of the ſhips were ſo peſtered with diſeaſed people, and thronged together in their paſſage, there was much ſickneſs and a great mortality, wherefore they deſired rather a few able ſufficient men well provided, than great multitudes: and becauſe there were few accidents of note, but private advertiſements by letters, we will conclude this year, and proceed to the next.

Collected out of the Council's Letters for Virginia.

The inſtructions and advertiſements for this year were both from England and Virginia, much like the laſt: only whereas before they had ever a ſuſpicion of Opechankanough, and all the reſt of the ſavages, they had an eye over him more than any; but now they all write ſo confidently of their aſſured peace with the ſavages, there is now no more fear nor danger either of their power or treachery, ſo that every man planteth himſelf where he pleaſeth, and followeth his buſineſs ſecurely. But the time of Sir George Yearley being near expired, the council here made choice of a worthy young gentleman Sir Francis Wyat, to ſucceed him, whom they forthwith furniſhed and provided, as they had done his predeceſſors, with all the neceſſary inſtructions all theſe times had acquainted them for the converſion of the ſavages, the ſuppreſſing of planting tobacco, and planting of corn, not depending continually to be ſupplied by the ſavages, but in caſe of neceſſity to trade with them, whom long ere this, it hath been promiſed and expected ſhould have been fed and relieved by the Engliſh, not the Engliſh by them; and carefully to redreſs all the complaints of the needleſs mortality of their people, and by all diligence ſeek to ſend ſomething home to ſatisfy the adventurers, that all this time had only lived upon hopes, grew ſo weary and diſcouraged, that it muſt now be ſubſtance that muſt maintain their proceedings, and not letters, excuſes, and promiſes; ſeeing

ſeeing they could get ſo much and ſuch great eſtates for themſelves, as to ſpend after the rate of one hundred pounds, two, three, four, five, ſix, ſeven, eight, nine, ten, nay ſome two or three thouſand pounds yearly, that were not worth ſo many pence when they went to Virginia, can ſcarce contain themſelves either in diet or apparel, gaming, and all manner of ſuch ſuperfluity, within a leſs compaſs than our curious, coſtly, and conſuming gallants here in England, which cannot poſſibly be there ſupported, but either by oppreſſing the commonalty there, or deceiving the generality here, or both.

Extracted out of the Council's Letters for Virginia.

From Virginia, by the relations of the chieftains there, and many I have conferred with, that came from thence hither, I have much admired to hear of the incredible pleaſure, profit, and plenty this plantation doth abound in, and yet could never hear of any return but tobacco: but it hath oft amazed me to underſtand how ſtrangely the ſavages hath been taught the uſe of our arms, and employed in hunting and fowling with our fowling-pieces, and our men rooting in the ground about tobacco, like ſwine; beſides, that the ſavages that do little but continually exerciſe their bow and arrows, ſhould dwell and lie ſo familiarly amongſt our men that practiſed little but the ſpade, being ſo far aſunder, and in ſuch ſmall parties diſperſed, and neither fort, exerciſe of arms uſed, ordnances mounted, courts of guard, nor any preparation nor proviſion to prevent a foreign enemy, much more the ſavages howſoever; for the ſavages' uncertain conformity I do not wonder, but for their conſtancy and converſion, I am and ever have been of the opinion of Mr. Jonas Stockam, a miniſter in Virginia, who even at this time, when all things were ſo proſperous, and the ſavages at the point of converſion, againſt all their governors' and councils' opinions, writ to the council and company in England to this effect:

"*May 28.*

"We that have left our native country to ſojourn in a ſtrange land, ſome idle ſpectators, who either cowardly dare not, or covetouſly will not adventure either their purſes or perſons in ſo commendable a work; others ſupporting Atlas of this almoſt unſupportable burdens as yourſelves, without whoſe aſſiſtance this Virginia firmament (in which ſome) and I hope in ſhort time will ſhine many more glorious ſtars, though there be many Italianated and Spaniolized Engliſhmen envies our proſperity, and by all their ignominious ſcandals they can deviſe ſeek to diſhearten what they can, thoſe that are willing to further this glorious enterprize, to ſuch I wiſh according to the decree of Darius, that whoſoever is an enemy to our peace, and ſeeketh either by getting monipolical patents, or by forging unjuſt tales to hinder our welfare, that his houſe were pulled down, and a pair of gallows made of the wood, and he hanged on them in the place.

"As for thoſe lazy ſervants, who had rather ſtand all day idle than work, though but an hour in this vineyard, and ſpend their ſubſtance riotouſly, than caſt the ſuperfluity of their wealth into your treaſury, I leave them as they are to the Eternal Judge of the world. But you right worthy, that hath adventured ſo freely, I will not examine, if it were for the glory of God, or your deſire of gain, which it may be you expect ſhould flow unto you with a full tide, for the converſion of the ſavages: I wonder you uſe not the means, I confeſs you ſay well to have them converted by fair means, but they ſcorn to acknowledge it; as for the gifts beſtowed on them they devour them, and ſo they would the givers if they could; and though many have endeavoured by all the means they could by kindneſs to convert them, they find nothing from them but deri-

ſion and ridiculous anſwers. We have ſent boys amongſt them to learn their language, but they return worſe than they went; but I am no ſtateſman, nor love I to meddle with any thing but my books: but I can find no probability by this courſe to draw them to goodneſs; and I am perſuaded if Mars and Minerva go hand in hand, they will effect more good in an hour than thoſe verbal Mercurians in their lives; and till their prieſts and ancients have their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to converſion."

The Government of Sir Francis Wyat.

About October arrived Sir Francis Wyatt, with Mr. George Sands, appointed treaſurer, Mr. Daviſon ſecretary, Doctor Pot the phyſician, and Mr. Cloyburne the ſurgeon; but much proviſion was very badly conditioned, nay, the hogs would not eat that corn they brought, which was a great cauſe of their ſickneſs and mortality, and whatſoever is ſaid againſt the Virginia corn, they find it doth better nouriſh than any proviſion is ſent thither; the ſailors ſtill they complain are much to blame for embezzling the proviſions ſent to private men, killing of ſwine, and diſorderly trucking; for which ſome order would be taken.

In them nine ſhips that went with Sir Francis Wyat, not one paſſenger died; at his arrival he ſent Mr. Thorpe to Opechankanough, whom he found much ſatisfied with his coming, to confirm their leagues as he had done his predeceſſors, and ſo contented his people ſhould co-inhabit amongſt them, and he found more motions of religion in him than could be imagined: every man betaking himſelf to his quarter, it was ordered, that for every head they ſhould plant but one thouſand plants of tobacco, and upon each plant nine leaves, which will be about one hundred weight, the corn being appointed but at two ſhillings and ſixpence the buſhel, required ſuch labour, it cauſed moſt men to neglect it, and depend upon trade; where were it rated at ten ſhillings the buſhel, every man would endeavour to have plenty to ſell to the new comers, or any that wanted, and ſeldom any is tranſported from England, but it ſtandeth in as much, beſides the hazard and other neceſſaries, the ſhips might tranſport of that burden. The 22d of November arrived Mr. Gookin out of Ireland, with fifty men of his own, and thirty paſſengers, exceedingly well furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſion and cattle, and planted himſelf at Nupors-newes: the cotton trees in a year grew ſo thick as one's arm, and ſo high as a man: here any thing that is planted doth proſper ſo well as in no place better. For the mortality of the people accuſe not the place, for of the old planters and the families ſcarce one of twenty miſcarries, only the want of neceſſaries are the occaſions of thoſe diſeaſes. And ſo we will conclude this year with the ſhipping and numbers ſent.

Out of the Council's Letters from Virginia.

This year was ſent one-and-twenty ſail of ſhips that employed more than four hundred ſailors, and thirteen hundred men, women and children of divers faculties, with fourſcore cattle. The Tiger fell in the Turk's hands, yet ſafely eſcaped, and by the return of their letters from thence, the company is aſſured there can be no fitter places of mines, wood, and water for iron than there; and the Frenchmen affirm no country is more proper for vines, olives, ſike, rice, and ſalt, &c., of which the next year they promiſe a good quantity.

Gifts.

Gifts.

The gentlemen and mariners that came in the Royal James from the Eaſt Indies, gave towards the building of a free-ſchool ſeventy pounds eight ſhillings and ſixpence; and an unknown perſon to further it, ſent thirty pounds; and another in like manner five-and-twenty pounds; another, refuſing to be made known, gave forty ſhillings yearly for a ſermon before the Virginia Company; alſo another, that would not be known, ſent for the college, at Henrico, many excellent good religious books, worth ten pounds, and a moſt curious map of all that coaſt of America. Mr. Thomas Bargave their preacher there, deceaſed, gave a library valued at one hundred marks; and the inhabitants hath made a contribution of one thouſand and five hundred pounds, to build a houſe for the entertaining of ſtrangers. This year alſo there was much ſuing for patents for plantations, who promiſed to tranſport ſuch great multitudes of people; there was much diſputing concerning thoſe diviſions, as though the whole land had been too little for them; ſix-and-twenty obtained their deſires, but as yet not paſt ſix hath ſent thither a man; notwithſtanding many of them would have more, and are not well contented, whom I would entreat, and all other wranglers, to peruſe this ſaying of honeſt Claudius.

> See'ſt not the world of Nature's work, the faireſt well, I wot,
> How it, itſelf together ties, as in a true-love's knot,
> Nor feeſt how th' elements are combin'd, maintain one conſtant ple?,
> How midſt of heaven contents the Sun, and ſhore contains the ſea;
> And how the air both compaſſeth, and carrieth ſtill earth's frame,
> Yet neither preſſing burdens it, nor parting leaves the ſame.

The Obſervations of Mr. John Pory, Secretary of Virginia, in his Travels.

HAVING but ten men, meanly provided, to plant the ſecretary's land on the eaſtern ſhore near Acomack, Captain Wilcock's plantation, the better to ſecure and aſſiſt each other; Sir George Yearley intending to viſit Smith's Iſles, fell ſo ſick that he could not, ſo that he ſent me with Eſtinien Moll, a Frenchman, to find a convenient place to make ſalt in. Not long after, Namenacus, the King of Pawtuxunt, came to us to ſeek for Thomas Savage, our interpreter: thus inſinuating himſelf, he led us into a thicket, where all ſitting down, he ſhewed us his naked breaſt; aſking if we ſaw any deformity upon it; we told him, No. "No more," ſaid he, "is the inſide, but as ſincere and pure, therefore come freely to my country, and welcome;" which we promiſed we would within ſix weeks after. Having taken a muſter of the company's tenants, I went to Smith's Iſles, where was our ſalt-houſe; not far off we found a more convenient place, and ſo returned to James Town.

Being furniſhed the ſecond time, we arrived at Aquochanock, and conferred with Kiptopeke their King. Paſſing Ruſſel's Iſle and Onaucoke, we arrived at Pawtuxunt: the deſcription of thoſe places you may read in Captain Smith's diſcoveries, therefore needleſs to be writ again. But here arriving at Attoughcomoco, the habitation of Namenacus, and Wamanato, his brother, long we ſtaid not ere they came on board us with a braſs kettle, as bright without as within, full of boiled oyſters. Strict order was given none ſhould offend us, ſo that the next day I went with the two Kings a hunting, to diſcover what I could in their confines. Wamanato brought me firſt to his houſe, where he ſhewed me his wife and children, and many corn-fields; and being two miles within the woods a hunting, as the younger conducted me forth, ſo the elder brought me home,

and uſed me as kindly as he could, after their manner. The next day he preſented me twelve beaver ſkins and a canoe, which I requited with ſuch things to his content, that he promiſed to keep them whilſt he lived, and bury them with him being dead. He much wondered at our bible, but much more to hear it was the law of our God, and the firſt chapter of Geneſis expounded of Adam and Eve, and ſimple marriage; to which he replied, he was like Adam in one thing, for he never had but one wife at once; but he, as all the reſt, ſeemed more willing of other diſcourſes they better underſtood. The next day the two Kings, with their people, came on board us, but brought us nothing according to promiſe, ſo that Enſign Savage challenged Namenacus the breach of three promiſes, viz. not giving him a boy, nor corn, though they had plenty, nor Montapaſſa fugitive, called Robert Marcum, that had lived five years amongſt thoſe northerly nations, which he cunningly anſwered by excuſes. Womanato, it ſeems, was guilty of this falſhood, becauſe he ſtaid alone when the reſt were gone. I aſked him if he deſired to be great and rich; he anſwered, they were things all men aſpired unto; which I told him he ſhould be, if he would follow my counſel; ſo he gave me two tokens, which being returned by a meſſenger, ſhould ſuffice to make him confident the meſſenger could not abuſe us.

Some things being ſtolen from us, he took ſuch order that they were preſently reſtored, then we interchanged preſents: in all things he much admired our diſcretions, and gave us a guide that he called brother, to conduct us up the river: by the way we met with divers that ſtill told us of Marcum; and though it was in October, we found the country very hot, and their corn gathered before ours at James Town. The next day we went to Paccamaganant, and they directed us to Aſſacomoco, where their King Caſſatowap, had an old quarrel with Enſign Savage, but now ſeeming reconciled, went with us, with another Werowance towards Mattapanient, where they perſuaded us aſhore upon the point of a thicket; but ſuppoſing it ſome treachery, we returned to our boat: far we had not gone from the ſhore, but a multitude of ſavages ſallied out of the wood, with all the ill words and ſigns of hoſtility they could. When we ſaw plainly their bad intent, we ſet the two Werowances at liberty, that all this while had lain in the cabin, as not taking any notice of their villany, becauſe we would convert them by courteſy. Leaving them as we found them, very civil and ſubtile, we returned the ſame way we came, to the laughing Kings on the eaſtern ſhore, who told us plainly, Namanicus would alſo have allured him into his country, under colour of trade, to cut his throat. He told us alſo Opechancanough had employed Onianimo to kill Savage, becauſe he brought the trade from him to the eaſtern ſhore, and ſome diſgrace he had done his ſon, and ſome thirteen of his people before one hundred of thoſe Eaſterlings in reſcuing Thomas Graves, whom they would have ſlain, where he and three more did challenge the thirteen Pamaunkes to fight, but they durſt not, ſo that all thoſe Eaſterlings ſo derided them, that they came there no more.

This Thomas Savage, it is ſixteen years ſince he went to Virginia, being a boy, he was left with Powhatan, for Namontacke to learn the language, and as this author affirmeth, with much honeſty and good ſucceſs, hath ſerved the public, without any public recompence, yet had an arrow ſhot through his body in their ſervice. This laughing King at Accomack, tells us the land is not two days journey over in the broadeſt place; but in ſome places a man may go in half a day, betwixt the bay and the main ocean, where inhabit many people, ſo that by the narrowneſs of the land there is not many deer, but moſt abundance of fiſh and fowl. Kiptope his brother, rules as his lieutenant, who ſeeing his younger brother more affected by the people than himſelf, freely reſigned him the moiety of his country, applying himſelf only to huſbandry and hunting,

hunting, yet nothing neglected in his degree, nor is he careleſs of any thing concerns the ſtate, but as a vigilant and faithful counſellor, as he is an affectionate brother, bearing the greater burden in government, though the leſſer honour, where clean contrary, they on the weſtern ſhore, the younger bears the charge, and the elder the dignity. Thoſe are the beſt huſbands of any ſavages we know; for they provide corn to ſerve them all the year, yet ſpare; and the other not for half the year, yet want. They are the moſt civil and tractable people we have met with, and by little ſticks will keep as juſt an account of their promiſes as by a tally. In their marriages they obſerve a large diſtance, as well in affinity as conſanguinity; nor do they uſe that deviliſh cuſtom in making black boys. There may be on this ſhore about two thouſand people; they on the weſt would invade them, but that they want boats to croſs the bay, and ſo would divers other nations, where they not protected by us. A few of the weſtern renagadoes had conſpired againſt the laughing King; but fearing their treaſon was diſcovered, fled to Smith's Iſles, where they made a maſſacre of deer and hogs; and thence to Rickahake, betwixt Ciſſapeack and Nanſamund, where they now are ſeated under the command of Itoyatin, and ſo I returned to James Town, where I found the government rendered to Sir Francis Wyat. In February alſo he travelled to the ſouth river Chawonock, ſome ſixty miles over land, which he found to be a very fruitful and pleaſant country, yielding two harveſts in a year, and found much of the ſilk-graſs formerly ſpoken of, was kindly uſed by the people, and ſo returned.

Captain Each ſent to build a Fort to ſecure the Country.

IT was no ſmall content to all the adventurers to hear of the ſafe arrival of all thoſe ſhips and companies, which was thought ſufficient to have made a plantation of themſelves; and again to ſecond them was ſent Captain Each, in the Abigail, a ſhip of three or four hundred tons, who hath undertaken to make a block-houſe amongſt the oyſter-banks that ſhall ſecure the river. The furniſhing him with inſtruments coſt three hundred pounds; but the whole charge, and the ſhip's return, will be near two thouſand pounds. In her went Captain Barwicke, with five-and-twenty men, for the building ſhips and boats, and not other way to be employed; and alſo a ſelected number to build the Eaſt India ſchool; but as yet from Virginia little returns but private men's tobacco, and fair promiſes of plenty of iron, ſilk, wine, and many other good and rich commodities, beſides the ſpeedy converſion of the ſavages, that at firſt were much diſcouraged from living amongſt them, when they were debarred the uſe of their pieces; therefore it was diſputed as a matter of ſtate, whether ſuch as would live amongſt them ſhould uſe them or not, as a bait to allure them, or at leaſt ſuch as ſhould be called to the knowledge of Chriſt. But becauſe it was a great trouble for all cauſes to be brought to James Town for a trial, courts were appointed in convenient places to relieve them; but as they can make no laws in Virginia till they be ratified here, ſo they think it but reaſon none ſhould be enacted here without their conſents, becauſe they only feel them, and muſt live under them. Still they complain for want of corn but what muſt be had by trade, and how unwilling any officer when he leaveth his place is to make good his number of men to his ſucceſſor; but many of them during their times to help themſelves undoes the company: for the ſervants you allow them, or ſuch as they hire, they plant on their private lands, not upon that belongeth to their office, which crop always exceeds yours, beſides thoſe which are your tenants to halves, are forced to row them up and down, whereby both you and they loſe more than half. Nor are thoſe officers the ableſt or beſt deſerving, but make their experience upon the company's

company's coſt, and your land lies unmanured to any purpoſe, and will yield as little profit to your next new officers.

The Maſſacre upon the 22d of March.

THE prologue to this tragedy is ſuppoſed was occaſioned by Nemattanow, otherwiſe called Jack of the Feather, becauſe he commonly was moſt ſtrangely adorned with them; and for his courage and policy was accounted amongſt the ſavages their chief captain, and immortal from any hurt could be done him by the Engliſh. This captain coming to one Morgan's houſe, knowing he had many commodities that he deſired, perſuaded Morgan to go with him to Pamaunke to truck; but the ſavage murdered him by the way, and after two or three days returned again to Morgan's houſe, where he found two youths, his ſervants, who aſked for their maſter. Jack replied directly, he was dead. The boys ſuſpecting as it was, by ſeeing him wear his cap, would have had him to Mr. Thorp; but Jack ſo moved their patience, they ſhot him; ſo he fell to the ground; put him in a boat to have him before the governor, then ſeven or eight miles from them; but by the way Jack finding the pangs of death upon him, deſired of the boys two things; the one was, that they would not make it known he was ſlain with a bullet, the other, to bury him amongſt the Engliſh. At the loſs of this ſavage, Opechankanough much grieved and repined, with great threats of revenge; but the Engliſh returned him ſuch terrible anſwers, that he cunningly diſſembled his intent with the greateſt ſigns he could of love and peace, yet within fourteen days after he acted what followeth.

Sir Francis Wyat, at his arrival, was advertiſed; he found the country ſettled in ſuch a firm peace, as moſt men there thought ſure and inviolable, not only in regard of their promiſes, but of neceſſity. The poor weak ſavages being every way bettered by us, and ſafely ſheltered and defended, whereby we might freely follow our buſineſs; and ſuch was the conceit of this conceited peace, as that there was ſeldom or never a ſword, and ſeldomer a piece, except for a deer or fowl, by which aſſurances the moſt plantations were placed ſtragglingly and ſcatteringly, as a choice vein of rich ground invited them, and further from neighbours the better. Their houſes generally open to the ſavages, who were always friendly, fed at their tables, and lodged in their bed-chambers, which made their way plain to effect the intents, and the converſion of the ſavages, as they ſuppoſed.

Having occaſion to ſend to Opechankanough about the middle of March, he uſed the meſſenger well, and told him he held the peace ſo firm, the ſky ſhould fall or he diſſolved it; yet ſuch was the treachery of thoſe people, when they had contrived our deſtruction, even but two days before the maſſacre, they guided our men with much kindneſs through the woods; and one Brown, that lived among them, to learn the language, they ſent home to his maſter; yea, they borrowed our boats to tranſport themſelves over the river, to conſult on the deviliſh murder that enſued, and of our utter extirpation, which God of his infinite mercy (by the means of one of themſelves converted to Chriſtianity) prevented, and as well on the Friday morning that fatal day, being the 22d of March, as alſo in the evening before, as at other times they came unarmed into our houſes, with deer, turkies, fiſh, fruits, and other proviſions to ſell us; yea, in ſome places ſat down at breakfaſt with our people, whom immediately with their own tools they ſlew moſt barbarouſly, not ſparing either age or ſex, man, woman, or child; ſo ſudden in their execution, that few or none diſcerned the weapon or blow that brought them to deſtruction: in which manner alſo they ſlew many of

our people at ſeveral works in the fields, well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their familiarity with us, for the effecting that great maſter-piece of work, their converſion; and by this means fell that fatal morning, under the bloody and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhuman people, three hundred and forty-ſeven men, women, and children, moſt by their own weapons; and not being content with their lives, they fell again upon the dead bodies, making as well as they could a freſh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling their dead carcaſes into many pieces, and carrying ſome parts away in deriſion, with baſe and brutiſh triumph.

Neither yet did theſe beaſts ſpare thoſe amongſt the reſt well known unto them, from whom they had daily received many benefits, but ſpitefully alſo maſſacred them without any remorſe or pity, being in this more fell than lions and dragons, as hiſtories record, which have preſerved their benefactors; ſuch is the force of good deeds, though done to cruel beaſts, to take humanity upon them; but theſe miſcreants put on a more unnatural brutiſhneſs than beaſts, as by thoſe inſtances may appear.

That worthy religious gentleman, Mr. George Thorp, deputy to the college lands, ſometime one of his Majeſty's penſioners, and in command one of the principal of Virginia, did ſo truly affect their converſion, that whoſoever under him did them the leaſt diſpleaſure, were puniſhed ſeverely. He thought nothing too dear for them; he never denied them any thing, inſomuch that when they complained that our maſtiffs did fear them, he, to content them in all things, cauſed ſome of them to be killed in their preſence, to the great diſpleaſure of the owners, and would have had all the reſt gelt, to make them the milder, might he have had his will. The King dwelling but in a cottage, he built him a fair houſe after the Engliſh faſhion, in which he took ſuch pleaſure, eſpecially in the lock and key, which he ſo admired, as locking and unlocking his door a hundred times a day, he thought no device in the world comparable to it.

Thus inſinuating himſelf into this King's favour for his religious purpoſe, he conferred oft with him about religion, as many others in this former diſcourſe had done: and this Pagan confeſſed to him as he did to them, our God was better than theirs, and ſeemed to be much pleaſed with that diſcourſe, and of his company, and to requite all thoſe courteſies; yet this viperous brood did, as the ſequel ſhewed, not only murder him, but with ſuch ſpight and ſcorn abuſed his dead corps, as is unfitting to be heard with civil ears. One thing I cannot omit, that when this good gentleman upon his fatal hour, was warned by his man, who perceiving ſome treachery intended by thoſe hell-hounds, to look to himſelf, and withal ran away for fear he ſhould be apprehended, and ſo ſaved his own life; yet his maſter out of his good meaning, was ſo void of ſuſpicion and full of confidence, they had ſlain him, or he could or would believe they would hurt him. Captain Nathaniel Powell, one of the firſt planters, a valiant ſoldier, and not any in the country better known amongſt them; yet ſuch was the error of an over-conceited power and proſperity, and their ſimplicity, they not only ſlew him and his family, but butcher-like haggled their bodies, and cut off his head, to expreſs their uttermoſt height of cruelty. Another of the old company of Captain Smith, called Nathaniel Cauſie, being cruelly wounded, and the ſavages about him, with an axe did cleave one of their heads, whereby the reſt fled and he eſcaped: for they hurt not any that did either fight or ſtand upon their guard. In one place where there was but two men that had warning of it, they defended the houſe againſt ſixty or more that aſſaulted it. Mr. Baldwin, at Warraſkoyack, his wife being ſo wounded, ſhe lay for dead, yet by his oft diſcharging of his piece, ſaved her, his houſe, himſelf, and

divers others. At the ſame time they came to one Mr. Harriſon's houſe, near half a mile from Baldwin's, where was Mr. Thomas Hamer with ſix men, and eighteen or nineteen women and children. Here the ſavages, with many preſents and fair perſuaſions, feigned they came for Captain Ralfe Hamer to go to their King, then hunting in the woods; preſently they ſent to him, but he not coming as they expected, ſet fire to a tobacco-houſe, and then came to tell them in the dwelling-houſe of it to quench it; all the men ran towards it, but Mr. Hamer not ſuſpecting any thing, whom the ſavages purſued, ſhot them full of arrows, then beat out their brains. Hamer having finiſhed a letter he was writing, followed after to ſee what was the matter, but quickly they ſhot an arrow in his back, which cauſed him to return and barricade up the doors, whereupon the ſavages ſet fire on the houſe. Harriſon's boy finding his maſter's piece loaded, diſcharged it at random, at which bare report the ſavages all fled, Baldwin ſtill diſcharging his piece, and Mr. Hamer with two-and-twenty perſons thereby got to his houſe, leaving their own burning. In like manner they had fired Lieutenant Baſſe's houſe, with all the reſt thereabout, ſlain the people, and ſo left that plantation.

Captain Hamer all this while not knowing any thing, coming to his brother that had ſent for him to go hunt with the King, meeting the ſavages chaſing ſome, yet eſcaped, retired to his new houſe then building, from whence he came; there only with ſpades, axes, and brick-bats, he defended himſelf and his company till the ſavages departed. Not long after the maſter from the ſhip had ſent ſix muſketeers, with which he recovered their merchants ſtore-houſe, where he armed ten more, and ſo with thirty more unarmed workmen, found his brother and the reſt at Baldwin's: now ſeeing all they had was burnt and conſumed, they repaired to James Town with their beſt expedition; yet not far from Martin's hundred, where ſeventy-three were ſlain, was a little houſe and a ſmall family, that heard not of any of this till two days after.

All thoſe and many others whom they have as maliciouſly murdered, fought the good of thoſe poor brutes, that thus deſpiſing God's mercies, muſt needs now as miſcreants be corrected by juſtice: to which leaving them, I will knit together the thread of this diſcourſe. At the time of the maſſacre, there were three or four ſhips in James river, and one in the next, and daily more to come in, as there did within fourteen days after, one of which they endeavoured to have ſurpriſed: yet were the hearts of the Engliſh ever ſtupid, and averted from believing any thing might weaken their hopes, to win them by kind uſage to Chriſtianity. But divers write from thence, that Almighty God hath his great work in this tragedy, and will thereout draw honour and glory to his name, and a more flouriſhing eſtate and ſafety to themſelves, and with more ſpeed to convert the ſavage children to himſelf, ſince he ſo miraculouſly hath preſerved the Engliſh, there being yet, God be praiſed, eleven parts of twelve remaining, whoſe careleſs neglect of their own ſafeties ſeem to have been the greateſt cauſe of their deſtruction: yet you ſee, God, by a converted ſavage that diſcloſed the plot, ſaved the reſt, and the pinnace then in Pamaunkes river, whereof (ſay they) though our ſins made us unworthy of ſo glorious a converſion, yet his infinite wiſdom can nevertheleſs bring it to paſs, and in good time, by ſuch means as we think moſt unlikely: for in the delivery of them that ſurvive, no man's particular carefulneſs ſaved one perſon, but the mere goodneſs of God himſelf, freely and miraculouſly preſerving whom he pleaſed.

The letters of Mr. George Sands, a worthy gentleman, and many others beſides them returned, brought us this unwelcome news, that hath been heard at large in public court, that the Indians and they lived as one nation, yet, by a general combina-

tion, in one day plotted to ſubvert the whole colony, and at one inſtant, though our ſeveral plantations were one hundred and forty miles up on river on both ſides.

But for the better underſtanding of all things, you muſt remember theſe wild naked natives live not in great numbers together, but diſperſed, commonly in thirty, forty, fifty, or ſixty in a company. Some places have two hundred, few places more, but many leſs; yet they had all warning given them one from another in all their habitations, though far aſunder, to meet at the day and hour appointed for our deſtruction, at all our ſeveral plantations, ſome directed to one place, ſome to another, all to be done at the time appointed, which they did accordingly: ſome entering their houſes under colour of trading, ſo took their advantage; others drawing us abroad under fair pretences, and the reſt ſuddenly falling upon thoſe that were at their labours.

Six of the council ſuffered under this treaſon, and the ſlaughter had been univerſal, if God had not put it into the heart of an Indian, who lying in the houſe of one Pace, was urged by another Indian his brother, that lay with him the night before, to kill Pace, as he ſhould do Perry which was his friend, being ſo commanded from their King; telling him alſo how the next day the execution ſhould be finiſhed: Perry's Indian preſently aroſe and reveals it to Pace, that uſed him as his ſon; and thus thoſe that eſcaped were ſaved by this one converted infidel. And though three hundred and forty ſeven were ſlain, yet thouſands of ours were by the means of this alone thus preſerved, for which God's name be praiſed for ever and ever.

Pace upon this, ſecuring his houſe, before day rowed to James Town, and told the governor of it, whereby they were prevented, and at ſuch other plantations as poſſibly intelligence could be given; and where they ſaw us upon our guard, at the ſight of a piece they ran away; but the reſt were moſt ſlain, their houſes burnt, ſuch arms and ammunition as they found they took away, and ſome cattle alſo they deſtroyed. Since we find Opechankanough the laſt year had practiſed with a King on the eaſtern ſhore, to furniſh him with a kind of poiſon, which only grows in his country, to poiſon us. But of this bloody act never grief and ſhame poſſeſſed any people more than themſelves, to be thus butchered by ſo naked and cowardly a people, who dare not ſtand the preſenting of a ſtaff in manner of a piece, nor an uncharged piece in the hands of a woman. (But I muſt tell thoſe authors, though ſome might be thus cowardly, there were many of them had better ſpirits.)

Thus have you heard the particulars of this maſſacre, which in thoſe reſpects ſome ſay will be good for the plantation, becauſe now we have juſt cauſe to deſtroy them by all means poſſible; but I think it had been much better it had never happened, for they have given us an hundred times as juſt occaſions long ago to ſubject them, (and I wonder I can hear of none but Mr. Stockam and Mr. Whitaker of my opinion.) Moreover, where before we were troubled in clearing the ground of great timber, which was to them of ſmall uſe; now we may take their own plain fields and habitations, which are the pleaſanteſt places in the country. Beſides, the deer, turkies, and other beaſts and fowls will exceedingly increaſe if we beat the ſavages out of the country, for at all times of the year they never ſpare male nor female, old nor young, eggs nor birds, fat nor lean, in ſeaſon or out of ſeaſon, with them all is one. The like they did in our ſwine and goats, for they have uſed to kill eight in ten more than we, or elſe the wood would moſt plentifully abound with victuals; beſides, it is more eaſy to civilize them by conqueſt than fair means; for the one may be made at once, but their civilizing will require a long time and much induſtry. The manner how to ſuppreſs them is ſo often related and approved, I omit it here; and you have twenty examples

of the Spaniards how they got the Weſt Indies, and forced the treacherous and rebellious infidels to do all manner of drudgery work and ſlavery for them, themſelves living like ſoldiers upon the fruits of their labours. This will make us more circumſpect, and be an example to poſterity : (but I ſay, this might as well have been put in practice ſixteen years ago as now.)

Thus upon this anvil ſhall we now beat ourſelves an armour of proof hereafter to defend us againſt ſuch incurſions, and ever hereafter make us more circumſpect : but to help to repair this loſs, beſides his Majeſty's bounty in arms, he gave the company out of the Tower, and divers other honourable perſons have renewed their adventures, we muſt not omit the honourable city of London, to whoſe endleſs praiſe we may ſpeak it, are now ſetting forward one hundred perſons, and divers others at their own coſts are repairing ; and all good men do think never the worſe of the buſineſs for all theſe diſaſters.

What growing ſtate was there ever in the world which had not the like ? Rome grew by oppreſſion, and roſe upon the back of her enemies : and the Spaniards have had many of thoſe counterbuffs more than we. Columbus upon his return from the Weſt Indies into Spain, having left his people with the Indians, in peace and promiſe of good uſage amongſt them, at his return back found not one of them living, but all treacherouſly ſlain by the ſavages. After this again, when the Spaniſh colonies were increaſed to great numbers, the Indians from whom the Spaniards for trucking ſtuff uſed to have all their corn, generally conſpired together to plant no more at all, intending thereby to famiſh them, themſelves living in the meantime upon caſſava, a root to make bread, only then known to themſelves. This plot of theirs by the Spaniards' overſight, that fooliſhly depended upon ſtrangers for their bread, took ſuch effect, and brought them to ſuch miſery by the rage of famine, that they ſpared no unclean nor loathſome beaſt, no not the poiſonous and hideous ſerpents, but eat them up alſo, devouring one death to ſave them from another; and by this means their whole colony well near ſurfeited, ſickened and died miſerably ; and when they had again recovered this loſs, by their incontinency an infinite number of them died on the Indian diſeaſe, we call the French pox, which at firſt being a ſtrange and an unknown malady, was deadly upon whomſoever it lighted : then had they a little flea called nigua, which got between the ſkin and the fleſh before they were aware, and there bred and multiplied, making ſwellings and putrefactions, to the decay and loſs of many of their bodily members.

Again, divers times they were near undone by their ambition, faction, and malice of the commanders. Columbus, to whom they were alſo much beholden, was ſent with his brother in chains into Spain, and ſome other great commanders killed and murdered one another. Pizzaro was killed by Almagro's ſon, and him Vaſco beheaded, which Vaſco was taken by Blaſco, and Blaſco was likewiſe taken by Pizzaro's brother: and thus by their covetous and ſpightful quarrels, they were ever ſhaking the main pillars of their commonwealth. Theſe and many more miſchiefs and calamities happened them, more than ever did to us, and at one time being even at the laſt gaſp, had two ſhips not arrived with ſupplies as they did, they were ſo diſheartened, they were leaving the country : yet we ſee for all thoſe miſeries they have attained to their ends at laſt, as is manifeſt to all the world, both with honour, power, and wealth: and whereas before few could be hired to go to inhabit there, now with great ſuit they muſt obtain it; but where there was no honeſty, nor equity, nor ſanctity, nor verity, nor piety, nor good civility in ſuch a country, certainly there can be no ſtability.

Therefore

Therefore let us not be diſcouraged, but rather animated by thoſe concluſions, ſeeing we are ſo well aſſured of the goodneſs and commodities may be had in Virginia; nor is it to be much doubted there is any want of mines of moſt ſorts, no not of the richeſt, as is well known to ſome yet living that can make it manifeſt when time ſhall ſerve: and yet to think that gold and ſilver mines are in a country otherwiſe moſt rich and fruitful, or the greateſt wealth in a plantation, is but a popular error, as is that opinion likewiſe, that the gold and ſilver is now the greateſt wealth of the Weſt Indies at this preſent. True it is indeed, that in the firſt conqueſt the Spaniards got great and mighty ſtore of treaſure from the natives, which they in long ſpace had heaped together, and in thoſe times the Indians ſhewed them entire and rich mines, which now by the relations of them that have been there, are exceedingly waſted, ſo that now the charge of getting thoſe metals is grown exceſſive, beſides the conſuming the lives of many by their peſtilent ſmoke and vapours in digging and refining them, ſo that all things conſidered, the clear gains of thoſe metals, the King's part defrayed, to the adventurers is but ſmall, and nothing near ſo much as vulgarly is imagined; and were it not for other rich commodities there that enrich them, thoſe of the contraction-houſe were never able to ſubſiſt by the mines only, for the greateſt part of their commodities are partly natural and partly tranſported from other parts of the world, and planted in the Weſt Indies, as in their mighty wealth of ſugar canes, being firſt tranſported from the Canaries; and in ginger and other things brought out of the Eaſt Indies, in their cochineal, indigos, cotton, and their infinite ſtore of hides, quick-ſilver, allum, woad, Brazil woods, dyes, paints, tobacco, gums, balms, oils, medicinals, and perfumes, ſarſaparilla, and many other phyſical drugs; theſe are the means whereby they raiſe that mighty charge of drawing out their gold and ſilver to the great and clear revenue of their King. Now ſeeing the moſt of thoſe commodities, or as uſeful, may be had in Virginia by the ſame means, as I have formerly ſaid; let us with all ſpeed take the priority of time, where alſo may be had the priority of place, in chooſing the beſt ſeats of the country, which now by vanquiſhing the ſavages, is like to offer a more fair and ample choice of fruitful habitations than hitherto our gentleneſs and fair comportments could attain unto.

The Numbers that were ſlain in thoſe ſeveral Plantations.

1 At Captain Berkley's plantation, himſelf and 21 others, ſeated at the Falling-Crick, 66 miles from James City - - - - - 22
2 Mr. Thomas Sheffield's plantation, ſome 3 miles from the Falling-Crick, himſelf and 12 others - - - - - - 13
3 At Henrico Iſland, about 2 miles from Sheffield's plantation - 6
4 Slain of the College people, 20 miles from Henrico - - 17
5 At Charles City, and of Captain Smith's men - - 5
6 At the next adjoining plantation - - - - 8
7 At William Farrar's houſe - - - - - 10
8 At Brickley Hundred, 50 miles from Charles City, Mr. Thorp and - 10
9 At Weſtover, a mile from Brickley - - - - 2
10 At Mr. John Weſt's plantation - - - - 2
11 At Captain Nathaniel Weſt's plantation - - - 2
12 At Lieutenant Gibs's plantation - - - - 12
13 At Richard Owen's houſe, himſelf and - - - 6

14 At

14 At Mr. Owen Macar's houſe, himſelf and - - - 3
15 At Martin's Hundred, 7 miles from James City - - - 73
16 At another place - - - - - - 7
17 At Edward Bonit's plantation - - - - 50
18 At Mr. Waters's houſe, himſelf and - - - - 4
19 At Apamatuck's river, at Mr. Pierce's plantation, 5 miles from the College 4
20 At Mr. Macock's divident, Captain Samuel Macock, and - - 4
21 At Flowerda Hundred, Sir George Yearley's plantation - - 6
22 On the other ſide oppoſite to it - - - - 7
23 At Mr. Swinbow's houſe, himſelf and - - - - 7
24 At Mr. William Bickar's houſe, himſelf and - - - 4
25 At Weanock, of Sir George Yearley's people - - - 21
26 At Powel Brooke, Captain Nathaniel Powell, and - - - 12
27 At Southampton Hundred - - - - - 5
28 At Martin Brandon's Hundred - - - - 7
29 At Captain Henry Spilman's houſe - - - - 2
30 At Enſign Spence's houſe - - - - - 5
31 At Mr. Thomas Perſe's houſe by Mulbery Iſle, himſelf and - - 4

The whole number 347.

Men in this taking bittered with affliction,
Better attend, and mind, and mark religion,
For then true voices iſſue from their hearts,
Then ſpeak they what they think in inmoſt parts,
The truth remains, they caſt off feigned arts.

This lamentable and ſo unexpected a diſaſter cauſed them all believe the opinion of Mr. Stockam, and drove them all to their wits end: it was twenty or thirty days ere they could reſolve what to do, but at laſt it was concluded, all the petty plantations ſhould be abandoned, and drawn only to make good five or ſix places, where all their labours now for the moſt part muſt redound to the Lords of thoſe lands where they were reſident. Now for want of boats, it was impoſſible upon ſuch a ſudden to bring alſo their cattle and many other things, which with much time, charge, and labour they had then in poſſeſſion with them; all which for the moſt part at their departure was burnt, ruined, and deſtroyed by the ſavages. Only Mr. Gookins at Nuports-newes would not obey the commander's command in that, though he had ſcarce five and thirty of all ſorts with him, yet he thought himſelf ſufficient againſt what could happen, and ſo did to his great credit and the content of his adventurers. Mr. Samuel Jorden gathered together but a few of the ſtragglers about him at Beggars-buſh, where he fortified and lived in deſpight of the enemy. Nay, Mrs. Proctor, a proper modeſt civil gentlewoman did the like, till perforce the Engliſh officers forced her and all them with her to go with them, or they would fire her houſe themſelves, as the ſavages did when they were gone, in whoſe deſpight they had kept it, and what they had a month or three weeks after the maſſacre; which was to their hearts a grief beyond compariſon, to loſe all they had in that manner, only to ſecure others pleaſures. Now here in England it was thought all thoſe remainders might preſently have been reduced into fifties or hundreds in places moſt convenient with what they had, having ſuch ſtrong houſes as they reported they had, which with ſmall labour might have been made invincible caſtles again all the ſavages in the land, and then preſently raiſed a company, as a running army, to torment the barbarous, and ſecure the reſt, and ſo have had all that country

country betwixt the rivers of Powhatan and Pamaunke to range and ſuſtain them; eſpecially all the territories of Kecoughtan, Chiſkact and Paſpahege, from Ozenies to that branch of Pamaunke, coming from Youghtanund, which ſtrait of land is not paſt 4 or 5 miles, to have made a peninſula much bigger than the Summer Iſles, environed with the broadeſt parts of thoſe two main rivers, which for plenty of ſuch things as Virginia affords is not to be exceeded, and were it well manured, more than ſufficient for ten thouſand men. This, were it well underſtood, cannot but be thought better than to bring five or ſix hundred to lodge and live on that, which before would not well receive and maintain a hundred, planting little or nothing, but ſpend that they have upon hopes out of England, one evil begetting another, till the diſeaſe is paſt cure: therefore it is impoſſible but ſuch courſes muſt produce moſt fearful miſeries and extreme extremities; if it prove otherwiſe, I ſhould be exceeding glad. I confeſs I am ſomewhat too bold to cenſure other men's actions being not preſent, but they have done as much of me; yea, many here in England that were never there, and alſo many there that know little more than their plantations, but as they are informed; and this doth touch the glory of God, the honour of my country, and the public good ſo much, for which there hath been ſo many fair pretences, that I hope none will be angry for ſpeaking my opinion, ſeeing the old Proverb doth allow loſers leave to ſpeak; and Du Bartas ſaith,

E'en as the wind the angry ocean moves,
Wave hunteth wave, and billow billow ſhoves;
So do all nations joſtle each the other,
And ſo one people do purſue another;
And ſcarce a ſecond hath the firſt unhous'd,
Before a third him thence again have rous'd.

Amongſt the multitude of theſe ſeveral relations, it appears Captain Nuſe ſeeing many of the difficulties to enſue, cauſed as much corn to be planted as he could at Elizabeth's City, and though ſome deſtroyed that they had ſet, fearing it would ſerve the ſavages for ambuſcadoes, truſting to relief by trade, or from England, which hath ever been one cauſe of our miſeries, for from England we have not had much, and for trading, every one hath not ſhips, ſhalops, interpreters, men, and proviſions to perform it, and thoſe that have, uſe them only for their own private gain, not the public good, ſo that our beginning this year doth cauſe many to diſtruſt the event of the next. Here we will leave Captain Nuſe for a while, lamenting the death of Captain Norton, a valiant, induſtrious gentleman, adorned with many good qualities, beſides phyſic and ſurgery, which for the public good, he freely imparted to all gratis, but moſt bountifully to the poor; and let us ſpeak a little of Captain Croſhaw amongſt the midſt of thoſe broils in the river of Patawomeke.

Being in a ſmall bark called the Elizabeth, under the command of Captain Spilman, at Cekacawone, a ſavage ſtole aboard them, and told them of the maſſacre, and that Opechankanough had plotted with his King and country to betray them alſo, which they refuſed, but them of Wighcocomoco at the mouth of the river had undertaken it; upon this Spilman went thither; but the ſavages ſeeing his men ſo vigilant and well armed, they ſuſpected themſelves diſcovered, and to colour their guilt, the better to delude him, ſo contented his deſire in trade, his pinnace was near freighted; but ſeeing no more to be had, Croſhaw went to Patawomek, where he intended to ſtay and trade for himſelf, by reaſon of the long acquaintance he had with this King that ſo earneſtly entreated him now to be his friend, his countenancer, his captain, and director againſt the Pazaticans, the Nacotchtanks, and Moyaons, his mortal enemies. Of this opportunity

tunity Croſhaw was glad, as well to ſatisfy his own deſire in ſome other purpoſe he had, as to keep the King as an oppoſite to Opechancanough, and adhere him unto us, or at leaſt make him an inſtrument againſt our enemies; ſo only Elis Hill ſtayed with him, and the pinnace returned to Elizabeth City; here ſhall they reſt alſo a little, till we ſee how this news was entertained in England.

It was no ſmall grief to the council and company, to underſtand of ſuch a ſuppoſed impoſſible loſs, as that ſo many ſhould fall by the hands of men ſo contemptible; and yet having ſuch warnings, eſpecially by the death of Nemattanow, whom the ſavages did think was ſhot-free, as he had perſuaded them, having ſo long eſcaped ſo many dangers without any hurt. But now to leap out of this labyrinth of melancholy, all this did not ſo diſcourage the noble adventurers, nor divers others ſtill to undertake new ſeveral plantations, but that divers ſhips were diſpatched away, for their ſupplies and aſſiſtance thought ſufficient. Yet Captain Smith did intreat and move them to put in practice his old offer, ſeeing now it was time to uſe both it and him, how ſlenderly heretofore both had been regarded, and becauſe it is not impertinent to the buſineſs, it is not much amiſs to remember what it was.

The Project and Offer of Captain John Smith, to the Right Honourable and Right Worſhipful Company Virginia.

IF you pleaſe I may be tranſported with a hundred ſoldiers and thirty ſailors by the next Michaelmas, with victuals, ammunition, and ſuch neceſſary proviſion, by God's aſſiſtance, we would endeavour to enforce the ſavages to leave their country, or bring them in that fear and ſubjection that every man ſhould follow their buſineſs ſecurely, whereas now half their times and labours are ſpent in watching and warding, only to defend, but altogether unable to ſuppreſs the ſavages, becauſe every man now being for himſelf will be unwilling to be drawn from their particular labours, to be made as pack-horſes for all the reſt, without any certainty of ſome better reward and preferment than I can underſtand any there can or will yet give them.

Theſe I would employ only in ranging the countries, and tormenting the ſavages, and that they ſhould be as a running army till this were effected, and then ſettle themſelves in ſome ſuch convenient place, that ſhould ever remain a garriſon of that ſtrength, ready upon any occaſion againſt the ſavages or any other for the defence of the country, and to ſee all the Engliſh well armed, and inſtruct them their uſe. But I would have a bark of one hundred tons, and means to build ſix or ſeven ſhallops to tranſport them where there ſhould be occaſion.

Towards the charge, becauſe it is for the general good, and what by the maſſacre and other accidents, Virginia is diſparaged, and many men and their purſes much diſcouraged, however a great many do haſten to go, thinking to be next heirs to all the former loſſes, I fear they will not find all things as they do imagine; therefore leaving thoſe gilded conceits, and dive into the true eſtate of the colony, I think if His Majeſty were truly informed of their neceſſity and the benefit of this project, he would be pleaſed to give the cuſtom of Virginia, and the planters alſo according to their abilities would add thereto ſuch a contribution, as would be fit to maintain this garriſon till they be able to ſubſiſt, or cauſe ſome ſuch other collections to be made as may put it with all expedition in practice, otherwiſe it is much to be doubted, there will neither come cuſtom nor any thing from thence to England within theſe few years.

Now if this ſhould be thought an employment more fit for ancient ſoldiers there bred, than ſuch new comers as may go with me, you may pleaſe to leave that to my diſcretion, to accept or refuſe ſuch voluntaries, that will hazard their fortunes in the trials of theſe events, and diſcharge ſuch of my company that had rather labour the ground than ſubdue their enemies: what relief I ſhould have from your colony I would ſatisfy and ſpare them (when I could) the like courteſy. Notwithſtanding theſe doubts, I hope to feed them as well as defend them, and yet diſcover you more land unknown than they all yet know, if you will grant me ſuch privileges as of neceſſity muſt be uſed.

For againſt any enemy we muſt be ready to execute the beſt can be deviſed by your ſtate there, but not that they ſhall either take away my men, or any thing elſe to employ as they pleaſe by virtue of their authority, and in that I have done ſomewhat for New England as well as Virginia, ſo I would deſire liberty and authority to make the beſt uſe I can of my beſt experience, within the limits of thoſe two patents, and to bring them both in one map, and the countries betwixt them, giving always that reſpect to the governors and government, as an Engliſhman doth in Scotland, or a Scotchman in England, or as the regiments in the Low Countries do to the governors of the towns and cities where they are billeted or in garriſon, where though they live with them and are as their ſervants to defend them, yet not to be diſpoſed on at their pleaſure, but as the prince and ſtate doth command them, and for my own pains in particular I aſk not any thing but what I can produce from the proper labour of the ſavages.

Their Anſwer.

I CANNOT ſay it was generally for the company, for being publiſhed in their court, the moſt that heard it liked exceeding well of the motion, and ſome would have been very large adventurers in it, eſpecially Sir John Brooks and Mr. David Wyffin, but there were ſuch diviſions amongſt them, I could obtain no anſwer but this, the charge would be too great; their ſtock was decayed, and they did think the planters ſhould do that of themſelves if I could find means to effect it; they did think I might have leave of the company, provided they might have half the pillage; but I think there are not many will much ſtrive for that employment, for except it be a little corn at ſome time of the year is to be had, I would not give twenty pounds for all the pillage is to be got amongſt the ſavages in twenty years, but becauſe they ſuppoſed I ſpoke only for my own ends, it were good thoſe underſtand providents for the company's good they ſo much talk of, were ſent thither to make trial of their profound wiſdom and long experience.

About this time alſo was propounded a propoſition concerning a ſalary of five-and-twenty thouſand pounds to be raiſed out of tobacco, as a yearly penſion to be paid to certain officers for the erecting a new office, concerning the ſole importation of tobacco, beſides His Majeſty's cuſtom, freight, and all other charges. To nominate the undertakers, favourers and oppoſers, with their arguments pro and con, would be too tedious and needleſs, being ſo publicly known, the which to eſtabliſh, ſpent a good part of that year and the beginning of the next. This made many think wonders of Virginia, to pay ſuch penſions extraordinary to a few here that were never there, and alſo in what ſtate and pomp ſome chieftains and divers of their aſſociates

live in Virginia, and yet no money to maintain a garriſon, pay poor men their wages, nor yet five-and-twenty pence to all the adventurers here, and very little to the moſt part of the planters there, bred ſuch differences in opinion, it was diſſolved.

Now let us return to Captain Croſhaw at Patawomek, where he had not been long ere Opechancanough ſent two baſkets of beads to this King, to kill him and his man, aſſuring him of the maſſacre he had made, and that before the end of two moons there ſhould not be an Engliſhman in all their countries: this fearful meſſage the King told this captain, who replied, he had ſeen both the cowardice and treachery of Opechancanough ſufficiently tried by Captain Smith, therefore his threats he feared not, nor for his favour cared, but would nakedly fight with him, or any of his, with their own ſwords; if he were ſlain, he would leave a letter for his countrymen to know the fault was his own, not the King's; two days the King deliberated upon an anſwer; at laſt told him the Engliſh were his friends, and the ſavage Emperor Opitchapam, now called Toyatan, was his brother, therefore there ſhould be no blood ſhed betwixt them; ſo he returned the preſents, willing the Pamaunkes to come no more in his country, leſt the Engliſh, though againſt his will, ſhould do them any miſchief.

Not long after, a boat going abroad to ſeek out ſome relief amongſt the plantations, by Nuports-newes, met ſuch ill weather, though the men were ſaved, they loſt their boat, which the ſtorm and waves caſt upon the ſhore of Nandſamund, where Edward Waters, one of the three that firſt ſtayed in Summer Iſles, and found the great piece of ambergreaſe; dwelling in Virginia at this maſſacre, he and his wife theſe Nandſamunds kept priſoners, till it chanced they found this boat, at which purchaſe they ſo rejoiced, according to their cuſtom of triumph, with ſongs, dances, and invocations, they were ſo buſied, that Waters and his wife found opportunity to get ſecretly into their canoe, and ſo croſſed the river to Kecoughtan, which is nine or ten miles, whereat the Engliſh no leſs wondered and rejoiced, than the ſavages were mad with diſcontent. Thus you may ſee how many deſperate dangers ſome men eſcape, when others die that have all things at their pleaſure.

All men thinking Captain Croſhaw dead, Captain Hamer arriving with a ſhip and a pinnace at Patawomek, was kindly entertained both by him and the King; that Don Hamer told the King he came for corn: the King replied, he had none, but the Nacotchtanks and their confederates had, which were enemies both to him and them; if they would fetch it, he would give them forty or fifty choice bow-men, to conduct and aſſiſt them. Thoſe ſavages, with ſome of the Engliſh, they ſent, who ſo well played their parts, they ſlew eighteen of the Nacotchtanks, ſome write but four, and ſome ſay they had a long ſkirmiſh with them, where the Patawomeks were ſo eager of revenge, they drove them not only out of their town, but all out of ſight through the woods, thus taking what they liked, and ſpoiling the reſt; they retired to Patawomek, where they left Captain Croſhaw, with four men more, the reſt ſet ſail for James Town. Captain Croſhaw now, with five men and himſelf, found night and day ſo many alarms, he retired into ſuch a convenient place that, with the help of the ſavages, he had quickly fortified himſelf againſt all thoſe wild enemies. Captain Nuſe, his pinnace meeting Hamar by the way, underſtanding all this, came to ſee Captain Croſhaw; after their beſt interchanges of courteſies, Croſhaw writ to Nuſe, the eſtate of the place where he was, but underſtanding by them the poor eſtate of the colony, offered if they would ſend him but a bold ſhallop, with men, arms, and proviſion for trade, the next harveſt he would provide them corn ſufficient; but as yet, it being but the latter end of June, there was little or none in all the country.

This being made known to the governor and the reſt, they ſent Captain Madyſon,

with a ſhip and pinnace, and ſome ſix-and-thirty men; thoſe Croſhaw a good time taught the uſe of their arms, but receiving a letter from Boyſe, his wife, a priſoner, with nineteen more, at Pamaunke, to uſe means to the governor for their liberty; ſo he dealt with his King, he got firſt two of his great men to go with him to James Town, and eight days after to ſend four of his council to Pamaunke, there to ſtay till he ſent one of his two to them, to perſuade Opachankanough to ſend two of his with two of the Patawomekes, to treat about thoſe priſoners, and the reſt ſhould remain their hoſtage at Pamaunke; but the commanders at James Town, it ſeems, liked not of it, and ſo ſent the Patawomekes back again to their own country, and Captain Croſhaw to his own habitation.

All this time we have forgot Captain Nuſe, where we left him but newly acquainted with the maſſacre, calling all his next adjoining diſperſed neighbours together, he regarded not the peſtering his own houſe, nor any thing to relieve them, and with all ſpeed entrenched himſelf, mounted three pieces of ordnance, ſo that within fourteen days, he was ſtrong enough to defend himſelf from all the ſavages; yet when victuals grew ſcant, ſome that would forage without order, which he puniſhed, near occaſioned a mutiny: notwithſtanding, he behaved himſelf ſo fatherly and kindly to them all, they built two houſes for them he daily expected from England, a fair well of freſh water, mantled with brick, becauſe the river and creeks are there brackiſh or ſalt; in all which things he played the ſawyer, carpenter, dauber, labourer, or any thing; wherein, though his courage and heart were ſteeled, he found his body was not made of iron, for he had many ſickneſſes, and at laſt a dropſy, no leſs grief to himſelf than ſorrow to his wife, and all under his government. Theſe croſſes and loſſes were no ſmall increaſers of this malady, nor the thus abandoning our plantations, the loſs of our harveſt, and alſo tobacco, which was as our money; the vineyard our vineyetors had brought to a good forwardneſs, bruiſed and deſtroyed with deer, and all things ere they came to perfection, with weeds, diſorderly perſons, or wild beaſts; ſo that as we are, I cannot perceive but the next year will be worſe, being ſtill tormented with pride and flattery, idleneſs and covetouſneſs, as though they had vowed here to keep their court, with all the peſtilential vices in the world for their attendants, enchanted with a conceited ſtatelineſs, even in the very bottom of miſerable ſenſeleſſneſs.

Shortly after, Sir George Yearley and Captain William Powell took each of them a company of well-diſpoſed gentlemen and others, to ſeek their enemies: Yearley ranging the ſhore of Weanock, could ſee nothing but their old houſes which he burnt, and ſo went home: Powell ſearching another part, found them all fled but three he met by chance, whoſe heads he cut off, burnt their houſes, and ſo returned; for the ſavages are ſo light and ſwift, though we ſee them, (being ſo loaded with armour,) they have much advantage of us, though they be cowards.

I confeſs this is true, and it may cauſe ſome to ſuppoſe they are grown invincible; but will any go to catch a hare with a taber and a pipe? for who knows not, though there be monſters both of men and beaſts, fiſh and fowl, yet the greateſt, the ſtrongeſt, the wildeſt, cruelleſt, fierceſt, and cunningeſt, by reaſon, art, and vigilancy, courage and induſtry, hath been ſlain, ſubjected, or made tame, and thoſe are ſtill but ſavages as they were, only grown more bold by our own ſimplicity, and ſtill will be worſe and worſe, till they be tormented with a continual purſuit, and not with lying incloſed within paliſadoes, or affrighting them out of your ſights, thinking they have done well, can but defend themſelves; and to do this to any purpoſe, will require both charge, patience, and experience. But to their proceedings.

About the latter end of June, Sir George Yearley, accompanied with the council, and a number of the greateſt gallants in the land, ſtayed three or four days with Cap-

tain Nuſe, he making his moan to a chief man amongſt them for want of proviſion for his company: the great commander replied, he ſhould turn them to his green corn, which would make them plump and fat; theſe fields being ſo near the fort, were better regarded and preſerved than the reſt; but the great man's command, as we call them, was quickly obeyed, for though it was ſcarce half grown either to the greatneſs or goodneſs, they devoured it green though it did them ſmall good. Sir George with his company went to Accomack to his new plantation, where he ſtaid near ſix weeks; ſome corn he brought home, but as he adventured for himſelf, he accordingly enjoyed the benefit; ſome petty magazines came this ſummer, but either the reſtraint by proclamation, or want of boats, or both, cauſed few but the chieftains to be little better by them. So long as Captain Nuſe had any thing we had part; but now all being ſpent, and the people forced to live upon oyſters and crabs, they became ſo faint no work could be done; and where the law was, no work, no meat, now the caſe is altered to no meat, no work; ſome ſmall quantity of milk and rice the captain had of his own, and that he would diſtribute *gratis* as he ſaw occaſion; I ſay *gratis*, for I know no place elſe, but it was ſold for ready payment: thoſe ears of corn that had eſcaped till Auguſt, though not ripe by reaſon of the late planting, the very dogs did repair to the corn fields to ſeek them as the men till they were hanged; and this I proteſt before God is true that I have related, not to flatter Nuſe, nor condemn any; but all the time I have lived in Virginia, I have not ſeen nor heard that any commander hath taken ſuch continual pains for the public, or done ſo little good for himſelf, and his virtuous wife was no leſs charitable and compaſſionate according to her power. For my own part, although I found neither mulberries planted, houſes built, men nor victuals provided, as the honourable adventurers did promiſe me in England; yet at my own charge, having made theſe preparations, and the ſilk-worms ready to be covered, all was loſt, but my poor life and children, by the maſſacre, the which as God in his mercy did preſerve, I continually pray we may ſpend to his glory. The 9th of September we had an alarm, and two men at their labours ſlain; the captain, though extremely ſick, ſallied forth, but the ſavages lay hid in the corn-fields all night, where they deſtroyed all they could, and killed two men more; much miſchief they did to Mr. Edward Hill's cattle, yet he alone defended his houſe, though his men were ſick and could do nothing, and this was our firſt aſſault ſince the maſſacre.

About this time Captain Madyſon paſſed by us, having taken priſoners the King of Patawomek, his ſon, and two more, and thus it happened: Madyſon not liking ſo well to live amongſt the ſavages as Croſhaw did, built him a ſtrong houſe within the fort, ſo that they were not ſo ſociable as before, nor did they much like Poole the interpreter; many alarms they had, but ſaw no enemies: Madyſon, before his building, went to Moyaoncs, where he got proviſion for a month, and was promiſed much more, ſo he returned to Patawomek and built this houſe, and was well uſed by the ſavages. Now by the four great men the King ſent to Pamaunke for the redemption of the priſoners, Madyſon ſent them a letter, but they could neither deliver it nor ſee them: ſo long they ſtaid that the King grew doubtful of their bad uſage, that he ſwore by the ſkies, if they returned not well, he would have wars with Opechankanough ſo long as he had any thing: at this time two of Madyſon's men ran from him; to find them, he ſent Mr. John Upton and three more with an Indian guide to Nazatica, where they heard they were. At this place was a King beat out of his country by the Necoſts, enemies to the Patawomeks; this expelled King, though he profeſſed much love to the Patawomeks, yet he loved not the King becauſe he would not help him to revenge his injuries; but to our interpreter, Poole, he proteſted great love, promiſing if any treaſon were,

he

he would reveal it: our guide conducted this Bandyto with them up to Parawomek, and there kept him; our fugitives, we found the Patawomeks had taken and brought home, and the four great men returned from Pamaunke; not long after, this expelled King desired private conference with Poole, urging him to swear by his God never to reveal what he would tell him; Poole promised he would not: "Then," quoth this King, "those great men that went to Pamaunke, went not as you suppose they pretended, but to contract with Opechankanough how to kill you all here, and these are their plots.

"First, they will procure half of you to go a fishing to their furthest town, and there set upon them, and cut off the rest; if that fail, they will feign a place where are many strangers would trade their furs, where they will persuade half of you to go trade, and there murder you and kill them at home; and if this fail also, then they will make alarms two nights together, to tire you out with watching, and then set upon you; yet, of all this, (said he,) there is none acquainted but the King and the great conjurer."

This being made known to the captain, we all stood more punctually upon our guard, at which the savages wondering, desired to know the cause; we told them we expected some assault from the Pamaunkes, whereat they seemed contented; and the next day the King went on hunting with two of our men, and the other fishing and abroad as before, till our shallop returned from James Town, with the two savages, sent home with Captain Croshaw; by those the governor sent to Madyson, that this King should send him twelve of his great men; word of this was sent to the King at another town where he was, who not coming presently with the messenger, Madyson conceited he regarded not the message, and intended, as he supposed, the same treason. The next morning the King coming home, being sent for, he came to the captain, and brought him a dish of their daintiest fruit; then the captain feigned his return to James Town; the King told him he might if he would, but desired not to leave him destitute of aid, having so many enemies about him; the captain told him he would leave a guard, but entreated his answer concerning the twelve great men for the governor; the King replied, his enemies lay so about him he could not spare them; then the captain desired his son and one other; my son, said the King, is gone abroad about business, but the other you desire you shall have, and that other sits by him; but that man refused to go, whereupon Madyson went forth and locked the door, leaving the King, his son, and four savages, and five Englishmen in the strong-house, and setting upon the town with the rest of his men, slew thirty or forty men, women, and children: the King demanding the cause, Poole told him the treason, crying out to entreat the captain cease from such cruelty; but having slain and made fly all in the town, he returned, taxing the poor King of treason, who denied to the death not to know of any such matter; but said, this is some plot of them that told it, only to kill me for being your friend. Then Madyson willed him, to command none of his men should shoot at him as he went aboard, which he presently did, and it was performed: so Madyson departed, leading the King, his son, and two more to his ship, promising when all his men were shipped, he should return at liberty; notwithstanding he brought them to James Town, where they lay some days, and after were sent home by Captain Hamer, that took corn for their ransom, and after set sail for Newfoundland.

But, alas the cause of this was only this,
They understood, nor knew what was amiss.

Ever

Ever ſince the beginning of theſe plantations, it hath been ſuppoſed the King of Spain would invade them, or our Engliſh Papiſts endeavour to diſſolve them. But neither all the councils of Spain nor Papiſts in the world could have deviſed a better courſe to bring them all to ruin, than thus to abuſe their friends: nor could there ever have been a better plot to have overthrown Opechankanough than Captain Croſhaws, had it been fully managed with expedition. But it ſeems God is angry to ſee Virginia made a ſtage where nothing but murder and indiſcretion contends for victory.

Among the reſt of the plantations all this ſummer little was done, but ſecuring themſelves, and planting tobacco, which paſſes there as current ſilver, and by the oft turning and winding it, ſome grow rich, but many poor, notwithſtanding ten or twelve ſhips or more hath arrived there ſince the maſſacre, although it was Chriſtmas ere any returned, and that return greatly revived all men's longing expectation here in England; for they brought news, that notwithſtanding their extreme ſickneſs, many were recovered, and finding the ſavages did not much trouble them, except it were ſometimes ſome diſorderly ſtragglers they cut off. To lull them the better in ſecurity, they ſought no revenge till their corn was ripe; then they drew together three hundred of the beſt ſoldiers they could, and would leave their private buſineſs, and adventure themſelves amongſt the ſavages, to ſurprize their corn, under the conduct of Sir George Yearley, being embarked in convenient ſhipping, and all things neceſſary for the enterpriſe; they firſt went to Nandſamund, where the people ſet fire on their own houſes, and ſpoiled what they could, and then fled with what they could carry; ſo that the Engliſh did make no ſlaughter amongſt them for revenge. Their corn-fields being newly gathered, they ſurpriſed all they found, burnt all the houſes remained unburnt, and ſo departed. Quartering about Kecoughtan, after the watch was ſet, Samuel Collyer, one of the moſt ancient planters, and very well acquainted with their language and habitation, humours and conditions, and governor of a town, when the watch was ſet going the round, unfortunately by a centinel that diſcharged his piece, was ſlain.

Thence they ſailed to Pamaunke, the chief ſeat of Opechankanough, the contriver of the maſſacre: the ſavages ſeemed exceeding fearful, promiſing to bring them Sara, and the reſt of the Engliſh yet living, with all the arms, and what they had to reſtore, much deſiring peace, and to give them any ſatisfaction they could. Many ſuch devices they feigned to procraſtinate the time ten or twelve days, till they had got away their corn from all the other places up the river, but that where the Engliſh kept their quarter; at laſt, when they ſaw all thoſe promiſes were but deluſions, they ſeized on all the corn there was, ſet fire on their own houſes; and in following the ſavages that fled before them, ſome few of thoſe naked devils had that ſpirit, they lay in ambuſcado, and as our men marched, diſcharged ſome ſhot out of Engliſh pieces, and hurt ſome of them, flying at their pleaſures where they liſted, burning their empty houſes before them, as they went to make themſelves ſport; ſo they eſcaped; and Sir George returned with corn, where for our pains we had three buſhels a-piece; but we were enjoined before we had it, to pay ten ſhillings the buſhel for freight and other charges. Thus, by this means, the ſavages are like, as they report, to endure no ſmall miſery this winter; and that ſome of our men are returned to their former plantations.

What other paſſages or impediments happened in their proceedings, that they were not fully revenged of the ſavages before they returned, I know not, nor could ever hear more, but that they ſuppoſed they ſlew two, and how it was impoſſible for any men to do more than they did; yet worthy Ferdinando Courtus had ſcarce three hundred Spaniards to conquer the great city of Mexico, where thouſands of ſavages dwelled in

ſtrong

ſtrong houſes; but becauſe they were a civilized people, had wealth, and thoſe mere barbarians, as wild as beaſts have nothing; I intreat your patience, to tell you my opinion, which if it be God's pleaſure I ſhall not live to put in practice, yet it may be hereafter uſeful for ſome, but howſoever, I hope not hurtful to any, and this it is.

Had theſe three hundred men been at my diſpoſing, I would have ſent firſt one hundred to Captain Rawley Croſhaw to Patawomek, with ſome ſmall ordnance for the fort, the which but with daily exerciſing them, would have ſtruck that love and admiration into the Patawomeks, and terror and amazement into his enemies, which are not far off, and moſt ſeated upon the other ſide the river, they would willingly have been friends, or have given any compoſition they could, before they would be tormented with ſuch a viſible fear.

Now though they be generally perfidious, yet neceſſity conſtrains thoſe to a kind of conſtancy becauſe of their enemies, and neither myſelf that firſt found them, Captain Argall, Croſhaw, nor Hamar, never found themſelves in fifteen years trial; nor is it likely now they would have ſo hoſtaged their men, ſuffer the building of a fort, and their women and children amongſt them, had they intended any villany; but ſuppoſe they had, who would have deſired a better advantage than ſuch an advertiſement, to have prepared the fort for ſuch an aſſault, and ſurely it muſt be a poor fort they could hurt, much more take, if there were but five men in it, durſt diſcharge a piece: therefore a man not well knowing their condition, may be as well too jealous as too careleſs; ſuch another lope ſconce would I have had at Onawmanient, and one hundred men more to have made ſuch another at Atquacke, upon the river of Toppahanock, which is not paſt thirteen miles diſtant from Onawmanient: each of which twelve men would keep, as well as twelve thouſand, and ſpare all the reſt, to be employed as there ſhould be occaſion: and all this with theſe numbers might eaſily have been done, if not by courteſy, yet by compulſion, eſpecially at that time of September, when all their fruits were ripe, their beaſts fat, and infinite numbers of wild-fowl began to repair to every creek, that men, if they would do any thing, could not want victuals. This done, there remained yet one hundred who ſhould have done the like at Ozinieke, upon the river of Chickahamania, not paſt ſix miles from the chief habitations of Opechankanough. Theſe ſmall forts had been cauſe ſufficient to cauſe all the inhabitants of each of thoſe rivers to look to themſelves; then having ſo many ſhips, barks, and boats in Virginia, as there was at that preſent, with what facility might you have landed two hundred and twenty men, if you had but only five or ſix boats, in one night; forty to range the branch of Mattapanyent, forty more that of Youghtanund, and forty more to keep their rendezvous at Pamaunke itſelf. All which places lie ſo near they might hear from each other within four or five hours, and not any of thoſe ſmall parties, if there were any valour, diſcretion, or induſtry in them, but as ſufficient as four thouſand, to force them all to contribution, or take or ſpoil all they had: for having thus ſo many convenient rendezvous to relieve each other, though all the whole countries had been our enemies, where could they reſt, but in the depth of winter we might burn all the houſes upon all thoſe rivers in two or three days? Then without fires they could not live, which they could not ſo hide, but we ſhould find, and quickly ſo tire them with watching and warding, they would be ſo weary of their lives, as either fly all their countries, or give all the had, to be releaſed of ſuch an hourly miſery. Now if but a ſmall number of the ſavages would aſſiſt us, as there is no queſtion but divers of them would; and to ſuppoſe they could not be drawn to ſuch faction, were to believe they are more virtuous than many Chriſtians, and the beſt governed people in the world. All the Pamaunkes might have been diſpatched as well in a month as in a year, and then

then to have dwelt with any other enemies at our pleaſure, and yet made all this toil and danger but a recreation.

If you think this ſtrange or impoſſible, twelve men with myſelf I found ſufficient, to go where I would a-days, and ſurpriſe a houſe with the people, if not a whole town in a night, or encounter all the power they could make, as a whole army, as formerly at large hath been related: and it ſeems, by theſe ſmall parties laſt amongſt them, by Captain Croſhaw, Hamar, and Madyſon, they are not grown to that excellency in policy and courage, but they might be encountered, and their wives and children apprehended. I know I ſhall be taxed for writing ſo much of myſelf, but I care not much, becauſe the judicial know there are few ſuch ſoldiers as are my examples, have writ their own actions, nor know I who will or can tell my intents better than myſelf.

Some again find as much fault with the Company for meddling with ſo many plantations together, becauſe they that have many irons in the fire ſome muſt burn; but I think no, if they have men enough know how to work them; but howſoever, it were better ſome burn than have none at all. The King of Spain regards but how many powerful kingdoms he keeps under his obedience, and for the ſavage countries he hath ſubjected, they are more than enough for a good coſmographer to nominate. And is three molehills ſo much to us, and ſo many empires ſo little for him? For my own part, I cannot chooſe but grieve, that the actions of an Engliſhman ſhould be inferior to any, and that the command of England ſhould not be as great as any monarchy that ever was ſince the world began; I mean, not as a tyrant to torment all Chriſtendom, but to ſuppreſs her diſturbers, and conquer her enemies.

For the great Romans got into their hand,
The whole world's compaſs, both by ſea and land,
Or any ſeas, or heaven or earth extended,
And yet that nation could not be contented.

Much about this time arrived a ſmall bark of Barnſtaple, which had been at the Summer Iſles, and in her Captain Nathaniel Butler, who having been governor there three years, and his commiſſion expired, he took the opportunity of this ſhip to ſee Virginia. At James Town he was kindly entertained by Sir Francis Wyat, the governor. After he had reſted there fourteen days, he fell up with his ſhip to the river of Chickahamania, where meeting with Captain William Powell, joining together ſuch forces as they had to the number of eighty, they ſet upon the Chickahamanians, that fearfully fled, ſuffering the Engliſh to ſpoil all they had, not daring to reſiſt them. Thus he returned to James Town, where he ſtaid a month, at Kecoughtan as much more, and ſo returned for England.

But riding at Kecoughtan, Mr. John Argent, ſon of Dr. Argent, a young gentleman that went with Captain Butler from England to this place, Michael Fuller, William Gany, Cornelius May, and one other, going aſhore with ſome goods late in a fair evening, ſuch a ſudden guſt did ariſe, that drove them athwart the river, in that place at leaſt three or four miles in breadth, where the ſhore was ſo ſhallow at a low water, and the boat beating upon the ſands, they left her, wading near half a mile, and oft up to the chin: ſo well it happened, Mr. Argent had put his bandalier of powder in his hat, which, next God, was all their preſervations; for it being February, and the ground ſo cold, their bodies became ſo benumbed, they were not able to ſtrike fire with a ſteel and a ſtone he had in his pocket; the ſtone they loſt twice, and thus thoſe poor ſouls groping in the dark, it was Mr. Argent's chance to find it, and with a few withered leaves, reeds, and bruſh, make a ſmall fire: being upon the Cheſapeak's

ſhore, their mortal enemies, great was their fear to be diſcovered. The joyful morning appearing, they found their boat and goods driven aſhore, not far from them, but ſo ſplit, ſhe was unſerviceable; but ſo much was the froſt, their clothes did freeze upon their backs, for they durſt not make any great fire to dry them, leſt thereby the bloody ſavages might deſcry them, ſo that one of them died the next day, and the next night digging a grave in the ſands with their hands, buried him. In this bodily fear they lived and faſted two days and nights, then two of them went into the land to ſeek freſh water; the others, to the boat, to get ſome meal and oil. Argent and his comrade found a canoe, in which they reſolved to adventure to their ſhip, but ſhe was adrift in the river before they returned: thus fruſtrated of all hopes, Captain Butler, the third night, ranging the ſhore in his boat to ſeek them, diſcharged his muſkets; but they ſuppoſing it ſome ſavages had got ſome Engliſh pieces, they grew more perplexed than ever, ſo he returned, and loſt his labour. The fourth day they unloaded their boat, and ſtopping her leaks with their handkerchiefs and other rags, two rowing, and two baling out the water; but far they went not ere the water grew upon them ſo faſt, and they ſo tired, they thought themſelves happy to be on ſhore again, though they perceived the Indians were not far off by their fires. Thus, at the very period of deſpair, Fuller undertook to ſit aſtride upon a little piece of an old canoe; ſo well it pleaſed God, the wind and tide ſerved, by paddling with his hands and feet in the water, beyond all expectation, God ſo guided him three or four hours upon this board, he arrived at their ſhip, where they no leſs amazed than he tired, they took him in. Preſently, as he had concluded with his companions, he cauſed them to diſcharge a piece of ordnance if he eſcaped, which gave no leſs comfort to Mr. Argent and the reſt, than terror to thoſe plantations that heard it (being late), at ſuch an unexpected alarum: but after, with warm cloaths and a little ſtrong water, they had a little recovered him, ſuch was his courage and care of his diſtreſſed friends, he returned that night again, with Mr. Felgate to conduct him to them; and ſo giving thanks to God for ſo hopeleſs a deliverance, it pleaſed his divine power both they and their proviſion came ſafely aboard; but Fuller, they doubt, will never recover his benumbed legs and thighs.

Now, before Butler's arrival in England, many hard ſpeeches were rumoured againſt him for ſo leaving his charge, before he received order from the Company: divers again of his ſoldiers as highly commended him for his good government, art, judgment, and induſtry. But to make the miſery of Virginia appear, that it might be reformed in time, how all thoſe cities, towns, corporations, forts, vineyards, nurſeries of mulberries, glaſs-houſes, iron-forges, gueſt-houſes, ſilk-worms, colleges, the Company's great eſtate, and that plenty ſome do ſpeak of here, are rather things in words and paper, than in effect, with divers reaſons of the cauſes of thoſe defects; if it were falſe, his blame nor ſhame could not be too much: but if there be ſuch defects in the government, and diſtreſs in the colony, it is thought by many it hath been too long concealed, and requireth rather reformation than diſputation: but, however, it were not amiſs to provide for the worſt, for the beſt will help itſelf. Notwithſtanding, it was apprehended ſo hardly, and examined with that paſſion, that the bruit thereof was ſpread abroad with that expedition it did more hurt than the maſſacre; and the fault of all now, by the vulgar rumour, muſt be attributed to the unwholeſomeneſs of the air, and barrenneſs of the country, as though all England were nought, becauſe the fens and marſhes are unhealthy; or barren, becauſe ſome will lie under windows and ſtarve in Cheapſide, rot in gaols, die in the ſtreet, highways, or any where, and uſe a thouſand devices to maintain themſelves in thoſe miſeries, rather than take any pains

to live as they may by honeſt labour; and a great part of ſuch like are the planters of Virginia, and partly the occaſion of theſe defailments.

In the latter end of this laſt year, or the beginning of this, Captain Henry Spilman, a gentleman that hath lived in thoſe countries thirteen or fourteen years, one of the beſt interpreters in the land, being furniſhed with a bark and ſix-and-twenty men, he was ſent to truck in the river of Patawomek, where he had lived a long time amongſt the ſavages; whether he preſumed too much upon his acquaintance amongſt them, or they ſought to be revenged of any for the ſlaughter made amongſt them by the Engliſh ſo lately, or he ſought to betray them, or they him, are all ſeveral relations, but it ſeems but imaginary: for then returned report they left him aſhore about Patawomek; but the name of the place they knew not, with one-and-twenty men, being but five in the bark, the ſavages, ere they ſuſpected any thing, boarded them with their canoes, and entered ſo faſt, the Engliſh were amazed, till a ſailor gave fire to a piece of ordnance, only at random; at the report whereof the ſavages leaped overboard, ſo diſtracted with fear, they left their canoes and ſwam aſhore; and preſently they heard a great bruit amongſt the ſavages aſhore, and ſaw a man's head thrown down the bank; whereupon they weighed anchor, and returned home; but how he was ſurprized or ſlain is uncertain.

Thus things proceed and vary not a jot,
Whether we know them, or we know them not.

A Particular of ſuch Neceſſaries as either private Families or ſingle Perſons ſhall have Cauſe to provide to go to Virginia, whereby greater Numbers may in part conceive the better how to provide for themſelves.

Apparel.

	£.	s.	d.
A Monmouth cap - -	0	1	10
3 Falling bands - -	0	1	3
3 Shirts - - -	0	7	6
1 Waiſtcoat - - -	0	2	2
1 Suit of canvas - -	0	7	6
1 Suit of frieze - -	0	10	0
1 Suit of cloth - -	0	15	0
3 Pair of Iriſh ſtockings -	0	4	0
4 Pair of ſhoes - -	0	8	8
1 Pair of gaiters - -	0	0	10
1 Dozen of points - -	0	0	3
1 Pair of canvas ſheets -	0	8	0
7 Ells of canvas to make a bed and bolſter, to be filled in Virginia, ſerving for two men -	0	8	0
5 Ells of coarſe canvas to make a bed at ſea for two men	0	5	0
1 Coarſe rug at ſea for two men	0	6	0
	4	0	0

Victuals for a whole Year for a Man, and ſo after the Rate for more.

	£.	s.	d.
8 Buſhels of meal - -	2	0	0
2 Buſhels of peas - -	0	6	0
2 Buſhels of oatmeal -	0	9	0
1 Gallon of aqua vitæ -	0	2	6
1 Gallon of oil - -	0	3	6
2 Gallons of vinegar -	0	2	0
	3	3	0

Arms for a Man; but if half your Men be armed it is well, ſo all have Swords and Pieces.

	£.	s.	d.
1 Armour complete, light -	0	17	0
1 Long piece, five feet and a half, near muſket-bore -	1	2	0
1 Sword - - -	0	5	0
1 Belt - - - -	0	1	0
1 Bandelier - - -	0	1	6
20 Pounds of powder -	0	13	0
	60 Pounds		

	£.	s.	d.
60 Pounds of ſhot or lead, piſtol and gooſe ſhot - -	0	5	0
	3	9	6

Tools for a Family of ſix Perſons, and ſo after the Rate for more.

5 Broad hoes, at 2s. a-piece	0	10	0
5 Narrow hoes, at 16d. a-piece	0	6	8
2 Broad axes, at 3s. 8d. a-piece	0	7	4
5 Felling-axes, at 18d. a-piece	0	7	6
2 Steel hand-ſaws, at 16d. a-piece	0	2	8
2 Two-hand-ſaws, at 5s. a-piece	0	10	0
1 Whip-ſaw, ſet and filed, with box, file, and reſt -	0	10	0
2 Hammers, 12d. a-piece -	0	2	0
3 Shovels, 18d. a-piece -	0	4	6
2 Spades, at 18d. a-piece -	0	3	0
2 Augers, at 6d. a-piece -	0	1	0
6 Chiſſels, at 6d. a-piece -	0	3	0
2 Piercers, ſtocked, 4d. a-piece	0	0	8
3 Gimlets, at 2d. a-piece -	0	0	6
2 Hatchets, at 21d. a-piece -	0	3	6
2 Frows to cleave pale, 18d. each	0	3	0
2 Hand-bills, 20d. a-piece -	0	3	4
1 Grindſtone - - -	0	4	0
Nails of all ſorts to the value of	2	0	0
2 Pickaxes - - -	0	3	0
	6	5	8

Houſhold Implements for a Family and ſix Perſons, and ſo for more or leſs, after the Rate.

	£.	s.	d.
1 Iron-pot - - -	0	7	0
1 Kettle - - -	0	6	0
1 Large frying-pan -	0	2	6
1 Gridiron - - -	0	1	6
2 Skillets - - -	0	5	0
1 Spit - - - -	0	2	0
Platters, diſhes, ſpoons of wood	0	4	0
	1	8	0
For ſugar, ſpice, and fruit, and at ſea for ſix men - -	0	12	6
So the full charge after this rate for each perſon will amount about the ſum of -	12	10	10
The paſſage of each man is	6	0	0
The freight of theſe proviſions for a man will be above half a ton, which is - - - -	1	10	0
So the whole charge will amount to about - - -	20	0	0

Now if the number be great, nets, hooks, and lines, but cheeſe, bacon, kine, and goats, muſt be added. And this is the uſual proportion the Virginia Company do beſtow upon their tenants they ſend.

A brief Relation, written by Captain Smith to His Majeſty's Commiſſioners, for the Reformation of Virginia, concerning ſome Aſperſions againſt it.

Honourable Gentlemen,

FOR ſo many fair and navigable rivers ſo near adjoining, and piercing through ſo fair a natural land, free from any inundations, or large fenny unwholeſome marſhes, I have not ſeen, read, nor heard of: and for the building of cities, towns, and wharfage, if they will uſe the means, where there is no more ebb nor flood, nature in few places affords any ſo convenient, for ſalt marſhes or quagmires. In this tract of James Town river, I know very few; ſome ſmall marſhes and ſwamps there are, but more profitable than hurtful; and I think there is more low marſh ground betwixt Erith and Chelſea, than Kecoughton and the Falls, which is about one hundred and eighty miles by the courſe of the river.

Being enjoined by our commiſſion not to unplant nor wrong the ſavages, becauſe the channel was ſo near the ſhore, where now is James Town, then a thick grove of trees, we cut them down, where the ſavages pretending as much kindneſs as could be, they hurt and ſlew one-and-twenty of us in two hours. At this time our diet was for moſt part water and bran, and three ounces of little better ſtuff in bread for five men a meal; and thus we lived near three months: our lodgings under boughs of trees, the ſavages being our enemies, whom we neither knew nor underſtood, occaſions, I think, ſufficient to make men ſick and die.

Neceſſity thus did enforce me, with eight or nine, to try concluſions amongſt the ſavages, that we got proviſion, which recovered the reſt, being moſt ſick. Six weeks I was led captive by thoſe barbarians, though ſome of my men were ſlain, and the reſt fled; yet it pleaſed God to make their great King's daughter the means to return me ſafe to James Town, and relieve our wants; and then our commonwealth was in all eight-and-thirty, the remainder of one hundred and five.

Being ſupplied with one hundred and twenty, with twelve men in a boat of three tons, I ſpent fourteen weeks in thoſe large waters; the contents of the way of my boat, protracted by the ſcale of proportion, was about three thouſand miles, beſides the river we dwell upon, where no Chriſtian known ever was, and our diet for the moſt part what we could find, yet but one died.

The ſavages being acquainted, that by command from England we durſt not hurt them, were much imboldened; that famine and their inſolencies did force me to break our commiſſion and inſtructions, cauſe Powhatan fly his country, and take the King of Pamaunke priſoner; and alſo to keep the King of Paſpahegh in ſhackles, and put his men to double taſks in chains, till nine-and-thirty of their Kings paid us contribution, and the offending ſavages ſent to James Town to puniſh at our own diſcretion: in the two laſt years I ſtaid there, I had not a man ſlain.

All thoſe concluſions being not able to prevent the bad events of pride and idleneſs, having received another ſupply of ſeventy, we were about two hundred in all, but not twenty workmen: in following the ſtrict directions from England to do that was impoſſible at that time; ſo it happened, that neither we nor they had any thing to eat, but what the country afforded naturally; yet of eighty who lived upon oyſters in June and July, with a pint of corn a week for a man, lying under trees, and one hundred and twenty for the moſt part living upon ſturgeon, which was dried till we pounded it to powder for meal, yet in ten weeks but ſeven died.

It is true, we had of tools, arms, and ammunition ſufficient, ſome aquavitæ, vinegar, meal, peaſe, and oatmeal, but in two years and a half not ſufficient for ſix months, though by the bills of lading the proportions ſent us would well have contented us, notwithſtanding we ſent home ample proofs of pitch, tar, ſope-aſhes, wainſcoat, clapboard, ſilk-graſs, iron ore, ſome ſturgeon, and glaſs, ſaſſafras, cedar, cypreſs, and black walnut, crowned Powhatan, fought the Monacans country, according to the inſtructions ſent us, but they cauſed us neglect more neceſſary works: they had better given for pitch and ſoap-aſhes one hundred pound a ton in Denmark: we alſo maintained five or ſix ſeveral plantations.

James Town being burnt, we rebuilt it and three forts more; beſides the church and ſtore-houſe, we had about forty or fifty ſeveral houſes to keep us warm and dry, environed with a paliſado of fourteen or fifteen feet, and each as much as three or four men could carry. We digged a fair well of freſh water in the fort, where we had three bulwarks, four-and-twenty pieces of ordnance, of culvering, demiculvering, ſacar and falcon, and moſt well mounted upon convenient platforms, planted one hundred acres of

of corn. We had but ſix ſhips to tranſport and ſupply us, and but two hundred ſeventy ſeven men, boys, and women, by whoſe labours Virginia being brought to this kind of perfection, the moſt difficulties paſt, and the foundation thus laid by this ſmall means: yet becauſe we had done no more, they called in our commiſſion, took a new in their own names, and appointed us near as many offices and officers as I had ſoldiers, that neither knew us, nor we them, without our conſents or knowledge; ſince there have gone more than one hundred ſhips of other proportions, and eight or ten thouſand people. Now if you pleaſe to compare what hath been ſpent, ſent, diſcovered and done theſe fifteen years, by that we did in the three firſt years, and every governor that hath been there ſince, give you but ſuch an account as this, you may eaſily find what hath been the cauſe of thoſe diſaſters in Virginia.

Then came in Captain Argall and Mr. Sedan, in a ſhip of Mr. Cornelius, to fiſh for ſturgeon, who had ſuch good proviſion, we contracted with them for it, whereby we were better furniſhed than ever.

Not long after came in ſeven ſhips, with about three hundred people; but rather to ſupplant us than ſupply us; their admiral with their authority being caſt away in the Bermudas, very angry they were we had made no better proviſion for them. Seven or eight weeks we withſtood the inundations of theſe diſorderly humours, till I was near blown to death with gunpowder, which occaſioned me to return for England.

In the year 1609, about Michaelmas, I left the country, as is formerly related, with three ſhips, ſeven boats, commodities to trade, harveſt newly gathered, eight weeks proviſion of corn and meal, about five hundred perſons, three hundred muſkets, ſhot, powder, and match, with arms for more men than we had. The ſavages their language and habitation, well known to two hundred expert ſoldiers; nets for fiſhing, tools of all ſorts, apparel to ſupply their wants: ſix mares and a horſe, five or ſix hundred ſwine, many more poultry, what was brought or bred, but victuals there remained.

Having ſpent ſome five years, and more than five hundred pounds in procuring the letters patents and ſetting forward, and near as much more about New England, &c. Thus theſe nineteen years I have here and there not ſpared any thing according to my ability, nor the beſt advice I could, to perſuade how thoſe ſtrange miracles of miſery might have been prevented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of neceſſity muſt enſue; but few would believe me till now too dearly they have paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I have rather left all than undertake impoſſibilities, or any more ſuch coſtly taſks at ſuch chargeable rates: for in neither of thoſe two countries have I one foot of land, nor the very houſe I builded, nor the ground I digged with my own hands, nor ever any content or ſatisfaction at all; and though I ſee ordinarily thoſe two countries ſhared before me by them that neither have them nor know them, but by my deſcriptions; yet that doth not ſo much trouble me, as to hear and ſee thoſe contentions and diviſions which will hazard if not ruin the proſperity of Virginia, if preſent remedy be not found, as they have hindered many hundreds who would have been there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to ſtand in a demurrer.

For the books and maps I have made, I will thank him that will ſhew me ſo much for ſo little recompence, and bear with their errors till I have done better. For the materials in them I cannot deny, but am ready to affirm them both there and here, upon ſuch grounds as I have propounded, which is to have but fifteen hundred men to ſubdue again the ſavages, fortify the country, diſcover that yet unknown, and both defend and feed their colony, which I moſt humbly refer to His Majeſty's moſt judicial judgment, and the moſt honourable Lords of his privy council, you his truſty and well beloved

beloved commiſſioners, and the honourable company of planters and well willers to Virginia, New England and Sommer-Iſlands.

Out of theſe Obſervations it pleaſed His Majeſty's Commiſſioners for the Reformation of Virginia, to deſire my Anſwer to theſe ſeven Queſtions.

Queſt. 1. WHAT conceive you is the cauſe the plantation hath proſpered no better ſince you left it in ſo good a forwardneſs?

Anſw. Idleneſs and careleſſneſs brought all I did in three years in ſix months to nothing; and of five hundred I left, ſcarce threeſcore remained; and had Sir Thomas Gates not got from the Bermudas, I think they had been all dead before they could be ſupplied.

Queſt. 2. What conceive you ſhould be the cauſe, though the country be good, there comes nothing but tobacco?

Anſw. The often altering of governors, it ſeems, cauſes every man make uſe of his time; and becauſe corn was ſtinted at two ſhillings and ſix-pence the buſhel, and tobacco at three ſhillings the pound, and they value a man's labour a year worth fifty or threeſcore pounds, but in corn not worth ten pounds, preſuming tobacco will furniſh them with all things; now make a man's labour in corn worth threeſcore pounds, and in tobacco but ten pounds a man, then ſhall they have corn ſufficient to entertain all comers, and keep their people in health to do any thing; but till then there will be little or nothing to any purpoſe.

Queſt. 3. What conceive you to have been the cauſe of the maſſacre; and had the ſavages had the uſe of any pieces in your time, or when, or by whom they were taught?

Anſw. The cauſe of the maſſacre was the want of martial diſcipline, and becauſe they would have all the Engliſh had by deſtroying thoſe they found ſo careleſly ſecure, that they were not provided to defend themſelves againſt any enemy, being ſo diſperſed as they were. In my time, though Captain Nuport furniſhed them with ſwords by truck, and many fugitives did the like, and ſome pieces they got accidently, yet I got the moſt of them again, and it was death to him that ſhould ſhew a ſavage the uſe of a piece. Since, I underſtand, they became ſo good ſhot, they were employed for fowlers and huntſmen by the Engliſh.

Queſt. 4. What charge think you would have ſettled the government both for defence and planting when you left it?

Anſw. Twenty thouſand pounds would have hired good labourers and mechanical men, and have furniſhed them with cattle and all neceſſaries, and one hundred of them would have done more than a thouſand of thoſe that went, though the Lord La Ware, Sir Ferdinando Waynman, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir Thomas Dale were perſuaded to the contrary; but when they had tried, they confeſſed their error.

Queſt. 5. What conceive you would be the remedy and the charge?

Anſw. The remedy is to ſend ſoldiers and all ſorts of labourers and neceſſaries for them, that they may be there by next Michaelmas; the which to do well will ſtand you in five thouſand pounds: but if His Majeſty would pleaſe to lend two of his ſhips to tranſport them, leſs would ſerve, beſides the benefit of his grace to the action would encourage all men.

Queſt. 6. What think you are the defects of the government both here and there?

Anſw. The multiplicity of opinions here, and officers there, makes ſuch delays by queſtions and formality, that as much time is ſpent in compliment as in action; beſides,

beſides, ſome are ſo deſirous to employ their ſhips, having ſix pounds for every paſſenger, and three pounds for every ton of goods, at which rate a thouſand ſhips may now better be procured than one at the firſt, when the common ſtock defrayed all freights, wages, proviſions and magazines, whereby the ſhips are ſo peſtered, as occaſions much ſickneſs, diſeaſes and mortality; for though all the paſſengers die they are ſure of their freight; and then all muſt be ſatisfied with orations, diſputations, excuſes and hopes. As for the letters of advice from hence, and their anſwers thence, they are ſo well written, men would believe there were no great doubt of the performance, and that all things were well, to which error here they have been ever much ſubject; and there not to believe, or not to relieve the true and poor eſtate of that colony, whoſe fruits were commonly ſpent before they were ripe, and this loſs is nothing to them here, whoſe great eſtates are not ſenſible of the loſs of their adventures, and ſo they think, or will not take notice; but it is ſo with all men, but howſoever they think or diſpoſe of all things at their pleaſure, I am ſure not myſelf only, but a thouſand others have not only ſpent the moſt of their eſtates, but the moſt part have loſt their lives and all, only but to make way for the trial of more new concluſions, and he that now will adventure but twelve pounds ten ſhillings ſhall have better reſpect and as much favour than he that ſixteen years ago adventured as much, except he have money as the other hath, but though he have adventured five hundred pounds, and ſpent there never ſo much time, if he have no more and not able to begin a family of himſelf, all is loſt by order of court.

But in the beginning it was not ſo, all went then out of one purſe, till thoſe new devices have conſumed both money and purſe, for at firſt there were but ſix patentees, now more than a thouſand, then but thirteen counſellors, now not leſs than an hundred; I ſpeak not of all, for there are ſome both honourable and honeſt, but of thoſe officers, which did they manage their own eſtates no better than the affairs of Virginia, they would quickly fall to decay ſo well as it; but this is moſt evident, few officers in England it hath cauſed to turn bankrupts, nor for all their complaints would leave their places, neither yet any of their officers there, not few of the reſt but they would be at home, but fewer adventurers here will adventure any more till they ſee the buſineſs better eſtabliſhed, although there be ſome ſo wilfully improvident they care for nothing but to get thither, and then if their friends be dead, or want themſelves, they die or live but poorly for want of neceſſaries, and to think the old planters can relieve them were too much ſimplicity, for who here in England is ſo charitable to feed two or three ſtrangers, have they never ſo much, much leſs in Virginia where they want for themſelves. Now the general complaint ſaith, that pride, covetouſneſs, extortion and oppreſſion in a few that engroſſes all, than ſell all again to the commonalty at what rate they pleaſe, yea, even men, women and children, for who will give moſt occaſions no ſmall miſchief amongſt the planters.

As for the company, or thoſe that do tranſport them, provided of neceſſaries, God forbid but they ſhould receive their charges again with advantage, or that maſters there ſhould not have the ſame privilege over their ſervants as here, but to ſell him or her for forty, fifty, or threeſcore pounds, whom the company hath ſent over for eight or ten pounds at the moſt, without regard how they ſhall be maintained with apparel, meat, drink, and lodging, is odious, and their fruits ſuitable; therefore ſuch merchants it were better they were made ſuch merchandize themſelves than ſuffered any longer to uſe that trade, and thoſe are defects ſufficient to bring a well ſettled commonwealth to miſery, much more Virginia.

Queſt. 7. How think you it may be rectified?

Anſw.

Anſw. If His Majeſty would pleaſe to entitle it to his crown, and yearly that both the governors here and there may give their accounts to you, or ſome that are not engaged in the buſineſs, that the common ſtock be not ſpent in maintaining one hundred men for the governor, one hundred for two deputies, fifty for the treaſurer, five-and-twenty for the ſecretary, and more for the marſhal and other officers who were never there nor adventured any thing, but only preferred by favour to be lords over them that broke the ice and beat the path, and muſt teach them what to do; if any thing happen well it is their glory; if ill, the fault of the old directors, that in all dangers muſt endure the worſt, yet not five hundred of them have ſo much as one of the others; alſo that there be ſome preſent courſe taken to maintain a garriſon to ſuppreſs the ſavages, till they be able to ſubſiſt, and that His Majeſty would pleaſe to remit his cuſtom, or it is to be feared they will loſe cuſtom and all, for this cannot be done by promiſes, hopes, counſels, and countenances, but with ſufficient workmen and means to maintain them, nor ſuch delinquents as here cannot be ruled by all the laws in England, yet when the foundation is laid, as I have ſaid, and a commonwealth eſtabliſhed, then ſuch there may better be conſtrained to labour than here: but to rectify a commonwealth with debauched people is impoſſible, and no wiſe man would throw himſelf into ſuch a ſociety, that intends honeſtly, and knows what he undertakes, for there is no country to pillage as the Romans found: all you expect from thence muſt be by labour.

For the government I think there is as much ado about it as the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, men here conceiting Virginia as they are, erecting as many ſtately offices as officers with their attendants, as there are labourers in the country, where a conſtable were as good as twenty of their captains, and three hundred good ſoldiers and labourers better than all the reſt that go only to get the fruits of other men's labours by the title of an office. Thus they ſpend Michaelmas rent in Midſummer moon, and would gather their harveſt before they have planted their corn.

As for the maintenance of the officers, the firſt that went never demanded any, but adventured good ſums; and it ſeems ſtrange to me, the fruits of all their labours, beſides the expence of an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, and ſuch multitudes of people, thoſe collateral officers could not maintain themſelves ſo well as the old did, and having now ſuch liberty to do to the ſavages what they will, the others had not. I more then wonder they have not five hundred ſavages to work for them towards their general maintenance, and as many more to return ſome content and ſatisfaction to the adventurers, that for all their care, charge and diligence, can hear nor ſee nothing but miſerable complaints; therefore under your correction to rectify all, is with all expedition to paſs the authority to them who will relieve them, leſt all be conſumed ere the differences be determined. And except His Majeſty undertake it, or by act of parliament ſome ſmall tax may be granted throughout his dominions, as a penny upon every poll, called a head-penny; two pence upon every chimney, or ſome ſuch collection might be raiſed; and that would be ſufficient to give a good ſtock, and many ſervants to ſufficient men of any faculty, and tranſport them freely for paying only homage to the Crown of England, and ſuch duties to the public good as their eſtates increaſed, reaſon ſhould require. Were this put in practice, how many people of what quality you pleaſe, for all thoſe diſaſters would yet gladly go to ſpend their lives there, and by this means more good might be done in one year, than all thoſe petty particular undertakings will effect in twenty.

For the patent the King may, if he pleaſe, rather take it from them that have it, than from us who had it firſt, pretending to His Majeſty what great matters they would

do, and how little we did, and for any thing I can conceive, had we remained ſtill as at firſt, it is not likely we could have done much worſe; but thoſe oft altering of governments are not without much charge, hazard, and loſs. If I be too plain, I humbly crave your pardon; but you requeſted me, therefore I do but my duty. For the nobility, who know not how freely both in their purſes and aſſiſtance many of them have been to advance it, committing the managing of the buſineſs to inferior perſons, amongſt whom queſtionleſs alſo many have done their utmoſt beſt, ſincerely and truly according to their conceit, opinion, and underſtanding; yet groſs errors have been committed: but no man lives without his faults; for my own part, I have ſo much ado to amend my own, I have no leiſure to look into any man's in particular, but thoſe in general I conceive to be true. And ſo I humbly reſt,

Your's to command, I. S.

Thus thoſe diſcords, not being to be compounded among themſelves, nor yet by the extraordinary diligence, care and pains of the noble and right worthy commiſſioners, Sir William Jones, Sir Nicholas Forteſcue, Sir Francis Goſton, Sir Richard Sutton, Sir Henry Bourgchier, and Sir William Pitt; a corante was granted againſt Mr. Deputy Farrar, and twenty or thirty others of that party, to plead their cauſes before the right honourable the lords of His Majeſty's privy council: now notwithſtanding all the relations, examinations, and intercepting of all letters whatſoever come from thence, yet it ſeems they were ſo far unſatisfied, and deſired to know the truth, as well for the preſervation of the colony, as to give content and do all men right, they ſent two commiſſioners ſtrictly to examine the true ſtate of the colony. Upon whoſe return, after mature deliberation, it pleaſed His Royal Majeſty to ſuppreſs the courſe of the court at Deputy Farrars, and that for the preſent ordering the affairs of Virginia, until he ſhould make a more full ſettlement thereof, the Lord Viſcount Mandevile, lord preſident of His Majeſty's privy council, and alſo other privy councillors, with many underſtanding knights and gentlemen, ſhould every Thurſday in the afternoon meet at Sir Thomas Smith's, in Philpot-lane, where all men whom it ſhould concern may repair, to receive ſuch directions and warrant for their better ſecurity, as more at large you may ſee in the proclamation to that effect, under the great ſeal of England, dated the 15th of July 1624. But as for the relations laſt returned, what numbers they are, how many cities, corporations, towns, and houſes, cattle and horſes they have, what fortifications or diſcoveries they have made, or revenge upon the ſavages; who are their friends or foes, or what commodities they have more than tobacco, and their preſent eſtate, or what is preſently to be put in execution, in that the commiſſioners are not yet fully ſatisfied in the one, nor reſolved in the other, at this preſent time when this went to the preſs, I muſt entreat you pardon me till I be better aſſured.

Thus far I have travelled in this wilderneſs of Virginia, not being ignorant for all my pains this diſcourſe will be wreſted, toſſed and turned as many ways as there is leaves; that I have writ too much of ſome, too little of others, and many ſuch like objections. To ſuch I muſt anſwer, in the Company's name I was requeſted to do it: if any have concealed their approved experience from my knowledge, they muſt excuſe me; as for every fatherleſs, or ſtolen relation, or whole volumes of ſophiſticated rehearſals, I leave them to the charge of them that deſire them. I thank God I never undertook any thing yet any could tax me of careleſsneſs or diſhoneſty; and what is he to whom I am indebted or troubleſome? Ah! were theſe my accuſers but to change caſes and places with me but two years, or till they had done but ſo much as I, it may

be they would judge more charitably of my imperfections. But here I muſt leave all to the trial of time, both myſelf, Virginia's preparations, proceedings, and good events, praying to that great God, the protector of all goodneſs, to ſend them as good ſucceſs as the goodneſs of the action and country deſerveth, and my heart deſireth.

BOOK V.

The general Hiſtory of the Bermudas, now called the Summer Iſles, from their beginning, in the Year of our Lord 1593, *to this preſent* 1624, *with their Proceedings, Accidents, and preſent Eſtate.*

BEFORE we preſent you the matters of fact, it is fit to offer to your view the ſtage whereon they were acted, for as geography without hiſtory ſeemeth a carcaſe without motion, ſo hiſtory without geography, wandereth as a vagrant without a certain habitation. Thoſe iſlands lie in the huge main ocean, and two hundred leagues from any continent, ſituated in 32 degrees and 25 minutes of northerly latitude, and diſtant from England weſt-ſouth-weſt, about three thouſand three hundred miles, ſome twenty miles in length, and not paſt two miles and a half in breadth, environed with rocks, which to the northward, weſtward, and ſouth-eaſt, extend further than they have been yet well diſcovered: by reaſon of thoſe rocks the country is naturally very ſtrong, for there is but two places, and ſcarce two, unleſs to them who know them well, where ſhipping may ſafely come in, and thoſe now are exceeding well fortified, but within is room to entertain a royal fleet: the rocks in moſt places appear at low water, neither are they much covered at high, for it ebbs and flows not paſt five feet; the ſhore for moſt part is a rock, ſo hardened with the ſun, wind, and ſea, that it is not apt to be worn away with the waves, whoſe violence is alſo broke by the rocks before they can come to the ſhore; it is very uneven, diſtributed into hills and dales; the mould is of divers colours, neither clay nor ſand, but a mean between; the red which reſembleth clay is the worſt, the whiteſt reſembling ſand, and the blackeſt is good, but the brown betwixt them both, which they call white, becauſe there is mingled with it a white meal, is the beſt: under the mould two or three feet deep, and ſometimes leſs, is a kind of white hard ſubſtance, which they call the rock: the trees uſually faſten their roots in it; neither is it indeed rock or ſtone, or ſo hard, though for moſt part harder than chalk; nor ſo white, but pumiſh-like and ſpungy, eaſily receiving and containing much water. In ſome places, clay is found under it; it ſeems to be engendered with rain water, draining through the earth, and drawing with it of his ſubſtance unto a certain depth, where it congeals; the hardeſt kind of it lies under the red ground like quarries, as it were thick ſlates one upon another, through which the river hath its paſſage; ſo that in ſuch places there is ſcarce found any freſh water, for all or the moſt part of the freſh water cometh out of the ſea draining through the ſand, or that ſubſtance called the rock, leaving the ſalt behind, it becomes freſh: ſometimes we dug wells of freſh water, which we find in moſt places, and but three or four paces from the ſea ſide; ſome further, the moſt part of them would ebb and flow as the ſea did, and be level or little higher than the ſuperfices of the ſea, and in ſome places very ſtrange, dark, and cumberſome caves.

The air is moſt commonly clear, very temperate, moiſt, with a moderate heat, very healthful, and apt for the generation and nouriſhing of all things, ſo as many things tranſported from hence yield a far greater increaſe, and if it be any living thing, it becomes

comes fatter and better; by this means, the country is ſo repleniſhed with hens and turkies, within the ſpace of three or four years, that many of them being neglected, forſake the houſes, and become wild, and ſo live in great abundance; the like increaſe there is in hogs, tame conies, and other cattle, according to their kinds. There ſeems to be a continual ſpring, which is the cauſe ſome things come not to that maturity and perfection as were requiſite; and though the trees ſhed their leaves, yet they are always full of green; the corn is the ſame they have in Virginia and the Weſt-Indies: of this and many other things without plowing or much labour, they have two harveſts every year, for they ſet about March, which they gather in July; and again in Auguſt, which they reap in December; and little ſlips of fig-trees and vines do uſually bear fruit within the year, and ſometimes in leſs; but we find not the grapes as yet come to any perfection; the like fertility it hath in oranges and lemons, pomegranates, and other things. Concerning the ſerenity and beauty of the ſky, it may as truly be ſaid of thoſe iſlands as ever it was ſaid of the Rhodes, that there is no one day throughout the twelve months, but that in ſome hour thereof, the ſun looks ſingularly and clear upon them, for the temperature it is beyond all others moſt admirable; no cold there is beyond an Engliſh April, nor heat much greater than an ordinary July in France, ſo that froſt and ſnow is never ſeen here, nor ſtinking and infectious miſts very ſeldom, by reaſon of the main ocean, there is ſome wind ſtirring that cools the air; the winter they have obſerves the time with ours, but the longeſt days and nights are ſhorter than ours almoſt by two hours.

We found it at firſt all overgrown with weeds and plants of ſeveral kinds, as many tall and goodly cedars, infinite ſtore of palmetoes, numbers of mulberries, wild olive-trees ſtore, with divers others, unknown both by name and nature, ſo that as they become loſt to many uſeful employments, which time and induſtry, no doubt, will one day diſcover, and even already certain of the moſt notorious of them have gotten them appellations from their apparent effects, as the prickle-pear which grows like a ſhrub by the ground, with broad thick leaves, all over armed with long and ſharp dangerous thorns, the fruit being in form not much unlike a ſmall green pear, and on the outſide of the ſame colour, but within blood red, and exceeding full of juice, with grains not much unlike the pomegranate, and colouring after its nature. The poiſoned weed is much in ſhape like our Engliſh juy, but being but touched, cauſeth redneſs, itching, and laſtly, bliſters, the which, howſoever, after a while paſs away of themſelves, without further harm; yet becauſe for the time they are ſomewhat painful, it hath got itſelf an ill name, although queſtionleſs of no ill nature. Here is alſo frequently growing a certain tall plant, whoſe ſtalk being all over covered with a red rind, is thereupon termed the red weed, the root whereof being ſoaked in any liquor, or but a ſmall quantity of the juice drunk alone, procures a very forcible vomit, and yet is generally uſed by the people, and found very effectual againſt the pains and diſtempers of the ſtomach.

A kind of woodbine there is likewiſe by the ſea very commonly to be found, which runs upon trees, twining itſelf like a vine; the fruit ſomewhat reſembles a bean, but ſomewhat flatter, the which, any way eaten, worketh excellently in the nature of a purge, and though very vehemently, yet without all peril. Contrary to this, another ſmall tree there is, which cauſeth coſtiveneſs: there is alſo a certain plant like a bramble-buſh, which bears a long yellow fruit, having the ſhell very hard, and within it a grey berry, that beaten and taken inwardly purgeth gently. There is another fruit, much like our barberries, which being beaten or bruiſed between the teeth, ſets all the mouth on an extreme heat, very terrible for the time; to avoid which, they are ſwallowed down

down whole, and found of the ſame or better operation than the red pepper, and thence borroweth the name. In the bottom of the ſea, there is growing upon the rocks a large kind of plant, in the form of a vine-leaf, but far more ſpread with veins, in colour of a pale red, very ſtrangely interlaced and woven one in another, which we call the feather, but the virtue thereof is altogether unknown, but only regarded for the rarity. Now beſides theſe natural productions, providences, and pains, ſince the plantation, have offered divers other ſeeds and plants, which the ſoil hath greedily embraced and cheriſhed, ſo that at this preſent 1623, there are great abundance of white, red, and yellow coloured potatoes, tobacco, ſugar-canes, indigos, parſnips, exceeding large radiſhes, the American bread, the caſſado-root, the Indian pumpeon, the water-melon, muſk-melon, and the moſt delicate pine-apples, plantains, and papaws; alſo the Engliſh artichoke, peaſe, &c.; briefly, whatſoever elſe may be expected for the ſatisfaction either of curioſity, neceſſity, or delight.

Neither hath the air for her part been wanting with due ſupplies of many ſorts of fowls, as the grey and white hearn, the grey and green plover, ſome wild ducks and mallard, coots, and red-ſhanks, ſea-widgeons, grey bitterns, cormorants, numbers of ſmall birds, like ſparrows and robins, which have lately been deſtroyed by the wild cats, wood-peckers, very many crows, which ſince this plantation are killed, the reſt fled, or ſeldom ſeen, except in the moſt uninhabited places, from whence they are obſerved to take their flight about ſun-ſet, directing their courſe towards the north-weſt, which makes many conjecture there are ſome more iſlands not far off that way. Sometimes are alſo ſeen falcons and jar-falcons, oſprays, a bird like a hobby, but becauſe they come ſeldom, they are held but as paſſengers; but above all theſe, moſt deſerving obſervation and reſpect, are thoſe two ſorts of birds, the one for the tone of his voice, the other for the effect, called the cahow and egg-bird, which on the firſt of May, a day conſtantly obſerved, fall a laying infinite ſtore of eggs, near as big as hens', upon certain ſmall ſandy bays, eſpecially in Couper's Iſle; and although men ſit down amongſt them when hundreds of them have been gathered of a morning, yet there is hath ſtaid amongſt them till they have gathered as many more: they continue this courſe till Midſummer, and ſo tame and fearleſs, you muſt thruſt them off from their eggs with your hand; then they grow ſo faint with laying, they ſuffer them to breed, and take infinite numbers of their young to eat, which are very excellent meat.

The cahow is a bird of the night, for all the day ſhe lies hid in holes in the rocks, where they and their young are alſo taken with as much eaſe as may be, but in the night if you but whoop and hollow, they will light upon you, that with your hands you may chuſe the fat and leave the lean; thoſe they have only in winter; their eggs are as big as hens', but they are ſpeckled, the other white. Mr. Norwood hath taken twenty dozen of them in three or four hours, and ſince there hath been ſuch havock made of them, they were near all deſtroyed, till there was a ſtrict inhibition for their preſervation. The tropick bird is white, as large as a pullet, with one only long feather in her tail, and is ſeldom ſeen far diſtant from other of the tropicks: another ſmall bird there is, becauſe ſhe cries *pemblyco*, they call her ſo; ſhe is ſeldom ſeen in the day but when ſhe ſings, as too oft ſhe doth very clamorouſly, too true a prophet ſhe proves of huge winds and boiſterous weather: there were a kind of ſmall owls in great abundance, but they are now all ſlain or fled: ſome tame ducks, geeſe and pigeons there are; but the two latter proſper not.

Concerning vermin and noiſome creatures there are not many, but only rats and cats, there increaſed ſince the plantation; but how they agree together you ſhall hear hereafter. The muſketos and flies are alſo too buſy, with a certain India bug, called by the

the Spaniards, a cacarootch, the which creeping into cheſts they eat and defile with their ill-ſcented dung: alſo the little ants in ſummer time are ſo troubleſome they are forced to dry their figs upon high frames, and anoint their feet with tar, wherein they ſtick, elſe they would ſpoil them all ere they could be dried: worms in the earth alſo there are, but too many, ſo that to keep them from deſtroying their corn and tobacco, they are forced to worm them every morning, which is a great labour, elſe all would be deſtroyed. Lizards there were many and very large, but now none; and it is ſaid they were deſtroyed by the cat. Certain ſpiders alſo of very large ſize are found hanging upon trees, but inſtead of being any way dangerous as in other places, they are here of a moſt pleaſing aſpect, all over dreſt as it were with ſilver, gold, and pearl, and their webs in the ſummer woven from tree to tree, are generally a perfect raw ſilk, and that as well in regard of ſubſtance as colour, and ſo ſtrong withal, that divers birds bigger than black-birds, being like ſnipes, are often taken and ſnared in them as a net: then what would the ſilk-worm do were ſhe there to feed upon the continual green mulberry?

But above all the reſt of the elements, the ſea is found moſt abundantly liberal: hence have they as much excellent fiſh, and as much variety as need be deſired. The moſt of which being unknown to our northern parts, got there new names, either for their ſhapes or conditions; as the large rock-fiſh from his like hue, and haunting amongſt the rocks; the fat hog-fiſh from his ſwine-like ſhape and ſnout, for this is not the old known hog-fiſh with bruſſels on his back; the delicate amber-fiſh from his taſte and ſmell, angel-fiſh, cony-fiſh, the ſmall yellow tail from that natural painting; the great grouper from his odd and ſtrange grunting, ſome of them yet known to the Americans, as the purgooſe, the cavallo, the gar-fiſh, flying-fiſh and morerays: the reſt are common to other continents; as the whale in great numbers, the ſhark, the pilot-fiſh, the ſea-bream, the oyſter and lobſter, with divers others; twenty tortoiſes have been taken in a day, and ſome of them will afford half a buſhel of eggs, and ſuffice to feed forty men at a meal. And thus have you briefly epitomized mother Nature's benefits to this little, yet dainty, ſpot of earth, neither were it ingenuity to conceal wherein ſhe inclineth to the ſtepdame, eſpecially ſince the particulars are ſo few, as rather requiſite antidotes againſt idleneſs to rouſe up induſtry, than any great cauſe of much diſtaſte, much leſs deſpair; and of thoſe, to ſpeak truth, there are only two, viz. the winds, and the worms, eſpecially in the ſpring and autumn; and thus conditioned as yet we will let reſt theſe ſmall iſlands, in the midſt of this mighty and main ocean, ſo environed on every ſide by infinite numbers of uncertain ſcattered rocks, lying ſhallowly hid under the ſurface of the water, a league, two, three, four, or five, to ſea, to the which advantages added by art, as hereafter you ſhall hear at large, and find deſcribed in the map. It may well be concluded to be the moſt impregnable place in the world, and although the amber-gris, pearls, nor tobacco; are of that quantity and certainty to be relied upon to gain wealth, yet by practice and experience they find, by ſilk, ſaffron, indigo, madar, ſugar-canes, wine, oil, and ſuch like, great profit may be expected: yet were thoſe hopeleſs in regard of their conveniency to nouriſh and maintain themſelves and relieve them ſhall viſit them with wood, water, and other neceſſaries; beſides what an eye-ſore they are already become to them that have them not, and how dear and precious to them that have them, I think none will deny but they are well worth the keeping: and ſo we will proceed to the accidents that befell the firſt finders: alſo the proceedings of the firſt planters and their ſucceſſors, Mr. Norrod, Thomas Sparkes, and divers others.

A brief

A brief Relation of the Shipwreck of Henry May.

HOW theſe iſles came by the name of Bermudas, or the infinite number of black hogs, or ſo fearful to the world, that many called them the Iſle of Devils, that all men did ſhun as hell and perdition; I will not expoſtulate, nor trouble your patience with thoſe uncertain antiquities further than thus; our men found divers croſſes, pieces of Spaniſh monies here and there. Two or three wrecks alſo they found by certain inſcriptions to be ſome Spaniſh, ſome Dutch, ſome French; but the greateſt rumour is, that a Spaniſh ſhip, called Bermudas, was there caſt away, carrying hogs to the Weſt Indies, that ſwam aſhore, and there increaſed: how the Spaniards eſcaped is uncertain; but they ſay, from that ſhip thoſe iſles were firſt called Bermudas, which till then for ſix thouſand years had been nameleſs.

But the firſt Engliſhman that was ever in them was one Henry May, a worthy mariner that went with Captain Lancaſter to the Eaſt Indies 1591; and in their return by the Weſt Indies, being in ſome diſtreſs, ſent this Henry May for England by one Monſieur de la Barbotier, to acquaint the merchants with their eſtate. The laſt of November, ſaith May, we departed from Laguna in Hiſpaniola, and the 17th of December following we were caſt away upon the north-weſt of the Bermudas; the pilots about noon made themſelves ſouthwards of the iſles twelve leagues, and demanded of the captain their wine of hight as out of all danger, which they had; but it ſeems they were either drunk, or careleſs of their charge, for through their negligence a number of good men were caſt away. I being but a ſtranger amongſt fifty and odd Frenchmen, it pleaſed God to appoint me to be one of thoſe ſhould be ſaved. In this extremity we made a raft, which we towed with our boat; there were but ſix-and-twenty of us ſaved; and I ſeeing ſcarce room for the one half, durſt not paſs in amongſt them till the captain called me along with him, leaving the better half to the ſea's mercy: that day we rowed till within two hours of night ere we could land, being near dead with thirſt, every man took his way to ſeek freſh water; at length, by ſearching amongſt many weeds, we found ſome rain water; but in the main are many fair bays, where we had enough for digging.

Now it pleaſed God before our ſhip ſplit we ſaved our carpenter's tools, ſome nails, ſails, and tacklings, wherewith we went roundly to work, and built a bark of eighty tons: inſtead of pitch, we made lime, mixed with tortoiſe oil, and as the carpenters caulked her, I and another paid the ſeams with this plaſter, which being in April, became quickly dry, and as hard as a ſtone.

In April it was ſo hot we feared our water would fail, two great cheſts we made, which we caulked as our ſhip; thoſe we ſtowed on each ſide our main-maſt, filled them with water and thirty live tortoiſes; we found many hogs, but ſo lean we could not eat them; the tops of the palmetaberries was our bread, and the juice we got out of the trees we cut down our drink, and of the leaves, which are more than an ell long, we covered our cabins, and made our beds, and found many of thoſe proviſions as is related, but little foul weather. The eleventh of May it pleaſed God to ſet us clear of the iſle, after we had lived there five months; and the 20th we fell in with Cape Breton, near Newfoundland, where refreſhing ourſelves with wood and water, and ſuch things as we could get of the ſavages, it ſeemed a good country; but we ſtaid not paſt four hours before we ſet ſail for the banks of Newfoundland, where we met many ſhips, but not any would take in a man of us, until it pleaſed God we met a bark of Falmouth, which received us for a little time, and with her we took a French ſhip, wherein

wherein I left Captain de la Barbotier, my dear friend, and all his company, and in Auguſt arrived at Falmouth, in this honeſt Engliſh bark, 1594.

Written by me HENRY MAY.

The firſt Engliſh Ship known to have been caſt away upon the Bermudas 1609. *From the Relation of Mr. Jordan, Mr. John Evans, Mr. Henry Shelly, and divers others.*

YOU have heard that when Captain Smith was governor of Virginia, there were nine ſhips ſent with Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport with five hundred people, to take in the old commiſſion, and rectify a new government; they ſet ſail in May, and in the height of thirty degrees of northerly latitude, they were taken with an extreme ſtorm, or rather a part of hericano, upon the five-and-twentieth of July, which, as they write, did not only ſeparate them from the fleet, but with the violent working of the ſeas, their ſhip became ſo ſhaken, torn, and leaky, ſhe received ſo much water as covered two tier of hogſheads above the ballaſt, that they ſtood up to the middles with buckets, baricos, and kettles, to bail out the water. Thus bailing and pumping three days and three nights without intermiſſion, and yet the water ſeemed rather to encreaſe than diminiſh, inſomuch that being all utterly ſpent with labour, were even reſolved without any hope to ſhut up the hatches, and commit themſelves to the mercy of the ſea, which is ſaid to be mercileſs, or rather to the mercy of Almighty God, whoſe mercy far exceeds all his works; ſeeing no ſenſe or hope in man's apprehenſion, but preſently to ſink; ſome having ſome good and comfortable waters, fetched them, and drank one to another, as taking their laſt leaves until a more happy and a more joyful meeting in a more bleſſed world, when it pleaſed God out of his moſt gracious and merciful providence, ſo to direct and guide their ſhip for her moſt advantage.

That Sir George Somers all this time ſitting upon the poop, ſcarce taking leiſure to eat nor ſleep, coving the ſhip to keep her as upright as he could, otherwiſe ſhe muſt long ere that needs have foundered, moſt wiſhedly and happily deſcried land; whereupon he moſt comfortably encouraged them to follow their work, many of them being faſt aſleep: this unlooked-for welcome news, as if it had been a voice from Heaven, hurried them all above hatches, to look for that they durſt ſcarce believe, ſo that improvidently forſaking that taſk which imported no leſs than their lives, they gave ſo dangerous advantage to their greedy enemy the ſalt water, which ſtill entered at the large breaches of their poor wooden caſtle, as that in gaping after life, they had well-nigh ſwallowed their death. Surely it is impoſſible any ſhould now be urged to do his beſt, and although they knew it, that place all men did ſo ſhun, yet they ſpread all the ſail they could to attain them: for not long it was before they ſtruck upon a rock, till a ſurge of the ſea caſt her from thence, and ſo from one to another, till moſt luckily at laſt ſo upright betwixt two, as if ſhe had been in the ſtocks, till this they expected but every blow a death; but now behold, ſuddenly the wind gives place to a calm, and the billows, which each by overtaking her, would in an inſtant have ſhivered her in pieces, become peaceable and ſtill, ſo that with all conveniency and eaſe, they unſhipped all their goods, victuals, and perſons into their boats, and with extreme joy, even almoſt to amazedneſs, arrived in ſafety, though more than a league from the ſhore, without the loſs of a man; yet were they in all one hundred and fifty; yet their deliverance was not more ſtrange in falling ſo happily upon the land, as their feeding and preſervation was beyond their hopes; for you have heard, it hath been to the

Spaniards more fearful than an Utopian purgatory, and to all ſeamen no leſs terrible than an enchanted den of furies and devils, the moſt dangerous, unfortunate, and forlorn place in the world, and they found it the richeſt, healthfulleſt, and pleaſanteſt they ever ſaw, as is formerly ſaid.

Being thus ſafe on ſhore, they diſpoſed themſelves to ſearch the iſles for food and water; others to get aſhore what they could from the ſhip: not long Sir George wandered but found ſuch a fiſhing, that in half an hour, with a hook and line, he took ſo many as ſufficed the whole company; in ſome places they were ſo thick in the coves, and ſo great, they durſt not go in leſt they ſhould bite them; and theſe rock-fiſh are ſo great that two will load a man, and fatter nor better fiſh cannot be. Mr. Shelly found a bay near a quarter of a mile over, ſo full of mullets, as none of them before had ever ſeen or heard of the like. The next day ſeeking to kill them with fis-gigs, they ſtruck ſo many, the water in many places was red with blood, yet caught not one, but with a net they caught ſo many as they could draw aſhore, with infinite number of pilchards and divers other ſorts; great craw-fiſhes, in a night by making a fire, they have taken in great quantity. Sir George had twice his hook and line broke out of his hand, but the third time he made it ſo ſtrong he caught the ſame fiſh, which had pulled him into the ſea, had not his men got hold of him, whereby he had his three hooks again which were found in her belly. At their firſt hunting for hogs they found ſuch abundance, they killed thirty-two; and this hunting and fiſhing was appointed to Captain Robert Walſingham and Mr. Henry Shelly, for the company in general; they report they killed at leaſt five hundred, beſides pigs, and many that were killed by divers others; for the birds in their ſeaſons, the facility to make their cabins of palmeta leaves, cauſed many of them utterly forget or deſire ever to return from thence, they lived in ſuch plenty, peace and eaſe.

But let us remember how the knights began to reſolve in thoſe deſperate affairs: many projects they had, but at laſt it was concluded to deck their long-boat with their ſhip-hatches; which done, with all expedition they ſent Mr. Raven, a very ſufficient mariner, with eight more in her, to Virginia, to have ſhipping from thence to fetch them away; three weeks or a month they expected her return, but to this day ſhe was never more heard of: all this time was ſpent in ſearching the iſles. Now, although God ſtill fed them with this abundance of plenty, yet ſuch was the malice of envy or ambition, for all this good ſervice done by Summers, ſuch a great difference fell amongſt their commanders, that they lived aſunder in this diſtreſs, rather as mere ſtrangers than diſtreſſed friends. But neceſſity ſo commanded; patience had the victory.

Two ſhips at this time by thoſe ſeveral parties were building; in the mean time two children were born; the boy was called Bermudas; the girl Bermuda, and amongſt all thoſe ſorrows they had a merry Engliſh marriage. The form of thoſe iſles you may ſee at large in the map of Mr. Norwood, where you may plainly ſee no place known hath better walls, nor a broader ditch. But having finiſhed and rigged their two new cedar ſhips with ſuch proviſions they ſaved from the Sea-adventurer, they left amongſt the rocks, they called the one the Patience, the other the Deliverance: they uſed lime and oil, as May did, for pitch and tar. Sir George Summers had in his bark no iron at all, but one bolt in her keel. Now having made their proviſions of victuals, and all things ready, they ſet ſail the 10th of May 1610, only leaving two men behind them, called Chriſtopher Carter and Edward Waters, that for their offences, or the ſuſpicion they had of their judgment, fled into the woods, and there rather deſired to end their days, than ſtand to their trials and the event of juſtice; for one of their

conſorts was ſhot to death, and Waters being tied to a tree, alſo to be executed, had by chance a knife about him, and ſo ſecretly cut the rope, he ran into the woods, where they could not find him. There were two ſavages alſo ſent from Virginia by Captain Smith, the one called Namuntack, the other Matchumps; but ſome ſuch differences fell between them, that Matchumps ſlew Namuntack, and having made a hole to bury him, becauſe it was too ſhort, he cut off his legs and laid them by him; which murder he concealed till he was in Virginia.

The 24th of the ſame month they arrived in Virginia, at James Town, where they found but threeſcore perſons, as you may read at large in the Hiſtory of Virginia, of the five hundred left by Captain Smith; alſo of the arrival of Lord La Ware, that met them thus bound for England, returned them back, and underſtanding what plenty there was of hogs and other good things in the Bermudas, was deſirous to ſend thither to ſupply his neceſſary occaſions; whereupon Sir George Summers, the beſt acquainted with the place, whoſe noble mind ever regarded a general good more than his own ends, though above threeſcore years of age, and had means in England ſuitable to his rank, offered himſelf, by God's help, to perform this dangerous voyage again for the Bermudas, which was kindly accepted; ſo upon the 19th of June he embarked in his cedar ſhip, about the burthen of thirty tons, and ſo ſet ſail.

Much foul and croſs weather he had, and was forced to the north parts of Virginia, where refreſhing himſelf upon this unknown coaſt, he could not be diverted from the ſearch of the Bermudas, where at laſt, with his company, he ſafely arrived. But ſuch was his diligence with his extraordinary care, pains, and induſtry to diſpatch his buſineſs, and the ſtrength of his body not anſwering the ever-memorable courage of his mind, having lived ſo long in ſuch honourable ſervices, the moſt part of his well-beloved and virtuous life, God and nature here determined ſhould ever remain a perpetual memory of his much-bewailed ſorrow for his death. Finding his time but ſhort, after he had taken the beſt courſe he could to ſettle his eſtate, like a valiant captain, he exhorted them with all diligence to be conſtant to thoſe plantations, and with all expedition to return to Virginia. In that very place which we now call Saint George's Town, this noble knight died, whereof the place taketh the name. But his men, as men amazed, ſeeing the death of him who was even as the life of them all, embalmed his body, and ſet ſail for England, being the firſt that ever went to ſeek thoſe iſlands, which have been ever ſince called Summer's Iſles, in honour of his worthy memory, leaving three men behind them, that voluntarily ſtaid, whoſe names were Chriſtopher Carter, Edward Waters, there formerly left, as is ſaid, and Edward Chard. This cedar ſhip at laſt, with his dead body, arrived at Whitchurch in Dorſetſhire, where, by his friends, he was honourably buried, with many vollies of ſhot, and the rites of a ſoldier, and upon his tomb was beſtowed this epitaph:

Hei mihi Virginia quod tam cito præterit æſtas,
Autumnus ſequitur, ſæviet inde & hiems;
At ver perpetuum naſcetur, & Anglia læta,
Decerpit flores florida terra tuas.

In Engliſh thus:

Alas, Virginia's ſummer ſo ſoon paſt,
Autumn ſucceeds and ſtormy winter's blaſt,
Yet England's joyful ſpring with joyful ſhowers,
O Florida, ſhall bring thy ſweeteſt flowers.

The honour of this reſolution belongs principally to Carter, for through his importunity not to leave ſuch a place abandoned, Chard and Waters were moved to ſtay with

with him, and the reſt promiſed, with all the ſpeed they could, again to reviſit them. But the ſhip once out of ſight, thoſe three lords, the ſole inhabitants of all thoſe iſlands, began to erect their little commonwealth for a while with brotherly regency, repairing the ground, planting corn and ſuch ſeeds and fruits as they had, building a houſe, &c. Then making privy ſearch amongſt the crevices and corners of thoſe craggy rocks, what this main ocean ſince the world's creation had thrown amongſt them, at laſt they chanced upon the greateſt piece of ambergris that was ever ſeen or heard of in one lump, being in weight fourſcore pounds, beſides divers other ſmall pieces.

But now being rich, they grew ſo proud and ambitious, contempt took ſuch place, they fell out for ſuperiority, though but three forlorn men, more than three thouſand miles from their native country, and but ſmall hope ever to ſee it again. Notwithſtanding, they ſometimes fell from words to blows about mere trifles; in one of which fights one of them was bitten by his own dog, as if the dumb beaſt would reprove them of their folly: at laſt Chard and Waters, the two greater ſpirits, muſt try it out in the field; but Carter wiſely ſtole away their weapons, affecting rather to live among his enemies, than by being rid of them live alone: and thus thoſe miſerable men lived full two years, ſo that all their clothes were near worn clean from their backs, and their hopes of any foreign relief as naked as their bodies. At laſt they began to recover their wits, yet in a faſhion perhaps would have coſt them dearer than when they were mad; for concluding a tripartite peace of their Matachin war, they reſolved to frame as good a boat as they could, and therein to make a deſperate attempt for Virginia, or Newfoundland; but no ſooner were they entered into that reſolution, but they deſcried a ſail ſtanding in for the ſhore, though they neither knew what ſhe was, nor what ſhe would, they were ſo overjoyed, with all poſſible ſpeed they went to meet her, and according to their hearts' deſire ſhe proved an Engliſhman, whom they ſafely conducted into their harbour.

Now you are to underſtand, that Captain Matthew Summers, nephew and heir to Sir George, that returned with his dead body, though both he and his company did their utmoſt in relating all thoſe paſſages to their countrymen and adventurers, their relations were believed but as travellers' tales, till it came to be apprehended by ſome of the Virginia Company how beneficial it might be, and helpful to the plantation in Virginia, ſo that ſome one hundred and twenty of them bought the pretended right of all the Company, and had ſent this ſhip to make a trial; but firſt they had obtained letters patents of the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty. Sir Thomas Smith was elected treaſurer and governor here, and Mr. Richard More to be governor of the iſles and colony there.

The firſt beginning of a Colony in the Summer Iſles, under the command of Mr. Richard More, extracted out of a Plot of Mr. Richard Norwood, Surveyor, and the Relations of divers others.

MR. MORE thus finding thoſe three men not only well and luſty, but well ſtored with divers ſorts of proviſions, as an acre of corn ready to be gathered, numbers of pumpeons and Indian beans, many tortoiſes ready taken, good ſtore of hogs' fleſh ſalted, and made in flitches of bacon, were very good; and ſo preſently landed his goods and ſixty perſons towards the beginning of July 1612, upon the ſouth ſide of Smith's Iſle.

Not long after his arrival, More having ſome private intelligence of this ambergris, took firſt Chard in examination, he being one of the three the moſt maſterful ſpirit,

what ambergris, pearls, treaſure, or other commodities they had found. Chard no leſs witty than reſolute, directly anſwered, not any thing at all but the fruits of the iſle, what his fellows had done he knew not, but if they had, he doubted not but to find it out, and then he ſhould know it certainly. This he ſpoke only to win time to ſwear his conſorts to ſecrecy, and he would find the means how they ſhould all return in that ſhip with it all for England, otherwiſe they ſhould be deceived of all. Till this was effected they thought every hour an age; now for the better conveyance of it aboard, they acquainted it to Captain Davis, maſter of the ſhip, and one Mr. Edwin Kendall, that for their ſecrecy and tranſportation ſhould participate with them: without further ceremony the match was accepted, and abſolutely concluded, the plot laid, time and place ſet down to have it aboard. But Carter, were it for fear the governor at laſt ſhould know of it, to whom ſo often they had denied it, or that the reſt ſhould deceive him, is uncertain, but moſt certain it is, he revealed all the plot to Mr. More: to get ſo much wealth he knew would pleaſe them in England, though it did diſpleaſe all his company, and to loſe ſuch a prize he would not for hazarding a mutiny. So firſt he revealed himſelf to Kendall in fair terms, reproving his diſhoneſty; but not being anſwered according to his expectation, he committed both Chard and him to priſon. The next Sabbath-day Davis coming on ſhore, More alſo taxed with very hard language and many threats, to lay him faſt alſo if he mended not his manners; Davis for the preſent replied little, but went with him to the place of prayer, but in the midſt of divine ſervice he goeth away, commanding all his ſeamen to follow him preſently aboard, where he encourageth them to ſtand to him like men, and he would free the priſoners, have all the ambergris for themſelves, and ſo be gone.

The governor hearing of this reſolution, prepares with his company to repulſe force with force, ſo that a general expectance of a civil uncivil war poſſeſſed every man; but this threatening guſt paſſed over more calmly than was expected, for Davis having better adviſed with himſelf, repented his raſhneſs, and deſired a reconcilement with the governor. Peace thus concluded, Kendall was ſet at liberty, but Chard was condemned, and upon the ladder to be hanged for his obſtinacy; yet upon better conſideration, More reprieved him, but kept him a priſoner all the time he ſtaid in the country, which was generally thought a very bad reward for his great deſert, and that there was more of this ambergris embezzled than would have contented all the finders, that never had any conſideration at all. The greateſt part though More thus recovered, yet Davis and Kendall had ſo much, either by the ignorance or connivency of the governors, that arriving in England, they prepared themſelves for a new voyage; at laſt they two falling out, the company having notice thereof, ſo tormented them both, they gave over their voyage, and durſt not be ſeen a long time after.

The governor, thus rid of the ſhip and thoſe diſcontents, removed his ſeat from Smith's Iſle to Saint George's, after he had fitted up ſome ſmall cabins of palmata leaves for his wife and family, in that valley where now ſtands their prime town called Saint George's, he began to apply himſelf to fortify the country, and training his men in the exerciſe of arms; for although he was but a carpenter, he was an excellent artiſt, a good gunner, very witty and induſtrious: he built and laid the fonndation of eight or nine forts, called the King's Caſtle, Charles Fort, Pembroke's Fort, Smith's Fort, Pagit's Fort, Gate's Fort, Warwick's Caſtle, Saint Katharine's Fort, &c. mounting in them all the ordnance he had, preparing the ground to build houſes, plant corn, and ſuch fruits as they had.

Being thus buſied, and as the neceſſity of the time required, keeping his men ſomewhat hard at work, Mr. Keath his miniſter, were it by the ſecret provocation of ſome

drones that grew weary of their taſks, or his affection to popularity is not certain, but he begins to tax the governor in the pulpit, he did grind the faces of the poor, oppreſſing his Chriſtian brethren with Pharoah's taxes. More finding this in ſhort time might breed ill blood, called the company together and alſo the miniſter, urging them plainly to tell him wherein he had deſerved thoſe hard accuſations: whereupon, with an univerſal cry they affirmed the contrary, ſo that Keath down of his knees to aſk him forgiveneſs. But Mr. More kindly took him up, willing him to kneel to God, and hereafter be more modeſt and charitable in his ſpeeches; notwithſtanding two other diſcontents ſo upbraided More with that doctrine, and ſtood to maintain it, he impannelled a jury, with a great deal of ſeeming much ado he would hang them being condemned, one of them with the very fear fell into a dead palſy; ſo that the other was ſet at liberty, and proved after a very good labourer.

Many concluſions he tried about the Sea-Venture, the wreck of Sir George Summers, but he got only for his pains but two pieces of ordnance. Having framed a church of timber, it was blown down by a tempeſt, ſo that he built another in a more cloſe place with palmeta leaves.

Before this year was expired, the adventurers ſent them an adviſo with thirty paſſengers and good proviſions, to prepare with all expedition for their defence againſt the Spaniard, whom, they underſtood, ere long would viſit them: this occaſioned him to keep all his men together in that iſle ſo hard at work, that wanting liberty to go abroad for food, living only on that they had, and expected daily to receive from England, they were ſo overtoiled, many fell ſick, but none died. Very earneſt this ſhip was to have all the ambergris, which Mr. More perceiving, was the chiefeſt cauſe of their coming, and that it was the only loadſtone to draw from England ſtill more ſupplies; for all the expreſs command ſent from the company, he returned this ſhip but with the one-third part; ſo from thence ſhe went to Virginia, and not long after arrived ſafely in England.

But before her return the company ſent the Martha with ſixty paſſengers more; they arrived in June with one Mr. Bartlet to ſurvey the iſland, and the eſtate of the colony, with expreſs command for all the ambergris, but More perceiving him not as he would have him, and that the company began to miſtruſt him, would ſend no more but another third part, wherewith they returned, leaving a Frenchman to make trial of the mulberries for ſilk, but he did not bring any thing to perfection, excuſing himſelf, they were not the right mulberries he expected. About this time they were in hope of a ſmall crop of tobacco, but it was moſt ſpoiled for want of knowledge to uſe it. Now in England Mr. More became amongſt the merchants marvellous diſtaſteful, for the detaining ſo long the ambergris, which delays they ſo much abhorred, they forthwith diſpatched the Elizabeth the ſecond time and forty paſſengers, much rebuking More for ſo long detaining the ambergris, for the which, having now no more colourable excuſes, he delivered it, wherewith the ſhip went to Virginia, and thence home. In this ſhip was brought the firſt potatoe roots, which flouriſhed exceedingly for a time, till by negligence they were almoſt loſt (all but two caſt-away roots) that ſo wonderfully have increaſed, they are a main relief to all the inhabitants. This ſhip was not long gone but there came two Spaniſh ſhips, ſounding with their boat, which attempted to come in, but from the King's Caſtle Mr. More made but two ſhot, which cauſed them preſently depart. Mark here the handy work of the Divine Providence, for they had but three quarters of a barrel of powder and but one ſhot more, and the powder by careleſſneſs was tumbled down under the muzzles of the two pieces, were diſcharged, yet not touched with fire when they were diſcharged.

This

This fear thus paſt, appears another much worſe, which was the extremity of famine; in this extremity God ſent Captain Daniel Elfrid with a carvel of meal which a little relieved them, but brought with all ſo many rats, that within two years after near ruined all; now though Elfrid had deceived his friend Fiſher of this carvel in the Weſt Indies, they revenged Fiſher's injury, for Elfrid had his paſſage for England, and they made uſe of all he had. Some two months after, came in the Bleſſing, with an hundred paſſengers; and two days after the Starre, with a hundred and fourſcore more, amongſt which were many gentlemen, as Mr. Lower for marſhal, Mr. Barret, Mr. Felgate, and divers others; but very unproper for what they undertook. Within fourteen days after came in the Margaret and two frigates, and in them one hundred and threeſcore paſſengers; alſo Mr. Bartlet came now expreſsly to divide the country into tribes, and the tribes into ſhares. But Mr. More finding no mention made of any part for himſelf nor all them with him, as he was promiſed in England, by no means would admit of any diviſion, nor ſuffer his men from finiſhing their fortifications, which was ſo neceſſary, it was his main ambition to ſee that accompliſhed; but ſuch unkindneſs grew betwixt this Mr. Bartlet and the governor, that the rude multitude with all the diſdain they could deviſe cauſed Bartlet's return for England as he came. About this time William Millington was drawn into the ſea by a fiſh, but never after ever ſeen.

The neglect of this diviſion was very hardly conceited in England, ſo that Mr. More, grew more and more in diſlike with the company; notwithſtanding he followed the building of theſe forts ſo earneſtly, neglecting planting of corn, till their ſtore was near all conſumed, whereby they became ſo feeble and weak, ſome would not, others could not go abroad to ſeek relief, but ſtarved in their houſes, and many that went abroad, through weakneſs were ſubject to be ſuddenly ſurpriſed with a diſeaſe called feagues; which was neither pain nor ſickneſs, but as it were the higheſt degree of weakneſs, depriving them of power and ability from the execution of any bodily exerciſes, whether it were working, walking, or what elſe; being thus taken, if any preſently gave them food, many times they ſtraight recovered, yet ſome after a little reſt, would be able to walk, but if they found not preſent ſuccour, died.

About this time or immediately before, came in a company of ravens, which continued amongſt them all the time of this mortality, and then departed, which for any thing known, neither before nor ſince were ever ſeen or heard of: this with divers other reaſons, cauſed Mr. More to go out to ſea, to ſee if he could diſcover any other iſlands, but he went not far ere ill weather forced him back; and it were a noble adventure of him would undertake to make more perfect, all the dangers are about the Summer Iſles.

Thus famine and miſery cauſed Governor More to leave all his works, and ſend them abroad to get what they could; one hundred and fifty of the moſt weak and ſick he ſent to Couper's Iſle, where were ſuch infinite numbers of the birds called cahowes, which were ſo fearleſs they might take ſo many as they would, and that admired abundance of fiſh, that the extremity of their gluttony was ſuch, thoſe heavenly bleſſings they ſo conſumed and waſted by careleſneſs and ſurfeiting, many of them died upon thoſe ſilly birds that offered themſelves to the ſlaughter, which the governor underſtanding, cauſed them for change of air to be removed to Port Royal, and a company of fiſhers with a boat to relieve them with fiſh, but the gang grew ſo lazy the poor weaklings ſtill died; they that remained killed the cattle they found in the iſle, feigning the heat cauſed them to run into the ſea and ſo were drowned; ſo that the governor ſent again for them home, but ſome obtained leave ſtill to live abroad; one amongſt the reſt hid himſelf in the woods, and lived only on wilks and land-crabs, fat and luſty many months, but moſt

of them being at Saint George's, ordinarily was taken one hundred and fifty or two hundred great fiſhes daily for their food; for want of hooks and lines, the ſmith made hooks of old ſwords, and lines of old ropes, but finding all thoſe poor engines alſo decay, they ſent one of the two frigates laſt left with them for England, to tell them of this miſery. All which was now attributed to Mr. More's perverſeneſs, who at firſt when he got the ambergris had not ſuch a general applauſe, but now all the worſt could poſſibly be ſuggeſted was too good for him; yet not knowing for the preſent how to ſend a better, they let him continue ſtill, though his time was near expired, and with all ſpeed ſent the Welcome fraught with proviſion, where ſhe well arrived, and proved herſelf as welcome in deed as in name; for all thoſe extremities, Mr. Lewes Hues writeth, not one of all of thoſe threeſcore that firſt began this plantation was dead, which ſhews it was not impoſſible, but induſtry might have prevented a great part of the others ſluggiſh careleſſneſs.

This ſhip much refreſhed this miſerable colony, but Mr. More ſeeing they ſent not for him, his time being now expired, underſtanding how badly they reputed him in England, and that his employment now was more for their own ends than any good for himſelf, reſolved directly to return with his ſhip. Having ſettled all things in the beſt order he could, left the governor to the charge of the council of ſix, to ſucceed each other monthly, till they had further directions from England; whoſe names were Captain Miles Kendall, Captain John Mansfield, Thomas Knight, Charles Caldycot, Edward Waters, and Chriſtopher Carter, with twelve others, for their aſſiſtances. More thus taking leave of thoſe iſlands, arrived in England; much wrangling they had, but at laſt they confirmed him, according to promiſe, eight ſhares of land; and ſo he was diſmiſſed of his charge, with ſhew of favour, and much friendſhip.

The rule of the ſix Governors.

THE firſt thing they did was caſting of lots, who ſhould rule firſt; which lot lighted upon Mr. Caldicot. This laſt ſupply ſomewhat abated the extremity of their miſeries, and the better in that their fortifications being finiſhed, they had the more leiſure to go abroad with that means was brought to that purpoſe to fiſh. Chard, as you have heard, whom all this while More had kept priſoner, they ſet at liberty: now by reaſon of their former miſeries, little or nothing could be done; yet this governor having thus concluded his month, and prepared a frigate and two-and-thirty men, he embarked himſelf with two other of his fellow counſellors; namely, Knight and Waters, for the Weſt Indies, to get fruits and plants, goats, young cattle, and ſuch like. But this poor veſſel, whether through ill weather, or want of mariners, or both, inſtead of the Indies fell with the Canaries, where taking a poor Portugal, the which they manned with ten of their own people, as ſoon after ſeparated from her in a ſtorm, and the next day was taken by a French pickaroon, ſo that the frigate out of hope of her prize, makes a ſecond time for the Weſt Indies, where ſhe no ſooner arrived, but foundered in the ſea; but the men in their boat recovered a deſolate iſle, where after ſome few months ſtay, an Engliſh pirate took them in, and ſome of them at laſt got for England, and ſome few years after returned to the Summer Iſles.

Captain John Mansfield's month.

THE frigate thus gone, Captain Mansfield ſucceeded. Then was contrived a petition, as from the generality, unto the triumvirate governors, wherein they ſupplicated, that

that by no means they ſhould reſign the government to any ſhould come from England, upon what terms ſoever, until ſix months after the return of their ſhip ſent to the Weſt Indies; about this unwarrantable action Mr. Lewes Hues, their preacher, was ſo violent in ſuppreſſing it, that ſuch diſcontents grew betwixt the governors and him, and diviſions among the company, he was arraigned, condemned, and impriſoned, but not long detained before releaſed. Then the matter fell ſo hotly again to be diſputed betwixt him and one Mr. Keith, a Scotchman, that profeſſed ſcholarſhip, that made all the people in a great combuſtion: much ado there was, till at laſt, as they ſate in the church, and ready to proceed to judiciary courſe againſt Mr. Hues, ſuddenly ſuch an extreme guſt of wind and weather ſo ruffled in the trees and church, ſome cried out, a miracle; others, it was but an accident common in thoſe iſles, but the noiſe was ſo terrible it diſſolved the aſſembly; notwithſtanding, Mr. Hues was again impriſoned, and as ſuddenly diſcharged; but thoſe factions were ſo confuſed, and their relations ſo variable, that ſuch unneceſſary circumſtances were better omitted than any more diſputed.

This man's month thus ended, begins Mr. Carter's, which was altogether ſpent in quietneſs; and then Captain Miles Kendall had the rule, whoſe month was alſo as quietly ſpent as his predeceſſor's. Then Captain Mansfield begins his ſecond month, when the ſhip called the Edwin, arrived with good ſupplies. About this time divers boats going to ſea were loſt, and ſome men drowned; and many of the company repaired to Mr. Hues, that there might be a council according to Mr. More's order, of ſix governors and twelve aſſiſtants, whereupon grew as many more ſuch ſilly brawls as before, which at laſt concluded with as ſimple a reconciliation. In the interim, happened to a certain number of private perſons as miſerable and lamentable an accident as ever was read or heard of, and thus it was:

In the month of March, a time moſt ſubject of all others to ſuch tempeſts, on a Friday there went ſeven men in a boat of two or three tons, to fiſh. The morning being fair, ſo eager they were of their journey, ſome went faſting; neither carried they either meat or drink with them, but a few palmeta berries, but being at their fiſhing-place ſome four leagues from the ſhore, ſuch a tempeſt aroſe, they were quickly driven from the ſight of land in an overgrown ſea, deſpairing of all hope, only committing themſelves to God's mercy, let the boat drive which way ſhe would. On Sunday the ſtorm being ſomewhat abated, they hoiſted ſail, as they thought, towards the iſland. In the evening it grew ſtark calm, ſo that being too weak to uſe their oars, they lay adrift that night. The next morning Andrew Hilliard, for now all his companions were paſt ſtrength either to help him or themſelves, before a ſmall gale of wind ſpread his ſail again. On Tueſday one died, whom they threw overboard. On Wedneſday three, and on Thurſday at night the ſixth. All theſe but the laſt were buried by Hilliard in the ſea, for ſo weak he was grown he could not turn him over as the reſt, whereupon he ſtripped him, ripping his belly with his knife, throwing his bowels into the water, he ſpread his body abroad tilted open with a ſtick, and ſo let it lie as a ciſtern to receive ſome lucky rain water, and this God ſent him preſently after, ſo that in one ſmall ſhower he recovered about four ſpoonfuls of rain-water to his unſpeakable refreſhment; he alſo preſerved near half a pint of blood in a ſhoe, which he did ſparingly drink of to moiſt his mouth: two ſeveral days he fed on his fleſh, to the quantity of a pound; on the eleventh day from his loſing the ſight of land, two flying fiſhes fell in his boat, whoſe warm juicy blood he ſucked to his great comfort. But within an hour after, to his greater comfort, you will not doubt, he once again deſcried the land, and within four hours after was caſt upon a rock near to Port Royal, where his boat

was

was preſently ſplit in pieces, but himſelf, though extremely weak, made ſhift to clamber up ſo ſteep and high a rock, as would have troubled the ableſt man in the iſle to have done that by day he did by night.

Being thus aſtride on a rock, the tumbling ſea had gotten ſuch poſſeſſion in his brains, that a good while it was before his giddy head would ſuffer him to venture upon the forſaking it: towards the morning he crawls aſhore, and then to his accompliſhed joy he diſcerns where he is, and travels half a day without any refreſhment than water, whereof wiſely and temperately he ſtinted himſelf, otherwiſe certainly he had drunk his laſt. In which caſe he attains a friend's houſe, where at the firſt they took him for a ghoſt, but at laſt acknowledged and received him with joy, his ſtory (after ſome hours of recovery of ſtrength to tell it) heard out with admiration. He was not long after conveyed to the town, where he received his former health, and was living in the year 1622.

The next news that happened in this time of eaſe, was, that a merry fellow having found ſome few dollars againſt the Flemiſh wreck, the bruit went current the treaſure was found, and they all made men. Much ado there was to prevent the purloining of it, before they had it; where after they had tired themſelves with ſearching, that they found amounted not to above twenty pounds ſterling, which is not unlike but to be the remainder of ſome greater ſtore, waſhed from ſome wreck not far from the ſhore.

The company by the Edwin receiving news of the revels were kept in Summer Iſles, reſolved to make choice of a new governor, called Mr. Daniel Tucker, that a long time had been a planter in Virginia in the government of Captain Smith. All things being furniſhed for his voyage, he ſet ſail in the George, conſorted with the Edwin, with many paſſengers, which being diſcovered by them in thoſe iſles, they ſuppoſed them the frigate ſent to the Weſt Indies; but when they underſtood what they were, much preparation they made to reſiſt the new governor. Many great oſtentations appeared on both ſides, but when the *quondam* governor did ſee his men for moſt part forſake him, all was very well and quietly compounded, and with much kindneſs received and welcomed aſhore, where his commiſſion was no ſooner read, than they accepted and acknowledged him for their governor.

The Government of Captain Daniel Tucker.

ABOUT the midſt of May arrived this governor, where finding the inhabitants both abhorring all exacted labour, as alſo in a manner diſdaining and grudging much to be commanded by him, it could not but paſſionate any man living. But at laſt, according to the Virginia order, he ſet every one was with him at Saint Georges, to his taſk, to clear grounds, fell trees, ſet corn, ſquare timber, plant vines and other fruits brought out of England. Theſe by their taſk-maſters by break of day repaired to the wharf, from thence to be employed to the place of their employment, till nine of the clock, and then in the afternoon from three till ſun-ſet. Beſide meat, drink, and cloaths, they had for a time a certain kind of braſs money with a hog on the one ſide, in memory of the abundance of hogs found at their firſt landing.

This courſe thus ſquared, imitating divers orders uſed in Virginia, by Sir Thomas Dale: he began by them to look into his inſtructions given by the company. Whereupon by one Mr. Richard Norwood a ſurveyor, ſent over for that purpoſe, in the time of Mr. Moore, he began to lay out the eight tribes in the main, which were to conſiſt of fifty ſhares to a tribe; and twenty-five acres to every ſhare. He alſo began to plant ſome

ſome colony men, on ſome of the eſpecial ſhares. He ſwore alſo certain of the chief men of every tribe to be bailiffs thereof; and appointed as many men as he was able for all ſupplied ſhares. The goods landed in the ſtore-houſes he ſent from thence, and diſperſed it to his workmen in general: ſome boats alſo began to be built; but the pinnace called the Thomas ſuſpected might make an eſcape, was laid up in a dock, where ſhe yet remaineth.

In the beginning of the ſecond month of his government, he directed warrants to all the bailiffs, for the holding of a general aſſize at Saint Georges, and appointed Mr. Stokes lieutenant of the King's caſtle at the Gurnet's Head. The Edwin came with him he ſent to the Weſt Indies, by directions from England, to trade with the natives for cattle, corn, plants, and other commodities. A courſe of great importance, which had it been purſued, would certainly have produced more hopeful effects for the good of the colony, than all the ſupplies and magazines from England hath or will in a long time.

Preſently after her departure began the aſſizes, executed by his deputy. The chief matter handled was the hanging one John Wood, a Frenchman, for ſpeaking many diſtaſteful and mutinous ſpeeches againſt the governor, to ſhew the reſt by that example the power of his authority, which after with his own hands he ſo often executed with a baſtinado amongſt the poorer ſort; many termed it a cruelty, not much leſs than tyranny; but the ſequel is more than ſtrange.

So it was that five of them, ſeeing by no means they could get paſſage for England, reſolved to undergo all hazards but they would make an eſcape from ſuch ſervitude. The chief mariner and plotter of this buſineſs was Richard Sanders, and his confederates, William Goodwin, a ſhip-carpenter, Thomas Hariſon, a joiner, James Barker, a gentleman, and Henry Puet. Theſe repairing to the governor, and with pleaſing inſinuations told him, if he would allow them but things neceſſary, they would build him a boat of two or three tons, with a cloſe deck, ſhould go a-fiſhing all weathers. The governor half proud that he had brought his men to ſo good a paſs, as he conceived, to offer themſelves to ſo neceſſary a work, inſtantly with all willingneſs furniſhed them with all things they could deſire, and many fair promiſes to encourage them to perform it with all expedition. Having made choice of a place moſt fit from moleſtation, they went forward with that expedition, that in a ſhort time ſhe was brought to perfection. By this time, the ſhip that brought the governor being ready to depart, he ſends a luſty gang to go fetch his new boat to carry him aboard, but arriving at the place where ſhe was built, they could hear no more of her, but ſhe was gone the laſt evening to ſea, to try how ſhe would ſail. Much ſearch and diſpute was where this boat ſhould be, but at laſt they found divers letters in the cabins to this effect, directed to the governor, and other their friends, "that their hard and bad uſage was ſo intolerable, and their hope ſo ſmall ever again to ſee their country, or be delivered from ſuch ſervitude, they did rather chooſe to put themſelves to that deſperate hazard to go for England, in which if they miſcarried, as it was much to be miſtruſted, their lives and bloods ſhould be required at their hands was the cauſe." A compaſs dial Barker had borrowed of Mr. Hues, to whom he wrote that as he had often perſuaded them to patience, and that God would pay them though none did, he muſt now be contented with the loſs of his dial, with his own doctrine. Such leiſure they found to be merry when in the eye of reaſon they were marching into a moſt certain ruin. The governor being thus ſatisfied of their eſcape, extremely threatened them no leſs than a hanging, but the ſtorms of the ocean they now more feared than him; good proviſion by bartering they had got from the ſhip, where Goodwin in a

bravado, told the mariners, though he could not be permitted to go with them, yet peradventure he might be in England before them; whereat the maſter and his mate laughed merrily. But having now been under ſail three weeks, the winds ſo favoured them, they felt nothing of what they had cauſe to fear: then a bluſtering gale blowing in their teeth put them to much extremity for divers days, then becoming more gentle, away they paſt proſperouſly ſome eight or ten days more, till meeting a French piccaroon, of whom they deſired ſuccour, he, like himſelf, took from them what he liked, leaving them not ſo much as a croſs-ſtaff to obſerve withal, and ſo caſt them off: their courſe ſtill they continued till their victuals began to fall to the loweſt ebb, and the very knees of their ſmall veſſel were half hewed away for fire-wood. At laſt to their infinite joy they arrived in Ireland, where the Earl of Tomund honourably entertained them, and cauſed the boat to be hung up for a monument, and well ſhe might, for ſhe had ſailed more than three thouſand three hundred miles by a right line through the main ſea, without any ſight of land, and I think, ſince God made the world, the like navigation was never done, nor heard of. This fortunate Sanders going to the Eaſt Indies, in the rifling ſome ſhips there took, it was his chance to buy an old cheſt for three or four ſhillings, but becauſe it wanted a key he repented his bargain, and would gladly have ſold it again for leſs: a certain time it lay toſſed to and fro as a thing he little regarded, but at laſt having little to do, he broke it open, where he found a thouſand pounds ſterling, or ſo much gold as bought him in England a good eſtate, which leaving with his wife he returned again to the Eaſt Indies.

The George ſetting ſail three days after this eſcape, the governor ſeized and confiſcated all that thoſe fugitives left behind them. Within a week after returned the Edwin from the Weſt Indies, furniſhed with figs, pines, ſugar-canes, plaintains, papanes, and divers other plants, which were preſently replanted, and ſince increaſed into greater numbers, alſo an Indian and a negro, and ſo much ligna vitæ as defrayed all the charge. The governor thus buſied amongſt his plants, making hedges of fig-trees and pomegranates, and ſeveral diviſions by paliſadoes for the defence of their guarding and keeping their cattle, for in ſuch huſbandry qualities he well deſerved great commendations. The adventurers, to ſupply him, ſent with all ſpeed they could the Hopewell, a ſmall bark, but an excellent ſailer, and in her one Captain Powell, an excellent mariner, and well acquainted in the Indies, where he was to go trade, after he had landed his paſſengers in the Summer Iſles; but in his journey at the Weſtern Iſles meeting a Brazil-man, he liked the ſugar and paſſengers ſo well, he manned the carvel with his own men, and continued his courſe; but bethinking himſelf how this would be entertained at the Summer Iſles, he found ſuch doubts, he went directly for the Weſt Indies, to take time to reſolve what to do: arriving there, he met a French rover, one every way as cunning as himſelf, but much more treacherous. A great league of kindneſs is ſoon made between them, upon confidence whereof, Powell, and ſome of the chief with him, being invited aboard him, is eaſily enticed, and in the midſt of their cups both he and his company treacherouſly made priſoners, and thus was forced to give him their prize, or hang at the yard-arm with all his company. Having ſet them aſhore, away goes the Frenchman; Powell's ſhip being but hard by, preſently fetched them all aboard, but finding his victuals near ſpent, and no hope at all to recover his prize, ſet his Portugueſe on ſhore, and ſet ſail for the Summer Iſles; where ſafely arriving, he declared the whole paſſage to the governor, leſt ſome other in telling might make it worſe, of which the governor ſeemed well enough to approve.

This governor ſtill ſpent his time in good huſbandry, although ſome of the ſnarling ſort here in England, whom nothing will pleaſe, writ to him, he was fitter to be a gardener than a governor: ſome time he ſpent in digging of a great pond, but that work proved altogether unprofitable. About that time was held the ſecond aſſize. The greateſt matter paſſed, was a proclamation againſt the ſpoil of Cahowes, but it came too late, for they were moſt deſtroyed before; a platform he cauſed to be erected by Pagit's Fort, where a good fort was very neceſſary. Captain Powell not having performed his ſervice in the Weſt Indies he conditioned with the company, is ſent thither again by this governor, and thirteen or fourteen of his beſt men, furniſhed with all things neceſſary. In the mean time, the company underſtanding that in January, February, and March, there are many whales, for which fiſhing they ſent the Neptune, a tall ſhip, well provided with every thing fitting for that purpoſe; but before ſhe arrived, Captain Tuckar, who had brought alſo with him more proviſions for that employment, ſent three good ſhallops to try what could be done; but whether it was the ſwiftneſs of the whale in ſwimming, or the condition of the place, certain it is, for all their labour and hazard, they could kill none, though they ſtruck many.

To begin his ſecond year, he called the third aſſize, where divers were puniſhed as their faults deſerved: three were condemned to die; two were reprieved, but the third was hanged: the next day there was alſo a levy for the repairing two forts; but that labour took not ſuch effect as was intended, for want of good directions.

But the great God of Heaven being angry at ſomewhat happened in thoſe proceedings, cauſed ſuch an increaſe of ſilly rats in the ſpace of two years ſo to abound, before they regarded them, that they filled not only thoſe places where they were firſt landed, but ſwimming from place to place, ſpread themſelves into all parts of the country, inſomuch that there was no iſland but it was peſtered with them; and ſome fiſhes have been taken with rats in their bellies, which they caught in ſwimming from iſle to iſle; their neſts they had almoſt in every tree, and in moſt places their burrows in the ground like conies; they ſpared not the fruits of the plants or trees, nor the very plants themſelves, but ate them up. When they had ſet their corn, the rats would come by troops in the night, and ſcratch it out of the ground. If by diligent watch any eſcaped till it came to earing, it ſhould then very hardly eſcape them; and they became noiſome even to the very perſons of men. They uſed all the diligence they could for the deſtroying of them, nouriſhing cats, both wild and tame, for that purpoſe; they uſed ratſbane, and many times ſet fire on the woods, that often ran half a mile before it was extinct; every man was enjoined to ſet twelve traps, and ſome of their own accord have ſet near an hundred, which they ever viſited twice or thrice in a night; they alſo trained up their dogs to hunt them, wherein they became ſo expert, that a good dog in two or three hours would kill forty or fifty. Many other devices they uſed to deſtroy them, but could not prevail, finding them ſtill increaſing againſt them; nay, they ſo devoured the fruits of the earth, that they were deſtitute of bread for a year or two; ſo that when they had it afterwards, they were ſo weaned from it, they eaſily neglected to eat it with their meat. Beſides, they endeavoured ſo much for the planting tobacco for preſent gain, that they neglected many things might more have prevailed for their good, which cauſed amongſt them much weakneſs and mortality, ſince the beginning of theſe vermin.

At laſt it pleaſed God, but by what means it is not well known, to take them away, inſomuch that the wild-cats and many dogs which lived on them, were famiſhed, and many of them leaving the woods, came down to their houſes, and to ſuch places where

they uſe to garbiſh their fiſh, and became tame. Some have attributed the deſtruction of them to the increaſe of wild-cats, but that is not likely they ſhould be ſo ſuddenly increaſed rather at that time than four years before; and the chief occaſion of this ſuppoſition was, becauſe they ſaw ſome companies of them leave the woods, and ſlew themſelves for want of food: others by the coldneſs of winter, which notwithſtanding is never ſo great there as with us in March, except it be in the wind: beſides, the rats wanted not the feathers of young birds and chickens, which they daily killed, and palmeta moſs to build themſelves warm neſts out of the wind, as uſually they did; neither doth it appear that the cold was ſo mortal to them, ſeeing they would ordinarily ſwim from place to place, and be very fat even in the midſt of winter. It remaineth then, that as God doth ſometimes effect his will without ſubordinate and ſecondary cauſes, ſo we need not doubt, but that in the ſpeedy increaſe of theſe vermin, as alſo by the preſervation of ſo many of them by ſuch weak means as they then enjoyed, and eſpecially in the ſo ſudden removal of this great annoyance, there was joined with, and beſides the ordinary and manifeſt means, a more immediate and ſecret work of God.

About this time, Henry Long, with ſeven others, in an extreme ſtorm were caſt away, but three of them eſcaped: one of them being aſked what he thought in the worſt of that extremity? anſwered, he thought nothing but gallows claim thy right: and it ſeems, God well heard his heard his prayer, and rewarded his ingratitude, for he was hanged within half a year after. In that March alſo five men went to ſea, but as yet was never heard of, and three more drowned in a boat. By Hilliard's houſe grew a very fair cedar, which by a thunder-clap was rent almoſt to ſmall ſhivers, and a man ſtood by him, and Samuel Tanton, moſt fearfully blaſted, yet neither they, the houſe, nor a little child, yet a pair of racks in the houſe was all torn to fitters. The Neptune not long after arriving to fiſh for whale, her fortune proved no better than the governor's, yet ſome are of opinion, profit might be made by them.

In May they deſcried four ſail, ſo that manning all their forts, they ſtood two days in arms, expecting what they were; at laſt they found it Mr. Powell, returned from the Weſt Indies, in the Hopewell, where miſſing ſuch trade as he expected, theſe three frigates coming in his way, he could not chuſe but take them; meal, hides, and ammunition was their lading: fair weather the governor made with Powell, till he had got all the goods into his own poſſeſſion, and then called Powell to a ſtrict account for doing ſuch an unwarrantable act; much ado then was betwixt the taker and receiver; but Powell was glad to be excuſed to anſwer it in England, leaving all he had taken behind him in the iſles: the Neptune alſo returned with him, but noble Powell loſt all his pay and pillage for this year's work. For which the company ſent for to Tuckar, ſo that he alſo loſt his part as well as Powell: notwithſtanding, the governor by this means being ſtrong in ſhipping, fitted the carvel with twelve men, under the command of Edward Waters, formerly ſpoken of, and ſent them to Virginia about ſuch buſineſs as he had conceived. Arriving there, they obtained ſome goats and hogs, and what they could ſpare, and ſo returned for the Summer Iſles; but whether they could not find the iſles for want of ſkill, or beaten off by ill weather, or the ill-will they bare the governor, it matters not much; but they bare up again for Virginia, where they all remained, and would return no more to Summer Iſles.

The governor thinking to make ſome uſe of the hides, ſet ſome that profeſſed themſelves tanners, to make trial of their ſkill; but they loſt their labours, and ſpoiled the hides. Alſo he called another aſſize, concerning a poor fellow called Gabriel, for concealing ſome ſpeeches M. Pollard and M. Rich ſhould uſe, tending to the diſrepu-

tation

tation of the governor, and his injuſtice and cruelties; which being brought within the compaſs of ſedition and mutiny, though a year ago, many were called in queſtion about it, although every one ordinarily had ſpoke as much. Yet Gabriel, for example ſake, was condemned to be hanged, and was upon the ladder, but reprieved. The other two, M. Pollard and M. Rich, were impriſoned; but upon better conſideration, the fact appeared ſo ſmall and ridiculous, upon their ſubmiſſion, they were pardoned, and reſtored to their places.

The Diviſion of the Summer Iſles into Tribes, by Mr. Richard Norwood, Surveyor.

ACCORDING to the directions of the Council and Company, as they had determined by lot, Mr. Norwood took a plot of the iſle, and divided it with as much faithfulneſs as he could, aſſigning to every adventurer his ſhare or proportion; as namely, to lay out a large proportion, to be called the general land, and employed for public uſes, as for the maintenance of the governor, miniſters, commanders of forts, ſoldiers, and ſuch like: and to this end was aſſigned Saint George's Iſland, Saint David's Iſland, Longbridge Iſland, Smith's Iſland, Cooper's Iſland, Cony Iſland, Noneſuch Iſland, part of the main, and ſundry other ſmall iſles. The reſt was to be divided into eight parts, each part to be called a tribe, and to have his denomination of ſome principal perſon that was adventurer therein: and accordingly, the firſt tribe to be eaſtward was then called Bedford's Tribe, now Hamilton's; the ſecond, Smith's tribe; the third, Cavendiſh, now Devonſhire's; the fourth, Pembroke's; the fifth, Paget's; the ſixth, Manſil's, now Warwick's; the ſeventh, Southampton; the eighth, Sands: in the honours of the Right Honourable the Marquis Hamilton, Sir Thomas Smith, the Earl of Devonſhire, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Paget, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Southampton, and Sir Edwin Sands. Again, each of thoſe tribes were to be divided into fifty parts, called ſhares; and every adventurer to have his ſhares in theſe tribes as was determined, by caſting lots in England: the manner of it appears by the map, and more largely by his book of the ſurvey of the country, which is in the records of the colony. And then began this which was before as you have heard, but as an unſettled and confuſed chaos, to receive a diſpoſition, form, and order, and become indeed a plantation.

The Names of the Adventurers, and their Shares in every Tribe, according to the Survey, and the beſt Information yet aſcertained of any of their Alterations.

Hamilton's Tribe.

	Shares.
James, L. Marquis Hamilton	6
Sir Edward Harwood	4
Mr. John Delbridge	3
Mr. John Dike	3
Mr. Ellis Roberts	2
Mr. Robert Phips	1
Mr. Ralph King	1
Mr. Quick's aſſignees	2
Mr. William Cannig	4
Mr. William Cannig	1
Mr. William Web	1
Mr. John Bernard's aſſignees	2
Mr. Elias Roberts, jun.	1
Mr. John Gearing	2
Mr. Cleophas Smith	2
Robert, Earl of Warwick	4
Mr. Thomas Covell	3
Mr. Greenwel's aſſignees	1
Mr. Cley	1
Mr. Powlſon	2
Mr. John Dike	1½

Common

	Shares.
Common land for conveniency	25
Mr. John Dike	1½
Mr. George Thorp's aſſignees	1

2. Smith's Tribe.

Sir Dudley Dig's aſſignees	2
Mr. Richard Edwards	2
Mr. William Pane	4
Mr. Robert Smith	2
Mr. George Barclay's aſſignees	5
Sir Samuel Sands	1
Mr. Anthony Penniſtone	4
Sir Edwin Sands	5
Sir Thomas Smith	5
Mr. Richard More	4
Mr. Ad. Brumfield	2
Mr. Robert Johnſon, Alderman	5
Mr. John Wroth	3
Mr. George Smith	4

3. Devonſhire Tribe.

Mr. Anth. Peniſtone	2
Mr. John Dike	1
Mr. John Dike	1
Mr. John Bernard's heirs	2
Robert, Earl of Warwick	2
Mr. Francis Weſt	2
William, Lord Cavendiſh	5
William, Earl of Devonſhire	5
Mr. Edward Luckin	5
Mr. Edward Ditchfield	1
Mr. Edward Ditchfield	4
Mr. William Nicols	2
Mr. Edward Ditchfield	1
Mr. John Fletcher	2
Mr. Gideon Delawne	2
Mr. Anth. Penniſtone	3
Mr. Beſt	2
Mr. Edward Luckin	2
Mr. Richard Rogers	2
Mr. William Palmer	4

4. Pembroke's Tribe.

Mr. George Smith	4
Glebe land	2
Mr. Nicholas Hide	1
Sir Lawrence Hide	1
Mr. Thomas Judwyn	2
William, Earl of Pembroke	10
Mr. Richard Edwards	1
Mr. Harding	1
Mr. Richard Edwards	1
Mr. Elias Roberts	1
Mr. Richard Edwards	1
Mr. Jacobſon's aſſignees	1
Mr. John Farrar	1
Mr. Nicholas Farrar	1
Mr. Nicholas Farrar	1
Mr. William Canning	2
Mr. Richard Martin	2
Mr. Moris Abbot	2
Mr. Richard Caſwell	1
Mr. Richard Caſwell	2
Mr. William Caſwell	1
Mr. Richard Edwards	2
Mr. Richard Caſwell	1
Mr. Richard Edwards	1
Mr. George Sands' aſſignees	2
Mr. William Paine	2

5. Paget's Tribe.

Mr. John Chamberlaine	5
Mr. Tho. Ayres and Mr. Rich. Wiſeman	4
Mr. Richard Wiſeman	1
William, Lord Paget	10
Mr. William Palmer	4
Mr. Bagnell	5
Mr. John Bale	1
Mr. Wheatley	4
Mr. Chriſtopher Barron	4
Mr. John Wodall	1
Mr. John Wodall	1
Mr. Lewis	2
Mr. Owen Arthor's aſſignees	2
Mr. George Etheridge	4
	2
Sir William Wade	1
Mr. John Bernard's heirs	1

6. Warwick's Tribe.

Mr. Wheatley	2
Captain Daniel Tucker	2
Mr. William Felgate	1
Robert, Earl of Warwick	5

Mr.

	Shares.
Mr. George Smith	5
Mr. Samuel Tickner	2
Mr. Francis Mevell	1
Mr. Stephen Sparrow	1
Mr. Joſeph Man	5
Captain Daniel Tucker	2
Mr. Elias More	1
Doctor Anthony Hunton	2
Mr. Francis Moverill	1
Mr. Richard Poulſon	1
Mr. Matthew Shephard	1
Mr. George Tucker	10
Mr. Ch. Clitheroe	1
Mr. George Swinow	2
Mr. Richard Tomlings	1
Mr. Francis Meverill	1
Mr. John Waters	2
Mr. Martin Bond	2

7. Southampton's Tribe.

Captain Daniel Tucker	4
Mr. John Britton	1
Mr. Richard Chamberland	3
Mr. Leon. Harwood's aſſignees	1
Mr. John Banks	1
Sir Nathaniel Rich	12
Robert, Earl of Warwick	3
Mr. Richard More	6
Mr. George Scot, Mr. Edward Scot, and Mr. Anthony Abdy	6
Henry, Earl of Southampton	4
Mr. Andrew Broumfield	2
Mr. Henry Timbed	2
Sir Thomas Hewet	2
Mr. Perce	1
Sir Ralph Winwood	2

8. Sandy's Tribe.

Mr. George Barcklie's heirs	5
Sir Edwin Sands	5
Mr. Jerom Hidon	10
Mr. Tho. Millin and Mr. John Cuffe	2
Mr. Robert Chamberlaine	2
Mr. Abraham Chamberlaine	1
Mr. George Smith	2
Mr. Robert Gore	3
Sir Edward Sackvile	1
Sir John Davers	1
Mr. Robert Gore	2
Mr. John Delbridge	1
Mr. John Wroth	1
Mr. John Weſt's heirs	4
Mr. Richard Chamberlaine	10

Touching the common ground in each tribe, as alſo the overplus, you may find that at large in the book of ſurveys amongſt their records.

Now, though the country was ſmall, yet they could not conveniently have been diſpoſed and well ſettled, without a true deſcription and a ſurvey of it; and again, every man being ſettled where he might conſtantly abide, they knew their buſineſs, and fitted their houſehold accordingly: then they built no more cabins, but ſubſtantial houſes, they cleared their grounds, and planted not only ſuch things as would yield them their fruits in a few months, but alſo ſuch as would afford them profit within a few years; ſo that in a ſhort time the country began to aſpire, and nearly approach unto that happineſs and proſperity wherein now it flouriſheth, &c.

But to follow the hiſtory, upon the beſt plot of ground could be found, the governor prevailed ſo much with the generality, they built a fair houſe of cedar, which being done, he appropriated it to himſelf, which occaſioned exceeding much diſtaſte. About this time arrived the Diana, with a good ſupply of men and proviſion, and the firſt magazine ever ſeen in thoſe iſles; which courſe is not ſo much commended here, as curſed and abhorred by reaſon of enhancements of all the inhabitants there; ſix or ſeven weeks this ſhip ſtaid, then having towards her freight thirty thouſand weight of tobacco; which proving good, and coming to a lucky market, gave great encouragement to the adventurers to go luſtily forward in their plantation, and without ſuch ſucceſs, there is nothing but grudging and repining. But about the appropriation of this new-built houſe, many bad diſcontents grew betwixt the oppreſſed colony and the governor,

governor, eſpecially betwixt him and the miniſter, and Lewes, who would neither be feared with threats nor impriſonment, that their malice continued till they met in England, of which the miniſter made the cauſe ſo plain, he very well and honeſtly, it ſeems, diſcharged himſelf.

Now in thoſe times of theſe endleſs uncivil broils, two deſperate men and a proper gentlewoman got into a boat, and thinking to make an eſcape to Virginia, as appeared by ſome letters they left behind them, were never more heard on. The very next month after, the like was attempted by ſix others, ſo deſirous they were to be rid of their ſervitude; but their plot being diſcovered by one of their ſociety, they were apprehended, arraigned, and condemned to be hanged; the next day being led with halters about their necks to the place of execution, one was hanged, and the reſt reprieved.

The Diana arriving well in England, for all the infinite numbers of complaints, the tobacco did help to ſweeten all manner of grievances, yet it bred a diſtaſte in the opinions of ſo many, they began to think of another governor; but for that time it was ſo qualified by divers of his friends, they diſpatched away the Bleſſing, which arrived in the Summer Iſles. Though their general letter was fair and courteous to the governor, yet by the report of the paſſengers and divers particular letters from his friends, it was aſſured him his cruelty and covetouſneſs, for all his pains and induſtry, was much diſliked, nor was he like to enjoy his houſe, and that land he had planted for himſelf, by the extreme oppreſſion of the commonalty. This cauſed ſo many jealouſies to ariſe in his conceit, that at laſt he fully reſolved to return by this ſhip, that no ſooner ſet ſail from England, than they proceeded to the nomination of a new governor. Many were preſented according to the affections of thoſe that were to give in their voices, but it chiefly reſted betwixt one Captain Southwell, and one Mr. Nathaniel Butler, where we will leave them awhile to the conſideration of the court and company. Now Captain Tuckar having inſtituted Captain Kendall one of the ſix governors (before ſpoken of) for his ſubſtitute, returned with this ſhip directly for England, as well to excuſe himſelf of thoſe objections he ſuſpected, as to get aſſured him the houſe and land he had allotted for himſelf, leſt it might otherwiſe be diſpoſed of in his abſence.

Collected out of their records by N. B. and the relations of Mr. POLLARD, and divers others.

The Government of Captain Miles Kendall, Deputy for Captain Tuckar.

THE unexpected return of Captain Tuckar cauſed a demur in the election of the new governor; ſome perſuading theſe oft changes were ſo troubleſome, dangerous, and chargeable, it were beſt to continue Captain Kendall; others again ſtood for Captain Tuckar; but during the time of theſe opinions, the Gilliflower was diſpatched with a ſupply. Now I ſhould have remembered, Tuckar was no ſooner out of the harbour, but he met Mr. Elfred, in a ſhip called the Treaſurer, ſent from Virginia to trade: by her he writ to his deputy, Mr. Kendall, to have a care of all things, and beware of too much acquaintance with this ſhip, which he ſuſpected was bound for the Weſt Indies. Notwithſtanding, Elfred received what kindneſs the iſle could afford; he promiſed to reviſit them at his return; this done, becauſe they would not be governleſs when his deputyſhip was expired, there was a general aſſembly, and by that election Kendall was confirmed to ſucceed ſtill governor. Now they began to apply themſelves to the finiſhing ſome platform about Smith's fort, and laying the foundation of a church

to be built of cedar, till the Gilliflower arrived with ſome private letters to Kendall, how he was elected governor of thoſe iſles for three years. During her ſtay, they held their aſſizes, where, for ſome few ſuſpected facts, three were condemned, and the better to terrify the reſt, led to the place of execution, but reprieved; divers of the reſt had their faults pardoned, and the Gilliflower ſet ſail for Newfoundland.

The love and kindneſs, honeſty and induſtry of this Captain Kendall hath been very much commended, by others ſomewhat diſliked; but an angel in thoſe employments cannot pleaſe all men; yet this conſideration bred much ill blood as well here as there, ſo that the company directly concluded, Captain Butler ſhould, with what expedition they could, go to be their governor: in the interim, they took the opportunity of a ſhip, called the Seaflower, bound for Virginia, and by her ſent a preacher and his family, with divers paſſengers, and news of a new governor. This bred a great diſtaſte amongſt many, that ſtill they ſhould have new officers and ſtrangers for their governors they never heard of, and themſelves ſttll kept there whether they would or no, without any preferment, no, nor ſcarce any of them there inhabiting, to have any land at all of their own, but live all as tenants, or as other men's poor ſervants.

About this time came in Captain Kerby with a ſmall bark, from the Weſt Indies, who having refreſhed himſelf, was very kindly uſed by the governor, and ſo departed. Not long after, a Dutch frigate was caſt away upon the weſtern ſhore; yet, by the help of the Engliſh, they ſaved the men, though the ſhip periſhed amongſt the rocks. A little after, one Enſign Wood being about the loading of a piece, by thruſting a pike into the concavity, grating upon the ſhot, or ſomewhat about the powder, ſtruck fire within her, and ſo diſcharged, but wounded him cruelly, and blew him into the ſea, though he was got out by ſome that ſtood by him, yet he died of thoſe wounds. Within two or three days after, Captain Elfred now comes in a ſecond time; but of that we ſhall ſay more in the government of Captain Butler, who preſently after arrived with a good ſupply, and was kindly entertained by Captain Kendall and all the colony.

From a relation of THO. SPARKES, and divers others.

The Government of Captain Nathaniel Butler.

CAPTAIN Butler being arrived the 20th of October 1619, ſome mutterings there was how to maintain their election of Captain Kendall, but better remembering themſelves, that conceit quickly diſſolved. The next day, Kendall, the miniſters, and the council went aboard to ſalute the new governor, where, after they had dined with the beſt entertainment he could give them, they ſaw the redoubt belonging to the King's caſtle by a miſchance on fire, whither he repaired with all the means he could to quench it; but all the platform and carriages were conſumed before their faces, and they could not help it. Two days after he went up to the town, had his commiſſion publicly read, made a ſhort ſpeech to the company, and ſo took upon him the government. Then preſently he began to repair the moſt neceſſary defects: the next month came in the Garland, ſent from England ſix or ſeven weeks before him; ſo that being ſeventeen weeks in her voyage, it was ſo tedious and grievous to divers of the freſh-water paſſengers, that ſuch a ſickneſs bred amongſt them, many died, as well ſailors as paſſengers. Having taken the beſt order he could for their releaſe, paſſed through all the tribes, and held his firſt aſſize in Captain Tuckar's houſe at the overplus. Towards the laſt of this month of November, there aroſe a moſt terrible ſtorm or hericano, that blew up many great trees by the roots: the Warwick, that brought the governor, was caſt

caſt away, but the Garland rid by her, ſaved herſelf by cutting down her maſts; and not long after, a ſecond ſtorm, no leſs violent than the firſt, wherein the mount, which was a frame of wood built by Mr. More, for a watch-tower to look out to ſea, was blown up by the roots, and all that winter crop of corn blaſted; and thus was the new governor welcomed.

With the beginning of the new year he began his firſt piece of fortification upon a rock which flanks the King's caſtle, and finding the ſhip called the Treaſurer ſtark rotten and unſerviceable, he took nine pieces of ordnance from her to ſerve other uſes. The Garland, for want of means, could not make her voyage to Virginia, as ſhe was appointed; wherefore he entertained her to return to England, with all the tobacco they had in the iſle. It was January before ſhe departed, in which time ſhe failed not much to have been twice caſt away; but thoſe ſtrange and unavoidable miſchances rather ſeemed to quicken the governor's induſtry than to dull it. Having finiſhed the church begun by Captain Kendall, with an infinite toil and labour he got three pieces out of the wreck Warwick; having an excellent Dutch carpenter, he entertained of them that were caſt away in the Dutch frigate, he employed him in building of boats, whereof they were in exceeding great want. In February they diſcovered a tall ſhip beating to and again, as it ſeemed by her working, being ignorant of the coaſt: ſome thought her a Spaniard, to view their forts, which ſtand moſt to that part ſhe ſo nearly approached; ſome Engliſh, but the moſt ſome Dutch man of war; the wind blew ſo high, they durſt not ſend out a boat, though they much doubted ſhe would be foul of their rocks, but at laſt ſhe bore up rommy for the ſea, and we heard of her no more. That evening, a lucky fellow it ſhould ſeem he was, that found a piece of ambergris of eight ounces, as he had twice before, which bringing to the governor, he had ready money for the one half, after three pounds an ounce, according to their order of court, to encourage others to look out for more, and prevent that miſchief enſueth by concealing of it.

Within a few days after, they deſcried two frigates, that came cloſe to the ſhore, and ſent a letter to the governor, writ in Italian, that they were Hollanders, had been in the Weſt Indies, and deſired but to arrive, refreſh themſelves with wood and water, and ſo begone. The governor forthwith ſent them to underſtand, that being there under His Majeſty of England, to command thoſe iſles, he was to carry himſelf a friend to his friends, and an enemy to his enemies; if therefore he could ſhew a lawful commiſſion for his being honeſtly and nobly employed, he and his ſhould be kindly welcome, otherwiſe they were to adventure at their perils. But his commiſſion was ſo good, he ſtaid there two months, and was ſo well fitted with oil and bacon, they were all glad and happy of this Dutch Captain Scoutan's arrival, with many thanks to their old friend Captain Powell, that had conducted him thither: the colony being exceedingly in great want and diſtreſs, bought the moſt part of it at reaſonable rates; ſo Captain Scoutan returned to the Weſt Indies, and Captain Powell, for his part, in the Low Countries. Whilſt theſe things were in action, the adventurers in England made many a long look for their ſhips; at laſt, the Garland brought them all the news, but the tobacco was ſo ſpoiled, either in the leaking ſhip, or the making up, it cauſed a great ſuſpicion there could be none was good come from thoſe iſles; where, (were they but perfect in the cure) queſtionleſs it would be much better than a great quantity of that they ſell for verinas, and many a thouſand of it in London hath been bought and ſold by that title.

The governor being clear of thoſe diſtractions, falls upon the reſtoring of the burnt redoubt, where he cuts out a large new platform, and mounts ſeven great pieces of

ordnance upon new carriages of cedar. Now amongſt all thoſe troubles, it was not the leaſt to bring the two miniſters to ſubſcribe to the Book of Common Prayer, which all the biſhops in England could not do. Finding it high time to attempt ſome conformity, bethought himſelf of the Liturgy of Guernſey and Jerſey, wherein all thoſe particulars they ſo much ſtumbled at, were omitted. No ſooner was this propounded, but it was gladly embraced by them both, whereupon the governor tranſlated it verbatim out of French into Engliſh, and cauſed the eldeſt miniſter upon Eaſter-day to begin the uſe thereof at St. George's Town, where himſelf, moſt of the council, officers, and auditory, received the ſacrament; the which form they continued during the time of his government.

Much about this time, in ſuch a fair morning that had invited many boats far out to the ſea to fiſh, did riſe ſuch a hurricane that much endangered them all, ſo that one of them with two boys was driven to ſea, and never more heard of. The miniſters thus agreed, a proclamation was publiſhed for keeping of the ſabbath, and all the defective carriages he endeavoured to have renewed, built a ſmall boat of cedar only to go with oars, to be ready upon any occaſion to diſcover any ſhipping, and took order every fort ſhould have the like; alſo cauſed numbers of cedars to be brought from divers places in floats, to rebuild the mount, which with an unſpeakable toil was raiſed ſeven feet higher than before, and a falcon mounted at the foot, to be always diſcharged for a warning to all the forts, upon the diſcovery of any ſhipping, and this he called Rich Mount. This exceeding toil and labour, having no cattle, but only men's ſtrength, cauſed many petitions to the governor, that all thoſe general works might ceaſe till they had reaped their harveſts, in that they were in great diſtreſs for victuals, which he ſo well anſwered, their own ſhames did cauſe them to deſiſt from that importunity, and voluntarily perform as much as he required.

Finding accidentally a little croſs erected in a bye-place, amongſt a many of buſhes, underſtanding there was buried the heart and entrails of Sir George Summers, he reſolved to have a better memory for ſo worthy a ſoldier than that: ſo finding alſo a great marble ſtone brought out of England, he cauſed it by maſons to be wrought handſomely, and laid over the place, which he environed with a ſquare wall of hewn ſtone, tomb like; wherein he cauſed to be graven this epitaph he had compoſed, and fixed it upon the marble ſtone; and thus it was:

In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eleven,
Noble Sir George Summers went hence to heaven;
Whoſe well tried worth that held him ſtill employed,
Gave him the knowledge of the world ſo wide.
Hence 'twas by heaven's decree, that to this place
He brought new gueſts, and name to mutual grace,
At laſt his ſoul and body being to part,
He here bequeath'd his entrails and his heart.

Upon the ſixth of June began the ſecond aſſize, that reduced them to the direct form uſed in England. For beſides the governor and council, they have the bailiffs of the tribes, in nature of the deputy-lieutenants of the ſhires in England, for to them are all precepts and warrants directed, and accordingly anſwered and reſpected; they perform alſo the duties of juſtices of peace, within their limits. The ſubordinate officers to theſe in every tribe, are the conſtables, head-boroughs, and church-wardens; theſe are the triers of the tobacco, which if they allow not to be merchantable, is burnt; and theſe are the executioners of their civil and politic cauſes.

For

For points of war and martial affairs, they have the governor for lieutenant-general, the ſerjeant-major, maſter of ordnance, captains of companies, captains of forts, with their ſeveral officers, to train and exerciſe thoſe numbers under their charge, in martial diſcipline.

Concerning their courts for deciſion of right and juſtice, the firſt, though laſt in conſtitution, is their general aſſembly; allowed by the ſtate in England, in the nature of a parliament, conſiſting of about forty perſons; viz. the governor, the council, the bailiffs of the tribes, and two burgeſſes of each tribe choſen by voices in the tribe, beſides ſuch of the clergy as the governor thinks moſt fit, to be held once a year, as you ſhall hear more thereof hereafter. The next court is the aſſize or jails of delivery, held twice every year, in Chriſtmas and Whitſun week, for all criminal offenders, and civil cauſes betwixt party and party; as actions of debt, treſpaſs, battery, ſlander, and the like; and theſe are determined by a jury of twelve men, and above them is alſo a grand jury to examine matters of greater conſequence. The laſt day of the aſſize might alſo well be held a court, for hearing the tranſgreſſions in matters of contempt, miſbehaviour towards any magiſtrate, riots, ſeditious ſpeakers, contemners of warrants, and ſuch like: there are alſo as occaſion ſhall require, many matters heard by the governor, or his officers, and oft juſtice done in ſeveral places, but thoſe are but as days of hearing, and as preparatives againſt their courts, &c.

At this laſt aſſize eighteen were arraigned for criminal cauſes, a number very extraordinary conſidering the place; but now occaſioned by reaſon of the hard year, and the ſtore of ill-choſen new comers; of theſe, ſome were cenſured to the whipping-poſt, ſome burned in the hand, but two were condemned to die, yet the one was reprieved, the other hanged; this done, every man returned to his home: many trials they made again about the Warwick, but to ſmall purpoſe, her ordnance being laſhed ſo faſt they could not be unlooſed, till the ropes and decks were rotten, yet ſome few butts of beer being floated they got, which, though it had lain ſix months under water, was very good, notwithſtanding the next year they recovered five pieces of ordnance.

Upon the firſt of Auguſt, according to the company's inſtructions from England, began the general aſſembly at the town of St. George, which was the firſt theſe iſles ever had; conſiſting, as is ſaid, of the governor, council, bailiffs, and burgeſſes, and a ſecretary to whom all bills were preſented, and by him openly read in the houſe, alſo a clerk to record the acts, being thirty-two in all; fifteen of which being ſent into England, were by a general conſent received and enacted, the titles whereof are theſe following: as for all the reaſons for them, they would be too tedious to recite.

The firſt was againſt the unjuſt ſale and letting of apprentices and other ſervants, and this was eſpecially for the righting the undertakers in England. The ſecond, concerning the diſpoſing of aged, diſeaſed, and impotent perſons, for it being conſidered how careleſs many are in preferring their friends, or ſending ſometimes any they can procure to go, ſuch unſerviceable people ſhould be returned back at their charge that ſent them, rather than be burdenſome to the poor inhabitants in the iſles. The third, the neceſſary manning the King's Caſtle, being the key of the iſle, that a garriſon of twelve able men ſhould be there always reſident; and three thouſand ears of corn, and one thouſand pounds of tobacco paid them by the generality yearly, as a penſion. The fourth, againſt the making unmerchantable tobacco, and officers ſworn to make true trials, and burn that was naught. The fifth, enjoined the erection of certain public bridges, and the maintenance of them. The ſixth, for a continual ſupply of victuals for

for all the forts, to be preſerved till ſome great occaſion to uſe it. The ſeventh was, for two fixed days every year for the aſſizes. The eighth, commands the making of highways, and prohibiting the paſſage over men's grounds and planted fields, as well to prevent the ſpoiling of gardens, as convenience to anſwer any alarm. The ninth, for the preſerving young tortoiſes and birds, that were careleſsly deſtroyed. The tenth, provided againſt vagabonds, and prohibited the entertainment of other men's ſervants. The eleventh, compelled the ſetting of a due quantity of corn for every family. The twelfth, the care corn being ſet, enjoined the keeping up of their poultry till it was paſt their reaches. The thirteenth, for the preſervation of ſufficient fences, and againſt the felling of marked trees appointed for bounds. The fourteenth, granted to a levy for a thouſand pound weight of tobacco, towards the payment of public works, as the bridges and the mount. The fifteenth, for the enjoining an acknowledgment and acception of all reſident governors, and the warranting him to continue, though his time be expired, till the arrival of a legitimate ſucceſſor from England, to prevent all unmeet and preſumptuous elections, beſides it was deſired by petition in England, the new governors ſhould live two months as a private man after his arrival, if his predeceſſor did ſtay ſo long, the better to learn and obſerve his courſe. And theſe are the contents of thoſe fifteen acts, applied as you may perceive, which the laws of England could not take notice of, becauſe every climate hath ſomewhat to itſelf in that kind in particular; for otherwiſe as it is conceived, it hath been a high impudence and preſumption to have meddled with them, or indeed with any ſuch as theſe laws, that had with ſuch great juſtice and judgment always provided for.

No ſooner was this buſineſs over, but the magazine ſhip is diſcovered, and that night came into the harbour, but in a very weak and ſickly caſe, having caſt overboard twenty or thirty of her people; and ſo violent was the infection, that the moſt part of the ſailors, as well as paſſengers, were ſo ſick, or diſmayed, or both, that the maſter confeſſed, had they ſtaid at the ſea but a week longer, they had all periſhed. There arrived with this ſhip divers gentlemen of good faſhion, with their wives and families; but many of them crazy by the tedioufneſs of the voyage: howſoever, moſt of them, by the excellent ſalubrity of the air, than which the world hath not a better, ſoon after recovered; yet ſome there were that died preſently after they got aſhore, it being certainly the quality of the place, either to kill, or cure quickly, as the bodies are more or leſs corrupted. By this ſhip the company ſent a ſupply of ten perſons for the generality, but of ſuch bad condition that it ſeemed they had picked the males out of Newgate, the females from Bridewell: as the governor found it his beſt courſe, to grant out the women to ſuch as were ſo greedy of wives, and would needs have them for better for worſe; and the men he placed in the King's Caſtle for ſoldiers. But this bad, weak, ſickly ſupply being diſperſed for their beſt relief, by the much employment of his boats in removing them, many of his own men became infected, ſo that for ſome weeks they were not able to do him any ſervice at all. Strict inſtructions alſo they brought for the planting of ſugar canes, for which the iſland being rocky and dry, is ſo improper, that few as yet have been ſeen to proſper; yet there are others hold the contrary opinion, that there is rain ſo ordinarily, the iſles are ſo moiſt, as produceth all their plants in ſuch infinite abundance; there is no great reaſon to ſuſpect this, were it rightly uſed, more than the reſt. Seventy thouſand weight of tobacco being prepared towards her freight, ſhe returned for England. No ſooner was ſhe gone than came in another, ſent by the company and generality, well conditioned, but ſhe failed not much to have been caſt away amongſt thoſe dangerous and terrible rocks; by her came alſo expreſs

expreſs command, they ſhould entertain no other ſhips, than were directly ſent from the company: this cauſed much grudging, and indeed a general diſtraction and exclamation among the inhabitants, to be thus conſtrained to buy what they wanted, and ſell what they had at what price the magazine pleaſed, and to debar true men from coming to them for trade or relief, that were daily received in all the harbours in England. So long this ſhip ſtaid going for freight and wages, the maſter not caring how long he lay at that rate in a good harbour, the governor was ready to ſend her away by proclamation. Thus ended the firſt year of the government of C. Butler.

With the firſt of the ſecond year were held the aſſizes, where all the bailiffs were fined for not giving a beginning to the building of the bridges; there was alſo an order to reſtrain the exceſſive wages all handicraftmen would have; and that the churchwardens ſhould meet twice a year, to have all their preſentments made perfect againſt the aſſizes. The aſſizes done, all the ableſt men were trained in their arms, and then departed to their own homes. The town thus cleared, he made certain new carriages for ſome demi-culverines, and a large new ſtore-houſe of cedar for the yearly magazine goods; finiſhed Warwick's fort, begun by Mr. More, and made a new platform at Paget's Fort, alſo a fair houſe of lime and ſtone for the town-houſe. The three bridges appointed by the general aſſembly, was followed with ſuch diligence, though they were more than a hundred, or a hundred and twenty feet in length, having the foundation and arches in the ſea, were raiſed and accompliſhed, ſo that man or beaſt with facility might paſs them.

At Whitſunday was held the fourth general aſſize at Saint George's, where were tried twenty ſeveral cauſes; four or five were whipped or burnt in the hand, for breaking of houſes: alſo an order was made, that the party caſt in the trial of any cauſe ſhould pay to every of the jurors four-pence; moreover, that not paſt ten leaves at the moſt ſhould grow upon a plant of tobacco, and that alſo in the making it up, a diſtinction ſhould diligently be obſerved of two kinds, a better and a worſe: then they built a ſtrong ſtone houſe for the captain of the King's caſtle and corps du guard, and repaired what defects they could find in the platforms and carriages.

Captain Powell, ſo oft mentioned, having been in the Weſt Indies for the States of Holland, came to an anchor within ſhot of their ordnance, deſiring admittance for wood and water, of which he had great need, but the governor would not permit him, ſo he weighed and departed; whereat the company were ſo mad, it was not poſſible to conſtrain them to ceaſe their exclamations againſt the company's inhibition, till they were weary with exclaiming: but ſtill for their better defence, not thinking themſelves ſufficiently ſecure, having finiſhed two new platforms more, arrived the magazine ſhip, but her maſter was dead, and many of the paſſengers, the reſt for moſt part very ſick; and withal, a ſtrange and wonderful report of much complaint made againſt the governor to the company in England, by ſome of them returned in the laſt year's ſhipping; but it was eight days before ſhe could get in, by reaſon of ill weather, being forced again to ſea; ſo that time they kept every night continually great fires, ſhe might ſee the iſle as well by night as day; but at laſt ſhe arrived, and he plainly underſtood he had more cauſe a great deal to look for miſconſtruction of all his ſervice, than an acknowledgment, much leſs a recompence, any better than his predeceſſors; but it is no new thing to requite the beſt deſert with the vileſt of ingratitude.

The very next day's night after the arrival of the magazine-ſhip, news was brought the governor by a diſmayed meſſenger from Sands's tribe, that one hundred Spaniards were landed in that part, and divers ſhips diſcovered at ſea; whereupon he preſently

manned the forts, and inſtantly made thitherward in perſon with twenty men, determining as he found cauſe to draw together more ſtrength by the way. Being got thither by the break of the next day, inſtead of an enemy, which he expected, he met only with a company of poor diſtreſſed Portugueſe and Spaniards, who in their paſſage from Carthagena in the Weſt Indies, in conſort with the Spaniſh fleet of Plate, by the ſame ſtorm that had endangered the magazine ſhip, loſt theirs upon thoſe terrible rocks, being to the number of ſeventy perſons, were ſtrangely preſerved, and the manner was thus:

About ſun-ſet their ſhip beating amongſt the rocks, ſome twenty of the ſailors got into the boat with what treaſure they could, leaving the captain, the maſter, and all the reſt to the mercy of the ſea. But a boy not paſt fourteen years of age, that leaped after to have got into the boat, miſſing that hope, it pleaſed God he got upon a cheſt adrift by him, whereon, they report, he continued two days, and was driven near to the clean contrary part of the iſle, where he was taken up near dead, yet well recovered. All this night the ſhip ſticking faſt, the poor diſtreſſed in her the next day ſpying land, made a raft, and were thoſe gave the alarm firſt aſhore about three of the clock in the afternoon. The morning after, about ſeven of the clock, came in the boat to a place called Mangrove Bay, and the ſame day their carpenter was driven aſhore upon a plank near Hog Bay. There was a gentlewoman that had ſtood wet up to the middle upon the raft, from the ſhip to the ſhore, being big with child, and although this was upon the 13th of September, ſhe took no hurt, and was ſafely delivered of a boy within three days after. The beſt comfort that could be given them in thoſe extremities they had, although ſome of the baſer ſort had been rifling ſome of them before the governor's arrival; alſo the Spaniſh captain and the chief with him much complained of the treachery of his men to leave him in that manner, yet had conveyed with them the moſt of the money they could come by, which he eaſily miſſed; whereupon he ſuddenly cauſed all them he accuſed to be ſearched, and recovered to the value of one hundred and forty pounds ſterling, which he delivered into the captain's hands, to be employed in a general purſe towards their general charge. During their ſtay in the iſles, ſome of the better ſort, nine or ten weeks dieted at his own table, the reſt were billetted amongſt the inhabitants at four ſhillings the week, till they found ſhipping for their paſſage, for which they paid no more than the Engliſh paid themſelves; and for the paſſage of divers of them, the governor was glad to ſtand bound to the maſter; ſome others that were not able to procure ſuch friendſhip, were ſo conſtrained to ſtay in the iſles, till by their labours they had got ſo much as would tranſport them; and thus they were preſerved, relieved, and delivered.

In the month enſuing arrived the ſecond ſhip, and ſhe alſo had loſt her maſter and divers of her paſſengers; in her came two Virginian women, to be married to ſome who would have them, that after they were converted and had children, they might be ſent to their country and kindred to civilize them. Towards the end of this month came in the third ſhip, with a ſmall magazine; having ſold what ſhe could, carried the reſt to Virginia, and never did any of thoſe paſſengers complain either of their good diet, or too good uſage at ſea; but the clean contrary ſtill occaſioned many of thoſe extremities. The 5th of November the damnable plot of the powder treaſon was ſolemnized with prayers, ſermons, and a great feaſt, whereto the governor invited the chief of the Spaniards, where drinking the King's health, it was honoured with a quick volley of ſmall ſhot, which was anſwered from the fort with the great ordnance, and then again concluded with a ſecond volley of ſmall ſhot; neither was the afternoon without muſic and dancing, and at night many huge bonfires of ſweet wood.

The

The Spaniards to expreſs their thankfulneſs at their departure, made a deed of gift to the governor of whatſoever he could recover of the wrecked ſhip; but the ſhips as they went out came ſo dangerouſly upon a rock, that the poor Spaniards were ſo diſmayed, ſwearing this place was ominous unto them, eſpecially the women, that deſired rather to go aſhore and die howſoever than adventure any further in ſuch a labyrinth of dangers, but at laſt ſhe got clear without danger, and well to England; the other went to Virginia, wherein the governor ſent two great cheſts filled with all ſuch kinds and ſorts of fruits and plants as their iſlands had, as figs, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, ſugar-canes, plantains, potatoes, papaws, caſſado roots, red pepper, the prickle-pear, and the like. The ſhips thus diſpatched, he goeth into the main, and ſo out to ſea to the Spaniſh wreck. He had been there before preſently after her ruin, for never had ſhip a more ſudden death, being now ſplit in pieces, all under water. He found ſmall hope to recover any thing, ſave a cable and an anchor, and two good facres; but the wind was ſo high, he was forced to return, being ten miles from the ſhore, only with three murderers, which were known to be the ſame Captain Kendall had ſold to Captain Kerby, whoſe ſhip was taken by two men of war of Carthagena, the moſt of his men ſlain or hanged, and he being wounded, died in the woods. Now their pilot being at this ſervice, got thus thoſe three murderers to their ſhip, and their ſhip thus to the Bermudas, as the Spaniards remaining related to the governor and others.

Having raiſed three ſmall bulwarks at Southampton's Fort, with two curtains and two ravelines, which indeed is only the true abſolute piece of fortification in the iſles; Chriſtmas being come, and the prefixed day of the aſſize, divers were whipped and burnt in the hand, only three young boys for ſtealing were condemned, and at the very point of hanging, reprieved. The governor then ſent his lieutenant all over the main to diſtribute arms to thoſe were found moſt fit to uſe them, and to give order for their rendezvous, which were hanged up in the church. About this time it chanced a pretty ſecret to be diſcovered to preſerve their corn from the fly or weavel, which did in a manner as much hurt as the rats. For the year before having made a proclamation that all corn ſhould be gathered by a certain day, becauſe many lazy perſons ran ſo after the ſhips, to get beer and aqua-vitæ, for which they will give any thing they have, much had been loſt for want of gathering. This year having a very fair crop, ſome of the inhabitants, none of the beſt huſbands, haſtily gathered it, for fear of the penalty, threw it in great heaps into their houſes unhuſked, and ſo let it lie four or five months, which was thought would have ſpoiled it; where the good huſbands huſked it, and with much labour hung it up, where the flies did ſo blow on it, they increaſed to ſo many weavels, they generally complained of great loſs: but thoſe good fellows that never cared but from hand to mouth, made their boaſts, that not a grain of theirs had been touched nor hurt, there being no better way to preſerve it than by letting it lie in its huſk, and ſpare an infinite labour formerly had been uſed. There were alſo very luckily about this time found out divers places of freſh water, of which many of the forts were very deſtitute, and the churchwardens and ſideſmen were very buſy in correcting the prophaners of the ſabbath, drunkards, gameſters, and ſuch like. There came alſo from Virginia a ſmall bark, with many thanks for the preſents ſent them; much aqua-vitæ, oil, ſack, and bricks, they brought in exchange of more fruits and plants, ducks, turkies, and limeſtone, of which ſhe had plenty, and ſo returned. During the abode of the ſtay of this ſhip, the marriage of one of the Virginia maids was conſummated with a huſband fit for her, attended with more than one hundred gueſts, and all the dainties for their dinner could be provided; they made

alſo another trial to fiſh for whales, but it took no more effect than the former: this was done by the maſter of the Virginia ſhip that profeſſed much ſkill that way, but having freighted his ſhip with limeſtone, with twenty thouſand weight of potatoes, and ſuch things as he deſired, returned for Virginia.

April and May were ſpent in building a ſtrong new priſon, and perfecting ſome of the fortifications, and by the labour of twenty men, in fourteen days was got from the Spaniſh wreck four excellent good facres, and mounted them at the forts. Then began the general aſſize, where not fewer than fifty civil, or rather, uncivil actions were handled, and twenty criminal priſoners brought to the bar; ſuch a multitude of ſuch vile people were ſent to this plantation, that he thought himſelf happy his time was ſo near expired: three of the fouleſt acts were theſe; the firſt for the rape of a married woman, which was acquitted by a ſenſeleſs jury; the ſecond and the third for unnatural crimes, the one with a ſow, the other with a boy, for which they were hanged; during the time of the impriſonment of this ſecond criminal, a dunghill cock belonging to the ſame man, did continually haunt a pig of his alſo, and to the wonder of all them that ſaw it, who were many, did ſo frequently tread the pig, as if it had been one of his hens, that the pig languiſhed and died within a while after, and then the cock reſorted to the very ſame ſow (that this fellow was accuſed for) in the very ſame manner; and as an addition to all this, about the ſame time two chickens were hatched, the one whereof had two heads, the other crowed very loud and luſtily within twelve hours after it was out of the ſhell. A deſperate fellow being to be arraigned for ſtealing a turkey, rather than he would endure his trial, ſecretly conveyed himſelf to ſea in a little boat, and never ſince was heard of, nor is he ever like to be, without an exceeding wonder, little leſs than a miracle. In June they made another trial about the Spaniſh wreck, and recovered another facre and a murderer; alſo he cauſed to be hewed out of the main rock, a pair of large ſtairs, for the convenient landing of goods and paſſengers, a work much to the beauty and benefit of the town. With twenty choſen men, and two excellent divers, the governor went himſelf to the wreck Warwick, but they could recover but one murderer; from thence he went to the Sea-adventure, the wreck of Sir George Summers; the hull, though two or three fathoms in the water, they found unperiſhed, and with much ado weighed a facre, her ſheet-anchor, divers bars of iron and pigs of lead, which ſtood the plantation in very great ſtead. Towards the end of July, he went to ſeek for a wreck, they reported, lay under water, with her hatches ſpiked up, but they could not find her, but from the Spaniſh wreck lay there by, they weighed three fair facres more, and ſo returned through the tribes to Saint George's: ſome were alſo employed to ſeek out beds of oyſters for pearl, ſome they found, ſome ſeed-pearl they got, but out of one little ſhell, above all the reſt, they got about one hundred and twenty ſmall pearl, but ſomewhat defective in their colour.

The time of Captain Butler's government drawing near an end, the colony preſented unto him divers grievances, to intreat him to remember to the lords and company in England at his return: alſo they appointed two to be joined with him, with letters of credence to ſolicit in their behalf thoſe grievances following: firſt, they were defrauded of the food of their ſouls; for being not fewer than one thouſand and five hundred people, diſperſed in length twenty miles, they had at that preſent but one miniſter, nor never had but two, and they ſo ſhortened of their promiſes, that but only for mere pity they would have forſaken them. Secondly, neglected in the ſafety of their lives, by wants of all ſorts of ammunition. Thirdly, they had been cenſured, contrary to His Majeſty's laws, and not allowed them the benefit of their book, as they are in England, but by Captain Butler. Fourthly, they were fruſtrated of many of their covenants,

nants, and moſt extremely pinched and undone by the extortion of the magazine, for although their tobacco was ſtinted but at two ſhillings and ſixpence the pound, yet they pitched their commodities at what rate they pleaſed. Fifthly, their fatherleſs children are left in little better condition than ſlaves; for if their parents die in debt, their children are made as bondmen till the debt be diſcharged. Theſe things being perfected, there grew a great queſtion of one Heriot, for plotting of factions and abuſing the governor, for which he was condemned to loſe his ears, yet he was uſed ſo favourably, he loſt but the part of one in all.

By this time it being grown paſt the wonted ſeaſon of the coming in of ſhips from England, after a general longing and expectation, eſpecially of the governor, whoſe commiſſion being near upon expiration, gave him cauſe to wiſh for a mean of deliverance from ſo troubleſome and thankleſs an employment as he had hitherto found it; a ſail is diſcovered, and long it was not before ſhe arrived in the King's Caſtle-Harbour; this bark was ſet out by two or three private men of the company, and having landed her ſupplies, was to go for Virginia; by her the governor received certain advertiſements of the carriage and behaviour of the Spaniards, which he had relieved, as you have heard, the year before; that quite contrary both to his merit, their vow, and his own expectation, they made clamours againſt him, the which being ſeconded by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, cauſed the ſtate to fall in examination about it; whereupon, having fully cleared their ingratitude and impudence, and being aſſured of the choice of a ſucceſſor that was to be expected within five or ſix weeks, he was deſirous to take the opportunity of this bark, and to viſit the colony in Virginia in his return for England: leaving the government to Captain Felgat, Captain Stokes, Mr. Lewis Hewes, Mr. Nedom and Mr. Ginner, but now his time being fully expired, and the fortifications finiſhed, viz. the King's Caſtle, wherein were mounted upon ſufficient platforms ſixteen pieces of ordnance; in Charles Fort two; in Southampton Fort five; betwixt which and the caſtle paſſeth the channel into the harbour, ſecured by three and twenty pieces of good artillery to play upon it. In Cowper's Iſle is Pembrock's Fort, where is two pieces. The channel of Saint George is guarded by Smith's Fort, and Pagit's Fort, in which are eleven pieces of ordnance. Saint George's Town is half a league within the harbour, commanded by Warwick's Fort, where there are three great pieces, and on the wharf before the governor's houſe eight more, beſides the warning piece by the mount, and three in Saint Katharines; ſo that in all there are ten fortreſſes, and two-and-fifty pieces of ordnance, ſufficient and ſerviceable: their forms and ſituations you may ſee more plainly deſcribed in the map; and to defend thoſe, he left one thouſand five hundred perſons, with near a hundred boats, and the iſle repleniſhed with ſtore of ſuch fruits, proviſions, and poultry, as is formerly related; well, yet for ſo departing and other occaſions, much difference hath been betwixt him ſome of the company, as any of his predeceſſors, which I rather wiſh were reconciled, than to be a reporter of ſuch unprofitable diſſentions.

For

Till treachery and faction, and avarice be gone,
Till envy and ambition, and backbiting be none,
Till perjury and idleneſs, and injury be out,
And truly till that villainy the worſt of all that rout;
Unleſs thoſe vices baniſh'd be, whatever forts you have,
A hundred walls together put will not have power to ſave.

Mr. John Barnard ſent to be Governor.

TO ſupply this place was ſent by the noble adventurers John Barnard, a gentleman both of good means and quality, who arrived within eight days after Butler's departure, with two ſhips, and about one hundred and forty paſſengers, with arms and all ſorts of ammunition, and other proviſions ſufficient; during the time of his life, which was but ſix weeks, in reforming all things he found defective, he ſhewed himſelf ſo judicial and induſtrious as gave great ſatisfaction, and did generally promiſe vice was in great danger to be ſuppreſſed, and virtue and the plantation much advanced; but ſo it happened that both he and his wife died in ſuch ſhort time, they were both buried in one day and one grave, and Mr. John Harriſon choſen governor till further order came from England.

What happened in the Government of Mr. John Harriſon.

THEY are ſtill much troubled with a great ſhort worm that devours their plants in the night, but all the day they lie hid in the ground, and though early in the morning they kill ſo many they would think there were no more, yet the next morning you ſhall find as many. The caterpillars to their fruits are alſo as pernicious; and the land-crabs in ſome places are as thick in their burrows as conies in a warren, and do much hurt: beſides all this, there happened this year a very heavy diſaſter, for a ſhip wherein there had been much ſwearing and blaſpheming uſed all the voyage, and landed what ſhe had to leave in thoſe iſles, jovially frolicking in their cups and tobacco, by accident fired the powder, that at the very inſtant blew up the great cabin, and ſome one way and ſome another, it is a wonder to think how they could be ſo blown out of the gun-room into the ſea, where ſome were taken up living ſo pitifully burned, their lives were worſe than ſo many deaths; ſome died, and ſome lived, but eighteen were loſt at this fatal blaſt, the ſhip alſo immediately ſunk with threeſcore barrels of meal ſent for Virginia, and all the other proviſion in her was thus loſt.

Now how to conſider how the Spaniards, French, and Dutch, have been loſt and preſerved in thoſe invincible iſles, yet never regarded them but as monuments of miſeries, though at this preſent they all deſire them. How Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers being ready to ſink in the ſea were ſaved, what an incredible abundance of victuals they found; how it was firſt planted by the Engliſh; the ſtrange increaſe of rats, and their ſudden departure; the five men came from England in a boat; the eſcape of Hilliard, and the reſt of thoſe accidents there happened, a man would think it a tabernacle of miracles, and the world's wonder, that from ſuch a paradiſe of admiration who would think ſhould ſpring ſuch wonders of afflictions, as are only fit to be ſacrificed upon the higheſt altars of ſorrow, thus to be ſet upon the higheſt pinnacles of content, and preſently thrown down to the loweſt degree of extremity, as you ſee have been the yearly ſucceedings of thoſe plantations, the which to overcome, as it is an incomparable honour, ſo it can be no diſhonour if a man do miſcarry by unfortunate accidents in ſuch honourable actions, the which renown and virtue to attain hath cauſed ſo many attempts by divers nations beſides ours even to paſs through the very amazement of adventures. Upon the relation of this news the company hath ſent one Captain Woodhouſe, a gentleman of good repute and great experience in the wars, and no leſs provident than induſtrious and valiant, then

returned report all goeth well there. It is too true in the abſence of the noble treaſurer, Sir Edward Sackvill, now Earl of Dorſet, there have been ſuch complaints betwixt the planters and the company, that by command the Lords appointed Sir Thomas Smith again treaſurer, that ſince then according to their order of Court, he is alſo elected, where now we muſt leave them all to their good fortune and ſucceſs, till we hear further of their fortunate proceedings.

THE

THE

GENERAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

CONCERNING this hiſtory you are to underſtand the letters patents granted by His Majeſty in 1606, for the limitation of Virginia, did extend from thirty-four to forty-four, which was divided in two parts, namely, the firſt colony and the ſecond: the firſt was to the honourable city of London, and ſuch as would adventure with them to diſcover and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34 and 41. The ſecond was appropriated to the cities of Briſtol, Exeter, and Plymouth, &c., and the weſt parts of England, and all thoſe that would adventure and join with them, and they might make their choice any where betwixt the degrees of 38 and 44, provided there ſhould be at leaſt one hundred miles diſtance betwixt theſe two colonies, each of which had laws, privileges, and authority for the government and advancing their ſeveral plantations alike. Now this part of America hath formerly been called Norumbega, Virginia, Nuſkoncus, Penaquida, Canada, and ſuch other names as thoſe that ranged the coaſt pleaſed. But becauſe it was ſo mountainous, rocky, and full of iſles, few have adventured much to trouble it, but as is formerly related; notwithſtanding, that honourable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Juſtice of England, in the year 1606, procured means and men to poſſeſs it, and ſent Captain George Popham for preſident, Captain Rawley Gilbert for admiral, Captain Edward Harlow, maſter of the ordnance, Captain Robert Davis, ſerjeant-major, Captain Elis Beſt, marſhal, Mr. Seaman, ſecretary, Captain James Davis to be captain of the fort, Mr. Gome Carew, chief ſearcher: all thoſe were of the council, who with ſome hundreds more were to ſtay in the country: they ſet ſail from Plymouth the laſt of May, and fell with Monahigen the 11th of Auguſt. At Sagadahock, nine or ten leagues ſouthward, they planted themſelves at the mouth of a fair navigable river, but the coaſt all thereabouts moſt extreme ſtony and rocky: that extreme frozen winter was ſo cold they could not range nor ſearch the country, and their proviſion ſo ſmall, they were glad to ſend all but forty-five of their company back again: their noble preſident, Captain Popham, died, and not long after arrived two ſhips well provided of all neceſſaries to ſupply them, and ſome ſmall time after another, by whom underſtanding of the death of the Lord Chief Juſtice, and alſo of Sir John Gilbert, whoſe lands there the preſident Rawley Gilbert was to poſſeſs according to the adventurers' directions, finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for England in the year 1608; and thus this plantation was begun and ended in one year, and the country eſteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky deſart.

Notwithſtanding, the Right Honourable Henry, Earl of Southampton, and thoſe of the Iſle of Wight, employed Captain Edward Harlow to diſcover an iſle ſuppoſed about Cape Cod; but they found their plots had much abuſed them, for falling with

Monahigan, they found only Cape Cod no iſle but the main, there they detained three ſavages aboard them, called Pechmo, Monopet, and Pekenimne, but Pechmo leaped overboard and got away, and not long after with his conſorts cut their boat from their ſtern, got her on ſhore, and ſo filled her with ſand, and guarded her with bows and arrows, the Engliſh loſt her: not far from thence they had three men ſorely wounded with arrows. Anchoring at the Iſle of Nohono, the ſavages in their canoes aſſaulted the ſhip till the Engliſh guns made them retire, yet here they took Sakaweſton, that after he had lived many years in England went a ſoldier to the wars of Bohemia. At Capawe they took Coneconam and Epenow, but the people at Agawom uſed them kindly, ſo with five ſavages they returned for England, yet Sir Francis Popham ſent divers times one Captain Williams to Monahigan only to trade and make core fiſh, but for any plantations there was no more ſpeeches. For all this, as I liked Virginia well, though not their proceedings, ſo I deſired alſo to ſee this country, and ſpend ſome time in trying what I could find for all thoſe ill rumours and diſaſters.

From the relations of Captain EDWARD HARLOW and divers others.

In the month of April 1614, at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Roydon, Captain George Langam, Mr. John Buley and Mr. William Skelton, with two ſhips from London, I chanced to arrive at Monahigan an iſle of America, in 434 of northerly latitude: our plot was there to take whales, for which we had one Samuel Cramton and divers others expert in that faculty, and alſo to make trials of a mine of gold and copper; if thoſe failed, fiſh and furs were then our refuge to make ourſelves ſavers howſoever: we found this whale-fiſhing a coſtly concluſion, we ſaw many and ſpent much time in chaſing them, but could not kill any, they being a kind of imbartes, and not the whale that yields fins and oil, as we expected; for our gold it was rather the maſter's device to get a voyage that projected it, than any knowledge he had at all of any ſuch matter; fiſh and furs were now our guard, and by our late arrival and long lingering about the whale, the prime of both thoſe ſeaſons were paſt ere we perceived it, we thinking that their ſeaſons ſerved at all times, but we found it otherwiſe, for by the midſt of June the fiſhing failed, yet in July and Auguſt ſome were taken, but not ſufficient to defray ſo great a charge as our ſtay required: of dry fiſh we made about forty thouſand, of cor-fiſh about ſeven thouſand. Whilſt the ſailors fiſhed, myſelf with eight others of them might beſt be ſpared, ranging the coaſt in a ſmall boat, we got for trifles near eleven thouſand beaver-ſkins, one hundred martins, as many otters, and the moſt of them within the diſtance of twenty leagues: we ranged the coaſt both eaſt and weſt much further, but eaſtward our commodities were not eſteemed, they were ſo near the French who afforded them better, with whom the ſavages had ſuch commerce that only by trade they made exceeding great voyages, though they were without the limits of our precincts: during the time we tried thoſe concluſions, not knowing the coaſt, nor ſavages' habitations: with theſe furs, the train oil and cor-fiſh, I returned for England in the bark, where within ſix months after our departure from the Downs, we ſafely arrived back; the beſt of this fiſh was ſold for five pounds the hundred, the reſt by ill uſage betwixt three pounds and fifty ſhillings. The other ſhip ſtaid to fit herſelf for Spain with the dry fiſh which was ſold at Maligo at forty rials the quintal, each hundred weighing two quintals and a half. But one Thomas Hunt the maſter of this ſhip, (when I was gone) thinking to prevent

prevent that intent I had to make there a plantation, thereby to keep this abounding country ſtill in obſcurity, that only he and ſome few merchants more might enjoy wholly the benefit of the trade and profit of this country, betrayed four-and-twenty of thoſe poor ſavages aboard his ſhip, and moſt diſhoneſtly and inhumanly for their kind uſage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little private gain ſold thoſe ſilly ſavages for rials of eight; but this wild act kept him ever after from any more employment to thoſe parts. Now becauſe at this time I had taken a draught of the coaſt, and called it New England, yet ſo long he and his conſorts drowned that name with the echo of Cannaday, and ſome other ſhips from other parts alſo, that upon this good return the next year went thither, that at laſt I preſented this diſcourſe with the map, to our Moſt Gracious Prince Charles, humbly entreating His Highneſs he would pleaſe to change their barbarous names for ſuch Engliſh as poſterity might ſay Prince Charles was their godfather, which for your better underſtanding both of this diſcourſe and the map, peruſe this ſchedule, which will plainly ſhew you the correſpondency of the old names to the new, as His Highneſs named them.

The old Names.	The new Names.
Cape Cod	Cape James.
The Harbour at Cape Cod	Milforth Haven.
Chawum	Berwick.
Accomack	Plymouth.
Sagoquas	Oxford.
Maſſachuſet's Mount	Chevit Hills.
Maſſachuſet's River	Charles River.
Totan	Falmouth.
A great Bay by Cape Anne	Briſtol.
Cape Tragabigſanda	Cape Anne.
Naembeck	Barnſtaple.
Aggawom	Southampton.
Smith's Iſles	Smith's Iſles.
Paſſataquack	Hull.
Accominticus	Boſton.
Saſſanow's Mount	Snowdon Hill.
Sowocatuck	Ipſwich.
Bahanna	Dartmouth.
A good harbour within that Bay	Sandwich.
Ancociſcos Mount	Shuter's Hill.
Ancociſco	The Baſe.
Anmoughcawgen	Cambridge.
Kenebecka	Edinburgh.
Sagadahock	Leith.
Pemmyquid	Saint John's Town.
Segocket	Norwich.
Mecadacut	Dunbarton.
Pennobſcot	Aberdeen.
Nuſket	Low Mounds.

Thoſe

Thoſe being omitted, I named myſelf:

The old Names.	The new Names.
Monahigan - - - - -	Bartie's Iſles.
Matinack - - - - -	Willoughby's Iſles.
Metinacus - - - - -	Haughton's Iſles.

The reſt of the names in the map, are places that had no names we did know.

But to continue the hiſtory ſucceedingly as near with the day and year as may be. Returning in the bark, as is ſaid, it was my ill chance to put in at Plymouth, where imparting thoſe my purpoſes to divers I thought my friends, whom as I ſuppoſed were intereſted in the dead patent of this unregarded country, I was ſo encouraged and aſſured to have the managing their authority in thoſe parts during my life, and ſuch large promiſes, that I engaged myſelf to undertake it for them. Arriving at London, though ſome malicious perſons ſuggeſted there was no ſuch matter to be had in that ſo bad abandoned country, for if there had, others could have found it ſo well as I; therefore it was to be ſuſpected I had robbed the Frenchmen in New France or Canada, and the merchants ſet me forth ſeemed not to regard it; yet I found ſo many promiſed me ſuch aſſiſtance, that I entertained Michael Couper the maſter of the bark, that returned with me and others of the company; how he dealt with others, or others with him, I know not; but my public proceeding gave ſuch encouragement, that it became ſo well apprehended by ſome few of the Virginia Company, as thoſe projects for fiſhing only was ſo well liked, they furniſhed Couper with four good ſhips to ſea, before they at Plymouth had made any proviſion at all for me; but only a ſmall bark ſet out by them of the Iſle of Wight. Some of Plymouth, and divers gentlemen of the weſt country, a little before I returned from New England, in ſearch for a mine of gold about an iſle called Capawuck, ſouthwards from the ſhoals of Cape James, as they were informed by a ſavage called Epenew; that having deluded them, as it ſeems, thus to get home, ſeeing they kept him as a priſoner in his own country, and before his friends, being a man of ſo great a ſtature, he was ſhewed up and down London for money as a wonder, and it ſeems of no leſs courage and authority, than of wit, ſtrength, and proportion; for ſo well he had contrived his buſineſs, as many reported he intended to have ſurprized the ſhip; but ſeeing it could not be effected to his liking, before them all he leaped overboard. Many ſhot they made at him, thinking they had ſlain him, but ſo reſolute they were to recover his body, the maſter of the ſhip was wounded, and many of his company; and thus they loſt him, and not knowing more what to do, returned again to England with nothing, which ſo had diſcouraged all your weſt-country men, they neither regarded much their promiſes, and as little either me or the country, till they ſaw the London ſhips gone and me in Plymouth according to my promiſe, as hereafter ſhall be related.

I muſt confeſs I was beholden to the ſetters forth of the four ſhips that went with Couper, in that they offered me that employment if I would accept it; and I find ſtill my refuſal incurred ſome of their diſpleaſures, whoſe love and favour I exceedingly deſired; and though they do cenſure me oppoſite to their proceedings, they ſhall yet ſtill in all my words and deeds find, it is their error, not my fault that occaſions their diſlike; for having engaged myſelf in this buſineſs to the weſt country, I had been very diſhoneſt to have broke my promiſe, nor will I ſpend more time in diſcovery or fiſhing, till I may go with a company for a plantation; for I know my grounds, yet every one to whom I tell them, or that reads this book, cannot put it in practice, though it

may help any that hath ſeen or not ſeen to know much of thoſe parts; and though they endeavour to work me out of my own deſigns, I will not much envy their fortunes; but I would be ſorry their intruding ignorance ſhould by their defailments, bring thoſe certainties to doubtfulneſs. So that the buſineſs proſper I have my deſire, be it by whomſoever that are true ſubjects to our King and country: the good of my country is that I ſeek, and there is more than enough for all, if they could be contented.

New England is that part of America in the ocean ſea, oppoſite to Nova Albion in the ſouth ſea, diſcovered by the moſt memorable Sir Francis Drake in his voyage about the world, in regard whereof this is ſtyled New England, being in the ſame latitude New France of it is northward, ſouthward is Virginia, and all the adjoining continent with New Granada, New Spain, New Andaluſia, and the Weſt Indies. Now becauſe I have been ſo oft aſked ſuch ſtrange queſtions of the goodneſs and greatneſs of thoſe ſpacious tracts of land, how they can be thus long unknown, or not poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, and many ſuch like demands; I entreat your pardon if I chance to be too plain or tedious in relating my knowledge for plain men's ſatisfaction.

Florida is the next adjoining to the Indies, which unproſperouſly was attempted to be planted by the French, a country far bigger than England, Scotland, France and Ireland, yet little known to any Chriſtian, but by the wonderful endeavours of Ferdinando de Soto, a valiant Spaniard, whoſe writings in this age is the beſt guide known to ſearch thoſe parts.

Virginia is no iſle, as many do imagine, but part of the continent adjoining to Florida, whoſe bounds may be ſtretched to the magnitude thereof, without offence to any Chriſtian inhabitant, for from the degrees of thirty to forty-eight, His Majeſty hath now enlarged his letters patent. The coaſt extending ſouth-weſt and north-eaſt about ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred miles, but to follow it aboard, the ſhore may well be three thouſand miles at the leaſt; of which twenty miles is the moſt gives entrance into the Bay of Cheſapeak, where is the London plantation, within which is a country, as you may perceive by the map, of that little I diſcovered, may well ſuffice three hundred thouſand people to inhabit; but of it, and the diſcoveries of Sir Ralph Laine and Mr. Heriot, Captain Goſnold, and Captain Waymouth, they have writ ſo largely, that poſterity may be bettered by the fruits of their labour. But for divers others that have ranged thoſe parts ſince, eſpecially this country now called New England, within a kenning ſometimes of the ſhore; ſome touching in one place, ſome in another; I muſt entreat them pardon me for omitting them, or if I offend in ſaying, that their true deſcriptions were concealed, or never were well obſerved, or died with the authors, ſo that the coaſt is yet ſtill but even as a coaſt unknown and undiſcovered. I have had ſix or ſeven ſeveral plots of thoſe northern parts, ſo unlike each to other, or reſemblance of the country, as they did me no more good than ſo much waſte paper, though they coſt me more; it may be it was not my chance to ſee the beſt; but leſt others may be deceived as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themſelves as I did, I have drawn a map from point to point, iſle to iſle, and harbour to harbour, with the ſoundings, ſands, rocks, and land-marks, as I paſſed cloſe aboard the ſhore in a little boat; although there be many things to be obſerved, which the haſte of other affairs did cauſe me to omit: for being ſent more to get preſent commodities, than knowledge of any diſcoveries for any future good, I had not power to ſearch as I would; yet it will ſerve to direct any ſhall go that way to ſafe harbours and the ſavages habitations; what merchandize and commodities for their labours they may find, this following diſcourſe ſhall plainly demonſtrate.

Thus

Thus you may ſee of theſe three thouſand miles more than half is yet unknown to any purpoſe, no not ſo much as the borders of the ſea are yet certainly diſcovered: as for the goodneſs and true ſubſtance of the land, we are for moſt part yet altogether ignorant of them, unleſs it be thoſe parts about the Bay of Cheſapeak and Sagadahock, but only here and there where we have touched or ſeen a little, the edges of thoſe large dominions which do ſtretch themſelves into the main, God doth know how many thouſand miles, whereof we can yet no more judge, than a ſtranger that ſaileth betwixt England and France, can deſcribe the harbours and dangers by landing here or there in ſome river or bay, tell thereby the goodneſs and ſubſtance of Spain, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, and the reſt; nay, there are many have lived forty years in London, and yet have ſcarce been ten miles out of the city: ſo are there many have been in Virginia many years, and in New England many times, that do know little more than the place they do inhabit, or the port where they fiſhed; and when they come home, they will undertake they know all Virginia and New England, as if they were but two pariſhes or little iſlands. By this you may perceive how much they err, that think every one that hath been in Virginia or New England, underſtandeth or knoweth what either of them are; or that the Spaniards know one half quarter of thoſe large territories they poſſeſs; no, not ſo much as the true circumference of Terra Incognita, whoſe large dominions may equalize the goodneſs and greatneſs of America for any thing yet known. It is ſtrange with what ſmall power he doth range in the Eaſt Indies, and few will underſtand the truth of his ſtrength in America; where having ſo much to keep with ſuch a pampered force, they need not greatly fear his fury in Sommer Iſles, Virginia, or New England, beyond whoſe bounds America doth ſtretch many thouſand miles. Into the frozen parts whereof, one Mr. Hutſon an Engliſh mariner, did make the greateſt diſcovery of any Chriſtian I know, where he unfortunately was left by his cowardly company, for his exceeding deſerts, to end and die a moſt miſerable death.

For Africa, had not the induſtrious Portugueſe ranged her unknown parts, who would have ſought for wealth amongſt thoſe fried regions of black brutiſh negroes, where notwithſtanding all their wealth and admirable adventures and endeavours more than one hundred and forty years, they know not one-third part of thoſe black habitations. But it is not a work for every one to manage ſuch an affair, as make a diſcovery and plant a colony; it requires all the beſt parts of art, judgment, courage, honeſty, conſtancy, diligence, and induſtry, to do but near well; ſome are more proper for one thing than another, and therein beſt to be employed; and nothing breeds more confuſion than miſplacing and miſemploying men in their undertakings. Columbus, Cortes, Pizarro, Zoto, Magilanus, and the reſt ſerved more than an apprenticeſhip to learn how to begin their moſt memorable attempts in the Weſt Indies, which, to the wonder of all ages, ſucceſsfully they effected, when many hundreds of others, far above them in the world's opinion, being inſtructed but by relation, came to ſhame and confuſion in actions of ſmall moment, who doubtleſs in other matters were both wiſe, diſcreet, generous and courageous. I ſay not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to anſwer thoſe queſtionleſs queſtions, that keep us back from imitating the worthineſs of their brave ſpirits, that advanced themſelves from poor ſoldiers to great captains, their poſterity to great lords, their King to be one of the greateſt potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greateſt power, glory, and renown.

The Deſcription of New England.

THAT part we call New England is betwixt the degrees of forty-one and forty-five, the very mean betwixt the north pole and the line ; but that part this diſcourſe ſpeaketh of, ſtretcheth but from Penobſcot to Cape Cod, ſome ſeventy-five leagues by a right line diſtant each from other ; within which bounds I have ſeen at leaſt forty ſeveral habitations upon the ſea coaſt, and founded about five-and twenty excellent good harbours, in many whereof there is anchorage for five hundred ſail of ſhips of any burden ; in ſome of them for one thouſand, and more than two hundred iſles overgrown with good timber of divers ſorts of wood, which do make ſo many harbours, as required a longer time than I had to be well obſerved.

The principal habitation northward we were at, was Penobſcot : ſouthward along the coaſt and up the rivers, we found Mecadacut, Segocket, Pemaquid, Nuſcoucus, Sagadahock, Aumoughcowgen, and Kenebeke ; and to thoſe countries belong the people of Segotago, Paghhuntanuck, Pocopaſſum, Taughtanakagnet, Warbigganus, Naſſaque, Maſheroſqueck, Wawrigweck, Moſhoquen, Wakcogo, Paſharanack, &c. To theſe are allied in confederacy, the countries of Ancociſco, Accomynticus, Paſſataquack, Aggawom, and Naemkeck : all theſe for any thing I could perceive, differ little in language, faſhion, or government, though moſt of them be lords of themſelves, yet they hold the Baſhabes of Penobſcot the chief and greateſt amongſt them.

The next I can remember by name, are Mattahunts, two pleaſant iſles of groves, gardens, and corn fields a league in the ſea from the main. Then Totant, Maſſachuſet, Topent, Secaſſaw, Totheet, Naſnocomacack, Accomack, Chawum, Patuxet, Maſſaſoyts, Pakanokick ; then Cape Cod, by which is Pawmet and the iſle Nawſet, of the language and alliance of them of Chawum ; the others are called Maſſachuſets, and differ ſomewhat in language, cuſtom, and condition : for their trade and merchandize, to each of their principal families or habitations, they have divers towns and people belonging, and by their relations and deſcriptions, more than twenty ſeveral habitations and rivers that ſtretch themſelves far into the country, even to the borders of divers great lakes, where they kill and take moſt of their otters from Penobſcot to Sagadahoc. This coaſt is mountainous, and iſles of huge rocks, but overgrown for moſt part with moſt ſorts of excellent good woods, for building houſes, boats, barks or ſhips, with an incredible abundance of moſt ſorts of fiſh, much fowl, and ſundry ſorts of good fruits for man's uſe.

Betwixt Sagadahock and Sowocatuck, there is but two or three ſandy bays, but betwixt that and Cape James very many ; eſpecially the coaſt of the Maſſachuſets is ſo indifferently mixed with high clay or ſandy clifts in one place, and the tracts of large long ledges of divers ſorts, and quarries of ſtones in other places, ſo ſtrangely divided with tinctured veins of divers colours ; as free-ſtone for building, ſlate for tiling, ſmooth ſtone to make furnaces and forges for glaſs and iron, and iron ore ſufficient conveniently to melt in them ; but the moſt part ſo reſembleth the coaſt of Devonſhire, I think moſt of the clifts would make ſuch lime-ſtone ; if they be not of theſe qualities, they are ſo like they may deceive a better judgment than mine : all which are ſo near adjoining to thoſe other advantages I obſerved in theſe parts, that if the ore prove as good iron and ſteel in thoſe parts as I know it is within the bounds of the country, I dare engage my head (having but men ſkilful to work the ſimples there growing) to have all things belonging to the building and rigging of ſhips of any proportion and

good merchandize for their freight, within a ſquare of ten or fourteen leagues, and it were no hard matter to prove it within a leſs limitation.

And ſurely by reaſon of thoſe ſandy clifts and clifts of rocks, both which we ſaw ſo planted with gardens and corn-fields, and ſo well inhabited with a goodly, ſtrong, and well-proportioned people, beſides the greatneſs of the timber growing on them, the greatneſs of the fiſh, and the moderate temper of the air (for of five-and-forty not a man was ſick but two, that were many years diſeaſed before they went, notwithſtanding our bad lodging and accidental diet), who can but approve this a moſt excellent place, both for health and fertility: and of all the four parts of the world I have yet ſeen not inhabited, could I have but means to tranſport a colony, I would rather live here than any where; and if it did not maintain itſelf, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let us ſtarve.

The main ſtaple from hence to be extracted for the preſent, to produce the reſt, is fiſh, which howbeit may ſeem a mean and a baſe commodity, yet who will but truly take the pains and conſider the ſequel, I think will allow it well worth the labour. It is ſtrange to ſee, what great adventures the hopes of ſetting forth men of war to rob the induſtrious innocent would procure, or ſuch maſſy promiſes in groſs, though more are choaked than well fed by ſuch haſty hopes. But who doth not know that the poor Hollanders, chiefly by fiſhing at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open ſea, are made a people ſo hardy and induſtrious, and by the venting this poor commodity to the Eaſterlings for as mean, which is wood, flax, pitch, tar, roſin, cordage, and ſuch like, which they exchange again to the French, Spaniards, Portugueze, and Engliſh, &c. for what they want, are made ſo mighty, ſtrong, and rich, as no ſtate but Venice, of twice their magnitude, is ſo well furniſhed with ſo many fair cities, goodly towns, ſtrong fortreſſes, and that abundance of ſhipping and all ſorts of merchandize, as well of gold, ſilver, pearls, diamonds, precious ſtones, ſilks, velvets, and cloth of gold, as fiſh, pitch, wood, or ſuch groſs commodities? What voyages and diſcoveries, eaſt and weſt, north and ſouth, yea, about the world, make they? What an army by ſea and land have they long maintained, in deſpite of one of the greateſt princes of the world; and never could the Spaniard, with all his mines of gold and ſilver, pay his debts, his friends, and army, half ſo truly as the Hollanders ſtill have done by this contemptible trade of fiſh. Divers (I know) may alledge many other aſſiſtances; but this is the chiefeſt mine, and the ſea the ſource of thoſe ſilver ſtreams of all their virtue, which hath made them now the very miracle of induſtry, the only pattern of perfection for theſe affairs; and the benefit of fiſhing is that *primum mobile* that turns all their ſpheres to this height, of plenty, ſtrength, honour, and exceeding great admiration.

Herring, cod, and ling is that triplicity that makes their wealth and ſhipping multiplicity ſuch as it is; and from which (few would think it) they ſhould draw ſo many millions yearly as they do, as more in particular in the trials of New England you may ſee; and ſuch an incredible number of ſhips, that breeds them ſo many ſailers, mariners, ſoldiers, and merchants, never to be wrought out of that trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gain as well as they that will uſe it, though not ſo certainly nor ſo much in quantity, for want of experience; and this herring they take upon the coaſt of England and Scotland, their cod and ling upon the coaſt of Iceland and in the North ſeas, if we conſider what gains the Hamburghans, the Biſcayners, and the French make by fiſhing; nay, but how many thouſands this fifty or ſixty years have been maintained by Newfoundland, where they take nothing but ſmall cod whereof the greateſt they make cor-fiſh, and the reſt is hard dried, which we call

poor

poor-john, would amaze a man with wonder. If then from all thoſe parts ſuch pains is taken for this poor gain of fiſh, eſpecially by the Hollanders, that hath but little of their own, for building of ſhips and ſetting them to ſea; but at the ſecond, third, fourth, or fifth hand, drawn from ſo many parts of the world ere they come together to be uſed in thoſe voyages: if theſe (I ſay) can gain, why ſhould we more doubt than they; but do much better, that may have moſt of all thoſe things at our doors for taking and making, and here are no hard landlords to rack us with high rents, or extorting fines, nor tedious pleas in law to conſume us with their many years diſputation for juſtice; no multitudes to occaſion ſuch impediments to good order as in popular ſtates: ſo freely hath God and His Majeſty beſtowed thoſe bleſſings on them will attempt to obtain them, as here every man be maſter of his own labour and land, or the greateſt part (if His Majeſty's royal meaning be not abuſed), and if he have nothing but his hands, he may ſet up his trade; and by induſtry quickly grow rich, ſpending but half that time well, which in England we abuſe in idleneſs, worſe, or as ill. Here is ground as good as any lieth in the height of forty-one, forty-two, forty-three, &c., which is as temperate and as fruitful as any other parallel in the world.

As for example, on this ſide the line, weſt of it in the South Sea, is Nova Albion, diſcovered, as is ſaid, by Sir Francis Drake: eaſt from it is the moſt temperate part of Portugal, the ancient kingdoms of Galicia, Biſcay, Navarre, Arragon, Catalonia, Caſtillia the Old, and the moſt moderate of Caſtillia the New, and Valencia, which is the greateſt part of Spain, which, if the hiſtories be true, in the Roman's time abounded no leſs with gold and ſilver mines, than now the Weſt Indies, the Romans then uſing the Spaniards to work in thoſe mines, as now the Spaniards do the Indians. In France, the provinces of Gaſcony, Languedock, Avignon, Provence, Dauphiny, Pyamont, and Turenne, are in the ſame parallel, which are the beſt and richeſt parts of France. In Italy the provinces of Genoa, Lombardy, and Verona, with a great part of the moſt famous ſtate of Venice, the dukedoms of Bononia, Mantua, Ferrara, Ravenna, Bolognia, Florence, Piſa, Sienna, Urbina, Ancona, and the ancient city and country of Rome, with a great part of the kingdom of Naples. In Sclavonia, Iſtria and Dalmatia, with the kingdoms of Albania. In Grecia, thoſe famous kingdoms of Macedonia, Bullulgaria, Theſſalia, Thracia, or Romania, where is ſeated the moſt pleaſant and plentiful city in Europe, Conſtantinople.

In Aſia, in the ſame latitude, are the temperateſt parts of Natolia, Armenia, Perſia, and China, beſides divers other large countries and kingdoms in thoſe moſt mild and temperate regions of Aſia. Southward in the ſame height is the richeſt of gold mines, Chili and Baldinia, and the mouth of the great river Plate, &c., for all the reſt of the world in that height is unknown. Beſides theſe reaſons, mine own eyes that have ſeen a great part of thoſe cities and their kingdoms (as well as it) can find no advantage they have in nature but this, they are beautified by the long labour and diligence of induſtrious people and art; this is only as God made it when he created the world: therefore I conclude, if the heart and entrails of thoſe regions were ſought, if their land were cultured, planted, and manured by men of induſtry, judgment, and experience; what hope is there, or what need they doubt, having the advantages of the ſea, but it might equalize any of theſe famous kingdoms in all commodities, pleaſures, and conditions, ſeeing even the very hedges do naturally afford us ſuch plenty, as no ſhip need return away empty, and only uſe but the ſeaſon of the ſea-fiſh will return an honeſt gain, beſides all other advantages, her treaſures having yet never been opened, nor her originals, waſted, conſumed, nor abuſed.

And whereas it is ſaid the Hollanders ſerve the Eaſterlings themſelves, and other

parts that want, with herring, ling, and wet cod; the Eaſterlings, a great part of Europe with ſturgeon and caviare, as the Black Sea doth Grecia, Podolia, Segovia, Natolia, and the Helleſpont. Cape Blank, Spain, Portugal, and the Levant with mullet and puttargo. Newfoundland, the moſt part of the chief ſouthern ports in Europe with a thin poor-john, which hath been ſo long ſo much overlaid with fiſhers, as the fiſhing decayeth, ſo that many oft times are conſtrained to return with a ſmall freight. Norway and Poland affords pitch and tar, maſts and yards; Sweden and Ruſſia, iron and ropes; France and Spain, canvas, wine, ſteel, iron, and oil; Italy and Greece, ſilks and fruits. I dare boldly ſay, becauſe I have ſeen naturally growing or breeding in thoſe parts the ſame materials that all theſe are made of, they may as well be had here, or the moſt part of them, within the diſtance of ſeventy leagues for ſome few ages, as from all thoſe parts, uſing but the ſame means to have them that they do; but ſurely in Virginia their moſt tender and daintieſt fruits or commodities would be as perfect as theirs, by reaſon of the heat, if not in New England, and with all thoſe advantages.

Firſt, the ground is ſo fertile, that queſtionleſs it is capable of producing any grain, fruits, or ſeeds you will ſow or plant, growing in the regions aforenamed; but it may not be to that perfection of delicacy, becauſe the ſummer is not ſo hot, and the winter is more cold in thoſe parts we have yet tried near the ſea-ſide, than we find in the ſame height in Europe or Aſia; yet I made a garden upon the top of a rocky iſle, in three-and-forty degrees and an half, four leagues from the main in May, that grew ſo well, as it ſerved us for ſallads in June and July. All ſorts of cattle may here be bred and fed in the iſles or peninſulas ſecurely for nothing. In the interim, till they increaſe (if need be) obſerving the ſeaſons, I durſt undertake to have corn enough from the ſavages for three hundred men, for a few trifles; and if they ſhould be untoward, as it is moſt certain they will, thirty or forty good men will be ſufficient to bring them all in ſubjection, and make this proviſion, if they underſtand what to do; two hundred whereof may eight or nine months in the year be employed in helping the fiſhermen, till the reſt provide other neceſſaries, fit to furniſh us with other commodities.

In March, April, May, and half June, here is cod in abundance; in May, June, July, and Auguſt, mullet and ſturgeon, whoſe roes does make caviary and puttargo, herring if any deſire them; I have taken many out of the bellies of cods, ſome in nets; but the ſavages compare the ſtore in the ſea with the hairs of their heads; and ſurely there are an incredible abundance upon this coaſt. In the end of Auguſt, September, October, and November, you may have cod again to make core-fiſh or poor-john: hake you may have when the cod fails in ſummer, if you will fiſh in the night, which is better than cod. Now each hundred you take here is as good as two or three hundred in Newfoundland; ſo that half the labour in hooking, ſplitting and towing is ſaved: and you may have your fiſh at what market you will, before they have any in Newfoundland, where their fiſhing is chiefly but in June and July, where it is here in March, April, May, September, October, and November, as is ſaid; ſo that by reaſon of this plantation, the merchants may have their freight both out and home, which yield an advantage worth conſideration. Your core fiſh you may in like manner tranſport as you ſee cauſe, to ſerve the ports in Portugal, as Liſbon, Avera, Porta-Port, and divers others (or what market you pleaſe), before your iſlanders return: they being tied to the ſeaſon in the open ſea, and you having a double ſeaſon, and fiſhing before your doors, may every night ſleep quietly aſhore with good cheer, and what fires you will, or when you pleaſe, with your wives and family: they only and their ſhips in the main ocean, that muſt carry and contain all they uſe, beſides their freight. The mullets here are in that abundance you may take them with nets ſometimes by hundreds,

dreds, where at Cape Blank they hook them; yet thoſe are but a foot and a half in length; theſe two, three, or four, as oft I have meaſured, which makes me ſuſpect they are ſome other kind of fiſh, though they ſeem the ſame, both in faſhion and goodneſs. Much ſalmon ſome have found up the rivers as they have paſſed, and here the air is ſo temperate as all theſe at any time may be preſerved. Now, young boys and girls, ſavages, or any other, be they never ſuch idlers, may turn, carry, or return a fiſh, without either ſhame, or any great pain: he is very idle, that is paſt twelve years of age, and cannot do ſo much; and ſhe is very old, that cannot ſpin a thread to make engines to catch a fiſh.

For their tranſportation, the ſhips that go there to fiſh may tranſport the firſt; who for their paſſage will ſpare the charge of double manning their ſhips, which they muſt do in Newfoundland to get their freight; but one-third part of that company are only proper to ſerve a ſtage, carry a barrow, and turn poor-john; notwithſtanding, they muſt have meat, drink, clothes, and paſſage, ſo well as the reſt. Now all I deſire is but this, that thoſe that voluntarily will ſend ſhipping, ſhould make here the beſt choice they can, or accept ſuch as ſhall be preſented them to ſerve them at that rate: and their ſhips returning, leave ſuch with me, with the value of that they ſhould receive coming home, in ſuch proviſions and neceſſary tools, arms, bedding, apparel, ſalt, nets, hooks, lines, and ſuch like, as they ſpare of the remainings; who till the next return may keep their boats, and do them many other profitable offices. Provided, I have men of ability to teach them their functions, and a company fit for ſoldiers to be ready upon any occaſion, becauſe of the abuſes that have been offered the poor ſavages, and the liberty that both French and Engliſh, or any that will, have to deal with them as they pleaſe; whoſe diſorders will be hard to reform, and the longer the worſe. Now ſuch order with facility might be taken, with every port, town, or city, with free power to convert the benefit of their freights to what advantage they pleaſe, and increaſe their numbers as they ſee occaſion, who ever as they are able to ſubſiſt of themſelves, may begin the new towns in New England, in memory of their old: which freedom being confined but to the neceſſity of the general good, the event (with God's help) might produce an honeſt, a noble, and a profitable emulation.

Salt upon ſalt may aſſuredly be made, if not at the firſt in ponds, yet till they be provided this may be uſed: then the ſhips may tranſport kine, horſe, goats, coarſe cloth, and ſuch commodities as we want; by whoſe arrival may be made that proviſion of fiſh to freight the ſhips that they ſtay not; and then if the ſailors go for wages, it matters not, it is hard if this return defray not the charge: but care muſt be had they arrive in the ſpring, or elſe that proviſion be made for them againſt winter. Of certain red berries called kermes, which is worth ten ſhillings the pound, but of theſe have been ſold for thirty or forty ſhillings the pound, may yearly be gathered a good quantity. Of the muſkrat may be well raiſed gains worth their labour, that will endeavour to make trial of their goodneſs. Of beavers, otters, and martins, black foxes, and furs of price, may yearly be had ſix or ſeven thouſand, and if the trade of the French were prevented, many more: twenty-five thouſand this year were brought from thoſe northern parts into France, of which trade we may have as good part as the French, if we take good courſes. Of mines of gold and ſilver, copper, and probabilities of lead, cryſtal and allum, I could ſay much, if relations were good aſſurances; it is true indeed, I made many trials according to the inſtructions I had, which doth perſuade me I need not deſpair but that there are metals in the country; but I am no alchymiſt, nor will promiſe more than I know: which is, who will undertake the rectifying of an iron forge, if thoſe that buy meat and drink, coals, ore, and all neceſſaries at a dear

dear rate, gain, where all theſe things are to be had for taking up, in my opinion, cannot loſe.

Of woods, ſeeing there is ſuch plenty of all ſorts, if thoſe that build ſhips and boats buy wood at ſo great a price as it is in England, Spain, France, and Holland, and all other proviſions for the nouriſhment of man's life, live well by their trade; when labour is all required to take theſe neceſſaries, without any other tax, what hazard will be here but to do much better, and what commodity in Europe doth more decay than wood? for the goodneſs of the ground, let us take it fertile or barren, or as it is, ſeeing it is certain it bears fruits to nouriſh and feed man and beaſt as well as England, and the ſea thoſe ſeveral ſorts of fiſhes I have related: thus ſeeing all good things for man's ſuſtenance may with this facility be had by a little extraordinary labour, till that tranſported be increaſed, and all neceſſaries for ſhipping only for labour, to which may be added the aſſiſtance of the ſavages, which may eaſily be had, if they be diſcreetly handled in their kinds, towards fiſhing, planting, and deſtroying woods, what gains might be raiſed if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your ſtore-houſes dwelling there, you may ſerve all Europe better and far cheaper than can the iſland fiſhers, or the Hollanders, Cape Blank, or Newfoundland, who muſt be at much more charge than you) may eaſily be conjectured by this example.

Two thouſand will fit out a ſhip of 200 tons, and one of 100 tons, if of the dry fiſh they both make freight, that of 200, and go for Spain, ſell it but at ten ſhillings a quintal, but commonly it gives fifteen or twenty, eſpecially when it cometh firſt, which amounts to 3 or 4000l., but ſay but ten, which is the loweſt, allowing the reſt for waſte, it amounts at that rate to 2000l., which is the whole charge of your two ſhips and the equipage, then the return of the money and the freight of the ſhip for the vintage or any other voyage is clear gain, with your ſhip of 100 tons of train oil and cor-fiſh, beſides the beavers and other commodities, and that you may have at home within ſix months, if God pleaſe to ſend but an ordinary paſſage; then ſaving half this charge by the not ſtaying of your ſhips, your victuals, overplus of men and wages, with her freight thither with neceſſaries for the planters, the ſalt being there made, as alſo may the nets and lines within a ſhort time; if nothing may be expected but this, it might in time equalize your Hollanders' gains, if not exceed them, having their freights always ready againſt the arrival of the ſhips, this would ſo increaſe our ſhipping and ſailors, and ſo encourage and employ a great part of our idlers and others that want employment fitting their qualities at home, where they ſhame to do that they would do abroad, that could they but once taſte the ſweet fruits of their own labour, doubtleſs many thouſands would be adviſed by good diſcipline to take more pleaſure in honeſt induſtry than in their humours of diſſolute idleneſs.

But to return a little more to the particulars of this country, which I intermingle thus with my projects and reaſons, not being ſo ſufficiently yet acquainted in thoſe parts, to write fully the eſtate of the ſea, the air, the land, the fruits, their rocks, the people, the government, religion, territories, limitations, friends and foes: but as I gathered from their niggardly relations in a broken language, during the time I ranged thoſe countries, &c. the moſt northern part I was at, was the bay of Pennobſcot, which is eaſt and weſt, north and ſouth, more than ten leagues: but ſuch were my occaſions, I was conſtrained to be ſatisfied of them I found in the bay, that the river ran far up into the land, and was well inhabited with many people, but they were from their habitations, either fiſhing amongſt the iſles, or hunting the lakes and woods for deer and beavers: the bay is full of great iſles of one, two, ſix or eight miles in length, which divides it into many fair and excellent good harbours. On the eaſt of it are the Tarrentines, their mortal

enemies, where inhabit the French, as they report, that live with thoſe people as one nation or family; and northweſt of Pennobſcot is Mecaddacut, at the foot of a high mountain, a kind of fortreſs againſt the Tarrentines, adjoining to the high mountains of Pennobſcot, againſt whoſe feet doth beat the ſea; but over all the land, iſles, or other impediments, you may well ſee them fourteen or eighteen leagues from their ſituation. Segocket is the next, then Nuſkoucus, Pemmaquid, and Sagadahock: up this river, where was the weſtern plantation, are Aumoughcawgen, Kinnebeke, and divers others, where are planted ſome corn fields. Along this river, thirty or forty miles, I ſaw nothing but great high clifts of barren rocks overgrown with wood, but where the ſavages dwell there the ground is excellent ſalt, and fertile. Weſtward of this river is the country of Aucociſco, in the bottom of a large deep bay, full of many great iſles which divides it into many good harbours. Sawocotuck is the next, in the edge of a large ſandy bay, which hath many rocks and iſles, but few good harbours, but for barks I yet know; but all this coaſt to Pennobſcot, and as far as I could ſee eaſtward of it, is nothing but ſuch high craggy clifty rocks and ſtony iſles, that I wonder ſuch great trees could grow upon ſo hard foundations. It is a country rather to affright than delight one, and how to deſcribe a more plain ſpectacle of deſolation, or more barren, I know not; yet are thoſe rocky iſles ſo furniſhed with good woods, ſprings, fruits, fiſh and fowl, and the ſea the ſtrangeſt fiſh-pond I ever ſaw, that it makes me think, though the coaſt be rocky and thus affrightable, the vallies and plains and interior parts may well notwithſtanding be very fertile. But there is no country ſo fertile hath not ſome part barren, and New-England is great enough to make many kingdoms and countries, were it all inhabited. As you paſs the coaſt ſtill weſtward, Accominticus and Paſſataquack are two convenient harbours for ſmall barks; and a good country within their craggy clifts. Augoan is the next: this place might content a right curious judgment, but there are many ſands at the entrance of the harbour, and the worſt is, it is embayed too far from the deep ſea; here are many riſing hills, and on their tops and deſcents are many corn fields and delightful groves: on the eaſt is an iſle of two or three leagues in length, the one-half plain marſh ground, fit for paſture or ſalt ponds, with many fair high groves of mulberry-trees and gardens; there is alſo oaks, pines, walnuts, and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and ſafe harbour.

Naiemkeck, though it be more rocky ground, for Augoan is ſandy, not much inferior neither for the harbour, nor any thing I could perceive but the multitude of people: from hence doth ſtretch into the ſea the fair head-land Tragabigzanda, now called Cape Anne, fronted with the three iſles we called the Three Turks Heads; to the north of this doth enter a great bay, where we found ſome habitations and corn fields, they report a fair river, and at leaſt thirty habitations doth poſſeſs this country. But becauſe the French had got their trade, I had no leiſure to diſcover it: the iſles of Mattahunts are on the weſt ſide of this bay, where are many iſles and ſome rocks that appear a great height above the water like the pyramids in Ægypt, and amongſt them many good harbours, and then the country of the Maſſachuſets, which is the paradiſe of all thoſe parts, for here are many iſles planted with corn, groves, mulberries, ſalvage gardens and good harbours; the coaſt is for the moſt part high clay ſandy clifts, the ſea coaſt as you paſs ſhews you all along large corn fields, and great troops of well-proportioned people: but the French having remained here near ſix weeks, left nothing for us to take occaſion to examine the inhabitants relations, viz. if there be three thouſand people upon thoſe iſles, and that the river doth pierce many days journey the entrails of that country: we found the people in thoſe parts very kind, but in their fury no leſs valiant, for upon a quarrel we fought with forty or fifty of them, till they had ſpent all their arrows, and

then we took ſix or ſeven of their canoes, which towards the evening they ranſomed for beaver-ſkins, and at Quonahaſit falling out there but with one of them, he with three others croſſed the harbour in a canoe to certain rocks whereby we muſt paſs, and there let fly their arrows for our ſhot, till we were out of danger, yet one of them was ſlain, and another ſhot through his thigh.

Then come you to Accomacke, an excellent good harbour, good land, and no want of any thing but induſtrious people: after much kindneſs, we fought alſo with them, though ſome were hurt, ſome ſlain, yet within an hour after they became friends. Cape Cod is the next preſents itſelf, which is only a headland of high hills, overgrown with ſhrubby pines, hurts and ſuch traſh, but an excellent harbour for all weathers. This cape is made by the main ſea on the one ſide, and a great bay on the other in form of a ſickle; on it doth inhabit the people of Pawmet, and in the bottom of the bay them of Chawum; towards the ſouth and ſouth-weſt of this Cape is found a long and dangerous ſhoal of rocks and ſand, but ſo far as I incircled it, I found thirty fathoms water and a ſtrong current, which makes me think there is a channel about this ſhoal, where is the beſt and greateſt fiſh to be had winter and ſummer in all the country; but the ſavages ſay there is no channel, but that the ſhoals begin from the main at Pawmet to the iſle of Nawſet, and ſo extends beyond their knowledge into the ſea. The next to this is Capawucke, and thoſe abounding countries of copper, corn, people, and minerals, which I went to diſcover this laſt year, but becauſe I miſcarried by the way I will leave them till God pleaſe I have better acquaintance with them.

The Maſſachuſets, they report, ſometimes have wars with the Baſhabes of Pennobſcot, and are not always friends with them of Chawum and their alliance; but now they are all friends, and have each trade with other ſo far as they have ſociety on each other's frontiers, for they make no ſuch voyages as from Pennobſcot to Cape Cod, ſeldom to Maſſachuſet. In the north, as I have ſaid, they have begun to plant corn, whereof the ſouth part hath ſuch plenty as they have what they will from them of the north; and in the winter, much more plenty of fiſh and fowl; but both winter and ſummer hath it in one part or other all the year, being the mean and moſt indifferent temper betwixt heat and cold, of all the regions betwixt the line and the pole; but the furs northward are much better, and in much more plenty than ſouthward.

The remarkableſt iſles and mountains for land-marks are theſe: the higheſt iſle is Sorico in the bay of Pennobſcot, but the three iſles, and the iſles of Matinack are much further in the ſea: Metynacus is alſo three plain iſles, but many great rocks: Monahigan is a round high iſle, and cloſe by it Monanis, betwixt which is a ſmall harbour where we rid; in Dameril's Iſles is ſuch another, Sagadahocke is known by Satquin, and four or five iſles in their mouth. Smith's Iſles are a heap together, none near them againſt Accomintycus: the Three Turks Heads are three iſles, ſeen far to ſeaward in regard of the headland. The chief headlands are only Cape Tragabigzanda and Cape Cod, now called Cape James and Cape Anne.

The chief mountains, them of Pennobſcot, the twinkling mountain of Acociſco, the great mountain of Saſſanow, and the high mountain of Maſſachuſet; each of which you ſhall find in the map, their places, form, and altitudes. The waters are moſt pure, proceeding from the entrails of rocky mountains; the herbs and fruits are of many ſorts and kinds, as alkermes, currants, mulberries, vines, reſpiſes, gooſeberries, plumbs, walnuts, cheſnuts, ſmall nuts, pumpeons, gourds, ſtrawberries, beans, peas, and maize; a kind or two of flax, wherewith they make nets, lines, and ropes, both ſmall and great, very ſtrong for their quantities.

Oak is the chief wood, of which there is great difference, in regard of the ſoil where it groweth, fir, pine, walnut, cheſnut, birch, aſh, elm, cypreſs, cedar, mulberry, plumb-tree, hazel, faſſefras, and many other ſorts.

Eagles, grips, divers ſorts of hawks, cranes, geeſe, brants, cormorants, ducks, cranes, ſwans, ſheldrakes, teal, mews, gulls, turkies, dive-doppers, and many other ſorts whoſe names I know not.

Whales, grompus, porkpiſces, turbet, ſturgeon, cod, hake, haddock, cole, cuſk or ſmall ling, ſhark, mackarel, herring, mullet, baſe, pinnacks, cunners, perch, eels, crabs, lobſters, muſcles, wilks, oyſters, clamps, periwinkles, and divers others, &c.

Moos, a beaſt bigger than a ſtag, deer red and fallow, beavers, wolves, foxes both black and other, aroughcunds, wild cats, bears, otters, martins, fitches, muſquaſſus, and divers other ſorts of vermin whoſe names I know not: all theſe and divers other good things do here for want of uſe ſtill increaſe and decreaſe with little diminution, whereby they grow to that abundance, you ſhall ſcarce find any bay, ſhallow, ſhore or cove of ſand, where you may not take many clamps or lobſters, or both, at your pleaſure, and in many places load your boat if you pleaſe; nor iſles where you find not fruits, birds, crabs, and muſcles, or all of them; for taking at a low water cod, cuſk, hollibut, ſcate, turbet, mackarel, or ſuch like, are taken plentifully in divers ſandy bays, ſtore of mullet, baſes, and divers other ſorts of ſuch excellent fiſh as many as their net can hold: no river where there is not plenty of ſturgeon, or ſalmon, or both, all which are to be had in abundance obſerving but their ſeaſons: but if a man will go at Chriſtmas to gather cherries in Kent, though there be plenty in ſummer, he may be deceived; ſo here theſe plenties have each their ſeaſons, as I have expreſſed; we for the moſt part had little but bread and vinegar, and though the moſt part of July when the fiſhing decayed, they wrought all day, lay abroad in the iſles all night, and lived on what they found, yet were not ſick: but I would wiſh none long put himſelf to ſuch plunges, except neceſſity conſtrain it: yet worthy is that perſon to ſtarve that here cannot live if he have ſenſe, ſtrength, and health, for there is no ſuch penury of theſe bleſſings in any place but that one hundred men may in two or three hours make their proviſions for a day; and he that hath experience to manage theſe affairs with forty or thirty honeſt induſtrious men, might well undertake (if they dwell in theſe parts) to ſubject the ſavages, and feed daily two or three hundred men with as good corn, fiſh and fleſh as the earth hath of thoſe kinds, and yet make that labour but their pleaſure, provided that they have engines that be proper for their purpoſes. Who can deſire more content that hath ſmall means, or but only his merit to advance his fortune, than to tread and plant that ground he hath purchaſed by the hazard of his life; if he have but the taſte of virtue and magnanimity, what to ſuch a mind can be more pleaſant than planting and building a foundation for his poſterity, got from the rude earth by God's bleſſing and his own induſtry without prejudice to any, if he have any grain of faith or zeal in religion, what can he do leſs hurtful to any, or more agreeable to God, than to ſeek to convert thoſe poor ſavages to know Chriſt and humanity, whoſe labours with diſcretion will triple require thy charge and pain; what ſo truly ſuits with honour and honeſty, as the diſcovering things unknown, erecting towns, peopling countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjuſt, teaching virtue and gain to our native mother country; a kingdom to attend her, find employment for thoſe that are idle, becauſe they know not what to do: ſo far from wronging any, as to cauſe poſterity to remember thee, and remembering thee, ever honour that remembrance with praiſe? Conſider what were the beginnings and endings of the monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the

the Grecians and Romans, but this one rule; what was it they would not do for the good of their, commonwealth, or their mother city? For example, Rome, what made her ſuch a monarcheſs, but only the adventures of her youth, not in riots at home, but in dangers abroad, and the juſtice and judgment out of their experience when they grew aged; what was their ruin and hurt but this, the exceſs of idleneſs, the fondneſs of parents, the want of experience in magiſtrates, the admiration of their undeſerved honours, the contempt of true merit, their unjuſt jealouſies, their politic incredulities, their hypocritical ſeeming goodneſs and their deeds of ſecret lewdneſs; finally in fine, growing only formal temporiſts, all that their predeceſſors got in many years they loſt in a few days: thoſe by their pains and virtues became lords of the world, they by their eaſe and vices became ſlaves to their ſervants. This is the difference betwixt the uſe of arms in the field and on the monuments of ſtones, the golden age and the leaden age, proſperity and miſery, juſtice and corruption, ſubſtance and ſhadows, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making commonwealths, and marring commonwealths, the fruits of virtue, and the concluſions of vice.

Then who would live at home idly, or think in himſelf any worth to live, only to eat, drink, and ſleep, and ſo die; or by conſuming that careleſsly, his friends got worthily, or by uſing that miſerably that maintained virtue honeſtly, or for being deſcended nobly, and pine with the vain vaunt of great kindred in penury, or to maintain a ſilly ſhew of bravery, toil out thy heart, ſoul and time baſely, by ſhifts, tricks, cards and dice, or by relating news of other men's actions, ſhark here and there for a dinner or ſupper, deceive thy friends by fair promiſes and diſſimulation, in borrowing where thou never meaneſt to pay, offend the laws, ſurfeit with exceſs, burthen thy country, abuſe thyſelf, deſpair in want, and then couſin thy kindred, yea, even thy own brother, and wiſh thy parents' death (I will not ſay damnation), to have their eſtates, though thou ſeeſt what honours and rewards the world yet hath for them, that will ſeek them and worthily deſerve them.

I would be ſorry to offend, or that any ſhould miſtake my honeſt meaning, for I wiſh good to all, hurt to none: but rich men for the moſt part are grown to that dotage through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it or their life.

And what helliſh care do ſuch take to make it their own miſery and their countries' ſpoil, eſpecially when there is moſt need of their employment, drawing by all manner of inventions from the prince and his honeſt ſubjects, even the vital ſpirits of their power and eſtate, as if their bags or brags were ſo powerful a defence, the malicious could not aſſault them, when they are the only bait to cauſe us not only to be aſſaulted, but betrayed and murdered in our own ſecurity ere we will perceive it.

May not the miſerable ruin of Conſtantinople, their impregnable walls, riches and pleaſures laſt taken by the Turk, which were then but a bit in compariſon of their mightineſs now, remember us of the effects of private covetouſneſs, at which time the good Emperor held himſelf rich enough, to have ſuch rich ſubjects, ſo formal in all exceſs of vanity, all kind of delicacy and prodigality: his poverty when the Turk beſieged the citizens (whoſe merchandizing thoughts were only to get wealth) little conceiving the deſperate reſolution of a valiant expert enemy, left the Emperor ſo long to his concluſions, having ſpent all he had to pay his young raw diſcontented ſoldiers, that ſuddenly he, they, and their city were all a prey to the devouring Turks, and what they would not ſpare for the maintenance of them who adventured their lives to defend them, did ſerve only their enemies to torment them, their friends and country, and all Chriſtendom to this preſent day. Let this lamentable example

remember

remember you that are rich (ſeeing there are ſuch great thieves in the world to rob you) not grudge to lend ſome proportion to breed them that have little, yet willing to learn how to defend you, for it is too late when the deed is doing.

The Romans eſtate hath been worſe than this, for the mere covetouſneſs and extortion of a few of them ſo moved the reſt, that not having any employment but contemplation, their great judgments grew to ſo great malice, as themſelves were ſufficient to deſtroy themſelves by faction; let this move you to embrace employment, for thoſe whoſe educations, ſpirits, and judgments, want but your purſes, not only to preſent ſuch accuſtomed dangers, but alſo to gain more thereby than you have; and you fathers that are either ſo fooliſhly fond, or ſo miſerably covetous, or ſo wilfully ignorant, or ſo negligently careleſs, as that you will rather maintain your children in idle wantonneſs till they grow your maſters, or become ſo baſely unkind that they wiſh nothing but your deaths, ſo that both ſorts grow diſſolute, and although you would wiſh them any where to eſcape the gallows and eaſe your cares, though they ſpend you here one, two, or three hundred pounds a year, you would grudge to give half ſo much in adventure with them to obtain an eſtate, which in a ſmall time, but with a little aſſiſtance of your providence, might be better than your own; but if an angel ſhould tell you any place yet unknown can afford ſuch fortunes, you would not believe it, no more than Columbus was believed there was any ſuch land as is now the well known abounding America, much leſs ſuch large regions as are yet unknown, as well in America as in Africa and Aſia, and Terra Incognita.

I have not been ſo ill bred but I have taſted of plenty and pleaſure, as well as want and miſery; nor doth neceſſity yet, or occaſion of diſcontent, force me to theſe endeavours, nor am I ignorant what ſmall thanks I ſhall have for my pains, or that many would have the world imagine them to be of great judgment, that can but blemiſh theſe my deſigns, by their witty objections and detraction, yet I hope my reaſons with my deeds will ſo prevail with ſome, that I ſhall not want employment in theſe affairs, to make the moſt blind ſee his own ſenſeleſſneſs and incredulity, hoping that gain will make them affect that which religion, charity, and the common good cannot. It were but a poor device in me to deceive myſelf, much more the King and ſtate, my friends and country with theſe inducements, which ſeeing His Majeſty hath given permiſſion, I wiſh all ſorts of worthy, honeſt, induſtrious ſpirits would underſtand, and if they deſire any further ſatisfaction, I will do my beſt to give it, not to perſuade them to go only, but go with them; not leave them there, but live with them there: I will not ſay but by ill providing and undue managing, ſuch courſes may be taken may make us miſerable enough: but if I may have the execution of what I have projected, if they want to eat, let them eat or never digeſt me; if I perform what I ſay, I deſire but that reward out of the gains may ſuit my pains, quality, and condition, and if I abuſe you with my tongue, take my head for ſatisfaction. If any diſlike at the year's end, defraying their charge, by my conſent they ſhould freely return; I fear not want of company ſufficient, were it but known what I know of theſe countries, and by the proof of that wealth I hope yearly to return, if God pleaſe to bleſs me from ſuch accidents as are beyond my power in reaſon to prevent; for I am not ſo ſimple to think that ever any other motive than wealth will ever erect there a commonwealth, or draw company from their eaſe and humours at home, to ſtay in New England to effect my purpoſes.

And leſt any ſhould think the toil might be inſupportable, though theſe things may be had by labour and diligence, I aſſure myſelf there are who delight extremely in vain pleaſure, that take much more pains in England to enjoy it, than I ſhould do here

here to gain wealth ſufficient, and yet I think they ſhould not have half ſuch ſweet content: for our pleaſure here is ſtill gain, in England charges and loſs; here nature and liberty affords us that freely which in England we want, or it coſteth us dearly. What pleaſure can be more than being tired with any occaſion aſhore, in planting vines, fruits, or herbs, in contriving their own grounds to the pleaſure of their own minds, their fields, gardens, orchards, buildings, ſhips, and other works, &c. to recreate themſelves before their own doors, in their own boats, upon the ſea, where man, woman, and child, with a ſmall hook and line, by angling, may take divers ſorts of excellent fiſh at their pleaſure; and is it not pretty ſport to pull up twopence, ſixpence, and twelvepence, as faſt as you can hale and veer a line? He is a very bad fiſher who cannot kill in one day, with his hook and line, one, two, or three hundred cod, which, dreſſed and dried, if they be ſold there for ten ſhillings a hundred, though in England they will give more than twenty, may not both ſervant, maſter, and merchant be well content with this gain? If a man work but three days in ſeven, he may get more than he can ſpend, unleſs he will be exceedingly exceſſive. Now that carpenter, maſon, gardener, tailor, ſmith, ſailor, forger, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation, though they fiſh but an hour in a day, to take more than they can eat in a week, or if they will not eat it, becauſe there is ſo much better choice, yet ſell it or change it with the fiſhermen or merchants for any thing you want; and what ſport doth yield a more pleaſing content, and leſs hurt and charge than angling with a hook, and croſſing the ſweet air from iſle to iſle, over the ſilent ſtreams of a calm ſea, wherein the moſt curious may find profit, pleaſure, and content.

Thus though all men be not fiſhers, yet all men whatſoever may in other matters do as well, for neceſſity doth in theſe caſes ſo rule a commonwealth, and each in their ſeveral functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable becauſe there is a neceſſary mutual uſe of all.

For gentlemen, what exerciſe ſhould more delight them than ranging daily theſe unknown parts, uſing fowling and fiſhing for hunting and hawking, and yet you ſhall ſee the wild hawks give you ſome pleaſure in ſeeing them ſtop ſix or ſeven times after one another an hour or two together, at the ſkults of fiſh in the fair harbours, as thoſe aſhore at a fowl, and never trouble nor torment yourſelves with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them, nor kill horſe and man with running and crying, See you not a hawk; for hunting alſo, the woods, lakes and rivers afford not only chace ſufficient for any that delight in that kind of toil or pleaſure, but ſuch beaſts to hunt, that beſides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their ſkins are ſo rich, as they will recompence the daily labour with a captain's pay.

For labourers, if thoſe that ſow hemp, rape, turnips, parſnips, carrots, cabbage, and ſuch like, give twenty, thirty, forty, fifty ſhillings yearly for an acre of land, and meat, drink, and wages to uſe it, and yet grow rich: when better, or at leaſt as good ground may be had and coſt nothing but labour; it ſeems ſtrange to me any ſuch ſhould grow poor.

My purpoſe is not to perſuade children from their parents, men from their wives, nor ſervants from their maſters; only ſuch as with free conſent may be ſpared: but that each pariſh, or village, in city or country, that will but apparel their fatherleſs children of thirteen or fourteen years of age, or young married people that have ſmall wealth to live on here, by their labour may live exceeding well. Provided always, that firſt there be a ſufficient power to command them, houſes to receive them, means to defend them, and meet proviſions for them, for any place may be over-lain: and it is moſt neceſſary to have a fortreſs (ere this grow to practice), and ſufficient maſters of all

all neceſſary, mechanical qualities to take ten or twelve of them for apprentices; the maſter by this may quickly grow rich, theſe may learn their trades themſelves to do the like, to a general and an incredible benefit for king and country, maſter and ſervant.

It would be a hiſtory of a large volume to recite the adventures of the Spaniards and Portugueſe, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miſeries, which with ſuch incomparable honour and conſtant reſolution, ſo far beyond belief, they have attempted and endured in their diſcoveries and plantations, as may well condemn us of too much imbecility, ſloth, and negligence: yet the authors of theſe new inventions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others that do but ſeek to imitate their unparalleled virtues; and though we ſee daily their mountains of wealth (ſprung from the plants of their generous endeavours) yet is our ſenſuality and untowardneſs ſuch and ſo great, that we either ignorantly believe nothing or ſo curiouſly conteſt to prevent we know not what future events, that we either ſo neglect, or oppreſs and diſcourage the preſent, as we ſpoil all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building upon fair ſand rather than upon rough rocks, judge that we know not, govern that we have not, fear that which is not; and for fear ſome ſhould do too well, force ſuch againſt their wills to be idle, or as ill. And who is he hath judgment, courage, and any induſtry or quality with underſtanding, will leave his country, his hopes at home, his certain eſtate, his friends, pleaſures, liberty, and the preferment ſweet England doth afford to all degrees, were it not to advance his fortunes by enjoying his deſerts, whoſe proſperity once appearing, will encourage others: but it muſt be cheriſhed as a child, till it be able to go and underſtand itſelf, and not corrected nor oppreſſed above its ſtrength, ere it know wherefore. A child can neither perform the office nor deeds of a man of ſtrength, nor endure that affliction he is able; nor can an apprentice at the firſt perform the part of a maſter, and if twenty years be required to make a child a man, ſeven years limited an apprentice for his trade: if ſcarce an age be ſufficient to make a wiſe man a ſtateſman, and commonly a man dies ere he hath learned to be diſcreet; if perfection be ſo hard to be obtained, as of neceſſity there muſt be practice as well as theorick: let no man then condemn this paradox opinion, to ſay that half ſeven years is ſcarce ſufficient for a good capacity to learn in theſe affairs how to carry himſelf. And whoever ſhall try in theſe remote places the erecting of a colony, ſhall find at the end of ſeven years occaſion enough to uſe all his diſcretion: and in the interim, all the content, rewards, gains, and hopes will be neceſſarily required to be given to the beginning, till it be able to creep, to ſtand, and go, and to encourage deſert by all poſſible means; yet time enough to keep it from running, for there is no fear it will grow too faſt, or ever to any thing, except liberty, profit, honour, and proſperity there found, more bind the planters of thoſe affairs in devotion to effect it, than bondage, violence, tyranny, ingratitude, and ſuch double dealing as binds free men to become ſlaves, and honeſt men turn knaves, which hath ever been the ruin of the moſt popular commonwealths, and it is very unlikely ever well to begin anew.

Who ſeeth not what is the greateſt good of the Spaniards, but theſe new concluſions in ſearching thoſe unknown parts of this unknown world; by which means he dives even into the very ſecrets of all his neighbours, and the moſt part of the world; and when the Portugueſe and Spaniards had found the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, how many did condemn themſelves that did not accept of that honeſt offer of noble Columbus, who upon our neglect brought them to it, perſuading ourſelves the world had no ſuch places as they had found: and yet ever ſince we find, they ſtill (from time to time) have found new lands, new nations, and trades, and ſtill daily do find, both in Aſia, Africa, Terra Incognita,

and

and America, ſo that there is neither ſoldier nor mechanic, from the lord to the beggar, but thoſe parts affords them all employment, and diſcharges their native ſoil of ſo many thouſands of all ſorts, that elſe by their ſloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this have troubled their neighbours, or have eaten the pride of Spain itſelf.

Now he knows little that knows not England may well ſpare many more people than Spain, and is as well able to furniſh them with all manner of neceſſaries: and ſeeing for all they have, they ceaſe not ſtill to ſearch for that they have not, and know not; it is ſtrange we ſhould be ſo dull, as not maintain that which we have, and purſue that we know: ſurely, I am ſure many would take it ill, to be abridged of the titles and honours of their predeceſſors; when if but truly they would judge themſelves, look how inferior they are to their noble virtues, ſo much they are unworthy of their honours and livings, which never were ordained for ſhows and ſhadows, to maintain idleneſs and vice, but to make them more able to abound in honour, by heroical deeds of action, judgment, piety, and virtue. What was it both in their purſe and perſon they would not do for the good of their common-wealth, which might move them preſently to ſet out their ſpare children in theſe generous deſigns; religion above all things ſhould move us, eſpecially the clergy, if we are religious, to ſhew our faith by our works, in converting thoſe poor ſavages to the knowledge of God, ſeeing what pains the Spaniards take to bring them to their adultered faith. Honour might move the gentry, the valiant, and induſtrious, and the hope and aſſurance of wealth, all, if we were that we would ſeem, and be accounted; or be we ſo far inferior to other nations, or our ſpirits ſo far dejected from our ancient predeceſſors, or our minds ſo upon ſpoil, piracy, and ſuch villainy, as to ſerve the Portugal, Spaniard, Dutch, French, or Turk, (as to the coſt of Europe too many do) rather than our God, our king, our country, and ourſelves; excuſing our idleneſs and our baſe complaints by want of employment, when here is ſuch choice of all ſorts, and for all degrees, in the planting and diſcovering theſe North parts of American.

My ſecond Voyage to New England.

IN the year of our Lord 1615, I was employed by many my friends of London, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a noble knight, and a great favourer of thoſe actions, who perſuaded the Reverend Dean of Exeter, Doctor Sutcliffe, and divers merchants of the Weſt, to entertain this plantation. Much labour I had taken to bring the Londoners and them to join together, becauſe the Londoners have moſt money, and the Weſtern men are moſt proper for fiſhing, and it is near as much trouble, but much more danger, to ſail from London to Plymouth, than from Plymouth to New England, ſo that half the voyage would thus be ſaved, yet by no means I could prevail, ſo deſirous they were both to be lords of this fiſhing. Now to make my words more apparent by my deeds, to begin a plantation for a more ample trial of thoſe concluſions, I was to have ſtaid there but with ſixteen men, whoſe names were;

Thomas Dirmer,	Gent.	Thomas Digby,	Were to learn to be Sailors.
Edward Stallings,		Daniel Baker,	
Daniel Cage,		Adam Smith,	
Francis Abbot,		Thomas Watſon,	
John Goſling,	Soldiers.	Walter Chiſſel,	
Willian Ingram,		Robert Miller,	
David Cooper,		And two Boys,	
John Partridge,			

I con-

I confeſs I could have wiſhed them as many thouſands, had all other proviſions been in like proportion; nor would I have had ſo few, could I have had means for more; yet would God have pleaſed we had ſafely arrived, I doubted not but to have performed more than I promiſed, and that many thouſands ere this would have been there ere now. The main aſſiſtance, next God, I had to this ſmall number, was my acquaintance amongſt the ſavages, eſpecially with Dohoday, one of their greateſt lords, who had lived long in England, and another called Tantum, I carried with me from England, and ſet on ſhore at Cape Cod; by the means of this proud ſavage I did not doubt but quickly to have got that credit amongſt the reſt of the ſavages and their alliance, to have had as many of them as I deſired in any deſign I intended, and that trade alſo they had by ſuch a kind of exchange of their country commodities, which both with eaſe and ſecurity might then have been uſed with him and divers others: I had concluded to inhabit and defend them againſt the Tarentines, with a better power than the French did them, whoſe tyranny did enforce them to embrace my offer with no ſmall devotion; and though many may think me more bold than wiſe, in regard of their power, dexterity, treachery, and inconſtancy, having ſo deſperately aſſaulted and betrayed many others; I ſay but this, (becauſe with ſo many, I have many times done much more in Virginia than I intended here, when I wanted that experience Virginia taught me), that to me it ſeems no more danger than ordinary; and though I know myſelf the meaneſt of many thouſands, whoſe apprehenſive inſpection can pierce beyond the bounds of my abilities, into the hidden things of nature, art, and reaſon; yet I entreat ſuch, give me leave to excuſe myſelf of ſo much imbecility, as to ſay, that in theſe eighteen years which I have been converſant with theſe affairs, I have not learned there is a great difference betwixt the directions and judgment of experimental knowledge, and the ſuperficial conjecture of variable relation: wherein rumour, humour, or miſpriſion have ſuch power, that ofttimes one is enough to beguile twenty, but twenty not ſufficient to keep one from being deceived. Therefore I know no reaſon but to believe my own eyes before any man's imagination, that is but wreſted from the conceits of my own projects and endeavours, but I honor with all affection, the counſel and inſtructions of judicial directions, or any other honeſt advertiſement, ſo far to obſerve, as they tie me, not to the cruelty of unknown events. Theſe are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other employments, and ſpend my time and beſt abilities in theſe adventures, wherein though I have had many diſcouragements, by the ingratitude of ſome, the malicious ſlanders of others, the falſeneſs of friends, the treachery of cowards, and ſlowneſs of adventurers.

Now you are to remember, as I returned firſt from New England at Plymouth, I was promiſed four good ſhips ready prepared to my hand the next Chriſtmas, and what conditions and content I would deſire, to put this buſineſs in practice, and arriving at London, four more were offered me with the like courteſy. But to join the Londoners and them in one, was moſt impoſſible; ſo that in January, with two hundred pounds in caſh for adventure, and ſix gentlemen well furniſhed, I went from London to the four ſhips were promiſed me at Plymouth, but I found no ſuch matter; and the moſt of thoſe that had made ſuch great promiſes, by the bad return of the ſhip went for gold, and their private emulations, were extinct and qualified. Notwithſtanding, at laſt, with a labyrinth of trouble, though the greateſt of the burden lay on me, and a few of my particular friends, I was furniſhed with a ſhip of two hundred tons, and another of fifty; but ere I had ſailed one hundred and twenty leagues, ſhe broke all her maſts, pumping each watch five or ſix thouſand ſtrokes; only her ſprit-ſail remained to ſpoon before the wind, till we had re-accommodated a jury-maſt to return for Plymouth, or founder in the ſeas.

My

My vice-admiral being loſt, not knowing of this, proceeded her voyage; now with the remainder of thoſe proviſions, I got out again in a ſmall bark of ſixty tons with thirty men: for this of two hundred, and proviſion for ſeventy, which were the ſixteen before named, and fourteen other ſailors for the ſhip; with thoſe I ſet ſail again the four-and-twentieth of June, where what befell me (becauſe my actions and writings are ſo public to the world) envy ſtill ſeeking to ſcandalize my endeavours, and ſeeing no power but death can ſtop the chat of ill tongues, nor imaginations of men's minds, leſt my own relations of thoſe hard events might by ſome conſtructors be made doubtful, I have thought it beſt to infert the examinations of thoſe proceedings, taken by Sir Lewis Stukeley, a worthy knight, and vice-admiral of Devonſhire, which was as followeth:

The Examination of Daniel Baker, late Steward to Captain John Smith, in the return of Plymouth, taken before Sir Lewis Stukely, Knight, the 8th of December, 1615.

THE effect in brief was this: being chaced by one Fry an Engliſh pirate, Edward Chambers the maſter, John Minter his mate, Thomas Digby the pilot, and divers others importuned him to yield; much ſwaggering we had with them, more than the pirates, who agreed upon ſuch fair conditions as we deſired, which if they broke, he vowed to ſink rather than be abuſed. Strange they thought it, that a bark of three-ſcore tons with four guns ſhould ſtand upon ſuch terms, they being eighty expert ſea-men, in an excellent ſhip of one hundred and forty tons, and thirty-ſix caſt pieces and murderers. But when they knew our captain, ſo many of them had been his ſoldiers, and they but lately run from Tunis, where they had ſtolen this ſhip, wanted victuals, and in combuſtion amongſt themſelves, would have yielded all to his protection, or wafted us any whither; but thoſe mutinies occaſioned us to reject their offer, which afterwards we all repented; for at Fuiall we met two French pirates, the one of two hundred tons, the other thirty: no diſgrace would cauſe our mutineers fight, till the captain offered to blow up the ſhip rather than yield, till he had ſpent all his powder: ſo that together by the ears we went, and at laſt got clear of them for all their ſhot. At Flowers we were again chaſed with four French men of war, the admiral one hundred and forty tons, and ninety men well armed; the reſt good ſhips, and as well provided: much parly we had, but vowing they were Rochelers, and had a commiſſion from the King only to ſecure true men, and take Portugueſe, Spaniards, and pirates, and as they requeſted, our captain went to ſhew his commiſſion, which was under the broad ſeal, but neither it nor their vows they ſo much reſpected, but they kept him, rifled our ſhip, manned her with Frenchmen, and diſperſed us amongſt their fleet within five or ſix days they were increaſed to eight or nine ſail. At laſt they ſurrendered us our ſhip, and moſt of our proviſions, the defects they promiſed the next day to ſupply, and did. Notwithſtanding, there was no way but our mutineers would for England, though we were as near New England, till the major part reſolved with our captain to proceed. But the admiral ſending his boat for our captain, they eſpying a ſail, preſently gave chace, whereby our mutineers finding an opportunity in the night ran away, and thus left our captain in his cap, breeches, and waiſtcoat, alone among the Frenchmen: his clothes, arms, and what he had, our mutineers ſhared among them, and with a falſe excuſe, feigning for fear leſt he ſhould turn man of war, they returned for Plymouth: fifteen of us being landmen, not knowing what they did. Daniel Cage, Edward Stalings, Walter Chiſel, David Cooper, Robert Miller, and John Partridge, upon oath affirms this for truth before the vice-admiral.

Now the cauſe why the French detained me again, was the ſuſpicion this Chambers and Minter gave them, that I would revenge myſelf upon the Bank, or in Newfoundland, of all the French I could there encounter, and how I would have fired the ſhip, had they not over-perſuaded me; and that if I had but again my arms, I would rather ſink by them, than they ſhould have from me but the value of a biſcuit; and many other ſuch like tales to catch but opportunity in this manner to leave me, and thus they returned to Plymouth, and perforce with the Frenchmen I thus proceeded. Being a fleet of eight or nine ſail, we watched for the Weſt India fleet, till ill weather ſeparated us from the other eight: ſtill we ſpent our time about the iſles of the Azores, where to keep my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miſerable eſtate, I writ this diſcourſe, thinking to have ſent it to you of His Majeſty's council by ſome ſhip or other, for I ſaw their purpoſe was to take all they could. At laſt we were chaſed by one Captain Barra, an Engliſh pirate in a ſmall ſhip, with ſome twelve pieces of ordnance, about thirty men, and near all ſtarved. They fought by courteſy relief of us, who gave them ſuch fair promiſes, as at laſt they betrayed Captain Wolliſtone, his Lieutenant, and four or five of his men aboard us, and then provided to take the reſt perforce. Now my part was to be priſoner in the gun-room, and not to ſpeak to any of them upon my life; yet had Barra knowledge what I was. Then Barra perceiving well thoſe French intents, made ready to fight, and Wolliſtone as reſolutely regarded not their threats, which cauſed us demur upon the matter longer ſome ſixteen hours, and then returned them again Captain Wolliſtone and all their priſoners, and ſome victuals alſo upon a ſmall compoſition; but whilſt we were bartering thus with them, a carvill before our faces got under the caſtle of Gratioſa, from whence they beat us with their ordnance.

The next we took was a ſmall Engliſhman of Poole from Newfoundland: the great cabin at this preſent was my priſon, from whence I could ſee them pillage theſe poor men of all that they had, and half their fiſh: when he was gone, they ſold his poor clothes at the main-maſt by an outcry, which ſcarce gave each man ſeven pence a piece.

Not long after we took a Scot freighted from Saint Michael's to Briſtow, he had better fortune than the other; for having but taken a boat's loading of ſugar, marmelade, ſuckets, and ſuch like, we deſcried four ſail, after whom we ſtood, who furling their main-ſails attended us to fight, but our French ſpirits were content only to perceive they were Engliſh red croſſes. Within a very ſmall time after we chaſed four Spaniſh ſhips that came from the Indies; we fought with them four or five hours, tore their ſails and ſides with many a ſhot betwixt wind and weather, yet not daring to board them, loſt them, for which all the ſailors ever after hated the captain as a profeſſed coward.

A poor carvill of Brazil was the next we chaſed; and after a ſmall fight, thirteen or fourteen of her men being wounded, which was the better half, we took her with three hundred and ſeventy cheſts of ſugar, one hundred hides, and thirty thouſand rials of eight.

The next was a ſhip of Holland, which had loſt her conſorts in the Streights of Magellan, going for the South Sea: ſhe was put roomy, ſhe alſo theſe Frenchmen with fair promiſes cunningly betrayed to come aboard them to ſhew their commiſſion, and ſo made prize of all: the moſt of the Dutchmen we took aboard the admiral, and manned her with Frenchmen, that within two or three nights after ran away with her for France; the wounded Spaniards we ſet on ſhore on the iſle of Tercera, the reſt we kept to ſail the carvel.

Within

Within a day or two after, we met a Weſt India man of war, of one hundred and ſixty tons, 'a forenoon we fought with her, and then took her with one thouſand one hundred hides, fifty cheſts of cochineal, fourteen coffers of wedges of ſilver, eight thouſand rials of eight, and ſix coffers of the King of Spain's treaſure, beſides the good pillage and rich coffers of many rich paſſengers.

Two months they kept me in this manner to manage their fights againſt the Spaniards, and be a priſoner when they took any Engliſh. Now, though the captain had oft broke his promiſe, which was to put me on ſhore the iſles, or the next ſhip he took; yet at the laſt he was contented I ſhould go in the carvel of ſugar for France, himſelf ſeeming as reſolved to keep the ſeas; but the next morning we all ſet ſail for France, and that night we were ſeparated from the admiral and the rich prize by a ſtorm. Within two days after we were hailed by two Weſt India men; but when they ſaw us waive them for the King of France, they gave us their broadſides, ſhot through our main maſt, and ſo left us. Having lived now this ſummer amongſt thoſe French men of war, with much ado we arrived at the Gulion, not far from Rochelle: where, inſtead of the great promiſes they always fed me with, of double ſatisfaction and full content, and ten thouſand crowns was generally concluded I ſhould have, they kept me five or ſix days priſoner in the carvel, accuſing me to be he that burnt their colony in New France; to force me to give them a diſcharge before the judge of the admiralty, and ſtand to their courteſies for ſatisfaction, or lie in priſon, or a worſe miſchief: indeed this was in the time of combuſtion, that the Prince of Condé was with his army in the field, and every poor lord, or men in authority, as little kings of themſelves: for this injury was done me by them that ſet out this voyage, (not by the ſailors) for they were cheated of all as well as I, by a few officers aboard, and the owners on ſhore.

But to prevent this choice, in the end of ſuch a ſtorm that beat them all under hatches, I watched my opportunity to get aſhore in their boat, whereunto, in the dark night, I ſecretly got, and with a half-pike that lay by me put adrift for Rat Iſle; but the current was ſo ſtrong, and the ſea ſo great, I went adrift to ſea, till it pleaſed God the wind ſo turned with the tide, that although I was all this fearful night of guſts and rain in the ſea, the ſpace of twelve hours, when many ſhips were driven aſhore, and divers ſplit (and being with ſculling and baling the water tired, I expected each minute would ſink me): at laſt I arrived in any oozy iſle by Charowne, where certain fowlers found me near drowned and half-dead with water, cold, and hunger. My boat I pawned to find means to get to Rochelle, where I underſtood our man of war and the rich prize, wherein was the capture called Monſieur Poyrune, and the thirty thouſand rials of eight we took in the carvel, was ſplit, the captain drowned and half his company the ſame night, within ſix or ſeven leagues of that place, from whence I eſcaped in the little boat, by the mercy of God, far beyond all men's reaſon or my expectation arriving at Rochelle. Upon my complaint to the judge of the admiralty, I found many good words and fair promiſes, and ere long many of them that eſcaped drowning told me the news they heard of my own death. Theſe I arreſting, their ſeveral examinations did ſo confirm my complaint, it was held proof ſufficient. All which being performed according to their order of juſtice, from under the judge's hand, I preſented it to Sir Thomas Edmonds, then ambaſſador at Bourdeaux, where it was my chance to ſee the arrival of the King's great marriage brought from Spain.

Here it was my good fortune to meet my old friend Mr. Crampton, that no leſs grieved at my loſs, than willingly to his power did ſupply my wants; and I muſt confeſs, I was more beholden to the Frenchmen that eſcaped drowning in the man of war, Madam Chanoyes at Rochelle, and the lawyers of Bourdeaux, than all the reſt of my

my countrymen I met in France. Of the wreck of the rich prize, ſome three thouſand ſix hundred crowns worth of goods came aſhore, and was ſaved with the carvel, which I did my beſt to arreſt: the judge promiſed I ſhould have juſtice; what will be the concluſion as yet I know not. But under the colour to take pirates and the Weſt Indiamen (becauſe the Spaniards will not ſuffer the French to trade in the Weſt Indies), any goods from thence, though they take them upon the coaſt of Spain, are lawful prize, or from any of his territories out of the limits of Europe; and as they betrayed me, though I had the broad ſeal, ſo did they rob and pillage twenty ſail of Engliſhmen more, beſides them I know not of the ſame year.

Leaving thus my buſineſs in France, I returned to Plymouth, to find them who had thus buried me amongſt the French; and not only buried me, but with ſo much infamy as ſuch treacherous cowards could ſuggeſt to excuſe their villanies. The chieftains of this mutiny that I could find, I laid by the heels, the reſt like themſelves confeſſed the truth, as you have heard. Now how I have or could prevent theſe accidents, having no more means, I reſt at your cenſures; but to proceed to the matter, yet muſt I ſigh and ſay, how oft hath fortune in the world (think I) brought ſlavery, freedom, and turned all diverſely. Newfoundland, I have heard at the firſt, was held as deſperate a fiſhing as this I project for New England, Plaeentia, and the banks near alſo, as doubtful to the French; but for all the diſaſters happened me, the buſineſs is the ſame it was, and the five ſhips went from London, whereof one was reported more than three hundred tons, found fiſh ſo much, that neither Iceland-man nor Newfoundland-man I could hear of hath been there, will go any more to either place, if they may go thither. So that upon the good return of my vice-admiral, this year are gone four or five ſail from Plymouth, and from London as many, only to make voyages of profit; whereas if all the Engliſh had been there till my return, put all their returns together, they would ſcarce make one a favour of near a dozen I could nominate, except one ſent by Sir Francis Popham; though there be fiſh ſufficient, as I am perſuaded, to freight yearly four or five hundred ſail, or as many as will go. For this fiſhing ſtretcheth along the ſea-coaſt from Cape James to Newfoundland, which is ſeven or eight hundred miles at the leaſt, and hath his courſe in the deeps, and by the ſhore, all the year long, keeping their haunts and feedings as the beaſts of the air. But all men are not ſuch as they ſhould be, that have undertaken thoſe voyages. All the Romans were not Scipios, nor Carthagenians, Hannibals; nor all the Genoeſe, Columbuſes, nor all the Spaniards, Courteſes: had they dived no deeper in the ſecrets of their diſcoveries than we, or ſtopped at ſuch doubts and poor accidental chances, they had never been remembered as they are, yet had they no ſuch certainties to begin as we.

But to conclude: Adam and Eve did firſt begin this innocent work to plant the earth to remain to poſterity, but not without labour, trouble, and induſtry. Noah and his family began again the ſecond plantation, and their ſeed, as it ſtill increaſed, hath ſtill planted new countries, and one country another, and ſo the world to that eſtate it is; but not without much hazard, travail, mortalities, diſcontents, and many diſaſters. Had thoſe worthy fathers, and their memorable offſpring, not been more diligent for us now in theſe ages, than we are to plant that yet is unplanted for the after-livers: had the ſeed of Abraham, our Saviour Chriſt and his apoſtles, expoſed themſelves to no more dangers to teach the goſpel than we, even we ourſelves had at this preſent time been as ſavage and as miſerable as the moſt barbarous ſavage yet uncivilized. The Hebrews and Lacedemonians, the Goths, the Grecians, the Romans, and the reſt, what was it they would not undertake to enlarge their territories, enrich their

ſubjects,

ſubjects, reſiſt their enemies? Thoſe that were the founders of thoſe great monarchies and their virtues, were no ſilvered idle golden phariſees, but induſtrious iron-ſteeled publicans. They regarded more proviſions and neceſſaries for their people, than jewels, riches, eaſe, or delight for themſelves; riches were their ſervants, not their maſters. They ruled (as fathers, not as tyrants) their people as children, not as ſlaves; there was no diſaſter could diſcourage them; and let none think they incurred not with all manner of incumbrances. And what hath ever been the work of the greateſt princes of the earth but planting of countries, and civilizing barbarous and inhuman nations to civility and humanity, whoſe eternal actions fill our hiſtories.

Laſtly, the Portugueze and Spaniards, whoſe ever-living actions before our eyes will teſtify with them our idleneſs and ingratitude to all poſterities, and the neglect of our duties in our piety and religion. We owe our God, our King, and country, and want of charity to thoſe poor ſavages, whoſe country we challenge, uſe, and poſſeſs; except we be but made to uſe, and mar what our forefathers made, or but only tell what they did, or eſteem ourſelves too good to take the like pains. Was it virtue in them to provide that maintain us, and baſeneſs in us to do the like for others? Surely, no. Then ſeeing we are not born for ourſelves, but each to help other, and our abilities are much alike at the hour of our birth, and the minute of our death: ſeeing our good deeds or our bad by faith in Chriſt's merits, is all we have to carry our ſouls to heaven or hell. Seeing honour is our life's ambition, and our ambition after death to have an honourable memory of our life; and ſeeing by no means we would be abated of the dignity and glories of our predeceſſors, let us imitate their virtues to be worthily their ſucceſſors. To conclude with Lucretius,

> Its want of reaſon, or its reaſon's want
> Which doubts the mind and judgment, ſo doth daunt
> That thoſe beginnings makes men not to grant.

JOHN SMITH writ this with his own hand.

Here followeth a brief Diſcourſe of the Trials of New England, with certain Obſervations of the Hollanders' Uſe and Gain by fiſhing, and the preſent State of that happy Plantation, begun by ſixty weak Men, in the Year of our Lord 1620; *and how to build a Fleet of good Ships to make a little Navy Royal, by the former Author.*

HE ſaith that it is more than four-and-forty years ago, and it is more than forty years ago ſince he writ it, that the herring buſſes out of the Low Countries, under the King of Spain, were five hundred, beſides one hundred Frenchmen, and three or four hundred ſail of Flemings. The coaſt of Wales and Lancaſhire was uſed by three hundred ſail of ſtrangers. Ireland at Baltamore freighted yearly three hundred ſail of Spaniards, where King Edward the Sixth intended to have made a ſtrong caſtle, becauſe of the ſtraight to have tribute for fiſhing. Black Rock was yearly fiſhed by three or four hundred ſail of Spaniards, Portugueſe, and Biſkaners.

The Hollanders raiſe yearly by herring, cod, and ling, thirty thouſand pounds: Engliſh and French, by ſalt-fiſh, poor-john, ſalmons, and pilchards, three hundred thouſand pounds: Hamburgh and the Sound, for ſturgeon, lobſters, and eels, one hundred thouſand pounds: Cape Blank, for tunny and mullet, by the Biſkaners and Spaniards, thirty thouſand pounds.

That the Duke of Medina receiveth yearly tribute of the fiſhers, for tunny, mullet, and porgos, more than ten thouſand pounds. Lubeck hath ſeven hundred ſhips.

Hamburgh

Hamburgh ſix hundred. Embden, lately a fiſhing town, one thouſand four hundred, whoſe cuſtoms by fiſhing hath made them ſo powerful as they be. Holland and Zealand, not much greater than Yorkſhire, hath thirty walled towns, four hundred villages, and twenty thouſand ſail of ſhips and hoys; three thouſand ſix hundred are fiſhermen, whereof one hundred are doggers, ſeven hundred pinks and well-boats, ſeven hundred fraud-boats, britters, and tode-boats, with thirteen hundred buſſes, beſides three hundred that yearly fiſh about Yarmouth, where the ſell their fiſh for gold: and fifteen years ago they had more than an hundred and ſixteen thouſand ſeafaring men.

Theſe fiſhing-ſhips do take yearly two hundred thouſand laſts of fiſh, twelve barrels to a laſt, which amounts to three hundred thouſand pounds by the fiſhermen's price, that fourteen years ago did pay for their tenths three hundred thouſand pounds, which venting in Pumerland, Spruſtia, Denmark, Lefeland, Ruſſia, Swethland, Germany, Netherlands, England, or elſewhere, &c. makes their returns in a year about threeſcore and ten hundred thouſand pounds, which is ſeven millions; and yet in Holland there is neither matter to build ſhips, nor merchandize to ſet them forth, yet by their induſtry they as much increaſe as other nations decay; but leaving theſe uncertainties as they are, of this I am certain:

That the coaſt of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the North Sea, with Iſland and the Sound, Newfoundland and Cape Blank, do ſerve all Europe, as well the land towns as ports, and all the Chriſtian ſhipping, with theſe ſorts of ſtaple fiſh, which is tranſported from whence it is taken many thouſand miles, viz. herring, ſalt-fiſh, poor-john, ſturgeon, mullet, tunny, porgos, caviare, buttargo.

Now ſeeing all theſe ſorts of fiſh, or the moſt part of them, may be had in a land more fertile, temperate, and plentiful of all neceſſaries, for the building of ſhips, boats, and houſes, and the nouriſhment of man, the ſeaſons are ſo proper, and the fiſhings ſo near the habitations we may there make, that New England hath much advantage of the moſt of thoſe parts, to ſerve all Europe far cheaper than they can, who at home have neither wood, ſalt, nor food, but at great rates; at ſea nothing but what they carry in their ſhips an hundred or two hundred leagues from the habitation. But New England's fiſhings is near land, where is help of wood, water, fruits, fowls, corn, or other refreſhings needful, and the Terceras, Madeiras, Canaries, Spain, Portugal, Provaves, Savoy, Sicily, and all Italy, as convenient markets for our dry fiſh, green fiſh, ſturgeon, mullet, caviare, and buttargo, as Norway, Swethland, Lithuania, or Germany, for their herring, which is here alſo in abundance for taking; they returning but wood, pitch, tar, ſoap-aſhes, cordage, flax, wax, and ſuch like commodities; we wines, oils, ſugars, ſilks, and ſuch merchandizes as the Straits afford, whereby our profit may equalize theirs, beſides the increaſe of ſhipping and mariners; and for proof hereof,

In the year of our Lord 1614, you have read how I went from London; alſo the next year 1615, how four good ſhips went to London, and I with two more from Plymouth, with all our accidents, ſucceſſes, and returns: in the year 1616, ere I returned from France, the Londoners, for all their loſs by the Turks, ſent four ſhips more; four more alſo went from Plymouth; after I returned from France, I was perſuaded again to go to Plymouth with divers of my friends, with one hundred pounds for our adventures, beſides our charges, but we found all things as untoward as before, and all their great promiſes nothing but air: yet to prepare the voyage againſt the next year, having acquainted a great part of the nobility with it, and aſhamed to ſee the Prince His Highneſs, till I had done ſomewhat worthy his princely view, I ſpent that ſummer in viſiting the cities and towns of Briſtol, Exeter, Barnſtaple, Bodmin,

Perin, Foy, Milborow, Saltaſh, Dartmouth, Abſom, Totneſs, and the moſt of the gentry in Cornwall and Devonſhire, giving them books and maps, ſhewing how in ſix months the moſt of thoſe ſhips had made their voyages, and ſome in leſs, and with what good ſucceſs; by which incitation they ſeemed ſo well contented, as they promiſed twenty ſail of ſhips ſhould go with me next year, and in regard of my pains, charge, and former loſſes, the weſtern commiſſioners, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the company, and them hereafter that ſhall be joined to them, contracted with me by articles indented under our hands, to be admiral of that country during my life, and in the renewing of their letters patent ſo to be nominated. Half the fruits of our endeavours to be theirs, the reſt our own; being thus engaged, now the buſineſs is made plain and likely to proſper, ſome of them would not only forget me and their promiſes, but alſo obſcure me, as if I had never been acquainted in the buſineſs, but I am not the firſt they have deceived.

There were four good ſhips prepared at Plymouth, but by reaſon of their diſagreement, the ſeaſon ſo waſted, as only two went forward, the one being of two hundred tons, returned well freighted to Plymouth, and her men in health, within five months: the other of fourſcore tons went for Bilbow with dry fiſh, and made a good return. In this voyage Edward Rowcroft alias Stallings, a valiant ſoldier, that had been with me in Virginia, and was with me alſo when I was betrayed by the French, was ſent again in thoſe ſhips, and having ſome wrong offered him there by a Frenchman, he took him, and as he writ to me, went with him to Virginia with fiſh, to trade with them for ſuch commodities as they might ſpare: he had not paſt ten or twelve men, and knew both thoſe countries well; yet he promiſed me the next ſpring to meet me in New England, but the ſhip and he both periſhed in Virginia.

This year again divers ſhips intending to go from Plymouth, ſo diſagreed, there went but one of two hundred tons, who ſtaid in the country about ſix weeks, which with eight-and-thirty men and boys had her freight, which ſhe ſold at the firſt penny for two thouſand one hundred, beſides the furs, ſo that every poor ſailor that had but a ſingle ſhare had his charges and ſixteen pounds ten ſhillings for his ſeven months' work. Mr. Thomas Dirmire, an underſtanding and induſtrious gentleman, that was alſo with me amongſt the Frenchmen, having lived about a year in Newfoundland, returning to Plymouth, went for New England in this ſhip, ſo much approved of this country, that he ſtaid there with five or ſix men in a little boat; finding two or three Frenchmen amongſt the ſavages who had loſt their ſhip, augmented his company, with whom he ranged the coaſt to Virginia, where having been a year, in his back return to Virginia, he was ſo wounded by the ſavages, he died upon it. Let not men attribute theſe their great adventures and untimely deaths to unfortunateneſs, but rather wonder how God did ſo long preſerve them with ſo ſmall means to do ſo much, leaving the fruits of their labours to be an encouragement to thoſe our poor undertakings, and as warnings for us not to undertake ſuch great works with ſuch ſmall means, and this for advantage as they writ unto me, that God had laid this country open for us, and ſlain the moſt part of the inhabitants by civil wars and a mortal diſeaſe; for where I had ſeen one hundred or two hundred ſavages, there is ſcarce ten to be found, and yet not any one of them touched with any ſickneſs but one poor Frenchman that died:

They ſay this plague upon them thus ſore fell,
It was becauſe they pleaſed not Tantum well.

From the Weſt-country, to make trial this year only to fiſh, are gone ſix or ſeven ſail, three of which I am certainly informed made ſo good a voyage, that every ſailor

that had a ſingle ſhare had twenty pounds for his ſeven months' work, which is more than in twenty months he ſhould have gotten, had he gone for wages any where. Now although theſe former ſhips have not made ſuch good voyages as they expected, by ſending opinionated unſkilful men, that had not experienced diligence to ſave that they took, nor take that there was, which now patience and practice hath brought to a reaſonable kind of perfection; in deſpight of all detractors and calumniations the country yet hath ſatisfied all, the defect hath been in their uſing and abuſing it, not in itſelf nor me: but,

> A due deſert, for fortune makes proviſion
> For knaves and fools, and men of baſe condition.

Now all theſe proofs and this relation I now called New England's trial. I cauſed two or three thouſand of them to be printed; one thouſand, with a great many maps both of Virginia and New England, I preſented to thirty of the chief companies in London at their halls, deſiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to embrace it, and by the uſe of a ſtock of five thouſand pounds, to eaſe them of the ſuperfluity of the moſt of their companies that had but ſtrength and health to labour; near a year I ſpent to underſtand their reſolutions, which was to me a greater toil and torment than to have been in New England about my buſineſs, but with bread and water, and what I could get there by my labour; but, in concluſion, ſeeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this loſs of time and charge as all the reſt.

A Plantation in New England.

UPON theſe inducements ſome few well-diſpoſed gentlemen and merchants of London and other places, provided two ſhips, the one of a hundred and threeſcore tons, the other of threeſcore and ten. They left the coaſt of England the 22d of Auguſt, with about a hundred and twenty perſons; but the next day the leſſer ſhip ſprung a leak, that forced their return to Plymouth, where diſcharging her and twenty paſſengers, with the greater ſhip and one hundred paſſengers, beſides ſailors, they ſet ſail again the 6th of September; and the 9th of November fell with Cape James; but being peſtered nine weeks in this leaking unwholeſome ſhip, lying wet in their cabins, moſt of them grew very weak and weary of the ſea; then, for want of experience, ranging two and again ſix weeks before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without coverture, forty of them died, and threeſcore were left in very weak ſtate at the ſhip's coming away about the 5th of April following, and arrived in England the 6th of May. Though the harbour be good, the ſhore is ſo ſhallow, they were forced to wade a great way up to the knees in water, and uſed that that did them much hurt; and little fiſh they found but whales, and a great kind of muſcle, ſo fat that few did eat of them that were not ſick. Theſe miſeries occaſioned ſome diſcord, and gave ſome appearance of faction; but all was ſo reconciled, that they united themſelves by common conſent under their hands, to a kind of combination of a body politic, by virtue whereof to enact and conſtitute laws and ordinances, and officers from time to time, as ſhould be thought moſt convenient for their general good.

Sixteen or ſeventeen days they could do little for want of their ſhallop, which was mending, yet Captain Miles Standiſh, unto whom was joined in council William Bradfor, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilly, went well armed aſhore, and by that time

time they had gone a mile, met five or ſix Indians, that fled into the woods. We traced them by the footing eight or ten miles; then the night approaching, we made a fire, by which we lay that night, and the next morning followed the ſavages by their track, thinking to find their habitations, but by the way we found a deer amongſt many fair ſprings of water, where we refreſhed ourſelves; then we went aſhore and made a fire, that they at the ſhip might perceive where we were, and ſo marched to a place where we ſuppoſed was a river; by the way we ſaw many vines, ſaſſafras, haunts of deer, and fowl, and ſome fifty acres of plain ground had been planted by the Indians, where were ſome of their graves; from thence we followed a path that brought us through three or four fields that had been planted that year; in one grave we digged we found a baſket or two of Indian corn; ſo much as we could carry we took with us, the reſt we buried as we found it, and ſo proceeded to the place we intended, but we found it not ſuch a harbour as we expected; and ſo we returned, till the night cauſed us to take up our lodging under a tree, where it rained ſix or ſeven hours. The next morning as we wandered, we paſſed by a tree, where a young ſprig was bowed down over a bough, and ſome acorns ſtrewed under it, which was one of their gins to catch a deer, and as we were looking at it, Bradford was ſuddenly caught by the leg in a nooſed rope, made as artificially as ours; as we paſſed, we ſaw a leaſh of bucks, ſprung ſome partridges, and great flocks of wild geeſe and ducks, and ſo we returned well wearied to our ſhip.

Mr. Jones, our maſter, with four-and-thirty men, alſo went up and down in the froſt and ſnow, two or three days in the extremity of the cold, but could find no harbour; only among the old graves we got ſome ten buſhels of corn, ſome beans, and a bottle of oil; and had we not thus happily found it, we had had no corn for ſeed, ſo that place we ever called Corn-Hill. The next day Mr. Jones, with the corn and our weakeſt men, returned to the ſhip; but eighteen of us quartered there that night, and in the morning following the paths, we found in the ſnow, in a field, a greater hill, or grave, than the reſt; digging it, we found firſt a mat, under that a board three quarters long, painted and carved, with three tins at the top like a coronet; between the mats alſo were bowls, trays, and diſhes, and ſuch traſh; at length we found a fair new mat, and under that two bundles, the one bigger, the other leſs; in the greater we found a great quantity of fine red powder, like a kind of embalmment, and yielded a ſtrong but no offenſive ſmell, with the bones and ſkull of a man that had fine yellow hair ſtill on it, and ſome of the fleſh unconſumed, a knife, a pack-needle, and two or three old iron things were bound up in a ſailor's canvas caſſock, alſo a pair of cloth breeches; in the leſs bundle we found likewiſe of the ſame powder, and the bones and head of a little child; about the legs and other parts of it were bound ſtrings and bracelets of white beads; there was alſo a little bow, and ſome other odd knacks; the prettieſt we took, and covered again the corps as they were. Not far from thence were two of their houſes, where were a great deal of their miſerable houſehold ſtuff, which we left as we found, and ſo returned to our boat, and lay aboard that night.

Many arguments we had to make here our plantation or not; in the interim, Mrs. White was brought to bed of a young ſon, which was called Perigrine: and a ſailor ſhooting at a whale, his piece flew in pieces ſtock and all, yet he had no hurt. A fooliſh boy diſcharging his father's piece hard by half a barrel of powder, and many people by it, it pleaſed God it eſcaped firing, ſo that no hurt was done.

But to make a more certain diſcovery where to ſeat ourſelves, Captain Standiſh, Mr. Carver, William Branford, Edward Winſloe, John Tilly, Edward Tilly, with divers others

others to the number of ſeventeen, upon the 6th of December ſet ſail; and having ſailed ſix or ſeven leagues, we eſpied eight or ten ſavages about a dead grampus: ſtill following the ſhore we found two or three more caſt up by the ill weather, many we ſee in the water, therefore we called it Grampus Bay. Ships may ride well in it, but all the ſhore is very ſhallow flats of ſand: at laſt ſeven or eight of us went aſhore, many fields we ſaw where the ſavages had inhabited, and a burial place incompaſſed with a palizado, ſo we returned to our ſhallop; in the night we heard a hideous cry and howling of wolves and foxes: in the morning as we were ready to go into our ſhallop, one of our men being in the woods, came running crying, Indians, Indians; and with all their arrows flying amongſt us, ſome of our men being in the boat, and their arms aſhore, ſo well it chanced, Captain Standiſh with two or three more diſcharged their pieces till the reſt were ready; one ſavage more ſtout than the reſt kept under a tree, till he had ſhot three or four arrows, and endured three or four muſket ſhot; but at laſt they all fled: this was about break of day in the morning when they ſaw us, and we not them.

Having the wind fair, we ſailed along the coaſt eight or ten leagues, thinking to have got to a harbour where one of our company had been, within eight leagues of Cape Cod, for neither creek nor harbour in this bay we could find; and the wind ſo increaſed, our rudder broke, and our maſt flew overboard, that we were in danger to be caſt away; but at laſt it pleaſed God we were in an harbour we knew not, thinking it one we were acquainted with; this we found to be an iſle where we rode that night, and having well viewed the land about it, and ſounded the bay to be a good harbour for our ſhip, compaſſed with good land, and in it two fair iſles, where there is in their ſeaſons innumerable ſtore of all ſorts of fiſh and fowl, good water, much plain land, which hath been planted; with this news we returned to our ſhip, and with the next fair wind brought her thither, being but within the ſight of Cape Cod; in the mean time Goodwife Alderton was delivered of a ſon, but dead born. Upon the 28th of December, ſo many as could went to work upon the hill, where we purpoſed to build our platform for our ordnance, which doth command all the plain and the bay, and from whence we may ſee far into the ſea, and be eaſily impaled; ſo in the afternoon we went to meaſure out the grounds, and divided our company into nineteen families, allotting to every perſon half a pole in breadth and three in length, and ſo we caſt lots where every man ſhould lie, which we ſtaked out, thinking this proportion enough at the firſt to impale for lodgings and gardens.

Francis Billington, from the top of a tree, ſeeing a great water ſome three miles from us in the land, went with the maſter's mate, and found it two great lakes of freſh water, the bigger five or ſix miles in circuit, and an iſle in it of a cable's length ſquare; the other three miles in compaſs, full of fiſh and fowl, and two brooks iſſuing from it, which will be an excellent help in time for us, where they ſaw ſeven or eight Indian houſes, but no people. Four being ſent a mile or two from our plantation, two of them ſtraggling into the woods was loſt, for coming to a lake of water they found a great deer; having a maſtiff bitch and a ſpaniel with them, they followed ſo far they could not find the way back; that afternoon it rained, and did freeze and ſnow at night: their apparel was very thin, and had no weapons but two ſickles, nor any victuals, nor could they find any of the ſavages habitations; when the night came they were much perplexed that they had no other bed than the earth, nor coverture than the ſkies, but that they heard, as they thought, two lions roaring a long time together very nigh them, ſo not knowing what to do, they reſolved to climb up into a tree, though that would be an intolerable cold lodging, expecting their coming they ſtood at the tree

root, and the bitch they held faſt by the neck, for ſhe would have been gone to the lions or what they were, that as it chanced came not nigh them, ſo they watched the tree that extreme cold night, and in the morning travelling again, paſſing by many lakes, brooks and woods, and in one place where the ſavages had burnt four or five miles in length, which is a fine champaign country, in the afternoon they diſcovered the two iſles in their bay, and ſo that night near famiſhed they got to their plantation, from whence they had ſent out men every way to ſeek them; that night the houſe they had built and thatched, where lay their arms, bedding, powder, &c. took fire and was burnt. The coaſt is ſo ſhoal the ſhip rides more than a mile from the fort, but God be thanked no man was hurt though much was burnt.

All this time we could not have conference with a ſavage, though we had many times ſeen them and had many alarms, ſo that we drew a council, and appointed Captain Standiſh to have the command of all martial actions, but even in the time of conſultation the ſavages gave an alarm: the next day alſo as we were agreeing upon his orders, came a tall ſavage boldly amongſt us, not fearing any thing, and kindly bid us welcome in Engliſh; he was a Sagamo, towards the north, where the ſhips uſe to fiſh, and did know the names of moſt of the maſters that uſed thither: ſuch victuals as we had we gave him, being the firſt ſavage we yet could ſpeak with, he told us this place where we were was called Patuxet, and that all the people three or four years ago there died on the plague: in a day or two we could not be rid of him, then he returned to the Maſſaſoyts from whence he came, where is ſome ſixty people, but the Nawſits are one hundred ſtrong, which were they encountered our people at the firſt. Two days after this Samoſet, for ſo was his name, came again, and brought five or ſix of the Maſſaſoyts with him, with certain ſkins, and certain tools they had got that we had left in the woods at their alarms: much friendſhip they promiſed, and ſo departed, but Samoſet would not leave us, but feigned himſelf ſick, yet at laſt he went to entreat the ſavages come again to confirm a peace: now the third time, as we were conſulting of our martial orders, two ſavages appeared, but when we went to them they vaniſhed: not long after came Samoſet and Squanto, a native of Patuxet, where we dwell, and one of them carried into Spain by Hunt, thence brought into England, where a good time he lived; and now here ſignified unto us, their great Sachem of Maſſaſoyt, with Quadaquina his brother, and all their men, was there by to ſee us: not willing to ſend our governor, we ſent Edward Wolliſlo with preſents to them both, to know their minds, making him to underſtand by his interpreters, how King James did ſalute him, and was his friend; after a little conference with twenty of his men, he came over the brook to our plantation, where we ſet him upon a rug, and then brought our governor to him with drums and trumpets; where after ſome circumſtances, for they uſe few compliments, we treated of peace with them to this effect.

That neither he nor any of his ſhould injure or do hurt to any of us; if they did, he ſhould ſend us the offender, that we might puniſh him, and we would do the like to him: if any did unjuſtly war againſt him, we would aid him, as he ſhould us againſt our enemies, and to ſend to his neighbour confederates to certify them of this, that they might likewiſe be compriſed in theſe conditions, that when any of them came to us, they ſhould leave their bow and arrows behind them, as we would our pieces when we came to them, all which the King ſeemed to like well of, and was applauded of his followers. In his perſon he is a very luſty man, in his beſt years, an able body, grave of countenance, and ſpare of ſpeech; in his attire little differing from the reſt: after all was done, the governor conducted him to the brook, but kept our hoſtage

till

till our meſſengers returned: in like manner we uſed Quaddaquina; ſo all departed good friends.

Two of his people would have ſtaid with us, but we would not permit them, only Samoſet and Squanto we entertained kindly; as yet we have found they intend to keep promiſe, for they have not hurt our men they have found ſtraggling in the woods, and are afraid of their powerful adverſaries the Narrohigganſets, againſt whom he hopes to make uſe of our help. The next day Squanto went a fiſhing for eels, and in an hour he did tread as many out of the ooſe with his feet as he could lift with his hand, not having any other inſtrument.

But that we might know their habitations ſo well as they ours, Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winſlo had Squantum for their guide and interpreter; to Packanoki, the habitation of the King of Maſſaſoyt, with a red horſeman's coat for a preſent, to entreat him by reaſon we had not victuals to entertain them as we would, he would defend his people ſo much from viſiting us; and if he did ſend, he ſhould always ſend with the meſſenger a copper chain they gave him, that they might know he came from him, and alſo give them ſome of his corn for ſeed: that night they lodged at Namaſcet, ſome fifteen miles off; by the way we found ten or twelve women and children that ſtill would peſter us till we were weary of them, perceiving it is the matter of them, where victuals is to be gotten with moſt eaſe, there they will live; but on that river of Namaſchot have been many habitations of the ſavages that are dead, and the land lies waſte, and the river abounding with great plenty of fiſh, and hath been much frequented by the French.

The next day travelling with ſix or ſeven Indians, where we were to wade over the river, did dwell only two old men of that nation then living, that thinking us enemies, ſought the beſt advantage they could to fight with us, with a wonderful ſhew of courage; but when they knew us their friends they kindly welcomed us. After we came to a town of the Maſſaſoyts; but at Pakanoki the King was not: towards night he arrived, and was very proud both of our meſſage and preſents, making a great oration to all his people, Was not he Maſſaſoyt, commander of the country about him, was not ſuch a town his, and the people of it, and twenty towns more he named was his? and ſhould they not bring their ſkins to us? To which they anſwered, they were his and they would, victuals they had none, nor any lodging, but a poor plank or two, a foot high from the ground, whereon his wife and he lay at the one end, we at the other, but a thin mat upon them, two more of his chief men preſſed by and upon us, ſo that we were worſe weary of our lodging than of our journey. Although there is ſuch plenty of fiſh and fowl and wild beaſts, yet are they ſo lazy they will not take pains to catch it till mere hunger conſtrain them, for in two or three days we had ſcarce a meal's meat, whereby we were ſo faint, we were glad to be at home; beſides what for the fleas, and their howling and ſinging in the night in their houſes, and the muſquitoes without doors, our heads were as light for want of ſleep, as our bellies empty for want of meat. The next voyage we made was in a ſhallop with ten men to Nawſit, ſixteen miles from us, to fetch a boy was loſt in the woods we heard was there, whom Aſpinet their King, had bedecked like a ſavage, but very kindly he brought him to us, and ſo returned well to Patuyet.

Immediately after the arrival of the laſt ſhip, they ſent another of five-and-fifty tons to ſupply them; with ſeven-and-thirty perſons they ſet ſail in the beginning of July, but being croſſed by weſterly winds, it was the end of Auguſt ere they could paſs Plymouth, and arrived in New England at New Plymouth, now ſo called, the 11th of November,

November, where they found all the people they left ſo ill, luſty and well for all their poverty, except ſix, that died: a month they ſtaid ere they returned to England, loaded with clap-board, wainſcot and wallnut, with about three hogſheads of beaver ſkins the 13th of December; and drawing near our coaſt was ſet on by a Frenchman ſet out by the Marquis of Cera, governor of Iſle Dieu, where they kept the ſhip, impriſoned the maſter and company, took from them to the value of five hundred pounds, and after fourteen days ſent them home with a poor ſupply of victuals, their own being devoured by the Marquis and his hungry ſervants.

Now you are to underſtand this thirty-ſeven brought nothing, but relied wholly on us to make us more miſerable than before, which the Sachem Couanacus no ſooner underſtood, but ſent to Tuſquantum our interpreter, a bundle of new arrows in a ſnake's ſkin; Tuſquantum being abſent, the meſſenger departed; but when we underſtood it was a direct challenge, we returned the ſkin full of powder and ſhot, with an abſolute defiance, which cauſed us finiſh our fortification with all expedition. Now betwixt our two ſavages, Tuſquantum and Hobbamock, grew ſuch great emulation, we had much ado to know which beſt to truſt. In a journey we undertook, in our way we met a ſavage of Tuſquantums, that had cut his face freſh bleeding, to aſſure us Maſſaſoyt, our ſuppoſed friend, had drawn his forces to Packanokick to aſſault us. Hobbamock as confidently aſſured us it was falſe, and ſent his wife as a ſpy to ſee; but when ſhe perceived all was well, ſhe told the King Maſſaſoyt how Tuſquantum had abuſed him, divers ſavages alſo he had cauſed to believe we would deſtroy them, but he would do his beſt to appeaſe us; this he did only to make his countrymen believe what great power he had with us to get bribes on both ſides, to make peace or war when he would; and the more to poſſeſs them with fear, he perſuaded many we had buried the plague in our ſtore-houſe, which we could ſend when we liſted whither we would; but at laſt all his knavery being diſcovered, Maſſaſoyt ſent his knife with meſſengers for his head or him, being his ſubject; with much ado we appeaſed the angry King and the reſt of the ſavages, and freely forgave Tuſquantum, becauſe he ſpeaking our language we could not well be without him.

A Journey to the Town of Namaſchet, in defence of the King of Maſſaſoyt, againſt the Narrohigganſes, and the ſuppoſed Death of Squantum.

A GREAT difference there was betwixt the Narrohigganſes and the Maſſaſoyts, that had always a jealouſy; Coubatant, one of their petty Sachems, was too converſant with the Narrohigganſes: this Coubatant lived much at Namaſchet, and much ſtormed at our peace with his King and others; alſo at Squantum, and Tokamahamon, and Hobbamock our friends, and chief occaſioners of our peace, for which he ſought to murder Hobbamock; yet Tokamahamon went to him upon a rumour he had taken Maſaſoyt priſoner, or forced him from his country, but the other two would not, but in private to ſee if they could hear what was become of their King; lodging at Namaſchet they were diſcovered to Coubatant, who ſurprized the houſe and took Squantum, ſaying, if he were dead the Engliſh had loſt their tongues; Hobbamock ſeeing that, and Coubatant held a knife at his breaſt, being a ſtrong luſty fellow, broke from them, and came to New Plymouth, full of ſorrow for Squantum, who he thought was ſlain.

The next day we ſent ten men with him armed, to be revenged of Coubatant, who conducted us near Namaſchet, where we reſted and refreſhed ourſelves till midnight, and then we beſet the houſe as we had reſolved; thoſe that entered the houſe demanded for Coubatant; but the ſavages were half dead with fear: we charged them not to

ſtir, for we came to hurt none but Coubatant, for killing Squantum; ſome of them ſeeking to eſcape were wounded: but at laſt perceiving our ends, they told us Coubatant was gone, and all his men, and Squantum was yet living, and in the town; in this hurly-burly we diſcharged two pieces at random, which much terrified all the inhabitants, except Squantum and Tokamahamon, who, though they knew not the end of our coming, yet aſſured themſelves of our honeſty, that we would not hurt them. The women and children hung about Hobbamock, calling him, friend; and when they ſaw we would hurt no women, the young youths cried, We are women: to be ſhort, we kept them all, and whilſt we were ſearching the houſe for Coubatant, Hobbamock had got to the top, and called Squantum and Tokamahamon, which came unto us accompanied with others, ſome armed, others naked, thoſe that had bows we took them from them, promiſing them again when it was day: the houſe we took for our quarter that night, and diſcharged the priſoners, and the next morning went to breakfaſt at Squantum's houſe; thither came all them that loved us to welcome us, but all Coubatant's faction was fled: then we made them plainly know the cauſe of our coming, and if their King Maſſaſoyt were not well, we would be revenged upon the Narrohigganſets, or any that ſhould do injury to Hobbamock, Squantum, or any of their friends; as for thoſe were wounded we were ſorry for it, and offered our ſurgeon ſhould heal them; of this offer a man and a women accepted, that went home with us, accompanied with Squantum and many other known friends, that offered us all the kindneſs they could.

From the weſt of England there are gone ten or twelve ſhips to fiſh, which were all well freighted; thoſe that came firſt at Bilbow, made ſeventeen pounds a ſingle ſhare, beſides beavers, otters, and martin's ſkins; but ſome of the reſt that came to the ſame ports, that were all ready furniſhed, ſo glutted the market, that the price was abated; yet all returned ſo well contented, that they are preparing to go again.

There is gone from the Weſt Country only to fiſh, five-and-thirty ſhips, and about the laſt of April two more from London, the one of one hundred tons, the other of thirty, with ſome ſixty paſſengers to ſupply the plantation. Now though the Turks and French have been ſomewhat too buſy in taking our ſhips, would all the Chriſtian princes be truly at unity, as His Royal Majeſty our Sovereign King James deſireth, ſeventy ſail of good ſhips were ſufficient to fire the moſt of his coaſts in the Levant, and make ſuch a guard in the Straits of Helleſpont, as would make the great Turk himſelf more afraid in Conſtantinople; than the ſmalleſt red-croſs that croſſes the ſeas would be, either of any French pickaroon, or the pirates of Algiers.

An Abſtract of divers Relations ſent from the Colony in New England, July 16, 1622.

SINCE the maſſacre in Virginia, though the Indians continue their wonted friendſhip, yet we are more wary of them than before; for their hands hath been imbrued in much Engliſh blood, only by too much confidence, but not by force, and we have had ſmall ſupplies of any thing but men. Here I muſt intreat a little your favour to digreſs, they did not kill the Engliſh in Virginia, becauſe they were Chriſtians, but for their weapons and copper, which were rare novelties; but now they fear we may beat them out of their dens, which lions and tigers will not admit but by force. But muſt this be an argument for an Engliſhman, and diſcourage any in Virginia or New England? No; for I have tried them both, as you may read at large in the Hiſtory of Virginia: notwithſtanding ſince I came from thence, the honourable company hath been humble ſuitors to His Majeſty, to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither; nay, ſo the buſineſs hath been ſo abuſed, that ſo much ſcorned was the name of Virginia,

ginia, ſome did chuſe to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were: yet for all the worſt of ſpite, detraction, and diſcouragement, and this lamentable maſſacre, there is more honeſt men now ſuitors to go, than ever hath been conſtrained knaves. And it is not unknown to moſt men of underſtanding, how happy many of thoſe Columners have thought themſelves that they might be admitted; and yet pay for their paſſage to go now to Virginia, and I fear me there goeth too many of thoſe that have ſhifted here till they could no longer; and they will uſe that quality there till they hazard all.

To range this country of New England in like manner, I had but eight, as is ſaid, and amongſt their bruit conditions, I met many of their ſilly encounters, and I give God thanks, without any hurt at all to me, or any with me. When your weſt-country men were ſo wounded and tormented with the ſavages, though they had all the politic directions that had been gathered from all the ſecret informations could be heard of, yet they found little, and returned with nothing. I ſpeak not this out of vain-glory, as it may be ſome gleaners, or ſome who were never there may cenſure me; but to let all men be aſſured by thoſe examples, what thoſe ſavages are that thus ſtrangely do murder and betray our countrymen: but to the purpoſe.

The Paragon, with thirty-ſeven men ſent to relieve them, miſcarried twice upon our Engliſh coaſt, whereby they failed of their ſupplies. It is true, there hath been taken one thouſand baſes at a draught; and in one night twelve hogſheads of herrings: but when they wanted all neceſſaries both for fiſhing and ſuſtenance, but what they could get with their naked induſtry, they endured moſt extreme wants, having been now near two years without any ſupply to any purpoſe, it is a wonder how they ſhould ſubſiſt, much leſs ſo to reſiſt the ſavages, fortify themſelves, plant ſixty acres of corn, beſides their gardens that were well repleniſhed with many uſual fruits. But in the beginning of July came in two ſhips of Mr. Weſton's, though we much wanted ourſelves, yet we relieved them what we could; and to requite us, they deſtroyed our corn and fruits then planted, and did what they could to have done the like to us. At laſt they were tranſported to Wichaguſcuſſet at the Maſſachuſets, where they abuſed the ſavages worſe than us. We having neither trade, nor ſcarce any thing remaining, God ſent in one Mr. Jones, and a ſhip of Weſton's had been at Monahigan amongſt the fiſhermen, that for beaver-ſkins and ſuch merchandize as we had, very well refreſhed us, though at dear rates. Weſton left alſo his men, a ſmall bark, and much good proviſion, and ſo ſet ſail for England: then we joined with them to trade to the ſouthward of Cape Cod, twice or thrice we were forced to return; firſt by the death of their governor, then the ſickneſs of Captain Standiſh. At laſt our governor Mr. Bradford undertook it himſelf to have found the paſſage betwixt the ſhoals and the main, then Tuſquantum our pilot died, ſo that we returned to the Maſſachuſets, where we found the trade ſpoiled, and nothing but complaints betwixt the ſavages and the Engliſh. At Nawſet we were kindly uſed, and had good trade, though we loſt our barge, the ſavages carefully kept both her wreck and ſome ten hogſheads of corn three months, and ſo we returned, ſome by land, ſome in the ſhip.

Captain Standiſh being recovered, went to fetch them both, and traded at Namaſket and Monomete, where the people had the plague, a place much frequented with Dutch and French. Here the Sachem put a man to death for killing his fellow at play, wherein they are ſo violent, they will play their coats from their backs, and alſo their wives, though many miles from them. But our proviſion decaying, Standiſh is ſent to Mattachiſt, where they pretended their wonted love; yet it plainly appeared they intended to kill him. Eſcaping thence, we went to Monomete, where we found nothing but bad countenances. Here one Wittuwamat, a notable villain, would boaſt

how many French and Engliſh he had ſlain: this champion preſenting a dagr to the Sachem Canacum he had got from the Engliſh, occaſioned us to underſtand how they had contrived to murder all the Engliſh in the land, but having ſuch a fair opportunity, they would begin here with us. Their ſcornful uſage made the captain ſo paſſionate to appeaſe his anger and choler, their intent made many fair excuſes for ſatisfaction: Scar, a luſty ſavage, always ſeeming the moſt to affect us, beſtowed on us the beſt preſents he had without any recompence, ſaying he was rich enough to beſtow ſuch favours on his friends, yet had undertaken to kill the captain himſelf; but our vigilances ſo prevented the advantage they expected, we ſafely returned, little ſuſpecting in him any ſuch treachery.

During this time a Dutch ſhip was driven aſhore at Maſſaſowat, whoſe King lay very ſick, now becauſe it is a general cuſtom then for all their friends to viſit them, Mr. Winſlow and Mr. Hamden, with Habamock for their guide, were ſent with ſuch cordials as they had to ſalute him; by the way they ſo often heard the King was dead, Habbamock would break forth in theſe words, "My loving Sachem, my loving Sachem, many have I known, but never any like thee, nor ſhall ever ſee the like amongſt the ſavages; for he was no liar, nor bloody and cruel like other Indians, in anger ſoon reclaimed, he would be ruled by reaſon, not ſcorning the advice of mean men, and governed his men better with a few ſtrokes than others with many: truly loving where he loved, yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left amongſt all his countrymen, ſhewing how oft he had reſtrained their malice:" much more with much paſſion he ſpoke to this purpoſe, till at laſt we arrived where we found the Dutchmen but newly gone, and the houſe ſo full we could hardly get in. By their charms they diſtempered us that were well, much more him that was ſick, women rubbing him to keep heat in him; but their charms ended, underſtanding of us, though he had loſt his ſight, his underſtanding failed not; but taking Winſlow by the hand, ſaid, Art thou Winſlow, oh Winſlow, I ſhall never ſee thee again! Habamock telling him what reſtoratives they had brought, he deſired to taſte them; with much ado they got a ſittle confection of many comfortable conſerves into his mouth, as it diſſolved he ſwallowed it, then diſſolving more of it in water, they ſcraped his tongue, which was all furred and ſwoln, and waſhed his mouth, and then gave him more of it to eat, and in his drink, that wrought ſuch an alteration in him in two or three hours, his eyes opened to our great contents; with this and ſuch broths as they there provided for him, it pleaſed God he recovered: and thus the manner of his ſickneſs and cure cauſed no ſmall admiration amongſt them.

During the time of their ſtay to ſee his recovery, they had ſent to New Plymouth for divers good things for him, which he took ſo kindly, that he fully revealed all the former conſpiracies againſt us, to which he had oft been moved; and how that all the people of Powmet, Nawſet, Succonet, Mattachiſt, Manamet, Augawam, and Capawac, were joined to murder us; therefore as we reſpected our lives, kill them of Maſſachuſet that were the authors; for take away the principals and the plot will ceaſe; thus taking our leaves, and arriving at our fort, we found our brave liberal friend of Pamet drawing Standiſh to their ambuſcadoes, which being thus diſcovered, we ſent him away, as though he knew nor ſuſpected any thing. Them at the Maſſachuſets, ſome were ſo wild they ſerved the ſavages for victuals, the reſt ſent us word the ſavages were ſo inſolent they would aſſault them though againſt their commiſſion, ſo fearful they were to break their commiſſion, ſo much time was ſpent in conſultations, they all were famiſhed, till Waſſapinewat again came and told them the day of their execution was at hand.

Then they appointed Standiſh with eight choſen men, under colour of trade to catch them in their own trap at Maſſachuſet, and acquaint it with the Engliſh in the town, where arriving, he found none in the bark, and moſt of the reſt without arms, or ſcarce cloaths, wandering abroad, all ſo ſenſeleſsly ſecure, he more than wondered they were not all ſlain; with much ado he got the moſt of them to their town. The ſavages ſuſpecting their plots diſcovered, Peckſnot, a great man, and of as great a ſpirit, came to Habamok, who was then amongſt them, ſaying, Tell Standiſh we know he is come to kill us, but let him begin when he dare. Not long after many would come to the fort and whet their knives before him, with many braving ſpeeches. One amongſt the reſt was by Wittawamat, bragging he had a knife that on the handle had the picture of a woman's face; but at home I have one hath killed both French and Engliſh, and that hath a man's face on it, and by-and-by theſe two muſt marry; but this here by and-by ſhall ſee, and by-and-by eat, but not ſpeak; alſo Peckſnot being of a greater ſtature than the captain, told him, though he were a great captain he was but a little man, and I, though no Sachem, yet I am of great ſtrength and courage. Theſe things Standiſh bore patiently for the preſent; but the next day ſeeing he could not get many of them together, but theſe two roarers, and two more being in a convenient room, and his company about him, Standiſh ſeized on Peckſnot's knife then hanging about his neck, wherewith he ſlew him, and the reſt ſlew Wittawamat and the other ſavage; but the youth they took, who being brother to Wittawamat, and as villainous as himſelf, was hanged. It is incredible how many wounds they endured, ca·c ing at their weapons without any fear or bruit, till the laſt gaſp. Habamok ſtood by all this time very ſilent; but all ended, he ſaid, "Yeſterday Peckſnot bragged of his ſtrength and ſtature, but I ſee you are big enough to lay him on the ground."

The town he left to the guard of Weſton's people: three ſavages more were ſlain; upon which rumour they all fled from their houſes. The next day they met with a file of ſavages that let fly their arrows, ſhot for ſhot, till Habamok ſhewed himſelf, and then they fled. For all this, a ſavage boy, to ſhew his innocency, came boldly unto us, and told us, had the Engliſh fugitives but finiſhed the three canoes they were making, to have taken the ſhip, they would have done as much to all the Engliſh, which was only the cauſe they had forborne ſo long. But now conſulting and conſidering their eſtates, thoſe that went in the pinnace to Barty Iſles to get paſſage for England, the reſt to New Plymouth, where they were kindly entertained. The Sachem Obtakeeſt, and Powas, and divers others were guilty, the three fugitives in their fury there ſlew; but not long after ſo diſtracted were thoſe poor ſcattered people, they left their habitations, living in ſwamps, where with cold and infinite diſeaſes they endured much mortality, ſuing for peace, and crying, The God of England is angry with them. Thus you ſee where God pleaſes, as ſome flouriſh, others periſh.

Now on all hands they prepare their ground, and about the middle of April, in a fair ſeaſon, they begin to plant till the latter end of May; but ſo God pleaſed, that in ſix weeks after the latter ſetting their ſcarce fell any rain; ſo that the ſtalk was firſt ſet, began to ear ere it came to half growth, and the laſt not like to yield any thing at all. Our beans alſo ſeemed ſo withered, we judged all utterly dead; that now all our hopes were overthrown, and our joy turned into mourning. And more to our ſorrow, we heard of the twice return of the Paragon, that now the third time was ſent us three months ago, but no news of her: only the ſigns of a wreck we ſaw on the coaſt which we judged her. This cauſed not every of us to enter into a private conſideration betwixt God and our conſciences, but moſt ſolemnly to humble ourſelves before the

Lord by faſting and praying, to relieve our dejected ſpirits by the comforts of his mercy. In the morning when we aſſembled all together, the ſkies were as clear, and the drought as like to continue as ever; yet our exerciſe continued eight or nine hours. Before our departure, the ſkies were all over-caſt, and on the next morning diſtilled ſuch ſoft, ſweet, moderate ſhowers, continuing fourteen days, mixed with ſuch ſeaſonable weather, as it was hard to ſay, whether our withered corn or drooping affections were moſt quickened and revived; ſuch was the bounty and mercy of God. Of this the Indians, by the means of Habamok, took notice, who ſeeing us uſe this exerciſe in the midſt of the week, ſaid; It was but three days ſince Sunday, and deſired to know the reaſon; which when he underſtood, he and all of them admired the goodneſs of God towards us, ſhewing the difference betwixt their conjurations and our prayers, and what ſtorms and dangers they oft receive thereby. To expreſs our thankfulneſs, we aſſembled together another day, as before, and either the next morning, or not long after, came in two ſhips to ſupply us, and all their paſſengers well except one, and he preſently recovered. For us, notwithſtanding all theſe wants, there was not a ſick perſon amongſt us. The greater ſhip we returned freighted; the other we ſent to the ſouthward, to trade under the command of Captain Altom. So that God be thanked, we deſire nothing, but what we will return commodities to the value.

Thus all men find our great God he,
That never wanted nature,
To teach his truth, that only he,
Of every thing is author.

For this year from England is gone about forty ſail of ſhips, only to fiſh; and as I am informed, have made a far better voyage than ever.

Now ſome new great obſervers will have this an iſland, becauſe I have written it is the continent: others report, that the people are ſo bruit, they have no religion, wherein ſurely they are deceived; for my part, I never heard of any nation in the world which had not a religion, deer, bows and arrows. They believe, as do the Virginians, of many divine powers, yet of one above all the reſt, as the Southern Virginians call their chief god Kewaſſa, and that we now inhabit Oke; but both their kings Werowance. The Maſſachuſets call their great god Kiehtan, and their kings thereabouts Sachems: the Penobſcotes their greateſt power Tantum, and their kings Sagomos. Thoſe where is this plantation, ſay Kiehtan made all the other gods: alſo one man and one woman, and of them all mankind, but how they became ſo diſperſed they know not. They ſay, at firſt there was no king but Kiehtan that dwelleth far weſterly above the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, and have plenty of all things. The bad men go thither alſo and knock at the door, but he bids them go wander in endleſs want and miſery, for they ſhall not ſtay there. They never ſaw Kiehtan, but they hold it a great charge and duty, that one age teach another; and to him they make feaſts, and cry and ſing for plenty and victory, or any thing is good. They have another power they call Hobamock, which we conceive the devil; and upon him they call to cure their wounds and diſeaſes: when they are curable, he perſuades them he ſent them, becauſe they have diſpleaſed him; but if they be mortal, then he ſaith, Kiehtan ſent them, which makes them never call on him in their ſickneſs. They ſay this Hobamock appears to them ſometimes like a man, a deer, or an eagle, but moſt commonly like a ſnake; not to all, but only to their Powahs to cure diſeaſes, and Undeſes, which is one of the chief next the King, and ſo bold in the wars, that they think no weapon can kill them: and thoſe are ſuch as conjure in Virginia, and cauſe the people to do what they liſt.

For

For their goverment: every Sachemis is not a king, but their great Sachems have divers Sachem under their protection, paying them tribute, and dare make no wars without his knowledge; but every Sachem taketh care for the widows, orphans, the aged and maimed, nor will they take any to firſt wife, but them in birth equal to themſelves, although they have many inferior wives and concubines that attend on the principal; from whom he never parteth, but any of the reſt when they liſt; they inherit by ſucceſſion, and every one knows their own bounds. To his men, he giveth them land, alſo bounded, and what deer they kill in that circuit, he hath the fore-part; but if in the water, only the ſkin: but they acccount none a man till he hath done ſome notable exploit: the men are moſt employed in hunting, the women in ſlavery; the younger obey the elders: their names are variable; they have harlots and honeſt women; the harlots never marry, or elſe are widows. They uſe divorcement, and the King commonly puniſheth all offenders himſelf: when a maid is married, ſhe cutteth her hair, and keeps her head covered till it be grown again. Their arts, games, muſic, attire, burials, and ſuch like, differ very little from the Virginians, only for their chronicles they make holes in the ground, as the others ſet up great ſtones.

Out of the relations of Mr. EDWARD WINSLOW.

Now I know the common queſtion is, for all thoſe miſeries, where is the wealth they have got, or the gold or ſilver mines? To ſuch greedy unworthy minds I ſay once again: the ſea is better than the richeſt mine known, and of all the fiſhing-ſhips that went well provided, there is no complaint of loſs nor miſery, but rather an admiration of wealth, profit, and health. As for the land, were it never ſo good, in two years ſo few of ſuch ſmall experience living without ſupplies ſo well, and in health, it was an extraordinary bleſſing from God. But that with ſuch ſmall means they ſhould ſubſiſt and do ſo much, to any underſtanding judgment is a wonder. Notwithſtanding, the vain expectation of preſent gain in ſome, ambition in others, that to be great would have all elſe ſlaves, and the careleſſneſs in providing ſupplies, hath cauſed thoſe defailments in thoſe plantations, and however ſome bad conditions will extol the actions of any nation but their own; yet if we may give credit to the Spaniards, Portugueſe, and French writings, they endured as many miſeries, and yet not in twenty years effected ſo much, nay ſcarce in forty.

Thus you may ſee plainly the yearly ſucceſs from New England by Virginia, which hath been ſo coſtly to this kingdom, and ſo dear to me, which either to ſee periſh, or but bleed: Pardon me, though it paſſionate me beyond the bounds of modeſty, to have been ſufficiently able to foreſee their miſeries, and had neither power nor means to prevent it. By that acquaintance I have with them, I call them my children: for they have been my wife, my hawks, hounds, my cards, my dice, and in total, my beſt content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right. And notwithſtanding, all thoſe miracles of diſaſters have croſſed both them and me, yet were there not an Engliſhman remaining, as God be thanked, notwithſtanding the maſſacre, there are ſome thouſands; I would yet begin again with as ſmall means as I did at firſt, not that I have any ſecret encouragement (I proteſt) more than lamentable experience; for all their diſcoveries I have yet heard of, are but pigs of my own ſow, nor more ſtrange to me than to hear one tell me he hath gone from Billingſgate and diſcovered Graveſend, Tilbury, Queenborough, Lee, and Margate, which to thoſe did never hear of them, though they dwell in England, might be made ſome rare ſecrets and great countries unknown, except ſome few relations of Mr. Dirmer. In England ſome are held great travellers that have ſeen Venice and Rome, Madrid, Toledo, Seville, Algiers, Prague or Ragouſa, Conſtantinople or Jeruſalem, and the pyramids of Egypt; that think it nothing to go to

Summer Iſles or Virginia, which is as far as any of them, and I hope in time will prove a more profitable and a more laudable journey; as for the danger, you ſee our ladies and gentlemen account it nothing now to go thither; and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and not ſuffer them to languiſh in deſpair, whom God ſo wonderfully and oft hath preſerved.

What here I have writ by relation, if it be not right I humbly entreat your pardons, but I have not ſpared any diligence to learn the truth of them that have been actors, or ſharers in thoſe voyages; in ſome particulars they might deceive me, but in the ſubſtance they could not: for few could tell me any thing, except where they fiſhed. But ſeeing all thoſe have lived there, do confirm more than I have writ, I doubt not but all thoſe teſtimonies with theſe new-begun examples of plantation, will move both city and country freely to adventure with me more than promiſes.

But becauſe ſome fortune-tellers ſay, I am unfortunate; had they ſpent their time as I have done, they would rather believe in God than their calculations, and peradventure have given as bad an account of their actions; and therefore I entreat leave to anſwer thoſe objectors, that think it ſtrange, if this be true, I have made no more uſe of it, reſt ſo long without employment, nor have no more reward nor preferment; to which I ſay;

I think it more ſtrange they ſhould tax me, before they have tried as much as I have, both by land and ſea, as well in Aſia and Africa, as Europe and America, where my commanders were actors or ſpectators, they always ſo freely rewarded me, I never needed be importunate, or could I ever learn to beg: what there I got, I have ſpent; yet in Virginia I ſtaid, till I left five hundred behind me better provided than ever I was, from which bleſſed Virgin (ere I returned) ſprung the fortunate habitation of Summer Iſles.

This Virgin's Siſter, now called New England, at my humble ſuit, by our moſt gracious Prince Charles, hath been near as chargeable to me and my friends: for all which, although I never got a ſhilling but it coſt me a pound, yet I would think myſelf happy could I ſee their proſperities.

But if it yet trouble a multitude to proceed upon theſe certainties, what think you I undertook when nothing was known but that there was a vaſt land? I never had power and means to do any thing, though more hath been ſpent in formal delays than would have done the buſineſs, but in ſuch a penurious and miſerable manner, as if I had gone a begging to build an univerſity; where had men been as forward to adventure their purſes, and perform the conditions they promiſed me, as to crop the fruits of my labours, thouſands ere this had been bettered by theſe deſigns. Thus betwixt the ſpur of deſire and the bridle of reaſon, I am near ridden to death in a ring of deſpair; the reins are in your hands, therefore I entreat you eaſe me; and thoſe that think I am either idle or unfortunate, may ſee the cauſe and know; unleſs I did ſee better dealing, I have had warning enough not to be ſo forward again at every motion upon their promiſes, unleſs I intended nothing but to carry news; for now they dare adventure a ſhip, that when I went firſt would not adventure a groat, ſo they may be at home again by Michaelmas, which makes me remember and ſay with Mr. Hackluit; Oh incredulity, the wit of fools, that ſlovingly do ſpit at all things fair; a ſluggard's cradle, a coward's caſtle: how eaſy it is to be an infidel! But to the matter: By this all men may perceive, the ordinary performance of this voyage in five or ſix months; the plenty of fiſh is moſt certainly approved; and it is certain, from Canada and New England, within theſe ſix years hath come near twenty thouſand beaver-ſkins. Now had each of theſe ſhips tranſported but ſome ſmall quantity of the moſt increaſing beaſts, fowls,

fowls, fruits, plants, and ſeeds, as I projected, by this time their increaſe might have been ſufficient for more than one thouſand men; but the deſire of preſent gain in many is ſo violent, and the endeavours of many undertakers ſo negligent, every one ſo regarding their private gain, that it is hard to effect any public good, and impoſſible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, unleſs both honeſty, as well as authority and money, aſſiſt experience. But your home-bred engroſſing projectors will at laſt find, there is a great difference betwixt ſaying and doing, or thoſe that think their directions can be as ſoon and eaſily performed, as they can conceit them; or that their conceits are the fitteſt things to be put in practice, or their countenances maintain plantations. But to conclude, the fiſhing will go forward whether you plant it or no; whereby a colony may be then tranſported with no great charge, that in ſhort time might provide ſuch freights, to buy on us there dwelling, as I would hope no ſhip ſhould go or come empty from New England.

The charge of this is only ſalt, nets, hooks, lines, knives, Iriſh rugs, coarſe cloth, beads, glaſs, and ſuch traſh, only for fiſhing and trade with the ſavages, beſides our own neceſſary proviſions, whoſe endeavours would quickly defray all this charge; and the ſavages did entreat me to inhabit where I would. Now all thoſe ſhips, till theſe laſt two years, have been fiſhing within a ſquare of two or three leagues, and ſcarce any one yet will go any further in the port they fiſh in, where queſtionleſs five hundred may have their freight as well as elſewhere, and be in the market ere others can have the fiſh in their ſhips, becauſe New England's fiſhing begins in February, in Newfoundland not till the midſt of May; the progreſſion hereof tends much to the advancement of Virginia and the Summer Iſles, whoſe empty ſhips may take in their freights there, and would be alſo in time of need a good friend to the inhabitants of Newfoundland.

The returns made by the weſtern men, are commonly divided in three parts; one for the owner of the ſhip; another for the maſter and his company; the third for the victuallers, which courſe being ſtill permitted, will be no hindrance to the plantation, as yet go there never ſo many, but a means of tranſporting that yearly for little or nothing, which otherwiſe will coſt many hundreds of pounds. If a ſhip can gain twenty, thirty, fifty in the hundred; nay three hundred for one hundred in ſeven or ten months, as you ſee they have done, ſpending twice ſo much time in coming and going as in ſtaying there: were I there planted, ſeeing the variety of the fiſhings ſerve the moſt part of the year, and with a little labour we might make all the ſalt we need uſe, as is formerly ſaid, and conceive no reaſon to diſtruſt of good ſucceſs by God's aſſiſtance; beſides for the building of ſhips, no place hath more convenient harbours, ebb, nor flood, nor better timber; and no commodity in Europe doth more decay than wood.

Mr. Dee's Opinion for the building of Ships.

Mr. DEE recordeth in his Britiſh Monarchy, that King Edgar had a navy of four thouſand ſail, with which he yearly made his progreſs, about this famous monarchy of Great Britain, largely declaring the benefit thereof; whereupon he projected to our moſt memorable Queen Elizabeth, the erecting of a fleet of ſixty ſail, he called a little navy royal: imitating that admired Pericles Prince of Athens, that could never ſecure that tormented eſtate, until he was lord and captain of the ſea. At this none need wonder, for who knows not Her Royal Majeſty during her life, by the incredible adventures of her royal navy, and valiant ſoldiers and ſeamen, notwithſtanding all treacheries

cheries at home, the protecting and defending France and Holland, and reconquering Ireland; yet all the world by ſea and land both feared or loved, and admired good Queen Elizabeth. Both to maintain and increaſe that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable ſucceſſor, our moſt Royal Lord and Sovereign King James, this great philoſopher hath left this to His Majeſty and his kingdom's conſideration: that if the tenths of the earth be proper to God, it is alſo due by ſea. The King's highways are common to paſs, but not to dig for mines or any thing: ſo England's coaſts are free to paſs but not to fiſh, but by His Majeſty's prerogative.

His Majeſty of Spain permits none to paſs the Pope's order for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, but by his permiſſion, or at their perils; if all that world be ſo juſtly theirs, it is no injuſtice for England to make as much uſe of her own ſhores as ſtrangers do, that pay to their own lords the tenth, and not to the owner of thoſe liberties any thing to ſpeak of, whoſe ſubjects may neither take nor ſell any in their territories; which ſmall tribute would maintain this little Navy Royal, and not coſt His Majeſty a penny, and yet maintain peace with all foreigners, and allow them more courteſy than any nation in the world affords to England. It were a ſhame to alledge, that Holland is more worthy to enjoy our fiſhing as lords thereof, becauſe they have more ſkill to handle it than we, as they can our wool and undreſſed cloth, notwithſtanding all their wars and troubleſome diſorders.

To get money to build this navy, he ſaith, who would not ſpare the one-hundredth penny of his rents, and the five-hundredth penny of his goods; each ſervant that taketh forty ſhillings wages, four-pence; and every foreigner of ſeven years of age, four-pence for ſeven years; not any of theſe but they will ſpend three times ſo much in pride, wantonneſs, or ſome ſuperfluity; and do any men love the ſecurity of their eſtates, that of themſelves would not be humble ſuitors to His Majeſty to do this of free will as a voluntary benevolence, or but the one-half of this (or ſome ſuch other courſe, as I have prounded to divers of the companies), free from any conſtraint, tax, lottery, or impoſition; ſo it may be as honeſtly and truly employed as it is projected, the pooreſt mechanic in this kingdom would gain by it. Then you might build ſhips of any proportion and numbers you pleaſe, five times cheaper than you can do here, and have good merchandize for their freight in this unknown land, to the advancement of God's glory, his church and goſpel, and the ſtrengthening and relief of a great part of Chriſtendom without hurt to any, to the terror of pirates, the amazement of enemies, the aſſiſtance of friends, the ſecuring merchants, and ſo much increaſe of navigation, to make England's trade and ſhipping as much as any nations in the world, beſides a hundred other benefits, to the general good of all true ſubjects, and would cauſe thouſands yet unborn to bleſs the time, and all them that firſt put it in practice.

Now leſt it ſhould be obſcured as it hath been to private ends, or ſo weakly undertaken by our overweening incredulity, that ſtrangers may poſſeſs it, whilſt we contend for New England's goods, but not England's good; I have preſented it, as I have ſaid, to the Prince and nobility, the gentry and commonalty, hoping at laſt it will move the whole land to know it and conſider of it; ſince I can find them wood and half victuals, with the aforeſaid advantages: were this country planted, with what facility they may build and maintain this little navy royal, both with honour, profit, and content, and inhabit as good a country as any in the world within that parallel, which with my life and what I have, I will endeavour to effect, if God pleaſe and you permit. But no man will go from hence to have leſs freedom there than here, nor adventure all they have to prepare the way for them, will ſcarce thank them for it; and

and it is too well known there have been ſo many undertakers of patents, and ſuch ſharing of them, as hath bred no leſs diſcouragement than wonder to hear ſuch great promiſes and ſo little performance; in the interim, you ſee the French and Dutch already frequent it, and God forbid they in Virginia, or any of His Majeſty's ſubjects, ſhould not have as free liberty as they. To conclude, were it not for Mr. Cherley, and a few private adventurers with them, what have we there for all theſe inducements? As for them whom pride or covetouſneſs lulleth aſleep in a cradle of ſlothful careleſſneſs, would they but conſider how all the great monarchies of the earth have been brought to confuſion, or but remember the late lamentable experiences of Conſtantinople, and how many cities, towns, and provinces, in the fair rich kingdoms of Hungaria, Tranſylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, and how many thouſands of princes, earls, barons, knights, merchants, and others, have in one day loſt goods, lives, and honours, or ſold for ſlaves like beaſts in a market-place, their wives, children, and ſervants ſlain, or wandering they knew not whither, dying or living in all extremities of extreme miſeries and calamities, ſurely they would not only do this, but give all they have to enjoy peace and liberty at home, or but adventure their perſons abroad, to prevent the concluſions of a conquering foe, who commonly aſſaulteth, and beſt prevaileth where he findeth wealth and plenty moſt armed with ignorance and ſecurity.

Though the true condition of war is only to ſuppreſs the proud and defend the innocent, as did that moſt generous Prince Sigiſmundus, Prince of thoſe countries, againſt them whom, under the colour of juſtice and piety, to maintain their ſuperfluity of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintain their vice, and undo them, or keep them from ability to do any thing that would not admire and adore their honours, fortunes, covetouſneſs, falſehood, bribery, cruelty, extortion, and ingratitude, which is worſe than cowardice or ignorance, and all manner of vileneſs, clean contrary to all honour, virtue, and nobleneſs.

JOHN SMITH writ this with his own hand.

Here follow certain notes and obſervations of Captain Charles Whitbourne concerning Newfoundland, which although every maſter trained up in fiſhing can make their proportions of neceſſaries according to their cuſtom, yet it is not much amiſs here to inſert them, that every one which deſires the good of thoſe actions know them alſo. Beſides in his book, entitled 'A Diſcovery of Newfoundland, and the Commodities thereof,' you ſhall find many excellent good advertiſements for a plantation, and how that moſt years this coaſt hath been frequented with two hundred and fifty ſail of His Majeſty's ſubjects, which ſuppoſing but ſixty tons a-piece, one with another, they amount to fifteen thouſand tons, and allowing twenty-five men and boys to every bark, they will make five thouſand perſons, whoſe labours return yearly to about one hundred and thirty-five thouſand pounds ſterling, beſides the great numbers of brewers, bakers, coopers, ſhip-carpenters, net-makers, rope-makers, hook-makers, and the moſt of all other mechanical trades in England.

The charge of ſetting forth a ſhip of one hundred tons with forty perſons, both to make a fiſhing voyage, and increaſe the plantation.

	£.	s.	d.
Imprimis, 10,000 weight of biſcuit, at 15s. a cwt. -	82	10	0
26 Tuns of beer and cyder, at 53s. 4d. a tun, - -	69	7	0
2 Hogſheads of Engliſh beef,	10	0	0
2 Hogſheads of Iriſh beef, -	5	0	0
10 Fat hogs, ſalted with ſalt, and caſks, - - - - -	10	10	0
30 Buſhels of peaſe, - -	6	0	0
2 Firkins of butter, - -	3	0	0
200 Weight of cheeſe, -	2	10	0
1 Buſhel of muſtard, -	0	6	0
1 Hogſhead of vinegar, -	1	5	0
Wood to dreſs meat withal,	1	0	0
1 Great copper kettle, -	2	0	0
2 Small kettles, - -	2	0	0
2 Frying-pans, - -	0	3	4
Platters, ladles, and cans, -	1	0	0
A pair of bellows for the cook,	0	2	6
Taps, borers, and funnels, -	0	2	0
Locks for the bread-rooms,	0	2	6
100 Weight of candles, -	2	10	0
130 Quarters of ſalt, at 2s. the buſhel, - - - -	10	4	0
Mats and dinnage to lie under it, - - - - -	2	10	0
Salt ſhovels, - - -	0	10	0
Particulars for the 40 perſons to keep 8 fiſhing boats at ſea, with 3 men in every boat, employs 24, and 500 feet of elm boards of an inch thick, 8s. each one, -	2	0	0
2000 Nails for the 8 boats, at 13s. 4d. a 1000, - .	1	6	8
4000 Nails, at 6s. 8d. a 1000,	1	6	8
2000 Nails, at 5d. a 100, -	0	8	0
500 Weight of pitch, at 8s. a 100, - - - - -	2	0	0
2000 of good orlop nails, -	2	5	0
More for other ſmall neceſſaries,	3	0	0
A barrel of tar, - -	0	10	0
200 Weight of black oakum,	1	0	0
Thrums for pitch maps, -	0	1	6
Bowls, buckets, and pumps,	1	0	0
2 Brazen cocks, - -	2	0	0
Canvas to make boat-ſails and ſmall ropes, at 25s. for each ſail, - - - - -	12	10	0
10 Rod ropes, which contain 600 weight, at 30s. the 100, - - -	10	0	0
12 Dozen of fiſhing-lines, -	6	0	0
24 Dozen of fiſhing-hooks,	2	0	0
For ſquid line, - -	0	3	0
For pots and liver maunds,	0	18	0
Iron works for the boats' rudders, - - - - -	2	0	0
10 Kipnet irons, - -	0	10	0
Twine to make kipnets and gagging hooks, - -	0	6	0
10 good nets, at 26s. a net,	13	0	0
2 Saynes, a great and a leſs,	12	0	0
200 Weight of ſow-lead, -	1	0	0
2 Couple of ropes for the ſeans,	1	0	0
Dry-fats to keep them in, -	0	6	0
Twine for ſtore, - -	0	5	0
Flaſkets and bread-baſkets,	0	15	0
For hair cloth, - -	10	0	0
3 Tuns of vinegar caſk for water, - - -	1	6	8
1 Dozen of deal boards, -	0	10	0
2 Barrels of oatmeal, -	1	6	0
100 Weight of ſpikes, -	2	5	0
2 Good axes, 4 hand-hatchets, 4 drawers, 2 drawing irons,	0	16	0
3 Yards of woollen cloth for cuffs, - - -	0	10	0
8 Yards of good canvas, -	0	10	0
A Grindſtone or two, -	0	6	0
2000 of poor-john to ſpend in going, - - -	6	10	0
1 Hogſhead of aqua-vitæ, -	4	0	0
4 Arm ſaws, 4 hand ſaws, 4 thwart ſaws, 3 augers, 2 crows of iron, 3 ſledges, 4 ſhod ſhovels, 2 pick-axes, 4 mattocks, and 4 hammers,	5	0	0
The total ſum is -	420	11	0

All

All theſe proviſions the maſter or purſer is to be accountable what is ſpent and what is left, with thoſe which ſhall continue there to plant; and of the forty thus provided for the voyage, ten may well be ſpared to leave behind them, with five hundred weight of biſcuit, five hogſheads of cyder or beer, half a hogſhead of beef, four ſides of dry bacon, four buſhels of peaſe, half a firkin of butter, half a hundred weight of cheeſe, a peck of muſtard-ſeed, a barrel of vinegar, twelve pounds of candles, two pecks of oatmeal, half a hogſhead of aqua-vitæ, two copper kettles, one braſs crock, one frying-pan, a grindſtone, and all the hatches, wood-hooks, ſaws, augers, &c., and all other iron tools, with the eight boats and their implements, and ſpare ſalt, and what elſe they uſe, not in a readineſs from year to year, and in the mean time ſerved them to help to build their houſes, cleanſe land, and further their fiſhing whilſt the ſhips are wanting.

By his eſtimation and calculation theſe eight boats with twenty-two men in a ſummer do uſually kill twenty-five thouſand fiſh for every boat, which may amount to two hundred thouſand, allowing a hundred and twenty fiſhes to the hundred; ſometimes they have taken above thirty-five thouſand for a boat; ſo that they load not only their own ſhip, but provide great quantities for ſacks, or other ſpare ſhips which come thither only to buy the overplus: if ſuch ſhips come not, they give over taking any more, when ſometimes there hath been great abundance, becauſe there are no fit houſes to lay them in till another year; now moſt of thoſe ſacks goeth empty thither, which might as well tranſport men's proviſion and cattle at an eaſy rate as nothing, either to New England or Newfoundland, but either to tranſport them for nothing, or pay any great matter for their liberty to fiſh, will hardly effect ſo much as freedom as yet; nor can this be put in practice, as I before ſaid, till there be a power there well planted and ſettled to entertain and defend them, aſſiſt and relieve them as occaſion ſhall require, otherwiſe thoſe ſmall diviſions will effect little, but ſuch miſerable concluſions as both the French and we too long have tried to our coſts. Now commonly two hundred thouſand fiſh will load a ſhip of one hundred tons in Newfoundland, but half ſo many will near do it in New England, which carried to Toulon or Marſeilles, where the cuſtom is ſmall, and the quintal leſs than ninety Engliſh pounds weight, and the price, when leaſt, twelve ſhillings the quintal, which at that rate amounts to one thouſand three hundred and twenty pounds ſterling; and the ſhip may either there be diſcharged or employed, as hath been ſaid, to re-freight for England, ſo that the next year ſhe may be ready to go her fiſhing-voyage again at a far cheaper rate than before.

To this add but twelve tons of train-oil, which delivered in Newfoundland, is ten pounds the ton, makes one hundred and twenty pounds, then it is hard if there be not ten thouſand of core-fiſh, which alſo ſold there at five pounds the thouſand, makes fifty pounds, which brought to England, in ſome places yields near half ſo much more; but if at Marſeilles it be ſold for ſixteen pounds the quintal, as commonly it is, and much dearer, it amounts to one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty pounds; and if the boats follow the fiſhing till the 15th of October, they may take eighty thouſand more, which with their train in Newfoundland, at four pounds the thouſand, will amount to three hundred and twenty pounds, which added to one thouſand three hundred and twenty pounds, with one hundred and twenty pounds for oil, and ten thouſand of core-fiſh fifty pounds, and the overplus at Marſeilles, which will be four hundred and forty pounds, make the total two thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds, which divided in three parts, according to their cuſtom, the victualler hath for the former particulars, amounting to four hundred and twenty pounds, ſeven hundred and fifty-one pounds; ſo all the charge defrayed, he gains three hundred and thirty-

one pounds eleven ſhillings; then for the freight of the ſhip there is ſeven hundred and fifty-one pounds, and ſo much for the maſter and his company; which comparing with the voyages hath been made to New England, you may eaſily find which is the better though both be good. But now experience hath taught them at New Plymouth, that in April there is a fiſh much like a herring that comes up into the ſmall brooks to ſpawn, and where the water is not knee-deep, they will preſs up through your hands, yea, though you beat at them with cudgels, and in ſuch abundance as is incredible, which they take with that facility, they manure their land with them when they have occaſion; after thoſe the cod alſo preſſeth in ſuch plenty, even into the very harbours, they have caught ſome in their arms, and hook them ſo faſt, three men oft loadeth a boat of two tons in two hours, where before they uſed moſt to fiſh in deep water.

The preſent State of New Plymouth.

AT New Plymouth there is about one hundred and eighty perſons, ſome cattle and goats, but many ſwine and poultry, thirty-two dwelling-houſes, whereof ſeven were burnt the laſt winter, and the value of five hundred pounds in other goods; the town is impailed about half a mile compaſs. In the town upon a high mount they have a fort well built with wood, loam, and ſtone, where is planted their ordnance; alſo a fair watch tower, partly framed for the ſentinel: the place, it ſeems, is healthful, for in theſe laſt three years, notwithſtanding their great want of moſt neceſſaries, there hath not one died of the firſt planters; they have made a ſalt-work, and with that ſalt preſerve the fiſh they take, and this year hath freighted a ſhip of one hundred and eighty tons. The governor is one Mr. William Bradford; their captain, Miles Standiſh, a bred ſoldier, in Holland; the chief men for their aſſiſtance is Mr. Iſaac Alderton, and divers others, as occaſion ſerveth; their preachers are Mr. William Bruſter and Mr. John Layford.

The moſt of them live together as one family or houſehold, yet every man followeth his trade and profeſſion both by ſea and land, and all for a general ſtock, out of which they have all their maintenance, until there be a dividend betwixt the planters and the adventurers. Thoſe planters are not ſervants to the adventurers here, but have only councils of directions from them, but no injunctions or command, and all the maſters of families are partners in land or whatſoever, ſetting their labours againſt the ſtock, till certain years be expired for the diviſin: they have young men and boys for their apprentices and ſervants, and ſome of them ſpecial families, as ſhip-carpenters, ſalt-makers, fiſh-maſters, yet as ſervants upon great wages. The adventurers which raiſed the ſtock to begin and ſupply this plantation were about ſeventy, ſome gentlemen, ſome merchants, ſome handicrafts men, ſome adventuring great ſums, ſome ſmall, as their eſtates and affection ſerved. The general ſtock already employed is about ſeven thouſand pounds, by reaſon of which charge and many croſſes, many of them would adventure no more, but others, that know ſo great a deſign cannot be effected without both charge, loſs and croſſes, are reſolved to go forward with it to their powers, which deſerve no ſmall commendations and encouragement. Theſe dwell moſt about London; they are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination in a ſociety without conſtraint or penalty, aiming to do good and to plant religion; they have a preſident and treaſurer, every year newly choſen by the moſt voices, who ordereth the affairs of their courts and meetings, and with the aſſent of the moſt of them, undertaketh all ordinary buſineſſes, but in more weighty affairs, the

aſſent of the whole company is required. There hath been fiſhing this year upon the coaſt about fifty Engliſh ſhips: and by Cape Anne there is a plantation a beginning by the Dorcheſter men, which they hold of thoſe of New Plymouth, who alſo by them have ſet up a fiſhing work; ſome talk there is ſome other pretended plantations, all whoſe good proceedings the eternal God protect and preſerve. And theſe have been the true proceedings and accidents in thoſe plantations.

Now to make a particular relation of all the acts and orders in the courts belonging unto them, of the annihilating old patents and procuring new, with the charge, pains, and arguments, the reaſons of ſuch changes, all the treaties, conſultations, orations, and diſſentions about the ſharing and dividing thoſe large territories, confirming of counſellors, electing all ſorts of officers, directions, letters of advice, and their anſwers, diſputations about the magazines and impoſitions, ſuiters for patents, poſitions for freedoms, and confirmations with complaints of injuries here, and alſo the mutinies, examinations, arraignments, executions, and the cauſe of the ſo often revolt of the ſavages at large, as many would have had, and it may be, ſome do expect it would make more quarrels than any of them would willingly anſwer, and ſuch a volume as would tire any wiſe man but to read the contents; for my own part, I rather fear the unpartial reader will think this rather more tedious than neceſſary: but he that would be a practitioner in thoſe affairs, I hope will allow them not only needful but expedient: but however, if you pleaſe to bear with thoſe errors I have committed, if God pleaſe I live, my care and pains ſhall endeavour to be thankful; if I die, accept my good will: if any deſire to be further ſatisfied, what defect is found in this, they ſhall find ſupplied in me, that thus freely have thrown myſelf with my mite into the treaſury of my country's good, not doubting but God will ſtir up ſome noble ſpirits to conſider and examine if worthy Columbus could give the Spaniards any ſuch certainties for his deſign, when Queen Iſabel of Spain, ſet him forth with fifteen ſail, and though I promiſe no mines of gold, yet the warlike Hollanders let us imitate but not hate, whoſe wealth and ſtrength are good teſtimonies of their treaſury gotten by fiſhing; and New England hath yielded already by general computation one hundred thouſand pounds at the leaſt. Therefore honourable and worthy countrymen, let not the meanneſs of the word *fiſh* diſtaſte you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potoſi, with leſs hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility.

J. S.

TRAVELS IN CANADA;

BY THE BARON LAHONTAN.*

TO HIS GRACE WILLIAM DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE,

Lord Steward of Her Majeſty's Houſhold, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Derby, Chief Juſtice in Eyre of all Her Majeſty's Foreſts, Chaces, Parks, &c. Trent-North; one of the Lords of Her Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

My Lord,

SINCE I had the honour to preſent the King of Denmark with the firſt part of this book, I preſume to make a preſent of the latter to Your Grace. In making the firſt dedication, I had no other inducement, than a due regard to the benefits I receiv'd from His Majeſty's favour; and the ſame motive with reference to Your Grace, has prompted me to make this acknowledgment of the undeſerved favours you kindly vouchſafed me.

I did not dare to launch out into the praiſe of His Daniſh Majeſty, who has a juſt title to all ſorts of encomiums; by reaſon that the little French I had has been forgot among a ſort of people, that take panegyrics to be affronts. 'Tis with the ſame view, my Lord, that I decline the pleaſure of publiſhing thoſe diſtinguiſhing qualities, that place Your Lordſhip at the head of the moſt accompliſhed Grandees of the world, and the moſt zealous patriots of their country.

I am, with all gratitude and veneration,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt humble, and moſt obedient ſervant,

LAHONTAN.

THE PREFACE.

HAVING flattered myſelf with the vain hopes of retrieving the King of France's favour, before the declaration of this war, I was ſo far from thinking to put theſe letters and memoirs to the preſs, that I deſigned to have committed 'em to the flames, if that Monarch had done me the honour of reinſtating me in my former places, with the good leave of Meſſrs. de Pontchartrain†, the father and the ſon. 'Twas with that

* 2d Edition, London 1735, 2 vols. 8vo.

† The one Chancellor of France, and the other Secretary of State; both of them vaſtly rich.

view that I neglected to put 'em in ſuch a dreſs as might now be wiſhed for, for the ſatisfaction of the reader that gives himſelf the trouble to peruſe 'em.

Between the fifteenth and ſixteenth year of my age I went to Canada, and there took care to keep up a conſtant correſpondence by letters with an old relation, who had required of me a narrative of the occurrences of that country, upon the account of the yearly aſſiſtance he gave me. 'Tis theſe very letters that make the greateſt part of the firſt volume. They contain an account of all that paſs'd between the Engliſh, the French, the Iroqueſe, and the other ſavage nations, from the year 1683 to 1694. Together with a great many curious remarks, that may be of uſe to thoſe who have any knowledge of the Engliſh or French colonies.

The whole is writ with a great deal of fidelity; for I repreſent things juſt as they are. I neither flatter nor ſpare any perſon whatſoever; I attribute to the Iroqueſe*, the glory they have purchaſed on ſeveral occaſions, though at the ſame time I hate that raſcally people, as much as horns and law-ſuits. Notwithſtanding the veneration I have for the clergy, I impute to them all the miſchief the Iroqueſe have done to the French colonies, in the courſe of a war that had never been undertaken, if it had not been for the councils of theſe pious churchmen.

The reader is deſired to take notice that the towns of New York are known to the French by their old names only, and for that reaſon I was oblig'd to make uſe of the ſame in my letters, as well as my maps. They give the name of New York to all that country, that reaches from the ſource of its river to the mouth, that is, to the iſland, upon which there ſtands a city call'd in the time of the Dutch, Manathe, and now by the Engliſh, New York. In like manner the plantation of Albany, that lies towards the head of the river, is call'd by the French, Orange.

Farther; I would not have the reader to take it amiſs, that the thoughts of the ſavages are ſet forth in an European dreſs. The occaſion of that choice proceeded from the relation I correſponded with; for that honeſt gentleman ridiculed the metaphorical harangue of the Grangula†; and intreated me not to make a literal tranſlation of a language that was ſo ſtuffed with fictions and ſavage hyperboles. It is for this reaſon that all the diſcourſes and arguments of thoſe nations are here accommodated to the European ſtyle and way of ſpeaking; for having complied with my friend's requeſt, I contented myſelf in keeping only a copy of the letters I writ to him, during my pilgrimage in the country of theſe naked philoſophers.

It will not be improper to acquaint the reader, by the bye, that thoſe who know my faults, do as little juſtice to theſe people, as they do to me, in alleging I am a ſavage myſelf, and that *that* makes me ſpeak ſo favourably of my fellow-ſavages. Theſe obſervers do me a great deal of honour, as long as they do not explain themſelves, ſo as to make me directly of the ſame character with that which is tacked to the word ſavage by the Europeans in their way of thinking: for in ſaying only that I am of the ſame temper with the ſavages, they give me, without deſign, the character of the honeſteſt man in the world. It is an unconteſted truth, that the nations which are not debauched by the neighbourhood of the Europeans, are ſtrangers to the meaſures of *meum* and *tuum*, and to all laws, judges, and prieſts. This cannot be called in queſtion, ſince all travellers that viſit thoſe countries, vouch for its truth; and a great many of different profeſſions have given the world repeated aſſurances that it is ſo. Now this being granted, we ought not to ſcruple to believe, that theſe are ſuch wiſe

* Called by the Engliſh in New York, Mahak. † See Letter 7th.

and

and reaſonable people. I take it, a man muſt be quite blind who does not ſee that the property of goods (I do not ſpeak of the ingroſſing of women) is the only ſource of all the diſorders that perplex the European ſocieties. Upon that conſideration it will be eaſy to perceive, that I have not ſpoke wide in deſcribing that wiſdom and acuteneſs which ſhines through the words and actions of theſe poor Americans. If all the world had acceſs to the books of voyages that are found in ſome well-ſtocked libraries, they would find in above a hundred deſcriptions of Canada, an infinity of diſcourſes and arguments offered by the ſavages, which are incomparably ſtronger, and more nervous than thoſe I have inſerted in my memoirs.

As for ſuch as doubt of the inſtinct and wonderful capacity of beavers, they need only to caſt their eyes upon the great map of America, drawn by the Sieur de Fer, and engraved at Paris in the year 1698; where they will meet with ſeveral ſurprizing things relating to theſe animals.

While my book was printing in Holland, I was in England; and as ſoon as it appeared, ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed merit, who underſtand the French as well as their mother tongue, gave me to know, that they would be glad to ſee a more ample relation of the manners and cuſtoms of the people of that continent, whom we call by the name of ſavages. This obliged me to communicate to theſe gentlemen the ſubſtance of the ſeveral conferences I had in that country with a certain Huron, whom the French call Rat. While I ſtayed at that American's village, I employed my time very agreeably in making a careful collection of all his arguments and opinions; and as ſoon as I returned from my voyage upon the lakes of Canada, I ſhewed my manuſcript to Count Frontenac, who was ſo pleaſed with it, that he took the pains to aſſiſt me in digeſting the dialogues, and bringing them into the order they now appear in: for, before that, they were abrupt conferences without connexion. Upon the ſolicitation of theſe Engliſh gentlemen, I have put theſe dialogues into the hands of the perſon who tranſlated my letters and memoirs: and if it had not been for their preſſing inſtances, they had never ſeen the light; for there are but few in the world that will judge impartially, and without prepoſſeſſion of ſome things contained in them.

I have likewiſe entruſted the ſame tranſlator with ſome remarks that I made in Portugal and Denmark, when I fled thither from Newfoundland. There the reader will meet with a deſcription of Liſbon and Copenhagen, and of the capital city of Arragon.

To the tranſlation of my firſt volume, I have added an exact map of Newfoundland, which was not in the original. I have likewiſe corrected almoſt all the cuts of the Holland impreſſion, for the Dutch gravers had murdered them, by not underſtanding their explications, which were all in French. They have engraved women for men, and men for women; naked perſons for thoſe that are clothed, and *è contra*. As for the maps, the reader will find them very exact; and I have taken care to have the tracts of my voyages more nicely delineated than in the original.

I underſtand by letters from Paris, that the two Meſſieurs de Pontchartrain endeavour by all means to be revenged upon me for the affront they ſay I gave them in publiſhing ſome trifling ſtories in my book, that ought to have been concealed. I am likewiſe informed, that I have reaſon to be apprehenſive of the reſentment of ſeveral eccleſiaſtics, who pretend I have inſulted God in cenſuring their conduct. But ſince I expected nothing leſs than the furious reſentment both of the one and the other, when I put this book to the preſs; I had time enough to arm myſelf from top to toe, in order to make head

head againſt them. It is my comfort, that I have writ nothing but what I make good by authentic proofs; beſides, that I could not have ſaid leſs of them than I have done; for if I had not tied myſelf up to the direct thread of my diſcourſe, I could have made digreſſions, in which the conduct both of the one and the other would have appeared to be prejudicial to the repoſe of the ſociety, and the public good. I had provocation enough to have treated them in that manner; but my letters being addreſſed to an old bigotted relation of mine, who fed upon devotion, and dreaded the influence of the court; he ſtill beſeeched me to write nothing to him that might diſoblige the clergy or the courtiers, for fear of the intercepting of my letters. However, I have advice from Paris, that ſome pedants are ſet at work to laſh me in writing; and ſo I muſt prepare to ſtand the brunt of a ſhower of affronts, that will be poured upon me in a few days. But it is no matter; I am ſo good a conjurer, that I can ward off any ſtorm from the ſide of Paris. I laugh at their threats; and ſince I cannot make uſe of my ſword, I'll wage war with my pen.

This I only mention, by the by, in this my Preface to the Reader, whom I pray the Heavens to crown with proſperity, in preſerving him from having any buſineſs to adjuſt with moſt of the miniſters of ſtate, and prieſts; for let them be never ſo faulty, they'll ſtill be ſaid to be in the right, till ſuch time as anarchy be introduced amongſt us, as well as the Americans, among whom the ſorryeſt fellow thinks himſelf a better man than a Chancellor of France. Theſe people are happy in being ſcreen'd from the tricks and ſhifts of miniſters, who are always maſters wherever they come. I envy the ſtate of a poor ſavage, who tramples upon laws, and pays homage to no ſceptre. I wiſh I could ſpend the reſt of my life in his hut, and ſo be no longer expoſed to the chagrin of bending the knee to a ſet of men that ſacrifice the public good to their private intereſt, and are born to plague honeſt men. The two miniſters of ſtate I have to do with, have been ſolicited in vain, by the Ducheſs of Lude, Cardinal Bouillon, Count Guiſcar, Mr. De Quiros, and Count D'Avaux: nothing could prevail, though all that is laid to my charge conſiſts only in not bearing the affronts of a governor, whom they protect; at a time when a hundred other officers who live under the imputation of crimes, infinitely greater than mine, are excuſed for three months abſence from court. Now the reaſon is, that they give leſs quarter to thoſe who have the misfortune to diſpleaſe the two Meſſieurs De Ponchartrain, than to ſuch as act contrary to the King's orders.

But after all my misfortunes, I have this to ſolace me, that I enjoy in England a ſort of liberty that is not met with elſewhere: for one may juſtly ſay, that of all the countries inhabited by civilized people, this alone affords the greateſt perfection of liberty; nay, I do not except the liberty of the mind, for I am convinced that the Engliſh maintain it with a great deal of tenderneſs: ſo true it is, that all degrees of ſlavery are abhorred by this people, who ſhew their wiſdom in the precautions they take to prevent their ſinking into a fatal ſervitude.

LETTER I.

Dated at the Port of Quebec, Nov. 8, 1683.

Containing a Deſcription of the Paſſage from France to Canada, with ſome Remarks upon the Coaſts, Channels, &c., and the Variation of the Needle.

SIR,

I AM ſurprized to find that a voyage to the New World is ſo formidable to thoſe who are obliged to undertake it; for I ſolemnly proteſt, that it is far from being what the world commonly takes it for. It is true the paſſage is in ſome meaſure long, but then the hopes of viewing an unknown country, atones for the tedioufneſs of the voyage. When we broke ground from Rochelle, I acquainted you with the reaſons that moved Mr. Le Fevre de la Barre, governor-general of Canada, to ſend the Sieur Mahu, a Canadeſe, to France; and at the ſame time gave you to know, that he had reſolved upon the utter deſtruction of the Iroqueſe, who are a very warlike and ſavage people. Theſe barbarians befriend the Engliſh, upon the account of the ſuccours they receive from them; but they are enemies to us, upon the apprehenſion of being deſtroyed by us ſome time or other. The General I ſpoke of but now, expected that the King would ſend him ſeven or eight hundred men; but when we ſet out from Rochelle, the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that our three companies of marines were reckoned a ſufficient venture.

I met with nothing in our paſſage that was diſagreeable, abating for a ſtorm that alarmed us for ſome days, upon the precipice of the bank of Newfoundland, where the waves ſwell prodigiouſly, even when the winds are low. In that ſtorm our frigate received ſome rude ſhocks from the ſea; but in regard that ſuch accidents are uſual in that voyage, they made no impreſſion upon the old ſeaſoned ſailors. As for my part, I could not pretend to that pitch of indifference, for having never made ſuch a voyage before, I was ſo alarmed in ſeeing the waves mount up to the clouds, that I made more vows to Neptune than the brave Idomenæus did in his return from the wars of Troy. After we made the bank, the waves ſunk, and the wind dwindled, and the ſea became ſo ſmooth and eaſy, that we could not work our ſhip. You can ſcarce imagine what quantities of cod-fiſh were caught there by our ſeamen in the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, for though we had thirty-two fathom water, yet the hook was no ſooner at the bottom than the fiſh was caught, ſo that they had nothing to do but to throw in and take up without interruption: but after all, ſuch is the miſfortune of this fiſhery, that it does not ſucceed but upon certain banks, which are commonly paſt over without ſtopping. However, as we were plentifully entertained at the coſt of theſe fiſhes, ſo ſuch of them at continued in the ſea made ſufficient repriſals upon the corpſe of a captain and of ſeveral ſoldiers, who died of the ſcurvy, and were thrown overboard three or four days after.

In the meantime the wind veering to the weſt-north-weſt, we were obliged to lay by for five or ſix days; but after that it chopped to the north, and ſo we happily made Cape Raſe, though indeed our pilots were at a loſs to know where we were, by reaſon that they could not take the latitude for ten or twelve days before. You may eaſily imagine that it was with great joy that we heard one of our ſailors call from the top-maſt, Land, land, juſt as St. Paul did when he approached to Malta, Γῆν ὁρῶ, Γῆν ὁρῶ: for you muſt know that when the pilots reckon they approach to land, they

uſe the precaution of ſending up ſailors to the top-maſt, in order to ſome diſcovery, and theſe ſailors are relieved every two hours till night comes, at which time they furl their ſails if the land is not yet deſcried, ſo that in the night-time they ſcarce make any way. From this it appears how important it is to know the coaſt, before you approach to it; nay, the paſſengers put ſuch a value upon the diſcovery, that they preſent the firſt diſcoverer with ſome piſtoles. In the meantime you'll be pleaſed to obſerve, that the needle of the compaſs, which naturally points to the north, turns upon the bank of Newfoundland, 23° towards the north-weſt, that is, it points there a degree nearer to the weſt than north-north-weſt. This remark we made by our compaſs of variation.

We deſcried the cape about noon, and in order to confirm the diſcovery, ſtood in upon it with all ſails aloft. At laſt, being aſſured that it was the promontory we looked for, an univerſal joy was ſpread throughout the ſhip, and the fate of the wretches that we had thrown overboard was quite forgot. Then the ſailors ſet about the chriſtening of thoſe who had never made the voyage before; and indeed they had done it ſooner, if it had not been for the death of our above-mentioned companions. The chriſtening I ſpeak of, is an impertinent ceremony, practiſed by ſeafaring men, whoſe humours are as ſtrange and extravagant as the element itſelf, upon which they fooliſhly truſt themſelves. By virtue of a cuſtom of old ſtanding, they profane the ſacrament of baptiſm in an unaccountable manner. Upon that occaſion the old ſailors being blackened all over, and diſguiſed with rags and ropes, force the greener ſort that have never paſſed ſome certain degrees of latitude before, to fall down on their knees, and to ſwear upon a book of ſea-charts, that upon all occaſions they will practiſe upon others, the ſame ceremony that is then made uſe of towards them. After the adminiſtering of this ridiculous oath, they throw fifty buckets full of water upon their head, belly, and thighs, and indeed, all over their bodies, without any regard to times or ſeaſons. This piece of folly is chiefly practiſed under the equator, under the tropics, under the polar circles, upon the bank of Newfoundland, and in the Streights of Gibraltar, the Sund, and the Dardanelles. As for perſons of note or character, they are exempted from the ceremony, at the expence of five or ſix bottles of brandy for the ſhip's crew.

Three or four days after the performance of this ſolemnity, we diſcovered Cape Raye, and ſo made up to St. Lawrence Bay, in the mouth of which we were becalmed for a little while, and during that calm we had a clearer and pleaſanter day than any we had ſeen in the paſſage. It looked as if that day had been vouchſafed us by way of recompence for the rains, fogs, and high winds that we encountered by the way. There we ſaw an engagement between a whale and a ſword-fiſh*, at the diſtance of a gun-ſhot from our frigate. We were perfectly charmed when we ſaw the ſword-fiſh jump out of the water in order to dart its ſpear into the body of the whale, when obliged to take breath. This entertaining ſhow laſted at leaſt two hours, ſometimes to the ſtarboard and ſometimes to the larboard of the ſhip. The ſailors, among whom ſuperſtition prevails as much as among the Egyptians, took this for a preſage of ſome mighty ſtorm; but the prophecy ended in two or three days of contrary winds, during which time we traverſed between the iſland of Newfoundland and that of Cape Breton. Two days after we came in ſight of the iſland of Fowls, by the help of a north-eaſt wind, which drove us from the mouth of St. Lawrence Bay to the Iſle of Anticoſti,

* Eſpadon, a fiſh between ten and fifteen feet long, being four feet in circumference, and having in its ſnout a ſort of ſaw which is four feet long, four inches broad, and ſix lines thick.

upon the bank of which we thought to have been caſt away, by nearing it too much. In the mouth of that river we fell into a ſecond calm, which was followed by a contrary wind, that obliged us to lie by for ſome days. At laſt we made Tadouſſac, by gradual approaches, and there came to an anchor.

This river is four leagues broad where we then rode, and twenty-two at its mouth, but it contracts itſelf gradually as it approaches to its ſource. Two days after the wind ſtanding eaſt, we weighed anchor, and being favoured by the tide, got ſafe through the channel of the Red Iſland, in which the currents are apt to turn a veſſel on one ſide, as well as at the iſland of Coudreſs, which lies ſome leagues higher. But upon the coaſt of the laſt iſland, we had certainly ſtruck upon the rocks if we had not dropped an anchor. Had the ſhip been caſt away at that place we might eaſily have ſaved ourſelves: but it proved ſo, that we were more afraid than hurt. Next morning we weighed with a freſh gale from the eaſt, and the next day after came to an anchor over againſt Cape Tourmente, where we had not above two leagues over, though at the ſame time it is a dangerous place to thoſe who are unacquainted with the channel. From thence we had but ſeven leagues ſailing to the port of Quebec, where we now ride at anchor. In our paſſage from the Red Iſland to this place, we ſaw ſuch floats of ice, and ſo much ſnow upon the land, that we were upon the point of turning back for France, though we were not then above thirty leagues off our deſired port. We were afraid of being ſtopped by the ice, and ſo loſt; but thank God we eſcaped.

We have received advice, that the governor has marked our quarters for our troops in ſome villages or cantons adjacent to this city; ſo that I am obliged to prepare to go aſhore, and therefore muſt make an end of this letter. I cannot as yet give you any account of the country, excepting that it is already mortally cold. As to the river, I mean to give you a more ample deſcription of it, when I come to know it better. We are informed that Mr. De la Salle is juſt returned from his travels, which he undertook upon the diſcovery of a great river that falls into the Gulf of Mexico, and that he embarks to-morrow for France. He is perfectly well acquainted with Canada, and for that reaſon you ought to viſit him if you go to Paris this winter. I am,

Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER II.

Dated at the Canton of Beauprè, May 2, 1684.

Containing a Deſcription of the Plantations of Canada, and the Manner in which they were firſt formed: as alſo an Account of the Tranſportation of Whores from France to that Country; together with a View of its Climate and Soil.

SIR,

AS ſoon as we landed laſt year, Mr. De la Barre lodged our three companies in ſome cantons or quarters in the neighbourhood of Quebec. The planters call theſe places Cotes, which in France ſignifies no more than the ſea-coaſt; though in this country, where the names of town and village are unknown, that word is made uſe of to expreſs a ſeignory or manor, the houſes of which lie at the diſtance of two or three hundred paces one from another, and are ſeated on the brink of the river of St. Laurence. In earneſt, Sir, the boors of thoſe manors live with more eaſe and conveniency than an infinity of the gentlemen in France. I am out indeed in calling them boors, for

that name is as little known here as in Spain; whether it be that they pay no taxes, and enjoy the liberty of hunting and fiſhing, or that the eaſineſs of their life, puts them upon a level with the nobility. The pooreſt of them have for arpents * of ground in front, and thirty or forty in depth: the whole country being a continued foreſt of lofty trees, the ſtumps of which muſt be grubbed up before they can make uſe of a plough. It is true, this is a troubleſome and chargeable taſk at firſt; but in a ſhort time after they make up their loſſes; for when the virgin ground is capable of receiving ſeed, it yields an increaſe to the rate of an hundred-fold. Corn is there ſown in May, and reaped about the middle of September. Inſtead of threſhing the ſheafs in the field, they convey them to barns, where they lie till the coldeſt ſeaſon of the winter, at which time the grain is more eaſily diſengaged from the ear. In this country they likewiſe ſow peaſe, which are much eſteemed in France. All ſorts of grain are very cheap here, as well as butchers meat and fowl. The price of wood is almoſt nothing, in compariſon with the charge of its carriage, which after all is very inconſiderable.

Moſt of the inhabitants are a free ſort of people that removed hither from France, and brought with them but little money to ſet up withal: the reſt are thoſe who were ſoldiers about thirty or forty years ago, at which time the regiment of Carignan was broke, and they exchanged a military poſt for the trade of agriculture. Neither the one nor the other paid any thing for the grounds they poſſeſs, no more than the officers of theſe troops, who marked out to themſelves certain portions of unmanured and woody lands; for this vaſt continent is nothing elſe than one contiuued foreſt. The governors-general allowed the officers three or four leagues of ground in front, with as much depth as they pleaſed; and at the ſame time the officers gave the ſoldiers as much ground as they pleaſed, upon the condition of the payment of a crown per arpent, by way of fief.

After the reform of theſe troops, ſeveral ſhips were ſent hither from France, with a cargo of women of an ordinary reputation, under the direction of ſome old ſtale nuns, who ranged them in three claſſes. The veſtal virgins were heaped up, (if I may ſo ſpeak) one above another, in three different apartments, where the bridegrooms ſingled out their brides, juſt as a butcher does an ewe from amongſt a flock of ſheep. In theſe three ſeraglios, there was ſuch variety and change of diet as could ſatisfy the moſt whimſical appetites; for here was ſome big, ſome little, ſome fair, ſome brown, ſome fat and ſome meagre; in fine, there was ſuch accommodation that every one might be fitted to his mind: and indeed the market had ſuch a run, that in fifteen days time, they were all diſpoſed of. I am told, that the fatteſt went off beſt, upon the apprehenſion that theſe being leſs active, would keep truer to their engagements, and hold out better againſt the nipping cold of the winter: but after all, a great many of the he-adventurers found themſelves miſtaken in their meaſures. However, let that be as it will, it affords a very curious remark, namely, that in ſome parts of the world, to which the vicious European women are tranſported, the mob of thoſe countries does ſeriouſly believe that their ſins are ſo defaced by the ridiculous chriſtening I took notice of before, that they are looked upon ever after as ladies of virtue, of honour, and of untarniſhed conduct of life. The ſparks that wanted to be married made their addreſſes to the above mentioned governeſſes, to whom they were obliged to give an account of their goods and eſtates before they were allowed to make their choice in the three ſeraglios. After the choice was determined, the marriage was concluded upon the ſpot, in the

* An arpent is a ſpot of ground containing one hundred perches ſquare, each of which is eighteen feet long.

preſence

preſence of a prieſt, and a public notary; and the next day the governor-general beſtowed upon the married couple a bull, a cow, a hog, a ſow, a cock, a hen, two barrels of ſalt meat, and eleven crowns; together with a certain coat of arms called by the Greeks *κέρατα. The officers having a nicer taſte than the ſoldiers, made their application to the daughters of the ancient gentlemen of the country, or thoſe of the richer ſort of inhabitants; for you know, that Canada has been poſſeſſed by the French above an hundred years.

In this country every one lives in a good and a well furniſhed houſe; and moſt of the houſes are of wood, and two ſtories high. Their chimnies are very large, by reaſon of the prodigious fires they make to guard themſelves from the cold, which is there beyond all meaſure, from the month of December to that of April. During that ſpace of time, the river is always frozen over, notwithſtanding the flowing and ebbing of the ſea; and the ſnow upon the ground is three or four feet deep; which is very ſtrange in a country that lies in the latitude of 47° and ſome odd minutes. Moſt people impute the extraordinary ſnow to the number of mountains with which this vaſt continent is repleniſhed. Whatever is in that matter, I muſt take notice of one thing, that ſeems very ſtrange, namely, that the ſummer days are longer here than at Paris. The weather is then ſo clear and ſerene, that in three weeks time you ſhall not ſee a cloud in the horizon. I hope to go to Quebec with the firſt opportunity; for I have orders to be in a readineſs to embark within fifteen days for Monreal, which is the city of this country, that lies fartheſt up towards the head of the river. I am,

Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER III.

Dated at Quebec, May 15, 1684.

Containing an ample Deſcription of the City of Quebec, and of the Iſland of Orleans.

SIR,

BEFORE I ſet out for Monreal, I had the curioſity to view the iſland of Orleans, which is ſeven leagues in length, and three in breadth: it extends from over againſt Cape Tourmente, to within a league and a half of Quebec, at which place the river divides itſelf into two branches. The ſhips ſail through the South Channel; for the North Channel is ſo foul with ſhelves and rocks, that the ſmall boats can only paſs that way. The iſland belongs to a General Farmer of France, who would make out of it a thouſand crowns of yearly rent, if himſelf had the management of it. It is ſurrounded with plantations that produce all ſorts of grain.

Quebec is the metropolitan of New France, being almoſt a league in circumference; it lies in the latitude of 47° 12′. The longitude of this place is uncertain, as well as that of ſeveral other countries, with the leave of the geographers, that reckon you up one thouſand two hundred leagues from Rochelle to Quebec, without taking the pains to meaſure the courſe: however, I am ſure that it lies but at too great a diſtance from France for the ſhips that are bound hither; for their paſſage commonly laſts for two months and a half, whereas the homeward-bound ſhips may in thirty or forty days ſailing eaſily make the Belle Iſle, which is the ſureſt and moſt uſual land that a ſhip makes upon a long voyage. The reaſon of this difference is, that the winds are eaſterly for one hundred days of the year, and weſterly for two hundred and ſixty.

* Horns.

Quebec

Quebec is divided into the upper and lower city. The merchants live in the latter, for the conveniency of the harbour: upon which they have built very fine houſes, three ſtory high, of a ſort of ſtone that is as hard as marble. The upper or high city is full as populous and as well adorned as the lower. Both cities are commanded by a caſtle, that ſtands upon the higheſt ground. This caſtle is the reſidence of the governors, and affords them not only convenient apartments, but the nobleſt and moſt extenſive proſpect in the world. Quebec wants two eſſential things, namely, a key and fortifications: though both the one and the other might be eaſily made, conſidering the conveniency of ſtones lying upon the ſpot. It is incompaſſed with ſeveral ſprings, of the beſt freſh water in the world, which the inhabitants draw out of wells; for they are ſo ignorant of the hydroſtatics, that not one of them knows how to convey the water to certain baſins, in order to raiſe either flat or ſpouting fountains. Thoſe who live on the river-ſide, in the lower city, are not half ſo much pinched with the cold as the inhabitants of the upper; beſides that the former have a peculiar conveniency of tranſporting in boats, corn, wood, and other neceſſaries to the very doors of their houſes: but as the latter are more expoſed to the injuries of the cold, ſo they enjoy the benefit and pleaſure of a cooler ſummer. The way which leads from the one city to the other is pretty broad, and adorned with houſes on each ſide; only it is a little ſteep. Quebec ſtands upon a very uneven ground; and its houſes are not uniform. The intendant lives in a bottom, at ſome ſmall diſtance from the ſide of a little river, which, by joining the river of St. Lawrence, coops up the city in a right angle. His houſe is the palace in which the ſovereign council aſſembles four times a week; and on one ſide of which we ſee great magazines of ammunition and proviſions. There are ſix churches in the high city: the cathedral conſiſts of a biſhop, and twelve prebendaries, who live in common in the chapter-houſe, the magnificence and architecture of which is truly wonderful. Theſe poor prieſts are a very good ſort of people; they content themſelves with bare neceſſaries, and meddle with nothing but the affairs of the church, where the ſervice is performed after the Roman way. The ſecond church is that of the Jeſuits, which ſtands in the center of the city; and is a fair, ſtately, and well lighted edifice. The great altar of the Jeſuits' church is adorned with four great cylindrical columns of one ſtone; the ſtone being a ſort of Canada prophyry, and black as jet, without either ſpots or veins. Theſe fathers have very convenient and large apartments, beautified with pleaſant gardens, and ſeveral rows of trees, which are ſo thick and buſhy, that in ſummer one might take their walks for an ice-houſe: and indeed we may ſay without ſtretching, that there is ice not far from them, for the good fathers are never without a reſerve in two or three places, for the cooling of their drink. Their college is ſo ſmall, that at the beſt they have ſcarce fifty ſcholars at a time. The third church is that of the Recollects, who, through the interceſſion of Count Frontenac, obtained leave of the King to build a little chapel, (which I call a church) notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Mr. De Laval, our biſhop, who, in concert with the Jeſuits, uſed his utmoſt efforts for ten years together to hinder it. Before the building of this chapel, they lived in a little hoſpital that the biſhop had ordered to be built for them; and ſome of them continue there ſtill. The fourth church is that of the Urſelines, which has been burned down two or three times, and ſtill rebuilt to advantage. The fifth is that of the Hoſpital-order, who take a particular care of the ſick, though themſelves are poor, and but ill lodged.

The ſovereign council is held at Quebec. It conſiſts of twelve counſellors of Capaly de Spada *, who are the ſupreme judicature, and decide all cauſes without appeal.

* See the explication table.

The

The intendant claims a right of being preſident to the council; but in the juſtice-hall the governor-general places himſelf ſo as to face him, the judges being ſet on both ſides of them, ſo that one would think they are both preſidents. While Monſieur de Frontenac was in Canada, he laughed at the pretended precedency of the intendants; nay, he uſed the members of that aſſembly as roughly as Cromwell did the parliament of England. At this court every one pleads his own cauſe, for ſolicitors or barriſters never appear there; by which means it comes to paſs, that law-ſuits are quickly brought to a period, without demanding court-fees or any other charges from the contending parties. The judges, who have but four hundred livres a year from the King, have a diſpenſation of not wearing the robe and the cap. Beſides this tribunal, we have in this country a lieutenant-general, both civil and military, an attorney-general, the great provoſt, and a chief-juſtice in eyre.

The way of travelling in the winter, whether in town or country, is that of ſledges drawn by horſes; who are ſo inſenſible of the cold, that I have ſeen fifty or ſixty of them in January and February ſtand in the ſnow up to their breaſt, in the midſt of a wood, without ever offering to go near their owner's houſe. In the winter-time they travel from Quebec to Monreal upon the ice, the river being then frozen over; and upon that occaſion theſe ſledges will run you fifteen leagues a day. Others have their ſledges drawn by two maſtiff dogs, but then they are longer by the way. As for their way of travelling in ſummer, I ſhall tranſmit you an account of it, when I come to be better informed. I am told that the people of this country will go a thouſand leagues in canoes of bark; a deſcription of which you may expect, as ſoon as I have made uſe of them. The eaſterly winds prevail here commonly in the ſpring and autumn; and the weſterly have the aſcendant in winter and ſummer. Adieu, Sir: I muſt now make an end of my letter, for my matter begins to run ſhort. All I can ſay is, that as ſoon as I am better inſtructed in what relates to the commerce, and the civil and eccleſiaſtical government of the country, I will tranſmit you ſuch exact memoirs of the ſame, as ſhall give you full ſatisfaction. Theſe you may expect with the firſt opportunity; for in all appearance our troops will return after the concluſion of the campaign that we are now going to make in the country of the Iroqueſe, under the command of Monſieur de la Barre. In ſeven or eight days time I mean to embark for Monreal; and in the meantime am going to make a progreſs to the villages to the Scilleri, of Saut de la Chaudiere, and of Lorete, which are inhabited by the Abenakis and the Hurons. Theſe places are not above three or four leagues off; ſo that I may return with eaſe next week. As for the manners of the people, I cannot pretend to deſcribe them ſo ſoon; for a juſt obſervation and knowledge of theſe things cannot be compaſſed without time. I have been this winter at hunting with thirty or forty young Algonkins, who were well-made clever fellows. My deſign in accompanying them was to learn their language, which is mightily eſteemed in this country; for all the other nations for a thouſand leagues round (excepting the Iroqueſe and the Hurons) underſtand it perfectly well; nay, all their reſpective tongues come as near to this, as the Portugueſe does to the Spaniſh. I have already made myſelf maſter of ſome words with a great deal of facility; and they being mightily pleaſed in ſeeing a ſtranger ſtudy their tongue, take all imaginable pains to inſtruct me.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

Dated at Monreal, June 14, 1684.

Containing a brief Deſcription of the Habitations of the Savages in the Neighbourhood of Quebec: of the River of Saint Lawrence, &c. as far up as Monreal: of a curious way of fiſhing Eels, and of the Cities of Fois Rivieres and Monreal: together with an Account of the Conduct of the Foreſt Rangers or Pedlars.*

SIR,

BEFORE my departure from Quebec, I viſited the adjacent villages inhabited by the ſavages. The village of Lorete is peopled by two hundred families of Hurons, who were converted to Chriſtianity by the Jeſuits, though with a great deal of reluctancy. The villages of Sillery and of Saut de la Chaudiere, are compoſed of three hundred families of Abenakis, who are likewiſe Chriſtians, and among whom the Jeſuits have ſettled miſſionaries. I returned to Quebec time enough, and embarked under the conduct of a maſter, that would rather have had a lading of goods than of ſoldiers. The north-eaſt winds wafted us in five or ſix days to Trois Rivieres, which is the name of a ſmall city, ſeated at the diſtance of thirty leagues from hence. That city derives its name from three rivers, that ſpring from one channel, and after continuing their diviſion for ſome ſpace, re-unite into a joint ſtream, that falls into the river of Saint Lawrence, about half a quarter of a league below the town. Had we ſailed all night the tides would have carried us thither in two days time; but in regard that the river is full of rocks and ſhelves, we durſt not venture upon it in the dark; ſo we came to an anchor every night, which did not at all diſpleaſe me; for in the courſe of thirty leagues (notwithſtanding the darkneſs of the night) it gave me an opportunity of viewing an infinite number of habitations on each ſide of the river, which are not above a muſket-ſhot diſtant one from another. The inhabitants that are ſettled between Quebec and fifteen leagues higher, diverted me very agreeably with the fiſhing of eels. At low water they ſtretch out hurdles to the loweſt water-mark; and that ſpace of ground being then dry by the retreat of the water, is covered over and ſhut up by the hurdles. Between the hurdles they place at certain diſtances inſtruments called ruches, from the reſemblance they bear to a bee-hive; beſides baſkets and little nets belagged upon a pole, which they call bouteux and bouts de quievres. Then they let all ſtand in this faſhion for three months in the ſpring, and two in the autumn. Now as often as the tide comes in, the eels looking out for ſhallow places, and making towards the ſhore, croud in among the hurdles, which hinder them afterwards to retire with the ebb-water; upon that they are forced to bury themſelves in the above-mentioned engines, which are ſometimes ſo overcrammed, that they break. When it is low water the inhabitants take out theſe eels, which are certainly the biggeſt and the longeſt in the world. They ſalt them up in barrels, where they will keep a whole year without ſpoiling: and, indeed, they give an admirable reliſh in all ſauces; nay, there is nothing that the council of Quebec deſires more, than that this fiſhery ſhould be equally plentiful in all years.

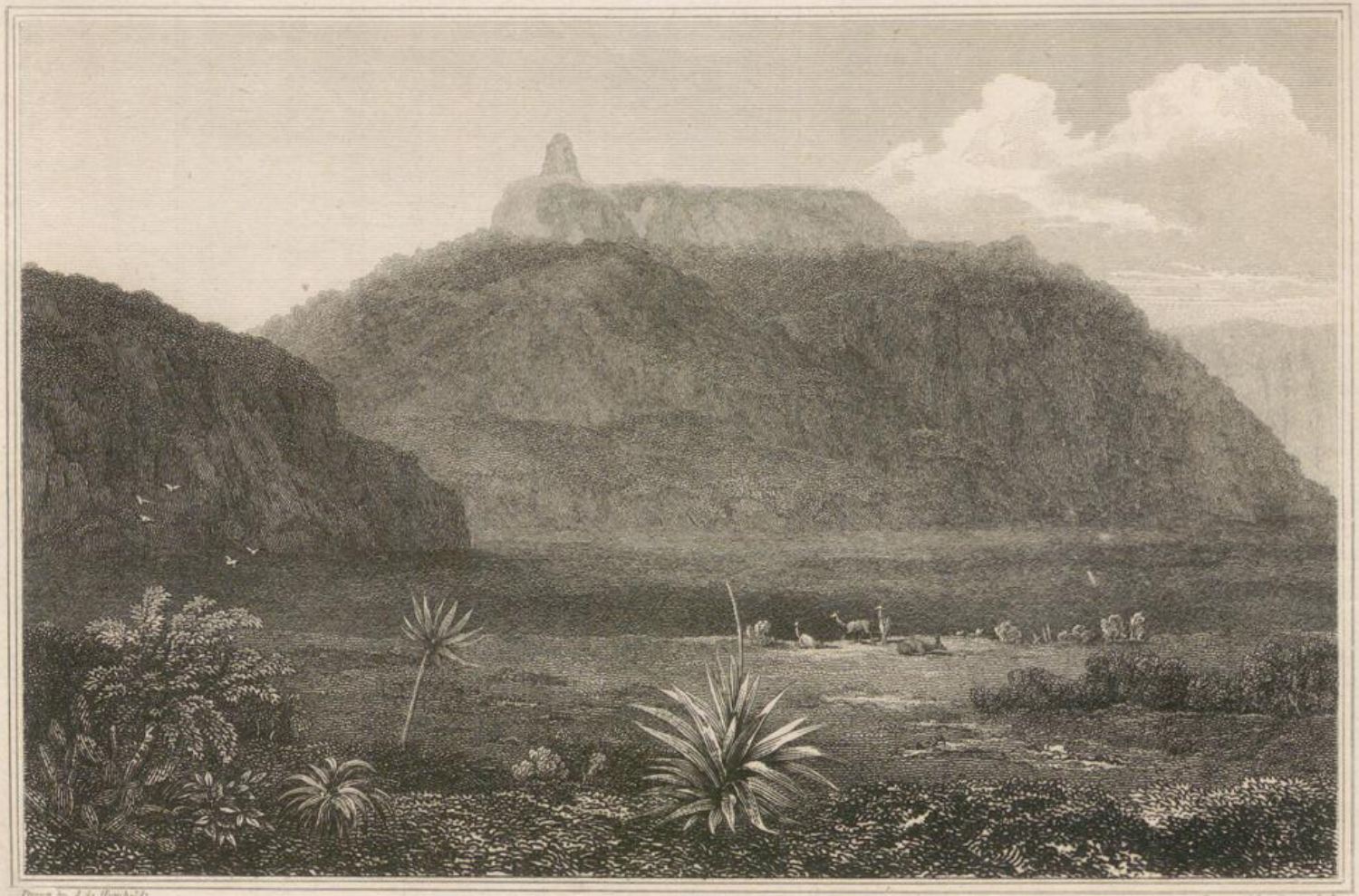
Trois Rivieres is a little paltry town, ſeated in the latitude of 46°; it is not fortified neither with ſtone nor pales. The river to which it owes its name takes its riſe an hundred leagues to the north-weſt, from the greateſt ridge of mountains in the uni-

* Coureurs de Bois. See the explication table.

verſe. The Algonkins, who are at preſent an erratic ſort of ſavages, and, like the Arabs, have no ſettled abode; that people, I ſay, ſeldom ſtraggle far from the banks of this river, upon which they have excellent beaver-hunting. In former times the Iroqueſe cut off three-fourths of that nation; but they have not dared to renew their incurſions, ſince the French have peopled the countries that lie higher up upon the river of Saint Lawrence. I called Trois Rivieres a little town, with reference to the paucity of the inhabitants; though at the ſame they are very rich, and live in ſtately houſes. The King has made it the reſidence of a governor, who would die for hunger, if he did not trade with the natives for beavers, when his ſmall allowance is out: beſides, a man that would live there muſt be of the like temper with a dog, or at leaſt he muſt take pleaſure in ſcratching his ſkin, for the fleas are there more numerous than the grains of ſand. I am informed, that the natives of this place make the beſt ſoldiers in the country.

Three leagues higher we entered St. Peter's Lake, which is ſix leagues long, and had difficulty enough in croſſing it; for the frequent calms obliged us to caſt anchor ſeveral times. It receives three or four rivers that abound with fiſh; upon the mouth of which I deſcried with my teleſcope very fine houſes. Towards the evening we ſailed out of that lake with a freſh eaſterly gale; and though we hoiſted up all our ſails, the current run ſo ſtrong againſt us, that it was three hours before we could make Sorel, which was two ſmall leagues off. Sorel is a canton of four leagues in front, in the neighbourhood of which, a certain river conveys the waters of Champlain Lake to the river of St. Lawrence, after having formed a water-fall of two leagues at Chambli. Though we reckon but eight leagues from Sorel to Monreal, yet we ſpent three days in ſailing between them, by reaſon partly of ſlack winds, and partly of the ſtrength of the currents. In this courſe we ſaw nothing but iſlands; and both ſides of the river all along, from Quebec to this place, are ſo repleniſhed with inhabitants, that one may juſtly call them two continued villages of ſixty leagues in length.

This place, which goes by the name of Villemarie, or Monreal, lies in the latitude of 45° and ſome minutes, being ſeated in an iſland of the ſame name, which is about five leagues broad, and fourteen leagues long. The directors of the ſeminary of Saint Sulpitius, at Paris, are the proprietors of the iſland, and have the nomination of a bailiff, and ſeveral other magiſtrates; nay, in former times, they had the privilege of nominating a governor. This little town lies all open without any fortification either of ſtone or wood: but its ſituation is ſo advantageous, notwithſtanding that it ſtands upon an uneven and ſandy ground, that it might eaſily be made an impregnable poſt. The river of Saint Lawrence, which runs juſt by the houſes on one ſide of this town, is not navigable further, by reaſon of its rapidity; for about half a quarter of a league higher, it is full of rapid falls, eddies, &c. M. Perot, the governor of the town, who has but a thouſand crowns a year ſalary, has made ſhift to get fifty thouſand in a few years, by trading with the ſavages in ſkins and furs. The bailiff of the town gets but little by his place, no more than his officers; ſo that the merchants are the only perſons that make money here; for the ſavages that frequent the great lakes of Canada come down hither almoſt every year with a prodigious quantity of beavers ſkins, to be given in exchange for arms, kettles, axes, knives, and a thouſand ſuch things, upon which the merchants clear two hundred per cent. Commonly the governor-general comes hither about the time of their coming down, in order to ſhare the profit, and receive preſents from that people. The pedlars, called Coureurs de Bois, export from hence every year ſeveral canoes full of merchandize, which they diſpoſe of among



Drawn by A. de Humboldt. Engraved by George Cooke.

Coffer of Perotte.

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among all the ſavage nations of the continent, by way of exchange for beaver ſkins. Seven or eight days ago I ſaw twenty-five or thirty of theſe canoes return with heavy cargoes; each canoe was managed by two or three men, and carried twenty hundred weight, *i. e.* forty packs of beaver ſkins, which are worth a hundred crowns a-piece. Theſe canoes had been a year and eighteen months out. You would be amazed if you ſaw how lewd theſe pedlars are when they return; how they feaſt and game, and how prodigal they are, not only in their cloaths, but upon women. Such of them as are married have the wiſdom to retire to their own houſes; but the bachelors act juſt as our Eaſt Indiamen and pirates are wont to do; for they laviſh, eat, drink, and play all away, as long as the goods hold out; and when theſe are gone, they even ſell their embroidery, their lace, and their cloaths. This done, they are forced to go upon a new voyage for ſubſiſtence.

The directors of the ſeminary of St. Sulpitius, take care to ſend miſſionaries hither from time to time, who live under the direction of a ſuperior, that is very much reſpected in the country. They have apartments allotted for them in a ſtately, great, and pleaſant houſe, built of freeſtone. This houſe is built after the model of that of St. Sulpice at Paris, and the altar ſtands by itſelf, juſt like that at Paris. Their ſeignories or cantons that lie on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, produce a conſiderable revenue; for the plantations are good, and the inhabitants are rich in corn, cattle, fowl, and a thouſand other commodities, for which they find a market in the city; but the north part of the iſland lies waſte. Theſe directors would never ſuffer the Jeſuits or Recollects to diſplay their banners here; though it is conjectured that at the long run they will be forced to conſent to it. At the diſtance of a league from the town, I ſaw at the foot of a mountain, a plantation of Iroqueſe Chriſtians, who are inſtructed by two prieſts of the order of Sulpitius; and I am informed of a larger and more populous plantation on the other ſide of the river, at the diſtance of two leagues from hence, which is taken care of by Father Bruyas the Jeſuit. I hope to ſet out from hence, as ſoon as M. de la Barre receives advice from France; for he deſigns to leave Quebec upon the arrival of the firſt ſhip. I reſolve to go to Fort Frontenac, upon the lake that goes by the ſame name. If I may credit thoſe who have been formerly in action againſt the Iroqueſe, I ſhall be able upon my return from this campaign, to inform you of ſome things that will ſeem as ſtrange to you, as they will be diſagreeable to myſelf.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER V.

Dated at Monreal, June 18, 1684.

In which is contained a ſhort Account of the Iroqueſe, with a View of the War and Peace they made with the French, and of the Means by which it was brought about.

SIR,

I WROTE to you but four days ago, and did not think to have heard from you ſo ſoon; but this morning I met with a very agreeable ſurpriſal, in receiving a packet addreſſed to me by your brother. You may be ſure I was infinitely well pleaſed, in being given to underſtand what has paſſed in Europe ſince I left it. The knowledge of the affairs of Europe is comfortable to one that is doomed to another world, ſuch as this is; and I cannot but acknowledge myſelf infinitely indebted to you, for the

exactneſs of your intelligence. Inaſmuch as you require of me an account of the Iroqueſe, and would have me to preſent you with a juſt view of their temper and government; I would willingly ſatisfy and oblige you in that or any other point: but in regard that I am obliged to ſet out for Fort Frontenac the day after to-morrow, I have not time to inform myſelf of things, or to conſult thoſe who have been in the country before: ſo that all I can do at preſent, is only to acquaint you with what I have learned this winter, from perſons that have ſojourned twenty years among them. As ſoon as I have an opportunity of enlarging my knowledge upon that head, by a more immediate converſation with themſelves, you may aſſure yourſelf that I will impart it to you. In the mean time be pleaſed to accept of what follows.

Theſe barbarians are drawn up in five cantons, not unlike thoſe of the Swiſſes. Though theſe cantons are all of one nation, and united in one joint intereſt, yet they go by different names, viz. the Tſonontouans, the Goyogoans, the Onnotagues, the Onoyouts, and the Agnies. Their language is almoſt the ſame, and the five villages or plantations in which they live, lie at the diſtance of thirty leagues one from another, being all ſeated near the ſouth ſide of the lake of Ontario, or of Frontenac. Every year the five cantons ſend deputies to aſſiſt at the Union feaſt, and to ſmoak in the great calumet, or pipe, of the five nations. Each village or canton contains about fourteen thouſand ſouls, i. e. fifteen hundred that bear arms, two thouſand ſuperannuated men, four thouſand women, two thouſand maids, and four thouſand children: though indeed ſome will tell you, that each village has not above ten or eleven thouſand ſouls. There has been an alliance of long ſtanding between theſe nations and the Engliſh, and by trading in furs to New York they are ſupplied by the Engliſh with arms, ammunition, and all other neceſſaries at a cheaper rate than the French can afford them at. They have no other conſideration for England or France, than what depends upon the occaſion they have for the commodities of theſe two nations; though after all they give an over-purchaſe, for they pay for them four times more than they are worth. They laugh at the menaces of our kings and governors, for they have no notion of dependance, nay, the very word is to them inſupportable. The look upon themſelves as ſovereigns, accountable to none but God alone, whom they call the Great Spirit. They waged war with us almoſt always, from the firſt ſettlement of our colonies in Canada, to the firſt years of the Count of Frontenac's government. Meſſieurs de Courſelles and de Traci, both of them governors-general, made head againſt the Agnies upon the Champlain Lake, in winter as well as in ſummer; but they could not boaſt of any great ſucceſs. They only burnt their villages, and carried off ſome hundreds of their children, of whom the above-mentioned Iroqueſe Chriſtians are ſprung. It is true, they cut off ninety or an hundred warriors; but in compenſation for that, ſeveral Canadans, and ſeveral ſoldiers of the regiment of Carignan, being unprovided againſt the unſufferable cold of the climate, loſt their limbs, and even their life itſelf. Count Frontenac, who ſucceeded M. Courſelle, perceiving that the barbarians had the advantage of the Europeans, as to the waging of war in that country; upon this apprehenſion, I ſay, he declined ſuch fruitleſs expeditions, which were very chargeable to the King, and uſed all his efforts to diſpoſe the ſavages to a ſincere and laſting peace. This judicious governor had three things in view: the firſt was to encourage the greateſt part of the French inhabitants, who would have abdicated the colony, and returned to France, if the war had continued. His ſecond topic was, that the concluſion of a peace would diſpoſe an infinity of people to marry, and to grub up the trees, upon which the colony would be better peopled and enlarged. The third argument that diſſuaded him from carrying on the war, was a deſign of purſuing the

diſcovery

diſcovery of the lakes, and of the ſavages that live upon their banks, in order to ſettle a commerce with them, and at the ſame time to engage them in our intereſts, by good alliances, in caſe of a rupture with the Iroqueſe. Upon the conſideration of theſe reaſons, he ſent ſome Canadans by way of a formal embaſſy to the Iroqueſe villages, in order to acquaint them, that the King being informed that a groundleſs war was carried on againſt them, had ſent him from France to make peace with them. At the ſame time the ambaſſadors had orders to ſtipulate all the advantages they could obtain with reference to the commerce. The Iroqueſe heard this propoſal with a great deal of ſatisfaction; for Charles II. King of England, had ordered his governor in New York to repreſent to them, that if they continued to wage war with the French, they were ruined, and that they would find themſelves cruſhed by the numerous forces that were ready to ſail from France. In effect, they promiſed to the ambaſſadors that four hundred of their number ſhould meet Count Frontenac, attended by an equal number of his men, at the place where Fort Frontenac now ſtands. Accordingly, ſome months after, both the one and the other met at the place appointed, and ſo a peace was concluded. M. de la Salle was very ſerviceable to this governor, in giving him good and ſeaſonable advice, which I cannot now enter upon, being obliged to make ſome preparations for my voyage. When the campaign is over, you may expect to hear from me. In the mean time,

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER VI.

Dated at Monreal, June 20, 1684.

Being an ample Deſcription of the Canoes made of Birch-Bark, in which the Canadans perform all their Voyages; with an Account of the Manner in which they are made and managed.

SIR,

I THOUGHT to have ſet out as this day; but in regard that our complement of great canoes is not yet brought up, our voyage is put off for two days. Having ſo much leiſure time upon my hands, I have a mind to employ it in preſenting you with a ſhort view of theſe ſlender contrivances in which the Canadans perform all their voyages: and this will furniſh you an idea of the voiture of this country. I ſaw but now above an hundred canoes, ſome great and ſome little; but conſidering that the former are only proper for martial expeditions, and long voyages, I ſhall confine my deſcription to that ſort. Even the great ones are of different ſizes; for they run from ten to twenty-eight feet long. Indeed the leaſt of all hold but two perſons ſet upon their breech, as in a coffin, and are apt to overſet, if the paſſengers move to one ſide or the other: but thoſe of a larger ſize will eaſily afford ſtowage for fourteen perſons; though they are commonly manned only with three men, when they are employed in tranſporting proviſions and merchandize; and even then they will carry twenty hundred weight. The largeſt ſort are ſafe and ſteady, when they are made of the bark of the birch-tree, which comes off with hot water in the winter time. The greateſt trees afford the beſt barks for canoes; but oftentimes the bark of one tree is not ſufficient. The bottom of the boat is all of one piece, to which the ſides are ſo artfully ſewed by the ſavages, that the whole boat appears as one continued bark. They are trimmed and ſtrengthened with wicker wreaths, and ribs of cedar wood, which are almoſt as light as cork; the wreaths

are as thick as a crown-piece; but the bark has the thickneſs of two crowns, and the ribs are as thick as three. On the two ſides of the boat there run from one end to the other two principal head-bars, in which the ends of the ribs are enchaſed, and in which the ſpars are made faſt, that run acroſs the boat and keep it compact. Theſe boats have twenty inches in depth, that is from the upper edge to the platform of the ribs; their length extends to twenty-eight feet, and the width at the middle rib is computed to be four feet and a half. They are very convenient upon the account of their extreme lightneſs, and the drawing of very little water; but at the ſame time, their brittle and tender fabrick, is an argument of an equivalent inconveniency; for if they do but touch or grate upon ſtone or ſand, the cracks of the bark fly open, upon which the water gets in, and ſpoils the proviſions and merchandize: every day there is ſome new chink or ſeam to be gummed over. At night there are always unloaded, and carried on ſhore, where they are made faſt with pegs, leſt the wind ſhould blow them away: for they are ſo light that two men carry them upon their ſhoulders with eaſe. This conveniency of lightneſs and eaſy carriage renders them very ſerivceable in the rivers of Canada, which are full of cataracts, water-falls, and currents: for in theſe rivers we are obliged either to tranſport them over-land where ſuch obſtructions happen, or elſe to tow them along where the current is not over rapid, and the ſhore is acceſſible. Theſe boats are of no uſe for the navigation of lakes; for the waves would ſwallow them up, if they could not reach the ſhore when a wind ariſes. It is true the inhabitants venture in them for four or five leagues from one iſland to another; but then it is always in calm weather, and nothing is made uſe of but oars; for beſides the riſque of being over-ſet, the goods are in danger of being damaged by the water, eſpecially the furs which are the moſt valuable part of the cargo. When the ſeaſon ſerves, they carry little ſails; but if the wind be but a little briſk, though they run right afore it, it is impoſſible to make any uſe of it without running the riſk of ſhipwreck. If their courſe lies directly ſouth, they cannot put up ſail without the wind ſtands at one of the eight points, between north-weſt and north-eaſt; and if a wind happens to ſpring any where elſe, (unleſs it comes from the land which they coaſt along) they are obliged to put into the ſhore with all poſſible expedition, and unload the boat out of hand till ſuch time as a calm returns.

As for the working of theſe boats, the canoe-men ply ſometimes on their knees, namely, when they run down the ſmall water-falls; ſometimes ſtanding when they ſtem a current, by ſetting the boat along with poles, and ſometimes ſitting, viz. in ſmooth and ſtagnating water. The oars they make uſe of are made of maple-wood, (there is a rude print in the original.) The blade of the oar is twenty inches long, ſix inches broad, and four lines thick, the handle is about three foot long and as big as a pigeon's egg. When they have occaſion to run up againſt rapid currents, they make uſe of poles made of pine-wood, and the ſetting of the boat along with theſe is what they call piquer de fond. The canoes have neither ſtern nor prow, for they run to a point at both ends, neither have they keels, nails, or pegs, in the whole ſtructure. The ſteerſman, or he who conns the boats, rows without interruption as well as the reſt. The common purchaſe of ſuch a boat is eighty crowns; but it does not laſt above five or ſix years.

This day I have received advice that M. de la Barre has raiſed the militia in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and that the governor of this iſland has received orders to have that of the adjacent cantons in readineſs to march.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

On the River St.ᵗ Lawrence.

Engraved by George Cooke.

Characteristic Scenery of the Hudson River.

London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, April 1.1822.

LETTER VII.

Dated at Monreal, Nov. 2, 1684.

Deſcribing the Courſe of the River of St. Lawrence, from Monreal to the firſt great Lake of Canada; with the Water-falls, Cataracts, and Navigation of that River: as alſo Fort Frontenac, and the Advantages that accrue from it. Together with a circumſtantial Account of the Expedition of M. de la Barre, the governor-general, againſt the Iroqueſe; the Speeches he made, the Replies he received, and the final Accommodation of the Difference.

SIR,

THANK God I have finiſhed this campaign, and I am now returned in ſafety to this place. To preſent you with the hiſtory of our campaign, be pleaſed to know that in two or three days after the date of my laſt, I embarked on board of a canoe that was worked by three expert canoe-men. Every canoe contained two ſoldiers, and we all rowed up againſt the current of the river till we arrived at Saut de St. Louis, about three leagues above this town, which is a little water-fall, but ſo rapid that our watermen were forced to ſtand in the water up to their middle, in order to drag the canoes againſt the ſtream for half a quarter of a league. We re-embarked above this paſs, and rowed about twelve leagues up the river, and through the lake of St. Louis, till we arrived at a place called the Caſcades, where we were forced to turn out and carry our boats and baggage overland about half a quarter of a league. It is true, we might have towed our boats againſt the ſtream in this place with ſome labour, but there was a cataract a little above it, which they call le Cataracte du Trou. I had taken up a notion that the only difficulty of ſailing up the river conſiſted in the trouble of land-carriage: but when I came to be a ſpectator of the matter, I found that the ſtemming of the currents whether in towing of the canoes, or in ſetting them along with poles was equally laborious. About five or ſix leagues higher we came to the water-falls called Sauts des Cedres, and du Buiſſon, where we were forced to tranſport our boats five hundred paces overland. Some leagues above that we entered the lake of St. Francis, which is ſaid to be twenty leagues in circumference, and having croſſed it, met with as ſtrong currents as before, particularly at a fall called Long Saut, where we had recourſe to land-carriage for half a league. Then we were forced to drag up the boats againſt the rapid ſtream, and after a great deal of fatigue came at laſt to a paſs called la Galete, from whence we had but twenty leagues ſailing to Fort Frontenac. This paſs was the laſt difficulty we had to ſurmount, for above it the water was as ſtill as that of a pool, and then our watermen plied with their oars inſtead of poles.

The Maringouins, which we call Midges, are unſufferably troubleſome in all the countries of Canada. We were haunted with ſuch clouds of them, that we thought to be eat up, and ſmoking being the only artifice that could keep them off, the remedy was worſe than the diſeaſe: in the night-time the people ſhelter themſelves from them in bowers or arbours, made after the following manner: they drive into the ground ſtakes or little branches of trees, at a certain diſtance one from another, ſo as to form a ſemicircular figure, in which they put a quilt and bed-cloaths, covering it above with a large ſheet that falls down to the ground on all ſides, and ſo hinders the inſects to enter.

We

We landed at Fort Frontenac after twenty days ſailing, and immediately upon our arrival, M. Duta, our commander-in-chief, viewed the fortifications of the place, and three large barks that lay at anchor in the port. We repaired the fortifications in a very little time, and fitted up the three barks. This fort was a ſquare, conſiſting of large curtains flanked with four little baſtions; theſe flanks had but two battlements, and the walls were ſo low, that one might eaſily climb upon them without a ladder. After M. de la Salle concluded the peace with the Iroqueſe, the King beſtowed upon him and his heirs the property of this place: but he was ſo negligent, that inſtead of enriching himſelf by the commerce it might have afforded, he was conſiderably out of pocket upon it. To my mind this fort is ſituated very advantageouſly for a trade with the five Iroqueſe nations, for their villages lie in the neighbourhood of the lake, upon which they may tranſport their furs in canoes with more eaſe than they can carry them overland to New York. In time of war I take it to be indefenſible, for the cataracts and currents of the river are ſuch, that fifty Iroqueſe may there ſtop five hundred French, without any other arms but ſtones. Do but conſider, Sir, that for twenty leagues together the river is ſo rapid, that we dare not ſet the canoe four paces off the ſhore; beſides, Canada being nothing but a foreſt, as I intimated above, it is impoſſible to travel there without falling every foot into ambuſcades, eſpecially upon the banks of this river, which are lined with thick woods, that render them inacceſſible. None but the ſavages can ſkip from rock to rock, and ſcour through the thickets as it were an open field. If we were capable of ſuch adventures, we might march five or ſix hundred men by land to guard the canoes that carry the proviſions; but at the ſame time it is to be conſidered, that before they arrived at the fort, they would conſume more proviſions than the canoes can carry, not to mention that the Iroqueſe would ſtill out-number them. As to the particulars relating to the fort, I ſhall take notice of them when I come to give a general deſcription of New France.

While we continued at Fort Frontenac, the Iroqueſe who live at Ganeouſſe and Quentè, at the diſtance of ſeven or eight leagues from thence, threw in upon us harts, roebucks, turkies, and fiſh, in exchange for needles, knives, powder and ball. Towards the end of Auguſt, M. de la Barre joined us, but he was dangerouſly ill of a fever, which raged in like manner among moſt of his militia, ſo that only our three companies were free from ſickneſs. This fever was of the intermitting kind, and the convulſive motions, tremblings, and frequency of the pulſe that attended the cold fit, were ſo violent, that moſt of our ſick men died in the ſecond or third fit; their blood was of a blackiſh brown colour, and tainted with a ſort of yellowiſh ſerum, not unlike pus or corrupt matter. M. de la Barre's phyſician, who, in my opinion, knew as little of the true cauſes of fevers as Hippocrates or Galen, and a hundred thouſand beſides; this mighty phyſician, I ſay, pretending to trace the cauſe of the fever I now ſpeak of, imputed it to the unfavourable qualities of the air and the aliment. His plea was, that the exceſſive heat of the ſeaſon put the vapours or exhalations into an over-rapid motion; that the air was ſo over-rarified, that we did not ſuck in a ſufficient quantity of it, that the ſmall quantity we did receive was loaded with inſects and impure corpuſculums, which the fatal neceſſity of reſpiration obliged us to ſwallow, and that by this means nature was put into diſorder: he added, that the uſe of brandy and ſalt meat ſoured the blood, that this ſourneſs occaſioned a ſort of coagulation of the chyle and blood, that the coagulation hindered it to circulate through the heart with a due degree of celerity, and that thereupon there enſued an extraordinary fermentation, which is nothing elſe but a fever. But after all, to my mind, this gentleman's ſyſtem was too much upon the Iroqueſe ſtrain; for at that rate the diſ-

temper

temper muſt have ſeized all without diſtinction, whereas neither our ſoldiers nor the ſeaſoned Canadans were troubled with it, for it raged only among the militia, who being unacquainted with the way of ſetting the boats with poles, were forced at every turn to get into the water and drag them up againſt the rapid ſtream: now, the waters of that country being naturally cold, and the heat being exceſſive, the blood might thereupon freeze by way of antiperiſtaſis, and ſo occaſion the fever I ſpeak of, purſuant to the common maxim, *omnis repentina mutatio eſt periculoſa*, i. e. 'All ſudden changes are of dangerous conſequence.'

As ſoon as M. de la Barre recovered, he embarked in order to continue his march, though he might have eaſily known, that after halting fourteen or fifteen days at that fort, when the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, he could not pretend to compaſs the end of his expedition. We rowed night and day, the weather being very calm, and in five or ſix days came before the river of Famine, where we were forced to put in upon the apprehenſion of a ſtorm. Here we met with a canoe that M. Dulhut had ſent from Miſſilimakinac, with advice, that purſuant to orders he had engaged the Hurons, Outaouas, and ſome other people, to join his army; in which he had above two hundred brave foreſt rangers*. This news was very acceptable to M. de la Barre; but at the ſame time he was very much perplexed; for I am perſuaded he repented oftener than once, of his entering upon an expedition that he foreſaw would prove ſucceſsleſs; and to aggravate the danger of his enterprize, the Iroqueſe had at that time an opportunity to fall upon us: in fine, after a mature conſideration of the conſequences, and of the difficulties that ſtood in the way, he ſent back the canoe to M. Dulhut, with orders to diſmiſs the foreſt rangers and ſavages immediately, wherever he was, and by all means to avoid the approaching to his troops. By good luck M. Dulhut had not yet reached Niagara, when he received theſe orders; with which the ſavages that accompanied him were ſo diſſatisfied, that they threw out all manner of invectives againſt the French nation.

As ſoon as M. de la Barre had diſpatched this canoe, he ſent M. le Moine to the village of the Onnantagues, which lay about eighteen leagues up the river. This M. le Moine was a gentleman of Normandy, and highly eſteemed by the Iroqueſe, who called him Akoueſſan, i. e. the Partridge. His orders were, to endeavour by all means to bring along with him ſome of the old-ſtanders of that nation; and accordingly he returned in a few days, accompanied with one of their moſt conſiderable grandees, who had a train of thirty young warriors, and was diſtinguiſhed by the title of the grangula. As ſoon as he debarked, M. de la Barre ſent him a preſent of bread and wine, and of thirty ſalmon-trouts, which they fiſhed in that place in ſuch plenty that they brought up a hundred at one caſt of a net: at the ſame time he gave the Grandee to underſtand, that he congratulated his arrival, and would be glad to have an interview with him after he had reſted himſelf for ſome days. You muſt know that he had uſed the precaution of ſending the ſick back to the colony, that the Iroqueſe might not perceive the weakneſs of his forces; and to favour the ſtratagem, M. le Moine repreſented to the Grangula, that the body of the army was left behind at Fort Frontenac, and that the troops he ſaw in our camp, were the general's guards; but unhappily one of the Iroqueſe that had a ſmattering of the French tongue, having ſtrolled in the night-time towards our tents, overheard what we ſaid, and ſo revealed the ſecret. Two days after their arrival, the Grangula gave notice to M. de

* See Coureurs de Bois in the Table.

la Barre, that he was ready for an interview; and accordingly an hour being appointed, the whole company appeared.

The Grangula ſat on the eaſt ſide, being placed at the head of his men, with his pipe in his mouth, and the great calumet of peace before him. He was very attentive to the following harangue, pronounced by our interpreters; which you cannot well underſtand, without a previous explication of the calumet, and the coliers that it mentions.

The calumet of peace is made of certain ſtones, or of marble, whether red, black, or white. The pipe or ſtalk is four or five foot long; the body of the calumet is eight inches long, and the mouth or head in which the tobacco is lodged, is three inches in length; its figure approaches to that of a hammer. The red calumets are moſt eſteemed. The ſavages make uſe of them for negotiations and ſtate affairs, and eſpecially in voyages; for when they have a calumet in their hand, they go where they will in ſafety. The calumet is trimmed with yellow, white and green feathers, and has the ſame effect among the ſavages that the flag of friendſhip has amongſt us; for to violate the rights of this venerable pipe, is among them a flaming crime, that will draw down miſchief upon their nations. As for the coliers, they are certain ſwathes of two or three foot in length, and ſix inches in breadth; being decked with little beads made of a certain ſort of ſhells that they find upon the ſea-ſhore, between New York and Virginia. Theſe beads are round, and as thick as a little pea: but they are twice as long as a grain of corn: their colour is either blue or white; and they are bored through juſt like pearl, being run after the ſame manner upon ſtrings that lye ſideways one to another. Without the intervention of theſe coliers, there is no buſineſs to be negotiated with the ſavages; for being altogether unacquainted with writing, they make uſe of them for contracts and obligations. Sometimes they keep for an age the coliers that they have received from their neighbours; and in regard that every colier has its peculiar mark, they learn from the old perſons, the circumſtances of the time and place in which they were delivered; but after that age is over, they are made uſe of for new treaties.

M. de la Barre's Harangue was to this Purpoſe.

"The King, my maſter, being informed that the five Iroqueſe nations have for a long time made infractions upon the meaſures of peace, ordered me to come hither with a guard, and to ſend Akoueſſan to the canton of the Onnotagues, in order to an interview with their principal leaders, in the neighbourhood of my camp. This great Monarch means, that you and I ſhould ſmoak together in the great calumet of peace, with the proviſo, that you engage in the name of the Tſonnontouans, Goyoguans, Onnotagues, Onnoyoutes, and Agnies, to make reparation to his ſubjects, and to be guilty of nothing for the future that may occaſion a fatal rupture.

The Tſonnontouans, Goyogouans, Onnotagues, Onnoyoutes and Agnies, have ſtripped, robbed, and abuſed all the foreſt rangers, that travelled in the way of trade to the country of the Illineſe, of the Oumamis, and ſeveral other nations, who are my maſter's children. Now this uſage being in high violation of the treaties of peace concluded with my predeceſſor, I am commanded to demand reparation, and at the ſame time to declare, that in caſe of their refuſal to comply with my demands, or of relapſing into the like robberies, war is poſitively proclaimed."

This Colier makes my Words good.

" The warriors of theſe five nations have introduced the Engliſh to the lakes, belonging to the King, my maſter, and into the country of thoſe nations to whom my maſter is a father: This they have done with a deſign to ruin the commerce of his ſubjects, and to oblige theſe nations to depart from their due allegiance; notwithſtand the remonſtrances of the late governor of New York, who ſaw through the danger that both they and the Engliſh expoſed themſelves to. At preſent I am willing to forget thoſe actions; but if ever you be guilty of the like for the future, I have expreſs orders to declare war."

This Colier warrants my Words.

" The ſame warriors have made ſeveral barbarous incurſions upon the country of the Illineſe and the Oumamis. They have maſſacred men, women, and children; they have taken, bound, and carried off an infinite number of the natives of thoſe countries, who thought themſelves ſecure in their villages in a time of peace. Theſe people are my maſter's children, and therefore muſt hereafter ceaſe to be your ſlaves. I charge you to reſtore them to their liberty, and to ſend them home without delay; for if the five nations refuſe to comply with this demand, I have expreſs orders to declare war."

This Colier makes my Words good.

" This is all I had to ſay to the Grangula, whom I deſire to report to the five nations, this declaration, that my maſter commanded me to make. He wiſhes they had not obliged him to ſend a potent army to the Fort of Cataracouy *, in order to carry on a war that will prove fatal to them: and he will be very much troubled, if it ſo falls out, that this fort, which is a work of peace, muſt be employed for a priſon to your militia. Theſe miſchiefs ought to be prevented by mutual endeavours: the French who are the brethren and friends of the five nations, will never diſturb their repoſe, provided they make the ſatisfaction I now demand, and prove religious obſervers of their treaties. I wiſh my words may produce the deſired effect; for if they do not, I am obliged to join the governor of New York, who has orders from the King, his maſter, to aſſiſt me to burn the five villages, and cut you off."

This Colier confirms my Word.

While M. de la Barre's interpreter pronounced this harangue, the Grangula did nothing but look upon the end of his pipe: After the ſpeech was finiſhed, he roſe, and having taken five or ſix turns in the ring that the French and the ſavages made, he returned to his place, and ſtanding upright, ſpoke after the following manner to the general, who ſat in his chair of ſtate:

" Onnontio †, I honour you, and all the warriors that accompany me do the ſame:

* The French call it Fort Frontenac.

† This title they give to the governor-general of Canada.

Your interpreter has made an end of his diſcourſe, and now I come to begin mine. My voice glides to your ear ; pray liſten to my words.

" Onnontio, in ſetting out from Quebec, you muſt needs have fancied that the ſcorching beams of the ſun had burnt down the foreſts which render our country unacceſſible to the French ; or elſe that the inundations of the lake had ſurrounded our cottages, and confined us as priſoners. This certainly was your thought ; and it could be nothing elſe but the curioſity of ſeeing a burnt or drowned country, that moved you to undertake a journey hither. But now you have an opportunity of being undeceived ; for I and my warlike retinue come to aſſure you, that the Tſonontouans, Goyogouans, Onnotagues, Onnoyoutes and Agnies, are not yet deſtroyed. I return you thanks in their name, for bringing into their country the calumet of peace that your predeceſſor received from their hands. At the ſame time I congratulate your happineſs in having left under ground* the bloody axe, that has been ſo often dyed with the blood of the French. I muſt tell you, Onnontio, I am not aſleep, my eyes are open ; and the ſun that vouchſafes the light, gives me a clear view of a great captain at the head of a troop of ſoldiers, who ſpeaks as if he were aſleep. He pretends that he does not approach to this lake with any other view than to ſmoak with the Onnotagues in the great calumet ; but the Grangula knows better things, he ſees plainly that the Onnontio meant to knock them on the head, if the French arms had not been ſo much weakened.

" I perceive that the Onnontio raves in a camp of ſick people, whoſe lives the great ſpirit has ſaved, by viſiting them with infirmities. Do you hear, Onnontio, our women had taken up their clubs ; and the children and the old men had viſited your camp with their bows and arrows, if our warlike men had not ſtopped and diſarmed them, when Akoueſſan, your ambaſſador, appeared before my village. But I have done, I'll talk no more of that.

" You muſt know, Onnontio, we have robbed no Frenchmen, but thoſe who ſupplied the Illineſe and the Oumamis (our enemies) with fuzees, with powder, and with ball : theſe indeed we took care of, becauſe ſuch arms might have coſt us our life. Our conduct in that point is of a piece with that of the Jeſuits, who ſtave all the barrels of brandy that are brought to our cantons, leſt the people getting drunk ſhould knock them in the head. Our warriors have no beavers to give in exchange for all the arms they take from the French ; and as for the old ſuperannuated people, they do not think of bearing arms.

This Colier comprehends my Word.

" We have conducted the Engliſh to our lakes †, in order to traffic with the Outaouas, and the Hurons ; juſt as the Algonkins conducted the French to our five cantons, in order to carry on a commerce that the Engliſh lay claim to as their right. We are born freemen, and have no dependence either upon the Onnontio or the Corlar ‡. We have a power to go where we pleaſe, to conduct who we will to the places we reſort to, and to buy and ſell where we think fit. If your allies are your ſlaves or children, you may even treat them as ſuch, and rob them of the liberty of entertaining any other nation but your own."

* Burying the axe ſignifies peace. † They pretend to the property of the lakes.
‡ Corlar is the title of the governor of New York.

This Colier contains my Word.

" We fell upon the Illineſe and the Oumamis, becauſe they cut down the trees of peace that ſerved for limits or boundaries to our frontiers. They came to hunt beavers upon our lands; and contrary to the cuſtom of all the ſavages, have carried off whole ſtocks *, both male and female. They have engaged the Chaouanons in their intereſt, and entertained them in their country. They ſupplied them with fire-arms, after the concerting of ill deſigns againſt us. We have done leſs than the Engliſh and the French, who without any right have uſurped the grounds they are now poſſeſſed of; and of which they have diſlodged ſeveral nations, in order to make way for their building of cities, villages, and forts."

This Colier contains my Word.

" I give you to know, Onnontio, that my voice is the voice of the five Iroqueſe cantons. This is their anſwer; pray incline your ear, and liſten to what they repreſent.

" The Tſonontouans, Goyogouans, Onnotagues, Onnoyoutes, and Agnies declare, that they interred the axe † at Cataracouy, in the preſence of your predeceſſor, in the very centre of the fort, and planted the tree of peace in the ſame place, that it might be carefully preſerved; that it was then ſtipulated, that the fort ſhould be uſed as a place of retreat for merchants, and not a refuge for ſoldiers; and that inſtead of arms and ammunition, it ſhould be made a receptacle of only beaver-ſkins and merchandize goods. Be it known to you, Onnontio, that for the future you ought to take care, that ſo great a number of martial men as I now ſee being ſhut up in ſo ſmall a fort, do not ſtifle and choak the tree of peace. Since it took root ſo eaſily, it muſt needs be of pernicious conſequence to ſtop its growth, and hinder it to ſhade both your country and ours with its leaves. I do aſſure you, in the name of the five nations, that our warriors ſhall dance the calumet dance under its branches; that they ſhall reſt in tranquillity upon their mats ‡, and will never dig up the axe to cut down the tree of peace, till ſuch time as the Onnontio and the Corlar do either jointly or ſeparately offer to invade the country, that the Great Spirit has diſpoſed of in the favour of our anceſtors."

This Colier contains my Word; and the other comprehends the Power granted to me by the five Nations.

Then the Grangula addreſſed himſelf to Mr. Le Moine, and ſpoke to this purpoſe:

" Akoueſſan, take heart, you are a man of ſenſe; ſpeak and explain my meaning; be ſure you forget nothing, but declare all that thy brethren and thy friends repreſent to thy chief Onnontio, by the voice of the Grangula, who pays you all honour and reſpect, and invites you to accept of this preſent of beavers, and to aſſiſt at his feaſt immediately.

" This other preſent of beavers is ſent by the five nations to the Onnontio."

* Among the ſavages it is a capital crime to deſtroy all the beavers of a ſettlement.

† Interring the axe, ſignifies the making of a peace; and the digging of it up, imports a declaration of war.

‡ This phraſe ſignifies keeping the peace.

As

As ſoon as the Grangula had done, M. Le Moine and the Jeſuits that were preſent explained his anſwer to M. De la Barre, who thereupon retired to his tent, and ſtormed and bluſtered, till ſomebody came and repreſented to him that *Iroca progenies neſcit habere modos :* i. e. 'The Iroqueſe are always upon extremes.' The Grangula danced after the Iroqueſe manner, by way of prelude to his entertainment, after which he regaled ſeveral of the French. Two days after, he and his martial retinue returned to their own country, and our army ſet out for Monreal. As ſoon as the General was on board, together with the few healthy men that remained, the canoes were diſperſed, for the militia ſtraggled here and there, and every one made the beſt of his way home. Our three companies, indeed, kept together, becauſe all of us, both officers and ſoldiers, were carried in flat-bottomed boats, made of deal, on purpoſe for our uſe. However, I could have wiſhed to have run down the falls and cataracts in the ſame canoe that brought me up, for every body thought we ſhould have been caſt away at theſe paſſes, which are full of eddies and rocks; and it was never heard before that ſuch precipices were paſſed with deal boats, either upwards or downwards. But we were forced to run all hazards, and had certainly been ſwallowed up in thoſe mountains of water, if we had not obliged ſeveral canoes to ſhoot the cataracts at the head of our boats, in order to ſhew us the way, at the ſame time we had prepared our ſoldiers for rowing and ſhieving upon occaſion. Do but conſider, ſir, that the currents run as faſt as a cannon-ball, and that one falſe ſtroke of the oar would have run us unavoidably upon the rocks; for we are obliged to ſteer a zig-zag courſe, purſuant to the thread of the ſtream, which has fifty windings. The boats which are loaded are ſometimes loſt in thoſe places; but after all, though the riſk we run be very great, yet by way of compenſation one has the ſatisfaction of running a great way in a little time; for we run from Galete to this town in two days' time, notwithſtanding that we croſſed the two ſtagnating lakes I took notice of before.

As ſoon as we landed we received advice that the Chevalier de Calliers was come to ſupply the room of M. Perrot, the governor of this place. M. Perrot has had ſeveral ſcuffles with M. De Frontenac and Mr. De la Barre, of which you may expect a further account, when I am better informed. All the world blames our General for his bad ſucceſs: it is talked publicly, that his only deſign was to cover the ſending of ſeveral canoes to traffic with the ſavages in thoſe lakes for beaver-ſkins. The people here are very buſy in wafting over to court a thouſand calumnies againſt him; both the clergy and the gentlemen of the long robe write to his diſadvantage. Though, after all, the whole charge is falſe, for the poor man could do no more than he did. Juſt now I was informed, that Mr. Hainaut, Mr. Montortier, and Mr. Durivau, three captains of ſhips, are arrived at Quebec, with a deſign to paſs the winter there, and to aſſiſt him as counſellors; and that the laſt of theſe three has brought with him an independent company, to be commanded by himſelf.

I ſhall have no opportunity of writing again before the next ſpring; for the laſt ſhips that are to return for France this year, are now ready to ſail. I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER VIII.

Dated at Monreal, June 28, 1685.

Repreſenting the Fortifications of Monreal, and the indiſcreet Zeal of the Prieſts, who are Lords of that Town: with a Deſcription of Chambli, and of the Commerce of the Savages upon the great Lake.

SIR,

I HAVE juſt received yours, by a ſmall veſſel of Bourdeaux, loaded with wine; which is the firſt that came to Quebec this year. I am mightily pleaſed to hear that the King has granted to M. de la Salle four ſhips, to go upon the diſcovery of the Mouth of the Miſſiſippi; and cannot but admire your curioſity in deſiring to know the occurrences of this place, and how I ſpent my time in the winter.

M. de Callieres was no ſooner poſſeſſed of his government, than he ordered all the inhabitants of this town, and of the adjacent country, to cut down and bring in great ſtakes of fifteen feet in length, to fortify the town. During the winter, theſe orders were purſued with ſo much application, that all things are now ready for making the incloſure; in which five or ſix hundred men are to be employed. I ſpent part of the winter in hunting with the Algonkins, in order to a more perfect knowledge of their language, and the reſt I ſpent in this place, with a great deal of uneaſineſs; for here we cannot enjoy ourſelves either at play or viſiting the ladies, but it is preſently carried to the curate's ears, who takes public notice of it in the pulpit. His zeal goes ſo far as even to name the perſons; and ſince he refuſes the ſacrament of the holy ſupper to ladies of quality, upon the moſt ſlender pretences, you may eaſily gueſs at the other ſteps of his indiſcretion. You cannot imagine to what a pitch theſe eccleſiaſtical lords have ſcrewed their authority: they excommunicate all the maſks; and wherever they ſpy them, they run after them to uncover their faces, and abuſe them in a reproachful manner; in fine, they have a more watchful eye over the conduct of the girls and married women than their fathers and huſbands have. They cry out againſt thoſe that do not receive the ſacrament once a month; and at Eaſter they oblige all ſorts of perſons to give in bills to their confeſſors. They prohibit and burn all the books that treat of any other ſubject but devotion. When I think of this tyranny, I cannot but be enraged at the impertinent zeal of the curate of this city. This inhuman fellow came one day to my lodging, and finding the romance of the Adventures of Petronius upon my table, he fell upon it with an unimaginable fury, and tore out almoſt all the leaves. This book I valued more than my life, becauſe it was not caſtrated; and indeed I was ſo provoked when I ſaw it all in wreck, that if my landlord had not held me, I had gone immediately to that turbulent paſtor's houſe, and would have plucked out the hairs of his beard with as little mercy as he did the leaves of my book. Theſe animals cannot content themſelves with the ſtudying of men's actions, but they muſt likewiſe dive into their thoughts. By this ſketch, Sir, you may judge what a pleaſant life we lead here.

The 30th of the laſt March the ice melted; and the river being then open, I was ſent with a ſmall detachment to Chambli: for commonly the ſun reſumes its vigour here much about that time. Chambli ſtands on the brink of a baſin, about five or ſix leagues off this place: that baſin is two leagues in circumference, and receives the lake of Champlain by a water-fall that is a league and a half in length; out of which there

ariſes

ariſes a river that diſembogues at Sorel into the river of St. Lawrence, as I intimated above in my fourth letter. In former times this place had a great trade in beaver-ſkins, which is now decayed: for the Soccokis, the Mahingans, and the Openangos, uſed formerly to reſort thither in ſhoals, to exchange their furs for other goods; but at preſent they are retired to the Engliſh colonies, to avoid the purſuit of the Iroqueſe. The Champlain lake, which lies above that water-fall, is eighty leagues in circumference. At the end of this lake we met with another, called St. Sacrament, by which one may go very eaſily to New York, there being but a land-carriage of two leagues from thence to the river Du Fer, which falls into the Manathe. While I was at Chambli, I ſaw two canoes loaded with beaver-ſkins paſs privately by that way; and it was thought they were ſent thither by M. de la Barre. This ſmuggling way of trade is expreſsly prohibited: for they are obliged to carry theſe ſkins before the office of the company, where they are rated at an hundred and ſixty per cent. leſs than the Engliſh buy them at in their colonies. But the little fort that ſtands at the bottom of the water-fall, upon the brink of the baſin of Chambli, being only ſingle palliſadoes, it cannot hinder people to paſs that way; eſpecially conſidering that the proſpect of ſo great a profit renders the paſſengers the more daring. The inhabitants of the adjacent villages are very much expoſed to the incurſions of the Iroqueſe in time of war. Notwithſtanding the weakneſs of the fort, I continued in that place a month and a half, and then I returned hither, where M. de la Barre arrived ſome days after; being accompanied with M. Hennaut, M. Montortier, and M. du Rivau. Much about the ſame day there arrived twenty-five or thirty canoes, belonging to the Coureurs de Bois, being homeward-bound from the great lakes, and laden with beaver-ſkins. The cargo of each canoe amounted to forty packs, each of which weighs fifty pounds, and will fetch fifty crowns at the farmer's office. Theſe canoes were followed by fifty more of the Outaouas and Hurons, who come down every year to the colony, in order to make a better market than they can do in their own country of Miſſilimakinac, which lies on the banks of the lake of Hurons, at the mouth of the lake of the Illineſe. Their way of trading is as follows:

Upon their firſt arrival, they encamp at the diſtance of five or ſix hundred paces from the town. The next day is ſpent in ranging their canoes, unloading their goods, and pitching their tents, which are made of birch bark. The next day after, they demand audience of the governor-general; which is granted them that ſame day in a public place. Upon this occaſion, each nation makes a ring for itſelf; the ſavages ſit upon the ground with their pipes in their mouths, and the governor is ſeated in an armed chair; after which, there ſtarts up an orator or ſpeaker from one of theſe nations, who makes an harangue, importing, "that his brethren are come to viſit the governor-general, and to renew with him their wonted friendſhip: that their chief view is, to promote the intereſt of the French, ſome of whom being unacquainted with the way of traffick, and being too weak for the tranſporting of goods from the lakes, would be unable to deal in beaver-ſkins if his brethren did not come in perſon to deal with them in their own colonies: that they knew very well how acceptable their arrival is to the inhabitants of Monreal, in regard of the advantage they reap by it: that in regard the beaver-ſkins are much valued in France, and the French goods given in exchange are of an inconſiderable value, they mean to give the French ſufficient proof of their readineſs to furniſh them with what they deſire ſo earneſtly: that by way of preparation for another year's cargo, they are come to take in exchange fuſees, powder and ball, in order to hunt great numbers of beavers, or to gall the Iroqueſe, in caſe they offer to diſturb the French ſettlements; and, in fine, that in confirmation of their words, they throw a purcelian colier with ſome beaver-ſkins, to the Kitchi-Okima (ſo they call the governor

governor general) whoſe protection they lay claim to in caſe of any robbery or abuſe committed upon them in the town.

The ſpokeſman having made an end of his ſpeech, returns to his place, and takes up his pipe; and then the interpreter explains the ſubſtance of the harangue to the governor, who commonly gives a very civil anſwer, eſpecially if the preſent be valuable: in conſideration of which, he likewiſe makes them a preſent of ſome trifling things. This done, the ſavage riſes up, and return to their huts to make ſuitable preparations for the enſuing truck.

The next day the ſavages make their ſlaves carry the ſkins to the houſes of the merchants, who bargain with them for ſuch cloaths as they want. All the inhabitants of Monreal are allowed to traffic with them in any commodity but wine and brandy; theſe two being excepted upon the account that when the ſavages have got what they wanted, and have any ſkins left, they drink to exceſs, and then kill their ſlaves; for when they are in drink, they quarrel and fight; and if they were not held by thoſe who are ſober, would certainly make havock one of another. However, you muſt obſerve, that none of them will touch either gold or ſilver. It is a comical ſight, to ſee them running from ſhop to ſhop, ſtark naked, with their bow and arrow. The nicer ſort of women are wont to hold their fans before their eyes, to prevent their being frightened with the view of their ugly parts. But theſe merry companions, who know the briſk ſhe-merchants as well as we, are not wanting in making an offer, which is ſometimes accepted of, when the preſent is of good mettle. If we may credit the common report, there are more than one or two of the ladies of this country, whoſe conſtancy and virtue has held out againſt the attacks of ſeveral officers, and at the ſame time vouchſafed a free acceſs to theſe naſty lechers. It is preſumed their compliance was the effect of curioſity, rather than of any nice reliſh; for, in a word, the ſavages are neither briſk nor conſtant. But whatever is in the matter, the women are the more excuſable upon this head, that ſuch opportunities are very unfrequent.

As ſoon as the ſavages have made an end of their truck, they take leave of the governor, and ſo return home by the river of Outaouas. To conclude, they did a great deal of good both to the poor and rich; for you will readily apprehend, that every body turns merchant upon ſuch occaſions.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER IX.

Dated at Boucherville, October 2, 1685.

Being an Account of the Commerce and Trade of Monreal: of the Arrival of the Marquis of Denonville with ſome Troops; and of the Recalling of M. de la Barre. With a curious Deſcription of certain Licenſes for trading in Beaver-ſkins in the remote Countries.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your ſecond letter three weeks ago, but could not ſend a ſpeedier anſwer, by reaſon that none of our ſhips have ſet ſail for France. Since you want to know the nature of the trade of Monreal, be pleaſed to take the following account:

Almoſt all the merchants of that city act only on the behalf of the Quebec merchants, whoſe factors they are. The barks which carry thither dry commodities, as well as wine and brandy, are but few in number; but then they make ſeveral voyages in one

year from the one city to the other. The inhabitants of the iſland of Monreal, and the adjacent cantons, repair twice a year to the city of Monreal, where they buy commodities fifty per cent. dearer than at Quebec. The ſavages of the neighbouring countries, whether ſettled or erratic, carry thither the ſkins of beavers, elks, caribous, foxes and wild cats; all which tney truck for fuſees, powder, lead and other neceſſaries. There every one is allowed to trade; and indeed it is the beſt place for the getting of an eſtate in a ſhort time. All the merchants have ſuch a perfect good underſtanding one with another, that they all ſell at the ſame price. But when the inhabitants of the country find their prices exorbitant, they raiſe their commodities in proportion. The gentlemen that have a charge of children, eſpecially daughters, are obliged to be good huſbands, in order to bear the expence of the magnificent cloaths with which they are ſet off; for pride, vanity, and luxury reign as much in New France as in Old France. In my opinion, it would do well, if the King would order commodities to be rated at a reaſonable price, and prohibit the ſelling of gold or ſilver brocadoes, fringes, and ribbands, as well as points and rich laces.

The Marquis of Denonville is come to ſucceed M. de la Barre in the quality of governor-general; for the King has recalled M. de la Barre, upon the accuſation laid againſt him by his enemies. To be ſure, you who are in France, know better than I, that M. de Denonville was maitre de camp to the Queen's regiment of dragoons, which place he ſold to M. Mercey when the King beſtowed this government upon him; and, that he brought with him ſome companies of marines, beſides his lady and his children; for it ſeems, the danger and inconveniencies that attend ſuch a long and troubleſome voyage, made no impreſſion upon her. This governor ſtayed at firſt ſome weeks at Quebec, after which he came to Monreal, with five or ſix hundred men of regular troops, and ſent back the Captains Hainaut, Montortier, and Du Rivo, with ſeveral other officers. His army is now in winter quarters all round Monreal. My quarters are at a place called Boucherville, which lies at the diſtance of three leagues from Monreal. I have been here fifteen days, and in all appearance ſhall live more happily than in the town, abating for the ſolitude; for at leaſt I ſhall have no other oppoſition to encounter in the caſe of balls, gaming, or feaſting, but the zealous freaks of a ſilly prieſt. I am informed, that the governor has given orders to complete the fortifications of Monreal, and is now ready to embark for Quebec, where our governors commonly paſs the winter. The ſavages I ſpoke of in my laſt, met the Iroqueſe upon the great river of the Outaouas, who informed them that the Engliſh were making preparations to tranſport to their villages in Miſſilimakinac, better and cheaper commodities than thoſe they had from the French. This piece of news did equally alarm the gentlemen, the pedlars called coureurs de bois, and the merchants; who at that rate, would be conſiderable loſers; for you muſt know, that Canada ſubſiſt only upon the trade of ſkins or furs, three-fourths of which come from the people that live round the great lakes: ſo that if the Engliſh ſhould put ſuch a deſign in execution, the whole country would ſuffer by it; eſpecially conſidering, that it would ſink certain licenſes; an account of which will be proper in this place.

Theſe licenſes are granted in writing by the governors-general to poor gentlemen and old officers who have a charge of children. They are diſpoſed of by the King's orders; and the deſign of them is to enable ſuch perſons to ſend commodities to theſe lakes. The number of the perſons thus impowered ought not to exceed twenty-five in one year; but God knows how many more have private licenſes. All other perſons, of what quality or condition ſoever, are prohibited to go or ſend to theſe lakes, without ſuch licenſes, under the pain of death. Each licenſe extends to the lading of two great

canoes; and whoever procures a whole or a half licenſe for himſelf, may either make uſe of it himſelf or ſell it to the higheſt bidder. Commonly they are brought at ſix hundred crowns a piece. Thoſe who purchaſe them, are at no trouble in finding pedlars or foreſt-rangers to undertake the long voyages, which fetch the moſt conſiderable gains, and commonly extend to a year and ſometimes more. The merchants put into the two canoes ſtipulated in the licenſe, ſix men with a thouſand crowns worth of goods, which are rated to the pedlars at fifteen per cent. more than what they are ſold for in ready money in the colony. When the voyage is performed, this ſum of a thouſand crowns commonly brings in ſeven hundred per cent. clear profit, and ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs; for theſe ſparks called coureurs de bois bite the ſavages moſt dexterouſly, and the lading of two canoes, computed at a thouſand crowns, is a purchaſe for as many beaver-ſkins as will load four canoes: now, four canoes will carry a hundred and ſixty packs of ſkins, that is, forty a piece; and reckoning each pack to be worth fifty crowns, the value of the whole amounts to eight thouſand crowns. As to the re-partition of this extravagant profit, it is made after the following manner: in the firſt place, the merchant takes out of the whole bulk ſix hundred crowns for the purchaſe of his licenſe; then a thouſand crowns for the prime coſt of the exported commodities. After this, there remains ſix thouſand four hundred crowns of ſurpluſage, out of which the merchant takes forty per cent. for bottomry, which amounts to two thouſand five hundred and ſixty crowns; and the remainder is divided equally among the ſix coureurs de bois, who get little more than ſix hundred crowns a piece; and indeed I muſt ſay it is fairly earned; for their fatigue is inconceivable. In the mean time, you muſt remark, that over and above the foregoing profit, the merchant gets twenty-five per cent. upon his beaver-ſkins by carrying them to the office of the farmers general, where the price of four ſorts of beaver-ſkins is fixed. If the merchant ſells theſe ſkins to any private man in the country for ready money, he is paid in the current money of the country, which is of leſs value than the bills of exchange that the director of that office draws upon Rochel or Paris; for there they are paid in French livres, which are twenty ſols, whereas a Canada livre is but fifteen ſols. This advantage of twenty-five per cent. is called *le benefice*; but take notice, that it is only to be had upon beaver-ſkins; for if you pay to a Quebec merchant four hundred Canada livres in ſilver, and take from him a bill of exchange upon his correſpondent in France, his correſpondent will pay no more than three hundred French livres, which is a juſt equivalent.

This is the laſt intelligence I ſhall give you for this year, which has already brought in a very cold autumn. The Quebec ſhips muſt ſet ſail in the middle of November, purſuant to the wonted cuſtom.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER X.

Dated at Boucherville, July 8, 1686.

Relating the Arrival of M. de Champigni, in the room of M. de Meules, who is recalled to France; the Arrival of the Troops that came along with him; the Curioſity of the Rackets, and the way of hunting Elks; with a Deſcription of that Animal.

SIR,

THOUGH I have not heard from you this year, yet I will not ſlight this opportunity of writing to you. Some ſhips from France are arrived at Quebec, and have

brought over M. de Champigni Noroua, with ſome companies of marines. He comes to ſupply the place of M. de Meules, whom the King recalls upon the unjuſt complaints that are made of him. He is charged with preferring his private intereſt to the public good; but the charge is falſe, and he will eaſily clear himſelf. I am apt to believe he may have carried on ſome underhand commerce, but in ſo doing he injured nobody; nay, on the contrary, he has procured bread for a thouſand poor creatures, that without his aſſiſtance would have ſtarved for hunger. This new intendant is deſcended of one of the moſt illuſtrious families of the robe in France. He is ſaid to be a man of honour, and fame entitles his lady to a diſtinguiſhing merit. I underſtand, he and M. Denonville are bound ſpeedily for Monreal, where they mean to take a review of the inhabitants of this iſland, and of the neighbouring cantons. Probably, they take ſuch precautions, in order to ſome new effort againſt the Iroqueſe. Laſt winter we had no new occurrences in the colony. I ſpent the whole winter at the hunting of orignals or elks along with the ſavages, whoſe language I am learning, as I have intimated to you ſeveral times.

The hunting of elks is performed upon the ſnow, with a kind of rackets adapted to the purpoſe. Theſe rackets are two feet and a half long, and fourteen inches broad; their ledges are made of a very hard wood, about an inch thick, that faſtens the net juſt like a tennis-racket, from which they differ only in this, that thoſe for the tennis are made of gut-ſtrings, whereas the others are made of little thongs of the ſkins of harts or elks. In the cut you may perceive two little ſpars of wood, which run acroſs, to render the net firmer and ſtiffer. The hole that appears by the two latchets is the place in which they put the toes and fore-part of the foot; ſo that it is tied faſt by the two latchets, which run twice round about the heel, and every ſtep they make upon the ſnow, the fore-part of the foot ſinks into that hole, as often as they raiſe their heel. By the help of this contrivance they walk faſter upon the ſnow than one can do with ſhoes upon a beaten path; and indeed it is ſo neceſſary for them, that would be otherwiſe impoſſible not only to hunt and range the woods, but even to go to church, notwithſtanding they are ſo near, for commonly the ſnow is three or four feet deep in that country during the winter. Being obliged to march thirty or forty leagues in the woods, in purſuit of the above-mentioned animals, I found that the fatigue of the journey equalled the pleaſure of it.

The orignal is a ſort of elk, not much different from that we find in Muſcovy; it is as big as an Auvergne moyle, and much of the ſame ſhape, abating for its muzzle, its tail, and its great flat horns, which weigh ſometimes three hundred and ſometimes four hundred weight, if we may credit thoſe who pretend to have weighed them; this animal uſually reſorts to planted countries; its hair is long and brown, and the ſkin is ſtrong and hard, but not thick. The fleſh of the orignal, eſpecially that of the female ſort, eats deliciouſly, and it is ſaid, that the far hind foot of the female kind is a cure for the falling-ſickneſs; it neither runs nor ſkips, but its trot will almoſt keep up with the running of a hart. The ſavages aſſure us, that in ſummer it will trot three days and three nights without intermiſſion. Theſe ſort of animals commonly gather into a body towards the latter end of autumn, and the herds are largeſt in the beginning of the ſpring, at which time the ſhe-ones are in rutting, but after their heat is over they all diſperſe themſelves. We hunted them in the following manner: firſt of all, we went forty leagues to the northward of the river of St. Lawrence, where we found a little lake of three or four leagues in circumference, and upon the banks of that lake we made huts for ourſelves of the barks of trees, having firſt cleared the ground of the ſnow that covered it. In our journey thither we killed as many hares and wood-hens

as

as we could eat. When we had fitted up our huts the ſavages went out upon the diſcovery of the elks, ſome to the northward and ſome to the ſouth, to the diſtance of two or three leagues from the huts. As ſoon as they diſcovered any freſh foot-ſteps, they detached one of their number to give us notice, to the end, that the whole company might have the pleaſure of ſeeing the chace. We traced theſe foot-ſteps ſometimes for one and ſometimes for two leagues, and then fell in with five, ten, fifteen or twenty elks in a body; which preſently betook themſelves to flight, whether a part or in a body and ſunk into the ſnow up to their breaſt. Where the ſnow was hard and condenſated, or where the froſt following wet weather had glazed it above, we came up with them after the chace of a quarter of a league; but when the ſnow was ſoft or juſt fallen, we were forced to purſue them three or four leagues before we could catch them, unleſs the dogs happened to ſtop them where the ſnow was very deep. When we came up with them, the ſavages fired upon them with fuſees. If the elks be much enraged, they will ſometimes turn upon the ſavages, who cover themſelves with boughs in order to keep off their feet, with which they would cruſh them to pieces. As ſoon as they are killed, the ſavages make new huts upon the ſpot, with great fires in the middle; while the ſlaves are employed in flaying them, and ſtretching out the ſkins in the open air. One of the ſoldiers that accompanied me, told me one day, that to withſtand the violence of the cold, one ought to have his blood compoſed of brandy, his body of braſs, and his eyes of glaſs; and I muſt ſay, he had ſome ground for what he ſpoke, for we were forced to keep a fire all round us, all the night long. As long as the fleſh of theſe animals laſt, the ſavages ſeldom think of ſtirring; hut when it is all conſumed, they then look out for a new diſcovery. Thus they continue to hunt, till the ſnow and the ice are melted. As ſoon as the great thaw commences it is impoſſible for them to travel far; ſo that they content themſelves with the killing of hares and partridges, which are very numerous in the woods. When the rivers are clear of the ice, they make canoes of the elk-ſkins, which they ſow together very eaſily, covering the ſeams with a fat ſort of earth inſtead of pitch. This work is over in four or five days time, after which they return home in the canoes with all their baggage.

This, Sir, was our diverſion for three months in the woods. We took fifty-ſix elks, and might have killed twice as many, if we had hunted for the benefit of the ſkins. In the ſummer ſeaſon the ſavages have two ways of killing them, both of which are equally troubleſome. One conſiſts in hanging a rope-gin between two trees, upon a paſs ſurrounded with thorns; the other is compaſſed by crawling like ſnakes among the trees and thickets, and approaching to them upon the leeward ſide, ſo that they may be ſhot with a fuzee. Harts and caribous are killed both in ſummer and winter after the ſame manner with the elks, excepting that the caribous, which are a kind of wild aſſes, make an eaſy eſcape when the ſnow is hard, by virtue of their broad feet, whereas the elk ſinks as faſt as he riſes. In fine, I am ſo well pleaſed with the hunting of this country, that I have reſolved to employ all my leiſure-time upon that exerciſe. The ſavages have promiſed, that in three months time I ſhall ſee other ſorts of chaces, which will prove leſs fatiguing, and more agreeable.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XI.

Dated at Boucherville, May 28, 1687.

Being a curious Deſcription of the Hunting of divers Animals.

SIR,

YOU complain that the laſt year you received but one of my letters, dated July 8, and with the ſame breath aſſure me, that you writ two to me, neither of which is come to hand. I received a letter from you this day, which is ſo much the more acceptable, that I thought you had been dead, and that I find you continue to give proof of your remembrance of me. I find, by your letter, that you have an agreeable reliſh for the curious elk-hunting in this country, and that a further account of our other hunting adventures would meet with a welcome reception. This curioſity, indeed, is worthy of ſo great a huntſman as yourſelf; but at preſent I muſt beg your excuſe as to the beaver-hunting, for I know nothing of it yet but by hearſay.

In the beginning of September, I ſet out in a canoe upon ſeveral rivers, marſhes, and pools, that diſembogue in the Champlain Lake, being accompanied with thirty or forty of the ſavages that are very expert in ſhooting and hunting, and perfectly well acquainted with the proper places for finding water-fowl, deer, and other fallow beaſts. The firſt poſt we took up was upon the ſide of a marſh or fen of four or five leagues in circumference; and after we had fitted up our huts, the ſavages made huts upon the water in ſeveral places. Theſe water-huts are made of the branches and leaves of trees, and contain three or four men: for a decoy, they have the ſkins of geeſe, buſtards, and ducks, dried and ſtuffed with hay, the two feet being made faſt with two nails to a ſmall piece of a light plank, which floats round the hut. This place being frequented by wonderful numbers of geeſe, ducks, buſtards, teals, and an infinity of other fowl unknown to the Europeans; when theſe fowls ſee the ſtuffed ſkins ſwimming with the heads erected, as if they were alive, they repair to the ſame place, and ſo give the ſavages an opportunity of ſhooting them, either flying or upon the water; after which the ſavages get into their canoes and gather them up. They have likewiſe a way of catching them with nets, ſtretched upon the ſurface of the water at the entries of the rivers. In a word, we eat nothing but water-fowl for fifteen days; after which we reſolved to declare war againſt the turtle-doves, which are ſo numerous in Canada, that the biſhop has been forced to excommunicate them oftener than once, upon the account of the damage they do to the product of the earth. With that view, we embarked and made towards a meadow, in the neighbourhood of which the trees were covered with that ſort of fowl, more than with leaves; for juſt then it was the ſeaſon in which they retire from the north countries, and repair to the ſouthern climates; and one would have thought, that all the turtle-doves upon earth had choſe to paſs through this place. For the eighteen or twenty days that we ſtaid there, I firmly believe that a thouſand men might have fed upon them heartily, without putting themſelves to any trouble. You muſt know, that through the middle of this meadow there runs a brook, upon which I and two young ſavages ſhot ſeveral ſnipes, rayles, and a certain ſort of fowl called bateus de faux, which is as big as a quail, and eats very deliciouſly.

In the ſame place we killed ſome muſk-rats, or a ſort of animals which reſemble a rat in their ſhape, and are as big as a rabbit. The ſkins of theſe rats are very much valued,

valued, as differing but little from thoſe of beavers. Their teſticles ſmell ſo ſtrong of muſk, that no civet or antelope that Aſia affords, can boaſt of ſuch a ſtrong and ſweet ſmell. We ſpied them in the mornings and evenings, at which time they uſually appear upon the water with their noſe to the windward, and betray themſelves to the huntſmen, by the curling of the water. The fouteraux, which are an amphibious ſort of little pole-cats, are catched after the ſame manner. I was likewiſe entertained upon this occaſion, with the killing of certain little beaſts, called ſiffleurs, or whiſtlers, with alluſion to their wonted way of whiſtling or whizzing at the mouth of their holes in fair weather. They are as big as hares, but ſomewhat ſhorter; their fleſh is good for nothing, but their ſkins are recommended by their rarity. The ſavages gave me an opportunity of hearing one of theſe creatures whiſtle for an hour together, after which they ſhot it. To gratify the curioſity I had to ſee ſuch diverſity of animals, they made a diligent ſearch for the holes or dens of the carcaioux, and having found ſome at the diſtance of two or three leagues from the fen upon which we were poſted, they conducted me to the place. At the break of day we planted ourſelves round the holes, with our bellies upon the ground; and left ſome ſlaves to hold the dogs a muſket-ſhot behind us. As ſoon as theſe animals perceived day-light, they came out of their holes, which were immediately ſtopped up by the ſavages, and upon that the dogs fetched them up with eaſe. We ſaw but two of them, which made a vigorous defence againſt the dogs, but were ſtrangled after a diſpute of half an hour. Theſe animals are not unlike a badger, only they are bigger, and more miſchievous. Though our dogs ſhewed a great deal of courage in attacking the carcaioux, they betrayed their cowardice the next day in a rencounter with a porcupine, which we ſpied upon a little tree. To obtain the pleaſure of ſeeing the porcupine fall, we cut down the tree; but neither the dogs nor we durſt go near it. The dogs only barked and jumped round it; for it darted its long and hard hair, like ſo many bodkins, three or four paces off. At laſt we pelted it to death, and put it upon the fire to burn off its darts; after which we ſcalded it like a pig, took out the entrails, and roaſted it; but though it was very fat, I could not reliſh it ſo well as to comply with the aſſertion of the natives, who allege, that it eats as well as a capon or a partridge.

After the turtle-doves had all paſſed over the place, in queſt of their ſouthern retreats, the ſavages offered to ſend ſome of their number with canoes to conduct me home, before the rivers and lakes were frozen over; for themſelves were to tarry out for the elk-hunting; and they imagined that the cold and hardſhip attending that exerciſe had made me ſick of it the year before. However, we had then a month good before the commencement of the froſt, and in that interval of time, they proffered to entertain me with more diverting game than any I had ſeen before. They propoſed to go fifteen or ſixteen leagues further up the country, aſſuring me, that they knew of a certain place that had the moſt advantageous ſituation in the world, both for pleaſure and profit, and that afforded great plenty of otters, of the ſkins of which they meant to make a great cargo. Accordingly we pulled down our huts, and having embarked in our canoes, ſailed up the river, till we came to a little lake of two leagues in circumference, at the end of which we ſaw another greater lake, divided from this by an iſthmus of one hundred and fifty paces in length. We pitched our huts at the diſtance of a league from that iſthmus; and ſome of the ſavages fiſhed for trouts, while the reſt were employed in laying traps for the otters upon the brinks of the lake. Theſe traps are made of five ſtakes placed in the form of an oblong quadrangle, ſo as to make a little chamber, the door of which is kept up, and ſupported by a ſtake. To the middle of this ſtake they tie a ſtring which paſſes through a little fork, and has

a trout

a trout well faſtened to the end of it. Now, when the otter comes on ſhore, and ſees this bait, he puts above half his body into that fatal cage, in order to ſwallow the fiſh; but he no ſooner touches, than the ſtring to which it is made faſt, pulls away the ſtake that ſupports the door, upon which an heavy and loaded door falls upon his reins and quaſhes him. During our pilgrimage in that part of the country, the ſavages took above two hundred and fifty Canada otters, the ſkins of which are infinitely prettier than thoſe of Muſcovy or Sweden. The beſt of them, which are not worth two crowns in this place, are ſold in France for four or five, and ſometimes for ten, if they are black and very rough. As ſoon as the ſavages had ſet their traps, they gave orders to their ſlaves to go round the lake every morning, in order to take out the amphibious animals. After that they conducted me to the above-mentioned iſthmus, where I was ſurprized to ſee a ſort of a park or fence made of trees, felled one upon another, and interlaced with thorns and branches; with a quadrangular incloſure of ſtakes at the end of it, the entry of which was very narrow. They gave me to know, that they uſed to hunt harts in that place, and promiſed to divert me with the ſhew as ſoon as the incloſures were a little mended. In effect, they carried me two or three leagues off, upon ſuch roads as had nothing on either ſide but fens and marſhes; and after they had diſperſed themſelves, ſome on one hand and ſome on the other, with a dog for every man, I ſaw a great many harts running to and again, in queſt of places of ſafety. The ſavage that I kept company with, aſſured me, that he and I had no occaſion to walk very faſt, becauſe he had taken the ſtraighteſt and the neareſt road. Before us we ſaw above ten harts, which were forced to run back, rather than throw themſelves into the marſh, of which they could never get clear. At laſt, after walking a great pace, and running now and then, we arrived at the park, and found the ſavages lying flat upon the ground all round it, in order to ſhut up the entry of the ſtake incloſure as ſoon as the harts entered. We found thirty-five harts in the place, and if the park had been better fenced, we might have had above ſixty; for the nimbleſt and lighteſt of them ſkipped over before they came to enter the incloſure. We killed a great many of them, but ſpared the dams, becauſe they were great with young. I aſked of the ſavages the tongues and the marrow of the harts, which they gave me very readily. The fleſh was very fat, but not delicious, excepting ſome few bits about the ribs. But after all, this was not our only game; for two days after we went a bear-hunting, and the ſavages, who ſpend three parts of four of their life in hunting in the woods, are very dexterous at that exerciſe, eſpecially in ſingling out the trunks of the trees upon which the bears neſtle. I could not but admire their knowledge in that point, when, as we were walking up and down in a foreſt, at the diſtance of an hundred paces one from another, I heard one ſavage call to another, Here's a bear. I aſked them how he knew there was a bear upon the tree which he knocked with his axe; and they all replied, that it was as eaſily diſtinguiſhed as the print of an elk's foot in the ſnow. For five or ſix times they never miſſed; for after they had knocked two or three times upon the trunk of the tree, the bear came out of its hole, and was preſently ſhot. The Canada bears are extreme black, but not miſchievous, for they never attack one, unleſs they be wounded or fired upon. They are ſo fat, eſpecially in the autumn, that they can ſcarce walk. Thoſe which we killed were extremely fat, but their fat is good for nothing but to be burnt, whereas their fleſh, and, above all, their feet, are very nice victuals. The ſavages affirm, that no fleſh is ſo delicious as that of bears; and indeed, I think they are in the right of it. While we ranged up and down in queſt of bears, we had the pleaſure of ſpying ſome martins and wild-cats upon the branches of the trees, which the ſavages ſhot in

the head to preſerve their ſkin. But the moſt comical thing I ſaw, was the ſtupidity of the wood-hens, which ſit upon the trees in whole flocks, and are killed one after another, without ever offering to ſtir. Commonly the ſavages ſhoot at them with arrows, for they ſay they are not worth a ſhot of powder, which is able to kill an elk or an hart. I have plied this ſort of fowling in the neighbourhood of our cantons or habitations in the winter time, with the help of a dog who found out the trees by ſcent, and then barked; upon which I approached to the tree, and found the fowls upon the branches. When the thaw came, I went two or three leagues further up the lake, in company with ſome Canadeſe, on purpoſe to ſee that fowl flap with its wings. Believe me, Sir, this ſight is one of the greateſt curioſities in the world; for their flapping makes a noiſe much like that of a drum all about, for the ſpace of a minute or thereabouts; then the noiſe ceaſes for half a quarter of an hour, after which it begins again. By this noiſe we were directed to the place where the unfortunate moor-hens ſat, and found them upon rotten moſſy trees. By flapping one wing againſt the other, they mean to call their mates; and the humming noiſe that enſues thereupon may be heard half a quarter of a league off. This they do only in the months of April, May, September and October; and, which is very remarkable, the moor-hen never flaps in this manner, but upon one tree. It begins at the break of day, and gives over at nine o'clock in the morning, till about an hour before ſunſet that it flutters again and continues ſo to do till night; I proteſt to you, that I have frequently contented myſelf with ſeeing and admiring the flapping of their wings without offering to ſhoot at them.

Beſides the pleaſure of ſo many different ſorts of diverſion, I was likewiſe entertained in the woods with the company of the honeſt old gentlemen that lived in former ages. Honeſt Homer, the amiable Anacreon, and my dear Lucian, were my inſeparable companions. Ariſtotle too deſired paſſionately to go along with us, but my canoe was too little to hold his bulky equipage of peripatetic ſyllogiſms: ſo that he was even fain to trudge back to the Jeſuits, who vouchſafed him a very honourable reception. I had a great deal of reaſon to rid myſelf of that great philoſopher's company; for his ridiculous jargon and his ſenſeleſs terms would have frighted the ſavages out of their wits. Farewell, Sir, I am now arrived at once at the end of my game and my letter. I have heard no news from Quebec, where they continue to make mighty preparations for ſome conſiderable enterprize. Time will diſcover a great many things, an account of which I mean to tranſmit to you by the ſhips that are to leave this harbour in the end of autumn. I conclude with my uſual compliment,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XII.

Dated at St. Helens, over againſt Monreal, June 8, 1687.

The Chevalier de Vaudreil arrives in Canada with ſome Troops. Both the Regular Troops and the Militia are poſted at St. Helens, in readineſs to march againſt the Iroqueſe.

SIR,

I HAVE ſuch a budget-full of news, that I know not where to begin. I received letters but now from M. Senelay's office; by which I have advice, that orders are ſent to M. Denonville to allow me to go for France upon my private concerns. No

longer ſince than yeſterday, he told me I ſhould have leave to go after the campaign is over. My relations write, that the procuring this leave coſt them a great deal of pains; and that the ſooner I come to Paris, it will be the better for me.

The governor arrived at Monreal three or four days ago, with all the militia of the country, who lie now encamped along with our troops in that iſland. M. D'Amblemont has been at Quebec this month, with five or ſix ſecond-rate ſhips, having ſailed from Rochelle thither in twenty-eight days. He brought over with him ten or twelve companies of marines, who are to guard the colony, while we invade the Iroqueſe country. It is ſaid, that laſt year M. Denonville ſent ſeveral Canadeſe, that were known and eſteemed by the ſavages, our allies, who live upon the banks of the lakes, and the adjacent countries, with orders to engage them to favour our deſign of extirpating the Iroqueſe. In the winter he made magazines of ammunition and proviſions, and now he has ſent ſeveral canoes, laden with proviſions, to Fort Frontenac, and given orders for the building of an infinite number of ſuch boats as I deſcribed in my fourth letter, for the tranſporting of our twenty companies of marines. The militia who are encamped in this iſland along with our troops, make fifteen hundred men, and are joined by five hundred of the converted ſavages that live in the neighbourhood of Quebec and the iſland of Monreal. The Chevalier Vaudreuil, who is come from France to command our troops, is reſolved to appear in the field, notwithſtanding the fatigue of his paſſage to Canada; and the governor of Monreal is of the ſame mind. M. de Champigni, the intendant of this country, went from hence to Fort Frontenac two days ago. The day after to-morrow M. de Denonville means to march at the head of his little army, being accompanied with an ancient Iroqueſe, that is very much reſpected by the Five Cantons. The hiſtory and various adventures of this old gentleman are too tedious to bear a relation in this place. Every body is apprehenſive that this expedition will prove as ſucceſsleſs as that of M. de la Barre: and if their apprehenſions are not diſappointed, the King lays out his money to no purpoſe. For my own part, when I reflect upon the attempt we made three years ago, I cannot but think it impoſſible for us to ſucceed. Time will diſcover the conſequences of this expedition; and perhaps we may come to repent, though too late, of our complying with the advice of ſome diſturbers of the public peace, who project to enlarge their private fortunes in a general commotion. I lay this down for an unconteſted truth, that we are not able to deſtroy the Iroqueſe by ourſelves: beſides, what occaſion have we to trouble them, ſince they give us no provocation? However, let the event be what it will, I ſhall not fail, upon my return, to tranſmit you a journal of our actions, unleſs it be, that I embark for Rochelle, and deliver it myſelf. In the mean time, believe me to be, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XIII.

Dated at Niagara, Aug. 2, 1687.

Repreſenting the unfavourable Iſſue of the Campaign made in the Iroqueſe Country; the Diſcovery of an Ambuſcade; and the iſſuing of Orders for the Author to march with a Detachment to the great Lakes.

SIR,

IT has been a maxim in all ages, that the events of things are not always anſwerable to men's expectations: when men form to themſelves a promiſing proſpect of com-

paſſing their ends, they frequently meet with the mortification of ſeeing themſelves diſappointed. This I ſpeak by way of application to myſelf; for inſtead of going for France, purſuant to the contents of the letter I writ to you two months ago, I am now obliged to ſtraggle to one end of the world, as you will find by the following journal of our expedition.

We broke up from St. Helens much about the time I ſpoke of in my laſt. M. de Champigni went before us with a ſtrong guard, and arrived in a canoe at Fort Frontenac, eight or ten days before we came up. As ſoon as he arrived, he ſent two or three hundred Canadeſe to ſurprize the villages of Kente and Ganeouſſe, which lie at the diſtance of ſeven or eight leagues from the fort, and are inhabited by a ſort of Iroqueſe, that deſerved no other uſage than what they met with. Our Canadeſe had no great difficulty in maſtering them; for they ſurpriſed them when they leaſt thought of any alarm, and brought them priſoners to Fort Frontenac, where they were tied to poſts, with cords round their necks, hands, and feet. We arrived at the fort on the firſt of July, after the encountering of ſeveral difficulties among the water-falls, cataracts, and currents, that I formerly deſcribed to you in my account of M. de la Barre's expedition. We were more perplexed in this voyage than the former; for our boats were ſo heavy, that we could not tranſport them over land as we did the canoes, but were obliged to drag them up through the impracticable paſſes with the force of men and ropes. Immediately upon our debarking, I went ſtraight to the fort, where I ſaw the miſerable priſoners in the above-mentioned poſture. The ſight of this piece of tyranny filled me at once with compaſſion and horror; but, in the mean time, the poor wretches ſung night and day, that being the cuſtomary practice of the people of Canada when they fall into the hands of their enemies. They complained, "that they were betrayed without any ground; that in compenſation for the care they had taken ever ſince the peace to furniſh the garriſon with fiſh and veniſon, they were bound and tied to poſts, and whipped in ſuch a manner, that they could neither ſleep, nor guard off the flies; that the only requital they met with for procuring to the French a commerce in the ſkins of beavers and other animals, was, to be doomed to ſlavery, and to ſee their fathers, and the ancient men of their country, murdered before their eyes. "Are theſe the French," ſaid they, "that the Jeſuits cried up ſo much for men of probity and honour? Even the cruelleſt ſort of death that imagination itſelf can reach, would be nothing to us in compariſon with the odious and horrible ſpectacle of the blood of our anceſtors, that is ſhed ſo inhumanly before our eyes. Aſſuredly, the five villages will revenge our quarrel, and entertain an everlaſting and juſt reſentment of the tyrannical uſage we now meet with." I made up to one of theſe wretches that was about five-and-twenty years old, and had frequently regaled me in his hut, not far from the fort, during my ſix weeks ſervice in that place, in the year of M. de la Barre's expedition. This poor man being maſter of the Algonkin language, I gave him to know, that I was heartily grieved to ſee him in that diſmal poſture; that I would take care to have victuals and drink conveyed to him twice a day, and would give him letters for my friends at Monreal, in order to his being uſed more favourably than his companions. He replied, that he ſaw and was very well acquainted with the horror that moſt of the French were affected with, upon the view of the cruelty they underwent; and that he ſcorned to be fed, or uſed more civilly than his fellow-priſoners. He gave me an account of the manner in which they were ſurpriſed, and how their anceſtors were maſſacred; and truly, I do not believe that any one can be touched with more cutting and bitter reflections than this poor man was, when he recounted the many ſervices he had done the French, during the whole courſe of his life: at laſt, after many ſighs

and groans, he bowed down his head, and wrapped himſelf up in ſilence. *Quæque poteſt narrat, reſtabant ultima flevit.* But this was not the only thing that affected me, when I beheld the miſery of theſe innocent creatures: I ſaw ſome young ſavages of our ſide burn their fingers with fire in their lighted pipes; which provoked me to threſh them ſoundly; but I was ſeverely reprimanded for my pains, and confined to my tent for five or ſix days, where I only repented that I had not dealt my blows in a double meaſure. Theſe ſavages reſented the matter ſo highly, that they ran preſently to their huts, and flew to their fuſees, in order to kill me; nay, all that could be done was ſcarce ſufficient to appeaſe them; for the diſpute came to that height, that they would have left us, if it had not been that our men aſſured them I was drunk *, that all the French were prohibited to give me either wine or brandy, and that I ſhould certainly be impriſoned as ſoon as the campaign was over.. However, the poor wretches, the priſoners, were carried to Quebec; from whence they are to be ſent to the French gallies. Much about that time, the Sieur de la Foreſt, one of M. de la Salle's officers, arrived at the fort in a great canoe, being conducted thither by eight or ten coureurs de bois. He gave M. de Denonville to underſtand, that a party of the Illineſe and the Oumamis waited for the Hurons and the Outaouas at the lake of St. Claire, in order to join them, and to march with joint forces to the river of the Tſonontouans, that being the place of their general rendezvous. He added, that in the lake of the Hurons near Miſſilimakinac, M. de la Durantais, aſſiſted by the ſavages, our allies, had taken an Engliſh company, conducted by ſome Iroqueſe, who had fifty thouſand crowns worth of goods in their canoes, to be diſpoſed of in exchange with the nations that dwell upon theſe lakes; as alſo, that M. Dulhut had taken another Engliſh convoy, being aſſiſted by the coureurs de bois, and the ſavages, who had ſhared the former capture; and that he had kept the Engliſh and Iroqueſe as priſoners, as well as their commander, who was called Major Gregory; in fine, he repreſented to M. de Denonville, that it was high time for him to ſet out from Fort Frontenac, if he meant to appear at the general rendezvous, where the auxiliary troops ſent from the lakes, would arrive very ſpeedily. The next day, being the third of July, the Sieur de la Foreſt embarked again for Niagara, and ſteered to the north ſide of the lake. At the ſame time we embarked and ſtood to the oppoſite ſide of the lake, being favoured by the calms which in that month are very common.

By good luck our whole body arrived almoſt at one and the ſame time in the river of the Tſonontouans; and upon that occaſion, the ſavages, our allies, who draw predictions from the moſt trifling accidents, ſhewed their wonted ſuperſtition in taking this for an infallible preſage of the utter deſtruction of the Iroqueſe. Though after all, they proved falſe prophets, as you will find by the ſequel of this letter. The ſame night that we landed, we hauled our canoes and boats out of the water, and ſet a ſtrong guard upon them. This done, we built a fort of ſtakes or pales, where we left the Sieur Dorvillers with four hundred men to guard our ſhipping and baggage. The next day, a young Canadeſe, called Fontaine Marion, was unjuſtly ſhot to death. His caſe ſtood thus: having travelled frequently all over this continent, he was perfectly well acquainted with the country, and with the ſavages of Canada; and after the doing of ſeveral good ſervices to the King, deſired leave from the governor-general to continue his travels, in order to carry on ſome little trade; but his requeſt was never granted. Upon that, he reſolved to remove to New England, the two crowns being then in peace. The planters of New England gave him a very welcome recep-

* Among the ſavages drunken perſons are always excuſed; for the bottle atones for all crimes.

tion; for he was an active fellow, and one that underſtood almoſt all the languages of the ſavages. Upon this conſideration, he was employed to conduct the two Engliſh convoys I ſpoke of but now, and had the misfortune to be taken along with them. Now, to my mind, the uſage he met with from us was extreme hard; for, we are in peace with England; and beſides, that crown lays claim to the property of the Lakes of Canada.

The next day we began our march towards the great village of the Tſonontouans, without any other proviſions than ten biſcuits a man, which every one carried for himſelf. We had but ſeven leagues to march in a great wood of tall trees, upon a ſmooth even ground. The coureurs de bois, with a party of the ſavages, led the van, and the reſt of the ſavages brought up the rear, our regular troops and our militia being poſted in the middle. The firſt day the army marched four leagues, and the advanced guards made no diſcovery. The ſecond day our advanced parties marched up to the very fields of the village without perceiving any thing, though they paſt within a piſtol-ſhot of five hundred Tſonontouans, who lay flat upon the ground, and ſuffered them to paſs and repaſs without moleſtation. Upon their intelligence we marched up with equal precipitation and confuſion, being buoyed up with the apprehenſion that the Iroqueſe had fled, and that, at leaſt, their women, children, and ſuperannuated perſons would fall into our hands. When we arrived at the bottom of the hill, upon which the ambuſcade was placed, at the diſtance of a quarter of a league from the village, they began to raiſe their wonted cry, which was followed by the firing of ſome muſkets. Had you but ſeen, Sir, what diſorder our troops and militia were in amidſt the thick trees, you would have joined with me, in thinking that ſeveral thouſands of Europeans are no more than a ſufficient number to make head againſt five hundred barbarians. Our battalions were divided into ſtraggling parties, who fell into the right and left, without knowing where they went. Inſtead of firing upon the Iroqueſe, we fired upon one another. It was to no purpoſe to call in the ſoldiers of ſuch and ſuch a battalion, for we could not ſee thirty paces off; in fine, we were ſo diſordered, that the enemy were going to cloſe in upon us with their clubs in their hands, when the ſavages of our ſide having rallied, repulſed the enemy, and purſued them to their villages with ſo much fury that they brought off the heads of eighty, and wounded a great many. In this action we loſt ten ſavages, and a hundred French. We had twenty or two-and-twenty wounded, in which number was the good Father Angeleran the Jeſuit, who received a muſket-ſhot in thoſe parts which Origen choſe to lop off, in order to qualify himſelf for inſtructing the fair ſex without the diſturbance of paſſion, or the danger of ſcandal. When the ſavages brought in the heads of their enemies to M. de Denonville, they aſked him why he halted, and did not march up? He made anſwer, that he could not leave his wounded men behind, and that he thought it proper to encamp, that the ſurgeons might have time to dreſs their wounds. To obviate this pretence, the ſavages offered to make litters for the tranſporting of them to the village, that lay but a little way off. But our general did not approve of their advice; upon which, notwithſtanding his remonſtrances, they drew up into a body, and though they conſiſted of ten different nations, agreed in a joint reſolution of purſuing their enemy, in hopes of taking, at leaſt, their women, their old men, and their children. Our general being acquainted with their reſolution, gave them to know, that he earneſtly deſired they would reſt for one day, and not depart from his camp, and that the next day he would burn their villages, and ſtarve them to death by ſpoiling their crops. But they took this compliment ſo ill, that moſt of them returned to their own country; remonſtrating, "That the French came out to fetch a walk, rather than to wage war, ſince

ſince they would not take the advantage of the beſt opportunity in the world; that their ardour, like a flaſh of fire, was extinguiſhed as ſoon as kindled; that it was a fruitleſs adventure to draw together ſo many warriors, from all parts, to burn ſome huts of bark, that the enemy could rebuild in four days; that the Tſonontouans did not matter the ſpoiling of their corn, for that the other Iroqueſe nations were able to ſupply them; and in fine, that ſince they had joined the French twice together to no purpoſe, they would never truſt them for the future, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances they could make." Some are of opinion, that M. de Denonville ought to have gone farther; and others affirm, that it was impoſſible for him to do more than he did; for my part, I ſhall not venture upon any deciſion of the matter; thoſe who ſit at the helm, are moſt liable to be perplexed. To purſue the bare matter of fact; we marched next day to the great village, and carried our wounded men upon litters, but we found nothing there but aſhes; for the Iroqueſe had burnt the village themſelves, by way of precaution. Then we ſpent five or ſix days in cutting down the Indian corn with our ſwords. From thence we marched to the two little villages of the Thegaronhies and the Danoncaritaoui, which lay about two or three leagues off. Having done the like exploits there, we returned to the lake ſide. In all theſe villages we found plenty of horſes, black cattle, fowl and hogs. All the country round afforded us a very charming, pleaſant, and even proſpect, The foreſts through which we marched were repleniſhed with oak, wallnut, and wild cheſnut-trees.

Two days after we embarked for Niagara, which lay thirty leagues off, and arrived there in four days. As ſoon as the troops had debarked, we employed them in making a fort of pales with four baſtions, which was finiſhed in three days. Here we mean to leave an hundred and twenty ſoldiers under the command of M. des Bergeres, with ammunition and proviſions for eight months. The fort ſtands on the ſouth ſide of the ſtreight of Herrie Lake, upon a hill; at the foot of which, that lake falls into the lake of Frontenac. Yeſterday the ſavages, our allies, took leave of M. de Denonville, and made a ſpeech after their uſual manner; in which, among other things, they inſinuated, that they were pleaſed to ſee a fort ſo conveniently placed, which might favour their retreat upon any expedition againſt the Iroqueſe; that they depended upon his promiſe, of continuing the war till the five nations ſhould be either deſtroyed or diſpoſſeſſed of their country; that they earneſtly deſired that part of the army ſhould take the field out of hand, and continue in it both winter and ſummer, for that they would certainly do the ſame on their part; and in fine, that foraſmuch as their alliance with France was chiefly grounded upon the promiſes the French made of liſtening to no propoſals of peace, till the five nations ſhould be quite extirpated, they therefore hoped they would be as good as their word; eſpecially conſidering that a ceſſation of arms would ſully the honour of the French, and infallibly diſengage their allies. M. de Denonville gave them freſh aſſurances of his intention to carry on the war, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Iroqueſe; and in a word, proteſted that he would proſecute this deſign ſo vigorouſly, that in the end theſe barbarians ſhould be either quite cut off, or obliged to ſhift their ſeats.

The general called for me that very day, and acquainted me, that in regard I underſtood the language of the ſavages, I was to go with a detachment to cover their country, purſuant to their requeſt. At the ſame time he aſſured me, he would inform the court of the reaſons that moved him to detain me in Canada, notwithſtanding that he had orders to give me leave to go home. You may eaſily gueſs, Sir, that I was thunder-ſtruck with this news, when I had fed myſelf all along with the hopes of returning to France, and promoting my intereſt, which is now ſo much thwarted. However,

I was

I was forced to be contented; for the greater power bears the ſway all the world over. Purſuant to my orders, I made all ſuitable preparations for my voyage, without loſs of time. I took leave of my friends, who ſingled out the beſt ſoldiers for me; and made me preſents of cloaths, tobacco, books, and an infinity of other things that they could ſpare without any inconveniency, becauſe they were then upon their return to the colony, which affords every thing that one can deſire. By good luck, I brought my aſtrolabe with me from Monreal, which will enable me to take the latitudes of this lake, and to make ſeveral other uſeful obſervations; for, in all appearance, I ſhall be be out two years or ſuch a matter. The men of my detachment are briſk proper fellows, and my canoes are both new and large. I am to go along with M. Dulhut, a Lyons gentleman, who is a perſon of great merit, and has done his King and his country very conſiderable ſervices. M. de Tonti makes another of our company; and a company of ſavages is to follow us. M. de Denonville will ſet out for the colony by the north ſide of the lake of Frontenac, in two or three days. He deſigns to leave at Fort Frontenac a number of men and ammunition equal to what he leaves here. I herewith tranſmit ſome letters for my relations, which I beg you would convey to their hands. If I meet with any opportunity, I'll ſend you a journal of my voyage the next year. In the mean time,

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER XIV.

Dated at Miſſilimakinac, May 26, 1688.

The Author leaves Niagara, and has an Encounter with the Iroqueſe at the end of the Land-carriage. The After-part of his Voyage. A Deſcription of the Country. He arrives at Fort St. Joſeph in the Mouth of the Lake of Hurons. A Detachment of the Hurons arrive at the ſame Place. After an Engagement, they ſet out for Miſſilimakinac. A ſtrange Adventure of M. de la Salle's Brother. Miſſilimakinac deſcribed.

SIR,

I AM at a loſs to determine whether it is owing to ſtupidity, or greatneſs of mind, that the loſs of my eſtate, which I infallibly foreſee, doos not at all affect me. Your letter is but too ſhrewd a confirmation of my prophecy. However, I cannot but purſue your ſeaſonable advice in writing to court; in the mean time ſuffer me to ſatisfy my promiſe, in preſenting you with a relation of my voyages.

I embarked at Niagara Auguſt 3d, on board a canoe manned with eight ſoldiers of my detachment; and after running three leagues againſt the current of the ſtreight, came that ſame day to the place where the navigation ſtops. There I met with the Sieur Griſolon de la Tourette, brother to M. Dulhut, who had ventured to come from Miſſilimakinac with a ſingle canoe to join the army. The 4th we commenced our great land-carriage to the ſouthward, being obliged to tranſport our canoes from a league and a half below the great Fall of Niagara, to half a league above it. Before we got at any beaten or level path, we were forced to climb up three mountains, upon which an hundred Iroqueſe might have knocked us all on the head with ſtones. While we were employed in this tranſport ſervice, we were alarmed twice or thrice; which cautioned us to keep a ſtrict guard, and to tranſport our baggage with all poſſible expedition. Nay, after all our precautions, we were forced to leave one-half of our baggage about half-

half-way, upon the diſcovery of a thouſand Iroqueſe that marched towards us. Do you judge, Sir, if we had not ſome reaſon to be alarmed; and whether we would ſtand to ſacrifice all to the natural principle of ſelf-preſervation; though indeed we were in danger of loſing our lives as well as our baggage; for we had not embarked above the Fall half a quarter of an hour, when the enemy appeared upon the ſtreight ſide. I aſſure you, I eſcaped very narrowly; for about a quarter of an hour before, I and three or four ſavages had gone five hundred paces out of our road, to look upon that fearful cataract; and it was as much as I could do, to get at the canoes before they put off. To be taken by ſuch cruel fellows was to me no trifling thing. Il morir e niente, ma il vivere brugiando e troppo. "To die is nothing; but to live in the midſt of fire * is too much."

As for the water-fall of Niagara; it is ſeven or eight hundred foot high, and half a league broad. Towards the middle of it we deſcry an iſland that leans towards the precipice, as if it were ready to fall. All the beaſts that croſs the water within half a quarter of a league above this unfortunate iſland, are ſucked in by force of the ſtream; and the beaſts and fiſh that are thus killed by the prodigious fall, ſerve for food to fifty Iroqueſe, who are ſettled about two leagues off, and take them out of the water with their canoes. Between the ſurface of the water that ſhelves off prodigiouſly, and the foot of the precipice, three men may croſs abreaſt without any other damage than a ſprinkling of ſome few drops of water.

To return to the ſtory of the thouſand Iroqueſe; I muſt tell you, that we croſſed the ſtreight with all the vigour we were maſters of, and after rowing all night arrived next morning at the mouth of the lake, which appeared to be indifferently rapid. Then we were ſecure from all danger, for the Iroqueſe canoes are ſo dull and large, that they cannot ſail near ſo quick as thoſe made of birch-bark. The former are made of elm-bark, which is very heavy, and their form is very awkward, for they are ſo long and broad that thirty men row in them, two abreaſt, whether ſitting or ſtanding, and the ſides are ſo low that they dare not venture them upon the lakes, though the wind be very ſlack. We coaſted along the north coaſt of the Lake of Erie, being favoured by the calms, which are in a manner conſtant in that ſeaſon, eſpecially in the ſouthern countries. Upon the brink of this lake we frequently ſaw flocks of fifty or ſixty turkies, which run incredibly faſt upon the ſands; and the ſavages of our company killed great numbers of them, which they gave to us in exchange for the fiſh that we caught. The 25th we arrived at a long point of land which ſhoots out 14 or 15 leagues into the lake; and the heat being exceſſive, we choſe to tranſport our boats and baggage two hundred paces over land, rather than coaſt about for thirty-five leagues. September 6, we entered the ſtreight of the Lake of Hurons, where we met with a ſlack current of half a league in breadth, that continued till we arrived in the Lake of St. Claire, which is twelve leagues in circumference. The 8th of the ſame month we ſteered on to the other end, from whence we had but ſix leagues to run againſt the ſtream, till we arrived in the mouth of the Lake of Hurons, where we landed on the 14th. You cannot imagine the pleaſant proſpect of this ſtreight, and of the little lake; for their banks are covered with all ſorts of wild fruit-trees. It is true, the want of agriculture ſinks the agreeableneſs of the fruit; but their plenty is very ſurpriſing. We ſpied no other animals upon the ſhore, but herds of harts and roe-bucks: and when we came to little iſlands, we ſcoured them in order to oblige theſe beaſts to croſs over to the continent, upon which they offering to ſwim

* The priſoners taken by the Iroqueſe are frequently burnt.

over,

Engraved by G. Cooke from an Original Drawing.

Falls of Niagara.

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over, were knocked on the head by our canoe-men that were planted all round the iſlands. After our arrival at the fort, of which I was ordered to take poſſeſſion, M. Dulhut and M. de Tonti had a mind to reſt themſelves for ſome days, as well as the ſavages that accompanied us. This fort, which was built by M. Dulhut, was garriſoned upon his own charges by the coureurs de bois, who had taken care to ſow in it ſome buſhels of Turkey wheat, which afforded a plentiful crop, that proved of great uſe to me. The garriſon ſurrendered their poſt very cheerfully to my detachment; and then purſued their commerce with our ſavages, for every one had leave to go where he pleaſed. This gave me an opportunity of ſending two canoes under a guard of ſoldiers, to diſpoſe of a great roll of tobacco of two hundred weight, that M. Dulhut had kindly preſented me with; for that honeſt gentleman informed me, that my ſoldiers might eaſily purchaſe corn in exchange for tobacco, ſooner than for any other commodities. I am obliged to him as long as I live; but I am much afraid the treaſurer of the navy will make him no better compenſation for this piece of ſervice, than for a thouſand other diſburſements upon the King's account. The ſoldiers I ſent with the tobacco, returned in the latter end of November, and brought with them the Reverend Father Avenau the Jeſuit, who found no occaſion to trouble himſelf with preaching up abſtinence from meat in the time of Lent. They brought advice, that a party of the Hurons being prepared to march out of their villages, to attack the Iroqueſe beaver-hunters, would ſpeedily repair to the fort to reſt themſelves. In the mean time I waited with impatience for the arrival of one Turcot, and four more of the coureurs de bois, who were to come to me in the beginning of December, along with ſome other huntſmen that M. de Denonville had promiſed to ſend me; but hearing nothing of them, and our commons being at that time very ſhort, I ſhould have been very much pinched if four young Canadeſe who were expert huntſmen, had not tarried with me all winter. The above mentioned party of the Hurons arrived December 2d, being headed by one Saentſouan, who left me his canoe and his baggage, to keep till he returned; for he could not poſſibly continue his navigation longer, upon the account that the ſurface of the water began then to be covered with ice. Theſe ſavages choſe to march over land to the fort of Niagara, where they expected to receive intelligence before they entered the country of the Iroqueſe. They marched ten days, i. e. fifty leagues without ſeeing one ſoul. But at laſt their ſcouts perceived the footſteps of ſome huntſmen, which they traced at a great pace for a whole night, the ſnow being then a foot deep. Towards the break of day they returned, and gave notice to their fellow-adventurers, that they had diſcovered ſix huts, with ten men lodged in each of them. Upon this intelligence the whole party made a halt, in order to paint their faces, to prepare their arms, and to concert proper meaſures. The attack was ſo formed that two men made ſoftly up to the two doors of the huts with their clubs in their hands, to knock down any one that offered to come out, while the reſt were employed in firing their pieces. And the action was crowned with wonderful ſucceſs; for the Iroqueſe being ſurpriſed and ſhut up in their bark priſons, there were but two out of ſixty-four that made their eſcape; and theſe two being naked and deſtitute of fire-arms, could not but periſh in the woods. Three of the Hurons indeed were killed upon the ſpot, but to atone for that loſs, the aggreſſors carried off fourteen priſoners, and four women. This done, they marched back to my fort with all poſſible expedition. Among the captive ſlaves, there were three who had made part of the number of the one thouſand Iroqueſe that thought to have ſurpriſed us the year before, when we were employed in the great land-carriage at Niagara. They gave us to underſtand, that the fort of Niagara was blocked

up by eight hundred Iroqueſe, who meant to appear before my poſt without any delay. This troubleſome piece of news galled me to the laſt degree, for fear of being reduced to extremities; and with that view I was a very nice huſband of what corn I had left. I was not apprehenſive of being attacked by them, for the ſavages never fight fairly, neither do they ever attempt to pull up palliſadoes; but I was afraid that they would ſtarve us out by cramping our huntſmen in their due range. However, the Hurons continuing fifteen days in my fort to refreſh themſelves, I uſed the precaution of engaging them to aſſiſt my huntſmen in providing meat: but as ſoon as they took leave of me in order to return home, our hunting was at an end, and the gates were kept ſhut.

At laſt, finding that my proviſions were almoſt out, I reſolved to go to Miſſilimakinac, to buy up corn from the Hurons and the Outaouans. Accordingly, having left ſome ſoldiers to guard the fort in my abſence, I embarked with the reſt of my detachment on the firſt of April, with a gentle ſouth-eaſt gale; by the help of which we inſenſibly croſſed the bay of Saguinan. That little gulph is ſix hours over, and in the middle of of it there are two little iſlands, which afford a very ſeaſonable ſhelter when a wind ariſes in the croſſing over. Before you have croſſed this bay, the coaſt is all along full of rocks and ſhelves, one of which that I ſaw was ſix leagues broad: but above it the coaſt is clean and low, eſpecially towards the ſand-river, which lies half-way between that bay and a place called l' Anſe du Tonnere. Now this laſt place is reckoned thirty leagues off the bay. Having paſſed that, we had but thirty leagues more to ſail; which we did without any danger, but the help of an eaſt-ſouth-eaſt gale, that ſwelled the waves prodigiouſly. In the mouth of the Illineſe lake we met the party of the Hurons that I mentioned before; and four or five hundred Outaouas, who were bound home, after having ſpent the winter in hunting of beavers upon the river of Saguinan. Both they and we were forced to lie by in that place for three or four days, by reaſon of the ice: after which the lake was cleared, and we croſſed it together. When the Hurons came aſhore, they conſulted among themſelves how to diſpoſe of their ſlaves: after which they made a preſent of one of them to M. de Juchereau, who commanded in that place; but the poor wretch was preſently ſhot to death. Another of them was preſented to the Outaouas, who granted him his life, for ſuch reaſons as you would eaſily apprehend, if you were better acquainted with the policy and cunning of that ſort of men, whom you now take for beaſts.

I arrived in this place on the 18th of April, and my uneaſineſs and trouble took date from the day of my arrival; for I found the Indian corn ſo ſcarce by reaſon of the preceding bad harveſts, that I deſpaired of finding half ſo much as I wanted; but after all, I am hopeful, that two villages will furniſh me with almoſt as much as I have occaſion for. M. Cavelier arrived here May 6, being accompanied with his nephew, Father Anaſtaſe the recollect, a pilot, one of the ſavages, and ſome few Frenchmen, which made a ſort of a party-coloured retinue. Theſe Frenchmen were ſome of thoſe that M. de la Salle had conducted upon the diſcovery of Miſſiſipi. They gave out, that they are ſent to Canada, in order to go to France, with ſome diſpatches from M. de la Salle to the King: but we ſuſpect that he is dead, becauſe he does not return along with them. I ſhall not ſpend time in taking notice of their great journey over-land; which, by the account they give, cannot be leſs than eight hundred leagues.

Miſſilimakinac, the place I am now in, is certainly a place of great importance. It lies in the latitude of forty-five degrees, and thirty minutes: but as for its longitude, I have nothing to ſay of it, for reaſons mentioned in my ſecond letter. It is not above

half

half a league diſtant from the Illineſe lake, an account of which, and indeed of all the other lakes, you may expect elſewhere. Here the Hurons and Outaouas have each of them a village; the one being ſevered from the other by a ſingle palliſadoe: but the Outaouas are beginning to build a fort upon a hill, that ſtands but one thouſand or twelve hundred paces off. This precaution they were prompted to by the murder of a certain Huron, called Sandaouires, who was aſſaſſinated in the Saguinan river by four young Outaouas. In this place the Jeſuits have a little houſe, or college adjoining to a ſort of a church, and incloſed with pales that ſeparate it from the village of the Hurons. Theſe good fathers laviſh away all their divinity and patience to no purpoſe, in converting ſuch ignorant infidels; for all the length they can bring them to, is, that oftentimes they will deſire baptiſm for their dying children, and ſome few ſuperannuated perſons conſent to receive the ſacrament of baptiſm, when they find themſelves at the point of death. The coureurs de bois have but a very ſmall ſettlement here; though at the ſame time it is not inconſiderable, as being the ſtaple of all the goods that they truck with the ſouth and the weſt ſavages; for they cannot avoid paſſing this way, when they go to the ſeats of the Illineſe, and the Oumamis, or to the Bay des Puants, and to the river of Miſſiſipi. The ſkins which they import from theſe different places, muſt lie here ſome time before they are tranſported to the colony. Miſſilimakinac is ſituated very advantageouſly; for the Iroqueſe dare not venture with their ſorry canoes, to croſs the ſtreight of the Illineſe lake, which is two leagues over; beſides that the lake of the Hurons is too rough for ſuch ſlender boats: and as they cannot come to it by water, ſo they cannot approach to it by land, by reaſon of the marſhes, fens, and little rivers, which it would be very difficult to croſs; not to mention that the ſtreight of the Illineſe lake lies ſtill in their way.

You can ſcarce believe, Sir, what vaſt ſhoals of white fiſh are caught about the middle of the channel, between the continent and the iſle of Miſſilimakinac. The Outaouas and the Hurons could never ſubſiſt here without that fiſhery; for they are obliged to travel about twenty leagues in the woods, before they can kill any harts or elks, and it would be an infinite fatigue to carry their carcaſes ſo far over-land. This ſort of white fiſh, in my opinion, is the only one in all theſe lakes that can be called good; and indeed it goes beyond all other ſorts of river fiſh. Above all, it has one ſingular property, namely, that all ſorts of ſauces ſpoil it, ſo that it is always eat either boiled or broiled, without any manner of ſeaſoning. In the channel I now ſpeak of, the currents are ſo ſtrong, that they ſometimes ſuck in the nets, though they are two or three leagues off. In ſome ſeaſons, it ſo falls out that the currents run three days eaſtward, two days to the weſt, one to the ſouth, and four northward; ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs. The cauſe of this diverſity of currents could never be fathomed, for in a calm, they will run in the ſpace of one day, to all the points of the compaſs, i. e. ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, without any limitation of time; ſo that the deciſion of the matter muſt be left to the diſciples of Copernicus. Here the ſavages catch trouts as big as one's thigh, with a ſort of fiſhing hook made in the form of an awl, and made faſt to a piece of braſs wire, which is joined to the line that reaches to the bottom of the lake. This ſort of fiſhery is carried on not only with hooks, but with nets, and that in winter, as well as in ſummer: for they make holes in the ice at a certain diſtance one from another, through which they conduct the nets with poles. The Outaouas and the Hurons have very pleaſant fields, on which they ſow Indian corn, peaſe, and beans, beſides a ſort of citruls, and melons, which differs much from ours, and of which I ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak to another place. Sometimes theſe ſavages ſell their corn very dear, eſpecially when the beaver-hunters happens not

to take well. Upon which occaſion they make ſufficient repriſals upon us for the extravagant price of our commodities.

As ſoon as I have brought up ſixty ſacks of corn, each of which may weigh fifty pound, I am to march with my detachment alone to St. Mary's Fort, in order to engage the Sauteurs or the inhabitants of Saut Saint Marie, to join the Outaouas; after which we mean to march with joint forces to the country of the Iroqueſe. Beſides theſe, there is a party of a hundred Hurons ready to march, under the command of the great leader Adario, whom the French call the Rat; but they do not march our way. I ſhall write to you with the firſt opportunity after my return from this expedition. Perhaps the Jeſuits will ſend your letters for me along with M. Denonville's to Fort St. Joſeph, where I am to reſide, I ſhall expect their arrival with the utmoſt impatience. In the mean time I ſend you a letter directed to M. de Seignelay, the purport of which I have here ſubjoined. It will be a very ſenſible obligation laid upon me, if you vouchſafe to believe that I always am,

Sir, yours, &c.

The Letter directed to M. De Seignelay.

HONOURED SIR,

I AM the ſon of a gentleman that ſpent three hundred thouſand crowns in deepening the water of the two Gaves of Bearn: he had the good luck to compaſs his end by conveying a great many brooks to theſe two rivers; and the current of the Adour was by that means ſo far ſtrengthened as to render the bar of Bayonne paſſable by a fifty-gun ſhip, whereas in former times a frigate of ten guns durſt not venture over it. It was in conſideration of this great and ſucceſsful attempt that His Majeſty granted to my father and his heirs for ever, certain duties and taxes, amounting to the ſum of three thouſand livres a year. This grant was confirmed by an act of the council of ſtate, dated January 9, 1658, ſigned Boſſuet, collated, &c. Another advantage accruing to the King and the province from my father's ſervices, conſiſts in the bringing down of maſts and yards from the Pyrenean mountains, which could never have been effected if he had not by his care, and by the diſburſing of immenſe ſums, enlarged the quantity of water in the Gave of Oleron to a double proportion. Theſe duties and taxes, which had been juſtly entailed upon him and his heirs, ceaſed to be ours when he died; and to inflame the diſgrace, I loſt his place, viz. that of being an honorary judge of the parliament of Pau, and chief juſtice in eyre for the province of Bearn; all which were mine by inheritance. Theſe loſſes are now followed by an unjuſt ſeizure that ſome pretended creditors have made of the barony of La Hontan, of a piece of ground that lies contiguous to it, and of a hundred thouſand livres that lay in the hands of the chamber of Bayonne. Theſe faithleſs creditors have no other reaſon to ſue me, but that I am now in the fag end of the world, and that they are rich, and ſupported by the credit and protection of the parliament of Paris, where they hope to make good their unjuſt pretenſions in my abſence. Laſt year I obtained leave to return to France, in order to take care of this matter; but now M. de Denonville has ſent me with a detachment to theſe lakes; from whence I humbly petition that your honour would vouchſafe me leave to come home the next year, and at the ſame time honour me with your protection.

I am, with all poſſible reſpect, Your Honour's, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

Dated at Miſſilimakinac, Sep. 18, 1688.

Deſcribing the Fall called Saut St. Marie, where the Author perſuades the Inhabitants to join the Outaouas, and march againſt the Iroqueſe. And containing an Account of the Occurrences of the Voyage between that Place and Miſſilimakinac.

SIR,

I AM now returned from the Iroqueſe country, and have quitted the Fort of St. Joſeph againſt my will. I cannot allow myſelf to doubt, but that you took care of the letter directed for M. de Seignelay, which I tranſmitted to you three months ago.

I ſet out from hence in my canoe, June 2; and after my arrival at the water-fall called Saut Sainte Marie, I perſuaded forty young warlike fellows to join the party of the Outaouas that I mentioned in my laſt. This Saut Sainte Marie is a cataract, or rather a water-fall of two leagues in length, which gives vent to the waters of the upper lake, and at the bottom of which, not far from the Jeſuit's houſe, there is a village of the Outchipoues, alias Sauteurs. This place is a great thoroughfare for the coureurs de bois that trade with the northern people, who uſually repair to the brinks of that lake in the ſummer. The continual fog that riſes from the upper lake, and ſpreads over the adjacent country, renders the ground ſo barren that it bears no corn. The 13th of the ſame month I ſet out from the above-mentioned village, being accompanied by the forty young Sauteurs, who embarked in five canoes, each of which held eight men. The 16th we arrived at the iſle of Detour, where my ſoldiers and the party of the Outaouas had tarried for me two days. The firſt day was ſpent by the Outaouas and the Sauteurs in warlike feaſts, dancing, and ſinging, purſuant to their wonted cuſtom: the next day we all embarked, and traverſing from iſle to iſle, made the iſland of Manitoualin in four days. This iſland is twenty-five leagues long, and ſeven or eight broad. In former times it was poſſeſſed by the Outaouas of Talon, called the Otontagans; who were diſlodged by the progreſs of the Iroqueſe, that has ruined ſo many nations. We coaſted upon that iſle a whole day; and being favoured by a calm, croſſed from iſle to iſle till we made the eaſt ſide of the lake. In this paſſage we croſſed between two iſlands that were ſix leagues diſtant the one from the other; and upon that occaſion our watermen, who were not uſed to venture ſo far out in their ſlender boats, were fain to tug hard at their oars. The ſavages ſtood out at firſt, and refuſed to venture ſo far from land, for they would rather have gone fifty leagues about; but at laſt I over perſuaded them, by repreſenting that I would have been very loth to venture my own perſon, if I had not been ſufficiently provided againſt all danger by an exact knowledge of the winds and the ſtorms. The calm continuing, we made the river of Theonontate on the 25th. The next day there ſprung up a gale from the weſt-ſouth-weſt, which kept us back for four or five days; but our ſtop was of no great advantage to us, for it rained ſo heavily, that we could not hunt. This country is the ancient ſeat of the Hurons, as it appears from the name they give to their nations in their own language, viz. Theonontateronons, i. e. the inhabitants of Theonontate. But after the Iroqueſe had upon divers occaſions, taken and defeated great numbers of them, the reſt quitted the country to avoid the like fate. We re-embarked on the 29th, and on the 1ſt of July arrived at Fort St. Joſeph, where the ſoldiers I had left waited for us with great impatience. Having landed ſome ſacks of corn at the fort, we ſet out again on the 3d of July, and purſued our courſe with all diligence, in order to an early appearance in

the Iroqueſe country. We ſailed through the ſtrait or neck, and ſtood to the ſouth ſide of the lake Erie; and being favoured by the weather, arrived on the 17th in the river Conde, which I ſhall have occaſion to take notice of in deſcribing the lakes of Canada. Immediately, upon our landing, the ſavages fell to work in cutting down trees, and making a redoubt of ſtakes, or pales, for the ſecurity of our canoes and baggage, and for a ſafe retreat to ourſelves in caſe of neceſſity.

The 20th they marched, each man being provided with a light covering, a bow, and ſome arrows, (or elſe a fuſee) and a little bag containing ten pound weight of the flour of the Indian corn. They thought it moſt convenient to keep to the banks of the river, upon which the Goyogoans are wont to fiſh for ſturgeon; for that fiſh, which is ſix feet in length, comes out of the lakes in hot weather, and ſwims up the rivers. They had reſolved likewiſe, if they found the country clear to march up and ſurprize the villages of the Goyogoans: but they were ſoon eaſed of that trouble, for they had not marched two days when their ſcouts deſcried three hundred Iroqueſe; and on the other hand, the Iroqueſe ſpied them to ſuch purpoſe, that the ſcouts eſcaped very narrowly, and had much ado to return to the body of the party, which immediately betook themſelves to flight. I was mightly ſurprized when I heard the centinel of our redoubt cry out, *Aux armes*, our men are beaten and purſued; but I was yet more ſurprized when I ſaw the fugitives run at full ſpeed, when there was nobody behind them. When they came up, they were all ſilent for half an hour, purſuant to their uſe and wont; after which their leader recounted to me the particulars of the adventure. I thought at firſt that their advanced guards had miſtook the number of the enemies; for I knew that the Outaouas had not the reputation of too much courage; but the next day a party of the Iroqueſe appeared in ſight of our redoubt, which gave the occaſion to believe that they were in the right of it. Nay, this truth was afterwards confirmed by a certain ſlave called Chaouanon, who made his eſcape to the redoubt, and aſſured me, that the Iroqueſe were not leſs than four hundred; to which he added, that they expected to be joined by ſixty more that had marched ſome months before to the country of the Oumamis. He informed us farther, that while the Marquis de Denonville was concerting meaſures for a peace with the five nations, an Engliſhman, of the name of Aria, accompanied with ſome others, endeavoured to diſſuade them from peace, by orders from the governor of New York. In the mean time the ſavages having preſſed me to aſſiſt at a council of war, they propoſed to lie by for a fair wind, and then to embark. They repreſent, that they deſigned to ſail to the end of the lake, where they would infallibly light upon the ſixty Iroqueſe that I mentioned above; but withal, that they could not agree to ſet out in a calm, becauſe that after their quitting the redoubt, and launching out, a contrary wind might force them aſhore, where their throats might be cut if the enemy purſued them. I replied, that it was then ſuch fine weather, that we had nothing to expect but calms; that if we tarried longer in this place, our enemies would thereby gain time to make canoes in order to a purſuit: that ſince the favourableneſs of the wind was ſo uncertain, we ought to embark without loſs of time; that we might ſail in the night and ſculk in the day time behind rocks and points of land; and, that by this means the enemy would be at a loſs to know whether we ſtood to the ſouth or to the north ſide of the lake. The ſavages made anſwer, that it was true their tarrying might be every way prejudicial; but it was equally true, that my expedient was dangerous: however, they conſented to embark along with us, and for that end gummed their canoes. We embarked on the 24th at night, and the weather being fair, clear, and calm, made a great deal of way that night, and the ſucceeding day. The next evening we came to an anchor, deſigning to ſleep for three or four hours, but

not to ſtir out of the canoes. About midnight we weighed our little wooden anchors, and one half of the men rowed while the other was at reſt. Thus did we continue to ſteer with a great deal of precaution and care, rowing all night, and lying by all day.

July 28th, when we were lying almoſt all aſleep in a creek of a little iſland, the watch deſcrying ſome canoes that made towards us, waked ſome ſavages that had gone aſhore to ſleep the more conveniently. The noiſe having alarmed us all, we preſently made ourſelves ready to get in head of theſe canoes; but at the ſame time, though we were but half a league off, we could not diſtinguiſh who they were, by reaſon that the ſun-beams falling perpendicularly, made the ſurface of the water look like a looking-glaſs. Indeed there being but two of them, we reckoned they were manned with Iroqueſe, and that each of them contained at leaſt twenty men; upon which ſuſpicion, the leader of the Sauteurs offered to go aſhore with his men, and poſt himſelf at the entry of a wood, from whence he would ſoftly follow the canoes without being diſcovered, until ſuch time as we forced them aſhore. At the ſame time he propoſed that the Outaouas and my detachment ſhould ſuffer them to be within a muſket-ſhot of the iſland before we diſcovered ourſelves, or offered to give them chaſe, upon the apprehenſion that if we followed them cloſer, they would be ſo far from getting on ſhore, that they would fight as deſperate, and chuſe rather to be killed or drowned than to be taken. This propoſal was liked, and every thing was managed accordingly. As ſoon as our unknown enemy perceived us, they made the ſhore with all imaginable precipitation; and juſt when they were going to knock their priſoners on the head, the Sauteurs fell upon them, but miſſed of their aim in taking them all alive; for they fought to the laſt gaſp, like men that knew no medium betwixt conqueſt and death. *Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem.* This engagement happened while we landed; however, the Sauteurs came off with honour, for they loſt only four men, and of twenty Iroqueſe they killed three, wounded five, and took the reſt priſoners, ſo that not one of them eſcaped. The Iroqueſe had along with them eighteen ſlaves of the Oumamis, who were all wounded, and ſeven big-bellied women, from whom we had intelligence that the reſt of their party were then upon their return by land upon the banks of the lake, having thirty-four priſoners, of both ſexes; and that they could not then be far off. When this intelligence was laid before us, the Outaouas were of the opinion that we ſhould reſt ſatisfied with the feats we had done, upon the plea that the above-mentioned four hundred Iroqueſe would certainly get before us. On the other hand, the Sauteurs maintained that they had rather periſh than fail to attempt the reſcue of theſe priſoners, and the defeat of the whole party; and that if nobody would ſecond them, they would make the attempt by themſelves. The bravery of this reſolution obliged me to encourage and edge on the Outaouas. I remonſtrated to them, that in regard the Sauteurs engroſſed the glory of the former action, they had more reaſon than we to decline the riſque of a ſecond engagement, that if we refuſed to back them, our cowardice would cover us with everlaſting infamy; and, that in order to render the attack more ſecure, we ought to uſe a ſpeedy precaution in finding out ſome point or elbow of land where our canoes, our baggage, and our priſoners might be lodged ſafe. The Outaouas had a great deal of reluctancy to the matter; however, after conſulting among themſelves, they complied with the propoſal, more for ſhame, than out of true courage. Having laid down that joint reſolution, we made up a little ſort of a fence in ſeven or eight hours, and then ſent out ſcouts on all hands, while the main body was kept in readineſs to march upon the firſt alarm.

Auguſt 4, two of our ſpies returned upon full ſpeed, to acquaint us that the Iroqueſe were not above three leagues off, and that they advanced towards us; and withal, that upon

upon the road there was a little brook, upon which an ambuſcade might be conveniently laid. This advice animated our ſavages ſo much, that they run immediately to take poſſeſſion of that advantageous poſt; but they knew not how to make the right uſe of it. The Outaouas were too haſty in firing; and by ſhooting at too great a diſtance, gave all the enemies an opportunity of making their eſcape, abating for ten or twelve whoſe heads were brought into the little fort where I ſtaid. The ſlaves indeed were all retaken, and ſo reſcued from the cruelty of theſe tigers; which encouraged us to reſt ſatisfied. When the expedition was over, we ſtowed theſe poor wretches in our canoes, and ſteered with all expedition to the ſtrait or neck of the lake of Huron, which we made on the 13th. We enjoyed a great deal of pleaſure in ſtemming the current of that ſtreight; the iſlands of which, that I mentioned above, were covered with roe-bucks. This opportunity we did not ſlight; nor did we grudge our ſtopping upon theſe iſlands for eight days; during which time we were buſied in hunting, and refreſhed ourſelves with plenty of excellent fruit that was fully ripe. Here the wounded and retaken priſoners had an opportunity of reſting, and of drinking the broth of ſeveral ſorts of meat; and we had time to broil as much meat as we could ſtow in our canoes, not to mention the great number of turkeys that we were obliged to eat upon the ſpot, for fear that the heat of the ſeaſon would ſpoil them.

In that ſpace of time the poor wounded ſavages were carefully purged with ſuch roots as the Americans are well verſed in; which I mean to explain to you in its proper time and place; and they wanted not good reſtoratives of jelly-broth. The 24th we re-embarked, and arrived at night at Fort St. Joſeph, where I found a party of eighty Oumamis, commanded by one Michitonka, who being lately returned from Niagara, expected my arrival with the utmoſt impatience. When I landed, I was ſurprized to ſee the fort crammed with ſavages; but on the other hand, they were equally aſtoniſhed to find in our company their countrymen, to whoſe hard fortune they had been altogether ſtrangers. The joyful meeting filled the air with acclamations, and panegyrics rung all about to an extravagant degree. I wiſh, Sir, you had been there to partake of the pleaſure of ſo fine a ſhow; had you been preſent, you would have joined with me in owning that all our French rhetoric cannot reach ſuch pithy and ſignificant figures, eſpecially upon the ſcore of hyperboles, as made up the bulk of the harangues and ſongs that theſe poor people uttered with rapture and tranſport. Michitonka acquainted me, that after he went to the fort of Niagara, with a deſign to make ſome expedition into the country of the Tſonontouans, he found that the ſcurvy had made ſuch a terrible havoc in that fort, that it had ſwept off the commander, and all the ſoldiers, bating twelve, who had the good luck to get over it, as well as M. de Bergeres, who by the advantage of a hale conſtitution, had ſtemmed the raging violence of that diſtemper. He informed me farther, that M. Bergeres having reſolved to ſet out with his twelve men for the fort of Frontenac, had deſired of him a reinforcement of ſome young Oumamis, which was granted him; that after M. Bergeres had embarked, himſelf marched over-land to the country of the Onnontagues, where he rejoined the reinforcement he had granted to M. de Bergeres, and underſtood from them, that during the winter the ſcurvy had carried off as many ſoldiers at Fort Frontenac as at Niagara; and, that M. de Denonville was negociating a peace with the Iroqueſe.

The governor of fort Frontenac had requeſted Michitonka to engage in no enterpriſe, and to return home with his men; upon which that leader being in full march homeward, was attacked by three hundred Onnontagues, whom he durſt not engage othrewiſe than in a running fight, by which he loſt four men. Being informed of all theſe

theſe circumſtances, I conſulted with the three different nations that were then poſted in my fort. After a mature reflection upon the intelligence that was laid before them, they came to this reſolution; that ſince the Marquis de Denonville had a mind to clap up a peace, and the fort of Niagara was abdicated, the fort I then commanded would be of no uſe; that ſince I had neither proviſions nor ammunition for above two months, I ſhould be obliged at the end of theſe two months to retreat to the place from whence I now write; that at that time of the year our navigation would be uneaſy and dangerous; that in regard I lay under an indiſpenſible neceſſity of making my retreat, it was of no great moment whether I marched off two months ſooner or later; and, in fine, that ſince I had received no freſh orders, nor no ſuccours, it was my buſineſs to go off along with them. This reſolution, which was a ſufficient argument to ſway me, afforded matter of joy to the ſoldiers, who were afraid of being obliged to a more rigorous courſe of abſtinence in that poſt than they had formerly undergone; for the meaſures of a critical abſtinence do not ſit well upon a ſoldier's ſtomach; in fine, purſuant to our joint reſolution, we ſet fire to the fort on the 27th, and embarked that ſame day, and keeping cloſe to the ſouth ſhore of the lake that I took notice of in my laſt, arrived here on the 10th of September. The Oumamis marched over-land to their own country, and carried with them the wounded, who were then in a condition to march.

Upon my arrival in this place, I found here M. de la Durantay, whom M. Denonville has inveſted with the commiſſion of commander of the coureurs de bois that trade upon the lakes, and in the ſouthern countries of Canada. The governor has ſent me orders to return to the colony if the ſeaſon and other circumſtances permit; or to tarry here till the ſpring, if I foreſee inſurmountable difficulties in the paſſage. In the mean time he has ſent me effects to anſwer the pay of my detachment, and to ſubſiſt them in the winter. Theſe orders would be extremely acceptable to me, if I could but contrive how to return to the colony; but that ſeems to be abſolutely impoſſible; and both the French and the ſavages agree that it is ſo. There are in that paſſage ſo many water-falls, cataracts, and places where there is a neceſſity of tedious land-carriages, that I dare not run ſuch hazards with my ſoldiers, who cannot work the boats but upon ſtagnant water. Upon that conſideration I have thought it more proper to halt here till the next year; at which time I deſign to take the advantage of the company of ſome Frenchmen and ſavages, that promiſe to take into each of their canoes one of my men. In the mean time, I am upon the point of undertaking another voyage, for I cannot mew myſelf up here all this winter. I deſign to make the beſt uſe of my time, and to travel through the ſouthern countries that I have ſo often heard of, having engaged four or five good huntſmen of the Outaouas to go along with me.

The party of the Hurons that I mentioned in the beginning of my letter, returned hither two months ago, and brought with them an Iroqueſe ſlave, whom their leader preſented to M. de Inchereau, the late colonel of the coureurs de bois, and whom that colonel ordered to be immediately ſhot. The crafty leader acted upon that occaſion a very cunning and malicious part, the fatal conſequences of which I eaſily foreſee: he entruſted nobody with the ſecret but myſelf; for he is my true friend, and he knows that I am his; however, I muſt go no farther upon this matter, leſt my letter ſhould be intercepted. Though after all, if the blow were not already given, or if it were poſſible to remedy it, my friendſhip ſhould not hinder me from acquainting M. de Denonville with the intrigue, that he might get clear of it as well as he could.

could. If it pleaſes God to allow me a ſafe return to France, I ſhall tell you the ſtory by word of mouth.

I underſtand by your laſt, that the King has preferred his almoner, the abbot of St. Valiers, to the biſhoprick of Quebec; and that this biſhop was conſecrated in St. Sulpice's church. This piece of news would be very welcome to me, if I thought he would be leſs rigid than M. de Laval, his predeceſſor. But what likelihood is there that the new biſhop will be of a tractable temper? If it is true that he has refuſed other good biſhopricks, he muſt be as ſcrupulous as the monk Dracontius, that St. Athanaſius cenſures for not accepting of a preſentation to a biſhoprick that was offered him; in fine, if he is of that ſcrupulous temper, his critical ſtrictneſs will ſcarce go down in this country; for the people are already tired out with his predeceſſor's excommunications.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER XVI.

Dated at Miſſilimakinac, May 28. 1689.

Containing an Account of the Author's Departure from and Return to Miſſilimakinac. A Deſcription of the Bay of Puants, and its Villages. An ample Deſcription of the Beavers; followed by the Journal of a remarkable Voyage upon the Long River, and a Map of the adjacent Country.

SIR,

THANK God, I am now returned from my voyage upon the Long River, which falls into the river of Miſſiſipi. I would willingly have traced it up to its ſource if ſeveral obſtacles had not ſtood in my way. I ſet out from hence the 24th of September accompanied with my own detachment, and the five huntſmen I mentioned in my laſt; who indeed did me a great deal of ſervice. All the ſoldiers were provided with new canoes loaded with proviſions and ammunition, and ſuch commodities as are proper for the ſavages. The wind, which ſtood then in the north, wafted me in three days to the bay of Pouteouatamis, that lay forty leagues off. The mouth of that bay is in a manner choaked with iſles, and the bay itſelf is ten leagues broad, and twenty-five leagues long.

The 29th we came to a little deep ſort of a river, which diſembogues at a place where the water of the lake ſwells three foot high in twelve hours, and decreaſes as much in the ſame compaſs of time. Our tarrying there three or four days gave me an opportunity of making this remark: the villages of the Sakis, the Pouteouatamis, and ſome Malominis, are ſeated on the ſide of that river, and the Jeſuits have a houſe or college built upon it. This is a place of great trade for ſkins and Indian corn, which theſe ſavages ſell to the coureurs de bois, as they come and go, it being the neareſt and moſt convenient paſſage to the river of Miſſiſipi. The ſoil of this country is ſo fertile that it produces (in a manner without agriculture) our European corn, peaſe, beans, and ſeveral other fruits that are not known in France. As ſoon as I landed, the warriors of theſe three nations came by turns to my apartment, to regale me with the calumet dance, and with the captain's dance; the former being a ſignification of peace and friendſhip, and the latter of reſpect and eſteem. I returned the compliment with a preſent of ſome rolls of Braſil tobacco, which they value mightily, and ſome ſtrings of Veſice beads, with which they embroider their coats. Next morning I was invited

invited to a feaſt with one of the three nations; and after having ſent to them ſome diſhes and plates, purſuant to the cuſtom of the country, I went accordingly about noon. They began with congratulating my arrival, and after I had returned them thanks, fell a ſinging and dancing one after another, in a particular manner, of which you may expect a circumſtantial account when I have more leiſure. The ſinging and dancing laſted for two hours, being ſeaſoned with acclamations of joy and jeſts, which made up part of their ridiculous muſic. After that the ſlaves came to ſerve, and all the company ſat down after the Eaſtern faſhion, every one being provided with his meſs, juſt as our monks are in the monaſtery halls.

Firſt of all, four platters were ſet down before me, in the firſt of which there were two white fiſh only boiled in water; in the ſecond, the tongue and breaſt of a roebuck boiled; in the third, two wood-hens, the hind feet or trotters of a bear, and the tail of a beaver, all roaſted; and the fourth contained a large quantity of broth made of ſeveral ſorts of meat. For drink they gave me a very pleaſant liquor, which was nothing but a ſyrup of maple beat up with water; but of this more elſewhere. The feaſt laſted two hours; after which I intreated one of the grandees to ſing for me; for in all the ceremonies made uſe of among the ſavages, it is cuſtomary to employ another to act for them. I made this grandee a preſent of ſome pieces of tobacco, in order to oblige him to act my part till night. Next day, and the day after, I was obliged to go to the feaſts of the other two nations, who obſerved the ſame formalities. The moſt curious thing I ſaw in the villages was ten or twelve tame beavers, that went and came like dogs from the rivers to the cottages, without ſtraggling out of the road. I aſked the ſavages if theſe animals could live out of the water; and received this anſwer, that they could live aſhore as well as dogs, and that they had kept ſome of them above a year, without ſuffering them to go near the rivers: from whence I conclude, that the caſuiſts are out in not ranging ducks, geeſe, and teals in the number of amphibious animals, as the naturaliſts are wont to do. I had heard the ſame ſtory from ſeveral Americans before; but being apprehenſive that there were different ſpecies of beavers, I had a mind to be better informed: and indeed there is a particular kind of them, which the ſavages call the terreſtrial, or land-beaver; but at the ſame time they tell you, theſe are of a different ſpecies from the amphibious ſort; for they make holes or dens in the earth, like rabbits or foxes, and never go near the water, unleſs it be to drink. They are likewiſe called by the ſavages, the lazy or idle kind, as being expelled by the other beavers from the kennels in which theſe animals are lodged, to the number of eighty. Theſe kennels I mean to deſcribe afterwards; in the mean time I only take occaſion to acquaint you, that the idle ſort being unwilling to work, are expelled by the others, juſt as waſps are by bees; and are ſo teaſed by them, that they are forced to quit the kennels, which the better and more induſtrious race huddles up to themſelves in the fens. This ſupine beaver reſembles the other ſort in its figure, excepting that the hair is rubbed off the back and the belly, which is occaſioned by their rubbing againſt the earth when they return to, or ſtir out from their holes.

The writers of natural hiſtory are very much out, in fancying that the beavers cut off their own teſticles, when purſued by the huntſmen; for that which the phyſicians call caſtoreum, is not lodged in the teſticles, but in a certain bag that nature ſeems to have formed on purpoſe for theſe animals, and this bag they make uſe of to clear their teeth, after the biting of ſome gummy ſhrub. But ſuppoſing the teſticles to be the proper receptacle of the caſtor, we muſt ſtill conceive that it is impoſſible for a beaver to pull out his teſticles, without rending the nerves of the groin, in which they

are ſeated juſt by the ſharebone. It is manifeſt that Elian and ſeveral other naturaliſts, were ſcarce acquainted with beaver-hunting; for had they known any thing of the matter, they would never have talked of the purſuing of theſe animals, which never go from the ſide of the pond where the kennels are built; and which dive under water upon the leaſt noiſe, and return to their dens when the danger is over. If theſe creatures were but ſenſible of the reaſon for which war is declared againſt them, they would flea themſelves alive; for it is the ſkin only that the huntſmen want, the value of the caſtor being nothing in compariſon with that. A great beaver is twenty-ſix inches long, from the hind head to the root of the tail. It is about three foot and eight inches round, its head is ſeven inches long and ſix broad; its tail is fourteen inches long, and ſix broad, and about the middle it has the thickneſs of an inch and two lines. The figure of the tail is oval; the ſcale with which it is covered, and which performs the office of what the phyſicians call the epidermis, or ſcarf-ſkin, is an irregular hexagon. The beaver carries upon its tail the clay, the earth and other materials of which they make their banks and kennels, or huts, by a wonderful inſtinct. Its ears are ſhort, round and hollow; its legs are five inches long, its feet ſix inches and eight lines, and its paws are three inches and a half from the heel to the end of the great toe. Its paws are formed much like a man's hand, and they make uſe of them in feeding as apes do. The five toes are joined like thoſe of a duck, with a membrane of a ſlate colour. It eyes are of the leſſer ſize, in proportion to the bulk of its body, and bear the figure of a rat's eyes. Before its muzzle there are four fore-teeth or cutters, viz. two in each jaw, as in a rabbit, beſides which it has ſixteen grinders, that is, eight in the upper, and as many in the lower mandible. The cutters are above an inch long, and a quarter of an inch broad, being very ſtrong and ſharp like a cutlas; for a beaver aſſiſted by its aſſociates, (if I may ſo call its fellow-beavers) cuts down trees as big as a hogſhead; which I could never have believed, if I had not obſerved with my own eyes, about twenty trunks of trees cut down in that faſhion. A beaver has two lays of hair; one is long, and of a ſhining black colour, with a grain as big as that of man's hair; the other is fine and ſmooth, and in winter fifteen lines long: in a word, the laſt is the fineſt down in the world. The ſkin of ſuch a beaver as I have now deſcribed, will be two pound weight, but the price varies according to the goodneſs. In winter and autumn the fleſh of a beaver eats very well, if it be roaſted. Thus, Sir, I have preſented you with an exact deſcription of theſe reputed amphibious animals which make ſuch ſtructures, that all the art of man can ſcarce equal. Upon another occaſion perhaps I may give you a circumſtantial account of their wonderful ſtructure, which I decline at preſent, becauſe the digreſſion would be too tedious.

To return to my voyage. After our arrival in the bay of Ponteouatamis, we bid adieu to the navigation upon the lakes of Canada; and ſetting out September 30, arrived October 2, at the foot of the fall of Kakalin, after ſtemming ſome little currents in the river of Puants. The next day we accompliſhed the ſmall land-carriage, and on the 5th arrived before the village of Kikapous, in the neighbourhood of which I encamped the next day, in order to receive intelligence. That village ſtands upon the brink of a little lake, in which the ſavages fiſh great quantities of pikes and gudgeons. I found only thirty or forty men fit for war in the place, for the reſt were gone a beaver-hunting ſome days before. The 7th I reimbarked, and rowing hard, made in the evening the little lake of Malominis, where we killed bucks and buſtards enough for ſupper. We went aſhore that night, and built huts for ourſelves upon a point of land that ſhoots out; by break of day I went in a canoe to the village, and after an hour's

conference

conference with ſome of the ſavages, preſented them with two rolls of tobacco, and they, by way of acknowledgement, made me a preſent of two or three ſacks of oat-meal: for the ſides of the lake are covered with a ſort of oats, which grow in tufts, with a tall ſtalk, and of which the ſavages reap plentiful crops. The 9th I arrived at the foot of Outagamis fort, where I found but few people; however, they gave me a very kind reception, for after dancing the calumet before the door of my hut, they made me a preſent of veniſon and fiſh. Next day they conveyed me up the river, to the place where their folks were hunting the beavers. The 11th we embarked, and landed the 13th upon the ſhore of a little lake, where the head of that nation reſided. After we had reared up our huts, that general gave me a viſit, and enquired which way I intended to move. I made anſwer, that I was ſo far from deſigning to march toward the Nadoueſſious, his enemies, that I ſhould not come near them by one hundred leagues; and to confirm the innocence of my intentions, I prayed him to ſend ſix warriors to accompany me to the Long River, which I deſigned to trace up to its ſource. He replied, that he was extremely glad to find that I carried neither arms nor cloaths ſo the Nadoueſſious; that he ſaw I had not the equipage of a coureur de bois, but that on the contrary, I had ſome diſcovery in my view. At the ſame time he cautioned me not to venture too far up that noble river, by reaſon of the multitudes of people that I would find there, though they have no ſtomach for war: he meant, that ſome numerous party might ſurprize me in the night-time. In the mean time, inſtead of the ſix warriors that I deſired, he gave me ten, who underſtood the lingua, and knew the country of the Eokoros, with whom his nation had maintained a peace of twenty years ſtanding. I ſtaid two days with this general, during which time he regaled me nobly, and walked about with me to give me the ſatisfaction of obſerving the diſpoſure of the cottages of the beaver-hunters; a deſcription of which you may expect in another place; I preſented him with a fuſee, twelve flint ſtones, two pounds of powder, four pounds of ball, and a little axe, and I gave each of his two ſons a great coat, and a roll of Braſil tobacco. Two of the ten warriors that he gave me, could ſpeak the language of the Outaouas, which I was well pleaſed with; not that I was a ſtranger to their own language, for between that and the Algonkin there is a great difference, but in regard that there were ſeveral words that puzzled me. My four Outaouas were tranſported with this little reinforcement, and were then ſo encouraged, that they told me above four times, that we might venture ſafely ſo far as the plantation of the ſun. I embarked with this ſmall guard the 16th about noon, and arrived that night at the land-carriage of Ouiſconſinc, which we finiſhed in two days, that is, we left the river of Puants, and tranſported our canoes and baggage to the river Ouiſconſinc, which is not above three quarters of a league diſtant, or thereabouts. I ſhall ſay nothing of the river we left, but that it was muddy, full of ſhelves, and incloſed with a ſteep coaſt, marſhes, and frightful rocks.

The 19th we embarked upon the river Ouiſconſinc, and being favoured by a ſlack current, arrived in four days at the place where it empties itſelf into the river Miſſiſipi; which is about half a league broad in that part. The force of the current, and the breadth of that river is much the ſame as that of the Loire. It lies north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, and its ſides adorned with meadows, lofty trees and firs. I obſerved but two iſlands upon it, though there may be more, which the darkneſs of the night hid from us as we came down. The 23d we landed upon an iſland in the river Miſſiſipi, over againſt the river I ſpoke of but now, and were in hopes to find ſome wild-goats there, but had the ill-fortune to find none. The day after we croſſed to the other ſide of the river, ſounding it every where, as we had done the day before, and found nine

feet water in the ſhalloweſt place. The 2d of November we made the mouth of the Long River, having firſt ſtemmed ſeveral rapid currents of that river, though it was then at the loweſt ebb. In this little paſſage we killed ſeveral wild beeves, which we broiled, and catched ſeveral large dabs. On the 3d we entered the mouth of the Long River, which looks like a lake full of bull-ruſhes; we found in the middle of it a narrow channel, upon which we ſteered till night, and then lay by to ſleep in our canoes. In the morning I enquired of my ten Outagamis, if we had far to ſail before we were clear of the ruſhes, and received this anſwer, that they had never been in the mouth of that river before, though at the ſame time they aſſured me, that about twenty leagues higher the banks of it were clad with wood and meadows. But after all, we did not ſail ſo far, for about ten o'clock next morning the river became pretty narrow; and the ſhore was covered with lofty trees; and after continuing our courſe the reſt of that day, we had a proſpect of meadows now and then. That ſame night we landed at a point of land, with a deſign to dreſs our broiled meat, for at that time we had none freſh. The next day we ſtopped at the firſt iſland we ſaw, in which we found neither man nor beaſt; and the evening drawing near, I was unwilling to venture far into it, ſo we even contented ourſelves with the catching of ſome ſorry fiſh. The 6th a gentle gale ſprung up, which wafted us to another iſland about twelve leagues higher, where we landed. Our paſſage to this place was very quick, notwithſtanding the great calm that always prevails upon the river, which I take to be the leaſt rapid river in the world. But the quickneſs of the paſſage was not the only ſurpriſal, for I was amazed that I ſaw no harts, nor bucks, nor turkies, having met with them all along in the other parts of my diſcovery. The 7th the ſame wind drove us to a third iſland, that lay ten or twelve leagues off the former, which we quitted in the morning. In this third iſland our ſavages killed thirty or forty pheaſants, which I was not ill pleaſed with.

The 8th the wind proving unſerviceable to us, by reaſon that it was intercepted by hills covered with firs, we plied our oars: and about two in the afternoon, deſcried on the left hand large meadows, and ſome huts at the diſtance of a quarter of a league from the river. Upon this diſcovery, our ſavages and ten of the ſoldiers jumped upon the ſhore, and directed their courſe to the houſes, where they found fifty or ſixty huntſmen prepared to receive them, with their bows and arrows. As ſoon as the huntſmen heard the voice of the Outagamis, they threw down their arms, and preſented the company with ſome deer that they had juſt killed, which they likewiſe helped to carry to my canoes. The benefactors were ſome of the Eokoros, who had left their villages, and come thither to hunt. I preſented them, more out of policy, than acknowledgment, with tobacco, knives and needles, which they could not but admire. Upon this, they repaired with expedition to their villages, and gave their aſſociates to underſtand, what a good ſort of people they had met with; which had ſo much influence, that the next day towards the evening, there appeared upon the river ſide above two thouſand ſavages, who fell a dancing as ſoon as they deſcried us; thereupon, our Outagamis went aſhore, and after a ſhort conference, ſome of the principal ſavages embarked on board of our canoes, and ſo we all ſteered to the chief village, which we did not reach till midnight. I ordered our huts to be made up on a point of land near a little river, at the diſtance of a quarter of a league from the village. Though the ſavages preſſed me extremely to lodge in one of their villages, yet none went with them but the Outagamis, and the four Outaouas, who at the ſame time cautioned the ſavages not to approach to our camp in the night time. Next day I allowed my ſoldiers to refreſh and reſt themſelves; and went myſelf to viſit the grandees of this nation, to whom I gave preſents of knives, ſciſſars, needles and tobacco. They gave me to underſtand, that they were infinitely

infinitely well pleaſed with our arrival in their country, for that they had heard the ſavages of other nations ſpeak very honourably of the French. I took leave of them on the 12th, and ſet out with a convoy of five or ſix hundred ſavages, who marched upon the ſhore, keeping pace with our canoes. We paſſed by another village that lay to the right hand, and ſtopped at a third village that was five leagues diſtant from the firſt, but did not diſembark; for all that I deſigned, was to make a preſent to the leading men of the village, from whom I received more Indian corn, and broiled or dried meat, than I occaſion for. In fine, I paſſed from village to village without ſtopping, unleſs it were to incamp all night, or to preſent the ſavages with ſome trinkets; and ſo ſteered on to the laſt village, with a deſign to get ſome intelligence. As ſoon as we arrived at the end of this village, the great governor, who indeed was a venerable old gentleman, ſent out hunters to bring us good cheer. He informed me, that ſixty leagues higher I ſhould meet with the nation of the Eſſanapes, who waged war with him; that if it had not been for their being at war, he would have given me a convoy to their country; that, however, he meant to give up to me ſix ſlaves of that country, which I might carry home, and make uſe of as I ſaw occaſion; and that in ſailing up the river, I had nothing to fear, but the being ſurprized in the night-time. In fine, after he had inſtructed me in ſeveral very uſeful circumſtances, I immediately made every thing ready for my departure. The commanders of this people acquainted me that they had twelve villages peopled by twenty thouſand warriors; that their number was much greater before the war, which they waged at one time with the Nadoneſſis, the Panimoha, and the Eſſanapes. The people are very civil, and ſo far from a wild ſavage temper, that they have an air of humanity and ſweetneſs. Their huts are long, and round at the top, not unlike thoſe of our ſavages, but they are made of reeds and bulruſhes, interlaced and cemented with a ſort of fat earth. Both the men and women go naked all over excepting their privities. The women are not ſo handſome as thoſe who live upon the lakes of Canada. There ſeems to be ſomething of government and ſubordination among this people; and they have their houſes fortified with the branches of trees, and faſcines ſtrengthened with fat earth.

The 21ſt we embarked at the break of day, and landed that night in an iſland covered with ſtones and gravels, having paſſed by another at which I would not put in, becauſe I would not ſlight the opportunity of the wind, which then ſtood very fair. Next day the wind ſtanding equally fair, we ſet out and continued our courſe all that day, and the following night; for the ſix Eſſanapes informed us, that the river was clean, and free from rocks and beds of ſand. The 23d we landed early in the morning on the right ſide of the river, in order to careen one of our boats that ſprung a leak. While that was doing, we dreſt ſome veniſon that had been preſented me by the commander of the laſt village of the Eokoros; and the adjacent country being repleniſhed with woods, the ſavages of our company went a ſhooting in the foreſts; but they ſaw nothing but ſmall fowls, that they did not think fit to ſhoot at. As ſoon as we re-embarked, the wind fell all of a ſudden, and ſo we were forced to ply the oars; but moſt of the crew having ſlept but little the night before, they rowed but very faintly, which obliged me to put in at a great iſland two leagues higher; the ſix Eſſanapes ſlaves having informed me, that this iſland afforded great plenty of hares, which I found to be true. Theſe animals had a lucky inſtinct in taking ſhelter in this iſland, for there the woods are ſo thick, that we were forced to ſet fire to ſeveral places, before we could diſlodge them.

Having made an end of our game, my ſoldiers fed heartily, and thereupon fell ſo ſound aſleep that I could ſcarce get them waked upon a falſe alarm, occaſioned by a herd

herd of wolves that made a noiſe among the thickets upon the continent. We re-embarked next day at ten o'clock in the morning, and did not run above twelve leagues in two days, by reaſon that the ſavages of our company would needs walk along the river ſide with their guns, to ſhoot geeſe and ducks; in which they had very good ſucceſs. After that we encamped juſt by the mouth of a little river on the right hand, and the Eſſanapes ſlaves gave me notice, that the firſt of their villages was not above ſixteen or eighteen leagues off. Upon this information, I ſent, by the advice of the ſavages of our company, two of the ſlaves to give notice of our arrival. The 26th we rowed briſkly, in hopes to reach the firſt village that day; but being retarded by the huge quantities of floating wood that we met in ſeveral places, we were forced to continue all night in our canoes. The 27th about ten or eleven o'clock we approached to the village, and after putting up the great calumet of peace upon the prow of our canoes, lay upon our oars.

Upon our firſt appearance, three or four hundred Eſſanapes came running to the ſhore, and, after dancing juſt over againſt us, invited us aſhore. As ſoon as we came near the ſhore, they began to jump into our canoes; but I gave them to know by the four Eſſanapes ſlaves, that I deſired they ſhould retire, which they did immediately. Then I landed, being accompanied with the ſavages of our company, namely, the Outagamis and the Outaouas, and with twenty ſoldiers. At the ſame time I gave orders to my ſerjeants to land and poſt centries. As we ſtood upon the ſhore, all the Eſſanapes proſtrated themſelves three or four times before us, with their hands upon their foreheads; after which we were conveyed to the village with ſuch acclamations of joy as perfectly ſtunned us. Upon our arrival at the gate, our conductors ſtopped us, till the governor, a man of fifty years of age, marched out with five or ſix hundred men armed with bows and arrows. The Outagamis of my company perceiving this, charged them with inſolence in receiving ſtrangers with their arms about them, and called out in the Eokoros language, that they ought to lay down their arms. But the Eſſanapes ſlaves that I had ſent in the day before, came up to me, and gave me to underſtand, that it was their cuſtom to ſtand to their arms on ſuch occaſions, and that there was no danger in the caſe. However, the obſtinate Outagamis obliged us to retire immediately to our canoes: upon which the leading officer, and the whole battalion, flung their bows and arrows aſide all on a ſudden. Then I returned, and our whole company entered the village with their fuſees in their hands, which the ſavages admired mightily. The leader of the ſavages conducted us to a great hut, which looked as if nobody had lived in it before. When I and my twenty ſoldiers had entered the place, they ſtopped the Outagamis, affirming, that they did not deſerve the privilege of entering within the cottage of peace, ſince they had endeavoured to create a difference, and occaſion a war between us and the Eſſanapes. In the mean time I ordered my men to open the door, and to call out to the Outagamis, that they ſhould offer no manner of injury: but the Outagamis inſtead of coming in, preſſed me to return with all expedition to the canoes, which accordingly I did without loſs of time, and carried with me the four Eſſanapes ſlaves, in order to leave them at the firſt village we came to. We had no ſooner embarked, than the two other ſlaves came to acquaint me that the governor would ſtop me in his river; but the Outagamis made anſwer, that he could not do that without throwing a mountain into it; in fine, we did not ſtand to diſpute the matter; and though it was then late, we rowed ſtraight to the next village, which lay about three leagues off. During the time of this paſſage, I uſed the precaution of taking from my ſix ſlaves an exact information of the conſtitution of their country, and particularly of the principal village. They having aſſured me, that the capital canton was ſeated upon a fort

ſort of a lake, I took up a reſolution of not ſtopping at the other villages, where I ſhould only loſe time, and laviſh my tobacco, and ſteering directly to the metropolitan, in order to complain to their generaliſſimo.

We arrived at the capital canton on the 3d of November, and there met with a very honourable reception. The Outagamis of our company complained of the affront they had received; but the head general being already informed of the matter, made anſwer, that they ought to have carried off the governor or leading officer, and brought him along with them. In paſſing from the firſt village to this, we run fifty leagues, and were followed by a proceſſion of people, that were much more ſociable than the governor that offered us that affront. After our men had fitted up our huts at the diſtance of a cannon-ſhot from the village; we went in a joint body with the Outagamis and the Outaouas, to the cacique of that nation; and in the mean time the Eſſanapes ſlaves were brought before him by ten of my ſoldiers. I was actually in the preſence of this petty King, when theſe ſlaves ſpent half an hour in proſtrating themſelves ſeveral times before him. I made him a preſent of tobacco, knives, needles, ſciſſars, two firelocks with flints, ſome hooks, and a very pretty cutlas. He was better ſatisfied with theſe trifling things, which he had never ſeen before, than I could have been with a plentiful fortune. He teſtified his acknowledgment of the gift, by a counter-preſent that was more ſolid, though not much more valuable, as conſiſting of peaſe, beans, harts, roe-bucks, geeſe and ducks, of which he ſent great plenty to our camp; and indeed, we were extremely well ſatisfied with ſuch a ſeaſonable preſent. He gave me to know, that, ſince I deſigned to viſit the Gnacſitares, he would give me a convoy of two or three hundred men: that the Gnacſitares were a very honeſt ſort of people; and that both they and his people were linked by a common intereſt in guarding of the Mozeemlek, which were a turbulent and warlike nation. He added, that the nation laſt mentioned were very numerous; that they never took the field without twenty thouſand men at leaſt: that to repreſs the incurſions and inſults of that dangerous enemy, the Gnacſitares and his nation had maintained a confederacy for ſix-and-twenty years; and that his allies (the Gnacſitares) were forced to take up their habitation in iſlands, where the enemy cannot reach them. I was glad to accept of his convoy, and returned him many thanks. I aſked four pirogues of him, which he granted very frankly, allowing me to pick and chuſe that number out of fifty. Having thus concerted my meaſures, I was reſolved to loſe no time; and with that view ordered my carpenters to plane the pirogues; by which they were thinner and lighter by one half. The poor innocent people of this country could not conceive how we worked with an axe; every ſtroke we gave they cried out, as if they had ſeen ſome new prodigy; nay, the firing of piſtols could not divert them from that amazement, though they were equally ſtrangers both to the piſtol and the axe. As ſoon as my pirogues were got ready, I left my canoes with the governor or prince, and begged of him that they might remain untouched by any body; in which point he was very faithful to me.

I cannot but acquaint you in this place, that the higher I went up the river, I met with more diſcretion from the ſavages. But in the mean time I muſt not take leave of the laſt village, without giving ſome account of it. It is bigger than all the reſt, and is the reſidence of the great commander or generaliſſimo, whoſe apartment is built by itſelf towards the ſide of the lake, and ſurrounded with fifty other apartments, in which all his relations are lodged. When he walks, his way is ſtrewed with the leaves of trees; but commonly he is carried by ſix ſlaves. His royal robes are of the ſame magnificence with thoſe of the commander of the Okoros: for he is naked all over, excepting

excepting his lower parts, which are covered with a large ſcarf made of the bark of trees. The large extent of this village might juſtly entitle it to the name of a city. The houſes are built almoſt like ovens, but they are large and high; and moſt of them are of reeds cemented with fat earth. The day before I left this place, as I was walking about, I ſaw thirty or forty women running at full ſpeed; and being ſurprized with the ſpectacle, ſpoke to the Outagamis to order my four ſlaves to ſee what the matter was; for theſe ſlaves were my only interpreters in this unknown country. Accordingly they brought me word, that it was ſome new married women, who were running to receive the ſoul of an old fellow that lay dying. From thence I concluded, that the people were Pythagoreans: and upon that apprehenſion, aſked them how they came to eat animals, into which their ſouls might be transfuſed; but they made anſwer, that the tranſmigration of ſouls is always confined to the reſpective ſpecies, ſo that the ſoul of a man cannot enter into a fowl, as that of a fowl cannot be lodged in a quadruped, and ſo on. The Okoros, of both ſexes, are fully as handſome and as clever, as this people.

December the 4th, I took leave of this village, having ten ſoldiers on board of my pirogue, beſides the ten Oumamis, the four Outaouas, and the four Eſſanapes ſlaves, that I have mentioned ſo often. Here ended the credit and authority of the calumet of peace, for the Gnacſitares are not acquainted with that ſymbol of concord. The firſt day we had enough to do to run ſix or ſeven leagues, by reaſon of the bulruſhes with which the lake is encumbered. The two following days we ſailed twenty leagues. The 4th day a weſt-north-weſt wind ſurprized us with ſuch a boiſterous violence, that we were forced to put aſhore, and lay two days upon a ſandy ground, where we were in danger of ſtarving for hunger and cold; for the country was ſo barren, that we could not find a chip of wood wherewith to warm ourſelves, or to dreſs our victuals; and as far as our eye could reach, there was nothing to be ſeen but fens covered with reeds and clay, and naked fields. Having endured this hardſhip we ſet out again, and rowed to a little iſland, upon which we encamped, but found nothing there but green fields; however, to make ſome amends, we fiſhed up great numbers of little trouts, upon which we fed very heartily. At laſt, after ſailing ſix days more, we arrived at the point, or lands-end, of that iſland which you ſee marked in my map with a flower-de-luce. It was then the 19th day of December, and we had not yet felt all the rigorous hardſhips of the cold. As ſoon as I had landed and fitted up my tents or huts, I detached my Eſſanapes ſlaves to the firſt of the three villages that lay before us; for I had avoided ſtopping at ſome villages in an iſland upon which we coaſted in the night-time. The ſlaves returned in a great alarm, occaſioned by the unfavourable anſwer they received from the Gnacſitares, who took us for Spaniards, and were angry with them for conducting us to their country. I ſhall not be minute in every particular that happened, for fear of tiring your patience. It is ſufficient to acquaint you, that upon the report of my ſlaves, I immediately embarked, and poſted myſelf in another iſland that lay in the middle between the great iſland and the continent; but I did not ſuffer the Eſſanapes to be in my camp. In the mean time the Gnacſitares ſent expeditious couriers to the people that live eighty leagues to the ſouthward of them, to deſire they would ſend ſome of their number to examine us; for that people were ſuppoſed to be well acquainted with the Spaniards of New Mexico. The length of the journey did not diſcourage them, for they came as cheerfully as if it had been upon a national concern; and after taking a view of our clothes, our ſwords, our fuzees, our air, complexion, and manner of ſpeech, were forced to own that we were not true Spaniards. Theſe conſiderations, joined to the account I gave them of the reaſons upon which I undertook the voyage, of the war we were engaged in againſt Spain,

Spain, and of the country to the eaſtward that we poſſeſſed; theſe, I ſay, had ſo much influence, as to undeceive them. Then they invited me to encamp in their iſland, and brought me a ſort of grain not unlike our lentils, that grows plentifully in that country. I thanked them for their invitation, and told them, that I would not be obliged to diſtruſt them, nor give them any occaſion to diſtruſt me. However, I croſſed with my ſavages and ten ſoldiers well armed; and after breaking the ice in certain places (for it had frozen hard for ten or twelve days,) I landed within two leagues of one of their villages, to which I walked up by land. It is needleſs to mention the particulars of the ceremony with which I was received, it being the ſame with what I deſcribed upon other occaſions; I ſhall only take occaſion to acquaint you, that my preſents made a wonderful impreſſion upon the minds of theſe people, whom I ſhall call a raſcally rabble, though at the ſame time they are the politeſt nation I have yet ſeen in this country. Their governor bears the figure of a king more than any of the other commanders of the ſavages. He has an abſolute dominion over all the villages which are deſcribed in my map. In this and the other iſlands I ſaw large parks, or incloſures, ſtocked with wild beeves for the uſe of the people. I had an interview for two hours together with the governor, or the cacique; and almoſt our whole conference related to the Spaniards of New Mexico, who, as he aſſured me, were not diſtant from his country above eighty tazous, each of which is three leagues. I muſt own indeed, I was as curious upon this head as he was; and I wanted an account of the Spaniards from him, as much as he did from me; in fine, we reciprocally informed one another of a great many particulars relating to that head. He requeſted me to accept of a great houſe that was prepared for me; and his firſt piece of civility conſiſted in calling in a great many girls, and preſſing me and my retinue to ſerve ourſelves. Had this temptation been thrown in our way at a more ſeaſonable time it had proved irreſiſtible; but it was not an agreeable meſs for paſſengers that were enfeebled by labour and want. *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus.* After he made us ſuch a civil proffer, the ſavages, upon my inſtance, repreſented to him, that my detachment expected me at a certain hour, and that if I ſtaid longer, they would be in pain for me. This adventure happened on the 7th of January.

Two days after, the cacick came to ſee me, and brought with him four hundred of his own ſubjects, and four Mozeemlek ſavages, whom I took for Spaniards. My miſtake was occaſioned by the great difference between theſe two American nations; for, the Mozeemlek ſavages were clothed, they had a thick buſhy beard, and their hair hung down under their ears; their complexion was ſwarthy, their addreſs was civil and ſubmiſſive, their mien grave, and their carriage engaging. Upon theſe conſiderations I could not imagine that they were ſavages, though after all I found myſelf miſtaken. Theſe four ſlaves gave me a deſcription of their country, which the Gnacſitares repreſented by way of a map upon a deer's ſkin; as you ſee it drawn in this map. Their villages ſtand upon a river that ſprings out of a ridge of mountains, from which the long river likewiſe derives its ſource, there being a great many brooks there which by a joint confluence form the river. When the Gnacſitares have a mind to hunt wild beeves, they ſet out in pirogues, which they make uſe of till they come to the croſs marked thus (+) in the map, at the confluence of two little rivers. The hunting of the wild bulls, with which all the valleys are covered in ſummer, is ſometimes the occaſion of a cruel war: for the other croſs (+) which you ſee in the map, is one of the boundaries or limits of Mozeemlek; and if either of theſe two nations advances but a little beyond their limits, it gives riſe to a bloody engagement. The mountains I ſpoke of but now, are ſix leagues broad, and ſo high that one muſt caſt an infinity of

windings and turnings before he can croſs them. Bears and wild beaſts are their only inhabitants.

The Mozeemlek nation is numerous and puiſſant. The four ſlaves of that country informed me ,that at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty leagues from the place where I then was, their principal river empties itſelf into a ſalt lake of three hundred leagues in circumference, the mouth of which is about two leagues broad: that the lower part of that river is adorned with ſix noble cities, ſurrounded with ſtone cemented with fat earth: that the houſes of theſe cities have no roofs, but are open above like a platform, as you ſee them drawn in the map: that beſides the above mentioned cities, there were above an hundred towns, great and ſmall, round that ſort of ſea, upon which they navigate with ſuch boats as you ſee drawn in the map: that the people of that country made ſtuffs, copper, axes, and ſeveral other manufactures, which the Outagamis and my other interpreters could not give me to underſtand, as being altogether unacquainted with ſuch things: that their government was deſpotic, and lodged in the hands of one great head, to whom the reſt paid a trembling ſubmiſſion: that the people upon that lake call themſelves Tahuglauk, and are as numerous as the leaves of trees, (ſuch is the expreſſion that the ſavages uſed for an hyperbole:) that the Mozeemlek people ſupply the cities or towns of the Tahuglauk with great numbers of little calves which they take upon the above-mentioned mountains; and, that the Tahuglauk make uſe of theſe calves for ſeveral ends; for, they not only eat their fleſh, but bring them up to labour, and make cloaths, boots, &c. of their ſkins. They added, that it was their misfortune to be taken priſoners by the Gnacſitares in the war which had laſted for eighteen years; but, that they hoped a peace would be ſpeedily concluded, upon which the priſoners would be exchanged, purſuant to the uſual cuſtom. They gloried in the poſſeſſion of a greater meaſure of reaſon than the Gnacſitares could pretend to, to whom they allow no more than the figure of a man; for they look upon them as beaſts otherwiſe. To my mind, their notion upon this head is not ſo very extravagant; for I obſerved ſo much honour and politeneſs in the converſation of theſe four ſlaves, that I thought I had to do with Europeans: but, after all, I muſt confeſs that the Gnacſitares are the moſt tractable nation I met with among all the ſavages. One of the four Mozeemlek ſlaves had a reddiſh ſort of a copper medal hanging upon his neck, [from the figure it appears to be Japaneſe.] I had it melted by M. De Ponti's gunſmith, who underſtood ſomething of metals; but it became thereupon heavier, and deeper coloured, and withal ſomewhat tractable. I deſired the ſlaves to give me a circumſtantial account of theſe medals; and accordingly they gave me to underſtand, that they are made by the Tahuglauk, who are excellent artizans, and put a great value upon ſuch medals. I could pump nothing farther out of them, with relation to the country, commerce and cuſtoms of that remote nation. All they could ſay was, that the great river of that nation runs all along weſtward, and that the ſalt lake into which it falls, is three hundred leagues in circumference, and thirty in breadth, its mouth ſtretching a great way to the ſouthward. I would fain have ſatisfied my curioſity in being an eye-witneſs of the manners and cuſtoms of the Tahuglauk; but that being impracticable, I was forced to be inſtructed at ſecond hand by theſe Mozeemlek ſlaves; who aſſured me, upon the faith of a ſavage, that the Tahuglauk wear their beards two fingers breadth long: that their garments reach down to their knees; that they cover their heads with a ſharp pointed cap; that they always wear a long ſtick or cane in their hands, which is tipped, not unlike what we uſe in Europe; that they wear a ſort of boots upon their legs which reach up to the knee; that their women never ſhew themſelves, which perhaps proceeds from the

ſame principle that prevails in Italy and Spain; and, in fine, that this people are always at war with the puiſſant nations that are ſeated in the neighbourhood of the lake; but withal, that they never diſquiet the ſtrolling nations that fall in their way, by reaſon of their weakneſs: an admirable leſſon for ſome princes in the world, who are ſo much intent upon the making uſe of the ſtrongeſt hand.

This was all I could gather upon that ſubject. My curioſity prompted me to deſire a more particular account; but unluckily I wanted a good interpreter; and having to do with ſeveral perſons that did not well underſtand themſelves, I could make nothing of their incoherent fuſtian. I preſented the poor miſerable ſlaves with ſomething in proportion to the cuſtom of that country, and endeavoured to perſuade them to go with me to Canada, by making them ſuch offers as in their eſteem would appear like mountains of gold; but the love they had for their country ſtifled all perſuaſions; ſo true it is, that nature reduced to its juſt limits cares but little for riches.

In the mean time it began to thaw, and the wind chopped about to the ſouth-weſt; upon which I gave notice to the great cacique of the Gnacſitares, that I had a mind to return to Canada. Upon that occaſion I repeated my preſents; in compenſation of which, my pirogues were ſtowed with beef as full as they could hold. This done, I embarked, and croſſed over from the little iſland to the continent, where I fixed a great long pole, with the arms of France done upon a plate of lead. I ſet out the 26th of January, and arrived ſafe on the 5th of February in the country of the Eſſanapes. We had much more pleaſure in ſailing down the river than we had in going up; for we had the agreeable diverſion of ſeeing ſeveral huntſmen ſhooting the water-fowl, that are plentiful on that river. You muſt know, that the ſtream of the long river is all along very ſlack and eaſy, abating for about three leagues between the fourteenth and fifteenth village; for there indeed its current may be called rapid. The channel is ſo ſtraight, that it ſcarce winds at all from the head to the lake. It is true it is not very pleaſant; for moſt of its banks have a diſmal proſpect, and the water itſelf has an ugly taſte; but then its uſefulneſs atones for ſuch inconveniencies; for, it is navigable with the greateſt eaſe, and will bear barks of fifty ton, till you come to that place which is marked with a fleur-de-lis in the map, and where I put up the poſt that my ſoldiers chriſtened La Hontan's Limit. March 2, I arrived in the Miſſiſipi, which was then much deeper and more rapid than before, by reaſon of the rains and land-floods. To ſave the labour of rowing; we then left our boats to the current, and arrived on the 10th in the iſland of Rencontres, which took its name from the defeat of four hundred Iroqueſe accompliſhed there by three hundred Nadoueſſis. The ſtory of the encounter is briefly this: a party of four hundred Iroqueſe having a mind to ſurpriſe a certain people in the neighbourhood of the Otentas (of whom more anon) marched to the country of the Illineſe, where they built canoes, and were furniſhed with proviſions. After that they embarked upon the river Miſſiſipi, and were diſcovered by another little fleet that was ſailing down the other ſide of the ſame river. The Iroqueſe croſſed over immediately to that iſland, which is ſince called Aux Rencontres, The Nadoueſſis, i. e. the other little fleet, being ſuſpicious of ſome ill deſign, without knowing what people they were, (for they had no knowledge of the Iroqueſe but by hear-ſay); upon this ſuſpicion, I ſay, they tugged hard to come up with them. The two armies poſted themſelves upon the point of the iſland, where the two croſſes are put down in the map; and as ſoon as the Nadoueſſis came in ſight, the Iroqueſe cried out in the Illineſe language, Who are ye? to which the Nadoueſſis anſwered, Some body: and putting the like queſtion to the Iroqueſe, received the ſame anſwer. Then the Iroqueſe put this queſtion to them, Where are you going? To hunt beeves, replied the Nadoueſſis.

But,

But, pray, ſays the Nadoueſſis, what is your buſineſs? To hunt men, replied the Iroqueſe. It is well, ſays the Nadoueſſis, we are men, and ſo you need go no farther. Upon this challenge the two parties diſembarked, and the leader of the Nadoueſſis cut his canoes to pieces; and after repreſenting to his warriors that they behoved either to conquer or die, marched up to the Iroqueſe; who received them at firſt onſet with a cloud of arrows: but the Nadoueſſis having ſtood their firſt diſcharge, which killed them eighty men, fell in upon them with their clubs in their hands, before the others could charge again; and ſo routed them entirely. This engagement laſted for two hours, and was ſo hot, that two hundred and ſixty Iroqueſe fell upon the ſpot, and the reſt were all taken priſoners. Some of the Iroqueſe indeed attempted to make their eſcape after the action was over; but the victorious general ſent ten or twelve of his men to purſue them in one of the canoes that he had taken; and accordingly they were all overtaken and drowned. The Nadoueſſis having obtained this victory, cut off the noſes and ears of two of the cleverеſt priſoners; and ſupplying them with fuſees, powder and ball, gave them the liberty of returning to their own country, in order to give their countrymen to underſtand that they ought not to employ women to hunt after men any longer.

The 12th we arrived at the village of the Otentas, where we took in a plentiful proviſion of Turkey corn, of which theſe people have great ſtore. They informed us, that their river was pretty rapid, and took its riſe from the neighbouring mountains; and that the upper part of it was adorned with ſeveral villages inhabited by the people called Panimaha, Paneaſſa, and Panetonka. But conſidering that I was ſtraitened for time, and that I ſaw no probability of learning what I wanted to know with reference to the Spaniards, I took leave of them the next day, which was the 13th, and in four days time, by the help of the current and our oars, made the river of the Miſſouris. This done, we run up againſt the ſtream of that river, which was at leaſt as rapid as the Miſſiſippi was at that time; and arrived on the 18th at the firſt village of the Miſſouris, where I only ſtopped to make the people ſome preſents that procured me a hundred turkeys, with which that people are wonderfully well ſtocked. After that, we rowed hard againſt the ſtream, and landed next night near the ſecond village. As ſoon as I arrived, I detached a ſerjeant with ten ſoldiers to convoy the Outagamis to the village, while the reſt of my crew were buſied in fitting up our huts and unloading our canoes. It happened unluckily that neither the ſoldiers nor the Outagamis could make the ſavages underſtand them; and the latter were juſt ready to fall upon them, when an old fellow cried out, that the ſtrangers were not without more company, for that he had diſcovered our huts and canoes. Upon this, the ſoldiers and the Outagamis retired in a great conſternation, and adviſed me to keep a ſtrong guard all night. About two o'clock in the morning two men approached to our little camp, and called, in Illineſe, that they wanted an interview; upon which the Outagamis, being extremely well ſatisfied that there was ſomebody among them who could underſtand what they ſaid, replied in Illineſe, that they ſhould be very welcome as ſoon as the ſun appeared in the horizon. Nevertheleſs, the Outagamis reſented the former affront ſo much, that they importuned me all night long to ſet fire to the village, and put all the ſcoundrel inhabitants to the ſword. I made anſwer to them, that it was our buſineſs to be wiſer than they, and to bend our thoughts, not upon a fruitleſs revenge, but upon the diſcovery that we were then in queſt of. At the break of day the two adventurers of the night came up to us, and after putting interrogatories to us for the ſpace of two hours, invited us to come up to their village. The Outagamis replied, that the head or governor of their nation ought to have ſaluted us ſooner; and this

obliged

obliged them to go back to give him notice. After that we ſaw nobody for three hours; but at laſt, when our impatience was juſt beginning to boil, we perceived the governor, who accoſted us in a trembling poſture. He was accompanied with ſome of his own men, who were loaded with broiled or dried meat, ſacks of Turkey or Indian corn, dried raiſins, and ſome ſpeckled or party-coloured buck-ſkins. In conſideration of this preſent, I made them another of leſs conſequence. Then I brought on a conference between the Outagamis of my company and the two night-meſſengers, in order to make ſome diſcovery of the nature of the country; but they ſtill ſtopped our mouths with this anſwer, that they knew nothing of the matter, but that the other nations that lived higher up, were able to inform us. Had I been of the ſame mind with the Outagamis, we had done noble exploits in this place; but I conſidered that it was my buſineſs to purchaſe the knowledge of ſeveral things, which I could not obtain by burning the village. To be ſhort, we re-embarked that ſame day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and rowed about four leagues up the river, where we made the river of the Oſages, and encamped by its mouth. That night we had ſeveral falſe alarms from the wild beeves, upon which we made ſufficient repriſals afterwards; for the next day we killed many of them notwithſtanding that it rained ſo heavily that we could ſcarce ſtir out of our huts. Towards the evening, when the rain was over, and while we were tranſporting two or three of theſe beeves to our little camp, we eſpied an army of the ſavages upon a full march towards us. Upon that, my men began to entrench themſelves, and to unload their pieces with worms, in order to charge them afreſh; but one of the pieces happening to go off, the whole body of the enemy diſappeared, ſome ſtraggling one way and ſome another; for theſe people were upon the ſame foot with the nations that live upon the Long River, foraſmuch as neither of them had ever ſeen or handled fire-arms. However, this adventure moved the Outagamis ſo much, that to ſatisfy them, I was obliged to re-embark that very night, and return the ſame way that I came. Towards midnight we came before a village, and kept a profound ſilence till day-break, at which time we rowed up to their fort; and upon our entering there, and diſcharging our pieces in the air, the women, children, and ſuperannuated men were put into ſuch a conſternation, that they run from place to place calling out for mercy. You muſt know, all their warriors were abroad, and it was a body of them that offered to attack us the day before. The Outagamis perceiving the conſternation of the women and children, called out, that they behoved to depart the village, and that the women ſhould have time to take up their children. Upon that the whole crew turned out, and we ſet fire to the village on all ſides. This done, we purſued our courſe down that rapid river, and entered the river Miſſiſipi on the 25th, early in the morning; the 26th, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we deſcried three or four hundred ſavages employed in the hunting of beeves, which ſwarmed in all the meads to the weſtward. As ſoon as the hunters ſpied us, they made a ſign that we ſhould make towards them. Being ignorant who, or how numerous they were, we made a halt at firſt, but at laſt we put in about a muſket-ſhot above them, calling out to them that they ſhould not approach to us in a body. Upon that, four of their number came up to us with a ſmiling countenance, and gave us to know, in the Illineſe language, that they were Akanſas. We could not but credit their report, for they had knives and ſciſſars hanging upon their necks, and little axes about them, which the Illineſe preſent them with when they meet; in fine, being aſſured that they were of that nation, which M. de la Salle and ſeveral other Frenchmen were intimately acquainted with, we landed at the ſame place; and they entertained us firſt with dancing and ſinging, and then with all ſorts of meat. The next day they ſhewed us a crocodile that

they had knocked on the head two days before, by a ſtratagem that you'll find deſcribed in another place : after that they gave us the diverſion of a hunting-match ; for it is cuſtomary with them, when they mean to divert themſelves, to catch the beeves by the different methods laid down in this cut. I put ſome queſtions to them relating to the Spaniards, but they could not reſolve them. All that I learned from them was, that the Miſſouris and the Oſages are numerous and miſchievous nations, equally void both of courage and honeſty ; that their countries were watered with very great rivers; and, in a word, were too good for them.

After we had ſpent two days with them, we purſued our voyage to the river Ouabach, taking care to watch the crocodiles very narrowly, of which they had told us incredible ſtories. The next day we entered the mouth of that river, and ſounded it, to try the truth of what the ſavages reported of its depth. In effect, we found there three fathom and a half water ; but the ſavages of our company alledged, that it was more ſwelled than uſually. They all agreed, that it was navigable an hundred leagues up, and I wiſhed heartily, that my time had allowed me to run up to its ſource ; but that being unſeaſonable, I ſailed up againſt the ſtream, till we came to the river of the Illineſe, which we made on the 9th of April with ſome difficulty, for the wind was againſt us the firſt two days, and the currents were very rapid.

All I can ſay of the river Miſſiſippi, now that I am to take leave of it, is, that its narroweſt part is half a league over, and the ſhalloweſt is a fathom and a half deep ; and that according to the information of the ſavages, its ſtream is pretty gentle for ſeven or eight months of the year. As for ſhelves or banks of ſand, I met with none in it. It is full of iſles which look like groves, by reaſon of the great plenty of trées, and in the verdant ſeaſon of the year afford a very agreeable proſpect. Its banks are woods, meadows and hills. I cannot be poſitive, whether it winds much in other places ; but as far as I could ſee, its courſe is very different from that of our rivers in France ; for I muſt tell you, by the way, that all the rivers of America run pretty ſtraight.

The river of the Illineſe is intitled to riches, by virtue of the benign climate, and of the great quantity of deer, roe-bucks, and turkies that feed upon its banks ; not to mention ſeveral other beaſts and fowls, a deſcription of which would require an entire volume. If you ſaw but my journal, you would be ſick of the tedious particulars of our daily adventures both in hunting and fiſhing divers ſpecies of animals, and in rencounters with the ſavages. In ſhort, the laſt thing I ſhall mention of this river, is, that the banks are repleniſhed with an infinity of fruit-trees, which we ſaw in a diſmal condition, as being ſtripped of their verdure ; and that among theſe fruit-trees there are many vines which bear moſt beautiful cluſters of very large grapes. I ate ſome of theſe grapes dried in the ſun, which had a moſt delicious taſte. The beavers are as unfrequent in this, as in the long river, where I ſaw nothing but otters, of which the people make furs for the winter.

I ſet out from the Illineſe river on the 10th of April, and by the help of a weſt-ſouth-weſt wind, arrived in ſix days at the fort of Crevecoeur, where I met with M. de Tonti, who received me with all imaginable civility, and is juſtly reſpected and honoured by the Iroqueſe. I ſtayed three days in this fort, where there were thirty coureurs de bois that traded with the Illineſe. The 20th I arrived at the village of the Illineſe ; and to leſſen the drudgery of a great land-carriage of twelve great leagues, engaged four hundred men to tranſport our baggage, which they did in the ſpace of four days, being encouraged by a bribe of a great roll of Brazil tobacco, an hundred pound weight of powder, two hundred weight of ball, and ſome arms, which I gave to the moſt conſiderable

rable men of their number. The 24th I arrived at Chekakou, where my Outagamis took leave of me in order to return to their own country, being very well ſatisfied with a preſent I made them of ſome fuſees, and ſome piſtols. The 25th I re-embarked, and by rowing hard in a calm, made the river of the Oumamis on the 28th, there I met four hundred warriors, upon the very ſame place where M. de la Salle had formerly built a fort. Theſe warriors were then employed in burning three Iroqueſe, who, as they ſaid, deſerved the puniſhment; and invited us to ſhare in the pleaſure of the ſhow: for the ſavages take it very ill if one refuſes the diverſion of ſuch real tragedies. The tragical ſpectacle made me ſhrink, for the poor wretches were put to inconceivable torture; and upon that I reſolved to re-embark with all expedition; alledging for an apology, that my men had great ſtore of brandy with them, and would certainly make themſelves drunk, in ſolemniſing their victory, upon which they would be apt to commit diſorders, that I could not poſſibly prevent. Accordingly I went immediately on board, and after coaſting along the lake, croſſed the bay de l'Ours, and landed at Miſſilimakinac the 22d.

I am informed by the Sieur de S. Pierre de Rapantigni, who travelled from Quebec hither upon the ice, that M. de Denonville has taken up a reſolution of making a peace with the Iroqueſe, in which he means to comprehend the other nations that are his allies; and with that view had given notice to his allies, that they ſhould not infeſt the Iroqueſe. He acquaints me further, that M. de Denonville has ſent orders to the governor of this place, to perſuade the *Rat*, (one of the commanders of the Hurons,) to go down to the colony, with a deſign to have him hanged; and that the ſavage general being aware of the deſign, has made a public declaration, that he will go thither on purpoſe to defy him. Accordingly, he deſigns to ſet out to-morrow with a great body of Outaouas, and ſome coureurs de bois, under the command of M. Dulhut. As for the ſoldiers of my detachment, I have diſperſed them in ſeveral canoes among the ſavages and the coureurs de bois; but having ſome buſineſs to adjuſt in this place, I am obliged to tarry myſelf ſeven or eight days longer.

This, Sir, is the true account of my little voyage. I have related nothing but the eſſential circumſtances; chooſing to overlook the reſt, which are ſo trifling as to be unworthy of your curioſity. As for the Illineſe lake, it is three hundred leagues in circumference, as you may ſee by the ſcale of leagues upon the map. It is ſeated in an admirable climate; its banks are cloathed with fine and tall trees, and have but few meads. The river of the Oumamis is not worth your regard. The bay de l'Ours qui dort, is of an indifferent large extent, and receives the river upon which the Outaouas are wont to hunt beavers every third year; in ſhort, it has neither ſhelves, rocks, nor banks of ſand. The land which bounds it on the ſouth ſide, is repleniſhed with roebucks, deer, and turkeys. Farwell, good Sir, and aſſure yourſelf, that it will always be a ſenſible pleaſure to me, to amuſe you with an account of the greateſt curioſities I meet with.

But now, Sir, I hope you will not take it ill, that the relation I here give you, is only an abridgment of my voyage; for, in earneſt, to be minute upon every particular curioſity, would require more time and leiſure than I can ſpare. I have here ſent you a view of the ſubſtantial part, and ſhall afterwards hope for an opportunity of recounting to you by word of mouth, an infinity of adventures, rencounters, and obſervations, which may call up the reflecting faculty of thinking men. My own thought is too ſuperficial to philoſophize upon the origin, the belief, the manners and cuſtoms of ſo many ſavages, or to make any advances with reference to the extent of this continent to the weſtward. I have contented myſelf with offering ſome thoughts upon the cauſes

of the bad ſucceſs of the diſcoveries, that ſeveral experienced men have attempted in America, both by ſea and land: and I flatter myſelf, that my thoughts upon that head are juſt. The freſh inſtances of M. de la Salle, and ſeveral other unlucky diſcoverers, may afford a ſufficient and ſeaſonable caution to thoſe, who for the future ſhall undertake to diſcover all the unknown countries of this new world. It is not every one that is qualified for ſuch an enterprize, *non licet omnibus adire Corinthum.* It were an eaſy matter to trace the utmoſt limits of the country that lies to the weſt of Canada, provided it be gone about in a proper method. In the firſt place, inſtead of canoes, I would have ſuch adventurers to make uſe of certain ſloops of a peculiar ſtructure, which might draw but little water, and be portable, as being made of light wood, and withal carry thirteen men, with thirty-five or forty hundred weight of ſtowage, and be able to bear the ſhock of the waves in the great lakes. Courage, health, and vigilance, are not ſufficient of themſelves to qualify a man for ſuch adventures; he ought to be poſſeſſed of other talents, which are rarely met with in one and the ſame perſon. The conduct of the three hundred men that accompanied me upon this diſcovery, gave me a great deal of trouble. It requires a large ſtock of induſtry and patience to keep ſuch a company up to their duty. Sedition, mutinies, quarrels, and an infinity of diſorders frequently take place among thoſe, who being in remote and ſolitary places, think they have a right of uſing force againſt their ſuperiors. One muſt diſſemble, and even ſhut his eyes upon occaſion, leaſt the growing evil ſhould be inflamed: the gentleſt methods are the ſureſt for him that commands in chief; and if any mutiny or ſeditious plot is in view, it is the buſineſs of the inferior officers to ſtifle it, by perſuading the mutineers that the diſcovery of ſuch things to the commanding officer would create a great deal of uneaſineſs. So, the chief officer muſt ſtill make as if he were ignorant of what paſſes, unleſs it be, that the flame breaks out in his preſence; then indeed he lies under an indiſpenſible obligation of inflicting ſpeedy and private puniſhment, without his prudence directs him to put off the execution, upon an apprehenſion of ſome pernicious conſequences that may enſue thereupon. In ſuch voyages he muſt overlook a thouſand things, which upon other occaſions he has all reaſon to puniſh. He muſt counterfeit a downright ignorance of their intrigues with the ſhe-ſavages, of their quarrels among themſelves, of their negligence in not mounting the guard, and not obſerving the other points of duty; in a word, he muſt pretend to know nothing of an infinity of ſuch diſorders, as have no direct tendency to a revolt. He ought to uſe the precaution of ſingling out a ſpy in his little army, and reward him handſomely for a dexterous intelligence as to all that happens; to the end that he may remedy the growing diſorders either directly or indirectly. This ſpy may, by good management, and due ſecrecy, find out the ringleader of a club or cabal; and when the commanding officer has received ſuch ſatisfaction upon the matter, that there is no room left to doubt of the criminal's demerit, it will then be very convenient to make away with him, and that with ſuch management, that nobody ſhould know what became of him.

Farther, he ought to give them tobacco and brandy now and then, to aſk their advice upon ſome occaſions, to fatigue them as little as poſſible, to call them up to dance and make merry, and at the ſame time to exhort them to live in a good underſtanding with one another. The beſt topic he can make uſe of for enforcing their duty, is religion, and the honour of their country, and this he ought to deſcant upon himſelf; for though I have a great deal of faith in the power of the clergy, yet I know that ſort of men does more harm than good in voyages of this nature; and for that reaſon I would chooſe to be without their company. The perſon who undertakes to go upon a diſ-

covery

covery ought to be very nice and cautious in the choice of his men; for every one is not fit for his buſineſs. His men ought to be between thirty and forty years of age, of a dry conſtitution, of a peaceable temper, of an active and bold ſpirit, and inured to the fatigues of voyages. The whole retinue muſt conſiſt of three hundred men; and of that number there muſt be ſome ſhip-carpenters, gunſmiths, and ſawyers, with all their tools; beſides huntſmen and fiſhermen, with their tackling. You muſt likewiſe have ſurgeons among them; but their cheſt ought to contain nothing but razors, lancets, external medicines for wounds, orvietan and ſenna. All the men of the detachment ought to be provided with buff-coats and boots to turn the arrows; for, as I intimated above, the ſavages of the unknown countries are ſtrangers to fire-arms. They muſt be armed with a double-barrelled gun, a double-barrelled piſtol, and a good long ſword. The commanding officer muſt take care to provide a ſufficient quantity of the ſkins of deer, elks, and beeves, in order to be ſewed together, and hung round his camps upon certain ſtakes fixed at convenient diſtances from one another. I had as many as would go round a ſquare of thirty feet every way, for each ſkin being five feet deep, and almoſt four feet broad, I made two pieces of eight ſkins a-piece, which were raiſed and extended in a minute. Beſides theſe, he ought to carry with him ſome pot-guns of eight foot in length, and ſix in breadth; with two hand-mills for grinding the Indian corn, nails of all ſizes, pickaxes, ſpades, hatchets, hooks, ſoap, and cotton to make candles of; above all, he muſt not forget to take in good ſtore of powder, brandy, Braſil tobacco, and ſuch things as he muſt preſent to the ſavages whoſe country he diſcovers; add to this cargo, an aſtrolabe, a ſemicircle, ſeveral ſea-compaſſes, ſome ſimple and ſome of variation, a loadſtone, two large watches of three inches diameter; pencils, colours, and paper for making journals and maps, for the deſigning of land-creatures, fowl, fiſh, trees, plants, grain, and, in a word, whatever ſeems worthy of his curioſity. I would likewiſe adviſe him to carry with him ſome trumpeters and fiddlers, both for animating his retinue, and raiſing the admiration of the ſavages. With this equipage, Sir, a man of ſenſe, conduct, and action, I mean, a man that is vigilant, prudent, cautious, and above all, patient and moderate, and qualified for contriving expedients upon all occaſions; a man, I ſay, thus qualified, and thus fitted out, may boldly go to all the countries that lie to the weſt of Canada, without any apprehenſion of danger. As for my own part, I ſeriouſly declare, that if I were poſſeſſed of all theſe qualities, I ſhould eſteem it my happineſs to be employed upon ſuch an enterpriſe, both for the glory of His Majeſty, and my own ſatisfaction: for the continued diverſity of objects did ſo charm me in my voyages, that I had ſcarce time to reflect upon the fatigue and trouble that I underwent. I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XVII.

Dated at Quebec, Sept. 28, 1689.

The Author ſets out from Miſſilimakinac to the Colony, and deſcribes the Country, Rivers, and Paſſes, that he ſaw by the Way. The Iroqueſe make a fatal Incurſion into the Iſland of Monreal; Fort Frontenac is abandoned; Count Frontenac is ſent to Canada, and the Marquis of Denonville is recalled.

SIR,

I WRIT to you from Miſſilimakinac on the 28th of May. I left that place June the 8th, and ſet out for Monreal, accompanied with twelve Outaouas, who were

divided into two canoes, and rowed very hard. The 23d I overtook the coureurs de bois in the river Creuſe, who had got the ſtart of me for ſome days. Mr. Dalhut uſed his utmoſt efforts to diſſuade me from going further with ſo weak a retinue. He would have had me to go down along with him, and remonſtrated to me, that if my twelve conductors perceived either in the land-carriage or upon the rivers, any thing that might call up an apprehenſion of falling into the hands of the Iroqueſe, they would deſert me and the canoes, and fly to the woods to avoid the enemy. I rejected his advice, though I had like to have repented of my reſolution not long after; for according to his prediction, my canoe-men threatened to run away to the foreſts, at the fall called Long Saut: and, indeed, if they had done it, I had followed them, upon the reflection, that of two evils a man ought to chooſe the leaſt; but this ſtorm blew over. In the great river of the Outaouas, not far from the river of Lievre, I met M. de St. Helene at the head of a party of the coureurs de bois, who was bound for Hudſon's Bay, in order to retake ſome forts that the Engliſh had ſeized upon. He acquainted me with the Prince of Orange's expedition for England; and gave me to underſtand, that upon his arrival, King James retired to France, and that the Prince was proclaimed King; which ſeemed to preſage a bloody and ſharp war in Europe. I aſſure you, Sir, this piece of news ſurprized me extremely; and notwithſtanding that I had it from the mouth of a man whoſe word I rely very much upon, yet I had all the difficulty in the world to make myſelf believe that a revolution of ſuch importance could be accompliſhed in ſo ſhort a time, without the effuſion of blood; eſpecially, conſidering what a ſtrict alliance there was between our court and the court of England, and how much it was the intereſt of both theſe monarchs to give mutual aſſiſtance to one another. July the 9th I arrived at Monreal, after venturing down ſeveral fearful cataracts in the river of the Outaouas, and enduring the hardſhips of fifteen or twenty land-carriages, ſome of which are above a league in length.

The navigation is pretty ſure from Miſſilimakinac to the river des Francois; for in coaſting along the Lake of Hurons, we meet with an infinity of iſlands, which ſerve for a ſhelter. But in going up that river, there is ſome difficulty; for it has five cataracts which oblige us to turn out and carry all over-land for thirty, fifty, and a hundred paces. Having paſſed that river, we entered the lake of the Nepicerinis, from whence we are forced to tranſport our canoes and baggage two leagues over-land, to another river which has ſix or ſeven water-falls that we commonly ſhoot. From that river we have another land-carriage to the river Creuſe, which falls with rapid currents into the great river of the Outaouas, near a place called Mataouan. We continue our courſe upon this great river, till we come to the point of the iſland of Monreal, where it is loſt in the great river of St. Lawrence. Theſe two rivers join one another with very gentle ſtreams, and quitting their fearful channels, form the little Lake of St. Louis. I thought to have loſt my life at the fall, called the Fall of St. Louis, about three leagues from Monreal; for our canoe having overſet in the eddy, I was carried by the current to the foot of that cataract, from whence the Chevalier de Vaudreuil dragged me out by a great chance. The canoes and the ſkins belonging to the ſix ſavages were loſt; and one of the ſavages was drowned. This is the only time I was in danger through the whole courſe of my voyages. As ſoon as I landed here, I repaired with diligence to a tavern to refreſh myſelf, and to make up the loſſes I had ſuſtained by a neceſſary abſtinence. The next day I waited upon M. de Denonville and M. de Champigni, to whom I gave an account of my voyages, and withal, gave in the news that a great company of the coureurs de bois and ſavages would arrive very ſpeedily; which they did accordingly, after fifteen days. The Rat I mentioned above,

came down hither, and returned home notwithſtanding the threats that were levelled againſt him. By this adventure, he ſhewed that he laughed at their intrigues. But now that I have mentioned his name, I cannot forbear mentioning a malicious ſtratagem that this cunning ſavage made uſe of laſt year, to prevent the concluſion of a peace between M. de Denonville and the Iroqueſe.

This ſavage is the general and chief counſellor of the Hurons; he is a man of forty years of age, and brave in his way. When he found himſelf preſſed and importuned by M. de Denonville, to enter into the alliance concluded in the year 1687, that I took notice of before; he at laſt complied with his deſire, with this reſerve, that the war ſhould not be put to an end till the Iroqueſe were totally routed. This clauſe the governor promiſed to make good, and gave him aſſurances to that purpoſe on the 3d of September, in the ſame year, which happened about two days before I ſet out from Niagara upon my voyage to the great lakes. Thisſavage general relying upon M. de Denonville's promiſe, marched from Miſſilimakinac at the head of an hundred warriors, as I inſinuated in my 14th letter, in order to invade the Iroqueſe country, and atchieve ſome glorious feats among them. In the mean time, to carry on his deſign the more cautiouſly, he thought it proper to paſs by the way of Fort Frontenac, where he might receive ſome intelligence. Upon his arrival at this fort, the governor told him, that M. de Denonville was negotiating a peace with the five Iroqueſe nations, whoſe ambaſſadors and hoſtages he expected in a ſhort time in order to conclude and ratify the peace, he having orders to conduct them to Monreal: and that upon that conſideration, it was moſt proper for him and his warriors to return home, and to paſs no further. The ſavage general was mightily ſurpriſed with this unexpected piece of news; eſpecially conſidering that by the means of that peace he and his nation would be given up as a ſacrifice for the welfare of the French. When the governor had made an end of his remonſtrance, the Rat acknowledged, that what he offered was very reaſonable, but withal, that inſtead of following his advice, he would go and tarry for the Iroqueſe ambaſſadors and hoſtages at the cataracts, by which they were obliged to paſs. He had not tarried there above five or ſix days before the unhappy deputies arrived with a train of forty young men, who were all either killed or taken as they diſembarked. The priſoners were no ſooner fettered than this crafty general of the Hurons repreſented to them, that the French governor had ſent him notice to take up that poſt, in order to lie in wait for a party of fifty warriors, that were to paſs that way at a certain ſet time. The Iroqueſe being much ſurpriſed with the apprehenſion of the perfidiouſneſs that he charged upon M. de Denonville, acquainted the Rat with the deſign upon which they came. Upon that the Rat counterfeited a ſort of rage and fury; and to play his cards the better, flew out in invectives againſt M. de Denonville, declaring, that ſome time or other he would be revenged upon that governor, for making him the inſtrument of the moſt barbarous treachery that ever was acted. Then he fixed his eyes upon all the priſoners, among whom was the chief ambaſſador called Theganeſorens, and ſpoke to this purpoſe; Go, my brethren, though I am at war with you, yet I releaſe you, and allow you to go home. It is the governor of the French that put me upon this black action, which I ſhall never be able to digeſt, unleſs your five nations revenge themſelves, and make their juſt repriſals. This was ſufficient to convince the Iroqueſe of the ſincerity of his words; and they aſſured him upon the ſpot, that if he had a mind to make a ſeparate peace, the five nations would agree to it: however, the Rat having loſt one man in this adventure, kept an Iroqueſe ſlave to ſupply the place of the man he had loſt: and after furniſhing the priſoners with guns, powder, and ball, in order to their return homeward, marched to Miſſilimakinac, where he preſented the French governor

with

with the ſlave that he brought off. The poor wretch was no ſooner delivered than he was condemned to be ſhot; for at that time the French garriſon did not know that M. de Denonville deſigned to clap up a peace with the Iroqueſe. The condemned priſoner gave an account of his adventure, and that of the ambaſſadors; but the French thought that the fear of death made the fellow talk idly, and were confirmed in that thought, by hearing the Rat and his men ſay, that he was light-headed; inſomuch, that the poor fellow was put to death notwithſtanding all the reaſons he could offer. The ſame day that he was ſhot, the Rat called an old Iroqueſe ſlave that had ſerved him a long while, and told him, he had reſolved to allow him the liberty of returning to his own country, and ſpending the reſt of his days among his friends and countrymen. At the ſame time he gave him to know, that ſince he had been an eye-witneſs of the barbarous uſage that his countryman had met with from the French, notwithſtanding what he offered in his own defence, it behoved him to acquaint his countrymen with the blackneſs of that action. The manumitted ſlave obeyed his orders ſo punctually, that ſoon after the Iroqueſe made an incurſion, at a time when the governor did not dream of any ſuch thing, for he had uſed the precaution of giving the Iroqueſe to underſtand, that he diſallowed of the Rat's treachery, inſomuch that he had a mind to have him hanged; and upon this proſpect, expected hourly ten or twelve deputies to conclude the peace he ſo much deſired.

In effect the deputies did come, but neither their number nor their deſign was ſuitable to what the governor had promiſed to himſelf. Twelve hundred warriors landed at the lands-end of the iſland of Monreal, and burnt and ſacked all the plantations in that quarter: they maſſacred men, women, and children; and Madame de Denonville, who was then at Monreal with her huſband, did not think herſelf ſafe in that place. A general conſternation was ſpread all about; for the barbarians were not above three leagues from Monreal. They burnt all the adjacent ſettlements, and blocked up two forts. M. de Denonville ſent out a detachment of a hundred ſoldiers and fifty ſavages to oppoſe them, being unwilling to ſpare a greater number out of the city: but all the men of the detachment were either taken or cut in pieces, excepting twelve ſavages, one ſoldier, and M. de Longueil who commanded the party, and was carried off by the twelve ſavages after his thigh was broke: the other officers, namely, the Sieurs de la Raberre, Denis, la Plante, and Villedenè, were all taken priſoners. In a word, the barbarians laid almoſt the whole iſland waſte, and loſt only three men, who having drank to exceſs of the wine they found in the plantations, were decoyed into a fort by a Canadeſe cow-keeper, that had been their ſlave for ſome years. As ſoon as the three unfortunate Iroqueſe arrived in the fort, they were thrown into a cellar to ſleep themſelves ſober; and queſtionleſs, as ſoon as they waked they repented of their exceſſive drinking. When they waked, they fell immediately to ſinging; and when the garriſon offered to fetter them, and carry them to Monreal, they flew to ſome clubs that lay in the cellar, and made ſuch a vigorous and brave defence, that the garriſon was forced to ſhoot them upon the ſpot. The cow-keeper being brought before M. de Denonville, he told him, that the breach made by the Rat's contrivance was irreparable; that the five Iroqueſe nations reſented that adventure with ſo much warmth, that it was impoſſible to diſpoſe them to a peace in a ſhort time; that they were ſo far from being angry with that Huron for what he did, that they were willing to enter into a treaty with him, owning that he and his party had done nothing but what became a brave man and a good ally. Doubtleſs this fatal incurſion was a great ſurpriſal to M. de Denonville, and afforded him a copious field for reflection. It was already impoſſible to continue the poſſeſſion of Fort Frontenac; where they began to want

want proviſions, and which could not be relieved without expoſing a great many men to the danger of the paſſes or cataracts, which I have mentioned ſo often. There was a downright neceſſity of calling out the garriſon and blowing up the fort: but the difficulty lay in finding a man to carry orders to that effect to the governor, for nobody durſt undertake it, till the Sieur Peter de Arpentigni offered to go all alone through the foreſts; and accordingly he went and did his buſineſs ſucceſsfully. The orders were extremely welcome to M. de Valrenes, the governor of the fort for the time; who, upon the receiving them, run a mine under the four baſtions, which, with the powder he put in, was reckoned ſufficient to blow it up. This done, he embarked, and came down the river through the cataracts to Monreal, where he found M. de Denonville, and accompanied him hither. That officer did not only abdicate the Fort of Frontenac, but ſet fire to the three great barks that they uſed to ply with upon the lake, both to awe the Iroqueſe in time of war, and to convey commodities to them in time of peace. M. de Denonville acted a prudent part in relinquiſhing both this fort and that of Niagara; for, in earneſt, theſe two poſts are indefenſible, by reaſon of the inacceſſible cataracts, upon which an ambuſcado of ten Iroqueſe may repulſe a thouſand Frenchmen by the throwing of ſtones. But after all I muſt own, that the welfare and preſervation if our colonies had an abſolute dependance upon theſe two forts, which ſeemed to inſure the utter deſtruction of the Iroqueſe; for they could not ſtir out of their villages to hunt or to fiſh, without running the riſque of having their throats cut by the ſavages in alliance with us, who being then aſſured of a ſafe retreat, would have made continual incurſions into the country of thoſe barbarians: and by this means, the Iroqueſe being unprovided with beaver-ſkins to be given in exchange for guns, powder, ball, and nets, would be ſtarved to death, or at leaſt, be obliged to depart their country.

In the end of September M. de Bonaventure, captain and owner of a merchant ſhip, arrived in this port, and brought the news of M. de Frontenac's reinſtalment in the place of governor-general of Canada, and of the recalling of M. de Denonville, whom the Duke de Beauvilliers has recommended to the King, for the place of ſub-governor to the princes his grandſons. Some people are uneaſy at the recalling of this governor; and it is ſaid, that the reverend fathers the Jeſuits, fall under the number of the malcontents; for if we may credit the reports of the country, they contributed in a great meaſure to the recalling of M. de Frontenac ſeven or eight years ago, by acting in concert with the intendant of Cheſneau, and ſupreme council, and drawing up accuſations againſt him which had the deſired effect; though now the King ſhews that he is undeceived, by reinſtating that gentleman once more in this government. In the mean time the ſtateſmen of the country that are moſt guilty, know not how to dreſs this kettle of fiſh; for they make no queſtion but the new governor will retain a juſt reſentment of what is paſt; but the gentlemen, merchants, and other inhabitants, are making preparations for ſolemnizing his arrival, which they expect with as much impatience as the Jews do the Meſſiah's. The very ſavages that live in the ſkirts of the colony, ſhew an uncommon joy upon the hopes of his return; and indeed, we need not think it ſtrange, for that governor drew eſteem and veneration not only from the French but from all the nations of this vaſt continent, who looked upon him as their guardian angel. M. de Denonville begins to pack up his baggage, and that in effect, is all I can ſay of him. It is none of my buſineſs to meddle with an infinity of affairs that relate to the gentleman's private intereſt. As to the queſtion, whether he has managed well or ill, during the courſe of his government, or whether he was

loved or hated, I know nothing of the matter. I am at a loſs to know whether he kept a good or ſorry table, for indeed I was never at it. Adieu.

I make account to ſet out for Rochel, when the veſſel that brings our new governor returns for France.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER XVIII.

Dated at Quebec, Nov. 15, 1689.

Giving an Account of M. de Frontenac's Arrival, his Reception, his Voyage to Monreal, and the repairing of Fort Frontenac.

SIR,

THE intelligence you give me of the adjudging of the lands of Lahontan, would have driven me to deſpair, if you had not aſſured me at the ſame time, that I might recover it after a century of years, (if I had the misfortune to live ſo long,) upon the condition of reimburſing to the poſſeſſor the ſum that he paid for it, and of proving that I was actually in the King's ſervice in the remote parts of the world when that eſtate was ſold. To ſpeak to the purpoſe, M. de Frontenac has countermanded the leave I had to go for France, and has offered me a free acceſs to his pocket and his table. All the arguments I offered have no influence upon him, and ſo I am bound to obey.

This new governor arrived at Quebec the 15th of October. He came on ſhore at eight o'clock at night, and was received by the ſupreme council, and all the inhabitants in arms, with flambeaux both in the city, and upon the harbour, with a triple diſcharge of the great and ſmall guns, and illuminations in all the windows of the city. That ſame night he was complimented by all the companies of the town, and above all, by the Jeſuits, who upon that occaſion made a very pathetic ſpeech, though the heart had leſs hand in it than the mouth. The next day he was viſited by all the ladies, whoſe inward joy appeared in their countenances, as much as in their words. Several perſons made fire-works, while the governor and his retinue ſung *Te Deum* in the great church. Theſe ſolemn demonſtrations of joy increaſed from day to day, till the new governor ſet out for Monreal; and the conduct of the people upon this head afforded ſignal proofs of the ſatisfaction they had in his return, and of their reſting aſſured that his wiſe conduct and noble ſpirit would preſerve the repoſe and tranquillity that he always kept up during his firſt ten years' government. All the world adored him, and ſtiled him *Redemptor Patriæ;* to which title he had a juſt claim, for all the inhabitants of theſe colonies agree, that when he came firſt to Canada, he found all things in confuſion and diſtreſs. At that time the Iroqueſe had burnt all the plantations, and cut the throats of ſome thouſands of the French; the farmer was knocked on the head in his field; the traveller was murdered upon the road, and the merchant ruined for want of commerce: all the planters were pinched with famine, the war rendered the country deſolate; and, in a word, New France had infallibly periſhed, if this governor had not made that peace with the barbarians, that I ſpoke of in my fifth letter. The bringing of that peace to bear was an action of greater importance than you can well imagine; for theſe barbarians grounded all their wars upon a perſonal enmity, whereas the European ruptures depend more upon intereſt than upon pure revenge.

M. de

M. de St. Valiers, the Biſhop of Quebec, arrived likewiſe on the 15th at the ſame port. He had embarked in the preceding ſpring, on board of a bark that he had hired to tranſport him to Acadia, to Newfoundland, and to the other countries of his dioceſe. M. de Frontenac, our governor, ſet out for Monreal in a canoe, four or five days after his arrival; and I had the honour to accompany him. All endeavours were uſed to diſſuade him from undertaking that voyage, when the ſeaſon was ſo cold, and ſo far advanced: for, as I informed you before, the ice is thicker and ſtronger here in October than it is at Paris in January, which is very ſtrange. Notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances drawn from the hardſhips and inconveniencies of the voyage, he ſlighted the fatigues of the water, and threw himſelf into a canoe in the ſixty-eighth year of his age; nay, he took the abdication of Fort Frontenac ſo much to heart, that he had gone ſtraight thither, if the nobility, the prieſts, and the inhabitants of Monreal, had not entreated him, with joint ſupplications, not to expoſe his perſon to the danger of the falls and cataracts that lie in that paſſage. In the mean time ſome gentlemen of Canada, followed by a hundred coureurs de bois, under the command of M. Mantet, ventured upon the voyage, with intent to learn the ſtate of the fort. I acquainted you in my laſt letter, that M. de Valrenes had blown up the walls of the fort, when he made his retreat; but by good luck, the damage was not ſo great as it was taken to be; for the party commanded by M. Mantet, have already reared up the ruinous wall to the height of ſome fathoms, and will continue to work upon the repair of the fort all this winter. This news M. de Frontenac received laſt night, which was the ſixth after his return to this city.

I had forgot to tell you, that he brought with him out of France, ſome of thoſe Iroqueſe that M. de Denonville had ſent to the galleys, as I intimated in my thirteenth letter; the reſt having periſhed in their chains. Of all theſe unfortunate barbarians that he has brought back, the moſt conſiderable is one that goes by the name of Oreouahè. He was not uſed as a galley ſlave, in regard that he was the leader of the Goyoguans, and the governor has lodged him in the caſtle, in conſideration of the eſteem he ſhews both for M. de Frontenac, and for the French nation. Some flatter themſelves with the hopes, that ſome accommodation with the five Iroqueſe nations may be effected by his mediation; and for that end propoſals of peace are now in agitation; but I have three good reaſons for predicting, that ſuch a deſign will prove abortive. I have already laid theſe reaſons before M. de Frontenac, who gave me to know, that after the departure of the ſhips, he would diſcourſe with me upon that head. I ſhall not offer at the particulars of his interview, with Monſieur and Madam de Denonville, till ſuch time as you and I have an opportunity of talking under the roſe. Some officers accompany M. de Denonville and his Lady to France, in hopes of being preferred. In all probability the ſhips will ſet ſail to-morrow, for we have now a fair and gentle weſterly gale; beſides, that the ſeaſon for quitting this port, is almoſt ſpent.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER XIX.

Dated at Monreal, October 2, 1690.

Relating the Attempts upon New England and New York; a fatal Embaſſy ſent by the French to the Iroqueſe; and an ill-concerted Enterpriſe of the Engliſh and the Iroqueſe, in marching by Land to attack the French Colony.

SIR,

ABOUT fifteen days ſince, a ſhip of Rochel, laden with wine and brandy, arrived in this harbour; and the captain took care to convey a letter from you to my hands. As to your deſire of having a circumſtantial account of the trade of Canada, I cannot ſatisfy it at preſent, for I am not as yet ſo thoroughly acquainted with all its branches. But I aſſure you, that ſome time or other I ſhall ſend you ſuch memoirs, as will give you ſatisfaction upon that head. In the mean time, I hope you will be contented with an account of what paſſed in this country ſince the date of my laſt.

As ſoon as M. Denonville ſet out from Quebec upon his return to France, M. de Frontenac took poſſeſſion of the fort, which is the common reſidence of our governor-general, and ordered one of our beſt architects to make preparations for rebuilding it as ſoon as he could.

In the beginning of this year, M. D'Iberville attempted to pillage a ſmall village in New York, called by the Iroqueſe Corlar, which name they likewiſe give to all the governors of that Engliſh colony. This gentleman, who is a Canadeſe, was attended by five hundred coureurs de bois, and the like number of ſavages; and the whole party made the expedition over ſnow and ice, notwithſtanding they had three hundred leagues to march backward and forward, and that the roads were very rugged and troubleſome. M. D'Iberville met with wonderful ſucceſs, for after he had pillaged, burnt, and ſacked that little village, with the adjacent cantons, he fell in with a party of an hundred Iroqueſe, and defeated them entirely. Much about the ſame M. de Portneuf, another Canada gentleman, marched out at the head of three hundred men, one half ſavages, and the other half coureurs de bois, with intent to poſſeſs himſelf of a fort belonging to the Engliſh, called Kenebeki, which ſtands upon the ſea coaſt of New England, towards the frontiers of Acadia. The garriſon of this fort made a brave defence, but there being great quantities of grenadoes and other fireworks thrown in upon them, while the ſavages (contrary to their cuſtom) ſcaled the paliſadoes on all hands, the governor was obliged to ſurrender upon diſcretion. It is ſaid, that in this action the coureurs de bois did their duty very bravely, but the enterprize had proved ſucceſsleſs without the aſſiſtance of the ſavages.

As ſoon as the rivers were navigable, M. de Frontenac offered to ſend me with propoſals of peace to the Iroqueſe; but I made anſwer, that ſince his pocket and table had been free to me during the winter, I could not imagine that he had a mind to be rid of me ſo ſoon. Being obliged by this reply to unfold my meaning, I remonſtrated to him, that the King of England having loſt his crown, and war being proclaimed, the governors of New England and New York, would infallibly uſe their utmoſt efforts to excite theſe banditti to redouble their incurſions; that for that end they would furniſh them with ammunition gratis, and even join them, in order to attack our towns; and above all, that the intrigue of the Rat had ſo provoked them, that, in my opinion, it was impoſſible to appeaſe them. Upon theſe conſiderations, I humbly beſeeched

him to have ſome other perſon in his view, in caſe he perſiſted in his deſign of making a trial of that nature. The Chevalier Do was ſingled out for this fatal embaſſy, being attended by one Colin, as interpreter of the Iroqueſe language, and two young Canadans. They ſet out in a canoe, and when they came in ſight of the village of the Onnontagues, were received with the honourable ſalvo of ſeveral good blows, and conducted with the ſame ceremony to the village. Such a reception could not but be diſagreeable to the gentleman that came to make offers of peace. The ancient men, being quickly aſſembled, thought it moſt proper to ſend them back with a favourable anſwer, and in the mean time to engage ſome of the Agnies and Onnoyotes, to lie in wait for them at the cataracts of the river, and there kill two, ſending the third back to Quebec, and carrying the fourth to their village, where there would be found ſome Engliſh that would ſhoot them, that is, that would give them the ſame uſage as the Rat did to their ambaſſadors: ſo true it is, that that action ſticks in their ſtomachs. This project had actually been put in execution, if it had not been for ſome of the planters of New York, who were then among the barbarians, having come thither on purpoſe to animate them againſt us. Theſe planters knew ſo well how to influence the barbarians, that were already bent upon revenge, that a company of young barbarians burnt them all alive, excepting the Chevalier Do, whom they tied hand and foot, and ſent him bound to Boſton, with a deſign to pump out of him a view of the condition of our colonies and forces. This piece of news we received two months after by ſome ſlaves that made their eſcape from the Iroqueſe; and M. de Frontenac, when ſurprized with ſuch diſmal news, declared, that out of twenty captains that offered to execute that commiſſion, and would have taken the employment for an honour, I was the only one that had been capable of foreſeeing its bad ſucceſs.

June the 24th, I embarked for this place in a ſluggiſh brigantine, that the captain of the governor's guards had cauſed to be built the foregoing winter. This venerable veſſel had the honour to lodge the intendant and his lady; and all of us being in no haſte, ſpent ten or twelve days by the way, and feaſted like kings every night. M. de Frontenac marked out a fort in his paſſage to the city of Trois Rivieres, which I ſpoke of before. Fifteen days after our arrival in this place, a certain ſavage whoſe name was Plake, came and gave us notice, tkat he had diſcovered a body of a thouſand Engliſh, and five hundred Iroqueſe, that marched up to attack us. Upon this intelligence, all our troops croſſed over to the meadow of Medalaine, oppoſite to this city, and there encamped, in conjunction with three or four hundred ſavages that were our allies, in order to give the enemy a warm reception. Our camp was no ſooner formed, than M. de Frontenac detached two or three ſmall parties of the ſavages to obſerve the enemy. Theſe parties came ſoon back, after having ſurprized ſome ſtraggling Iroqueſe at hunting on the confines of Champlaine lake: the priſoners informed us, that the Engliſh being unable to encounter the fatigues of the march, and unprovided with a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions, both they and the Iroqueſe were returned to their own country. This account being confirmed by other ſavages, our troops decamped, and marched back to this place, from whence I was detached ſome days after to command a party that was to cover the reapers of fort Roland, which lies in this iſland. When the harveſt was over I returned to this place, along with the Hurons and the Outaouas, who had come down from their own country, in purſuit of their uſual trade in ſkins; an account of which you had in my eighth letter. Theſe traders continued here fifteen days, and then marched home.

This, Sir, is a ſummary of all our occurrences of moment ſince the laſt year. About fifteen days hence I think to ſet out for Quebec, in M. de Frontenac's brigantine. I conclude with my uſual compliment,

Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER XX.

Dated at Rochel, January 12, 1691.

Being a Relation of a Second and very important Expedition of the Engliſh by Sea; in which is contained a Letter written by the Engliſh Admiral to Count Frontenac, with the Governor's verbal Anſwer. As alſo an Account of the Author's Departure for France.

SIR,

I AM arrived at laſt at Rochel, from whence I now tranſmit you a relation of all that paſſed in Canada, ſince the date of my laſt letter. In the ſpace of a few days after that date, M. de Frontenac received advice that a ſtrong fleet of Engliſh ſhips amounting to thirty-four ſail, was ſeen near Tadouſſac. Immediately he got on board of his brigantine, and ordered all the troops to embark in canoes and boats, and to row night and day to prevent the enemy; all of which was happily put in execution. At the ſame time he gave orders to M. de Callieres, to bring down as many of the inhabitants as poſſibly he could. We rowed with ſuch expedition, and diligence, that we arrived the 3d day at Quebec. As ſoon as M. de Frontenac debarked, he viewed the weakeſt poſts, and ordered them to be fortified without loſs of time: he raiſed batteries in ſeveral places, and though in that capital city we had but twelve great guns, and but little ammunition, yet he ſeemed to be reſolutely bent upon an obſtinate reſiſtance to the efforts of the enemy's fleet, which in the mean time ſtood catching of flies, at the diſtance of two leagues from Quebec. We took the advantage of their ſlow approaches, and worked inceſſantly to put ourſelves in a poſture of defence. Our troops, our militia, and our confederate ſavages, came up to us on all hands. It is certain, that if the Engliſh admiral had made his deſcent before our arrival at Quebec, or even two days after, he had carried the place without ſtriking a blow; for at that time there was not two hundred French in the city, which lay open, and expoſed on all hands; but inſtead of doing that, he caſt anchor towards the point of the iſland of Orleans, and loſt three days in conſulting with the captains of the ſhips, before they came to a reſolution. He took the Sieur Joliet with his lady and his mother-in-law, in a bark in the river of St. Laurence. Three merchantmen from France, and one laden with beaver-ſkins from Hudſon's Bay, entered the river of Saguenay, by the way of Tadouſſac, where they ſculked, and after hauling their guns aſhore, raiſed very good batteries. To be ſhort, the officers of the enemy's fleet came to a reſolution after the loſs of three or four days in uſeleſs conſultations, during which time we were joined on all hands by great numbers of inhabitants and ſoldiers. Purſuant to the reſolution of the councils of war, the Engliſh admiral, namely, Sir William Phips, ſent out his ſloop with a French flag upon its prow, which made up to the city with ſound of trumpet. Upon this, M. de Frontenac ſent out another with a French officer to meet it, who found an Engliſh major in the ſloop, who gave him to underſtand, that he had the charge of a letter from his general, to the governor of Canada, and hoped he might be allowed to deliver it himſelf. Upon that

that the French officer took him into his ſloop, and having blindfolded him, conducted him to the governor's chamber; where his face being uncovered, he delivered him a letter, the ſubſtance of which was this:

"I, Sir William Phips, general of the forces of New England, by ſea and land, to Count Frontenac, governor-general of Quebec, by orders from, and in the name of William III. and Mary, King and Queen of England, am come to make myſelf maſter of this country. But in regard that I have nothing ſo much in view, as the preventing of the effuſion of blood, I require you to ſurrender at diſcretion, your cities, caſtles, forts, towns, as well as your perſons; aſſuring you at the ſame time, that you ſhall meet with all manner of good uſage, civility and humanity. If you do not accept of this propoſal without any reſtriction, I will endeavour, by the aſſiſtance of Heaven, on which I rely, and the force of my arms, to make a conqueſt of them. I expect a poſitive anſwer in writing in the ſpace of an hour; and in the mean time give you notice, that after the commencement of hoſtilities, I ſhall not entertain any thoughts of accommodation.

(Signed,) "WILLIAM PHIPS."

After the interpreter had tranſlated the letter to M. de Frontenac, who was then ſurrounded with officers, he ordered the captain of his guards to make a gibbet before the fort, in order to hang the poor major, who in all appearance underſtood French, for upon the pronouncing of this fatal ſentence, he was like to ſwoon away; and indeed I muſt ſay, the major had ſome reaſon to be affected, for he had certainly been hanged if the biſhop and the intendant, who, to his good luck, were then preſent, had not interceded on his behalf. M. de Frontenac pretended, that they were a fleet of pirates, or of perſons without commiſſion, for that the King of England was then in France. But at laſt the governor being appeaſed, ordered the major to repair forthwith on board of his admiral, againſt whom he could defend himſelf the better, for not being attacked. At the ſame time he declared, that he knew of no other King of Great Britain than James II., that his rebellious ſubjects were pirates, and that he dreaded neither their force nor their threats. This ſaid, he threw Admiral Phips's letter in the major's face, and then turned his back upon him. Upon that the poor ambaſſador took freſh courage, and looking upon his watch, took the liberty to aſk M. de Frontenac, if he could not have his anſwer in writing before the hour elapſed. But the governor made anſwer with all the haughtineſs and diſdain imaginable, that his admiral deſerved no other anſwer than what flew from the mouth of cannons and muſkets. Theſe words were no ſooner pronounced, than the major was forced to take his letter again, and being blindfolded, was reconducted to his ſloop, in which he rowed towards the fleet with all expedition.

The next day about two in the afternoon, ſixty ſloops were ſent aſhore with ten or twelve hundred men, who ſtood upon the ſand in very good order. After that the ſloops went back to the ſhips, and brought aſhore the like complement of men, which was afterwards joined by a third complement of the ſame number. As ſoon as theſe troops were landed, they began to march towards the city with drums beating and colours flying. This deſcent was made over againſt the iſle of Orleans, about a league and a half below Quebec; but it was not ſo expeditious but that our confederate ſavages, with two hundred coureurs de bois, and fifty officers, had time to poſt themſelves in a copſe of thick brambles, which lay half a league off the place of landing. It being impoſſible for ſo ſmall a party to come to an open battle with a numerous enemy,

enemy, they were forced to fight after the manner of the ſavages, that is, to lay ambuſcadoes from place to place in the copſe, which was a quarter of a league broad. This way of waging war proved wonderfully ſucceſsful to us, for our men being poſted in the middle of the copſe, we ſuffered the Engliſh to enter, and then fired upon them, lying flat upon the ground till they fired their pieces; after which we ſprung up, and drawing into knots here and there, repeated our fire with ſuch ſucceſs that the Engliſh militia perceiving our ſavages, fell into confuſion and diſorder, and their battalions were broke; inſomuch, that they betook themſelves to flight, crying out, Indians, Indians, and gave our ſavages the opportunity of making a bloody ſlaughter among them; for we found three hundred men left upon the ſpot, without any other loſs on our ſide than that of ten coureurs de bois, four officers, and two ſavages.

The next day the Engliſh landed four pieces of braſs cannon mounted like field-pieces, and fought very bravely, though they were very ill diſciplined. It is certain there was no want of courage on their ſide, and their want of ſucceſs muſt be imputed to their unacquaintance with military diſcipline, to their being enfeebled by the fatigues of the ſea, and to the ill conduct of Sir William Phips, who upon this enterprize could not have done leſs than he did, if he had been engaged by us to ſtand ſtill with his hands in his pockets. This day paſſed over more peaceably than the next, for then the Engliſh made a freſh attempt to force their paſſage through the copſe, by the help of their artillery; but they loſt three or four hundred more in the attempt, and were forced to retire with all diligence to the landing-place. On our ſide we loſt M. de St. Helene, who died of a wound in his leg, and about forty Frenchmen and ſavages. This victory animated us ſo much, that we purſued the Engliſh to their camp, and lay all night flat upon the ground juſt by it, with a deſign to attack it by break of day; but they ſaved us the labour, for they embarked about midnight with ſuch confuſion, that we killed fifty more of them, rather by chance than by dexterity, while they were getting into their boats. When day came, we tranſported to Quebec their tents and their cannon, which they had left behind them; the ſavages being in the mean time employed in ſtripping the dead in the wood.

The ſame day that the deſcent was made, Sir William Phips weighed and came to an anchor with four great ſhips, at the diſtance of a muſket-ſhot from the lower city, where we had only one battery of ſix or eight pounders. There he cannonaded for twenty-four hours ſo handſomely, that the fire of the great guns equalled that of the ſmall arms. The damage they did to the roofs of the houſes amounted to five or ſix piſtoles; for, as I informed you in my firſt letter, the walls of the houſes are ſo hard that a ball cannot pierce them.

When Sir William Phips had made an end of theſe glorious exploits, he ſent to demand of M. de Frontenac ſome Engliſh priſoners in exchange for the Sieur Joliet, with his wife and his mother, and ſome ſeamen, which was forthwith put in execution. This done, the fleet weighed anchor and ſteered homeward. As ſoon as the three merchantmen that lay ſkulking in the river of Saguenay, ſaw the fleet running below Tadouſſac with full ſail before a weſterly gale, they put their guns aboard, and purſuing their voyage with great ſatisfaction, arrived at Quebec on the 12th of November. They had ſcarce put their cargo on ſhore, when the bitter cold covered the river with ice, which damaged their ſhips ſo much, that they were forced to run them aſhore. This troubleſome froſt was as uneaſy to me as to M. de Frontenac, for then I ſaw that I was obliged to paſs another winter in Canada, and M. de Frontenac was at a loſs to contrive a way of ſending the King advice of this enterprize; but, by good luck, there came all of a ſudden a downfall of rain, which was followed by a thaw, and was equally

equally acceptable to us both. Immediately the governor ordered an unrigged frigate to be rigged and fitted out; which was done accordingly with ſuch diſpatch that the ballaſt, ſails, ropes, and maſts were all in order almoſt as ſoon as the orders were given out. When the frigate was ready to ſail, the governor told me, that the making of France as ſoon as ever I could, would be a piece of important ſervice; and that I ought rather to periſh than to ſuffer myſelf to be taken by the enemy, or to put in at any port whatſoever by the way: at the ſame time he gave me a particular letter to M. de Seignelay, the purport of which was much to my advantage.

I put to ſea the 20th of November, the like of which was never ſeen in that place before. At the iſle of Coudres we eſcaped luckily, for there the north-eaſt wind blew ſo hard upon us, that after we had dropped anchor, we thought to have been ſplit in pieces in the night-time. The reſt of our paſſage was good enough, for we encountered but one ſtorm till we arrived at this place. Indeed we met with contrary wind, about an hundred and fifty leagues off the coaſt of France, which obliged us to traverſe, and lie by for a long time; and it was for this reaſon that our paſſage was ſo long.

I hear you are now in Provence, and that M. de Seignelay is gone upon a voyage to the other world, which is of a quite different nature from that I have juſt performed. In earneſt, Sir, his death is the laſt misfortune to the navy of France, to the colonies of the two Americas, and to me in particular, ſince M. de Frontenac's recommendatory letter is thereby rendered uſeleſs to me.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF NORTH AMERICA;

CONTAINING

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THAT VAST CONTINENT; THE CUSTOMS AND COMMERCE OF THE INHABITANTS, &c.

SIR,

IN my former letters I preſented you with a view of the Engliſh and French colonies, the commerce of Canada, the navigation upon the rivers and lakes of that country, the courſe of ſailing from Europe to North America, the ſeveral attempts made by the Engliſh to maſter the French colonies, the incurſions of the French upon New England, and upon the Iroqueſe country: in a word, Sir, I have revealed a great many things, that for reaſons of ſtate or politics, have been hitherto concealed; inſomuch, that if you were capable of making me a ſacrifice to your reſentment, it is now in your power to ruin me at court, by producing my letters.

All that I writ in the foregoing letters, and the whole ſubſtance of the memoirs I now ſend you, is truth as plain as the ſun-ſhine. I flatter no man, and I ſpare nobody. I ſcorn to be partial; I beſtow due praiſe upon thoſe who are in no capacity to ſerve me, and I cenſure the conduct of others, that are capable of doing me an injury by indirect methods. I am not influenced by that principle of intereſt and party-making, that is the rule of ſome folks words. I ſacrifice all to the love of truth, and write with no other view, than to give you a juſt repreſentation of things as they are. It is beneath me to mince or alter the matter of fact, contained either in the letters I ſent you ſome ten or twelve years ago, or in theſe memoirs. In the courſe of my voyages and travels, I took care to keep particular journals of every thing; but a minute relation of all particulars would be irkſome to you, beſides, that the trouble of taking a copy of the journals, before I have an opportunity of ſhewing you the original, would require more time than I can well ſpare. In theſe memoirs you will find as much as will ſerve to form a perfect idea of the vaſt continent of North America. In the courſe of our correſpondence from the year 1683, to this time, I ſent you five-and-twenty letters, of all which I have kept a double very carefully. My only view in writing of theſe letters, was to inform you of the moſt eſſential things; for I was unwilling to perplex and confound your thoughts, with an infinity of uncommon things, that have happened in that country. If you will conſult my maps, as you read the abovementioned letters, you will find a juſt repreſentation of all the places I have ſpoken of. Theſe maps are very particular, and I dare aſſure you, they are the correcteſt yet extant. My voyage upon the Long River, gave me an opportunity of making that little map, which I ſent you from Miſſilimakinac in 1699, with my ſixteenth letter. It is true, it gives only a bare deſcription of that river, and the river of the Miſſouris; but it required more time than I could ſpare, to make it more complete, by a knowledge of the adjacent countries, which have hitherto been unknown to all the

world as well as that great river, and which I would never have viſited, if I had not been fully inſtructed in every thing that related to it, and convoyed by a good guard. I have placed the map of Canada at the front of theſe memoirs, and deſire that favour of you, that you would not ſhew it to anybody under my name. To the latter part I have ſubjoined an explication of the marine, and other difficult terms, made uſe of in my letters, as well as in theſe memoirs; which you will pleaſe to conſult, when you meet with a word that you do not underſtand.

A ſhort Deſcription of Canada.

You will think, Sir, that I advance a paradox, when I acquaint you that New France, commonly called Canada, comprehends a greater extent of ground than the half of Europe: but pray mind what proof I have for that aſſertion. You know that Europe extends ſouth and north, from the 35th to the 72nd degree of latitude, or, if you will, from Cadiz to the North Cape on the confines of Lapland; and that its longitude reaches from the 9th to the 94th degree, that, is from the River Oby to the Weſt Cape in Yſlandia. But at the ſame time, if we take the greateſt breadth of Europe, from eaſt to weſt, from the imaginary canal, (for inſtance) between the Tanais and the Volga, to Dinglebay in Ireland, it makes but 66 degrees of longitude, which contain more leagues than the degrees allotted to it towards the polar circle, though theſe are more numerous, by reaſon that the degrees of longitude are unequal; and ſince we are wont to meaſure provinces, iſlands, and kingdoms by the ſpace of ground, I am of the opinion, that we ought to make uſe of the ſame ſtandard with reſpect to the four parts of the world. The geographers who parcel out the earth in their cloſets, according to their fancy; theſe gentlemen, I ſay, might have been aware of this advance, if they had been more careful. But, to come to Canada.

All the world knows, that Canada reaches from the 39th to the 65th degree of latitude, that is, from the ſouth ſide of the lake Errie, to the north ſide of Hudſon's Bay; and from the 284th to the 336th degree of longitude, viz. from the river Miſſiſipi to Cape Raſe, in the iſland of Newfoundland. I affirm, therefore, that Europe has but 11 degrees of latitude and 33 of longitude more than Canada, in which I comprehend the iſland of Newfoundland, Acadia, and all the other countries that lie to the northward of the river St. Laurence, which is the pretended great boundary that ſevers the French colonies from the Engliſh. Were I to reckon in all the countries that lie to the north-weſt of Canada, I ſhould find it larger than Europe: but I confine myſelf to what is diſcovered, known, and owned; I mean, to the countries in which the French trade with the natives for beavers, and in which they have forts, magazines, miſſionaries, and ſmall ſettlements.

It is above a century and a half ſince Canada was diſcovered. John Veraſan was the firſt diſcoverer, though he got nothing by it, for the ſavages eat him up. James Cartier was the next that went thither; but after ſailing with his ſhip above Quebec, he returned to France, with a ſorry opinion of the country. At laſt, better ſailors were employed in the diſcovery, and traced the river of St. Laurence more narrowly: and about the beginning of the laſt century, a colony was ſent thither from Rouen, which ſettled there after a great deal of oppoſition from the natives. At this day the colony is ſo populous, that it is computed to contain one hundred and eighty thouſand ſouls. I have already given you ſome account of that country in my letters, and therefore ſhall now only point to the moſt noted places, and take notice of what may gratify your curioſity beyond what you have yet heard.

We are at a loſs to find the head of the river of St. Laurence, for though we have traced it ſeven or eight hundred leagues up, yet we could never reach its ſource; the remoteſt place that the coureurs de bois go to, being the lake Lenemipigon, which diſembogues into the Upper Lake, as the Upper Lake does into the lake of Hurons, the lake of Hurons into that of Erriè alias Conti, and that of Erriè into the lake of Frontenac, which forms this laſt great river, that runs for twenty leagues with a pretty gentle ſtream, and ſweeps through thirty more with a very rapid current, till it reaches the city of Monreal; from whence it continues its courſe with ſome moderation to the city of Quebec; and after that, ſpreads out, and enlarges itſelf by degrees to its mouth, which lies a hundred leagues further. If we may credit the north-country ſavages, this river takes its riſe from the great lake of the Aſſinipouals, which they give out to be larger than any of the lakes I mentioned but now, being ſituated at the diſtance of fifty or ſixty leagues from the lake of Lenemipigon. The river of St. Laurence is twenty or twenty-two leagues broad at its mouth, in the middle of which there is an iſland called Anticoſti, which is twenty leagues long. This iſland belongs to the Sieur Joliet, a Canadan, who has built a little fortified magazine upon it, to guard his goods and his family from the incurſions of the Eſkimaux, of whom more anon. He deals with the other ſavage nations, namely, the Mantagnois and the Papipanachois in arms and ammunition, by way of exchange for the ſkins of ſea-wolves or ſea-calves, and ſome other furs.

Over againſt this iſland, to the ſouthward of it, we find the iſle called L'Iſle Percèe, which is a great rock with a paſſage bored through it, in which the ſloops can only paſs. In time of peace the Biſcayans of France, and the Normans, uſed to fiſh for cod at this place; for here that fiſh are very plentiful, and at the ſame time larger, and more proper for drying than thoſe of Newfoundland. But there are two great inconveniencies that attend the fiſhing upon this iſland; one is, that the ſhips ride in great danger, unleſs they have good anchors and ſtrong cables; another inconvenience is, that this place affords neither gravel nor flint-ſtones to ſtretch out the fiſh upon before the ſun, and that the fiſhermen are forced to make uſe of a ſort of hurdles.

There are other fiſhing-places beſides this, which lie ſome leagues higher up upon the ſame ſide of the river. Such is that called Gaſpè, where the ſhips' crews ſometimes trade in ſkins with the Gaſpeſians, to the prejudice of the proprietors of this river. The other places for cod-fiſh lie toward Monts Notre Dame, in the little bays or rivers that empty themſelves into the river of St. Laurence.

On the other ſide of the river there lies the wide-extended country of Labrador, or of the Eſkimaux, who are ſuch a wild barbarous people, that no means whatſoever have hitherto been able to civilize them. One would think that good old Homer had this people in his view when he ſpeaks of the Cyclops; for the character of the one ſuits the other admirably well, as it appears from theſe four verſes, in the ninth book of his Odyſſy, which are ſo pretty, that I cannot forbear inſerting them in this place.

Τοῖ ιν δ' ὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βυληφόροι ὔτε θέμιδες·
Αλλ' ὅγ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων νάοισι κάηνα
Εν σπέεσι γλαφυροῖσι θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
Παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων ὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι.

That is; this people do not perplex themſelves with voluminous laws, and vexatious ſuits; they delight only in the tops of mountains, and deep caves, and every one confines

fines his care to the management of his own family, without troubling his head about his neighbour. The Danes were the firſt diſcoverers of this country, which is full of ports, havens and bays, that the Quebec barks reſort to in the ſummer, in order to truck with the ſavages for the ſkins of ſea-calves. The commerce I ſpeak of, is carried on after this manner. As ſoon as the Quebec barks come to an anchor, theſe devils come on board of them in their little canoes made of the ſkins of ſea-calves, in the form of a weaver's ſhuttle, with a hole in the middle of it, reſembling that of a purſe, in which they ſtow themſelves with ropes, ſitting ſquat upon their breech. Being ſet in this faſhion, they row with little ſlices, ſometimes to the right, and ſometimes to the left, without bending their body for fear of overſetting. As ſoon as they are near the bark, they hold up their ſkins upon the end of the oar, and at the ſame time make a demand of ſo many knives, powder, ball, fuſees, axes, kettles, &c.; in fine, every one ſhews what he has, and mentions what he expects in exchange: and ſo when the bargain is concluded, they deliver and receive their goods upon the end of a ſtick. As theſe pitiful fellows uſe the precaution of not going on board our boats, ſo we take care not to ſuffer too great a number of canoes to ſurround us; for they have carried off oftener than once, ſome of our ſmall veſſels, at a time when our ſeamen were buſied in hauling in the ſkins, and delivering out the other goods. Here, we are obliged to be very vigilant in the night-time, for they know how to make great ſloops, that will hold thirty or forty men, and run as faſt as the wind: and it is for this reaſon that the Malouins, who fiſh for cod at Petit Nord, and the Spaniards who follow the ſame fiſhery at Portochoua, are obliged to fit in long barks to ſcour the coaſt and purſue them; for almoſt every year they ſurprize ſome of the crew on ſhore, and cut their throats, and ſometimes they carry off the veſſel. We are aſſured that their number of warriors, or men that bear arms, amount to thirty thouſand; but they are ſuch cowardly fellows that five hundred Cliſtinos from Hudſon's bay, uſed to defeat five or ſix thouſand of them. They are poſſeſſed of a very large country, extending from over againſt the iſles of Mingan to Hudſon's Streight. They croſs over to the iſland of Newfoundland every day, at the ſtreight of Belle Iſle, which is not above ſeven leagues over; but they never come ſo far as Placentia, for fear of meeting with other ſavages there.

Hudſon's Bay adjoins to this terra of Lambrador, and extends from the 52° 30′ to the ſixty-third of latitude. The origin of its name was this Captain Henry Hudſon, an Engliſhman by birth, obtained a ſhip from the Dutch, in order to trace a paſſage to China through an imaginary ſtreight to the northward of North America. He had firſt formed a deſign of going by the way of Nova Zembla; but upon ſeeing the memoirs of a Daniſh pilot, who was a friend of his, he dropped that thought. This pilot, namely, Frederick Anſchild, had ſet out from Norway, or Yſlandia, ſome years before, with a deſign to find out a paſſage to Japan by Davis's Streight, which is the chimerical ſtreight I ſpoke of. The firſt land he deſcried was Savage Bay, ſeated on the north ſide of the terra of Labrador; then ſweeping along the coaſt, he entered a ſtreight, which about twenty or thirty years afterwards, was chriſtened Hudſon's Streight. After that, ſteering to the weſtward, he came upon ſome coaſts that run north and ſouth; upon which he ſtood to the north, flattering himſelf with the hopes of finding an open paſſage to croſs the ſea of Jeſſo; but after ſailing to the latitude of the polar circle, and running the riſk of periſhing upon the ice, (I do not know how often,) without meeting with any paſſage or open ſea, he took up a reſolution of turning back; but the ſeaſon was then ſo far advanced, and the ice ſo covered up the ſurface of the water, that he was forced to put into Hudſon's Bay, and winter there in a harbour, where ſeveral ſavages furniſhed his crew with proviſions and excellent ſkins. As ſoon as the ſea was open, he returned to Denmark. Now, Captain Hudſon being afterwards acquainted with this Dane,

undertook upon his journals to attempt a paſſage to Japan through the ſtreight of Davis; but the enterprize failed, as well as that of one Button, and ſome others. However, Hudſon put into the bay that now goes by his name, where he received a great quantity of ſkins from the ſavages; after that, he diſcovered New Holland, which is now called New York, and ſome other countries retaining to New England: upon the whole, it is not fair to call this ſtreight and this bay by the name of Hudſon; in regard that the abovementioned Dane, Frederick Anſchild, was the firſt diſcoverer of them: he being the firſt European that deſcried the countries of North America, and chalked out the way to the others. Upon this Hudſon's journals, the Engliſh made ſeveral attempts to ſettle a commerce with the Americans. The great quantity of beaver-ſkins and other furs that he purchaſed of the ſavages while he wintered in the bay, put the notion into the heads of ſome Engliſh merchants, who thereupon formed a company for the carrying on of this new commerce. With this view, they fitted out ſome ſhips under the command of Captain Nelſon, who loſt ſome of them in the ice not far from the ſtreight having eſcaped narrowly himſelf. However, he entered the bay, and placed himſelf at the mouth of a great river, which riſes towards the lake of the Aſimpouals, and falls into the bay at a place where he built a redoubt, and mounted ſome cannon upon it. In the ſpace of three or four years after the Engliſh made ſome other little forts near that river, which proved a conſiderable baulk to the commerce of the French, who found that the ſavages who uſed to deal with them in furs on the north ſide of the Upper Lake, were not then to be ſeen.

It came to paſs in proceſs of time, but how I cannot tell, that one Ratiſſon, and one Grozileer, met, in that great lake, ſome Cliſtinos, who promiſed to conduct them to the bottom of the bay, where the Engliſh had not yet penetrated. In effect, the Cliſtinos were as good as their word; for they ſhewed them the place they ſpoke of, beſides ſeveral other rivers upon which there was a fair proſpect of making ſuch ſettlements as would carry on a great trade in ſkins with ſeveral ſavage nations. Theſe two Frenchmen returned to the Upper Lake, the ſame way that they went, and from thence made the beſt of their way to Quebec, where they offered to the chief merchants of the place, to carry ſhips to Hudſon's Bay; but their project was rejected; in fine, having met with this repulſe, they went to France, in hopes of a more favourable hearing at court: but after the preſenting of memorial upon memorial, and ſpending a great deal of money, they were treated as whimſical fellows. Upon that occaſion the King of England's ambaſſador did not loſe the opportunity of perſuading them to go to London, where they met with ſuch a favourable reception, that they got ſeveral ſhips, which they carried to the bay, not without difficulty, and built ſeveral forts in different places, that did great ſervice in promoting the commerce. Then the court of France repented, though too late, that they did not give ear to their memorials; and finding no other remedy, reſolved to diſlodge the Engliſh at any rate. In effect, they attacked them vigorouſly by ſea and land, and diſpoſſeſſed them of all their forts, excepting Fort Nelſon, where they could not expect ſuch an eaſy conqueſt. Some years after, the Engliſh reſolved to uſe their utmoſt efforts to retake theſe poſts; and their reſolution was crowned with ſucceſs, for they diſlodged the French in their turn; and at this day the French are making preparations to repay them in their own coin.

That country is ſo cold for ſeven or eight months of the year, that the ſea freezes ten feet deep, the trees and the very ſtones ſplit; the ſnow is ten or twelve feet deep upon the ground, for above ſix months of the year, and during that ſeaſon no body can ſtir out of doors, without running the riſk of having their noſe, ears and feet mortified by the cold. The paſſage from Europe to that country is ſo difficult and dangerous, by reaſon

of the ice and the currents, that one muſt be reduced to the laſt degree of miſery, or be blind to a fooliſh height, that undertakes ſuch a wretched voyage.

It is now time to paſs from Hudſon's Bay, to the Superior or Upper Lake. It is eaſier to make this voyage upon paper than to go actually through it; for you muſt ſail almoſt a hundred leagues up the river of Machakandibi, which is ſo rapid and full of cataracts, that a light canoe worked by ſix watermen, ſhall not ſail them under thirty or thirty-five days. At the head of this river we meet with a little lake of the ſame name, from whence we are obliged to a land-carriage of ſeven leagues, to get at the river of Michipikoton, which we run down in ten or twelve days; though at the ſame time we have ſeveral land-carriages upon it: for going down this river we paſs ſeveral cataracts, where we are obliged either to carry our canoes by land, or to drag them back again. Thus we arrive at the Upper Lake, which is reckoned to be five hundred leagues in circumference, including the windings of the creeks and little gulphs. This little freſh-water ſea is calm enough from the beginning of May to the end of September. The ſouth ſide is the ſafeſt for the canoes, by reaſon of the many bays and little rivers, where one may put in, in caſe of a ſtorm. There is no ſettled ſavage nation upon the brinks of the lake, that I know of. It is true indeed, that in ſummer, ſeveral northern nations come to hunt and fiſh in theſe parts, and bring with them the beaver-ſkins they have got in the winter, in order to truck with the coureurs de bois, who do not fail to meet them there every year. The places where the interview happens, are Bagouaſch, Lemipiſaki, and Chagouamigon. It is ſome years ſince M. Dulhut built a fort of pales or ſtakes upon this lake, where he had large magazines of all ſorts of goods. That fort was called Camaniſtigoyan, and did conſiderable diſſervice to the Engliſh ſettlements in Hudſon's Bay; by reaſon that it ſaved ſeveral nations the trouble of tranſporting their ſkins to that bay. Upon that lake we find copper mines, the metal of which is ſo fine and plentiful, that there is not a ſeventh part loſt from the ore. It has ſome pretty large iſlands, which are repleniſhed with elks and wild-aſſes; but there is ſcarce any that goes to hunt upon them, by reaſon of the danger of croſſing over: in fine, this lake abounds with ſturgeons, trouts, and white fiſh. The climate is almoſt unſufferably cold for ſix months of the year; and the ſnow joined to the froſt, commonly freezes the water of the lake for ten or twelve leagues over.

From the Superiour or Upper Lake, I ſteered to that of Hurons, to which I allot four hundred leagues in circumference. Now to make this lake, you muſt ſail down by the fall called Saut St. Mary, which I deſcribed in my fifteenth letter. This lake is ſituated in a fine climate, as you will perceive from the map. The north ſide of it is beſt for the navigation of canoes, by reaſon of the frequency of iſles which afford ſhelter in bad weather. The ſouth ſide is pleaſanter and more convenient for the hunting of deer, which are there very plentiful. The figure of this lake comes near to an equilateral triangle. Of all its iſles, that called Manitoualin is the moſt conſiderable, being above twenty leagues long, and ten broad. In former times, the Outaouas of the nations of Talon and Sable dwelt in it; but the dread they were under upon the account of the Iroqueſe, obliged both them and their neighbours to retire to Miſſilimakinac. That part of the continent that faces this iſland, is inhabited by the Nockes and the Miſſitagues, in two different villages which are twenty leagues diſtant the one from the other. Towards the eaſt end of this iſland, we fall in with the river des Francois, which I took notice of in my ſixteenth letter. It is as broad as the Seine is at Paris, and runs not above forty leagues in length from its ſource in the lake Nepicerini, to its mouth. To the north-weſt of this river there lies the bay of Toranto, which is twenty or five-and-twenty leagues long, and fifteen broad at its mouth.

mouth. This bay receives a river that ſprings from a little lake of the ſame name, and form ſeveral cataracts that are equally impracticable both upon the aſcent and deſcent. Upon the ſide of this river you will ſee a man's head marked in my map, which ſignifies a large village of the Hurons, that was deſtroyed by the Iroqueſe. You may go from the ſource of this river to the Lake Frontenac, by making a land-carriage to the river of Tanaouate, that falls into that lake. Upon the ſouth ſide of the Bay of Toronto, you ſee the fort called Fort Suppoſe, which I mentioned in my twenty-third letter, and about thirty leagues to the ſouthward of that, you find the country of Theonontate, which being formerly inhabited by the Hurons, was entirely depopulated by the Iroqueſe.

From thence I paſs directly to my fort, without amuſing you with the different landſcapes I met with in the ſpace of thirty leagues. That fort I have ſpoke ſo often of already, that without ſtopping there, I ſhall run directly to the Bay of Sakinac, reckoning it needleſs at the ſame time to take any notice of the many ſhelves and rocks that lie hid under the water for two leagues off the coaſt. This bay is ſixteen or ſeventeen leagues long, and ſix broad at its mouth; in the middle of which we meet with two little iſlands, that are very ſerviceable to the paſſengers; for if it were not for the conveniency of putting in there, they would be obliged for the moſt part, rather to march quite round the bay, than to run the hazard of croſſing directly over in a canoe. The river of Sakinac falls into the bottom of the bay. This river runs ſixty leagues in length, with a gentle current, having only three little cataracts that one may ſhoot without danger. It is as broad as the Seine is at Seve bridge. Once in two years the Outaouas and the Hurons are wont to hunt great quantities of beavers upon the confines of the river of Sakinac. Between the river I now ſpeak of, and Miſſilimakinac, we meet with no place that is worth our regard. As for Miſſilimakinac itſelf, I have already imparted to you all that I can ſay of that poſt, which is of ſo great importance to our commerce, and at the ſame time ſent you a draught of it. I ſhall therefore purſue my courſe to the Lake Errie, remembering that I deſcribed the Illineſe lake in my ſixteenth letter.

The lake Errie is juſtly dignified with the illuſtrious name of Conti; for aſſuredly it is the fineſt lake upon earth. You may judge of the goodneſs of the climate, from the latitudes of the countries that ſurround it. Its circumference extends to two hundred and thirty leagues; but it affords every where ſuch a charming proſpect, that its banks are decked with oak-trees, elms, cheſnut-trees, walnut-trees, apple-trees, plum-trees, and vines which bear their fine cluſters up to the very top of the trees, upon a ſort of ground that lies as ſmooth as one's hand. Such ornaments as theſe are ſufficient to give riſe to the moſt agreeable idea of a landſcape in the world. I cannot expreſs what vaſt quantities of deer and turkies are to be found in theſe woods, and in the vaſt meads that lie upon the ſouth ſide of the lake. At the bottom of the lake, we find wild beeves upon the banks of two pleaſant rivers that diſembogue into it, without cataracts or rapid currents. It abounds with ſturgeon and white fiſh; but trouts are very ſcarce in it, as well as the other fiſh that we take in the lakes of Hurons and Illineſe. It is clear of ſhelves, rocks, and banks of ſand; and has fourteen or fifteen fathom water. The ſavages aſſure us, that it is never diſturbed with high winds, but in the months of December, January, and February, and even then but ſeldom, which indeed I am very apt to believe, for we had but very few ſtorms when I wintered in my fort in 1688, though the fort lay open to the Lake of Hurons. The banks of this lake are commonly frequented by none but warriors, whether the Iroqueſe, the Illineſe, the Oumamis, &c. and it is very dangerous to ſtop there. By this means it comes to paſs, that the ſtags,

roe-

roe-bucks, and turkies run in great bodies up and down the ſhore, all round the lake. In former times the Errieronons and the Andaſtogueronons, lived upon the confines of the lake, but they were extirpated by the Iroqueſe, as well as the other nations marked in the map.

Upon the north ſide of the lake we deſcry a point of land that ſhoots fifteen leagues into the main; and about thirty leagues beyond that to the eaſtward, we meet with a ſmall river that takes its riſe near the Bay of Ganaraſke, in the Lake of Frontenac; and would afford a ſhort paſſage from the one lake to the other, if it were not encumbered with cataracts. From thence to the ſtreight or mouth of the lake, you have thirty leagues; the ſtreight being a league over, and fourteen leagues long. Upon this ſtreight you ſee Fort Suppoſe marked in the map, which is one of the forts that I mentioned in my 23d letter. From that imaginary fort to the river of Condè, we have twenty leagues.

The river of Condè runs ſixty leagues in length without cataracts, if we may credit the ſavages; who aſſured me, that one may go from its ſource to another river that falls into the ſea, without any other land-carriage than one of a league in length, between the river and the other. I ſaw only the mouth of the firſt river, where our Outaouas tried their limbs, as I told you in my fifteenth letter. The iſlands that you ſee marked in the map at the bottom of the Lake Errie, are repleniſhed with roe-bucks and with fruit trees which nature has generouſly provided, in order to entertain the turkies, pheaſants, and deer with their fruit. In fine, if there were a clear and free paſſage for veſſels from Quebec to this lake, it might be made the fineſt, the richeſt, and the moſt fertile kingdom in the world; for over and above all the beauties I have mentioned, there are excellent ſilver mines about twenty leagues up the country, upon a certain hill, from whence the ſavages brought us great lumps, that have yielded that precious metal with little waſte.

From the Lake Errie, I ſteer my courſe to that of Frontenac, which I could not forbear to ſpeak of in my ſeventh and ſeventeenth letters. This lake (as I intimated above) is two hundred and eighty leagues in circumference, its figure is oval, and its depth runs between twenty and twenty five fathom. On the ſouth ſide it receives ſeveral little rivers, particularly thoſe of the Tſonontouans, of the Onnontagues, and of the Famine; on the north ſide it is joined by the rivers of Ganaraſke and of Teonontate. Its ſides are decked with tall trees, and the ground is indifferent even and level, for it has no ſteep coaſts. On the north ſide we meet with ſeveral little gulfs. You may go from this lake to that of Hurons, by going up the river Tanaouate, from whence you have a land-carriage of ſix or eight leagues to the river of Toronto, which falls into it. You may likewiſe have a paſſage from the Lake of Frontenac, to that of Errie, through the Bay of Ganaraſke, by making a land-carriage from thence to a little river that is full of cataracts. The villages of the Onnontagues, Tſonontouans, Goyogouans, and Onnoyoutes, are not far diſtant from the Lake of Frontenac. Theſe Iroqueſe nations are very advantageouſly ſeated. They have a pleaſant and fertile country; but they want roe-bucks and turkies, as well as fiſh, of which their rivers are altogether deſtitute, inſomuch that they are forced to fiſh in the lake, and to broil or dry their fiſh with a fire, in order to keep them and tranſport them to their villages. They are in like manner forced to range out of their own territories, in queſt of beaver in the winter time, either towards Ganaraſke, or to the ſides of the Lake of Toronto, or elſe towards the great river of the Outaouas; where it would be an eaſy matter to cut all their throats, by purſuing the courſe I laid down in my letters. I have already touched upon the Forts of Frontenac and Niagara; as well as upon the river of St. Lawrence, which here

takes leave of the lakes, and purſues a more compact courſe to Monreal and Quebec, where its waters mingling with thoſe of the ſea become ſo brackiſh that they are not drinkable.

It remains only to give you a deſcription of Acadia, and the iſland of Newfoundland, which are two countries that differ widely from one another. The coaſt of Acadia extends from Kenebeki, one of the frontiers of New-England, to l'Iſle Percée, near the mouth of the river of St. Laurence. This ſea-coaſt runs almoſt three hundred leagues in length, and has upon it two great navigable bays, namely, the bay called Francoiſe, and the bay des Chaleurs. It has a great many little rivers, the mouths of which are deep, and clean enough for the greateſt ſhips. Theſe rivers would afford a plentiful ſalmon-fiſhery, if there was any body to undertake it; and moſt of them as well as the gulphs that lie before them, furniſh ſuch cods as we take at the iſle Percee. For in the ſummer time, that ſort of fiſh make into the coaſt in ſhoals, eſpecially about the iſlands of Cape Breton and of St. John. It is true, the latter has no harbours, and the former has none that receive any veſſel above the burden of a bark; but if theſe two iſlands were peopled, the inhabitants might fit out ſloops to manage the fiſhery; and towards the latter end of Auguſt, when the fiſh are cured and ready, the ſhips might come to an anchor near the land, and ſo take them in. Two gentlemen of the name of Amour of Quebec, have a ſettlement for beaver-hunting upon the river of St. John; which is a very pleaſant river, and adorned with fields that are very fertile in grain. It is navigable for twelve leagues up, from its mouth. Between the point of Acadia, and the iſland of Cape Breton, there is a channel or ſtreight about two leagues in breadth, which is deep enough to carry the greateſt ſhips in France. It is called the Paſs des Canceaux, and would be much more frequented than it is, if the merchantmen bound to Canada, would ſet out from France about the 15th of March; for then they might paſs that way, being aſſured of a clear paſſage at all ſeaſons of the year, whereas the channel of Cape de Raye, is oftentimes covered with ice in April: and by this contrivance, the ſhips would arrive at Quebec in the beginning of May.

Moſt of the countries of Acadia abound with corn, peaſe, fruit and pulſe; and have a plain diſtinction of the four ſeaſons of the year, notwithſtanding that it is extremely cold for three months in winter. Several places of Acadia afford maſts as ſtrong as thoſe we have from Norway; and if there were occaſion, all ſorts of ſhips might be built there: for if you will believe the carpenters, the oak of that country is better than ours in Europe. In a word, it is a very fine country; the climate is indifferently temperate, the air is pure and wholeſome, the waters clear and light, and there is good accommodation for hunting, ſhooting and fiſhing. The animals that we meet with there moſt commonly are beavers, otters, and ſea-calves, all of them being very numerous. Thoſe who love meat are indebted to the doctors, who perſuaded the popes to metamorphoſe theſe terreſtial animals into fiſh; for they are allowed to eat of them without ſcruple in the time of Lent. To be plain, the knowledge I have of that country makes me foreſee that the Engliſh will be maſters of it ſome time or other. I could give very plauſible reaſons for the prophecy. They have already begun to ruin the commerce that the French had with the ſavages, and in a ſhort time, they will compaſs its intire deſtruction. The French they will prize their goods too high, though they are not ſo good as thoſe of the Engliſh; and yet the Engliſh ſell their commodities cheaper. It were a pity that we ſhould tamely leave to the Engliſh a country, the conqueſt of which they have attempted ſo often, in conſideration of our fir-trade and cod-fiſhing. It is impoſſible to hinder them to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſettlements upon

upon the coaſt of Acadia, by reaſon that they lie at ſuch a diſtance from one another; ſo that they will certainly ſucceed in ſuch enterprizes, as indeed they have done already. The French governors, they act with the ſame view as many of thoſe who are employed in poſts beyond ſea. They look upon their place as a gold-mine given them, in order to enrich themſelves; ſo that the publick good muſt always march behind private intereſt. M. de Meneval ſuffered the Engliſh to poſſeſs themſelves of Port Royal, becauſe that place was covered with nothing but ſingle palliſadoes. But why was it not better fortified? I can tell you the reaſon; he thought he had time enough to fill his pockets before the Engliſh would attack it. This governor ſucceeded to M. Perrot, who was broke with diſgrace, for having made it his chief buſineſs to enrich himſelf; and after returning to France, went back again with ſeveral ſhips laden with goods, in order to ſet up for a private merchant in that country. While M. Perrot was governor, he ſuffered the Engliſh to poſſeſs themſelves of ſeveral advantageous poſts, without offering to ſtir. His chief buſineſs was to go in barks from river to river, in order to traffic with the ſavages: and after he was diſgraced, he was not contented with a commerce upon the coaſts of Acadia, but would needs extend it to the Engliſh plantations; but it coſt him dear, for ſome pirates fell in with him, and after ſeizing his barks, ducked himſelf, upon which he died immediately.

The three principal ſavage nations that live upon the coaſts of Acadia are the Abenakis, the Mikemak, and the Canibas. There are ſome other erratic nations, who go and come from Acadia to New England, and go by the names of Mahingans, Soccokis, and Openango. The firſt three (having fixed habitations) are entirely in the intereſts of the French; and I muſt ſay, that in time of war they gall the Engliſh colonies with their incurſions ſo much that we ought to take care to perpetuate a good underſtanding between them and us. The baron of Saint Caſteins, a gentleman of Oleron in Bearn, having lived among the Abenakis after the ſavage way, for above twenty years, is ſo much reſpected by the ſavages, that they look upon him as their tutelar god. He was formerly an officer of the Carignan regiment in Canada; and upon the breaking of that regiment, threw himſelf among the ſavages, whoſe language he had learned. He married among them after their faſhion, and preferred the foreſts of Acadia to the Pyrenæan mountains that encompaſs the place of his nativity: for the firſt years of his abode with the ſavages he behaved himſelf ſo as to draw an inexpreſſible eſteem for them. They made him their great chief or leader, who is in a manner the ſovereign of the nation; and by degrees he has worked himſelf into ſuch a fortune, which any man but he would have made uſe of, as to draw out of that country above two or three hundred thouſand crowns, which he has now in his pocket, in good dry gold. But all the uſe he makes of it is, to buy up goods for preſents to his fellow ſavages, who upon their return from hunting, preſent him with beaver-ſkins to a treble value. The governors-general of Canada keep in with him, and the governors of New England are afraid of him. He has ſeveral daughters, who are all of them married very handſomely to Frenchmen, and had good dowries. He has never changed his wife; by which means he meant to give the ſavages to underſtand, that God does not love inconſtant folks. It is ſaid, that he endeavoured to convert theſe poor people, but his endeavours proved ſucceſsleſs; ſo that it is in vain for the Jeſuits to preach up the truths of Chriſtianity to them; though after all, theſe good fathers are not diſcouraged; nay, they think that the adminiſtering of baptiſm to a dying child is worth ten times the pains and uneaſineſs of living among that people.

Port Royal, the capital or the only city of Acadia, is in effect no more than a little paltry town, that is ſomewhat enlarged ſince the war broke out in 1689, by the acceſſion of the inhabitants that lived near Boſton, the metropolitan of New England. A great many of theſe people retired to Port Royal upon the apprehenſion that the Engliſh would pillage them, and carry them into their country. M. de Meneval ſurrendered this place to the Engliſh, as I ſaid before; he could not maintain ſuch a poſt with the handful of men that he had, becauſe the palliſadoes were low, and out of order. He made a capitulation with the commander of the party that made the attack; but the Engliſh officer broke his word to him, and uſed him both ignominouſly and harſhly. Port Royal is ſeated in the latitude of 44 degrees and 40 minutes, upon the edge of a very fine baſin, which is a league broad, and two leagues long, having at the entry about ſixteen or eighteen fathoms water on one ſide, and ſix or ſeven on the other; for you muſt know that the iſland called l'Iſle aux Chevres, which ſtands in the middle, divides the channel into two. There is excellent anchorage all over the baſin; and at the bottom of it there is a cape or point of land that parts two rivers, at which the tide riſes ten or twelve feet. Theſe rivers are bounded by pleaſant meads, which in ſpring and autumn are covered with all ſorts of freſh water-fowl. In fine, Port Royal is only a handful of houſes two ſtory high, and has but few inhabitants of any note. It ſubſiſts upon the traffick of the ſkins which the ſavages bring thither to truck for European goods. In former times the farmer's company had magazines in this place, which were under the care of the governors. I could eaſily mention ſome of them, if I were not apprehenſive that theſe memoirs may be ſeen by others beſides yourſelf.

The iſland of Newfoundland is three hundred leagues in circumference. It lies at the diſtance of ſix hundred and fifty leagues from France, and forty or fifty leagues from the bank of the ſame name. The ſouth ſide of the iſland belongs to the French, who have ſeveral ſettlements there for the fiſhing of cod. The eaſt ſide is inhabited by the Engliſh, who are poſſeſſed of ſeveral conſiderable poſts, ſituated in certain ports, bays, and havens, which they have taken care to fortify. The weſt of the iſland is waſte, and it was never yet poſſeſſed. The iſland is of a triangular figure, and is full of mountains and impracticable foreſts. It has ſome great meadows, or rather heaths, which are covered with a ſort of moſs inſtead of graſs. The ſoil of this country is good for nothing, as being a mixture of gravel, ſand and ſtones; ſo that the fiſhery was the only motive that induced the French and the Engliſh to ſettle there. It affords great ſtore of game, water-fowl, partridges and hares; but as for the ſtags, it is almoſt impoſſible to come at them, by reaſon that the mountains are ſo high, and the woods ſo thick. In this iſland, as well as in that of Cape Breton, we find porphyry of ſeveral colours; and care has been taken to ſend to France ſome pieces of it for a pattern, which were found to be very pretty, only they were hard to cut. I have ſeen ſome of them that were red ſtreaked with green, and ſeemed to be extremely fine; but the miſchief is, it ſplits ſo when it is taken out of the quarries, that it cannot be made uſe of, but by way of incruſtation.

This iſland of Cape Breton affords likewiſe black marble, or a ſort of breſche with grey veins, which is hard and not eaſily poliſhed. This ſtone is apt to ſplit, for it is not equally hard, and it has knots in it. There are no ſettled ſavages in the iſland of Newfoundland. It is true, the Eſkimaux do ſometimes croſs over to it at the ſtreight of Belle Iſle in great ſloops, with intent to ſurpriſe the crew of the fiſhermen upon the coaſt called Petit Nord. Our ſettlements are at Placentia, at the iſland of St. Peter, and

in

in the bay of Trepaſſez. From Cape Raſe to Chapeau Rouge the coaſt is very clean, but from Chapeau Rouge to Cape Raye the racks render it dangerous. There are two conſiderable inconveniences, that attend the landing upon this iſland. In the firſt place, the fogs are here ſo thick in the ſummer, for twenty leagues off into the main, that the ableſt and moſt expert ſailor dare not ſtand into the land while they laſt; ſo that all ſhips are obliged to lie by for a clear day, in order to make the land. The ſecond inconveniency, which is yet greater, proceeds from the currents which run to and again, without any perceivable variation, by which means the ſhips are ſometimes drove in upon the coaſt, when they reckon upon ten leagues offing. But, which is worſt of all, the inſenſible motion of the rolling waves throws them inſenſibly upon the rocks, which they cannot poſſibly avoid, for want of ground to anchor upon. It was by this means that the King's ſhip, the Pretty, was loſt in 1692, as well as a great many others upon ſeveral occaſions.

Of all our ſettlements in North America Placentia is the poſt of the greateſt importance and ſervice to the King, in regard that it is a place of refuge to the ſhips that are obliged to put into a harbour, when they go or come from Canada, and even to thoſe which come from South America, when they want to take in freſh water or proviſions, and have ſprung their maſts, or been damaged in a ſtorm. This place is ſituated in the latiude of 47 degrees and ſome minutes, almoſt at the bottom of the bay that goes by the ſame name. The bay is ten or twelve leagues broad, and twenty odd leagues long. The fort ſtands upon the ſide of a neck or narrow ſtreight, which is ſixty paces over and ſix fathoms water deep. The ſhips that enter into the port are obliged to graze (ſo to ſpeak) upon the angle of the baſtions. The port or harbour is a league long, and a quarter of a league over: before the port there is a large, fine road, which is a league and a half wide: but lies ſo bleak to the north-weſt and weſt-north-weſt winds, the ſtrongeſt and moſt boiſterous winds that are, that neither cables nor anchors, nor large ſtout ſhips can withſtand their furious ſhocks; though indeed theſe violent ſtorms ſeldom happen but in the latter end of autumn. The ſame year that the Pretty was loſt, the King loſt another of 69 guns, called the Good, in this road; and if the four or five other ſhips that belong to the ſame ſquadron, had not taken the precaution of ſteering into the port, they had certainly underwent the ſame fate. This road then which is only expoſed to the north-weſt and weſt-north-weſt winds, has ſome hidden rocks on the north ſide, beſides thoſe at Point Verte, where ſeveral of the inhabitants are wont to fiſh. All theſe things you may ſee plainly upon the plan that I ſent you along with my 23d letter.

Commonly there comes thirty or forty ſhips from France to Placentia every year, and ſometimes ſixty. Some come with intent to fiſh, and others have no other deſign than to truck with the inhabitants, who live in the ſummer-time on the other ſide of the fort. The ground upon which their houſes ſtand, is called La grand Grave, for in effect they have nothing but gravel to ſpread their cod-fiſh upon, in order to have them dried by the ſun after they are ſalted. The inhabitants and the French fiſhermen ſend their ſloops every day two leagues off the port to purſue the fiſhery; and ſometimes the ſloops return ſo over-loaded, that they are in a manner buried in the water. You cannot imagine how deep they ſink, and it is impoſſible you ſhould believe it unleſs you ſaw it. The fiſhery commences in the beginning of June, and is at an end about the middle of Auguſt. In the harbour they catch a little ſort of a fiſh, which they put upon their hooks as a bait for the cod.

Placentia is in great want of gravel, which occaſions the thinneſs of the inhabitants. If the governors preferred the King's ſervice to avarice they might make it a conſiderable

ſiderable poſt, and a great many would make gravel-walks at their own charge; but as long as the governors prey upon the fortunes of private men under the fair pretence of the King's ſervice, which is always in their mouths, I cannot ſee that this ſettlement will ever be enlarged or improved. Does not the governor diſgrace his Prince, and ſink the character of his poſt, in turning fiſherman, merchant, vintner, and acting in the way of a thouſand meaner and more mechanical trades? Is not this a piece of tyranny? To force the inhabitants to buy what goods they want out of ſuch and ſuch a ſhip, and to ſell their cod to ſuch other ſhips as the governor is intereſted in, and that as a principal owner; to appropriate to himſelf the rigging and tackle of the ſhips that are caſt away upon the coaſt, to ſtop the crew of merchantmen for his own fiſhery, to ſell habitations or ſettlements, to ſtifle the bidding up for effects ſold by way of auction that he may ingroſs them by his ſole authority, to change the proviſions laid up in magazines for his Majeſty's troops, to carry off the good biſcuit and put bad in the room of it, to make ſo much beef and bacon for the ſubſiſtence of the garriſon, to force the inhabitants to ſend their ſervants and carpenters to ſome work in which his Majeſty's ſervice is leſs concerned than his own pocket: theſe, I ſay, are things that I take to be plain infractions of the orders iſſued forth by Lewis the XIV.; theſe are abuſes that muſt be redreſſed, if we would have the King to be well ſerved: and yet there is nothing done in it. For my part, I am unacquainted with the reaſon of the delay; thoſe that have a mind to know had beſt aſk the deputies of Monſieur de P ***. I am fully perſuaded, that all theſe piracies do not come to the King's ears, for he is too juſt to ſuffer them.

To conclude, Placentia bears neither corn, nor rye, nor peaſe, for the ſoil is good for nothing; not to mention, that if it were as good and as fertile as any in Canada, yet nobody would give themſelves the trouble to cultivate it; for one man earns more in cod-fiſhing in one ſummer than ten would do in the way of agriculture. In the great bay of Placentia there are ſome little harbours, (beſides that of the fort) which the Biſcay fiſhermen reſort to. Such are the little and the great Burin, St. Laurence, Martir, Chapeau Rouge, &c.

A Liſt of the Savage Nations of Canada.

Thoſe in Acadia.

The Abenakis.
The Micmac.
The Canibas.
The Mahingans.
The Openangos.
The Soccokis.
The Etechemins.

} Theſe are all of them good warriors: they are more active and leſs cruel than the Iroqueſe. Their language differs a little from that of the Algonkins.

The Nations that lie upon the River of St. Laurence, from the Sea to Monreal.

The Papinachois.
The Mountaneers.
The Gaſpeſians.

} Theſe ſpeak the Algonkin language.

The Hurons of Loreto, the Iroqueſe tongue.

The Abenakis of Scilleri.
The Algonkins.

} The Algonkin language.

The

The Agnies of the fall called Saut St. Louis; they ſpeak the Iroqueſe language, and are good warriors.

The Iroqueſe of the mountain of Monreal; they ſpeak the Iroqueſe language, and are a brave people.

Thoſe upon the Lake of Hurons.

The Hurons, the Iroqueſe language.

The Outaouas.
The Nockes.
The Miſſiſagues.
The Attikamek.
} The Algonkin language.

The Outekipoues, alias Sauteurs; good warriors.

Upon the Illineſe Lake, and the adjacent Country.

Some Illineſe at Chegakou.
The Oumamis; good warriors.
The Maſkoutens.
The Kikapous; good warriors.
The Outagamis; good warriors.
The Malomimis.
The Ponteouatamis.
The Ojatinons; good warriors.
The Sakis.
} They ſpeak the Algonkin language, and are a ſprightly active ſort of people.

In the Neighbourhood of the Lake of Frontenac.

The Tſonontouans.
The Goyoguans.
The Onnotagues.
} Theſe ſpeak a different language from the Algonkin.

The Onnoyoutes and Agnies, at a ſmall diſtance.

Near the River of the Outaous.

The Tabitibi.
The Monzoni.
The Machakandibi.
The Nopemen d'Achirini.
The Nepiſirini.
The Temiſkamink.
} They ſpeak the Algonkin language, and all of them are very cowardly.

To the North of Miſſiſipi, and upon the Confines of the Upper Lake, and Hudſon's Bay.

The Nadoueſſis.
The Aſſimpouals.
The Sonkaſkitons.
The Ouadbatons.
The Atintons.
} Theſe ſpeak Algonkin.

The

The Cliſtinos; brave warriors and active briſk men. } Theſe ſpeak Algonkin.
The Ekimaux.

A Liſt of the Animals of the South Countries of Canada.

Wild beeves.
Little ſtags or harts.
Roebucks of three different ſpecies.
Wolves, ſuch as we have in Europe.
Lynxs, ſuch as we have in Europe.
Michibichi, a ſort of baſtard tyger.
Ferrets, Weaſels, } ſuch as we have in Europe.
Aſh-coloured ſquirrels.
Hares, Rabbits, Badgers, } ſuch as we have in Europe.
White beavers, very ſcarce.
Reddiſh bears.
Muſk rats.
Reddiſh foxes, as in Europe.
Crocodiles in the Miſſiſipi.
Oſſa, an animal like a hare, upon the Miſſiſipi.

A Liſt of the Animals of the North Countries of Canada.

Orignals or elks.
Caribous or wild Aſſes.
Black foxes.
Silver-coloured foxes.
A ſort of wild-cats, called enfans du diable, or the devil's children.
Carcaious, an animal not unlike a badger.
Porcupines.
Fontereaux, an amphibious ſort of little pole-cats.
Martins.
Pole-cats, ſuch as we have in Europe.
Black bears.
White bears.
Siffleurs, an animal that makes a whizzing noiſe.
Flying ſquirrels.
White hares.
Beavers.
Otters.
Muſk-rats.
Suiſſe ſquirrels, or a ſort of ſquirrels whoſe hair reſembles a Suiſſe's doublet.
Great harts.
Sea-wolves or calves.

A Deſcription

*A Deſcription of ſuch Animals or Beaſts as are not mentioned in the Letters.**

THE Michibichi is a ſort of tiger, only it is leſs than the common tiger, and not ſo much ſpeckled. As ſoon as it deſcries a man, it runs away, and climbs up the firſt tree it meets with. It attacks all brute animals whatſoever, and conquers them with eaſe; and, which is very ſingular and peculiar to it above all other animals, it runs in to the aſſiſtance of the ſavages, when they purſue bears and wild beeves; upon ſuch occaſions it makes as if it were afraid of nobody, and ſallies out with fury upon the hunted animal. The ſavages call theſe animals ſort of manitous, that is, ſpirits that love men; and it is upon that ſcore they eſteem and reſpect them to ſuch a degree that they would chooſe rather to die than to kill one of them.

The white beavers are much valued upon the account of their being uncommon, though, at the ſame time, their hair is neither ſo large nor ſo fine as that of the common beavers. As there are but few of theſe white beavers, ſo thoſe which are quite black are very ſcarce.

The reddiſh bears are miſchievous creatures, for they fall fiercely upon the huntſmen, whereas the black ones fly from them. The former ſort are leſs, and more nimble than the latter.

The crocodiles of Miſſiſipi are exactly the ſame with thoſe of the Nile and other places. I have ſeen that crocodile that is at Engoliſma in Aquitaine, and find that it has the ſame figure with theſe, only it is ſomewhat leſs. The moſt uſual method that the ſavages have for taking them alive is to throw great wreaths or cords made of the bark of trees with a running-knot upon their neck, the middle of their body, their paws, &c. After they are thus ſeized, they ſhut them up between ten or twelve ſtakes, and there tie them after their belly is turned upwards. While they lie in this poſture they flay them without touching their head or their tail, and give them a coat of fir-bark, to which they ſet fire, having cut the ropes that kept them faſt. Upon ſuch occaſions theſe animals make a fearful howling and crying. To conclude, the ſavages are frequently ſwallowed up by theſe creatures, whether in ſwimming over a river, or in ſleeping upon its banks. Arioſto in the 68th diapaſon of his 15th ſong, gives this deſcription of a crocodile:

Vive ſub lito è dentro a la Riviera,
Ei Corpi Umani ſon le ſue vivande,
De le perſone miſere è incaute,
Di viandanti è d'infelice naute.

That is, it lives both in the river and upon its banks; it ſquaſhes people with its murdering tooth; it feeds upon the bodies of poor travellers, of unfortunate paſſengers and ſailors.

The oſſa are little animals like hares, and reſemble them in every thing excepting the ears and hind-feet. They run, and cannot climb. Their females have a bag under their belly, where their young ones enter upon a purſuit, in order to ſave themſelves along with the mother, who immediately betakes herſelf to flight.

* The animals of the ſouth countries.

The ſilver-coloured foxes* are of the ſame ſhape with thoſe of Europe, as well as the black ones. The black ones are very ſcarce, and whoever catches one, is ſure to ſell it for its weight in gold. This ſpecies is met with only in the coldeſt countries.

The white bears are a monſtrous animal, and extraordinary long; their head has a formidable aſpect, and their hair is very large and thick; they are ſo fierce, that they will come and attack a ſloop in the ſea, with ſeven or eight men in it. It is ſaid, that they will ſwim ſix or ſeven leagues without being tired. They live upon fiſh and ſhell upon the ſea-ſhore, from whence they ſeldom ſtraggle far. I never ſaw but one of them in my life-time, which had certainly torn me to pieces if I had not ſpied it at a diſtance, and ſo had time to run back for ſhelter to Fort Lewis at Placentia.

The flying-ſquirrels are as big as a large rat, and of a greyiſh white colour. They are as drowſy as thoſe of the other ſpecies are watchful. They are called flying-ſquirrels, in regard that they fly from one tree to another, by the means of a certain ſkin which ſtretches itſelf out in the form of a wing when they make theſe little flights.

The white hares are only ſuch in winter, for as ſoon as the ſpring comes on, they begin to turn greyiſh, and by degrees recover the ſame colour as our hares have in France, which they hold till the end of autumn.

The Suiſſe ſquirrels are little animals, reſembling little rats. The epithet of Suiſſe is beſtowed upon them, in regard that the hair which covers their body is ſtreaked with black and white, and reſembles a Suiſſe's doublet; and that theſe ſtreaks make a ring on each thigh, which bears a great deal of reſemblance to a Suiſſe's cap.

The large ſtags are neither larger nor thicker than thoſe we have in Europe; but they are called large in proportion to two other ſpecies of harts that frequent the ſouthern countries. The leſſer ſort affords the moſt delicious meat.

The ſea-wolves, which ſome call ſea-calves, are as big as maſtiffs. They are almoſt always in the water, or at leaſt they never go far from the ſea-ſide. Theſe animals do not walk ſo much as they crawl, for when they raiſe themſelves out of the water, they only creep upon the ſand or clay. Their head has the form of an otter's head, and their feet, which have no legs, reſemble thoſe of a gooſe. The female kind bring forth their young ones upon the rocks, or upon ſome little iſlands, juſt by the ſea. The ſea-wolves live upon fiſh, and reſort to cold countries. There is a prodigious number of them about the mouth of the river of St. Lawrence.

As for the remaining animals of Canada, I gave you an account of them in my letters. I will not offer to ſhew you what methods the ſavages take to catch or kill all theſe animals, for ſuch an undertaking would be endleſs. This I can aſſure you of in the general, that they rarely go a hunting to no purpoſe, and that they make no uſe of their dogs but in the hunting of elks, and ſometimes in hunting of beavers, as you ſhall ſee under the head of the diverſions of hunting and ſhooting among the ſavages.

A Liſt of the Fowl or Birds that frequent the South Countries of Canada.

Vultures.
Huards, a river-fowl as big as a gooſe.
Swans,
Black geeſe, } ſuch as we have in Europe.
Black ducks,

* The animals or beaſts of the north countries.

Plungeons,

Plungeons, Coots, } such as we have in Europe.
Rayles,
Turkeys.
Red partridges.
Pheaſants.
Large eagles.
Cranes, Blackbirds, Thruſhes, } such as we have in Europe.
Wood-pigeons.
Parrots.
Ravens, Swallows, } such as we have in Europe.
Several ſorts of birds of prey that are not known in Europe.

Nightingales unknown in Europe, as well as ſeveral other little birds of different colours, particularly that called oiſeau mouche, a very little bird reſembling a fly; and great quantities of pelicans.

The Birds of the North Countries of Canada.

Buſtards, White greeſe, } ſuch as we have in Europe.
Ducks, of ten or twelve ſorts.
Teals.
Sea-mews.
Grelans.
Sterlets.
Sea-parrots.
Moyacks.
Cormorants, Heath-cocks, Snipes, Plungeons, Plovers, Lapwings, Herns, Courbeious, The water-fowl called Chevalier, } ſuch as we have in Europe.
Bateurs de Faux, a fowl as big as a quail.
White partridges.
Large black partridges.
Reddiſh partridges.
Woodhens.
Turtle doves.
White ortolans, a bird no bigger than a lark.

Sterlings, Ravens, } such as we have in Europe.
Vultures.
Spar-hawks, Merlins, Swallows, } like ours in Europe.
Becs de Scie, a sort of a duck.

A Table of the Insects that are found in Canada.

Adders.
Asps.
Rattle-snakes.
Lowing frogs.
Gnats, or midges.
Gad-bees.
Brulots, or burning hand-worms.

A Description of such Birds as are not accounted for in my Letters.

THE huards * are a fresh-water fowl as big as a goose, and as dull and heavy as an ass. They have black and white feathers, a pointed beak, and a very short neck. They only duck or dive in the summer, for they cannot use their wings; and in that season the savages take the diversion of surrounding them with seven or eight canoes, dispersed here and there, and so obliging them to dive down, when they offer to come up to take breath. The savages have entertained me several times with this agreeable amusement, during the course of the voyages I made with them.

The red partridges are wild and little, and much different from the red partridge we have in Europe, as well as the pheasant, whose feathers being of a white colour with black specks, make a very agreeable diversity.

The largest eagles we find in this country are no bigger than swans. Their head and their tail is white, and they have frequent engagements with a sort of vultures, that commonly have the better of it. In our voyages we had frequent occasions of seeing these engagements, which last as long as the eagle can keep up the force of its wings.

The parrots are met with in the Illinese country, and upon the river of Missisipi. They are very small, and are the same with those that we bring from Brazil and Cayenne.

That sort of nightingale that I saw is of a peculiar form; for it is of a lesser size than the European, and of a bluish colour, and its notes are more diversified; besides, that it lodges in the holes of trees, and four or five of them do commonly keep together upon the thickest trees, and with joint notes warble over their songs.

The flylike bird is no bigger than one's thumb, and the colour of its feathers is so changeable, that it is hard to fasten any one colour upon it. They appear sometimes red, sometimes of a gold colour, at other times they are blue and red; and properly speaking, it is only the brightness of the sun that makes us insensible of the change of its gold and red colours. Its beak is as sharp as a needle. It flies from flower to

* The fowl or birds of the Southern Countries.

flower, like a bee, and by its fluttering ſucks the flowery ſap. Sometimes about noon it pitches upon the little branches of plum-trees or cherry-trees. I have ſent ſome of them dead to France, it being impoſſible to keep them alive; and they were looked upon as a great curioſity.

There are ten or twelve ſorts of ducks * in this country. Thoſe called branchus, are the ſmalleſt indeed, but they are much the prettieſt. The feathers upon their neck look ſo bright, by virtue of the variety and livelineſs of their colours, that a fur of that nature would be invaluable in Muſcovy or Turkey. They owe the name of branchus to their reſting upon the branches of trees. There is another ſpecies of ducks in this country, that are as black as jackdaws, only their beak and the circle of their eyes are red.

The ſea-mews, grelans and ſterlets, are fowls that fly inceſſantly over ſeas, lakes, and rivers, in order to catch little fiſh. Their fleſh is good for nothing, beſides that, they have no ſubſtance of body, though they ſeem to be as big as pigeons.

The ſea-parrots bear the name of parrots, upon the account that their beak is of the ſame form with that of the land-parrot. They never quit the ſea or the ſhore; and are always flying upon the ſurface of the water, in queſt of little fiſh. Their colour is black, and their ſize is much the ſame with that of a pullet. There are great numbers of them upon the bank of Newfoundland, and near the coaſt of the iſland, which the ſeamen catch with hooks covered with a cod's roe, and hung over the prow of the ſhip.

The moyacks are a ſort of fowl, as big as a gooſe, having a ſhort neck, and a broad foot; and which is very ſtrange, their eggs are half as big again as a ſwan's, and yet they are all yolk, and that ſo thick, that they muſt be diluted with water before they can be uſed in pancakes.

The white partridges are as big as our red partridges. Their feet are covered with ſuch a thick down that they reſemble thoſe of a young rabbit. They are only ſeen in the winter time, and ſome years they are ſcarce ſeen at all; though on the other hand, in other years they are ſo plentiful, that you may buy a dozen for ninepence. This is the moſt ſtupid animal in the world; it ſits upon the ſnow, and ſuffers itſelf to be knocked on the head with a pole, without offering to ſtir. I am of the opinion, that this unaccountable numbneſs is occaſioned by its long flight from Greenland to Canada. This conjecture is not altogether groundleſs, for it is obſerved, that they never come in flocks to Canada, but after the continuance of a north or north-eaſt wind.

The black partridges are truly very pretty. They are bigger than ours; and their beak, together with the circle of the eyes and the feet, are red; their plumage being of a ſhining black colour. Theſe animals are very proud, and ſeem to have a ſenſe of their beauty as they walk. They are but very uncommon, as well as the reddiſh partridges, which reſemble quails in their bulk and briſkneſs.

The white ortolans are only met with in winter; but I am of the opinion, that their feathers are naturally of a white colour, and that they retrieve their natural colour in the places they retire to, when they diſappear in Canada. They are indifferent good to eat when they are fat, but that they ſeldom are. In the winter great quantities of them are catched about the barns, with nets ſtretched out upon the ſtraw.

* The birds of the Northern Countries.

A Deſcription of the Inſects of Canada.

THE adders of Canada do no harm at all. The aſps indeed are very dangerous, when the people bathe in the ſtagnating water towards the ſouth countries. The rattle-ſnake or ſounding ſerpent is ſo called, in regard that at the extremity of its tail it has a ſort of a caſe, containing certain bones which make ſuch a noiſe when the ſerpent creeps along, that it is heard thirty paces off. Theſe ſerpents betake themſelves to flight when they hear the ſound of men's feet, and commonly ſleep in the ſun either in green fields, or open woods. They never ſting but when they are trod upon.

The lowing-frogs are ſo called with reſpect to their croaking, which ſounds like the lowing of an ox. Theſe frogs are twice as large as thoſe we have in Europe. The Canada gad-bees are a ſort of flies about twice as big as bees, but of the ſame form with a common fly. They ſting only between noon and three o'clock in the after-noon; but then they do it ſo violently that they fetch blood. However it is only upon certain rivers that they are met with.

The brulots are a ſort of hand-worms, which cleave ſo hard to the ſkin, that their pricking occaſions the ſame ſenſe, as if it were a burning coal, or a ſpark of fire. Theſe little animals are imperceivable, though at the ſame time they are pretty numerous.

The Names of the Fiſh in the River of St. Lawrence, from its Mouth to the Lakes of Canada.

Balenots, or little whales.
A fiſh almoſt as big as a whale, called fouffleur.
White porpoiſes.
Salmon, ſuch as we have in Europe.
Eels.
Macrel, as in Europe.
Herrings.
Gaſperots, a ſmall fiſh like a herring.
Baſes.
Shad-fiſh.
Cod-fiſh.
Plaices
Smelts.
Turbots.
Pikes.
The gold-coloured fiſh.
Roaches.
Lampreys.
Merles, or ſea-tench.
Thornbacks.
Cungars.
Sea-cows, a kind of porpoiſes.

The Shell Fiſh.

Little lobſters.
Crab-fiſh.
Cockles.
Muſcles.

The Fiſh that are found in the Lakes of Canada, and in the Rivers that fall into them.

Sturgeons.
The armed fiſh.
Trouts.
Eels.
Mullets.
Carp.

White-fiſh

White-fiſh.
A ſort of herrings.
Gull-fiſh.
Gudgeons.

The Fiſh found in the River of Miſſiſipi.

Pikes, ſuch as we have in Europe.
Carps.
Tench.
Perches.
Dabs, and ſeveral others that are not known in Europe.

A Deſcription of the Fiſh that are not mentioned in the Letters.

THE balenot * is a ſort of a whale, only it is leſs and more fleſhy, and does not yield oil in proportion to the northern whales. This fiſh goes fifty or ſixty leagues up the river.

The ſouffleurs are much of the ſame ſize, only they are ſhorter and blacker. When they mean to take breath after diving, they ſquirt out the water through a hole behind their head after the ſame manner with the whales. Commonly, they doge the ſhips in the river of St. Lawrence.

The white porpoiſes are as big as oxen. They always go along with the current; and go up with the tide till they come at freſh water, upon which they retire with the ebb water. They are a ghaſtly ſort of animals, and are frequently taken before Quebec.

The gaſperots are a ſmall fiſh, not unlike a herring. In the ſummer time they make into the ſhore in ſuch ſhoals, that the cod-fiſhers take as many of them as ſerves for bait for that fiſhery. Theſe fiſhermen do likewiſe make uſe of herrings, when the ſeaſon obliges them to put into the ſhore to ſpawn. In a word, all the fiſh that are made uſe of for a bait to make the codfiſh bite at the hook, are called boete in the fiſhermen's dialect.

The gold-coloured fiſh are nice food. They are about fifteen inches long; their ſcales are yellow, and they are valued very high.

The ſea-cows, which are a ſort of porpoiſes, are bigger than the Normandy beeves. They have a ſort of paws cut like a gooſe's foot, their head reſembles that of an otter; and their teeth, which are two inches thick, and nine inches long, are reckoned the fineſt ivory that is. It is ſaid that they range wide of the ſhore, towards ſandy and marſhy places.

The lobſters of this river ſeem to be exactly the ſame with thoſe we have in Europe.

The cockles are of a piece with thoſe we have upon the coaſt of France, excepting that they are larger, and have a more agreeable taſte, though their fleſh ſeems to partake more of crudity and indigeſtion.

The muſcles of this river are prodigious large, and taſte very well; but it is next to an impoſſibility to eat them without breaking one's teeth, by reaſon of their being ſtuffed with pearl; I call it pearl, though the name of gravel or ſand may be more proper, with reſpect to its value, for I brought to Paris fifty or ſixty of the largeſt and fineſt, which were rated only at a penny a-piece; notwithſtanding that we had broke above two thouſand muſcles to make up that number.

The lake-ſturgeons are commonly five or ſix foot long; but I once ſaw one of ten foot, and another of twelve in length. The ſavages catch them with nets in the

* Thoſe between the mouth of the river and the lakes.

winter,

winter, and grapples in the ſummer. It is ſaid, they have a certain ſort of fleſh about their head, that taſtes like beef, mutton, and veal; but I have eat of it ſeveral times, and never could obſerve any ſuch thing; which makes me look upon the allegation as chimerical.

The fiſh-in-armour is about three foot and a half long. It is defended by ſuch ſtrong and hard ſcales, that it is impoſſible for any other fiſh to hurt it. Its enemies are trouts and roaches, but it is admirably well provided for the repulſing of their attacks, by virtue of its pointed ſnout, which is a foot long, and as hard as its ſkin. It eats very well, and its fleſh or ſubſtance is as firm as it is white.

The lake dabs or ſandings are not above a foot long, but they are very thick all over. They are called barbues in French, which an alluſion to a certain ſort of beards that hang down from the ſide of their muzzle, and are as big as ears of corn. Thoſe which we find in the river of Miſſiſipi are of a monſtrous ſize. Both the one and the other are catched with a hook, as well as with a net; and make very good victuals.

The Miſſiſipi carps are likewiſe of an extraordinary ſize, and admirably well taſted. They are of the ſame form with ours. In the autumn they put in towards the ſhore, and are eaſily catched with a net.

The largeſt trouts we meet with in the lakes are five foot and a half long, and of one foot diameter. Their fleſh is red, and they are catched with great hooks made faſt to pieces of wire.

The fiſh catched in the lakes are better than thoſe we take at ſea, or in the rivers, particularly the white fiſh, which, for goodneſs and nice eating, are far beyond all the other ſpecies. The ſavages that live upon the ſides of thoſe little freſh-water ſeas, prefer the broth of fiſh, to meat-broth, when they are indiſpoſed. This choice they ground upon experience; whereas the French, on the other hand, find that veniſon broth is at once more ſubſtantial and reſtorative.

The rivers of Canada are repleniſhed with an infinity of other fiſhes, that are not known in Europe. The fiſh catched in the north country rivers are different from thoſe of the ſouth; and thoſe taken in the Long river, which diſembogues into the river of Miſſiſipi, ſavour ſo rank of mud and clay, that it is impoſſible to eat of them; abating for a ſort of little trouts that the ſavages take in the adjacent lakes, which make a tolerable meſs.

The rivers of the Otentats and the Miſſouris produce ſuch odd ſhaped fiſhes that it is impoſſible to deſcribe them without they were drawn upon paper. Theſe fiſhes taſte but ſorrily, and yet the ſavages love it mightily, which I take to proceed from their knowing no better.

The Trees and Fruits of the South Countries of Canada.

Beech trees, Red oak, } ſuch as we have in Europe.
Bitter cherry-trees.
Aſh-trees.
Elms, Linden-trees, } ſuch as we have in Europe.
Nut-trees of two ſorts.
Cheſnut-trees.
Plum-trees.
Cherry-trees.
Hazel-trees, ſuch as we have in Europe.
Vines.
A ſort of citrons.
Water melons.
Sweet citruls.
Wild gooſeberries.

Apple-trees.

Apple-trees.
Pear-trees.
Pine-apples.
Tobacco, ſuch as our Spaniſh tobacco.

The Trees and Fruits of the North Countries of Canada.

White oak.
Red oak.
Birch-trees.
Bitter cherry-trees.
Mapple-trees.
Pine-trees.
Epinettes.
Fir-trees of three ſorts.
Peruſſes.
Cedar-trees.
Aſpin-trees.
White wood.
Alder-trees.
Maiden-hair.
Strawberries.
Raſpberries.
Gooſeberries.
Bluets.

A Deſcription of the above-mentioned Trees and Fruits.

YOU muſt remark, that all the wood of Canada is good of its kind. The trees that ſtand expoſed to the north winds are apt to be influenced by the froſt, as it appears from the chops and chinks that it occaſions.

The bitter cherry-tree has a hard and whitiſh wood with a grey bark. Some of them are as tall as the loftieſt oaks, and as big as a hogſhead. This tree grows ſtraight; it has an oval leaf, and is made uſe of in beams, rafters, and other carpenter's work.

The mapple-tree is much of the ſame height and bulk; but it has a brown bark, and the wood is reddiſh. It bears no reſemblance to that ſort we have in Europe. It yields a ſap, which has a much pleaſanter taſte than the beſt lemonade or cherry-water, and makes the wholſomeſt drink in the world. This liquor is drawn by cutting the tree two inches deep in the wood, the cut being run ſloping to the length of ten or twelve inches; at the lower end of this gaſh, a knife is thruſt into the tree ſlopingly, ſo that the water running along the cut or gaſh, as through a gutter, and falling upon the knife that lies acroſs the channel, runs out upon the knife, which has veſſels placed underneath to receive it. Some trees will yield five or ſix bottles of this water a day; and ſome inhabitants of Canada might draw twenty hogſheads of it in one day, if they would thus cut and notch all the mapples of their reſpective plantations. The gaſh does no harm to the tree. Of this ſap they make ſugar and ſyrup, which is ſo valuable, that there cannot be a better remedy for fortifying the ſtomach. It is but few of the inhabitants that have the patience to make mapple-water; for as common and uſual things are always ſlighted, ſo there is ſcarce anybody but children that give themſelves the trouble of gaſhing thoſe trees. To conclude, the north country mapples have more ſap than thoſe of the ſouth countries; but at the ſame time the ſap is not ſo ſweet.

There are two ſorts of nut-trees in this country. The one bears round, and the other long, nuts; but neither of them is good for any thing, no more than the wild cheſnuts that grow in the Ilineſe country.

The apples that grow upon ſome of their apple-trees eat well when they are coddled, but they are good for nothing when they are raw. Upon the Miſſiſipi, indeed, there is a ſort of apples that have a taſte not unlike that of ſome European apples: the pears are good, but very ſcarce.

The

The cherries are ſmall, and extremely red; and though their taſte is not good, yet the roe-bucks like them ſo well, that in the ſummer-time they ſcarce ever miſs to lie under the cherry-trees all night long, eſpecially if it blows hard.

This country affords three ſorts of excellent plums, which bear no reſemblance to ours either in figure or colour. Some are long and ſmall, ſome are round and thick, and ſome very little.

The vines twine round the trees to the very top; and the branches of thoſe trees are ſo covered with grapes, that one would take the grape to be the fruit of the tree. In ſome countries of North America the grape is little, but very well taſted; but towards the Miſſiſipi it is long and thick, and ſo is the cluſter. There has been ſome wine preſſed from the grapes of that country, which, after long ſtanding, became as ſweet as canary, and as black as ink.

The citrons of North America are ſo called only becauſe their form reſembles that of our citron. Inſtead of a rind, they have only a ſingle ſkin. They grow upon a plant that riſes three feet high, and does not bear above three or four at a time. This fruit is as wholeſome as its root is dangerous; for the one is very healthy, and the juice of the other is a mortal ſubtile poiſon. While I ſtaid at Fort Frontenac, in the year 1684, I ſaw an Iroqueſe woman take down this fatal potion, with a deſign to follow her deceaſed huſband; after ſhe had taken leave of her friends, and ſung the death-ſong, with the formalities that are uſual among theſe blind wretches. The poiſon quickly worked the deſired effect; for this widow, who in Europe would be juſtly looked upon as a miracle of conſtancy and fidelity, had no ſooner ſwallowed the murdering juice, then ſhe fell into two or three ſhivering fits, and ſo expired.

The water-melons, called by the Spaniards Algiers melons, are round and thick like a ball; ſome are red, and ſome white; and the kernels, which are very large, are ſometimes black, ſometimes red; as for their taſte it is exactly the ſame with that of the Spaniſh or Portugueſe melons.

The citruls of this country are ſweet, and of a different nature from thoſe of Europe; and I am informed, that the American citruls will not grow in Europe. They are as big as our melons, and their pulp is as yellow as ſaffron. Commonly they are baked in ovens, but the better way is to roaſt them under the embers as the ſavages do. Their taſte is much the ſame with that of the marmelade of apples, only they are ſweeter. One may eat as much of them as he pleaſes, without fearing any diſorder from them.

The wild gooſeberries are good for nothing but for comfits; but that ſort of comfits are ſeldom made, for ſugar is too dear in Canada to be employed for ſuch uſes.

A Deſcription of the Trees and Fruits of the Northern Countries.

THE Canada birch-trees are much different from thoſe we have in ſome provinces of France; both for bulk and quality. The ſavages make canoes of their bark, ſome of which is red, and ſome white; but both are equally proper for that uſe. That which has the feweſt veins and chaps is the beſt; but the red bark makes the fineſt ſhow. There are ſome little baſkets made of the young birches, that are much eſteemed in France; and books may be made of them, the leaves of which will be as fine as paper. This I can ſpeak by experience, for I have frequently made uſe of them for want of paper, in writing the journal of my voyages; nay, I remember I have ſeen, in a certain library in France, a manuſcript of the goſpel of St. Matthew, written in Greek upon this ſort of bark; and which is yet more ſurpriſing, I was then told, that it had been

been written above a thouſand years; and at the ſame time I dare ſwear, that it was the genuine birch-bark of New France, which in all appearance was not then diſcovered.

The pine-trees are very tall, ſtrait, and thick; and are made uſe of for maſts, which the King's pinks do oftentimes tranſport to France. It is ſaid, that ſome of theſe trees are big enough to ſerve for a maſt of a firſt-rate ſhip.

The Epinette is a ſort of a pine, with a ſharper and thicker leaf. It is made uſe of in carpenters work, and the matter which drains from it, ſmells as ſweet as incenſe.

There are three ſorts of firs in this country, which are ſawed into deals by certain mills, that the Quebec merchants have cauſed to be built in ſome places.

The Peruſſe is the proſpereſt of all green woods for the building of ſhips, upon the conſideration that it is compacter and has cloſer pores, ſo that it does not ſoak or drink in the moiſture as much as others.

Here are two ſorts of cedar, namely, the white and the red; but one muſt view them narrowly before he can diſtinguiſh them, by reaſon that both of them have much the ſame ſort of bark. Theſe trees are low, buſhy, and full of branches and little leaves, reſembling the tag of a lace. The wood of this tree is almoſt as light as cork; and the ſavages make uſe of it in the wreaths and ribs of their canoes. The red ſort looks admirably well, and may be made into houſehold goods, which will retain an agreeable ſmell for ever.

The aſps are little ſhrubs which grow upon the ſides of pools or rivers; and in a word, in moiſt and marſhy countries. This wood is the common food of the beavers, who, in imitation of the ants, take care to make a collection of it round their huts in the autumn, which ſerves them for ſuſtenance when the ice impriſons them in winter.

The white wood is a middling ſort of a tree, that is neither too big nor too little. It is almoſt as light as cedar and as eaſily worked upon. The inhabitants of Canada make little canoes of it, for fiſhing and croſſing the rivers.

Maidenhair is as common in the foreſts of Canada, as fern is in thoſe of France, and is eſteemed beyond that of other countries; inſomuch, that the inhabitants of Quebec prepare great quantities of its ſyrup, which they ſend to Paris, Nants, Rouan, and ſeveral other cities in France.

Strawberries and raſberries are wonderfully plentiful in Canada, and taſte extremely well. We meet likewiſe with ſome white gooſeberries in this country; but they ſerve for no uſe, unleſs it be to make a ſort of vinegar of them, that is very ſtrong.

The bluets are certain little berries not unlike ſmall cherries, only they are black, and perfectly round. The plant upon which they grow is as big as a raſberry-buſh. Theſe berries ſerve for ſeveral uſes, after they are dried in the ſun, or in an oven; for then they make confits of them, or put them into pies, or infuſe them in brandy. The north country ſavages make a crop of them in the ſummer, which affords them very ſeaſonable relief, eſpecially when their hunting comes ſhort.

A General View of the Commerce of Canada.

I COME now to give a brief and general account of the commerce of Canada, which I have already touched upon in my letters. The Normans were the firſt that ſet up this trade, and uſually they ſet out from Havre de Grace or Dieppe; but the Rochellers have now worked them out of it, for as much as the Rochel ſhips furniſh the inhabitants of the continent with the neceſſary commodities. There are likewiſe ſome ſhips ſent to Canada from Bourdeaux and Bayonne, with wines, brandy, tobacco, and iron.

The ſhips bound from France to that country pay no cuſtom for their cargo, whether

in clearing in France, or in their entries at Quebec; abating for the Brazil tobacco which pays five ſols a pound; that is to ſay, a roll of four hundred pound weight pays a hundred livres by way of entry, to the office of the farmers general.

Moſt of the ſhips go laden to Canada, and return light or empty. Some indeed bring home peaſe when they are good cheap in the colony, and others take in a cargo of plants and boards: others again go to the iſland of Cape Breton, and there take in a cargo of pit-coal, which they carry to the iſlands of Martinico or Gaudaloupe, where the refining of ſugars occaſions a great conſumption of coals. But thoſe ſhips which either belong, or are recommended to the topping merchants of the colony, are freighted with ſkins, which turn to a great account. I have ſeen ſome ſhips unload at Quebec, and then ſteer to Placentia, to take in cod-fiſh, which they purchaſed with ready money; but generally ſpeaking, there is more loſt than got by that way of trading. The merchant that has carried on the greateſt trade in Canada is the Sieur Samuel Bernon of Rochel, who has great warehouſes at Quebec, from which the inhabitants of the other towns are ſupplied with ſuch commodities as they want. It is true, there are ſome merchants at Quebec who are indifferently rich, and fit out ſhips upon their own bottom, that ply to and again between France and Canada; and theſe merchants have their correſpondents at Rochel, who ſend out and take in every year the cargoes of their ſhips.

There is no difference between the pirates that ſcour the ſeas and the Canada merchants, unleſs it be this, that the former ſometimes enrich themſelves all of a ſudden by a good prize; and that the latter cannot make their fortune without trading for five or ſix years, and that without running the hazard of their lives. I have known twenty little pedlars that had not above a thouſand crowns ſtock when I arrived at Quebec, in the year 1683, and when I left that place had got to the tune of twelve thouſand crowns. It is an unqueſtioned truth, that they get fifty per cent. upon all the goods they deal in, whether they buy them up upon the arrival of the ſhips at Quebec, or have them from France, by way of commiſſion; but over and above that, there are ſome little gaudy trinkets, ſuch as ribbands, laces, embroideries, tobacco-boxes, watches, and an infinity of other baubles of iron-ware, upon which they get a hundred and fifty per cent. all coſts clear.

In this country a hogſhead of Bourdeaux wine, which contains two hundred and fifty bottles, is worth about forty French livres, in time of peace, and ſixty in time of war. A hogſhead of Nants or Bayonne brandy, will fetch eighty or a hundred livres. In the taverns a bottle of wine coſts ſix French ſous, and a bottle of brandy is ſold for twenty. As for dry commodities, their price riſes and falls upon occaſion. Brazil tobacco is worth forty ſous a pound by way of retail, and thirty-five by wholeſale. Sugar will fetch at leaſt twenty ſous a pound, and ſometimes twenty-five or thirty.

The earlieſt ſhips that come from France, ſet out commonly in the latter end of April, or the beginning of May; but to my mind, they might ſhorten their voyage by one half, if they put to ſea about the middle of March, and then ſweeped along the north coaſt of the Azores iſlands; for in thoſe ſeas the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt winds commonly blow from the beginning of April to the end of May. I have mentioned this ſeveral times to the moſt expert pilots; but they ſtill put me off with the plea, that they dare not ſteer that courſe for fear of ſome rocks: and yet theſe rocks are not to be met with but in their charts. I have read ſome deſcriptions of the ports, roads, and coaſts of theſe iſlands, and of the adjacent ſeas, done by the Portugueſe, which make no mention of the ſhelves that are chalked down in all our charts: on the contrary, they affirm that the coaſt of theſe iſlands is altogether clear, and that for twenty leagues off into the main theſe imaginary rocks were never met with.

As

As ſoon as the French ſhips arrive at Quebec, the merchants of that city, who have their factors in the other towns, load their barks with goods in order to tranſport them to theſe other towns. Such merchants as act for themſelves at Trois Rivieres, or Monreal, they come down in perſon to Quebec to market for themſelves, and then put their effects on board of barks, to be conveyed home. If they pay for their goods in ſkins, they buy cheaper than if they made their payments in money or letters of exchange; by reaſon that the ſeller gets conſiderably by the ſkins when he returns to France. Now, you muſt take notice, that all theſe ſkins are bought up from the inhabitants, or from the ſavages, upon which the merchants are conſiderable gainers. To give you an inſtance of this matter; a perſon that lives in the neighbourhood of Quebec carries a dozen of martin's ſkins, five or ſix fox's ſkins, and as many ſkins of wild cats, to a merchant's houſe, in order to ſell them for woollen cloth, linen, arms, ammunition, &c. In the truck of theſe ſkins the merchant draws a double profit, one upon the ſcore of his paying no more for the ſkins than one-half of what he afterwards ſells them for in the lump to the factors, for the Rochel ſhips; and the other by the exorbitant rate he puts upon the goods that the poor planter takes in exchange for his ſkins. If this be duly weighed, we will not think it ſtrange, that theſe merchants have a more beneficial trade than a great many other tradeſmen in the world. In my ſeventh and eight letters I related the particulars of the commerce of this country, eſpecially that which the inhabitants carry on with the ſavages, who ſupply them with the ſkins of beavers and other animals. So that now it remains only to give you an inventory of the goods that are proper for the ſavages, and of the ſkins which they give in exchange, together with their neat prices.

Short and light fuſees.
Powder.
Ball and cut lead, or ſmall ſhot.
Axes, both great and ſmall.
Knives with their ſheaths.
Sword-blades to make darts of.
Kettles of all ſizes.
Shoemaker's awls.
Fiſh-hooks of all ſizes.
Flint ſtones.
Caps of blue ſerge.
Shirts made of the common Britany linen.
Woolſted ſtockings ſhort and coarſe.
Brazil tobacco.
Coarſe white thread for nets.
Sewing thread of ſeveral colours.
Pack-thread.
Vermillion.
Needles, both large and ſmall.
Venice beads.
Some iron heads for arrows, but few of them.
A ſmall quantity of ſoap.
A few ſabres or cutlaſſes.
Brandy goes off incomparably well.

The Names of the Skins given in Exchange with their Rates.

	LIVRES	SOUS
THE ſkins of winter beavers, alias Muſcovy beavers, are worth per pound, in the farmer-general's warehouſe, - - -	4	10
The ſkins of fat beavers, the hair of which falls off while the ſavages make uſe of them, per pound, - - - -	5	0
Of beavers taken in autumn, per pound, - - -	3	10
Of dry or common beavers, per pound, - - -	3	0
Of ſummer beavers, per pound, - - - -	3	0

The ſkin of a white beaver is not to be valued no more than that of a fox that is quite black,

	LIVRES.	SOUS.
The ſkins of ſilver-coloured foxes a-piece,	4	0
Of common foxes in good order,	2	0
Of the common martins,	1	0
Of the prettieſt ſort of martins,	4	0
Of red and ſmooth otters,	2	0
Of the winter and brown otters, or more,	4	10
Of the fineſt black bears,	7	0
The ſkins of elks, before they are dreſſed, are worth per pound, about	0	12
The ſkins of ſtags are worth per pound, about	0	8
The wild cats, or enfans de diable, a-piece,	1	15
Sea-wolves, a-piece or more,	1	15
Pole-cats and weaſels,	0	10
Muſk rats,	0	6
Their teſticles,	0	5
Wolves,	2	10
The white elk ſkins, *i. e.* thoſe dreſſed by the ſavages, a-piece,	8	or m.
A dreſſed hart's ſkin is worth	5	or m.
A caribous,	6	
A roe-buck's,	3	

To conclude, you muſt take notice, that theſe ſkins are upon ſome particular occaſions dearer than I rate them, but the difference is but very ſmall, whether under or over.

An Account of the Government of Canada in general.

IN Canada, the politic, civil, eccleſiaſtical and military goverments, are all in a manner one thing, in regard that the wiſeſt governors have ſubjected their authority to that of the eccleſiaſtics; and ſuch governors as would not embark in that intereſt, have found their poſt ſo uneaſy that they have been recalled with diſgrace. I could inſtance in ſeveral, who for not adhering to the ſentiments of the biſhop and the Jeſuits, and for refuſing to lodge their power in the hands of theſe infallible gentlemen, have been turned out, and treated at court like hot-headed incendiaries. M. de Frontenac was one of this number who made ſuch an unhappy exit; for he fell out with M. Ducheſnau, intendant of that country, who finding himſelf protected by the clergy, induſtriouſly inſulted that illuſtrious general, and the general was forced to give way, under the weight of an eccleſiaſtical league, by reaſon of the ſprings they ſet at work againſt him, in oppoſition to all the principles of honour and conſcience.

The governor-generals that mean to neglect no opportunity of advancing or enriching themſelves, do commonly hear two maſſes a-day, and are obliged to confeſs once in four-and-twenty hours. He has always clergymen hanging about him wherever he goes, and indeed, properly ſpeaking, they are his counſellors. When a governor is thus backed by the clergy, the intendants, the under-governors, and the ſovereign council, dare not cenſure his conduct, let it be never ſo faulty; for the protection of the eccleſiaſtics ſhelters him from all the charges that can be laid againſt him.

The governor-general of Quebec has twenty thouſand crowns a-year, including the pay of his company of guards, and the particular government of the fort. Over and above

above this income, the farmers of the beaver-ſkins make him a preſent of a thouſand crowns a-year; his wines, and all his other proviſions imported from France, pay no freight; not to mention, that by certain ways and means he ſucks as much money out of the country as all the above-mentioned articles amount to. The intendant has eighteen thouſand livres a-year, but the Lord knows what he makes otherwiſe. I have no mind to touch there, for fear of being ranked among thoſe detractors who ſpeak the truth too ſincerely. The biſhop's incomes are ſo ſmall, that if the King were not graciouſly pleaſed to add to his biſhopric ſome other benefices in France, that reverend prelate would be reduced to as ſhort commons as a hundred of his character are in the kingdom of Naples. The major of Quebec has ſix hundred crowns a-year; the governor of Trois Rivieres has a thouſand, and the governor of Monreal is allowed two thouſand. A captain has a hundred and twenty livres a-month, a lieutenant ninety livres; a reformed lieutenant is allowed but forty, and a common ſoldier's pay is ſix ſous a-day, of the current money of the country.

The people repoſe a great deal of confidence in the clergy in this country as well as elſewhere. Here the outward ſhew of devotion is ſtrictly obſerved, for the people dare not abſent from the great maſſes and ſermons without a lawful excuſe. But after all, it is at the time of divine ſervice that the married women and maids give their humours a full looſe, as being aſſured that their huſbands and mothers are buſy at church. The prieſts call people by their names in the pulpit; they prohibit under the pain of excommunication, the reading of romances and plays, as well as the uſe of maſks, and playing at ombre or lanſquenet. The Jeſuits and the Recollets agree as ill as the Moliniſts and the Janſeniſts. The former pretend that the latter have no right to confeſs. Do but look back to my eighth letter, and there you will ſee ſome inſtances of the indiſcreet zeal of the eccleſiaſtics.

The governor-general has the diſpoſal of all military poſts. He beſtows companies, lieutenancies, and under-lieutenancies, upon who he pleaſes, with His Majeſty's gracious approbation; but he is not allowed to diſpoſe of particular governorſhips, or of the place of a lord lieutenant of a province, or of the major of any town. He is empowered to grant to the gentry and the other inhabitants, lands and ſettlements all over Canada; but theſe grants muſt be given in concert with the intendant. He is likewiſe authorized to give five-and-twenty licences a-year to whom he thinks fit, for trading with the ſavage nations of that vaſt continent. He is inveſted with the power of ſuſpending the execution of ſentences againſt criminals; and, by virtue of this reprieve, can eaſily procure them a pardon if he has a mind to favour them. But he cannot diſpoſe of the King's money without the conſent of the intendant, who is the only man that can call it out of the hands of the treaſurer of the navy.

The governor-general cannot be without the ſervice of the Jeſuits, in making treaties with the governors of New England and New York, as well as with the Iroqueſe. I am at a loſs to know whether theſe good fathers are employed in ſuch ſervices upon the ſcore of their judicious counſels, and their being perfectly well acquainted with the country and the King's true intereſts; or upon the conſideration of their ſpeaking to a miracle, the languages of ſo many different nations, whoſe intereſts are quite oppoſite; or out of a ſenſe of that condeſcenſion and ſubmiſſion that is due to theſe worthy companions of our Saviour.

The members of the ſupreme council of Canada, cannot ſell or convey their places to their heirs, or to any body elſe, without the King's approbation; though at the ſame time their places may be worth not ſo much as the place of a lieutenant to a company of foot. When they have nice points under their conſideration, they uſually conſult the

prieſts or Jeſuits: and if any cauſe comes before them, in which theſe good fathers are intereſted, they are ſure not to be caſt, unleſs it be ſo very black that the cunningeſt lawyer cannot give it a plauſible turn. I have been informed by ſeveral perſons, that the Jeſuits drive a great trade in European commodities, and Canada ſkins; but I can ſcarce believe it, or at leaſt, if it be ſo, they muſt have correſpondents and factors that are as cloſe and cunning as themſelves; which can never be.

The gentlemen of that country are obliged to be very cautious in carrying even with the eccleſiaſtics, in reſpect to the good or harm that the good fathers can indirectly throw in their way. The biſhop and the Jeſuits have ſuch an influence over the governors-general, as is ſufficient to procure places to the children of the noblemen or gentlemen that are devoted to their ſervice, or to obtain the licences that I ſpoke of in my eighth letter. It is likewiſe in their power to ſerve the daughters of ſuch gentlemen, by finding them agreeable and rich huſbands. The meaneſt curates muſt be managed cautiouſly, for they can either ſerve or diſſerve the gentlemen in whoſe ſeignories they are no more than miſſionaries, there being no fixed cures in Canada, which indeed is a grievance that ought to be redreſſed. The officers of the army are likewiſe obliged to keep up a good correſpondence with the eccleſiaſtics, for without that it is impoſſible for them to keep their ground. They muſt not only take care that their own conduct be regular, but likewiſe look after that of the ſoldiers, by preventing the diſorders they might commit in their quarters.

Commonly the troops are quartered upon the inhabitants of the cotes, or ſeignories of Canada, from October to May. The maſter of the houſe furniſhes his military gueſt only with utenſils, and employs him all the while at the rate of ten ſous a day, beſides his victuals, in the cutting of wood, grubbing up of grounds, rooting out ſtumps, or the threſhing of corn in a barn. The captain gets likewiſe by their work, for to make them diſcount the half of their pay to him, he orders them to come thrice a week to exerciſe their arms at his quarters. Now their habitations being diſtant four or five arpents from one another, and one cote or ſeignory being two or three leagues in front, the ſoldiers chooſe rather to give the captain a ſpill, than to walk ſo far in the ſnow and the dirt: and the captain takes it very conſcientiouſly, upon the plea that *Volenti non fit injuria.* As for ſuch ſoldiers as are good tradeſmen, he is ſure of putting their whole pay in his pocket, by virtue of a licence that he gives them to work in the towns, or any where elſe. In fine, moſt of the officers marry in this country, but God knows what ſort of marriages they make, in taking girls with a dowry, conſiſting of eleven crowns, a cock, a hen, an ox, a cow, and ſometimes a calf. I knew ſeveral young women, whoſe lovers, after denying the fact, and proving before the judges the ſcandalous converſation of their miſtreſſes, were forced, upon the perſuaſion of the eccleſiaſtics, to ſwallow the bitter pill, and take the very ſame girls in marriage. Some officers indeed marry well, but there are few ſuch. The occaſion of their marrying ſo readily in that country proceeds from the difficulty of converſing with the ſoft ſex. After a man has made four viſits to a young woman, he is obliged to unfold his mind to her father and mother; he muſt then either talk of marriage, or break off all correſpondence; or if he does not, both he and ſhe lies under a ſcandal. In this country a man cannot viſit another man's wife, without being cenſured as if her huſband was a cuckold. In fine, a man can meet with no diverſion here, but that of reading, or eating, or drinking. Though after all, there are ſome intrigues carried on but with the ſame caution as in Spain, where the virtue of the ladies conſiſts only in diſguiſing the matter handſomely.

Now, that I am upon the ſubject of marriage, I cannot forbear to acquaint you with a comical adventure that happened to a young captain, who was preſſed to marry againſt his will, becauſe all his companions and acquaintances were already buckled. This young officer having made ſome viſits to a counſellor's daughter, he was deſired to tell what errand he came upon; and M. de Frontenac himſelf being related to the young lady, who is certainly one of the moſt accompliſhed ladies of this age, uſed his utmoſt efforts to engage the captain to marry her. The captain being equally well pleaſed with a free acceſs to the governor's table, and the company of the lady whom he met there not unfrequently; the captain, I ſay, being equally fond of theſe two advantages, endeavoured to ward off the deſign, by aſking ſome time to conſider of it. Accordingly, two months were granted him; and after that time was expired he had ſtill a mind to let out his traces, and ſo deſired two months more, which were granted him by the biſhop's interceſſion. When the laſt of theſe two was at an end, the cavalier began to be apprehenſive that he was in danger of loſing both his good cheer and the agreeable company of the lady. However he was obliged to be preſent at a treat that Mr. Nelſon (the Engliſh gentleman I ſpoke of in my twenty-third letter) gave to the two lovers, as well as the governor, the intendant, the biſhop, and ſome other perſons of note: and this generous Engliſh gentleman having a kindneſs for the young lady's father, and her brethren, upon the ſcore of their trading with one another, made an offer of a thouſand crowns to be paid on the wedding-day, which, added to a thouſand that the biſhop offered, and a thouſand more which ſhe had of her own, beſides ſeven or eight thouſand that M. de Frontenac offered in licences, not to mention the certain proſpect of preferment; all theſe items, I ſay, made the marriage very advantageous to the captain. After they had done eating, he was preſſed to ſign the contract, but made anſwer, that he had drank ſome bumpers of heady wine, and his head was not clear enough for weighing the conditions of the contract; ſo that they were forced to put off the matter till the next day. Upon this delay he kept his chamber, till M. de Frontenac, at whoſe table he uſed to eat, ſent for him, in order to know his mind immediately. Then there was no room left for ſhuffling; there was a neceſſity of giving a poſitive anſwer to the governor, who ſpoke to him in plain and preciſe terms, and at the ſame time reminded him of the favour they had ſhewn him, in allowing him ſo much time to conſider of the propoſed marriage. The young officer replied very fairly, That any man that was capable of marrying after four month's deliberation, was a fool in buckling too. "I now ſee," ſays he, "what I am; the eager deſire I had of going to church with Mademoiſelle D—— has now convinced me of my folly: if you have a reſpect for the lady, pray do not ſuffer her to marry a young ſpark that is ſo apt to take up with extravagant and fooliſh things. As for my own part, Sir, I proteſt ſincerely, that the little reaſon and free judgment that is left me, will ſerve to comfort me upon the loſs of her, and to teach me to repent of having deſired to make her as unhappy as myſelf." This diſcourſe ſurpriſed the biſhop, the governor, the intendant, and in general all the other married officers, who deſired nothing more than that he ſhould be caught in the nooſe as well as they; ſo true it is, that *Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe doloris.* As they were far from expecting any ſuch retractation, ſo the poor reformed captain ſuffered for it; for ſome time after M. de Frontenac did him a piece of injuſtice, in beſtowing a vacant company over his head, upon Madam de Pouchartrain's nephew, notwithſtanding that the court had ſent orders on his behalf; and this obliged him to go for France along with me, in the year 1692.

To

To reſume the thread of my diſcourſe, you muſt know, that the Canadeſe or Creoles, are a robuſt brawny well-made people; they are ſtrong, vigorous, active, brave and indefatigable; in a word, they want nothing but the knowledge of polite letters. They are preſumptuous, and very full of themſelves; they value themſelves beyond all the nations of the earth, and, which is to be regretted, they have not that veneration for their parents that is due. Their complexion is wonderfully pretty. The women are generally handſome; few of them are brown, but many of them are at once wiſe and lazy. They love luxury to the laſt degree, and ſtrive to out-do one another in catching huſbands in the trap.

There is an infinity of diſorders in Canada that want to be reformed. The firſt ſtep of a true reformation muſt be that of hindering the eccleſiaſtics to viſit the inhabitants ſo often, and to pry with ſuch impertinence into the minuteſt affairs of the family; for ſuch practices are frequently contrary to the good of the ſociety, and that for reaſons that you are not ignorant of. The next thing to be done, is to prohibit the officers to ſtop the ſoldiers pay, and to enjoin them to diſcipline their men every holy-day, and every Sunday. In the third place, the commodities ought to be rated at a reaſonable price, ſo that the merchant may have his profit, without exacting upon the inhabitants and the ſavages. A fourth article of reformation, would conſiſt in prohibiting the exporting from France to Canada, of brocados, gold and ſilver galloons or ribbands, and rich laces. In a fifth place, the governor-general ought not to ſell licences for trading with the ſavages of the great lakes. Sixthly, there ought to be fixed courts. In the ſeventh place, they want to have their militia modelled and diſciplined, that, upon occaſion, they may be as ſerviceable as the regular troops. For an eighth article, the ſetting up manufactories for linen, ſtuffs, &c. would be very uſeful. But the moſt important alteration would conſiſt in keeping the governors, the intendants, the ſupreme council, the biſhops and the Jeſuits, from ſplitting into factions, and making clubs one againſt another; for the conſequences of ſuch diviſions cannot but thwart His Majeſty's ſervice, and the peace of the public. Were this but happily effected, that country would be as rich again as it is now.

I wonder, that inſtead of baniſhing the Proteſtants out of France, who in removing to the countries of our enemies, have done ſo much damage to the kingdom, by carrying their money along with them, and ſetting up manufactories in thoſe countries; I wonder, I ſay, that the court did not think it more proper to tranſport them to Canada. I am convinced, that if they had received poſitive aſſurances of enjoying a liberty of conſcience, a great many of them would have made no ſcruple to go thither. Some have replied upon this head, that the remedy had been worſe than the diſeaſe; in regard that ſome time or other they would not have failed to expel the catholics by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh: but I repreſented to them, that the Greeks and Armenians, who are ſubject to the grand ſeignior, and at the ſame time are of a nation and religion that is different from that of the Turks; I repreſented, I ſay, that theſe diſſenting ſubjects did ſcarce ever implore the aid of foreign powers, in order to rebel and ſhake off the yoke. In fine, we have more reaſon to believe, that if the Huguenots had been tranſported to Canada, they had never departed from the fealty they owed to their natural ſovereign. But let that be as it will, I do but ſpeak as that king of Arragon did, who boaſted, that if God had deigned to conſult him, he could have given him ſeaſonable advice with reference to the ſymmetry and the courſes of the ſtars; for, in like manner I do affirm, that if the council of ſtate had followed my ſcheme, in the ſpace of thirty or forty years, New France would have become a finer and more flouriſhing kingdom than ſeveral others in Europe.

A Diſcourſe

A Diſcourſe of the Intereſt of the French, and of the Engliſh, in North America.

SINCE New France and New England ſubſiſt only upon the cod fiſhery and the fur trade, it is the intereſt of theſe two colonies to enlarge the number of the ſhips employed in the fiſhery, and to encourage the ſavages to hunt and ſhoot beavers, by furniſhing them with what arms and ammunition they have occaſion for. It is well known, that there is a great conſumption of cod-fiſh in the ſouthern countries of Europe, and that few commodities meet with a better and readier market, eſpecially if they are good and well cured.

Thoſe who alledge that the deſtruction of the Iroqueſe would promote the intereſt of the colonies of New France, are ſtrangers to the true intereſt of that country; for if that were once accompliſhed, the ſavages, who are now the French allies, would turn their greateſt enemies, as being then rid of their other fears. They would not fail to call in the Engliſh, by reaſon that their commodities are at once cheaper and more eſteemed than ours; and by that means the whole commerce of that wide country would be wreſted out of our hands.

I conclude therefore, that it is the intereſt of the French to weaken the Iroqueſe, but not to ſee them entirely defeated. I own, that at this day they are too ſtrong, inſomuch that they cut the throats of the ſavages, our allies, every day. They have nothing leſs in view than to cut off all the nations they know, let their ſituation be never ſo remote from their country. It is our buſineſs to reduce them to one half of the power they are now poſſeſſed of, if it were poſſible; but we do not go the right way to work. Above theſe thirty years their ancient counſellors have ſtill remonſtrated to the warriors of the five nations, that it was expedient to cut off all the ſavage nations of Canada, in order to ruin the commerce of the French, and after that to diſlodge them of the continent. With this view they have carried the war above four or five hundred leagues off their country, after the deſtroying of ſeveral different nations in ſeveral places, as I ſhewed you before.

It would be no difficult matter for the French to draw the Iroqueſe over to their ſide, to keep them from plaguing the French allies, and at the ſame time to engroſs all the commerce with the five Iroqueſe nations, that is now in the hands of the Engliſh in New York. This might be eaſily put in execution, provided the King would allow ten thouſand crowns a-year for that end. The method of effecting it is this: in the firſt place, the barks that were formerly made uſe of about Fort Frontenac, muſt be rebuilt, in order to convey to the rivers of the Tſonontouans and the Onontagues, ſuch commodities as are proper for them, and to ſell them for the prime coſt in France. Now this would put the King to the charge of about ten thouſand crowns for freight; and I am perſuaded, that upon that foot the Iroqueſe would not be ſuch fools as to carry ſo much as one beaver to the Engliſh colonies, and that for four reaſons. The firſt is, that whereas they muſt tranſport them ſixty or eighty leagues upon their backs to New York, they have not above ſeven or eight leagues travelling from their own villages to the banks of the lake of Frontenac. For a ſecond reaſon, it is manifeſt that the Engliſh cannot poſſibly let them have their commodities ſo cheap, without being conſiderable loſers, and that thereupon every merchant would drop that ſort of trade. The third is drawn from the difficulty of having ſubſiſtence upon the road between the Iroqueſe villages and New York; for the Iroqueſe go thither in great bodies, for fear of being ſurprized; and I acquainted you before ſeveral times, that there is no veniſon in that ſide of the country. The fourth reaſon is this, in marching

ſo far from their villages, they expoſe their wives, their children, and their ſuperannuated men, for a prey to their enemies, who upon that occaſion may either kill them or carry them off; and of this we have two inſtances already. Over and above the cheapneſs of our commodities, it would likewiſe be requiſite that we made them preſents every year, and at the ſame time entreated them not to diſturb the repoſe of our confederate ſavages, who are ſuch fools as to wage war one with another, inſtead of entering into a joint league in oppoſition to the Iroqueſe, the moſt redoubted of their enemies, and thoſe whom they have moſt reaſon to fear. In a word, if we would manage our affairs with the Iroqueſe to the beſt advantage, we ought to put in execution that project that I mentioned in my twenty-third letter.

To alledge that theſe barbarians have a dependance upon the Engliſh is a fooliſh plea; for they are ſo far from owning any dependance, that when they go to New York to truck their ſkins, they have the confidence to put rates upon the goods they have occaſion for, when the merchants offer to raiſe their price. I have intimated already ſeveral times that their reſpect for the Engliſh is tacked to the occaſion they have to make uſe of them; that this is the only motive which induces them to treat the Engliſh as their brethren, and their friends; and that if the French would ſell them the neceſſaries of life, as well as arms and ammunition, at eaſier rates, they would not make many journies to the Engliſh colonies. This is a conſideration that ought to be chiefly in our view; for if we minded it to the purpoſe, they would be cautious of inſulting our ſavage confederates, as well as ourſelves. The governors-general of Canada would do well to employ the ſenſible men of the country that are acquainted with our confederates, in preſſing them to live in a good correſpondence with one another, without waging war among themſelves; for moſt of the ſouthern nations worm out one another inſenſibly, which affords matter of joy to the Iroqueſe. Now, it were an eaſy matter to prevent this fatal mouldering, by threatening to give them no further ſupplies of commodities in their villages. To this precaution, we ought to add that of endeavouring to engage two or three nations to live together; the Outaouas, for inſtance, with the Hurons; the Sakis with the Pouteouatamis alias Puants. If all thoſe nations who are embarked in a confederacy with us, would but agree one with another, and put up their quarrels, they would give themſelves wholly to the hunting of beavers, which would tend to the enlarging of our commerce; and beſides, they would be in a condition of making one joint body, when the Iroqueſe offered to attack either one or the other.

It is the intereſt of the Engliſh to perſuade theſe nations that the French have nothing leſs in view than to deſtroy them as ſoon as they meet with an opportunity; that the growing populouſneſs of Canada is a ſufficient ground of alarm, that they ought to avoid all commerce with the French, for fear of being betrayed in any way whatſoever; that to hinder the repairing of Fort Frontenac, and the rebuilding of barks for that lake, is to them a thing of the laſt importance, by reaſon that the French might in four-and-twenty hours make a deſcent from thence to their villages, and carry off their ancient men, their women, and their children, at a time when the warriors might be engaged in the hunting of beavers; that they would promote their own intereſt by waging war with the French from time to time, by ravaging the ſeignories and ſettlements in the upper part of the country, in order to oblige the inhabitants to abdicate the colony, and to diſcourage thoſe who would otherwiſe remove out of France, and ſettle in Canada; and in fine, that in time of peace it would be very proper to ſtop the coureurs de bois at the cataracts of the Outaouas river, and to ſeize the arms and ammunition that they carry to the ſavages upon the lakes.

Farther,

Farther, if the Engliſh would purſue their meaſures to the beſt advantage, they ought to engage the Tſonontouans or the Goyoguans to go and ſettle upon the banks of the lake Erriè, near the mouth of the river of Condè; and at the ſame time they ought to build a fort there, with ſome long barks or brigantines: for this is the moſt convenient and advantageous poſt of all that country, and that for an infinity of reaſons which I am obliged to conceal. Beſides this fort, they ſhould build another at the mouth of the River des Francois; and then it would be abſolutely impoſſible for the coureurs de bois to reach the lakes.

They ought likewiſe to engage the ſavages of Acadia in their intereſt; which they may do with little charge. The planters of New England ſhould mind this, as well as the fortifying of the ports in which they fiſh their cod. As for the fitting out of fleets to deſtroy the colony, I would not adviſe the Engliſh to give themſelves that trouble; for ſuppoſing they were aſſured of ſucceſs, it is but ſome places that can be reckoned worth the while.

To conclude, I muſt ſay the Engliſh in theſe colonies are too careleſs and lazy; the French coureurs de bois are much readier for enterprizes, and the Canadeſe are certainly more vigilant and more active. It behoves the inhabitants of New York to enlarge their fur trade by well concerted enterprizes; and thoſe of New England, to render the cod fiſhing more beneficial to the colony, by taking ſuch meaſures as many other people would, if they were as advantageouſly ſeated. I do not intend to ſpeak of the limits of New France and New England, for they were never well adjuſted; though indeed it would ſeem that in ſeveral treaties of peace between theſe two kingdoms, the boundaries were in a manner marked out in ſome places. Whatever is in that matter, the deciſion of it is too nice a point for one that cannot open his mind without pulling an old houſe upon his head.

A TABLE EXPLAINING SOME TERMS.

A

ASTROLABE is a mathematical inſtrument that can ſcarce be uſed in the ocean by reaſon of the waves. There are two ſorts of them. The firſt are made uſe of by Eaſt-India maſters, at a time when the ſea is as ſmooth as the face of a looking-glaſs. This ſort is ſerviceable in taking the height of the ſun, by the means of two little pins, which are bored ſo as to have two dioptrick perforations, that ſerve to conduct the rays of light to that luminary. The latter are ſuch as the mathematicians commonly make uſe of for aſtronomical obſervations, and are furniſhed with azimuths, almucantaras, loxodromick tables, and the concentrick and excentrick tables of the ſphere.

B

Bank of Newfoundland, or bank in general, is a riſing ground in the ſea, which ſhoots like a hat beyond the other brims. The bank of Newfoundland has thirty or forty fathom water, and is paved with cod-fiſh.

Baſin, is a head of ſtagnating water, not unlike a pool or lake.

Bouteux ſignifies little nets belagged to the end of a ſtick. The fiſhermen make uſe of them to catch fiſh upon a ſandy ground, and eſpecially eels, upon the ſide of St. Laurence river.

Bouts de Quivres are nets not unlike bouteux, which ſerve for the ſame uſe.

Breaking ground ſignifies the weighing anchor and putting to ſea.

Brigantine, a ſmall veſſel of one deck, built of light wood, which plies both with oars and ſails. It is equally ſharp at prow and poop, and is built for a quick ſailer.

C

Calumet in general ſignifies a pipe, being a Norman word, derived from chalumeau. The ſavages do not underſtand this word, for it was introduced to Canada by the Normans when they firſt ſettled there; and nas ſtill continued in uſe amongſt the French planters. The calumet or pipe is called

in the Iroquefe language ganondaoe, and by the other favage nations poagan.

Canadefe or *Canadans*, are the natives of Canada, fprung from a French father and mother. In the iflands of South America, the natives born of French parents are called Creoles.

Capa y d'efpada, a Gafcogne title which the people of that province gave in former times by way of irony to the members of the fupreme council of Canada, becaufe the firft counfellors wore neither robe nor fword, but walked very gravely, with a cane in their hands, both in the city of Quebec, and in the hall.

Caffa tête, fignifies a club, or a head-breaker: the favages call it affan ouftick, ouftick fignifying the head, and affan to break.

Channel is a fpace of pretty deep water, between two banks, or between two fhores. Commonly the channels are incloſed by flats, and for that reafon buoys or maſts are fixed upon them, in order to direct the pilots, who fteer either by thefe marks, or by founding, for they would run the rifque of looſing their fhips, if they did not keep exactly to the channel.

Coaft along, fee *Sweep*.

Compafs of Variation. It is larger than the ordinary compaffes, and ferves to point out the inequal motions of the needle, whch leans always to the north-eaft in the other hemifphere, whereas it ftill plies to the north-weft in this, I mean on this fide the equinoctial line. The needle touched with the loadftone departs from the true north a certain number of degrees to the right and left; and mariners compute the degrees of its departure by the means of an alhidada, and a thread which divides the glafs of the compafs into two equal parts, and fo fhews the variation of the needle at funfet, that being the true proper time for making the obfervation; for at fun-rifing, and at noon, one may be deceived by refractions, &c.

Coureurs de Bois, i. e. Foreft Rangers, are French or Canadefe, fo called from employing their whole life in the rough exercife of tranfporting merchandize goods to the lakes of Canada, and to all the other countries of that continent, in order to trade with the favages; and in regard that they run in canoes a thoufand leagues up the country, notwithftanding the danger of the fea and enemies, I take it, they fhould rather be called coureurs de rifques, than coureurs de bois.

E

Eddy, or boiling water, is little watery mountains that rife at the foot of water-falls or cataracts, juft as we fee the water plays in the ciſterns of water-works.

Edge of a bank, is the fhelving part of it that runs fteep like a wall.

F

Fathom, among the French is the meafure of fix feet.

Feaft of Union, a term ufed by the Iroquefe to fignify the renewing of the alliance between the five Iroquefe nations.

Flats, are a ridge of rocks running under water from one ftation to another, and rifing within five or fix foot at leaft of the furface of that element, fo as to hinder fhips, barks, &c. to float upon them.

Freight, fignifies in this book the cargo, though in other cafes it fignifies likewife the hire or fare.

Furl the Sails, fignifies the drawing them up to a heap towards the topmaft, not long ways as we do the curtains of a bed, but from below upwards. This is done by two ropes, that draw up the fail as a ftring does a purfe.

H

Head Bars are two round pieces of wood, reaching on each fide from one end of a canoe to the other. Thefe are the fupporters of the canoe, for the ribs and fpars are made faft upon them.

K

Keel of a fhip, is a long piece of the ftrongeft wood, or at leaft feveral pieces joined together, to bear the great weight of all the other timber.

Kitchi Okima, is the general name for the governor-general of Canada among all the favages, whofe languages approach to that of the Algonkins. Kitchi fignifies great, and Okima, captain. The Iroquefe and Hurons call the governor-general Onnontio.

L

Latitude. Every body knows that it imports the elevation of the pole, or the diftance from a fixed point of the equator.

Land-carriage fignifies the tranfporting of canoes by land from the foot to the head of a cataract, or from one river to another.

Light Ships are fuch as are empty without any cargo.

P.

Poop is the ftern or after-part of the fhip, in which the rudder is fixed.

Precipice of a bank, fee *Edge*.

Prow is the head or fore-part of a fhip, which cuts the water firft.

Q

Quarter. Though the word quarter in a maritime fenfe is not well explained, I put the meaning of it to be this. The north quarter comprehends the fpace that lies between north-weft and north-eaft. The eaft quarter runs from north-eaft to fouth-eaft. The fouth quarter comprehends that part of the heavens that falls between fouth-eaft and fouth-weft: and the weft quarter extends from fouth-weft to north-weft.

Refitting

R

Refitting of a ſhip, ſignifies the repairing and dreſſing of it, and putting it into a condition to ſail, by putting in new planks, caulking the ſeams, &c.

Ribs of a Canoe, are much like thoſe of a pink, only there is this difference, that they line the canoe only on the inſide from one head-bar to another, upon which they are inchaſed. They have the thickneſs of three crowns, and the breadth of four inches.

Ruche, an inſtrument for fiſhing reſembling a bee-hive.

S

Scurvy, is a corruption of the maſs of blood. There are two ſorts of it; one called the land ſcurvy, which loads a man with infirmities that gradually bring him to his grave; the other is the ſea ſcurvy, which infallibly kills a man in eight days unleſs he gets aſhore.

Shieve, i. e. row the wrong way, in order to aſſiſt the ſteerſman to ſteer the boat, and to keep the boat in the channel.

Shoot. To ſhoot a water-fall or cataract, implies the running a boat down theſe dangerous precipices, following the ſtream of the water, and ſteering very nicely.

Sledges are a conveniency for travelling, built in an oblong quadrangular form, upon two pieces of wood, which are four feet long, and ſix feet broad; upon the wood there are ſeveral pieces of cloth or hide nailed to keep the wind off. Theſe two pieces of wood are very hard, and well ſmoothed, that they may ſlide the better on ſnow or ice. Such are the horſe-ſledges. But thoſe drawn by dogs are open, and made of two little pieces of hard, ſmooth, and ſhining wood, which are half an inch thick, five feet long, and a foot and a half broad.

Spars, are little pieces of cedar wood, of the thickneſs of a crown, and the breadth of three inches, and as long as they can be made. They do the ſame ſervice to a canoe, that a good lining does to a coat.

Stand in for Land, ſignifies to ſail directly towards it.

Steer a ſhip, imports the managing of a ſhip by the means of a rudder, (as we do a horſe with a bridle) when there is wind enough to work her; but if there be no wind, a ſhip is more unmoveable than a gouty perſon in an elbow-chair.

Stem a tide or the current of a river, i. e. to ſail againſt the current, or to ſteer for the place from whence the tides or currents come.

Strike, to ſtrike the ſails or flag ſignifies the lowering of them, whether it be to ſubmit to an enemy, or by reaſon of high winds.

Sweep a coaſt, ſignifies to ſail along the coaſt ſide at a reaſonable diſtance.

T

Top-gallant-maſts are two little maſts ſet upon the two top-maſts, and have two ſails fitted for them.

Top-ſails are two ſails fitted for the two top maſts, which ſtand directly above the two great maſts.

Traverſe. To traverſe ſignifies ſailing zigzag, or from ſide to ſide as a drunken man reels, when the wind is contrary, for then they are obliged to tack ſometimes to the right and ſometimes to the left, keeping as near to the wind as they can, in order to make what way they can, or at leaſt to prevent their loſing ground.

Tree of Peace, a ſymbolick metaphor for peace itſelf.

TRAVELS INTO NORTH AMERICA;

CONTAINING

ITS NATURAL HISTORY, AND A CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF ITS PLANTATIONS AND AGRICULTURE IN GENERAL,

WITH THE

Civil, Eccleſiaſtical, and Commercial ſtate of the Country, the Manners of the Inhabitants, and ſeveral curious and important Remarks on various Subjects.

BY PETER KALM,

Profeſſor of Oeconomy in the Univerſity of *Abo* in Swediſh Finland, and Member of the Swediſh Royal Academy of Sciences.

Tranſlated into Engliſh by JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER, F. A. S.

THE PREFACE.

PROFESSOR KALM's Travels through North America, were originally written in the Swediſh language, but ſoon after tranſlated into German by the two Murray's, both of whom are Swedes, and one a pupil of Dr. Linnæus, from which we may conclude that this tranſlation correſponds exactly with the original.

Baron Sten Charles Bielke, Vice-preſident of the Court of Juſtice in Finland, was the firſt who made a propoſal to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, to ſend an able man to the northern parts of Siberia and Iceland, as places which are partly under the ſame latitude with Sweden, and to make there ſuch obſervations and collections of ſeeds and plants, as would improve the Swediſh huſbandry, gardening, manufactures, arts and ſciences. Dr. Linnæus found the propoſal juſt, but he thought that a journey through North America would be yet of a more extenſive utility, than that through the before-mentioned countries; for the plants of America were then little known, and not ſcientifically deſcribed; and by ſeveral trials, it ſeemed probable that the greateſt part of the North American plants would bear very well the Swediſh winters; and what was more important, a great many American plants promiſed to be very uſeful in huſbandry and phyſic.

Thus far this journey was a mere ſcheme; but as Captain Triewald, a man well known for his abilities in England, gave his Obſervations on the Cultivation of Silk in a ſeries of Memoirs to the Royal Academy of Sciences, and mentioned therein a kind of mulberry-tree, which was diſcovered by Dr. Linnæus, and which bore the

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rigours of the Swediſh climate as well as a fir or pine tree; this circumſtance revived the propoſal of ſuch a journey in the year 1745. Count Teſſin, a nobleman of eſtabliſhed merit both in the political and learned world, becoming preſident of the Royal Academy, it was unanimouſly agreed upon to ſend Profeſſor Kalm to North America. The expences were at firſt a great obſtacle; but the Royal Academy wrote to the three univerſities to aſſiſt them in this great and uſeful undertaking. Aobo ſent firſt her ſmall contribution, Lund had nothing to ſpare, but Upſala made up this deficiency by a liberal contribution.

Count Piper was entreated to give a family exhibition to Mr. Kalm, which he readily promiſed; but as the academy had obtained from the convocation of the univerſity of Upſala and the magiſtrates of Stockholm, another exhibition of the family of Helmsfield for Mr. Kalm, Count Piper refuſed to grant his exhibition, as being contrary to the ſtatutes of the univerſity and without any precedent, that one perſon ſhould enjoy two exhibitions. The preſent King of Sweden being then Prince Royal, ſucceſſor to the throne, and chancellor of the univerſity, wrote to the convocation, and expreſſed his wiſhes to have from the treaſury of the univerſity for ſo uſeful a purpoſe, about one thouſand plates, or about one hundred and fifty pounds ſterling. The univerſity complied generouſly with the deſire of her chancellor, and gave orders that the money ſhould be paid to the Royal Academy. The board for promoting manufactures gave three hundred plates, or about forty-five pounds. Mr. Kalm ſpent in this journey his ſalary, and beſides very near one hundred and thirty pounds of his own fortune; ſo that at his return he found himſelf obliged to live upon a very ſmall pittance. The reſt of the expences the academy made up from her own fund.

We on purpoſe have given this detail from Mr. Kalm's long preface, to ſhew the reader with what public ſpirit this journey has been ſupported in a country where money is ſo ſcarce, and what a patriotic and laudable ardour for the promotion of ſciences in general, and eſpecially of natural hiſtory and huſbandry, animates the univerſities, the public boards, and even the private perſons, in this cold climate, which goes ſo far, that they chuſe rather to ſpend their own private fortunes, than to give up ſo beneficial and uſeful a ſcheme. We have the ſame inſtance in Dr. Haſſelquiſt, who with a ſickly and conſumptive conſtitution, went to Aſia Minor, Egypt, and Paleſtine, and collected ſuch great riches in new plants and animals, that Dr. Linnæus's ſyſtem would never have contained ſo many ſpecies, had he not made uſe of theſe treaſures, which the Queen of Sweden generouſly bought, by paying the debts of Dr. Haſſelquiſt, who died in his attempt to promote natural hiſtory. The reverend Mr. Oſbeck, in his voyage to China, made an infinite number of uſeful and intereſting obſervations at the expence of his whole ſalary, and publiſhed them by the contributions of his pariſh. The reverend Mr. Toreen died by the fatigues of the ſame voyage, and left his letters publiſhed along with Oſbeck, as a monument of his fine genius, and ſpirit for promoting natural hiſtory. We here look upon the expences as trifling, but they are not ſo in Sweden, and therefore are certainly the beſt monuments to the honour of the nation and the great Linnæus, who in reſpect to natural hiſtory is the *primum mobile* of that country.

Profeſſor Kalm having obtained leave of his Majeſty to be abſent from his poſt as profeſſor, and having got a paſſport, and recommendations to the ſeveral Swediſh miniſters at the courts of London, Paris, Madrid, and at the Hague, in order to obtain paſſports for him in their reſpective ſtates, ſet out from Upſala, the 16th of October 1747, accompanied by Lars Yungſtroem, a gardener well ſkilled in the knowledge of plants and mechanics, and who had at the ſame time a good hand for drawing

drawing, whom he took into his ſervice. He then ſet ſail from Gothenburgh, the 11th of December, but a violent hurricane obliged the ſhip he was in to take ſhelter in the harbour of Grœmſtad in Norway, from which place he made excurſions to Arendal and Chriſtianſand. He went again to ſea February the 8th, 1748, and arrived at London the 17th of the ſame month. He ſtaid in England till Auguſt 15th, in which interval of time he made excurſions to Woodford in Eſſex, to Little Gaddeſden in Hertfordſhire, where William Ellis, a man known by his publications in huſbandry, lived, but whoſe practical huſbandry Mr. Kalm found not to be equal to the theory laid down in his writings; he likewiſe ſaw Ivinghoe in Buckinghamſhire, Eton, and ſeveral other places, and all the curioſities and gardens in and about London: at laſt he went on board a ſhip, and traverſed the ocean to Philadelphia in Penſylvania, which was formerly called New Sweden, where he arrived September the 26th. The reſt of that year he employed in collecting ſeeds of trees and plants, and ſending them up to Sweden; and in ſeveral excurſions in the environs of Philadelphia. The winter he paſſed among his countrymen at Raccoon in New Jerſey. The next year, 1749, Mr. Kalm went through New Jerſey and New York, along the river Hudſon, to Albany, and from thence, after having croſſed the lakes of St. George and Champlain, to Montreal and Quebec, he returned that very year, againſt winter, to Philadelphia, and ſent a new cargo of ſeeds, plants, and curioſities to Sweden. In the year 1750, Mr. Kalm ſaw the weſtern parts of Penſylvania and the coaſt of New Jerſey; Yungſtroem ſtaid in the former province all the ſummer for the collection of ſeeds; and Profeſſor Kalm in the mean time paſſed New York and the Blue Mountains, went to Albany, then along the river Mohawk to the Iroqueſe nations, where he got acquainted with the Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuſkaroras, Onandagas, and Kayugaws. He then viewed and navigated the great lake Ontario, and ſawthe celebrated fall at Niagara. In his return from his ſummer expedition, he croſſed the Blue Mountains in a different place, and in October again reached Philadelphia.

In 1751, he went at Newcaſtle on board a ſhip for England, and after a paſſage, ſubject to many dangers in the moſt dreadful hurricanes, he arrived March the 27th, in the Thames, and two days after in London. He took paſſage for Gothenburgh May the 5th, and was the 16th of the ſame month at the place of his deſtination, and the 13th of June he again arrived at Stockholm, after having been on this uſeful expedition three years and eight months. He has ſince aſſumed the profeſſorſhip at Aobo, where, in a ſmall garden of his own, he cultivates many hundreds of American plants, as there is not yet a public botanical garden for the uſe of the univerſity; and he with great expectation wiſhes to ſee what plants will bear the climate, and bear good and ripe ſeeds ſo far north. He publiſhed the account of his journey by intervals, for want of encouragement, and fearing the expences of publiſhing at once, in a country where few bookſellers are found, and where the author does very often embrace the buſineſs of bookſeller, in order to reimburſe himſelf for the expences of his publication. A paſſage croſs the Atlantic ocean is a new thing to the Swedes, who are little uſed to it, unleſs they go in the few Eaſt India ſhips of their country. Every thing therefore was new to Mr. Kalm, and he omitted no circumſtance unobſerved which are repeated in all the navigators from the earlier times down to our own age. It would be a kind of injuſtice to the public, to give all this at large to the reader. All that part deſcribing England and its curioſities and huſbandry we omitted. The particulars of the paſſage from England to Penſylvania we abridged: no circumſtance intereſting to natural hiſtory or to any other part of literature has been omitted. From his arrival at Philadelphia we give the original at large, except where we omitted ſome trifling circumſtances,

viz. the way of eating oyſters, the art of making apple-dumplings, and ſome more of the ſame nature, which ſtruck that Swediſh gentleman with their novelty.

Mr. Kalm makes uſe of the Swediſh meaſure; its foot is to the Engliſh foot, as 1134 to 1350. For his meteorological obſervations he employed the thermometer of Profeſſor Celſius, generally made uſe of in Sweden, and his was of Celſius's own making; the interval from the point of freezing to the point of boiling water, is equally divided in this thermometer into one hundred parts. In the names of plants, we have chiefly employed after his directions the Linnæan names, in the laſt edition of his *Spec. Plantarum*, and *Syſtema Naturæ*, vol. ii. But as his deſcriptions of animals, plants, and minerals are very ſhort, he promiſes to give them at large ſome time hence in a Latin work.

He gives you his obſervations as they occurred day after day, which makes him a faithful relater, notwithſtanding it takes away all elegance of ſtyle, and often occaſions him to make very ſudden tranſitions from ſubjects very foreign to one another.

At laſt he arms himſelf with a very noble indifference againſt the criticiſm of ſeveral people, founded on the great aim he had in view by his performance, which was no leſs than *public utility*. This he looks upon as the true reward of his pains and expences.

The map, and drawings of the American birds and animals were not in the original, but copied from original drawings, and real birds and animals from North America.

We find it neceſſary here to mention, that as many articles in Mr. Kalm's travels required illuſtrations, the publiſher has taken the liberty to join here and there ſome notes, which are marked at the end with F. The other notes not thus marked were kindly communicated by the publiſher's friends.

PETER KALM'S TRAVELS.

AUGUST the 5th, 1748, I with my ſervant Lars Yungſtrœm (who joined to his abilities as gardener, a tolerable ſkill in mechanics and drawing) went at Graveſend on board the Mary gally, Captain Lawſon, bound for Philadelphia; and though it was ſo late as ſix o'clock in the afternoon, we weighed anchor and ſailed a good way down the Thames before we again came to anchor.

Aug. 6th. Very early in the morning we reſumed our voyage, and after a few hours ſailing we came to the mouth of the Thames, where we turned into the channel and ſailed along the Kentiſh coaſt, which conſiſts of ſteep and almoſt perpendicular chalk hills, covered at the top with ſome ſoil and a fine verdure, and including ſtrata of flints, as it frequently is found in this kind of chalk hills in the reſt of England; and we were delighted in viewing ont hem excellent corn fields, covered for the greateſt part with wheat, then ripening.

At ſix o'clock at night, we arrived at Deal, a little well known town, ſituate at the entrance of a bay expoſed to the ſouthern and eaſterly winds. Here commonly the outward-bound ſhips provide themſelves with greens, freſh victuals, brandy, and many more articles. This trade, a fiſhery, and in the laſt war the equipping of privateers, has enriched the inhabitants.

Aug. 7th. When the tide was out, I ſaw numbers of fiſhermen reſorting to the ſandy ſhallow places, where they find round ſmall eminences cauſed by the excrements of the log worms, or ſea worms, (lumbrici marini Linn.) who live in the holes leading to theſe hillocks, ſometimes eighteen inches deep, and they are then dug out with a ſmall three-tacked iron fork, and uſed as baits.

Aug. 8th. At three o'clock we tided down the channel, paſſed Dover, and ſaw plainly the opinion of the celebrated Camden in his Britannia confirmed, that here England had been formerly joined to France and Flanders by an iſthmus. Both ſhores form here two oppoſite points; and both are formed of the ſame chalk hills, which have the ſame configuration, ſo that a perſon acquainted with the Engliſh coaſts and approaching thoſe of Picardy afterwards, without knowing them to be ſuch, would certainly take them to be the Engliſh ones.*

Aug. 9th—12th. We tided and alternately ſailed down the channel, and paſſed Dungeneſs, Fairlight, the Iſle of Wight, Portſmouth, the peninſula of Portland and Bolthead, a point behind which Plymouth lies; during all which time we had very little wind.

Aug. 13th. Towards night we got out of the Engliſh channel into the Bay of Biſcay.

Aug. 14th. We had contrary wind, and this increaſed the rolling of the ſhip, for it is generally remarked that the Bay of Biſcay has the greateſt and broadeſt waves, which are of equal ſize of thoſe between America and Europe; they are commonly half an Engliſh mile in length, and have a height proportionable to it. The Baltic and the German ocean has on the contrary ſhort and broken waves.

Whenever an animal is killed on board the ſhip, the ſailors commonly hang ſome freſh pieces of meat for a while into the ſea; and it is ſaid, it then keeps better.

Aug. 15th. The ſame ſwell of the ſea ſtill continued, but the waves began to ſmooth, and a foam ſwimming on them was ſaid to forebode in calm weather a continuance of the ſame for ſome days.

About noon a north-eaſterly breeze ſprung up, and in the afternoon it blew more, and this gave us a fine ſpectacle; for the great waves rolled the water in great ſheets, in one direction, and the north-eaſterly wind curled the ſurface of theſe waves quite in another. By the beating and daſhing of the waves againſt one another, with a more than ordinary violence, we could ſee that we paſſed a current, whoſe direction the captain could not determine.

Aug. 16th—21ſt. The ſame favourable breeze continued to our great comfort and amazement, for the captain obſerved that it was very uncommon to meet with an eaſterly or north-eaſterly wind between Europe and the Azores (which the ſailors call the Weſtern Iſlands) for more than two days together; for the more common wind is here a weſterly one; but beyond the Azores they find a great variety of winds, eſpecially about this time of the year; nor do the weſterly winds continue long beyond theſe iſles; and to this it is owing, that when navigators have paſſed the Azores, they think they have performed one-half of the voyage, although in reality it be but one-third part. Theſe iſles come ſeldom in ſight; for the navigators keep off them, on account of the dangerous rocks under water ſurrounding them. Upon obſervation and compariſon of the journal, we found that we were in forty-three degrees twenty-four minutes north latitude, and thirty and a half degrees weſt longitude from London.

* The ſame opinion has been confirmed by Mr. Buffon in his Hiſt. Naturelle.

Aug. 22d. About noon the captain aſſured us, that in twenty-four hours we ſhould have a ſouth-weſt wind; and upon my enquiring into the reaſons of his fortelling this with certainty, he pointed at ſome clouds in the ſouth-weſt, whoſe points turned towards north-eaſt, and ſaid they were occaſioned by a wind from the oppoſite quarter. At this time I was told we were about half way to Penſylvania.

Aug. 23d. About ſeven o'clock in the morning the expected ſouth-weſt wind ſprung up, and ſoon accelerated our courſe ſo much that we went at the rate of eight knots an hour.

Aug. 24th. The wind ſhifted and was in our teeth. We were told by ſome of the crew to expect a little ſtorm, the higher clouds being very thin and ſtriped and ſcattered about the ſky like parcels of combed wool, or ſo many ſkains of yarn, which they ſaid forbode a ſtorm. Theſe ſtriped clouds ran north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, in the direction of the wind we then had. Towards night the wind abated and we had a perfect calm, which is a ſign of a change of wind.

Aug. 25th and 26th. A weſt wind ſprung up and grew ſtronger and ſtronger, ſo that at laſt the waves waſhed our deck.

Aug. 27th. In the morning we got a better wind, which went through various points of the compaſs, and brought on a ſtorm from north-eaſt, towards night.

Our captain told me an obſervation founded on long experience, viz. that though the winds changed frequently in the Atlantic ocean, eſpecially in ſummer time, the moſt frequent, however, was the weſtern; and this accounts for the paſſage from America to Europe commonly being ſhorter than that from Europe to America. Beſides this, the winds in the Atlantic during ſummer are frequently partial, ſo that a ſtorm may rage on one part of it, and within a few miles of the place little or no ſtorm at all may be felt. In winter the winds are more conſtant, extenſive, and violent; ſo that the ſame wind reigns on the greater part of the ocean for a good while, and cauſes greater waves than in ſummer.

Aug. 30th. As I had obſerved the night before ſome ſtrong flaſhes of lightening without any ſubſequent clap of thunder, I enquired of our captain, whether he could aſſign any reaſons for it. He told me theſe phænomena were pretty common, and the conſequence of a preceding heat in the atmoſphere; but that when lightenings were obſerved in winter, prudent navigators were uſed to reef their ſails, as they are by this ſign certain of an impendent ſtorm; and ſo likewiſe in that ſeaſon, a cloud riſing from the north-weſt is an infallible forerunner of a great tempeſt.

Sept. 7th. As we had the firſt day of the month contrary wind, on the ſecond it ſhifted to the north, was again contrary the third, and fair the fourth and following days. The fifth we were in forty degrees, three minutes, north latitude, and between fifty-three and fifty-four degrees weſt longitude from London.

Beſides the common waves rolling with the wind, we met on the fourth and fifth inſtant with waves coming from ſouth-weſt, which the captain gave as a mark of a former ſtorm from that quarter in this neighbourhood.

Sept. 8th. We croſſed by a moderate wind, a ſea with the higheſt waves we met on the whole paſſage, attributed by the captain to the diviſion between the great ocean and the inner American gulf; and ſoon after we met with waves greatly inferior to thoſe we obſerved before.

Sept. 9th. In the afternoon we remarked that in ſome places the colour of the ſea (which had been hitherto of a deep blue) was changed into a paler hue; ſome of theſe ſpots were narrow ſtripes of twelve or fourteen fathoms breadth, of a pale green colour, which is ſuppoſed to be cauſed by the ſand, or, as ſome ſay, by the weeds under water

Sept. 12th. We were becalmed that day, and as we in this ſituation obſerved a ſhip, which we ſuſpected to be a Spaniſh privateer, our fear was very great; but we ſaw, ſome days after our arrival at Philadelphia, the ſame ſhip arrive, and heard that they ſeeing us, had been under the ſame apprehenſions with ourſelves.

Sept. 13th. Captain Lawſon, who kept his bed for the greater part of the voyage, on account of an indiſpoſition, aſſured us yeſterday we were in all appearance very near America: but as the mate was of a different opinion, and as the ſailors could ſee no land from the head of the maſt, nor find ground by the lead, we ſteered on directly towards the land. About three o'clock in the morning, the captain gave orders to heave the lead, and we found but ten fathom; the ſecond mate himſelf took the lead, and called out ten and fourteen fathoms; but a moment after the ſhip ſtruck on the ſand, and this ſhock was followed by four other very violent ones. The conſternation was incredible, and very juſtly might it be ſo; for there were above eighty perſons on board, and the ſhip had but one boat: but happily our ſhip got off again, after having been turned. At day-break, which followed ſoon after, (for the accident happened half an hour paſt four) we ſaw the continent of America within a Swediſh mile before us; the coaſt was whitiſh, low, and higher up covered with firs. We found out, that the ſand we ſtruck on, lay oppoſite Arcadia, in Maryland, in thirty-ſeven degrees, fifty minutes, north latitude.

We coaſted the ſhores of Maryland all the day, but not being able to reach Cape Hinlopen, where we intended to take a pilot on board, we cruized all night before the bay of Delaware. The darkneſs of the night made us expect a rain, but we found that only a copious fall of dew enſued, which made our coats quite wet, and the pages of a book, accidentally left open on the deck, were in half an hour's time after ſun-ſetting likewiſe wet, and we were told by the captain and the ſailors, that both in England and America a copious dew was commonly followed by a hot and ſultry day.

Sept. 14th. We ſaw land on our larboard in the weſt, which appeared to be low, white, ſandy, and higher up the country covered with firs. Cape Hinlopen is a head of land running into the ſea from the weſtern ſhore, and has a village on it. The eaſtern ſhore belongs here to New Jerſey, and the weſtern to Penſylvania. The bay of Delaware has many ſands, and from four to eleven fathom water.

The fine woods of oak, hiccory, and firs, covering both ſhores, made a fine appearance, and were partly employed in ſhip-building at Philadelphia; for which purpoſe every year ſome Engliſh captains take a paſſage in autumn to this town, and ſuperintend the building of new ſhips during winter, with which they go to ſea next ſpring: and at this time it was more uſual than common, as the French and Spaniſh privateers had taken many Engliſh merchant ſhips.

A little after noon we reached the mouth of Delaware river, which is here about three Engliſh miles broad, but decreaſes gradually ſo much, that it is ſcarcely a mile broad at Philadelphia.

Here we were delighted in ſeeing now and then between the woods ſome farm-houſes, ſurrounded with corn-fields, paſtures well ſtocked with cattle, and meadows covered with fine hay; and more than one ſenſe was agreeably affected, when the wind brought to us the fineſt effluvia of odoriferous plants and flowers, or that of the freſh made hay: theſe agreeable ſenſations and the fine ſcenery of nature on this continent, ſo new to us, continued till it grew quite dark.

Here I will return to ſea, and give the reader a ſhort view of the various occurrences belonging to natural hiſtory, during our croſſing the ocean.

Of ſea-weeds (Fucus Linn.) we ſaw, Auguſt the 16th and 17th, a kind which had a ſimilarity

ſimilarity to a bunch of onions tied together; theſe bunches were of the ſize of the fiſt, and of a white colour. Near the coaſt of America, within the American gulf, September the 11th, we met likewiſe with ſeveral ſea-weeds, one ſpecies of which was called by the ſailors rock-weed; another kind looked like a ſtring of pearls, and another was white, about a foot long, narrow, every where equally wide and quite ſtrait. From Auguſt the 24th to September the 11th, we ſaw no other weeds but thoſe commonly going under the name of gulf-weed, becauſe they are ſuppoſed to come from the Gulf of Florida; others call it Sargazo, and Dr. Linnæus, fucus natans. Its ſtalk is very ſlender, rotundato-angulated, and of a dark green; it has many branches, and each of them has numerous leaves diſpoſed in a row; they are extremely thin, are ſerrated, and are a line or a line and a half wide, ſo that they bear a great reſemblance to the leaves of Iceland moſs, their colour is a yellowiſh green. Its fruit, in a great meaſure, reſembles unripe juniper berries, is round, greeniſh yellow, almoſt ſmooth on the outſide, and grows under the leaves on ſhort footſtalks of two or three lines length; under each leaf are from one to three berries, but I never have ſeen them exceed that number. Some berries were ſmall, and when cut were quite hollow, and conſiſted of a thin peel only, which is calculated to communicate their buoyancy to the whole plant. The leaves grow in proportion narrower, as they approach the extremities of the branches: their upper ſides are ſmooth, the ribs are on the under ſides, and there likewiſe appear ſmall roots of two, three, or four lines length. I was told by our mate, that gulf-weed, dried and pounded, was given in America to women in childbed, and beſides this, it is alſo uſed there in fevers. The whole ocean is as if it were covered with this weed, and it muſt alſo be in immenſe quantities in the Gulf of Florida, from whence all this driving on the ocean is ſaid to come. Several little ſhells, pointed like horns, and eſcharæ or horn-wracks are frequently found on it: and ſeldom is there one bundle of this plant to be met with, which does not contain either a minute ſhrimp or a ſmall crab, the latter of which is the cancer minutus of Dr. Linnæus. Of theſe I collected eight, and of the former three, all which I put in a glaſs with water: the little ſhrimp moved as ſwift as an arrow round the glaſs, but ſometimes its motion was ſlow, and ſometimes it ſtood ſtill on one ſide, or at the bottom of the glaſs. If one of the little crabs approached, it was ſeized by its fore paws, killed and ſucked; for which reaſon they were careful to avoid their fate. It was quite of the ſhape of a ſhrimp; in ſwimming it moved always on one ſide, the ſides and the tail moving alternately. It was capable of putting its fore paws entirely into its mouth; its antennæ were in continual motion. Having left theſe little ſhrimps together with the crabs during night, I found in the morning all the crabs killed and eaten by the ſhrimps. The former moved when alive with incredible ſwiftneſs in the water. Sometimes, when they were quite at the bottom of the glaſs, with a motion ſomething like to that of a puceron or podura of Linnæus, they came in a moment to the ſurface of the water. In ſwimming they moved all their feet very cloſe, ſometimes they held them down as other crabs do, ſometimes they lay on their backs, but as ſoon as the motion of their feet ceaſed, they always ſunk to the bottom. The remaining ſhrimps I preſerved in ſpirits, and the loſs of my little crabs was ſoon repaired by other ſpecimens which are ſo plentiful in each of the floating bundles of gulf-weed. For a more minute deſcription of which I muſt refer the reader to another work I intend to publiſh. In ſome places we ſaw a crab of the ſize of the fiſt, ſwimming by the continual motion of its feet, which being at reſt, the animal began immediately to ſink. And one time I met with a great red crawfiſh or lobſter, floating on the ſurface of the ſea.

Blubbers, or meduſæ Linn., we found of three kinds: the firſt is the meduſa aurita Linn.;

Linn.; it is round, purple-coloured, opens like a bag, and in it are as if it were four white rings; their ſize varies from one inch diameter to ſix inches; they have not that nettling and burning quality which other blubbers have, ſuch for inſtance as are on the coaſt of Norway, and in the ocean. Theſe we met chiefly in the channel, and in the Bay of Biſcay.

After having croſſed more than half of the ocean between Europe and America, we met with a kind of blubber, which is known to ſailors by the name of the Spaniſh or Portugueze man of war; it looks like a great bladder, or the lungs of a quadruped, compreſſed on both ſides, about ſix inches in diameter, of a fine purple-red colour, and when touched by the naked ſkin of the human body, it cauſes a greater burning than any other kind of blubber. They are often overturned by the rolling of the waves, but they are again ſtanding up in an inſtant, and keep the ſharp or narrow ſide uppermoſt.

Within the American gulf we ſaw not only theſe Spaniſh men of war, but another kind too, for which the ſailors had no other name but that of a blubber. It was of the ſize of a pewter plate, brown in the middle, with a pale margin, which was in continual motion.

Of the lepas anatifera Linn. I ſaw on the 30th of Auguſt a log of wood, which floated on the ocean, quite covered. Of inſects I ſaw in the channel, when we were in ſight of the Iſle of Wight, ſeveral white butterflies, very like to the Papilio Braſſicæ Linn. They never ſettled; and by their venturing at ſo great a diſtance from land they cauſed us juſt aſtoniſhment.

Some common flies were in our cabbin alive during the whole voyage, and it cannot therefore be determined whether they were originally in America, or whether they came over with the Europeans.

Of cetaceous fiſh we met with porpeſſes, or as ſome ſailors call them, ſea-hogs* (delphinus phocæna Linn.) firſt in the channel, and then they continued every where on this ſide the Azores, where they are the only fiſh navigators met with; but beyond theſe iſles they are ſeldom ſeen, till again in the neighbourhood of America we ſaw them equally frequent to the very mouth of Delaware river. They always appeared in ſhoals, ſome of which conſiſted of upwards of an hundred individuals; their ſwimming was very ſwift, and though they often ſwam along ſide of our ſhip, being taken as it were with the noiſe cauſed by the ſhip cutting the waves, they however ſoon outwent her, when they were tired with ſtaring at her. They are from four to eight feet long, have a bill like in ſhape to that of a gooſe, a white belly, and leap up into the air frequently four feet high, and from four to eight feet in length; though their ſnoring indicates the effort which a leap of that nature coſts them. Our ſailors made many vain attempts to ſtrike one of them with the harp iron from the forecaſtle, when they came within reach, but their velocity always eluded their ſkill.

Another cetaceous fiſh, of the dolphin kind †, with which we met, is called by the

* The name of porpeſſe is certainly derived from the name Porcopeſce, given to this genus by the Italians; and it is remarkable that almoſt all the European nations conſpired in calling them ſea-hogs, their name being in German meer ſchwein; the Daniſh, Swediſh, and Norvegian, marſuin, from whence the French borrowed their marſouin. The natives of Iceland call them ſuinhual, i. e. a ſwine-whale, and ſo likewiſe the Slavonian nations have their Swinia Morſkaya. Whether this conſent ariſes from their rooting the ſand at the bottom of the ſea in queſt of ſand-eels and ſea-worms like ſwine, or from the vaſt quantity of lard ſurrounding their bodies, is uncertain. F.

† Mr. Kalm is certainly miſtaken in reckoning the bottle-noſe amongſt the Dolphin kind; it has no teeth in its mouth as all the fiſh of that claſs have, and therefore belongs to the firſt order of the whales, or thoſe that are without teeth. See Mr. Pennant's Britiſh Zoology, vol. iii. p. 43., where it is called the beaked whale, and very well deſcribed; a drawing is ſeen in the explanatory table, n. I. Perhaps it would not be improper to call it Balæna ampullata. F.

ſailors

ſailors bottle-noſe; it ſwims in great ſhoals, has a head like a bottle, and is killed by a harpoon, and is ſometimes eaten. Theſe fiſh are very large, and ſome fully twelve feet long; their ſhape, and manner of tumbling and ſwimming, make them nearly related to porpeſſes. They are to be met with every where in the ocean from the channel to the very neighbourhood of America.

One whale we ſaw at a diſtance, and knew it by the water which it ſpouted up.

A dog-fiſh of a conſiderable ſize followed the ſhip for a little while, but it was ſoon out of ſight, without our being able to determine to which ſpecies it belonged: this was the only cartilaginous fiſh we ſaw on the whole paſſage.

Of the boney fiſh, we ſaw ſeveral beyond the Azores, but never one on this ſide of thoſe iſles; one of them was of a large ſize, and we ſaw it at a diſtance; the ſailors called it an albecor, and it is Dr. Linnæus's ſcomber thynnus.

The dolphin of the Engliſh is the dorado of the Portugueſe, and Dr. Linnæus calls it coryphæna hippuris; it is about two feet and a half long, near the head ſix inches deep, and three inches broad; from the head the dolphin decreaſes on all ſides towards the tail, where its perpendicular depth is one inch and a half, and its breadth hardly one inch. The colour of the back near the head is a fine green on a ſilver ground, but near the tail of a deep blue; the belly is white, and ſometimes mixed with a deep yellow, on the ſides it has ſome round pale brown ſpots. It has ſix and not ſeven fins as was imagined; two of them are on the breaſt, two on the belly, one at the tail extending to the anus, and one along the whole back, which is of a fine blue: when the fiſh is juſt taken the extremities of the moſt outward rays in the tail were eight inches, one from another. Their motion when they ſwam behind, or along ſide of the ſhip, was very ſlow, and gave a fair opportunity to hit them with the harpoon, though ſome are taken with a hook and line, and a bait of chicken bowels, ſmall fiſh, or pieces of his own ſpecies, or the flying fiſh, which latter are their chief food: and it is by their chaſing them, that the flying fiſh leave their element to find ſhelter in one to which they are ſtrangers. The dolphins ſometimes leap a fathom out of the water, and love to ſwim about caſks and logs of wood, that ſometimes drive in the ſea. They are eaten with thick butter, when boiled, and ſometimes fried, and afford a palatable food, but rather ſomewhat dry. In the bellies of the fiſh of this ſpecies which we caught, ſeveral animals were found, viz. an oſtracion; a little fiſh with blue eyes, which was yet alive, being juſt the moment before ſwallowed, and meaſuring two inches in length; another little fiſh; a curious marine inſect, and a flying fiſh, all which not yet being damaged by digeſtion, I preſerved in ſpirits.

The flying fiſh (exocoetus volitans Linn.) are always ſeen in great ſhoals, ſometimes of an hundred or more getting at once out of the water, being purſued by greater fiſh, and chiefly by dolphins; they riſe about a yard, and even a fathom above the water in their flight, but this latter height they only are at, when they take their flight from the top of a wave; and ſometimes, it is ſaid, they fall on the deck of ſhips. The greateſt diſtance they fly is a good muſket ſhot, and this they perform in leſs than half a minute's time; their motion is ſomewhat like that of the yellow-hammer, (Emberiza Citrinella Linn.) It is very remarkable that I found the courſe they took always to be againſt the wind, and though I was contradicted by the ſailors, who affirmed that they went at any direction, I nevertheleſs was confirmed in my opinion by a careful obſervation during the whole voyage, according to which they fly conſtantly either directly againſt the wind, or ſomewhat in an oblique direction*.

* In Mr. Pennant's Britiſh Zoology, vol. iii. p. 282., is the beſt account of this fiſh to be met with; and in his Britiſh Zoology, illuſtrated by plates and brief explanations, is plate xliv., a good and exact drawing of the fiſh, the upper figure repreſenting it in front, the lower ſideways. F.

We

We ſaw likewiſe the fiſh called Bonetos, (Scomber Pelamys Linn.) they were likewiſe in ſhoals, hunting ſome ſmaller fiſh, which chaſe cauſed a noiſe like to that of a caſcade, becauſe they were all ſwimming cloſe in a body; but they always kept out of the reach of our harpoons.

Of amphibious animals, or reptiles; we met twice with a turtle, one of which was ſleeping, the other ſwam without taking notice of our ſhip; both were of two feet diameter.

Birds are pretty frequently ſeen on the ocean, though aquatic birds are more common than land birds.

The Petrel (Procellaria Pelagica Linn.) was our companion from the channel to the ſhores of America. Flocks of this bird were always about our ſhip, chiefly in that part of the ſea, which being cut by the ſhip, forms a ſmooth ſurface, where they frequently ſeem to ſettle, though always on the wing. They pick up or examine every thing that falls accidentally from the ſhip, or is thrown over-board: little fiſh ſeem to be their chief food; in day-time they are ſilent, in the dark, clamorous; they are reputed to forebode a ſtorm, for which reaſon the ſailors diſliking their company, complimented them with the name of witches; but they are as frequent in fair weather, without a ſtorm following their appearance. To me it appeared as if they ſtaid ſometimes half an hour and longer under the waves, and the ſailors aſſured me they did. They look like ſwallows, and like them, they ſkim ſometimes on the water.

The Shearwater (Procellaria Puffinus Linn.) is another ſea-bird, which we ſaw every where on our voyage, from the channel to the American coaſts; it has much the appearance and ſize of the dark gray ſea-gull, or of a duck; it has a brown back, and commonly a white ring round its neck, and a peculiar ſlow way of flying. We plainly ſaw ſome of theſe birds feed on fiſh.

The Tropic Bird (Phaëton æthereus Linn.) has very much the ſhape of a gull, but two very long feathers, which it has in its tail, diſtinguiſh it enough from any other bird; its flight is often exceedingly high: the firſt of this kind we met was at about forty degrees north latitude and forty-nine or fifty degrees of weſt longitude from London.

Common Gulls (Larus canus Linn.) we ſaw, when we were oppoſite the Land's End, the moſt weſterly cape of England, and when, according to our reckoning, we were oppoſite Ireland.

Terns (Sterna hirundo Linn.) though of a ſomewhat darker colour than the common ones, we found after the forty-firſt degree of north latitude and forty-ſeventh degree weſt longitude from London, very plentifully, and ſometimes in flocks of ſome hundreds; ſometimes they ſettled, as if tired, on our ſhip.

Within the American gulph we diſcovered a ſea-bird at a little diſtance from the ſhip, which the ſailors called a Sea-hen.

Land-birds are now and then ſeen at ſea, and ſometimes at a good diſtance from any land, ſo that it is often difficult to account for their appearance in ſo uncommon a place. Auguſt the 18th, we ſaw a bird which ſettled on our ſhip, and was perfectly like the great titmouſe, (Parus major Linn.) upon an attempt to catch it, it got behind the ſails, and could never be caught.

Sept. 1ſt. We obſerved ſome land-birds flying about our ſhip, which we took for Sand Martins (Hirundo riparia Linn.) ſometimes they ſettled on our ſhip, or on the ſails; they were of a greyiſh brown colour on their back, their breaſt white, and the tail ſomewhat furcated; a heavy ſhower of rain drove them afterwards away. September the 2d a ſwallow fluttered about the ſhip, and ſometimes it ſettled on the maſt; it ſeemed to be very tired; ſeveral times it approached our cabin windows, as if it was willing to take ſhelter there. Theſe caſes happened about forty degrees of north latitude and between

between forty-ſeven and forty-nine degrees weſt longitude from London, and alſo about twenty degrees longitude or more than nine hundred and twenty ſea miles from any land whatſoever.

Sept. 10th. Within the American gulph a large bird, which we took for an owl, and likewiſe a little bird, ſettled on our ſails.

Sept. 12th. A wood-pecker ſettled on our rigging: its back was of a ſpeckled grey, and it ſeemed extremely fatigued. And another land-bird of the paſſerine claſs, endeavoured to take ſhelter and reſt on our ſhip.

Before I entirely take leave of the ſea I will communicate my obſervations on two curious phænomena.

In the channel and in the ocean we ſaw, at night-time, ſparks of fire, as if flowing on the water, eſpecially where it was agitated, ſometimes one ſingle ſpark ſwam for the ſpace of more than one minute on the ocean before it vaniſhed. The ſailors obſerved them commonly to appear during and after a ſtorm from the north, and that often the ſea is as if it were full of fire, and that ſome ſuch ſhining ſparks would likewiſe ſtick to the maſts and ſails.

Sometimes this light had not the appearance of ſparks, but looked rather like the phoſphoreſcence of putrid wood.

The Thames water which made our proviſion of freſh water, is reputed to be the beſt of any. It not only ſettled in the oak caſks it is kept in, but becomes in a little time ſtinking, when ſtopped up; however, this nauſeous ſmell it ſoon loſes, after being filled into large ſtone jugs, and expoſed to the open freſh air for two or three hours together. Often the vapours ariſing from a caſk which has been kept cloſe and ſtopped up for a great while take fire, if a candle is held near them when the caſk is opened; and the Thames water is thought to have more of this quality than any other; though I was told that this even happened with any other water in the ſame circumſtances.

Now I can reſume my narrative; and therefore obſerve, that we afterwards ſailed on the river with a fair wind, pretty late at night. In the dawn of the evening we paſſed by Newcaſtle, a little town on the weſtern ſhore of the river Delaware. It was already ſo dark that we could hardly know it, but by the light which appeared through ſome of the windows. The Dutch are ſaid to have been the firſt founders of this place, which is therefore reckoned the moſt ancient in the country, even more ancient than Philadelphia. But its trade can by no means be compared with the Philadelphia trade, though its ſituation has more advantages in ſeveral reſpects; one of which is, that the river ſeldom freezes before it, and conſequently ſhips can come in and go out at any time. But near Philadelphia it is almoſt every winter covered with ice, ſo that navigation is interrupted for ſome weeks together. But the country about Philadelphia and farther up, being highly cultivated, and the people bringing all their goods to that place, Newcaſtle muſt always be inferior to it.

I mentioned that the Dutch laid the foundations of this town. This happened at the time when this country was as yet ſubject to Sweden. But the Dutch crept in, and intended by degrees to diſpoſſeſs the Swedes, as a people who had taken poſſeſſion of their property. They ſucceeded in their attempt, for the Swedes not being able to bear with this encroachment, came to a war in which the Dutch got the better. But they did not enjoy the fruits of their victory long; for a few years after, the Engliſh came and deprived them of their acquiſition, and have ever ſince continued in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the country. Somewhat later at night we caſt anchor, the pilot not venturing to carry the ſhip up the river in the dark, ſeveral ſands being in the way.

Sept. 15th. In the dawn of the morning we weighed anchor, and continued our voyage up the river. The country was inhabited almoſt every where on both ſides. The farm-houſes were however pretty far aſunder. About eight o'clock in the morning we ſailed by the little town of Cheſter, on the weſtern ſide of the river. In this town, our mate, who was born in Philadelphia, ſhewed me the places which the Swedes ſtill inhabit.

At laſt we arrived in Philadelphia about ten o'clock in the morning. We had not been more than ſix weeks, or (to ſpeak more accurately) not quite forty-one days on our voyage from Graveſend to this place, including the time we ſpent at Deal, in ſupplying ourſelves with the neceſſary freſh proviſions, &c.; our voyage was therefore reckoned one of the ſhorteſt, for it is common in winter-time to be fourteen or more weeks in coming from Graveſend to Philadelphia. Hardly any body ever had a more pleaſant voyage over this great ocean than we had; Captain Lawſon affirmed this ſeveral times, nay, he aſſured us he had never ſeen ſuch calm weather in this ocean, though he had croſſed it very often. The wind was generally ſo favourable that a boat of a middling ſize might have ſailed in perfect ſafety. The ſea never went over our cabin, and but once over the deck, and that was only in a ſwell. The weather indeed was ſo clear that a great number of the Germans on board ſlept on the deck. The cabin windows needed not the ſhutters. All theſe are circumſtances which ſhow the uncommon goodneſs of the weather.

Captain Lawſon's civility increaſed the pleaſure of the voyage.

As ſoon as we came to the town and had caſt anchor, many of the inhabitants came on board, to enquire for letters. They took all thoſe which they could carry, either for themſelves or for their friends. Thoſe which remained, the captain ordered to be carried on ſhore and left at a coffee-houſe; by this means he was rid of the trouble of delivering them himſelf. I afterwards went on ſhore with him; but before he went, he ſtrictly charged the ſecond mate to let no one of the German refugees out of the ſhip, unleſs he paid for his paſſage, or ſomebody elſe paid for him, or bought him.

On my leaving London, I received letters of recommendation from Mr. Abraham Spalding, Mr. Peter Collinſon, Dr. Mitchel, and others, to their friends here. It was eaſy for me therefore to get acquaintance. Mr. Benjamin Franklin, to whom Penſylvania is indebted for its welfare, and the learned world for many new diſcoveries in electricity, was the firſt who took notice of me, and introduced me to many of his friends. He gave me all neceſſary inſtructions, and ſhewed me his kindneſs on many occaſions.

I went to-day, accompanied by Mr. Jacob Bengſton, a member of the Swediſh conſiſtory, and the ſculptor Guſtavus Heſſelius, to ſee the town and the fields which lay before it. (The former is brother to the Rev. Meſſrs. Andrew and Samuel Heſſelius, both miniſters at Chriſtiana in New Sweden, and of the late Dr. John Heſſelius in the provinces of Nerik and Wermeland). My new friend had followed his brother Andrew in 1711 to this country, and had ſince lived in it. I found that I was now come into a new world. Whenever I looked to the ground, I every where found ſuch plants as I had never ſeen before; when I ſaw a tree, I was forced to ſtop, and aſk thoſe who accompanied me, how it was called. The firſt plant which ſtruck my eyes was an andropogon, or a kind of graſs; and graſs is a part of botany I always delighted in. I was ſeized with terror at the thought of ranging ſo many new and unknown parts of natural hiſtory. At firſt I only conſidered the plants, without venturing on a more accurate examination.

At

At night I took up my lodging with a grocer who was a quaker; and I met with very good honeſt people in this houſe, ſuch as moſt people of this profeſſion appeared to me. I and my Yungſtrœm, the companion of my voyage, had a room, candles, beds, attendance, and three meals a-day, if we choſe to have ſo many, for twenty ſhillings per week in Penſylvania currency. But wood, waſhing, and wine, if required, were to be paid for beſides.

Sept. the 16th. Before I proceed I muſt give a ſhort deſcription of Philadelphia, which I ſhall frequently mention in the ſequel of my travels. I here put down ſeveral particulars which I marked during my ſtay at that place, as a help to my memory.

Philadelphia, the capital of Penſylvania, a province which makes part of what formerly was called New Sweden, is one of the principal towns in North America; and next to Boſton the greateſt. It is ſituated almoſt in the centre of the Engliſh colonies, and its lat. is thirty-nine deg. and fifty min. but its weſt long. from London near ſeventy-five deg.

This town was built in the year 1683, or as others ſay, in 1682, by the well-known quaker William Pen, who got this whole province by a grant from Charles the Second, King of England, after Sweden had given up its claims to it. According to Pen's plan, the town was to have been built upon a piece of land which is formed by the union of the rivers Delaware and Skulkill, in a quadrangular form, two Engliſh miles long and one broad. The eaſtern ſide would therefore have been bounded by the Delaware, and the weſtern by the Skulkill. They had actually begun to build houſes on both theſe rivers, for eight capital ſtreets, each two Engliſh miles long, and ſixteen leſſer ſtreets (or lanes) acroſs them, each one mile in length, were marked out with a conſiderable breadth, and in ſtraight lines. The place was at that time almoſt an entire wilderneſs covered with thick foreſts, and belonged to three Swediſh brothers called Sven's Sæner (ſons of Sven) who had ſettled in it. They with difficulty left the place; the ſituation of which was very advantageous. But at laſt they were perſuaded to it by Pen, who gave them a few Engliſh miles from that place, twice the ſpace of country they inhabited. However Pen himſelf, and his deſcendants after him, have conſiderably leſſened the ground belonging to them, by repeated menſurations, under pretence that they had taken more than they ought.

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

The ſtreets are regular, fine, and moſt of them are fifty foot, Engliſh meaſure, broad. Arch-ſtreet meaſures ſixty-ſix feet in breadth, and Market-ſtreet, or the principal ſtreet where the market is kept, near a hundred. Thoſe which run longitudinally, or from north to ſouth are ſeven, excluſive of a little one, which runs along the river, to the ſouth of the market, and is called Water-ſtreet. The lanes which go acroſs, and were intended to reach from the Delaware to the Skulkill, are eight in number. They do not go quite from eaſt to weſt, but deviate a little from that direction. All

the ſtreets except two which are neareſt to the river, run in a ſtraight line, and make right angles at the interſections; ſome are paved, others are not, and it ſeems leſs neceſſary, ſince the ground is ſandy, and therefore ſoon abſorbs the wet. But in moſt of the ſtreets is a pavement of flags, a fathom or more broad, laid before the houſes, and poſts put on the outſide three or four fathom aſunder. Under the roofs are gutters which are carefully connected with pipes, and by this means, thoſe who walk under them when it rains, or when the ſnow melts, need not fear being wet by the dropping from the roofs.

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

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

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

1. The Engliſh eſtabliſhed church ſtands in the northern part of the town, at ſome diſtance from the market, and is the fineſt of all. It has a little inconſiderable ſteeple, in which is a bell to be rung when it is time to go to church, and on burials. It has likewiſe a clock which ſtrikes the hours. This building which is called Chriſt Church, was founded towards the end of the laſt century, but has lately been rebuilt and more adorned. It has two miniſters who get the greateſt part of their ſalary from England. In the beginning of this century, the Swediſh miniſter the Rev. Mr. Rudmann, performed the functions of a clergyman to the Engliſh congregation for near two years, during the abſence of their own clergyman.

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

deſcribing it more exactly, when I ſhall ſpeak of the Swedes in particular, who live in this place.

3. The German Lutheran church is on the north-weſt ſide of the town. On my arrival in America it had a little ſteeple, but that being put up by an ignorant architect, before the walls of the church were quite dry, they leaned forwards by its weight, and therefore they were forced to pull it down again in the autumn of the year 1750. About that time the congregation received a fine organ from Germany. They have only one miniſter, who likewiſe preaches at another Lutheran church in Germantown. He preaches alternately one Sunday in that church, and another in this. The firſt clergyman which the Lutherans had in this town, was the Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg, who laid the foundations of this church in 1743, and being called to another place afterwards, the Rev. Mr. Brunholz from Sleſwick, was his ſucceſſor, and is yet here. Both theſe gentlemen were ſent to this place from Hall in Saxony, and have been a great advantage to it by their peculiar talent of preaching in an edifying manner. A little while before this church was built, the Lutheran Germans had no clergyman for themſelves, ſo that the every-where beloved Swediſh miniſter at Weekacko, Mr. Dylander, preached likewiſe to them. He therefore preached three ſermons every Sunday; the firſt early in the morning to the Germans; the ſecond to the Swedes; and the third in the afternoon to the Engliſh; and beſides this, he went all the week into the country, and inſtructed the Germans who lived ſeparately there. He therefore frequently preached ſixteen ſermons a-week. And after his death, which happened in November 1741, the Germans firſt wrote to Germany for a clergyman for themſelves. This congregation is at preſent very numerous, ſo that every Sunday the church is very much crowded. It has two galleries, but no veſtry. They do not ſing the collects, but read them before the altar.

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

5. The new Preſbyterian church was built in the year 1750, by the new-lights in the north-weſtern part of the town. By the name of new-lights, are underſtood the people who have, from different religions, become proſelytes to the well known Whitefield, who in the years 1739, 1740, and likewiſe in 1744 and 1745, travelled through almoſt all the Engliſh colonies. His delivery, his extraordinary zeal, and other talents ſo well adapted to the intellects of his hearers, made him ſo popular that he frequently, eſpecially in the two firſt years, got from eight thouſand to twenty thouſand hearers in the fields. His intention in theſe travels was to collect money for an orphans' hoſpital which had been erected in Georgia. He here frequently collected ſeventy pounds ſterling at one ſermon; nay, at two ſermons which he preached in the year 1740, both on one Sunday, at Philadelphia, he got an hundred and fifty pounds. The proſelytes of this man, or the above-mentioned new-lights, are at preſent merely a ſect of Preſbyterians. For though Whitefield was originally a clergyman of the Engliſh church, yet he deviated by little and little from her doctrines; and on arriving in the year 1744 at Boſton in New England, he diſputed with the Preſbyterians about their doctrines ſo much that he almoſt entirely embraced them. For Whitefield was no great diſputant, and could therefore eaſily be led by

theſe

theſe cunning people, whitherſoever they would have him. This likewiſe during his latter ſtay in America cauſed his audience to be leſs numerous than during the firſt. The new-lights built firſt, in the year 1741, a great houſe in the weſtern part of the town, to hold divine ſervice in. But a diviſion ariſing amongſt them after the departure of Whitefield, and beſides on other accounts, the building was ſold to the town in the beginning of the year 1750, and deſtined for a ſchool. The new-lights then built a church which I call the new Preſbyterian one. On its eaſtern pediment is the following inſcription in golden letters: *Templum Preſbyterianum, annuente Numine, erectum, Anno Dom.* MDCCL.

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

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

8. 9. The Quakers have two meetings, one in the market, and the other in the northern part of the town. In them are, according to the cuſtom of this people, neither altars, nor pulpits, nor any other ornaments uſual in churches; but only ſeats and ſome ſconces. They meet thrice every Sunday in them, and beſides that at certain times every week or every month. I ſhall mention more about them hereafter.

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

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

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

Thoſe

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

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

The town-hall, or the place where the aſſemblies are held, is ſituated in the weſtern part of the town; it is a fine large building, having a tower with a bell in the middle, and is the greateſt ornament to the town. The deputies of each province meet in it commonly every October, or even more frequently, if circumſtances require it, in order to conſider of the welfare of the country, and to hold their parliaments or diets in miniature. There they reviſe the old laws, and make new ones.

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

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

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

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

Of

Of all the natural advantages of the town its temperate climate is the moſt conſiderable, the winter not being over ſevere, and its duration but ſhort, and the ſummer not too hot; the country round about bringing forth thoſe fruits in the greateſt plenty, which are raiſed by huſbandry. Their September and October are like the beginning of the Swediſh Auguſt. And the firſt days in their February are frequently as pleaſant as the end of April and the beginning of May in Sweden. Even their coldeſt days in ſome winters have been no ſeverer than the days at the end of autumn are in the middlemoſt parts of Sweden, and the ſouthern ones of Finland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Philadelphia reaps the greateſt profits from its trade to the Weſt Indies: for thither the inhabitants ſhip almoſt every day a quantity of flour, butter, fleſh, and other victuals, timber, plank, and the like. In return they receive either ſugar, molaſſes, rum, indigo, mahogany, and other goods, or ready money. The true mahogany, which grows in Jamaica, is at preſent almoſt all cut down.

They

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

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

But to ſhew more exactly what the town and province have imported from England, in different years, I ſhall here inſert an extract from the Engliſh cuſtom-houſe books, which I got from the engineer Lewis Evans, at Philadelphia. This gentleman had deſired one of his friends in London to ſend him a complete account of all the goods ſhipped from England to Penſylvania in ſeveral years. He got this account, and though the goods are not enumerated in it, yet their value in money is calculated. Such extracts from the cuſtom-houſe books have been made for every North American province, in order to convince the Engliſh parliament, that thoſe provinces have taken greater quantities of the goods in that kingdom ever ſince they have turned their money into bills.

I have taken the copy from the original itſelf; and it is to be obſerved that it begins with the Chriſtmas of the year 1722, and ends about the ſame time of the year 1747. In the firſt column is the value of the foreign goods, the duty for which has already been paid in England. The ſecond column ſhews the value of the goods manufactured in England, and exported to Penſylvania. And in the laſt column theſe two ſums are added together, but at the bottom each of the columns is caſt up.

But this table does not include the goods which are annually ſhipped in great quantities to Penſylvania from Scotland and Ireland, among which is a great quantity of linen.

The Value of the Goods annually ſhipped from England to Penſylvania.

The Year, from one Chriſtmas to another.	Foreign Goods for which the duty has already been paid, and which therefore only require receipts.			Engliſh manufactured Goods.			The Sums of theſe two preceding columns added together.		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
1723	5199	13	5	10793	5	1	15992	19	4
1724	9373	15	8	20951	0	5	30324	16	1
1725	10301	12	6	31508	1	8	42209	14	2
1726	9371	11	6	28263	6	2	37634	17	8
1727	10243	0	7	21736	10	0	31979	10	7
1728	14073	13	3	23405	6	2	37478	19	11
1729	12948	8	5	16851	2	5	29799	10	10
1730	15660	10	11	32931	16	6	48592	7	5
1731	11838	17	4	32421	18	9	44260	16	1
1732	15240	14	4	26457	19	3	41698	13	7
1733	13187	0	8	27378	7	5	40585	8	1
1734	19648	15	9	34743	12	1	54392	7	10
1735	18078	4	3	30726	7	1	48804	11	4
1736	23456	15	11	38057	2	5	61513	18	4
1737	14517	4	3	42173	2	4	56690	6	7
1738	20320	19	3	41129	5	0	61450	4	3
1739	9041	4	5	45411	7	6	54452	11	11
1740	10280	2	0	46471	12	9	56751	14	9
1741	12977	18	10	78032	13	1	91010	11	11
1742	14458	6	3	60836	17	1	75295	3	4
1743	19220	1	6	60120	4	10	79340	6	4
1744	14681	8	4	47595	18	2	62214	6	6
1745	13043	8	8	41237	2	3	54280	10	11
1746	18103	12	7	55595	19	7	73699	12	2
1747	8585	14	11	73819	2	8	82404	17	7
Total	343,789	16	0	969,049	1	6	1,312,838	17	6

The whole extent of the Philadelphia trade may be comprehended from the number of ſhips which annually arrive at and ſail from this town. I intend to inſert here a table of a few years, which I have taken from the gazettes of the town. The ſhips coming and going in one year, are to be reckoned from the twenty-fifth of March of that year to the twenty-fifth of March of the next.

The Year.	Ships arrived.	Ships ſailed.
1735.	199	212
1740.	307	208
1741.	292	309
1744.	229	271
1745.	280	301
1746.	273	293

But it is much to be feared that the trade of Philadelphia, and of all the Engliſh colonies, will rather decreaſe than increaſe, in caſe no proviſion is made to prevent it. I ſhall hereafter plainly ſhew upon what foundation this decreaſe of trade is likely to take place.

The

The town not only furniſhes moſt of the inhabitants of Penſylvania with the goods which they want, but numbers of the inhabitants of New Jerſey come every day and carry on a great trade.

The town has two great fairs every year; one in May, and the other in November, both on the ſixteenth days of thoſe two months. But beſides theſe fairs, there are every week two market days, viz. Wedneſday and Saturday. On thoſe days the country people in Penſylvania and New Jerſey bring to town a quantity of victuals, and other productions of the country, and this is a great advantage to the town. It is therefore to be wiſhed that the like regulation might be made in our Swediſh towns. You are ſure to meet with every produce of the ſeaſon, which the country affords, on the market-days. But on other days they are in vain ſought for.

Proviſions are always to be got freſh here, and for that reaſon moſt of the inhabitants never buy more at a time than what will be ſufficient till the next market-day. In ſummer there is a market almoſt every day; for the victuals do not keep well in the great heat. There are two places in the town where theſe markets are kept; but that near the court-houſe is the principal. It begins about four or five o'clock in the morning, and ends about nine o'clock in the forenoon.

The town is not encloſed, and has no other cuſtom-houſe than the great one for the ſhips.

The governor of the whole province lives here; and though he is nominated by the heirs of Pen, yet he cannot take that office without being confirmed by the King of England.

The quakers of almoſt all parts of North America, have their great aſſembly here once a year.

In 1743, a ſociety for the advancement of the ſciences was erected here. Its objects would have been the curioſities of the three kingdoms, of nature, mathematics, phyſic, chemiſtry, œconomy, and manufactures. But the war, which enſued immediately, ſtopped all deſigns of this nature, and ſince that time, nothing has been done towards eſtabliſhing any thing of this kind.

The declination of the needle was here obſerved on the thirtieth of October 1750, old ſtyle, to be five degrees and forty-five minutes weſt. It was examined by the new meridian, which was drawn at Philadelphia in the autumn of the ſame year, and extended a mile in length. By experience it appears, that this declination leſſens about a degree in twenty years' time.

The greateſt difference in the riſing and falling of the barometer is, according to the obſervations made for ſeveral years together by Mr. James Logan, found at 28″ 59 and 30″ 78.

Here are three printers; and every week two Engliſh, and one German newſpaper is printed.

In 1732, on the fifth of September, old ſtyle, a little earthquake was felt here about noon, and at the ſame time at Boſton in New England, and at Montreal in Canada, which places are above ſixty Swediſh miles aſunder.

In November 1737, the well known Prince from Mount Lebanon, Sheich Sidi, came to Philadelphia, on his travels through moſt of the Engliſh American colonies. And in the ſame year a ſecond earthquake was felt about eleven o'clock at night, on the ſeventh of December. But it did not continue above half a minute, and yet it was felt, according to the accounts of the gazettes, at the ſame hour in Newcaſtle, New York, New London, Boſton, and other towns of New England. It had therefore likewiſe reached ſeveral miles.

The Count Sinzendorf * arrived here in the December of the year 1741, and continued till the next ſpring. His uncommon behaviour perſuaded many Engliſhmen of rank, that he was diſordered in his head.

I have not been able to find the exact number of the inhabitants of Philadelphia. In the year 1746, they were reckoned above ten thouſand, and ſince that time their number is incredibly increaſed. Neither can it be made out from the bills of mortality, ſince they are not kept regularly in all the churches. I ſhall, however, mention ſome of thoſe which appeared either in the gazettes or in bills printed on purpoſe.

Year.	Dead.	Year.	Dead.	Year.	Dead.
1730.	227	1741.	345	1745.	420
1738.	250	1742.	409	1748.	672
1739.	350	1743.	425	1749.	758
1740.	290	1744.	410	1750.	716

From theſe bills of mortality it alſo appears, that the diſeaſes which are the moſt fatal, are conſumptions, fevers, convulſions, pleuriſies, hæmorrhages, and dropſies.

The number of thoſe that are born cannot be determined, ſince in many churches no order is obſerved with regard to this affair. The Quakers, who are the moſt numerous in this town, never baptize their children, though they take a pretty exact account of all who are born among them.

It is likewiſe impoſſible to gueſs at the number of inhabitants from the dead, becauſe the town gets ſuch great ſupplies annually from other countries. In the ſummer of the year 1749, near twelve thouſand Germans came over to Philadelphia, many of whom ſtaid in that town. In the ſame year the houſes in Philadelphia were counted, and found to be two thouſand and ſeventy-ſix in number.

The town is now quite filled with inhabitants, which in regard to their country, religion, and trade, are very different from each other. You meet with excellent maſters in all trades, and many things are made here full as well as in England. Yet no manufactures, eſpecially for making fine cloth, are eſtabliſhed. Perhaps the reaſon is, that it can be got with ſo little difficulty from England, and that the breed of ſheep which is brought over, degenerates in proceſs of time, and affords but a coarſe wool.

Here is great plenty of proviſions, and their prices are very moderate. There are no examples of an extraordinary dearth.

Every one who acknowledges God to be the creator, preſerver, and ruler of all things, and teaches or undertakes nothing againſt the ſtate, or againſt the common peace, is at liberty to ſettle, ſtay, and carry on his trade here, be his religious principles ever ſo ſtrange. No one is here moleſted on account of the erroneous principles of the doctrine which he follows, if he does not exceed the above-mentioned bounds. And he is ſo well ſecured by the laws in his perſon and property, and enjoys ſuch liberties, that a citizen of Philadelphia may in a manner be ſaid to live in his houſe like a king.

On a careful conſideration of what I have already ſaid, it will be eaſy to conceive how this city ſhould riſe ſo ſuddenly from nothing, into ſuch grandeur and perfection, without ſuppoſing any powerful monarch's contributing to it, either by puniſhing the wicked, or by giving great ſupplies in money; and yet its fine appearance, good regulations, agreeable ſituation, natural advantages, trade, riches and power, are by no means inferior to thoſe of any, even of the moſt ancient towns in Europe. It has

* Head of the Moravian Brethren. F.

not been neceſſary to force people to come and ſettle here; on the contrary, foreigners of different languages have left their country, houſes, property, and relations, and ventured over wide and ſtormy ſeas, in order to come hither. Other countries, which have been peopled for a long ſpace of time, complain of the ſmall number of their inhabitants. But Penſylvania, which was no better than a deſart in the year 1681, and hardly contained five hundred people, now vies with ſeveral kingdoms in Europe in number of inhabitants. It has received numbers of people, which other countries, to their infinite loſs, have either neglected or expelled.

A wretched old wooden building, on a hill near the river ſomewhat north of the Wickako church, belonging to one of the Sons of Sven, of whom, as before mentioned, the ground was bought for building Philadelphia upon, is preſerved on purpoſe, as a memorial of the poor ſtate of that place before the town was built on it. Its antiquity gives it a kind of ſuperiority over all the other buildings in town, though in itſelf the worſt of all. This hut was inhabited, whilſt as yet ſtags, deers, elks, and beavers, at broad day-light, lived in the future ſtreets, church-yards, and market-places of Philadelphia. The noiſe of a ſpinning wheel was heard in this houſe, before the manufactures now eſtabliſhed were thought of, or Philadelphia built. But with all theſe advantages, this houſe is ready to fall down, and, in a few years to come, it will be as difficult to find the place where it ſtood, as it was unlikely at the time of its erection, that one of the greateſt towns in America ſhould in a ſhort time ſtand cloſe up to it.

Sept. 7th. Mr. Peter Cock, a merchant of this town, aſſured me that he had laſt week himſelf been a ſpectator of a ſnake's ſwallowing a little bird. This bird, which from its cry has the name of cat-bird, (muſcicapa carolinenſis, Linn.) flew from one branch of a tree to another, and was making a doleful tune. At the bottom of the tree, but at a fathom's diſtance from the ſtem, lay one of the great black ſnakes, with its head continually upright, pointing towards the bird, which was always fluttering about, and now and then ſettling on the branches. At firſt it only kept in the top-moſt branches, but by degrees it came lower down, and even flew upon the ground, and hopped to the place where the ſnake lay, which immediately opened its mouth, caught the bird, and ſwallowed it; but it had ſcarce finiſhed its repaſt before Mr. Cock came up and killed it. I was afterwards told that this kind of ſnakes was frequently obſerved to purſue little birds in this manner. It is already well known that the rattle-ſnake does the ſame.

As I walked out into the fields I found ſeveral European and even Swediſh plants growing there. But thoſe which are peculiar to America, are much more numerous.

The Virginian maple grows in plenty on the ſhores of the Delaware. The Engliſh in this country call it either buttonwood, or waterbeech, which latter name is moſt uſual. The Swedes call it wattenbok, or waſbok. It is Linnæus's platanus occidentalis. See Cateſby's Nat. Hiſt. of Carolina, vol. i. p. 56. t. 56. It grows for the greateſt part in low places, but eſpecially on the edge of rivers and brooks. But theſe trees are eaſily tranſplanted to more dry places, if they be only filled with good ſoil; and as their leaves are large, and their foliage thick, they are planted about the houſes and in gardens, to afford a pleaſant ſhade in the hot ſeaſon. Some of the Swedes had boxes, pails, and the like, made of the bark of this tree by the native Americans. They ſay that thoſe people, whilſt they were yet ſettled here, made little diſhes of this bark for gathering whortleberries. This tree likewiſe grows in marſhes, or in ſwampy fields, where aſh and red maple commonly grow. They are frequently as tall and thick

thick as the beſt of our fir trees. The ſeed ſtays on them till ſpring, but in the middle of April the pods open and ſhed the ſeeds. Query, Whether they are not ripe before that time, and conſequently ſooner fit for ſowing? This American maple is remarkable for its quick growth, in which it exceeds all other trees. There are ſuch numbers of them on the low meadows between Philadelphia and the ferry at Glouceſter, on both ſides of the road, that in ſummer time you go as it were through a ſhady walk. In that part of Philadelphia which is near the Swediſh church, ſome great trees of this kind ſtand on the banks of the river. In the year 1750, on the 15th of May, I ſaw the buds ſtill on them; and in the year 1749 they began to flower on the eighth of that month. Several trees of this ſort are planted at Chelſea, near London, and they now, in point of height, vie with the talleſt oak.

Sept. 18th. In the morning I went with the Swediſh painter, Mr. Heſſelius, to the country ſeat of Mr. Bartram, which is about four Engliſh miles to the ſouth of Philadelphia, at ſome diſtance from the high road to Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. I had therefore the firſt opportunity here of getting an exact knowledge of the ſtate of the country, which was a plain covered with all kinds of trees with deciduous leaves. The ground was ſandy, mixed with clay; but the ſand ſeemed to be in greater quantity. In ſome parts the wood was cut down, and we ſaw the habitations of ſome country people, whoſe corn-fields and plantations were round their farm-houſes. The wood was full of mulberry-trees, walnut-trees of ſeveral kinds, cheſnut-trees, ſaſſafras, and the like. Several ſorts of wild vines claſped their tendrils round, and climbed up to the ſummits of the higheſt trees; and in other places they twined round the enclоſures, ſo thick, that the latter almoſt ſunk down under their weight. The perſimon, or dioſpyros Virginiana, Linn. ſp. pl. p. 1510, grew in the marſhy fields and about ſprings. Its little apples looked very well already, but are not fit for eating, before the froſt has affected them, and then they have a very fine taſte. Heſſelius gathered ſome of them, and deſired my ſervant to taſte of the fruits of the land; but this poor credulous fellow had hardly bit into them, when he felt the qualities they have before the froſt has penetrated them. For they contracted his mouth ſo that he could hardly ſpeak, and had a very diſagreeable taſte. This diſguſted him ſo much that he was with difficulty perſuaded to taſte of it during the whole of our ſtay in America, notwithſtanding it loſes all its acidity, and acquires an agreeable flavour in autumn and towards the beginning of winter. For the fellow always imagined, that though he ſhould eat them ever ſo late in the year, they would ſtill retain the ſame diſagreeable taſte.

To ſatisfy the curioſity of thoſe who are willing to know how the woods look in this country, and whether or no the trees in them are the ſame with thoſe found in our foreſts, I here inſert a ſmall catalogue of thoſe which grow ſpontaneouſly in the woods which are neareſt to Philadelphia. But I exclude ſuch ſhrubs as do not attain any conſiderable height. I ſhall put that tree firſt in order, which is moſt plentful, and ſo on with the reſt, and therefore trees which I have found but ſingle, though near the town, will be laſt.

1. *Quercus alba*, the white oak, in good ground.
2. *Quercus rubra*, or the black oak.
3. *Quercus Hiſpanica*, the Spaniſh oak, a variety of the preceding.
4. *Juglans alba*, hiccory, a kind of walnut tree, of which three or four varieties are to be met with.
5. *Rubus occidentalis*, or American blackberry ſhrub.

6. *Acer rubrum*, the maple tree with red flowers, in ſwamps.
7. *Rhus glabra*, the ſmooth leaved ſumach, in the woods, on high glades, and old corn fields.
8. *Vitis labruſca* and *Vulpina*, vines of ſeveral kinds.
9. *Sambucus Canadenſis*, American elder tree, along the hedges and on glades.
10. *Quercus phellos*, the ſwamp oak, in moraſſes.
11. *Azalea lutea*, the American upright honey-ſuckle, in the woods in dry places.
12. *Cratægus Crus galli*, the Virginian azarole, in woods.
13. *Vaccinium* ———, a ſpecies of whortleberry ſhrub.
14. *Quercus prinus*, the cheſnut oak, in good ground.
15. *Cornus florida*, the cornelian cherry, in all kinds of ground.
16. *Liriodendron Tulipifera*, the tulip tree, in every kind of ſoil.
17. *Prunus Virginiana*, the wild cherry tree.
18. *Vaccinium* ———, a frutex whortleberry, in good ground.
19. *Prinos verticillatus*, the winterberry tree, in ſwamps.
20. *Platanus occidentalis*, the water-beech.
21. *Nyſſa aquatica*, the tupelo tree, on fields and mountains. *
22. *Liquidambar ſtyraciflua*, ſweet gum tree, near ſprings.
23. *Betula Alnus*, alder, a variety of the Swediſh; it was here but a ſhrub.
24. *Fagus caſtanea*, the cheſnut tree, on corn-fields, paſtures, and in little woods.
25. *Juglans nigra*, the black walnut tree, in the ſame place with the preceding tree.
26. *Rhus radicans*, the twining ſumach, climbed along the trees.
27. *Acer Negundo*, the aſh-leaved maple, in moraſſes and ſwampy places.
28. *Prunus domeſtica*, the wild plum tree.
29. *Ulmus Americana*, the white elm.
30. *Prunus ſpinoſa*, ſloe ſhrub, in low places.
31. *Laurus ſaſſafras*, the ſaſſafras tree, in a looſe ſoil mixed with ſand.
32. *Ribes nigrum*, the currant tree, grew in low places and in marſhes.
33. *Fraxinus excelſior*, the aſh tree, in low places.
34. *Smilax laurifolia*, the rough bind weed with the bay leaf, in woods and on pales or encloſures.
35. *Kalmia latifolia*, the American dwarf laurel, on the northern ſide of mountains.
36. *Morus rubra*, the mulberry tree, on fields, hills, and near the houſes.
37. *Rhux vernix*, the poiſonous ſumach, in wet places.
38. *Quercus rubra*, the red oak, but a peculiar variety.
39. *Hamamelis virginica*, the witch hazel.
40. *Diopſpyros Virginiana*, the perſimon.
41. *Pyrus coronaria*, the anchor tree.
42. *Juniperus Virginiana*, the red juniper, in a dry poor ſoil.
43. *Laurus æſtivalis*, ſpice wood, in a wet ſoil.
44. *Carpinus oſtrya*, a ſpecies of horn beam, in a good ſoil.
45. *Carpinus betulus*, a horn beam, in the ſame kind of ſoil with the former.
46. *Fagus ſylvatica*, the beech, likewiſe in good ſoil.

* Dr. Linnæus mentions only one ſpecies of Nyſſa, namely Nyſſa aquatica; Mr. Kalm does not mention the name of the ſpecies, but if his is not a different ſpecies, it muſt at leaſt be a variety, ſince he ſays it grows on hills, whereas the aquatica grows in the water. F.

47. *Juglans*

47. *Juglans* ———, a ſpecies of walnut tree, on hills near rivers *, called by the Swedes butternuſtræ.

48. *Pinus Americana*, Penſylvanian fir tree, on the north ſide of mountains, and in vallies †.

49. *Betula lenta*, a ſpecies of birch, on the banks of rivers.

50. *Cephalantus occidentalis*, button wood, in wet places.

51. *Pinus tæda*, the New Jerſey fir tree, on dry ſandy heaths.

52. *Cercis Canadenſis*, the ſallad tree, in a good ſoil.

53. *Robinia pſeudacacia*, the locuſt tree, on the corn-fields.

54. *Magnolia glauca*, the laurel-leaved tulip tree, in marſhy ſoil.

55. *Tilia Americana*, the lime tree, in a good ſoil.

56. *Gleditſia triacanthos*, the honey locuſt tree, or three-thorned acacia, in the ſame ſoil.

57. *Celtis occidentalis*, the nettle tree, in the fields.

58. *Annona muricata*, the cuſtard apple, in a fruitful ſoil.

We viſited ſeveral Swedes, who were ſettled here, and in very good circumſtances. One of them (Andrew Rambo) has a fine houſe built of ſtone, two ſtories high, and a great orchard near it. We were every where well received, and ſtayed over night with the above-mentioned countryman. We ſaw no other marks of autumn than that ſeveral fruits of this ſeaſon were already ripe. For beſides this, all the trees were yet as green, and the ground ſtill as much covered with flowers, as in our ſummer. Thouſands of frogs croaked all the night long in the marſhes and brooks. The locuſts and graſhoppers made likewiſe ſuch a great noiſe, that it was hardly poſſible for one perſon to underſtand another. The trees too were full of all ſorts of birds, which by the variety of their fine plumage delighted the eye, while the infinite variety of their tunes were continually re-echoed.

The orchards, along which we paſſed to-day, were only encloſed by hurdles. But they contained all kinds of fine fruit. We wondered at firſt very much when our leader leaped over the hedge into the orchards, and gathered ſome agreeable fruit for us. But our aſtoniſhment was ſtill greater, when we ſaw that the people in the garden were ſo little concerned at it, as not even to look at us. But our companion told us, that the people here were not ſo exact in regard to a few fruits, as they are in other countries where the ſoil is not ſo fruitful in them. We afterwards found very frequently that the country people in Sweden and Finland guarded their turnips more carefully, than the people here do the moſt exquiſite fruits.

Sept. 19th. As I walked this morning into the fields, I obſerved that a copious dew was fallen; for the graſs was as wet as if it had rained. The leaves of the plants and trees had contracted ſo much moiſture that the drops ran down. I found on this occaſion that the dew was not only on the ſuperior, but likewiſe on the inferior ſide of the leaves. I therefore carefully conſidered many leaves both of trees and of other plants; both of thoſe which are more above, and of thoſe which are nearer to the ground. But I found in all of them, that both ſides of the leaves were equally bedewed, except thoſe of the verbaſcum thapſus, or great mullein, which, though their ſuperior ſide was pretty well covered with the dew, yet their inferior had but a little.

* Quere. Is this the Juglans baccata of Linnæus? F.

† This ſpecies is not to be met with in Linn. ſpec. plant. F.

Every

Every countryman, even a common peaſant, has commonly an orchard near his houſe, in which all ſorts of fruit, ſuch as peaches, apples, pears, cherries, and others, are in plenty. The peaches were now almoſt ripe. They are rare in Europe, particularly in Sweden; for in that country hardly any people beſides the rich taſte them. But here every countryman had an orchard full of peach trees, which were covered with ſuch quantities of fruit, that we could ſcarcely walk in the orchard without treading upon thoſe peaches which were fallen off; many of which were uſually left on the ground, and only part of them ſold in town, and the reſt was conſumed by the family and ſtrangers. Nay this fine fruit was frequently given to the ſwine.

This fruit is however ſometimes kept for winter uſe, and prepared in the following manner. The fruit is cut into four parts, the ſtone thrown away, and the fruit put upon a thread, on which they are expoſed to the ſunſhine in the open air, till they are ſufficiently dry. They are then put into a veſſel for winter. But this manner of drying them is not very good, becauſe the rain of this ſeaſon very eaſily ſpoils and putrifies them, whilſt they hang in the open air. For this reaſon a different method is followed by others, which is by far the moſt eligible. The peaches are as before cut into four parts, are then either put upon a thread, or laid upon a board, and ſo hung up in the air when the ſun ſhines. Being dried in ſome meaſure, or having loſt their juice by this means, they are put into an oven, out of which the bread has but juſt been taken, and are left in it for a while. But they are ſoon taken out and brought into the freſh air; and after that they are again put into the oven, and this is repeated ſeveral times, till they are as dry as they ought to be. For if they were dried up at once in the oven, they would ſhrivel up too much, and loſe part of their flavour. They are then put up and kept for the winter. They are either baked into tarts and pyes, or boiled and prepared as dried apples and pears are in Sweden. Several people here dry and preſerve their apples in the ſame manner as their peaches.

The peach trees were, as I am told, firſt planted here by the Europeans. But at preſent they ſucceed very well, and require even leſs care than our apple and pear trees.

The orchards have ſeldom other fruit than apples and peaches. Pear trees are ſcarce in this province. They have cherry trees in the orchards, but commonly on the ſides of them towards the houſe, or along the encloſures. Mulberry trees are planted on ſome hillocks near the houſe, and ſometimes even in the court-yards of the houſe. The black walnut trees, or Juglans nigra, grow partly on hills, and in fields near the farm-houſes, and partly along the encloſures; but moſt commonly in the foreſts. No other trees of this kind are made uſe of here. The cheſnuts are left in the fields; here and there is one in a dry field, or in a wood.

The Hibiſcus eſculentus, or Okra*, is a plant which grows wild in the Weſt Indies, but is planted in the gardens here. The fruit, which is a long pod, is cut whilſt it is green, and boiled in ſoups, which thereby become as thick as pulſe. This diſh is reckoned a dainty by ſome people, and eſpecially by the negroes.

Capſicum annuum, or Guinea pepper, is likewiſe planted in gardens. When the fruit is ripe it is almoſt entirely red, it is put to a roaſted or boiled piece of meat, a little of it being ſtrewed upon it, or mixed with the broth. Beſides this, cucumbers are pickled with it. Or the pods are pounded whilſt they are yet tender, and being mixed with ſalt are preſerved in a bottle; and this ſpice is ſtrewed over roaſted or boiled meat, or fried fiſh, and gives them a very fine taſte. But the fruit by itſelf is as biting as common pepper.

* In Miller's Gardener's Dictionary, it is called Ketmia Indica folio ficus, fructu pentagono, recurvo, eſculento, graciliori, et longiori.

This country contains many ſpecies of the plant which Dr. Linnæus calls Rhus, and the moſt common is the Rhus foliis pinnatis ſerratis lanceolatis retrinque nudis, or the Rhus glabra. The Engliſh call this plant Sumach. But the Swedes here have no particular name for it, and therefore make uſe of the Engliſh name. Its berries or fruits are red. They are made uſe of for dying, and afford a colour like their own. This tree is like a weed in this country, for if a corn-field is left uncultivated for ſome few years together, it grows on it in plenty, ſince the berries are ſpread every where by the birds. And when the ground is to be ploughed, the roots ſtop the plough very much. The fruit ſtays on the ſhrub during the whole winter. But the leaves drop very early in autumn, after they are turned reddiſh, like thoſe of our Swediſh mountain aſh. The branches boiled with the berries afford a black ink like tincture. The boys eat the berries, there being no danger of falling ſick after the repaſt; but they are very ſour. They ſeldom grow above three yards high. On cutting the ſtem, it appears that it contains nothing but pith. I have cut ſeveral in this manner, and found that ſome were ten years old; but that moſt of them were above one year old. When the cut is made, a yellow juice comes out between the bark and the wood. One or two of the moſt outward circles are white, but the innermoſt are of a yellowiſh green. It is eaſy to diſtinguiſh them one from another. They contain a very plentiful pith, the diameter of which is frequently half an inch, and ſometimes more. It is brown, and ſo looſe that it is eaſily puſhed out by a little ſtick, in the ſame manner as the pith of the elder tree, raſpberry, and blackberry, buſhes. This ſumach grows near the enclo-ſures, round the corn-fields, but eſpecially on fallow ground. The wood ſeemed to burn well, and made no great crackling in the fire.

Sept. 20. In the morning we walked in the fields and woods near the town, partly for gathering ſeeds, and partly for gathering plants for my herbal, which was our principal occupation; and in the autumn of this year, we ſent part of our collection to England and Sweden.

A ſpecies of Rhus, which was frequent in the marſhes here, was called the poiſon tree by both Engliſh and Swedes. Some of the former gave it the name of ſwamp-ſumach, and my countrymen gave it the ſame name. Dr. Linnæus in his botanical works calls it Rhus Vernix. Sp. pl. 1. 380. Flor. Virgin. 45. An inciſion being made into the tree, a whitiſh yellow juice, which has a nauſeous ſmell, comes out be-tween the bark and the wood. This tree is not known for its good qualities, but great-ly ſo for the effect of its poiſon, which though it is noxious to ſome people, yet does not in the leaſt affect others. And therefore one perſon can handle the tree as he pleaſes, cut it, peel off its bark, rub it or the wood upon his hands, ſmell at it, ſpread the juice upon his ſkin, and make more experiments, with no inconvenience to himſelf; another perſon, on the contrary, dares not meddle with the tree while its wood is freſh, nor can he venture to touch a hand which has handled it, nor even to expoſe himſelf to the ſmoke of a fire which is made with this wood, without ſoon feeling its bad effects; for the face, the hands, and frequently the whole body, ſwells exceſſively, and is affected with a very acute pain. Sometimes bladders or bliſters ariſe in great plenty, and make the ſick perſon look as if he was infected by a leproſy. In ſome people the external thin ſkin, or cuticle, peels off in a few days, as is the caſe when a perſon has ſcalded or burnt any part of his body. Nay, the nature of ſome perſons will not even allow them to approach the place where the tree grows, or to expoſe themſelves to the wind, when it carries the effluvia or exhalations of this tree with it, without letting them feel the in-convenience of the ſwelling, which I have juſt now deſcribed. Their eyes are ſometimes ſhut up for one, or two and more days together, by the ſwelling. I know two brothers,

one

one of whom could without danger handle this tree in what manner he pleaſed, whereas the other could not come near it without ſwelling. A perſon ſometimes does not know that he has touched this poiſonous plant, or that he has been near it, before his face and hands ſhew it by their ſwelling. I have known old people who were more afraid of this tree than of a viper; and I was acquainted with a perſon who, merely by the noxious exhalations of it, was ſwelled to ſuch a degree that he was as ſtiff as a log of wood, and was turned about in his bed.

On relating, in the winter of the year 1750, the poiſonous qualities of the ſwamp ſumach to my Yungſtroem, he only laughed, and looked upon the whole as a fable, in which opinion he was confirmed by his having often handled the tree the autumn before, cut many branches of it, which he had carried for a good while in his hand, in order to preſerve its ſeeds, and put many into the herbals, and all this without feeling the leaſt inconvenience. He would therefore, being a kind of philoſopher in his own way, take nothing for granted of which he had no ſufficient proofs, eſpecially as he had his own experience in the ſummer of the year 1749, to ſupport the contrary opinion. But in the next ſummer his ſyſtem of philoſophy was overturned, for his hands ſwelled, and he felt a violent pain and itching in his eyes, as ſoon as he touched the tree, and this inconvenience not only attended him when he meddled with this kind of ſumach, but even when he had any thing to do with the rhus radicans, or that ſpecies of ſumach which climbs along the trees, and is not by far ſo poiſonous as the former. By this adventure he was ſo convinced of the power of the poiſon tree, that I could not eaſily perſuade him to gather more ſeeds of it for me. But he not only felt the noxious effects of it in ſummer, when he was very hot, but even in winter, when both he and the wood were cold. Hence it appears, that though a perſon be ſecured againſt the power of this poiſon for ſome time, yet, that in length of time, he may be affected with it, as well as people of a weaker conſtitution.

I have likewiſe tried experiments of every kind with the poiſon tree on myſelf. I have ſpread its juice upon my hands, cut and broke its branches, peeled off its bark, and rubbed my hands with it, ſmelt at it, carried pieces of it in my bare hands, and repeated all this frequently without feeling the baneful effects ſo commonly annexed to it; but I however once experienced that the poiſon of the ſumach was not entirely without effect upon me. On a hot day in ſummer, as I was in ſome degree of perſpiration, I cut a branch of the tree, and carried it in my hand for about half an hour together, and ſmelt at it now and then. I felt no effects from it till in the evening; but next morning I awoke with a violent itching of my eye-lids, and the parts thereabouts; and this was ſo painful, that I could hardly keep my hands from it. It ceaſed after I had waſhed my eyes for a while with very cold water; but my eye-lids were very ſtiff all that day; at night the itching returned; and in the morning as I awoke, I felt it as ill as the morning before, and I uſed the ſame remedy againſt it. However, it continued almoſt for a whole week together, and my eyes were very red, and my eye-lids were with difficulty moved during all that time. My pain ceaſed entirely afterwards. About the ſame time, I had ſpread the juice of the tree very thick upon my hand. Three days after they occaſioned bliſters, which ſoon went off without affecting me much. I have not experienced any thing more of the effects of this plant, nor had I any deſire ſo to do. However, I found that it could not exert its power upon me when I was not perſpiring.

I have never heard that the poiſon of this ſumach has been mortal; but the pain ceaſes after a few days duration. The natives formerly made their flutes of this tree, becauſe it has a great deal of pith. Some people aſſured me, that a perſon ſuffering

from its noiſome exhalations, would eaſily recover by ſpreading a mixture of the wood burnt to charcoal, and hog's lard, upon the ſwelled parts. Some aſſerted that they had really tried this remedy. In ſome places this tree is rooted out, on purpoſe that its poiſon may not affect the workmen.

I received, as a preſent, ſeveral curioſities belonging to the mineral kingdom, which were collected in the country. The following were thoſe which were moſt worth attention. The firſt was a white and quite tranſparent chryſtal*. Many of this kind are found in Penſylvania, in ſeveral kinds of ſtone, eſpecially in a pale-grey limeſtone. The pieces are of the thickneſs and length of the little finger, and commonly as tranſparent as poſſible. But I have likewiſe got cryſtals here, of the length of a foot, and of the thickneſs of a middle-ſized man's leg. They were not ſo tranſparent as the former.

The cubic pyrites of Biſhop Browallius †, was of a very regular texture; but its cubes were different in ſize, for in ſome of the cubes the planes of the ſides only amounted to a quarter of an inch, but in the biggeſt cubes they were full two inches. Some were exceedingly glittering, ſo that it was very eaſy to be perceived that they conſiſted of ſulphureous pyrites; but in ſome, one or two ſides only glittered ſo well, and the others were dark-brown. Yet moſt of theſe marcaſites had this ſame colour on all the ſides. On breaking them they ſhewed the pure pyrites. They are found near Lancaſter in this province, and ſometimes lie quite above the ground; but commonly they are found at the depth of eight feet or more from the ſurface of the ground, on digging wells and the like. Mr. Heſſelius had ſeveral pieces of this kind of ſtone, which he made uſe of in his work. He firſt burnt them, then pounded or ground them to a powder, and at laſt rubbed them ſtill finer in the uſual way; and this afforded him a fine reddiſh-brown colour.

Few black pebbles are found in this province, which on the other hand, yields many kinds of marble, eſpecially a white one, with pale-grey bluiſh ſpots, which is found in a quarry at the diſtance of a few Engliſh miles from Philadelphia, and is very good for working, though it is not one of the fineſt kind of marbles. They make many tomb-ſtones and tables, enchaſe chimneys and doors, floors of marble flags in the rooms, and the like, of this kind of marble. A quantity of this commodity is ſhipped to different parts of America.

Muſcovy glaſs ‡ is found in many places hereabouts, and ſome pieces of it are pretty large, and as fine as thoſe which are brought from Ruſſia. I have ſeen ſome of them which were a foot and more in length; and I have ſeveral in my collection that are nearly nine inches ſquare. The Swedes on their firſt arrival here made their windows of this native glaſs.

A pale grey fine limeſtone §, of a compact texture, lies in many places hereabouts, and affords a fine lime. Some pieces of it are ſo full of fine tranſparent cryſtals, that

* Nitrum cryſtallus montana, Linn. Syſt. Nat. 3. p. 84. Cryſtallus hexagona pellucida non colorata, Wallerius's Mineralogy, p. 100. Cryſtallus montana, colourleſs cryſtal. Forſter's Introd. to Mineralogy, p. 13.

† Pyrites cryſtallinus, Linn. Syſt. Nat. 3. p. 113. Marchaſitæ hexaëdricæ teſſelares. Wallerius's Mineralogy, p. 211. Marcaſitæ, vel cryſtalli pyritacei, Marcaſites. Forſter's Introd. to Mineralogy, p. 39.

‡ Mica membranacea, Linn. Syſt. Nat. 3. p. 58. Mica membranacea pellucidiſſima flexilis alba. Wallerius's Min. p. 120. Ruſſian glaſs, Muſcovy glaſs, iſinglaſs, Vitrum ruthenicum, Vitrum Mariæ. Forſter's Introd. to Mineralogy, p. 18.

§ Marmor rude, Linn. Syſt. Nat. 3. p. 41. Calcareus particulis ſcintillantibus, Wall. Min. p. 39. Calcareus ſcintillans, glittering limeſtone. Forſter's Introd. to Mineralogy, p. 9.

almoſt

almoſt half of the ſtone conſiſts of nothing elſe. But beſides this limeſtone, they make lime near the ſea-ſhore from oyſter ſhells, and bring it to town in winter, which is ſaid to be worſe for maſonry, but better for white-waſhing than that which is got from the limeſtone.

Coals have not yet been found in Penſylvania, but people pretend to have ſeen them higher up in the country among the natives. Many people however agree that they are met with in great quantity more to the north, near Cape Breton *.

The ladies make wine from ſome of the fruits of the land. They principally take white and red currants for that purpoſe, ſince the ſhrubs of this kind are very plentiful in the gardens, and ſucceed very well. An old ſailor, who had frequently been in Newfoundland, told me that red currants grew wild in that country in great quantity. They likewiſe make a wine of ſtrawberries, which grow in great plenty in the woods, but are ſourer than the Swediſh ones. The American blackberries, or rubus occidentalis, are likewiſe made uſe of for this purpoſe, for they grow every where about the fields, almoſt as abundantly as thiſtles in Sweden, and have a very agreeable taſte. In Maryland a wine is made of the wild grapes, which grow in the woods of that province. Raſpberries and cherries which are planted on purpoſe, and taken great care of, likewiſe afford a very fine wine. It is unneceſſary to give an account of the manner of making the currant wine, for in Sweden this art is in higher perfection than in North America.

Sept. 21ſt. The common privet, or liguſtrum vulgare, Linn. grows among the buſhes in thickets and woods; but I cannot determine whether it belongs to the indigenous plants, or to thoſe which the Engliſh have introduced, the fruits of which the birds may have diſperſed every where. The encloſures and pales are generally made here of wooden planks and poſts; but a few good œconomiſts, having already thought of ſparing the woods for future times, have begun to plant quick-hedges round their fields; and to this purpoſe they take the above-mentioned privet, which they plant in a little bank, which is thrown up for it. The ſoil every where hereabouts is a clay mixed with ſand, and of courſe very looſe. The privet-hedges however, are only adapted to the tameneſs of the cattle and other animals here; for the hogs all have a triangular yoke about their necks, and the other cattle are not very unruly. But in ſuch places where the cattle break through the encloſures, hedges of this kind would make but a poor defence. The people who live in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, are obliged to keep their hogs encloſed.

In the afternoon, I rode with Mr. Cock to his country ſeat, about nine miles from the town, to the north-weſt.

The country on both ſides of the road was covered with a great foreſt. The trees were all with annual leaves, and I did not ſee a ſingle fir or pine. Moſt of the trees were different ſorts of oak; but we likewiſe ſaw cheſnut, walnut, locuſt, and apple trees, with hiccory, blackberry buſhes, and the like. The ground ceaſed to be ſo even as it was before, and began to look more like the Engliſh ground, diverſified with hills and vallies. We found neither mountains nor great ſtones, and the wood was ſo much thinned, and the ground ſo uniformly even, that we could ſee a great way between the trees, under which we rode without any inconvenience, for there

* This has been confirmed, ſince Cape Breton is in the hands of the Engliſh; and it is reported that the ſtrata of coals run through the whole iſle, and ſome baſſet out to-day near the ſea-ſhore, ſo that this iſle will afford immenſe treaſures of coals, when the government will find it convenient to have them dug for the benefit of the nation. F.

were no buſhes to ſtop us. In ſome places, where the ſoil was thrown up, we ſaw ſome little ſtones of that kind of which the houſes here are ſo generally built. I intend to deſcribe them in the ſequel.

As we went on in the wood, we continually ſaw, at moderate diſtances, little fields which had been cleared of the wood. Each of theſe was a farm. Theſe farms were commonly very pretty, and a walk of trees frequently led from them to the high-road. The houſes were all built of brick, or of the ſtone which is here commonly met with. Every countryman, even though he were the pooreſt peaſant, had an orchard with apples, peaches, cheſnuts, walnuts, cherries, quinces, and ſuch fruits, and ſometimes we ſaw the vines climbing along them. The vallies were frequently provided with little brooks which contained a cryſtal ſtream. The corn, on the ſides of the road, was almoſt all mown, and no other grain beſides maize and buckwheat was ſtanding. The former was to be met with near each farm, in greater or leſſer quantities; it grew very well and to a great length, the ſtalks being from ſix to ten feet high, and covered with fine green leaves. Buckwheat likewiſe was not very uncommon, and in ſome places the people were beginning to reap it. I intend, in the ſequel, to be more particular about the qualities and uſe of theſe kinds of corn.

After a ride of ſix Engliſh miles, we came to Germantown; this town has only one ſtreet, but is near two Engliſh miles long. It is for the greateſt part inhabited by Germans, who from time to time come from their country to North America, and ſettle here, becauſe they enjoy ſuch privileges, as they are not poſſeſſed of any where elſe. Moſt of the inhabitants are manufacturers, and make almoſt every thing in ſuch quantity and perfection, that in a ſhort time this province will want very little from England, its mother country. Moſt of the houſes were built of the ſtone which is mixed with glimmer, and found every where towards Philadelphia, but is more ſcarce further on. Several houſes however were made of brick. They were commonly two ſtories high, and ſometimes higher. The roofs conſiſted of ſhingles of the white cedar wood. Their ſhape reſembled that of the roofs in Sweden, but the angles they formed at the top were either obtuſe, right angled, or acute, according as the ſlopes were ſteep or eaſy. They ſometimes formed either the half of an octagon, or the half of a dodecagon.

Many of the roofs were made in ſuch a manner that they could be walked upon, having a baluſtrade round them. Many of the upper ſtories had balconies before them, from whence the people had a proſpect into the ſtreet. The windows, even thoſe in the third ſtory, had ſhutters. Each houſe had a fine garden. The town had three churches, one for the Lutherans, another for the Reformed Proteſtants, and the third for the Quakers. The inhabitants were ſo numerous, that the ſtreet was always full. The Baptiſts have likewiſe a meeting-houſe.

Sept. 22d. After I had been at church, I employed the remainder of the day in converſing with the moſt conſiderable people in town, who had lived here for a long while, and I enquired into the curioſities hereabouts.

Mr. Cock had a fine ſpring near his houſe; it came from a ſandy hill, and afforded water enough conſtantly to fill a little brook. Juſt above this ſpring Mr. Cock had erected a building from thoſe above-mentioned glittering ſtones, into which were put many jugs and other earthern veſſels full of milk: for it kept very well in cold water during the great heat with which the ſummer is attended here.

I afterwards met with many houſes which were ſituated like this, on ſprings, and therefore were deſtined to keep the meat and milk freſh.

Almoſt all the encloſures round the corn-fields and meadows hereabouts, were made

of planks faſtened in a horizontal direction. I only perceived a hedge of privet in one ſingle place. The encloſures were not made like ours; for the people here take poſts from four to ſix feet in height, and make two or three holes into them, ſo that there was a diſtance of two feet and above between them. Such a poſt does the ſame ſervice as two, and ſometimes three poles are ſcarce ſufficient. The poſts were faſtened in the ground, at two or three fathoms diſtance from each other, and the holes in them kept up the planks, which were nine inches, and ſometimes a foot broad, and lay above each other from one poſt to the next. Such an encloſure therefore looked at a diſtance like the hurdles in which we encloſe the ſheep at night in Sweden. They were really no cloſer than hurdles, being only deſtined to keep out the greater animals, ſuch as cows and horſes. The hogs are kept near the farm-houſes every where about Philadelphia, and therefore this encloſure does not need to be made cloſer on their account. Cheſnut-trees were commonly made uſe of for this purpoſe, becauſe this wood keeps longeſt againſt putrefaction; and an encloſure made of it can ſtand for thirty years together. But where no cheſnut wood was to be got, the white and likewiſe black oaks were taken for that purpoſe. Of all kinds of wood, that of the red cedar holds out the longeſt. The greateſt quantity of it is bought up here; for near Philadelphia it is not plentiful enough to be made uſe of for encloſures; however, there are many encloſures near the town made of this wood.

The beſt wood for fuel, in every body's opinion, is the hiccory, or a ſpecies of walnut; for it heats well, but is not good for encloſures, ſince it cannot well withſtand putrefaction when it is in the open air. The white and black oaks are next in goodneſs for fuel. The woods with which Philadelphia is ſurrounded, would lead one to conclude, that fuel muſt be cheap there. But it is far from being ſo, becauſe the great and high foreſt near the town is the property of ſome people of quality and fortune, who do not regard the money which they could make of them. They do not fell ſo much as they require for their own uſe, and much leſs would they ſell it to others. But they leave the trees for times to come, expecting that wood will become much more ſcarce. However, they ſell it to joiners, coach makers, and other artiſts, who pay exorbitantly for it. For a quantity of hiccory of eight feet in length, and four in depth, and the pieces being likewiſe four feet long, they paid at preſent eighteen ſhillings of Penſylvanian currency. But the ſame quantity of oak only came to twelve ſhillings. The people who came at preſent to ſell wood in the market were peaſants, who lived at a great diſtance from the town. Every body complained that fuel, in the ſpace of a few years, was riſen in price to many times as much again as it had been; and to account for this, the following reaſons were given: the town is increaſed to ſuch a degree, as to be four or ſix times bigger and more populous than what ſome old people have known it to be, when they were young. Many brick-kilns have been made hereabouts, which require a great quantity of wood. The country is likewiſe more cultivated than it uſed to be, and conſequently, great woods have been cut down for that purpoſe, and the farms built in thoſe places likewiſe conſume a quantity of wood. Laſtly, they melt iron out of the ore, in ſeveral places about the town, and this work always goes on without interruption. For theſe reaſons it is concluded, in future times, Philadelphia will be obliged to pay a great price for wood.

The wine of blackberries, which has a very fine taſte, is made in the following manner. The juice of the blackberries is preſſed out and put into a veſſel, with half a gallon of this juice, an equal quantity of water is well mixed. Three pounds of brown ſugar are added to this mixture, which muſt then ſtand for a while, and after that it is

fit

fit for uſe. Cherry wine is made in the ſame manner; but care muſt be taken that when the juice is preſſed out, the ſtones be not cruſhed, for they give the wine a bad taſte.

They make brandy from peaches here, after the following method: the fruit is cut aſunder, and the ſtones are taken out; the pieces of fruit are then put into a veſſel, where they are left for three weeks or a month, till they are quite putrid; they are then put into a diſtilling veſſel, and the brandy is made and afterwards diſtilled over again. This brandy is not good for people who have a more refined taſte, but it is only for the common kind of people, ſuch as workmen and the like.

Apples yield a brandy, when prepared in the ſame manner as the peaches. But for this purpoſe thoſe apples are chiefly taken which fall from the tree before they are ripe.

The American night-ſhade, or phytolacca decandra, Linn. S. N. grows abundantly near the farms, on the high road, in hedges and buſhes, and in ſeveral places in the fields. Whenever I came to any of theſe places I was ſure of finding this plant in great abundance. Moſt of them had red berries, which grew in bunches, and looked very tempting, though they were not at all fit for eating. Some of theſe plants were yet in flower. In ſome places, ſuch as in the hedges, and near the houſes, they ſometimes grow two fathoms high, but in the fields were always low; yet I could no where perceive that the cattle had eaten of it. A German of this place, who was a confectioner, told me, that the dyers gathered the roots of this plant and made a fine red dye of them.

Here are ſeveral ſpecies of ſquirrels. The ground ſquirrels, or ſciurus ſtriatus Linn. S. N. are commonly kept in cages, becauſe they are very pretty; but they cannot be entirely tamed. The greater ſquirrels, or ſciurus cinereus, Linn. S. N. frequently do a great deal of miſchief in the plantations, but particularly deſtroy the maize. For they climb up the ſtalks, cut the ears in pieces, and eat only the looſe and ſweet kernel, which lies quite in the inſide. They ſometimes come by hundreds upon a maize-field, and then deſtroy the whole crop of a countryman in one night. In Maryland therefore every one is obliged annually to bring four ſquirrels, and their heads are given to the ſurveyor, to prevent deceit. In other provinces every body that kills ſquirrels received two-pence a-piece for them from the public, on delivering the heads. Their fleſh is eaten and reckoned a dainty. The ſkins are ſold, but are not much eſteemed. Squirrels are the chief food of the rattle-ſnake and other ſnakes; and it was a common fancy with the people hereabouts, that when the rattle-ſnake lay on the ground, and fixed its eyes upon a ſquirrel, the latter would be as it were faſcinated, and that though it were on the uppermoſt branches of a tree, yet it would come down by degrees, till it leaped into the ſnake's mouth. The ſnake then licks the little animal ſeveral times, and makes it wet all over with its ſpittle, that it may go down the throat eaſier. It then ſwallows the whole ſquirrel at once. When the ſnake has made ſuch a good meal, it lies down to reſt without any concern.

The quadruped, which Dr. Linnæus, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, has deſcribed by the name of urſus cauda elongata, and which he calls urſus lotor, in his Syſtema Naturæ, is here called raccoon. It is found very frequently, and deſtroys many chickens. It is hunted by dogs; and when it runs upon a tree to ſave itſelf, a man climbs upon the tree after it and ſhakes it down to the ground, where the dogs kill it. The fleſh is eaten, and is reputed to taſte well. The bone of its male parts is made uſe of for a tobacco-ſtopper. The hatters purchaſe their ſkins, and make hats out of the hair, which are next in goodneſs to beaver's. The tail is worn round the neck in winter, and therefore is likewiſe valuable. The raccoon is frequently the food of ſnakes.

Some

Some Engliſhmen aſſerted that near the river Potomack in Virginia, a great quantity of oyſter-ſhells were to be met with, and that they themſelves had ſeen whole mountains of them. The place where they are found is ſaid to be about two Engliſh miles diſtant from the ſea-ſhore. The proprietor of that ground burns lime out of them. This ſtratum of oyſter-ſhells is two fathoms and more deep. Such quantities of ſhells have likewiſe been found in other places, eſpecially in New York, on digging in the ground, and in one place, at the diſtance of ſome Engliſh miles from the ſea, a vaſt quantity of oyſter-ſhells, and of other ſhells, was found. Some people conjectured that the natives had formerly lived in that place, and had left the ſhells of the oyſters which they had conſumed, in ſuch great heaps. But others could not conceive how it happened that they were thrown in ſuch immenſe quantities all into one place.

Every one is of opinion that the American ſavages were a very good-natured people, if they were not attacked. Nobody is ſo ſtrict in keeping his word as a ſavage. If any one of their allies come to viſit them, they ſhew him more kindneſs, and greater endeavours to ſerve him, than he could have expected from his own countrymen. Mr. Cock gave me the following relation, as a proof of their integrity. About two years ago an Engliſh merchant travelling amongſt the ſavages, in order to ſell them neceſſaries, and to buy other goods, was ſecretly killed, without the murderer's being found out. But about a year after, the ſavages found out the guilty perſon amongſt themſelves. They immediately took him up, bound his hands on his back, and thus ſent him with a guard to the governor at Philadelphia, and ſent him word, that they could no longer acknowledge this wretch (who had been ſo wicked towards an Engliſhman) as their countryman, and therefore would have nothing more to do with him, and that they delivered him up to the governor, to be puniſhed for his villany as the laws of England direct. This Indian was afterwards hanged at Philadelphia.

Their good natural parts are proved by the following account, which many people have given me as a true one. When they ſend their ambaſſadors to the Engliſh colonies, in order to ſettle things of conſequence with the governor, they ſit down on the ground, as ſoon as they come to his audience, and hear with great attention the governor's demands, which they are to make an anſwer to. His demands are ſometimes many; yet they have only a ſtick in their hand, and make their marks on it with a knife, without writing any thing elſe down. But when they return the next day to give in their reſolutions, they anſwer all the governor's articles in the ſame order in which he delivered them, without leaving one out, or changing the order; and give ſuch accurate anſwers, as if they had an account of them at full length in writing.

Mr. Sleidorn related another ſtory, which gave me great pleaſure. He ſaid he had been at New York, and had found a venerable old American ſavage amongſt ſeveral others in an inn. This old man began to talk with Sleidorn as ſoon as the liquor was getting the better of his head, and boaſted that he could write and read in Engliſh. Sleidorn therefore deſired leave to aſk a queſtion, which the old man readily granted. Sleidorn then aſked him, whether he knew who was firſt circumciſed? and the old man immediately anſwered, Father Abraham; but at the ſame time aſked leave to propoſe a queſtion in his turn, which Sleidorn granted; the old man then ſaid, who was the firſt quaker? Sleidorn ſaid it was uncertain, that ſome took one perſon for it, and ſome another; but the cunning old fellow told him, you are miſtaken, ſir; Mordecai was the firſt quaker, for he would not take off his hat to Haman. Many of the ſavages, who are yet heathens, are ſaid to have ſome obſcure notion of the deluge. But I am convinced, from my own experience, that they are not at all acquainted with it.

I met with people here who maintained that giants had formerly lived in theſe parts, and the following particulars confirmed them in this opinion. A few years ago ſome people digging in the ground, met with a grave which contained human bones of an aſtoniſhing ſize. The tibia is ſaid to have been fourteen feet long, and the os femoris to have meaſured as much. The teeth are likewiſe ſaid to have been of a ſize proportioned to the reſt. But more bones of this kind have not yet been found. Perſons ſkilled in anatomy, who have ſeen theſe bones, have declared that they were human bones. One of the teeth has been ſent to Hamburgh, to a perſon who collected natural curioſities. Among the ſavages, in the neighbourhood of the place where the bones were found, there is an account handed down through many generations from fathers to children, that in this neighbourhood, on the banks of a river, there lived a very tall and ſtrong man, in ancient times, who carried the people over the river on his back, and waded in the water, though it was very deep. Every body to whom he did this ſervice gave him ſome maize, ſome ſkins of animals, or the like. In fine, he got his livelihood by this means, and was, as it were, the ferryman of thoſe who wanted to paſs the river.

The ſoil here conſiſts for the greateſt part of ſand, which is more or leſs mixed with clay. Both the ſand and the clay are of the colour of pale bricks. To judge by appearance the ground was none of the beſt; and this conjecture was verified by the inhabitants of the country. When a corn-field has been obliged to bear the ſame kind of corn for three years together, it does not after that produce any thing at all, if it be not well manured, or fallowed for ſome years. Manure is very difficult to be got, and therefore people rather leave the field uncultivated. In that interval it is covered with all ſorts of plants and trees; and the countryman, in the meanwhile, cultivates a piece of ground which has till then been fallow, or he chuſes a part of the ground which has never been ploughed before, and he can in both caſes be pretty ſure of a plentiful crop. This method can here be uſed with great convenience; for the ſoil is looſe, ſo that it can eaſily be ploughed, and every countryman has commonly a great deal of land for his property. The cattle here are neither houſed in winter, nor tended in the fields, and for this reaſon they cannot gather a ſufficient quantity of dung.

The cattle were originally brought from Europe. The natives have never had any, and at preſent, few of them care to get any. But the cattle degenerate by degrees here, and become ſmaller; for the cows, horſes, ſheep, and hogs, are all larger in England, though thoſe which are brought over are of that breed. But the firſt generation decreaſes a little, and the third and fourth is of the ſame ſize with the cattle already common here. The climate, the ſoil, and the food, altogether contribute their ſhare towards producing this change.

It is remarkable that the inhabitants of the country, commonly ſooner acquire underſtanding, but likewiſe grow ſooner old than the people in Europe. It is nothing uncommon to ſee little children giving ſprightly and ready anſwers to queſtions that are propoſed to them, ſo that they ſeem to have as much underſtanding as old men. But they do not attain to ſuch an age as the Europeans; and it is almoſt an unheard of thing, that a perſon born in this country, ſhould live to be eighty or ninety years of age. But I only ſpeak of the Europeans that ſettled here; for the ſavages, or firſt inhabitants, frequently attained a great age, though at preſent ſuch examples are uncommon, which is chiefly attributed to the great uſe of brandy, which the ſavages have learnt of the Europeans. Thoſe who are born in Europe attain a greater age here than

than thoſe who are born here of European parents. In the laſt war it plainly appeared that theſe new Americans were by far leſs hardy than the Europeans in expeditions, ſieges, and long ſea-voyages, and died in numbers. It is very difficult for them to uſe themſelves to a climate different from their own. The women ceaſe bearing children ſooner than in Europe. They ſeldom or never have children after they are forty or forty-five years old, and ſome leave off in the thirtieth year of their age. I enquired into the cauſes of this, but no one could give me a good one. Some ſaid it was owing to the affluence in which the people live here. Some aſcribed it to the inconſtancy and changeableneſs of the weather, and believed that there hardly was a country on earth in which the weather changes ſo often in a day as it does here. For if it were ever ſo hot, one could not be certain whether in twenty-four hours there would not be a piercing cold; nay, ſometimes the weather will change five or ſix times a day.

The trees in this country have the ſame qualities as its inhabitants. For the ſhips which are built of American wood, are by no means equal in point of ſtrength, to thoſe which are built in Europe. This is what nobody attempts to contradict. When a ſhip, which is built here, has ſerved eight or twelve years, it is worth little; and if one is to be met with which has been in uſe longer, and is yet ſerviceable, it is reckoned very aſtoniſhing. It is difficult to find out the cauſes from whence this happens. Some lay the fault to the badneſs of the wood; others condemn the method of building the ſhips, which is to make them of trees which are yet green and have had no time to dry. I believe both cauſes are joined, for I found oak, which at the utmoſt had been cut down about twelve years, and was covered by a hard bark; but upon taking off this bark, the wood below it was almoſt entirely rotten, and like flour, ſo that I could rub it into powder between my fingers. How much longer will not our European oak ſtand before it moulders!

At night we returned to Philadelphia.

Sept. 23d. Their are no hares in this country, but ſome animals which are a medium between our hares and rabbits, and make a great devaſtation whenever they get into fields of cabbages and turnips.

Many people have not been able to find out why the North American plants, which are carried to Europe and planted there, for the greateſt part flower ſo late, and do not get ripe fruit before the froſt overtakes them, although it appears from ſeveral accounts of travels, that the winters in Penſylvania, and more ſo thoſe in New York, New England, and Canada, are full as ſevere as our Swediſh winters, and therefore are much ſeverer than thoſe which are felt in England. Several men of judgment charged me for this reaſon to examine and enquire into this phænomenon with all poſſible care. But I ſhall, inſtead of an anſwer rather give a few remarks which I made upon the climate and upon the plants of North America, and leave my readers at liberty to draw the concluſions.

1. It is true, that the winters in Penſylvania, and much more thoſe in the more northern provinces, are frequently as ſevere as our Swediſh winters, and much colder than the Engliſh ones, or thoſe of the ſouthern parts of Europe. For I found at Philadelphia, which is above twenty degrees more ſoutherly than ſeveral provinces in Sweden, that the thermometer of profeſſor Celſius fell twenty-four degrees below the freezing point in winter. Yet I was aſſured that the winters I ſpent here were none of the coldeſt, but only common ones, which I could likewiſe conclude from the Delaware's not being frozen ſtrong enough to bear a carriage at Philadelphia during my ſtay, though this often happens. On conſidering the breadth of the river, which I have already mentioned in my deſcription of Philadelphia, and the difference between

high and low water, which is eight Engliſh feet; it will pretty plainly appear, that a very intenſe froſt is required to cover the Delaware with ſuch thick ice.

2. But it is likewiſe true, that though the winters are ſevere here, yet they are commonly of no long duration; and I can juſtly ſay, that they do not continue above two months, and ſometimes even leſs at Philadelphia; and it is ſomething very uncommon when they continue for three months together, inſomuch that it is put into the gazettes. Nearer the pole the winters are ſomewhat longer, and in the quite northern parts they are as long as the Swediſh winters. The daily meteorological obſervations which I have made during my ſtay in America, and which are annexed to this work, will give more light in this matter.

3. The heat in ſummer is exceſſive, and without intermiſſion. I own I have ſeen the thermometer riſe to nearly the ſame degree at Aobo in Finland. But the difference is, that when the thermometer of profeſſor Celſius roſe to thirty degrees above the freezing point, once in two or three ſummers at Aobo, the ſame thermometer did not only, for three months together, ſtand at the ſame degree, but even ſometimes roſe higher, not only in Penſylvania, but likewiſe in New York, Albany, and a great part of Canada. During the ſummers which I ſpent at Philadelphia, the thermometer has two or three times riſen to thirty-ſix degrees above the freezing point. It may therefore with great certainty be ſaid, that in Penſylvania, the greateſt part of April, the whole of May, and all the following months till October, are like our Swediſh months of June and July. So exceſſive and continued a heat muſt certainly have very great effects. I here again refer to my meteorological obſervations. It muſt likewiſe be aſcribed to the effects of this heat that the common melons, the water melons, and the pumpions of different ſorts, are ſown in the fields without any bells or the like put over them, and yet are ripe as early as July; further, that cherries are ripe at Philadelphia about the 25th of May, and that in Penſylvania the wheat is frequently reaped in the middle of June.

4. The whole of September, and half, if not the whole of October, are the fineſt months in Penſylvania; for the preceding ones are too hot. But theſe repreſent our July and half of Auguſt. The greateſt part of the plants are in flower in September, and many do not begin to open their flowers before the latter end of this month. I make no doubt that the goodneſs of the ſeaſon, which is enlivened by a clear ſky and a tolerable hot ſun-ſhine, greatly contributes towards this laſt effort of Flora. Yet though theſe plants come out ſo late, they are quite ripe before the middle of October. But I am not able to account for their coming up ſo late in autumn; and I rather aſk, why do not the centaurea jacea, the gentiana, amarella, and centaurium of Linnæus, and the common golden rod, or ſolidago virgaurea, flower before the end of ſummer? or why do the common noble liverwort, or anemone hepatica, the wild violets (viola martia, Linn.) the mezereon (daphne mezereum, Linn.) and other plants ſhew their flowers ſo early in ſpring? It has pleaſed the Almighty Creator to give to them this diſpoſition. The weather at Philadelphia during theſe months is ſhewn by my meteorological tables. I have taken the greateſt care in my obſervations, and have always avoided putting the thermometer into any place where the ſun could ſhine upon it, or where he had before heated the wall by his beams; for in thoſe caſes my obſervations would certainly not have been exact. The weather during our September and October is too well known to want an explanation. *

5. However

* The Engliſh reader, who is perhaps not ſo well acquainted with the weather of the Swediſh autumn, may form an idea of it, by having recourſe to the Calendarium Floræ, or the botanical and œconomical almanack

5. However there are ſome ſpontaneous plants in Penſylvania, which do not every year bring their ſeeds to maturity before the cold begins. To theſe belong ſome ſpecies of gentiana, of aſters, and others. But in theſe too the wiſdom of the Creator has wiſely ordered every thing in its turn. For almoſt all the plants which have the quality of flowering ſo late in autumn, are perennial, or ſuch as, though they have no ſeed to propagate themſelves, can revive by ſhooting new branches and ſtalks from the ſame root every year. But perhaps a natural cauſe may be given to account for the late growth of theſe plants. Before the Europeans came into this country, it was inhabited by ſavage nations, who practiſed agriculture but little, or not at all, and chiefly lived upon hunting and fiſhing. The woods, therefore, have never been meddled with, except that ſometimes a ſmall part was deſtroyed by fire. The accounts which we have of the firſt landing of the Europeans here, ſhew that they found the country all over covered with thick foreſts. * From hence it follows, that, excepting the higher trees, and the plants which grow in the water or near the ſhore, the reſt muſt, for the greateſt part, have been obliged to grow, perhaps for a thouſand years together, in a ſhade, either below or between the trees, and they therefore naturally belong to thoſe which are only peculiar to woody and ſhady places. The trees in this country drop their leaves in ſuch quantities in autumn, that the ground is covered with them to the depth of four or five inches. Theſe leaves lie a good while in the next ſummer before they moulder, and this muſt of courſe hinder the growth of the plants which are under the trees, at the ſame time depriving them of the few rays of the ſun, which can come down to them through the thick leaves at the top of the trees. Theſe cauſes joined together make ſuch plants flower much later than they would otherwiſe do. May it not therefore be ſaid, that in ſo many centuries theſe plants had at laſt contracted a habit of coming up very late, and that it would now require a great ſpace of time to make them loſe this habit, and uſe them to quicken their growth?

Sept. 24th. We employed this whole day in gathering the ſeeds of plants of all kinds, and in putting ſcarce plants into the herbal.

Sept. 25th. Mr. Heſſelius made me a preſent of a little piece of petrified wood, which was found in the ground here. It was four inches long, one inch broad, and three lines thick. It might plainly be ſeen that it had formerly been wood. For in the places where it had been poliſhed, all the longitudinal fibres were eaſily diſtinguiſhable, ſo that it might have been taken for a piece of oak which was cut ſmooth. My piece was part of a ſtill greater piece. It was here thought to be petrified hiccory. I afterwards got more of it from other people. Mr. Lewis Evans told me, that on the boundaries of Virginia, a great petrified block of hiccory had been found in the ground, with the bark on it, which was likewiſe petrified.

Mr. John Bartram, an Engliſhman, who lives in the country, about four miles from Philadelphia, has acquired a great knowledge of natural philoſophy and hiſtory, and ſeems to be born with a peculiar genius for theſe ſciences. In his youth he had no opportunity of going to ſchool. But by his own diligence and indefatigable application he got, without inſtruction, ſo far in Latin, as to underſtand all Latin books, and even thoſe which were filled with botanical terms. He has, in ſeveral ſucceſſive years, made frequent excurſions into different diſtant parts of North America, with an intention of gathering all ſorts of plants which are ſcarce and little known. Thoſe which he found

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almanack of Sweden, in Dr. Linnæus's Amœn. Academ. and in Mr. Stillingfleet's Swediſh tracts, tranſlated from the Amœn. Acad. 2d edition. F.

* Vide Hackluyt's Collect. Voy. III. 246.

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he has planted in his own botanical garden, and likewiſe ſent over their ſeeds or freſh roots to England. We owe to him the knowledge of many ſcarce plants, which he firſt found, and which were never known before. He has ſhewn great judgment, and an attention which lets nothing eſcape unnoticed. Yet with all theſe great qualities, he is to be blamed for his negligence; for he did not care to write down his numerous and uſeful obſervations. His friends at London once obliged him to ſend them a ſhort account of one of his travels, and they were very ready, with a good intention, though not with ſufficient judgment, to get this account printed. But this book did Mr. Bartram more harm than good; for as he is rather backward in writing down what he knows, this publication was found to contain but few new obſervations. It would not however be doing juſtice to Mr. Bartram's merit, if it were to be judged of by this performance. He has not filled it with a thouſandth part of the great knowledge which he has acquired, in natural philoſophy and hiſtory, eſpecially in regard to North America. I have often been at a loſs to think of the ſources, from whence he got many things which came to his knowledge. I likewiſe owe him many things, for he poſſeſſed that great quality of communicating every thing he knew. I ſhall, therefore, in the ſequel, frequently mention this gentleman. For I ſhould never forgive myſelf if I were to omit the name of the firſt inventor, and claim that as my own invention which I learnt from another perſon.

Many muſcle-ſhells, or mytili anatini, are to be met with on the north-weſt ſide of the town, in the clay-pits, which were at preſent filled with water from a little brook in the neighbourhood. Theſe muſcles ſeem to have been waſhed into that place by the tide, when the water in the brook was high. For theſe clay-pits are not old, but were lately made. Poor boys ſometimes go out of town, wade in the water, and gather great quantities of theſe ſhells, which they ſell very eaſily, they being reckoned a dainty.

The Virginian azarole, with a red fruit, or Linnæus's cratægus crus galli, is a ſpecies of hawthorn, and they plant it in hedges, for want of that hawthorn, which is commonly uſed for this purpoſe in Europe. Its berries are red, and of the ſame ſize, ſhape, and taſte, with thoſe of our hawthorn. Yet this tree does not ſeem to make a good hedge, for its leaves were already fallen, whilſt other trees ſtill preſerved theirs. Its ſpines are very long and ſharp; their length being two or three inches. Theſe ſpines are applied to ſome inconſiderable uſe. Each berry contains two ſtones.

Mr Bartram aſſured me, that the North American oak cannot reſiſt putrefaction for near ſuch a ſpace of time as the European. For this reaſon, the boats (which carry all ſorts of goods down from the upper parts of the country) upon the river Hudſon, which is one of the greateſt in theſe parts, are made of two kinds of wood. That part which muſt always be under water, is made of black oak; but the upper part, which is now above and now under water, and is therefore more expoſed to putrefaction, is made of red cedar, or juniperis Virginiana, which is reckoned the moſt hardy wood in the country. The bottom is made of black oak, becauſe that wood is very tough. For the river being full of ſtones, and the boats frequently running againſt them, the black oak gives way, and therefore does not eaſily crack. But the cedar would not do for this purpoſe, becauſe it is hard and brittle. The oak likewiſe is not ſo much attacked by putrefaction, when it is always kept under water.

In autumn, I could always get good pears here; but every body acknowledged that this fruit would not ſucceed well in the country.

All my obſervations and remarks on the qualities of the rattle-ſnake, are inſerted in the memoirs of the Swediſh academy of ſciences, for the year 1752, p. 316, and for the year 1753, p. 54, and thither I refer the reader.*

* Vide medical, &c. caſes and experiments, tranſlated from the Swediſh, London 1758. p. 282.

Bears are very numerous higher up in the country, and do much miſchief. Mr. Bartram told me, that when a bear catches a cow, he kills her in the following manner: he bites a hole into the hide, and blows with all his power into it, till the animal ſwells exceſſively and dies; for the air expands greatly between the fleſh and the hide.* An old Swede, called Nils Guſtave's ſon, who was ninety-one years of age, ſaid, that in his youth, the bears had been very frequent hereabouts, but that they had ſeldom attacked the cattle: that whenever a bear was killed, its fleſh was prepared like pork, and that it had a very good taſte; and the fleſh of bears is ſtill prepared like ham, on the river Morris. The environs of Philadelphia, and even the whole province of Penſylvania in general, contain very few bears, they having been extirpated by degrees. In Virginia they kill them in ſeveral different ways. Their fleſh is eaten by both rich and poor, ſince it is reckoned equal in goodneſs to pork. In ſome parts of this province, where no hogs can be kept, on account of the great numbers of bears, the people are uſed to catch and kill them, and to uſe them inſtead of hogs. The American bears, however, are ſaid to be leſs fierce and dangerous than the European ones.

Sept. 26th. The broad plantain, or plantago major, grows on the high-roads, foot-paths, meadows, and in gardens, in great plenty. Mr. Bartram had found this plant in many places on his travels, but he did not know whether it was an original American plant, or whether the Europeans had brought it over. This doubt had its riſe from the ſavages (who always had an extenſive knowledge of the plants of the country) pretending that this plant never grew here before the arrival of the Europeans. They therefore gave it a name which ſignifies, the Engliſhman's foot; for they ſay, that where a European had walked, there this plant grew in his foot-ſteps.

The chenopodium album, or gooſefoot with ſinuated leaves, grows in plenty in the gardens. But it is more ſcarce near the houſes, in the ſtreets, on dunghills, and corn-fields. This ſeems to ſhew, that it is not a native of America, but has been brought over amongſt other ſeeds from Europe. In the ſame manner it is thought that the tanſey, (tanacetum vulgare, Linn.) which grows here and there in the hedges, on the roads, and near houſes, was produced from European ſeeds.

The common vervain, with blue flowers, or verbena officinalis, was ſhewn to me by Mr. Bartram, not far from his houſe, in a little plain near Philadelphia. It was the only place where he had found it in America; and for this reaſon I ſuppoſe it was likewiſe ſown here amongſt other European ſeeds.

Mr. Bartram was at this time building a houſe in Philadelphia, and had ſunk a cellar to a conſiderable depth, the ſoil of which was thrown out. I here obſerved the following ſtrata: the upper looſe ſoil was only half a foot deep, and of a dark brown colour. Under it was a ſtratum of clay, ſo much blended with ſand, that it was in greater quantity than the clay itſelf; and this ſtratum was eight feet deep. Theſe were both brick coloured. The next ſtratum conſiſted of little pebbles mixed with a coarſe ſand. The ſtones conſiſted either of a clear, or of a dark quartz; †

* This has all the appearance of a vulgar error: neither does the ſucceeding account of the American bears being carnivorous, agree with the obſervations of the moſt judicious travellers, who deny the fact. P.

But however, it might be feaſible to reconcile both opinions. For Europe has two or three kinds of bears, one ſpecies of which is carnivorous, the other lives only on vegetables: the large brown ſpecies, with its ſmall variety, are reputed to be carnivorous, the black ſpecies is merely phytivorous. In caſe therefore both ſpecies are found in North America, it would be very eaſy to account for their being both carnivorous and not. F.

† Quartzum hyalinum, Linn. Syſt. Nat. 3. p. 65. Quartzum ſolidum pellucidum, Wallerii Miner. 91. The common quartz, Forſter's Mineralogy, p. 16. And quartzum coloratum, Linn. Syſt. Nat. 3. p. 65. Quartzum ſolidum opacum coloratum, Wall. Min. 99. The impure quartz, Forſt. Min. p. 16.

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they were quite ſmooth and roundiſh on the outſide, and lay in a ſtratum which was a foot deep. Then the brick-coloured clay mixed with ſand appeared again. But the depth of this ſtratum could not be determined. Query, Could the river formerly have reached to this place and formed theſe ſtrata?

Mr. Bartram has not only frequently found oyſter-ſhells in the ground, but likewiſe met with ſuch ſhells and ſnails, as undoubtedly belong to the ſea, at the diſtance of a hundred and more Engliſh miles from the ſhore. He has even found them on the ridge of mountains which ſeparate the Engliſh plantations from the habitations of the ſavages. Theſe mountains, which the Engliſh call the blue mountains, are of conſiderable height, and extend in one continued chain from north to ſouth, or from Canada to Carolina. Yet in ſome places they have gaps, which are as it were broke through, to afford a paſſage for the great rivers, which roll down into the lower country.

The caſſia chamæcriſta grew on the roads through the woods, and ſometimes on uncultivated fields, eſpecially when ſhrubs grew in them. Its leaves are like thoſe of the ſenſitive plant, or mimoſa, and have likewiſe the quality of contracting when touched, in common with the leaves of the latter.

The crows in this country are little different from our common crows in Sweden. Their ſize is the ſame with that of our crows, and they are as black as jet in every part of their body. I ſaw them flying to-day in great numbers together. Their voice is not quite like that of our crows, but has rather more of the cry of the rook, or Linnæus's corvus frugilegus.

Mr. Bartram related, that on his journies to the northern Engliſh colonies, he had diſcovered great holes in the mountains on the banks of rivers, which, according to his deſcription, muſt exactly have been ſuch giants' pots,* as are to be met with in Sweden, and which I have deſcribed in a particular diſſertation read in the Royal Swediſh Academy of Sciences. Mr. Bartram has likewiſe addreſſed ſome letters to the Royal Society at London upon this ſubject. For ſome people pretended that theſe holes were made by the ſavages, that they might in time of war hide their corn and other valuable effects in them. But he wrote againſt this opinion, and accounted for the origin of theſe cavities in the following manner: When the ice ſettles, many pebbles ſtick in it; in ſpring, when the ſnow melts, the water in the rivers ſwells ſo high that it reaches above the place where theſe holes are now found in the mountains. The ice therefore will of courſe float as high. And then it often happens that the pebbles which were contained in it ever ſince autumn, when it firſt ſettled on the banks of the river, fall out of the ice upon the rocky bank, and are from thence carried into a cleft or crack by the water. Theſe pebbles are then continually turned about by the water, which comes in upon them, and by this means they gradually form the hole. The water at the ſame time poliſhes the ſtone by its circular motion round it, and helps to make the hole or cavity round. It is certain that by this turning and toſſing the ſtone is at laſt unfit for this purpoſe: but the river throws commonly every ſpring other ſtones inſtead of it into the cavity, and they are turned round in the ſame manner. By this whirling, both the mountain and the ſtone afford either a fine or a coarſe ſand, which is waſhed away by the water, when in ſpring, or at other times, it is high enough to throw its waves into the cavity. This was the opinion of Mr. Bartram about the origin of theſe cavities. The Royal

* In Sweden, and in the north of Germany, the round holes in rivers, with a ſtony or rocky bed, which the whirling of the water has made, are called giants' pots; theſe holes are likewiſe mentioned in Mr. Groſley's new obſervations on Italy, Vol. i. p. 8. F.

Society

Society of Sciences at London, has given a favourable reception to, and approved of them *. The remarks which I made in the ſummer of the year 1743, during my ſtay at Land's-Ort, in my country, will prove that I was at that time of the ſame opinion, in regard to theſe holes. I have ſince further explained this opinion in a letter to the Royal Academy of Sciences; and this letter is ſtill preſerved in the Academy's Memoirs, which have not yet been publiſhed. But there is great reaſon to doubt, whether all cavities of this kind, in mountains, have the ſame origin.

Here are different ſpecies of mulberry trees, which grow wild in the foreſts of North and South America. In theſe parts the red mulberry trees are more plentiful than any other. However, Mr. Bartram aſſured me, that he had likewiſe ſeen the white mulberry trees growing wild, but that they were more ſcarce. I aſked him, and ſeveral other people of this country, why they did not ſet up ſilk manufactures, having ſuch a quantity of mulberries, which ſucceed ſo eaſily? For it has been obſerved, that when the berries fall upon the ground, where it is not compact, but looſe, they ſoon put out ſeveral fine delicate ſhoots. But they replied, that it would not be worth while to erect any ſilk manufactures here, becauſe labour is ſo dear. For a man gets from eighteen pence to three ſhillings and upwards, for one day's work, and the women are paid in proportion. They were therefore of opinion, that the cultivation of all ſorts of corn, of hemp, and of flax, would be of greater advantage, and that at the ſame time it did not require near ſo much care as the feeding of ſilk-worms. By the trials of a governor in Connecticut, which is a more northern province than New York, it is evident, however, that ſilk-worms ſucceed very well there, and that this kind of mulberry trees is very good for them. The governor brought up a great quantity of ſilk worms in his court-yard; and they ſucceeded ſo well, and ſpun ſo much ſilk, as to afford him a ſufficient quantity for clothing himſelf and all his family.

Several ſorts of vines likewiſe grow wild hereabouts. Whenever I made a little excurſion out of town, I ſaw them in numerous places climbing up trees and hedges. They claſp around them, and cover them ſometimes entirely, and even hang down on the ſides. This has the ſame appearance, at a diſtance, as the tendrils of hops climbing along trees. I enquired of Mr. Bartram, why they did not plant vineyards, or preſs wine from the grapes of the wild vine? But they anſwered, that the ſame objection lay againſt it, which lies againſt the erection of a ſilk manufacture, that the neceſſary hands were too ſcarce, and it therefore was more rational to make agriculture their chief employment. But the true reaſon undoubtedly is, that the wine which is preſſed out of moſt of the North American wild grapes, is ſour and ſharp, and has not near ſuch an agreeable taſte as that which is made from European grapes.

The Virginian wake robin, or arum virginicum, grows in wet places. Mr. Bartram told me, that the ſavages boiled the ſpadix and the berries of this flower, and devoured it as a great dainty. When the berries are raw, they have a harſh, pungent taſte, which they loſe in great meaſure upon boiling.

The ſarothra gentianoides grows abundantly in the fields, and under the buſhes, in a dry ſandy ground near Philadelphia. It looks extremely like our whortleberry buſhes when they firſt begin to green, and when the points of the leaves are yet red. Mr. Bartram has ſent this plant to Dr. Dillenius; but that gentleman did not know where he ſhould range it. It is reckoned a very good traumatic, and this quality Mr.

* How far this approbation of the Royal Society ought to be credited, is to be underſtood from the advertiſements publiſhed at the head of each new volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions. F.

Bartram himſelf experienced; for being thrown and kicked by a vicious horſe, in ſuch a manner as to have both his thighs greatly hurt, he boiled the ſarothra, and applied it to his wounds. It not only immediately appeaſed his pain, which before had been very violent, but he likewiſe, by its aſſiſtance, recovered in a ſhort time.

Having read, in Mr. Miller's botanical dictionary, that Mr. Peter Collinſon had a particular larch tree from America in his garden, I aſked Mr. Bartram whether he was acquainted with it? He anſwered, that he had ſent it himſelf to Mr. Collinſon; that it only grew in the eaſtern parts of New Jerſey, and that he had met with it in no other Engliſh plantation. It differs from the other ſpecies of larch trees, its cones being much leſs. I afterwards ſaw this tree in great plenty in Canada.

Mr. Bartram was of opinion, that the apple tree was brought into America by the Europeans, and that it never was there before their arrival. But he looked upon peaches as an original American fruit, and as growing wild in the greateſt part of America. Others again were of opinion, that they were firſt brought over by the Europeans. But all the French in Canada agreed, that on the banks of the river Miſſiſippi, and in the country thereabouts, peaches were found growing wild in great quantity*.

Sept. 27th. The tree which the Engliſh here call perſimon, is the dioſpyros virginiana of Linnæus. It grows for the greateſt part in wet places round the water-pits. I have already mentioned, that the fruits of this tree are extremely bitter and ſharp before they are quite ripe, and that being eaten in that ſtate, they quite contract one's mouth, and have a very diſagreeable taſte. But as ſoon as they are ripe, which does not happen till they have been quite ſoftened by the froſt, they are a very agreeable fruit. They are here eaten raw, and ſeldom any other way. But in a great book, which contains a deſcription of Virginia, you meet with different ways of preparing the perſimon, under the article of that name. Mr. Bartram related, that they were commonly put upon the table amongſt the ſweet-meats, and that ſome people made a tolerably good wine of them. Some of theſe perſimon fruits were dropped on the ground in his garden, and were almoſt quite ripe, having been expoſed to a great degree of the heat of the ſun. We picked up a few and taſted them, and I muſt own that thoſe who praiſed this fruit as an agreeable one, have but done it juſtice. It really deſerves a place among the moſt palatable fruit of this country, when the froſt has thoroughly conquered its acrimony.

The verbaſcum thapſus, or great white mullein, grows in great quantity on roads, in hedges, on dry fields, and high meadows of a ground mixed with ſand. The Swedes here call it the tobacco of the ſavages, but owned, that they did not know whether or no the Indians really uſed this plant inſtead of tobacco. The Swedes are uſed to tie the leaves round their feet and arms when they have the ague. Some of them prepared a tea from the leaves, for the dyſentery. A Swede likewiſe told me, that a decoction of the roots was injected into the wounds of the cattle which are full of worms, which killed theſe worms, and made them fall out†.

* Thomas Herriot, ſervant to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was employed by him to examine into the productions of North America, makes no mention of the peach among the other fruits he deſcribes; and M. du Pratz, who has given a very good account of Louiſiana and the Miſſiſippi, ſays, that the natives got their peaches from the Engliſh colony of Carolina, before the French ſettled there. P.

† Theſe worms are the larvas of the oeſtrus or gadfly, which depoſits its eggs on the back of cattle, and the larvas being hatched from theſe eggs, cauſe great ſores, wherein they live till they are ready for their change. In the ſouth of Ruſſia they uſe, for the ſame purpoſe, the decoction of veratrum, or the white hellebore. F.

Sept. 28th. The meadows which are ſurrounded by wood, and were at preſent mown, have a fine lively verdure. On the contrary, when they lie on hills, or in open fields, or in ſome elevated ſituation, eſpecially ſo that the ſun may be able to act upon them without any obſtacles, their graſs looks brown and dry. Several people from Virginia told me, that on account of the great heat and drought, the meadows and paſtures almoſt always had a brown colour, and looked as if they were burnt. The inhabitants of thoſe parts do not therefore enjoy the pleaſure which an European feels at the ſight of our verdant, odoriferous meadows.

The American nightſhade, or the phytolacca decandra, grows abundantly in the fields, and under the trees, on little hills. Its black berries are now ripe. We obſerved to-day ſome little birds with a blue plumage, and of the ſize of our hortulans and yellow hammers (emberiza citrinella and emberiza hortulanus) flying down from the trees, in order to ſettle upon the nightſhade and eat its berries.

Towards night I went to Mr. Bartram's country ſeat.

Sept. 29th. The gnaphalium margaritaceum grows in aſtoniſhing quantities upon all uncultivated fields, glades, hills, and the like. Its height is different according to its different ſoil and ſituation. Sometimes it is very ramoſe, and ſometimes very little. It has a ſtrong, but agreeable ſmell. The Engliſh call it life everlaſting; for its flowers, which conſiſt chiefly of dry, ſhining, ſilvery leaves (folia calycina) do not change when dried. This plant is now every where in full bloſſom. But ſome have already loſt the flowers, and are beginning to drop the ſeeds. The Engliſh ladies were uſed to gather great quantities of this life everlaſting, and to pluck them with the ſtalks. For they put them into pots with or without water, amongſt other fine flowers which they had gathered both in the gardens and in the fields, and placed them as an ornament in the rooms. The Engliſh ladies in general are much inclined to have fine flowers all the ſummer long, in or upon the chimneys, ſometimes upon a table, or before the windows, either on account of their fine appearance, or for the ſake of their ſweet ſcent. The gnaphalium abovementioned was one of thoſe which they kept in their rooms during the winter, becauſe its flowers never altered from what they were when they ſtood in the ground. Mr. Bartram told me another uſe of this plant. A decoction of the flowers and ſtalks is uſed to bathe any pained or bruiſed part, or it is rubbed with the plant itſelf tied up in a bag.

Inſtead of flax ſeveral people made uſe of a kind of dog's bane, or Linnæus's apocynum cannabinum. The people prepared the ſtalks of this plant, in the ſame manner as we prepare thoſe of hemp or flax. It was ſpun, and ſeveral kinds of ſtuffs were woven from it. The ſavages are ſaid to have had the art of making bags, fiſhing-nets, and the like, for many centuries together, before the arrival of the Europeans.

I aſked Mr. Bartram whether he had obſerved in his travels that the water was fallen, and that the ſea had formerly covered any places which were now land. He told me, that from what he had experienced he was convinced that the greateſt part of this country, even for ſeveral miles together, had formerly been under water. The reaſons which led him to give credit to this opinion were the following:

1. On digging in the blue mountains, which are above three hundred Engliſh miles diſtant from the ſea, you find looſe oyſter and other ſorts of ſhells; and they are alſo likewiſe to be met with in the vallies formed by theſe mountains.

2. A vaſt quantity of petrified ſhells are found in limeſtone, flint, and ſandſtone, on the ſame mountains. Mr. Bartram aſſured me at the ſame time, that it was incredible what quantities of them there were in the different kinds of ſtones of which the mountains conſiſt.

3. The ſame ſhells are likewiſe dug in great quantity, quite entire and not mouldered, in the provinces of Virginia and Maryland, as alſo in Philadelphia and in New York.

4. On digging wells (not only in Philadelphia, but likewiſe in other places) the people have met with trees, roots, and leaves of oak, for the greateſt part not yet rotten, at the depth of eighteen feet.

5. The beſt ſoil and the richeſt mould is to be met with in the vallies hereabouts. Theſe vallies are commonly croſſed by a rivulet or brook; and on their declivity a mountain commonly riſes, which in thoſe places, where the brook paſſes cloſe to it, looks as if it were cut on purpoſe. Mr. Bartram believed that all theſe vallies formerly were lakes; that the water had, by degrees, hollowed out the mountain, and opened a paſſage for itſelf through it; and that the great quantity of ſlime which is contained in the water, and which had ſubſided to the bottom of the lake, was the rich ſoil which is at preſent in the vallies, and the cauſe of their great fertility. But ſuch vallies and cloven mountains are very frequent in the country, and of this kind is the peculiar gap between two mountains, through which a river takes its courſe, on the boundaries of New York and Penſylvania. The people, in a jeſt, ſay, that this opening was made by the devil, as he wanted to go out of Penſylvania into New York.

6. The whole appearance of the blue mountains plainly ſhews, that the water formerly covered a part of them. For many are broken in a peculiar manner, but the higheſt are plain.

7. When the ſavages are told that ſhells are found on theſe high mountains, and that from thence there is reaſon to believe that the ſea muſt formerly have extended to them, and even in part flown over them; they anſwer, that this is not new to them, they having a tradition from their anceſtors among them, that the ſea formerly ſurrounded theſe mountains.

8. The water in rivers and brooks likewiſe decreaſes. Mills, which ſixty years ago were built on rivers, and at that time had a ſufficient ſupply of water almoſt all the year long, have at preſent ſo little, that they cannot be uſed, but after a heavy rain, or when the ſnow melts in ſpring. This decreaſe of water, in part, ariſes from the great quantity of land which is now cultivated, and from the extirpation of great foreſts for that purpoſe.

9. The ſea-ſhore increaſes likewiſe in time. This ariſes from the quantity of ſand continually thrown on ſhore from the bottom of the ſea, by the waves.

Mr. Bartram thought that ſome peculiar attention ſhould be paid to another thing relating to theſe obſervations. The ſhells which are to be found petrified on the northern mountains, are of ſuch kinds as at preſent are not to be got in the ſea, in the ſame latitude, and they are not fiſhed on the ſhore, till you come to South Carolina. Mr. Bartram from hence took an occaſion to defend Dr. Thomas Burnet's opinion, that the earth, before the deluge, was in a different poſition towards the ſun. He likewiſe aſked whether the great bones, which are ſometimes found in the ground in Siberia, and which are ſuppoſed to be elephants bones and tuſks, did not confirm his opinion. For at preſent thoſe animals cannot live in ſuch cold countries; but if, according to Dr. Burnet, the ſun once formed different zones about our earth, from thoſe it now makes, the elephant may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have lived in Siberia *. However, it ſeems that all which we have hitherto mentioned, may have been

* The bones and tuſks of elephants are not only found in Ruſſia, but alſo in the canton of Baſil in Swiſſerland, in the dominions of the Marquis of Bareuth in Franconia, and more inſtances are found in the Protogæa of the celebrated Leibnitz. Lately, near the river Ohio, have been diſcovered a great number of

been the effect of different cauſes. To thoſe belong the univerſal deluge, the increaſe of land, which is merely the work of time, and the changes of the courſe of rivers, which, when the ſnow melts, and in great floods, leave their firſt beds, and form new ones.

At ſome diſtance from Mr. Bartram's country houſe, a little brook flowed through the wood, and likewiſe ran over a rock. The attentive Mr. Bartram here ſhewed me ſeveral little cavities in the rock, and we plainly ſaw that they muſt have been generated in the manner I before deſcribed, that is, by ſuppoſing a pebble to have remained in a cleft of the rock, and to have been turned round by the violence of the water, till it had formed ſuch a cavity in the mountain. For on putting our hands into one of theſe cavities, we found that it contained numerous ſmall pebbles, whoſe ſurface was quite ſmooth and round. And theſe ſtones we found in each of the holes.

Mr. Bartram ſhewed me a number of plants which he had collected into a herbal on his travels. Among theſe were the following, which likewiſe grow in the northern parts of Europe, of which he had either got the whole plants or only broken branches.

1. *Betula alba*, the common birch tree, which he had found on the Cats Hills.
2. *Betula nana*. This ſpecies of birch grows in ſeveral low places towards the hills.
3. *Comarum paluſtre*, in the meadows, between the hills in New Jerſey.
4. *Gentiana lutea*, the great *Gentian*, from the fields near the mountains. It was very like our variety, but had not ſo many flowers under each leaf.

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of ſkeletons of elephants, with their tuſks, and very remarkable grinders, ſtill ſticking in their jaw-bones, were ſent to the Britiſh Muſeum; the late Dr. Littleton, biſhop of Carliſle, alſo lodged ſome teeth, ſticking in their jaw-bones, in the Muſeum of the Royal Society, which were brought from Peru. The rivers Chatunga and Indighirka, in Siberia, are remarkable for affording, on their banks, great quantities of bones and tuſks of elephants, which being preſerved there by the great froſt, and in the ſhort ſummer of a few weeks, the rain being rare, theſe tuſks are commonly ſo freſh that they are employed in Ruſſia as common ivory, on account of the great quantity brought from theſe places to Ruſſia; ſome of them were eight feet long, and of three hundred pounds weight. There have been found grinders of nine inches diameter. But the American grinders of elephants from near the Ohio are yet more remarkable, on account of their being provided with crowns at their tops, ſuch as are only found in the carnivorous animals, and ſuch as feed on hard bones or nuts; whilſt, on the contrary, elephants, at preſent feeding on graſſes and ſoft vegetables, have no ſuch crowns at the tops of their grinders. Livy, it is true, makes a diſtinction between the Aſiatic or Indian elephants, and the African ones; and remarks the latter to be inferior to the former in ſize and vigour; but whether the teeth in theſe animals are ſo much different from thoſe of the other variety, has never been attended to. This circumſtance of the difference in the foſſil grinders of elephants, from thoſe in the living ones, and the place where theſe ſkeletons were found in, viz. Siberia, Germany, and America, where at preſent no elephants are to be met with, opens a wide field to conjectures, in regard to the way by which theſe animals were carried to thoſe ſpots. The flood in the deluge perhaps has carried them thither: nor is it contrary to reaſon, hiſtory or revelation, to believe theſe ſkeletons to be the remainders of animals which lived on the ſurface of this globe anterior to the Moſaic creation; which may be conſidered only as a new modification of the creatures living on this globe, adapted to its preſent ſtate, under which it will remain until circumſtances will make a new change neceſſary, and then our globe will, by a new creation or revolution, appear more adapted to its ſtate, and be ſtocked with a ſet of animals more ſuitable to that ſtate. Every man uſed to philoſophy and reaſoning will find that this plan gives a grand idea of the Creator, his œconomy and management of the univerſe; and moreover, it is conformable to the meaning of the words of a ſacred writer, who ſays: Pſal. civ. 29, 30. "Thou hideſt thy face and they (ſmall and great beaſts) are troubled; thou takeſt away their breath, they die, and return to their duſt. Thou ſendeſt forth thy ſpirit, they are created; and thou reneweſt the face of the earth." See Dr. Hunter's remarks on the above-mentioned teeth in the Philoſophical Tranſ. Vol. lviii. F.

5. *Linnæa*

5. *Linnæa borealis*, from the mountains in Canada. It creeps along the ground.

6. *Myrica gale*, from the neighbourhood of the river Suſquehanna, where it grows in a wet ſoil.

7. *Potentilla fruticoſa*, from the ſwampy fields and low meadows between the river Delaware, and the river New York.

8, *Trientalis Europæa*, from the Cats Hills.

9. *Triglochin maritimum*, from the ſalt ſprings towards the country of the five nations.

Mr. Bartram ſhewed me a letter from Eaſt Jerſey, in which he got the following account of the diſcovery of an Indian grave. In the April of the year 1744, as ſome people were digging a cellar, they came upon a great ſtone, like a tomb-ſtone, which was at laſt got out with great difficulty; and about four feet deeper under it, they met with a large quantity of human bones and a cake of maize. The latter was yet quite untouched, and ſeveral of the people preſent taſted it out of curioſity. From theſe circumſtances it was concluded, that this was a grave of a perſon of note among the ſavages. For it is their cuſtom to bury along with the deceaſed meat and other things which he liked beſt. The ſtone was eight feet long, four feet broad, and even ſome inches more, where it was broadeſt, and fifteen inches thick at one end, but only twelve inches at the other end. It conſiſted of the ſame coarſe kind of ſtone that is to be got in this country. There were no letters nor other characters viſible on it.

The corn which the Indians chiefly cultivate is the maize, or zea mays, Linn. They have little corn fields for that purpoſe. But beſides this, they likewiſe plant a great quantity of ſquaſhes, a ſpecies of pumpions or melons, which they have always cultivated, even in the remoteſt ages. The Europeans ſettled in America got the ſeeds of this plant, and at preſent their gardens are full of it; the fruit has an agreeable taſte when it is well prepared. They are commonly boiled, then cruſhed (as we uſed to do with turnips when we make a pulſe of them) and ſome pepper or other ſpice thrown upon them, and the diſh is ready. The Indians likewiſe ſow ſeveral kinds of beans, which for the greateſt part they have got from the Europeans. But peaſe, which they likewiſe ſow, they have always had amongſt them, before any foreigners came into the country. The ſquaſhes of the Indians, which now are likewiſe cultivated by the Europeans, belong to thoſe kinds of gourds (cucurbita) which ripen before any other. They are a very delicious fruit, but will not keep. I have however ſeen them kept till pretty late in winter.

Sept. 30th. Wheat and rye are ſown in autumn about this time, and commonly reaped towards the end of June, or in the beginning of July. Theſe kinds of corn, however, are ſometimes ready to be reaped in the middle of June, and there are even examples that they have been mown in the beginning of that month. Barley and oats are ſown in April, and they commonly begin to grow ripe towards the end of July. Buck-wheat is ſown in the middle or at the end of July, and is about this time, or ſomewhat later, ready to be reaped. If it be ſown before the above-mentioned time, as in May, or in June, it only gives flowers and little or no corn.

Mr. Bartram and other people aſſured me, that moſt of the cows, which the Engliſh have here, are the offspring of thoſe which they bought of the Swedes, when they were maſters of the country. The Engliſh themſelves are ſaid to have brought over but few. The Swedes either brought their cattle from home, or bought them of the Dutch, who were then ſettled here.

Near

Near the town, I ſaw an ivy or hedera helix, planted againſt the wall of a ſtone building, which was ſo covered by the fine green leaves of this plant, as almoſt to conceal the whole. It was doubtleſs brought over from Europe, for I have never perceived it any where elſe on my travels through North America. But in its ſtead I have often ſeen wild vines made to run up the walls.

I aſked Mr. Bartram whether he had obſerved that trees and plants decreaſed in proportion as they were brought further to the north, as Cateſby pretends; he anſwered, that the queſtion ſhould be more limited, and then his opinion would prove the true one. There are ſome trees which grow better in ſouthern countries, and become leſs as you advance to the north. Their ſeeds or berries are ſometimes brought into colder climates by birds and by other accidents. They gradually decreaſe in growth, till at laſt they will not grow at all. On the other hand, there are other trees and herbs which the wiſe Creator deſtined for the northern countries, and they grow there to an amazing ſize. But the further they are tranſplanted to the ſouth the leſs they grow, till at laſt they degenerate ſo much as not to be able to grow at all. Other plants love a temperate climate, and if they be carried either ſouth or north they will not ſucceed well, but always decreaſe. Thus for example, Penſylvania contains ſome trees which grow exceedingly well, but always decreaſe in proportion as they are carried further off either to the north or to the ſouth.

I afterwards, on my travels, had frequent proofs of this truth. The ſaſſafras, which grows in Penſylvania, under forty degrees of latitude, and becomes a pretty tall and thick tree, was ſo little at Oſwego and Fort Nicholſon, between forty-three and forty-four degrees of latitude, that it hardly reached the height of two or four feet, and was ſeldom ſo thick as the little finger of a full grown perſon. This was likewiſe the caſe with the tulip tree. For in Penſylvania it grows as high as our talleſt oaks and firs, and its thickneſs is proportionable to its height. But about Oſwego it was not above twelve feet high, and no thicker than a man's arm. The ſugar maple, or acer ſaccharinum, is one of the moſt common trees in the woods of Canada, and grows very tall. But in the ſouthern provinces, as New Jerſey and Penſylvania, it only grows on the northern ſide of the blue mountains, and on the ſteep hills which are on the banks of the river, and which are turned to the north. Yet there it does not attain to a third or fourth part of the height which it has in Canada. It is needleſs to mention more examples.

Oct. 1ſt. The gnats, which are very troubleſome at night here, are called muſquetoes. They are exactly like the gnats in Sweden, only ſomewhat leſs; and the deſcription which is to be met with in Dr. Linnæus's Syſtema Naturæ, and Fauna Suecica, fully agrees with them, and they are called by him culex pipiens. In daytime or at night they come into the houſes, and when the people are gone to bed they begin their diſagreeable humming, approach always nearer to the bed, and at laſt ſuck up ſo much blood, that they can hardly fly away. Their bite cauſes bliſters in people of a delicate complexion. When the weather has been cool for ſome days, the muſquetoes diſappear; but when it changes again, and eſpecially after a rain, they gather frequently in ſuch quantities about the houſes that their numbers are aſtoniſhing. The chimneys of the Engliſh, which have no valves for ſhutting them up, afford the gnats a free entrance into the houſes. In ſultry evenings, they accompany the cattle in great ſwarms from the woods to the houſes, or to town, and when they are drove before the houſes the gnats fly in wherever they can. In the greateſt heat of ſummer they are ſo numerous in ſome places that the air ſeems to be quite full of them, eſpecially near ſwamps and ſtagnate waters, ſuch as the river Morris, in New Jerſey.

Jerſey. The inhabitants therefore make a fire before their houſes, to expel theſe diſagreeable gueſts by the ſmoke. The old Swedes here ſaid that gnats had formerly been much more; numerous that even at preſent they ſwarmed in vaſt quantities on the ſea ſhore, near the ſalt water; and that thoſe which troubled us this autumn in Philadelphia were of a more venomous kind than they commonly uſed to be. This laſt quality appeared from the bliſters which were formed on the ſpots where the gnats had inſerted their ſting. In Sweden I never felt any other inconvenience from their ſting than a little itching, whilſt they ſucked. But when they ſtung me here at night, my face was ſo disfigured by little red ſpots and bliſters, that I was almoſt aſhamed to ſhew myſelf.

I have already mentioned ſomewhat about the encloſures uſual here; I now add, that moſt of the planks which are put horizontally, and of which the encloſures in the environs of Philadelphia chiefly conſiſt, are of the red cedar wood, which is here reckoned more durable than any other. But where this could not be got either white or black oak ſupplied its place. The people were likewiſe very glad if they could get cedar wood for the poſts, or elſe they took white oak or cheſnut, as I was told by Mr. Bartram. But it ſeems that that kind of wood in general does not keep well in the ground for a conſiderable time. I ſaw ſome poſts made of cheſnut wood, and put into the ground only the year before, which were already for the greateſt part rotten below.

The ſaſſafras-tree, or laurus ſaſſafras, Linn. grows in abundance in the country, and ſtands ſcattered up and down the woods, and near buſhes and encloſures. On old grounds which are left uncultivated, it is one of the firſt that comes up, and is as plentiful as young birches are on thoſe Swediſh fields, which are formed by burning the trees which grew on them *. The ſaſſafras grows in a dry looſe ground, of a pale brick colour, which conſiſts, for the greateſt part, of ſand, mixed with ſome clay. It ſeems to be but a poor ſoil. The mountains round Gothenburg, in Sweden, would afford many places rich enough for the ſaſſafras to grow in, and I even fear they would be too rich. I here ſaw it both in the woods amidſt other trees, and more frequently by itſelf along the encloſures. In both it looks equally freſh. I have never ſeen it on wet or low places. The people here gather its flowers, and uſe them inſtead of tea; but the wood itſelf is of no uſe in œconomy; for when it is ſet on fire, it cauſes a continual crackling without making any good fire. The tree ſpreads its roots very much, and new ſhoots come up from them in ſome places; but theſe ſhoots are not good for tranſplanting, becauſe they have ſo few fibres beſides the root which connects them to the main ſtem that they cannot well ſtrike into the ground. If therefore any one would plant ſaſſafras-trees, he muſt endeavour to get their berries, which, however, is difficult, ſince the birds eat them before they are half ripe. The cows are very greedy after the tender new ſhoots, and look for them every where.

The bark of this tree is uſed by the women here in dying worſted a fine laſting orange colour, which does not fade in the ſun. They uſe urine inſtead of alum in dying, and boil the dye in a braſs boiler, becauſe in an iron veſſel it does not yield ſo fine a colour. A woman in Virginia has ſucceſsfully employed the berries of the ſaſſafras againſt a great pain in one of her feet, which for three years together, ſhe had to

* In Mr. Oſbeck's Voyage to China, vol. i. p. 50, in a note, an account is given of this kind of land, which the Swedes call Swedieland; where it is obſerved, that the trees being burnt, their aſhes afford manure ſufficient for three years, after which they are left uncultivated again, till, after twenty or more years, a new generation of trees being produced on them, the country people burn them, and cultivate the country for three years again. F.

ſuch

ſuch a degree, that it almoſt hindered her from walking. She was adviſed to broil the berries of ſaſſafras, and to rub the painful parts of her foot with the oil, which by this means would be got from the berries. She did ſo, but at the ſame time it made her vomit; yet this was not ſufficient to keep her from following the preſcription three times more, though as often as ſhe made uſe thereof, it always had the ſame effect. However, ſhe was entirely freed from that pain, and perfectly recovered.

A black woodpecker with a red head, or the picus pileatus, Linn. is frequent in the Penſylvanian foreſts, and ſtays the winter, as I know from my own experience. It is reckoned among thoſe birds which deſtroy the maize, becauſe it ſettles on the ripe ears, and deſtroys them with its bill. The Swedes call it tillkroka; but all other woodpeckers, thoſe with gold yellow wings excepted, are called hackſpickar in the Swediſh language. I intend to deſcribe them all together more exactly in a particular work. I only obſerve here, that almoſt all the different ſpecies of woodpeckers are very noxious to the maize, when it begins to ripen; for by picking holes in the membrane round the ear, the rain gets into it, and cauſes the ear, with all the corn it contains, to rot.

Oct. 3. In the morning I ſet out for Wilmington, which was formerly called Chriſtina by the Swedes, and is thirty Engliſh miles to the ſouth-weſt of Philadelphia. Three miles behind Philadelphia I paſſed the river Skulkill in a ferry, beyond which the country appears almoſt a continual chain of mountains and vallies. The mountains have an eaſy ſlope on all ſides, and the vallies are commonly croſſed by brooks, with cryſtal ſtreams. The greater part of the country is covered with ſeveral kinds of deciduous trees; for I ſcarcely ſaw a ſingle tree of the fir kind, if I except a few red cedars. The foreſt was high, but open below, ſo that it left a free proſpect to the eye, and no under-wood obſtructed the paſſage between the trees. It would have been eaſy in ſome places to have gone under the branches with a carriage for a quarter of a mile, the trees ſtanding at great diſtances from each other, and the ground being very level. In ſome places little glades opened, which were either meadows, paſtures, or corn-fields; of which latter ſome were cultivated and others not. In a few places ſeveral houſes were built cloſe to each other; but for the greateſt part they were ſingle. In part of the fields the wheat was already ſown in the Engliſh manner without trenches, but with furrows pretty cloſe together. I ſometimes ſaw the country people very buſy in ſowing their rye. Near every farm-houſe was a little field with maize. The inhabitants hereabouts were commonly either Engliſh or Swedes.

All the day long I ſaw a continual variety of trees; walnut-trees of different ſorts, which were all full of nuts; cheſnut-trees quite covered with fine cheſnuts; mulberries, ſaſſafras, liquidambar, tulip trees, and many others.

Several ſpecies of vines grew wild hereabouts. They run up to the ſummits of the trees, their cluſters of grapes and their leaves covering the ſtems. I even ſaw ſome young oaks five or ſix fathoms high, whoſe tops were crowned with vines. The ground is that which is ſo common hereabouts, which I have already deſcribed, viz. a clay mixed with a great quantity of ſand, and covered with a rich ſoil or vegetable earth. The vines are principally ſeen on trees which ſtand ſingle in corn-fields, and at the end of woods, where the meadows, paſtures, and fields begin; and likewiſe along the encloſures, where they cling with their tendrils round the trees which ſtand there. The lower parts of the plant are full of grapes, which hang below the leaves, and were now almoſt ripe, and had a pleaſant ſouriſh taſte. The country people gather them in great quantities, and ſell them in the town. They are eaten without further preparation; and commonly people are preſented with them when they come to pay a viſit.

The ſoil does not ſeem to be deep hereabouts, for the upper black ſtratum is hardly two inches. This I had an occaſion to ſee, both in ſuch places where the ground is dug up, and in ſuch where the water, during heavy ſhowers of rain, has made cuts, which are pretty numerous here. The upper ſoil has a dark colour, and the next a pale colour like bricks. I have obſerved every where in America, that the depth of the upper ſoil does not by far agree with the computation of ſome people, though we can almoſt be ſure, that in ſome places it never was ſtirred ſince the deluge. I ſhall be more particular in this reſpect afterwards *.

The datura ſtramonium, or thorn apple, grows in great quantities near all the villages. Its height is different according to the ſoil it is in; for in a rich ſoil it grows eight or ten feet high, but in a hard and poor ground, it will ſeldom come up to ſix inches. This datura, together with the phytolacca, or American nightſhade, grow here in thoſe places near the gardens, houſes, and roads, which in Sweden are covered with nettles and gooſe-foot, which European plants are very ſcarce in America. But the datura and phytolacca are the worſt weeds here, nobody knowing any particular uſe of them.

* The learned Dr. Wallerius, in his Mineralogy, § 8. in the note to the article humus communis atra, mentions, that ſome people were of opinion, that the mould of our globe increaſed gradually from the yearly putrefaction of plants and their parts, eſpecially in ſuch places as had been uncultivated ever ſince the deluge; and that thus, in a hundred years, half an inch of mould was produced. But he obſerves, in the ſame time, that this obſervation was not at all exact; for as the common mould ſeldom exceeds a foot, it muſt from thence follow, that ſince the deluge no more than 2400 years were elapſed, though the ſcripture chronology reckons upwards of 4000 years ſince that event: beſides this, he remarks, that mould always becomes more dry and compreſſed, where it is out of the reach of rain and ſnow; and where it is expoſed to rain, it is carried off to lower places, and therefore increaſes and decreaſes according to the qualities of its local ſituation. Moreover, vegetables, it is known, proſper the beſt where mould is found. As the ſurface of our globe has been covered with vegetables ſince the deluge, they muſt have had a mould to grow in ever ſince that time; conſequently it is highly probable, that there muſt have been a mould covering the ſurface of our globe ever ſince the firſt origin. I ſhould be led, by ſome other conſiderations, to doubt of the infallibility of this rule for the increaſe of mould. In Ruſſia, on this ſide the river Volga, are high and extenſive plains, which have been uncultivated ever ſince the deludge; for, we know from hiſtory, that the Scythians, Sarmatians, Huns, Chazers, and Mogols, were ſucceſſively the maſters of theſe vaſt countries, and were altogether nomadic nations, who lived without agriculture: the country has been without wood ſince time immemorial, nor could there even ſpring up any wood whatſoever, ſince its rambling poſſeſſors every ſpring ſet fire to the old dry graſs, in order to make room for the new graſs, which, in the latter end of May, I found came up very near to my waſte. And theſe vaſt deſart plains I ſaw every where covered with at leaſt two feet mould; nay, in ſome places it amounted to four feet; this would give, according to the former rule of half an inch per century, 4800 years, in the firſt inſtance; and, in the ſecond, 9600 years; and therefore ſhews, that this rule for calculating the increaſe of mould is very precarious. The chemical analyſis of plants ſhews, that they conſiſt of water, earth, acid, alkali, oil, and an inflammable principle, independent of the laſt ſubſtance, and called by a late German chemiſt, the cauſtic: theſe ſubſtances muſt enter yearly the new plants, and make their ſubſtance, and are as it were regenerated in theſe new plants, after being ſet at liberty from the ſtructure of the laſt year's plants by putrefaction, or by fire. Mould, chemically examined, has the ſame analogous parts. Acid and cauſtic are plentifully contained in the common air, and may alſo eaſily be reſtored to the mould, and thus circulate through a new ſyſtem of plants. Water comes likewiſe from rain and ſnow, out of our atmoſphere; alkaline and oily particles, or a kind of ſoap, are the only things wanting, which, when added with the former to any ſubtle earth, will make a good mould; and theſe are produced by putrefaction or fire, from vegetable and animal ſubſtances, and are the great promoters of vegetation.

But the great queſtion is, from whence theſe various ſubſtances, neceſſary for vegetation, originally came? To believe they are produced from putrified vegetables, is begging the queſtion, and making a circulus vitioſus in the argument. There is therefore no evaſion; they were certainly produced by the great Creator of the univerſe, and endowed with ſuch qualities as make them capable of producing in various mixtures new bodies; and when they are introduced by moiſture into the firſt ſtamina of a plant, or a ſeed, they expand theſe ſtamina, and conſtitute a new being, capable of affording food to the animal creation. It is evident, Mr. Kalm hinted at the above-mentioned opinion of the increaſe of mould; and this gave me an opportunity of confirming his argument, and of ſtating fairly the great queſtion on which agriculture, the moſt neceſſary branch of human arts, depends. F.

Turnip-fields are ſometimes to be ſeen. In the middle of the high road I perceived a dead black ſnake, which was four feet ſix inches long, and an inch and a half in thickneſs. It belonged to the viper kind.

Late at night a great halo appeared round the moon. The people ſaid that it prognoſticated either a ſtorm or rain, or both together. The ſmaller the ring is, or the nearer it comes to the moon, the ſooner this weather ſets in. But this time neither of theſe changes happened, and the halo had foretold a coldneſs in the air.

I ſaw to day the chermes of the alder (chermes alni) in great abundance on the branches of that tree, which for that reaſon looks quite white, and at a diſtance appears as it were covered with mould.

Oct. 4th. I continued my journey early in the morning, and the country ſtill had the ſame appearance as I went on. It was a continual chain of pretty high hills, with an eaſy aſcent on all ſides, and of vallies been them. The ſoil conſiſted of a brick-coloured mould, mixed with clay and a few pebbles. I rode ſometimes through woods of ſeveral ſorts of trees, and ſometimes amidſt little fields, which had been cleared of the wood, and which at preſent were corn-fields, meadows, and paſtures. The farm-houſes ſtood ſingle, ſometimes near the roads, and ſometimes at a little diſtance from them, ſo that the ſpace between the road and the houſes was taken up with little fields and meadows. Some of the houſes were built of ſtone, two ſtories high, and covered with ſhingles of the white cedar. But moſt of the houſes were wooden, and the crevices ſtopped up with clay, inſtead of moſs, which we make uſe of for that purpoſe. No valves were to be met with in the chimneys, and the people even did not know what I meant by them. The ovens were commonly built up at ſome diſtance from the houſes, and were either under a roof, or without any covering againſt the weather. The fields bore partly buck-wheat, which was not yet cut, partly maize, and partly wheat, which was but lately ſown; but ſometimes they lay fallow. The vines climbed to the top of ſeveral trees, and hung down again on both ſides. Other trees again were ſurrounded by the ivy (hedera quinquefolia) which, with the ſame flexibility, aſcended to a great height. The ſmilax laurifolia always joined with the ivy, and, together with it, twiſted itſelf round the trees. The leaves of the ivy were at this time commonly reddiſh, but thoſe of the vine were ſtill quite green. The trees which were ſurrounded with them, looked at a diſtance like thoſe which are covered with hops in our country; and on ſeeing them from afar off, one might expect to find wild hops climbing upon the trees. Walnut and cheſnut-trees were common near encloſures, in woods, and on hills, and at preſent were loaded with their fruit. The perſimon was likewiſe plentiful near the roads and in the woods. At ſome diſtance from Wilmington, I paſſed a bridge over a little river, which falls north into the Delaware. The rider pays here twopence toll for himſelf and his horſe.

Towards noon I arrived at Wilmington.

Wilmington is a little town, about thirty Engliſh miles ſouth-weſt from Philadelphia. It was founded in the year 1733. Part of it ſtands upon the grounds belonging to the Swediſh church, which annually receives certain rents, out of which they pay the miniſter's ſalary, and employ the reſt for other uſes. The houſes are built of ſtone, and look very pretty; yet they are not built cloſe together, but large open places are left between them. The quakers have a meeting-houſe in this town. The Swediſh church, which I intend to mention in the ſequel, is half a mile out of town eaſtwards. The parſonage is under the ſame roof with the church. A little river called Chriſtina-kill paſſes by the town, and from thence falls into the Delaware. By following its banks, one goes three miles before one reaches the Delaware. The river is ſaid to be ſufficiently

ciently deep, ſo that the greateſt veſſel may come quite up to the town; for at its mouth or juncture with the Delaware it is ſhalloweſt, and yet its depth even there, when the water is loweſt, is from two fathoms to two and a half. But as you go higher, its depth encreaſes to three, three and a half, and even four fathoms. The largeſt ſhips therefore may ſafely, and with their full cargoes, come to and from the town with the tide. From Wilmington you have a fine proſpect of a great part of the river Delaware, and the ſhips ſailing on it. On both ſides of the river Chriſtina-kill, almoſt from the place where the redoubt is built to its juncture with the Delaware, are low meadows, which afford a great quantity of hay to the inhabitants. The town carries on a conſiderable trade, and would have been more enlarged if Philadelphia and New-caſtle, which are both towns of a more ancient date, were not ſo near on both ſides of it.

The redoubt, upon the river Chriſtina-kill, was erected this ſummer, when it was known that the French and Spaniſh privateers intended to ſail up the river, and to attempt a landing. It ſtands, according to the accounts of the late Rev. Mr. Tranberg, on the ſame ſpot where the Swedes had built theirs. It is remarkable, that on working in the ground this ſummer, to make this redoubt, an old Swediſh ſilver coin of Queen Chriſtina, not quite ſo big as a ſhilling, was found, at the depth of a yard, among ſome other things. The Rev. Mr. Tranberg afterwards preſented me with it. On one ſide were the arms of the houſe of Waſa, with the inſcription: CHRISTINA, D. G. DE. RE. SVE. that is, *Chriſtina, by the grace of God, elected Queen of Sweden;* and near this the year of our Lord 1633. On the reverſe were theſe words: MONETA NOVA REGNI SVEC. or, *a new coin of the kingdom of Sweden.* At the ſame time, a number of old iron tools, ſuch as axes, ſhovels, and the like, were diſcovered. The redoubt, that is now erected, conſiſts of bulwarks of planks, with a rampart on the outſide. Near it is the powder mazagine, in a vault built of bricks. At the erection of this little fortification, it was remarkable, that the Quakers, whoſe tenets reject even defenſive war, were as buſy as the other people in building it. For the fear of being every moment ſuddenly attacked by privateers conquered all other thoughts. Many of them ſcrupled to put their own hands to the work, but forwarded it by ſupplies of money, and by getting ready every thing which was neceſſary.

Oct. 5th. It was my deſign to croſs the Delaware, and to get into New Jerſey, with a view to get acquainted with the country; but as there was no ferry here to bring my horſe over, I ſet out on my return to Philadelphia. I partly went along the high road, and partly deviated on one or the other ſide of it, in order to take more exact obſervations of the country, and of its natural hiſtory.

The maize was ſown in ſeveral places. In ſome its ſtalks were cut ſomewhat below the ear, dried, and put up in narrow high ſtacks, in order to keep them as a food for the cattle in winter. The lower part of the ſtalk had likewiſe leaves, but as they commonly dry of themſelves, the people do not like to feed the cattle with them, all their flavour being loſt; but the upper ones are cut whilſt they are yet green.

The valleys between the hills commonly contain brooks; but they are not very broad, and require no bridges, ſo that carriages and horſe can eaſily paſs through them; for the water is ſeldom above ſix inches deep.

The leaves of moſt trees were yet quite green, ſuch as thoſe of oaks, cheſnut-trees, black walnut-trees, hiccory, tulip-trees, and ſaſſafras. The two latter ſpecies are found in plenty on the ſides of the little woods, on hills, on the fallow fields, near hedges, and on the road. The perſimon likewiſe had ſtill its leaves; however, ſome trees of this kind had dropt them. The leaves of the American bramble were at preſent almoſt

almoſt entirely red, though ſome of theſe buſhes yet retained a lively green in the leaves. The cornelian cherry likewiſe had already a mixture of brown and pale leaves. The leaves of the red maple were alſo red.

I continued my journey to Chicheſter, a borough upon the Delaware, where travellers paſs the river in a ferry. They build here every year a number of ſmall ſhips for ſale. From an iron work which lies higher in the country, they carry iron bars to this place, and ſhip them.

Canoes are boats made of one piece of wood, and are much in uſe with the farmers, and other people upon the Delaware, and ſome little rivers. For that purpoſe a very thick trunk of a tree is hollowed out: the red juniper, or red cedar-tree, the white cedar, the cheſnut-tree, the white oak, and the tulip-tree, are commonly made uſe of for this purpoſe. The canoes made of red and white cedar are reckoned the beſt, becauſe they ſwim very light upon the water, and laſt twenty years together. But of theſe the red cedar canoes are moſt preferable. Thoſe made of cheſnut-trees will likewiſe laſt for a good while. But thoſe of white oak are hardly ſerviceable above ſix years, and alſo ſwim deep, becauſe they are ſo heavy. The liquidambar tree, or liquidambar ſtyraciflua, Linn. is big enough, but unfit for making canoes, becauſe it imbibes the water. The canoes which are made of the tulip-tree, ſcarce laſt ſo long as thoſe of white oak. The ſize of the canoes is different, according to the purpoſes they are deſtined for. They can carry ſix perſons, who, however, muſt by no means be unruly, but ſit at the bottom of the canoe in the quieteſt manner poſſible, leſt the boat overſet. The Swedes in Penſylvania and New Jerſey, near the rivers, have no other boats to go to Philadelphia in, which they commonly do twice a week on the market days, though they be ſeveral miles diſtant from the town, and meet ſometimes with ſevere ſtorms; yet misfortunes from the overſetting, &c. of theſe canoes, are ſeldom heard of, though they might well be expected, on account of the ſmall ſize of this kind of boats. However, a great deal of attention and care is neceſſary in managing the canoes, when the wind is ſomewhat violent; for they are narrow, round below, have no keel, and therefore may eaſily be overſet. Accordingly, when the wind is more briſk than ordinary the people make for the land.

The common garden creſſes grow in ſeveral places on the roads about Chicheſter, and undoubtedly come from the ſeeds, which were by chance carried out of the many gardens about that town.

The American brambles are here in great plenty. When a field is left uncultivated, they are the firſt plants that appear on it; and I frequently obſerved them in ſuch fields as are annually ploughed, and have corn ſown on them. For when theſe buſhes are once rooted, they are not eaſily extirpated. Such a buſh runs out tendrils ſometimes four fathoms off its root, and then throws a new root, ſo that on pulling it up, you meet with roots on both ends. On ſome old grounds, which had long been uncultivated, there were ſo many buſhes of this kind, that it was very troubleſome and dangerous walking in them. A wine is made of the berries, as I have already mentioned. The berries are likewiſe eaten when they are ripe, and taſte well.

Oct. 6th. The chenopodium enthelminticum is very plentiful on the road, and on the banks of the river, but chiefly in dry places, in a looſe ſandy ſoil. The Engliſh, who are ſettled here, call it worm-ſeed, and Jeruſalem oak. It has a diſagreeable ſcent. In Penſylvania and New Jerſey its ſeeds are given to children, againſt the worms, and for that purpoſe they are excellent. The plant itſelf is ſpontaneous in both provinces.

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The environs of Chicheſter contain many gardens, which are full of apple-trees, ſinking under the weight of innumerable apples. Moſt of them are winter fruit, and therefore were yet quite ſour. Each farm has a garden, and ſo has each houſe of the better ſort. The extent of theſe gardens is likewiſe not inconſiderable, and therefore affords the poſſeſſor, all the year long, great ſupplies in his houſekeeping, both for eating and drinking. I frequently was ſurprized at the prudence of the inhabitants of this country. As ſoon as one has bought a piece of ground, which is neither built upon nor ſown, his firſt care is to get young apple-trees, and to make a garden. He next proceeds to build his houſe, and laſtly prepares the uncultivated ground to receive corn. For it is well known that the trees require many years before they arrive to perfection, and this makes it neceſſary to plant them firſt. I now perceived, near the farms, mills, wheels, and other inſtruments, which are made uſe of in cruſhing the apples, in order to prepare cyder from them afterwards.

From Chicheſter I went on towards Philadelphia. The oaks were the moſt plentiful trees in the wood. But there were ſeveral ſpecies of them, all different from the European ones. The ſwine now went about in great herds in the oak woods, where they fed upon the acorns, which fell in great abundance from the trees. Each hog had a wooden triangular yoke about its neck, by which it was hindered from penetrating through the holes in the encloſures; and, for this reaſon, the encloſures are made very ſlender, and eaſy to put up, and do not require much wood. No other encloſures are in uſe, but thoſe which are ſo like ſheep-hurdles. A number of ſquirrels were in the oak woods, partly running on the ground, and partly leaping from one branch to another; and at this time they chiefly fed upon acorns.

I ſeldom ſaw beech-trees; but I found them quite the ſame with the European ones. Their wood is reckoned very good for making joiner's planes of.

I do not remember ſeeing any other than the black ants, or formica nigra, in Penſylvania. They are as black as a coal, and of two ſorts; ſome very little, like the leaſt of our ants, and others of the ſize of our common reddiſh ants. I have not yet obſerved any hills of theirs, but only ſeen ſome running about ſingly. In other parts of America I have likewiſe found other ſpecies of ants, as I intend to remark in the ſequel.

The common privet, or liguſtrum vulgare, is made uſe of in many places, as a hedge round corn-fields and gardens; and on my whole voyage, I did not ſee that any other trees were made uſe of for this purpoſe, though the Engliſhmen here well know that the hawthorn makes a much better hedge. The privet hedges grow very thick and cloſe, but, having no ſpines, the hogs, and even other animals, break eaſily through them; and when they have once made a hole, it requires a long while before it grows up again. But when the hedges conſiſt of ſpinoſe buſhes, the cattle will hardly attempt to get through them.

About noon I came through Cheſter, a little market-town, which lies on the Delaware. A rivulet, coming down out of the country, paſſes through this place, and diſcharges itſelf into the Delaware. There is a bridge over it. The houſes ſtand diſperſed. Moſt of them are built of ſtone, and two or three ſtories high; ſome are however made of wood. In the town is a church and a market-place.

Wheat was now ſown every where. In ſome places it was already green, having been ſown four weeks before. The wheat fields were made in the Engliſh manner, having no ditches in them, but numerous furrows for draining the water, at the diſtance of four or ſix feet from one another. Great ſtumps of the trees which had been

been cut down, are every where ſeen on the fields; and this ſhews that the country has been but lately cultivated.

The roots of the trees do not go deep into the ground, but ſpread horizontally. I had opportunities of obſerving this in ſeveral places where the trees were dug up, for I ſeldom ſaw one whoſe root went above a foot deep into the ground, though it was a looſe ſoil.

About two Engliſh miles behind Cheſter, I paſſed by an iron forge, which was to the right hand by the road ſide. It belonged to two brothers, as I was told. The ore however is not dug here, but thirty or forty miles from hence, where it is firſt melted in the oven, and then carried to this place. The bellows were made of leather, and both they and the hammers, and even the hearth, but ſmall in proportion to ours. All the machines were worked by water. The iron was wrought into bars.

To-day I remarked, as I have ſince frequently ſeen on my travels in this country, that horſes are very greedy of apples. When they are let into an orchard to feed upon the graſs, if there are any apples on the ground, they frequently leave the freſh green graſs and eat the apples, which, however, are not reckoned a good food for them; and, beſides that, it is too expenſive.

The red maple, or acer rubrum, is plentiful in theſe places. Its proper ſituations are chiefly ſwampy, wet places, in which the alder commonly is its companion. Out of its wood they make plates, ſpinning-wheels, rolls, feet for chairs and beds, and all ſorts of work. With the bark they die both worſted and linen, giving it a dark blue colour. For that purpoſe it is firſt boiled in water, and ſome copperas, ſuch as the hat-makers and ſhoe-makers commonly make uſe of, is added, before the ſtuff (which is to be dyed) is put into the boiler. This bark lifewiſe affords a good black ink. When the tree is felled early in ſpring, a ſweet juice runs out of it, like that which runs out of our birches. This juice they do not make any uſe of here; but, in Canada, they make both treacle and ſugar of it. Here is a variety of this tree, which they call the curled maple, the wood being as it were marbled within; it is much uſed in all kinds of joiner's work, and the utenſils made of this wood are preferable to thoſe made of any other ſort of wood in the country, and are much dearer than thoſe made of the wood of the wild cherry-trees (prunus virginiani) or of black walnut-trees. But the moſt valuable utenſils were thoſe made of curled black walnut, for that is an exceſſive ſcarce kind of wood. The curled maple was likewiſe very uncommon, and you frequently find trees, whoſe outſides are marbled but their inſide not. The tree is therefore cut very deep before it is felled, to ſee whether it has veins in every part.

In the evening I reached Philadelphia.

Oct. 7th. In the morning we croſſed the Delaware in a boat to the other ſide, which belongs to New Jerſey, each perſon paying fourpence for his paſſage. The country here is very different from that in Penſylvania; for here the ground is almoſt mere ſand; but in the other province it is mixed with a good deal of clay, and this makes the ground pretty rich. The diſcoveries which I made to-day of inſects and plants I intend to mention in another work.

A ſoil like this in New Jerſey, one might be led to think, could produce nothing, becauſe it is ſo dry and poor. Yet the maize, which is planted on it, grows extremely well, and we ſaw many fields filled with it. The earth is of that kind in which tobacco commonly ſucceeds, but it is not near ſo rich. The ſtalks of maize are commonly eight feet high, more or leſs, and are full of leaves. The maize is planted, as uſual, in rows, in little ſquares, ſo that there is a ſpace of five feet and ſix inches

inches between each ſquare, both in length and breadth; on each of theſe little hills three or four ſtalks come up, which were not yet cut for the cattle; each ſtalk again has from one to four ears, which are large and full of corn. A ſandy ground could never have been better employed. In ſome places the ground between the maize is ploughed, and rye ſown in it, ſo that when the maize is cut, the rye remains upon the field.

We frequently ſaw aſparagus growing near the encloſures, in a looſe ſoil, on uncultivated ſandy fields. It is likewiſe plentiful between the maize, and was at preſent full of berries, but I cannot tell whether the ſeeds are carried by the wind to the places where I ſaw them; it is however certain, that I have likewiſe ſeen it growing wild in other parts of America.

The worm-ſeed is likewiſe plentiful on the road, in a ſandy ground, ſuch as that near the ferry, oppoſite to Philadelphia. I have already mentioned that it is given to children, as a remedy to carry off the worms. It is then put into brandy, and when it has been in it for one hour, it is taken out again, dried, and given to the children, either in beer, ſweetened with treacle, or in any other liquor. Its effects are talked of differently. Some people ſay it kills the worms; others again pretend that it forwards their increaſe. But I know, by my own experience, that this worm-ſeed has had very good effects upon children.

The purſlain, which we cultivate in our gardens, grows wild in great abundance in the looſe ſoil, amongſt the maize. It was there creeping on the ground, and its ſtalks were pretty thick and ſucculent; which circumſtances very juſtly gave reaſon to wonder from whence it could get juice ſufficient to ſupply it in ſuch a dry ground. It is to be found plentiful in ſuch ſoil, in other places of this country.

The bidens bipinnata is here called Spaniſh needles. It grows ſingle about farm-houſes, near roads, pales, and along the hedges. It was yet partly in flower; but for the greateſt part it was already out of bloſſom. When the ſeeds are ripe it is very diſagreeable walking where it grows, for they ſtick to the clothes and make them black; and it is difficult to diſcharge the black ſpots which they occaſion. Each ſeed has three ſpines at its extremity; and each of theſe again is full of numerous little hooks, by which the ſeed faſtens itſelf to the clothes.

In the woods and along the hedges in this neighbourhood, ſome ſingle red ants (formica rubra) crept about, and their antennæ or feel-horns, were as long as their bodies.

Towards night we returned to Philadelphia.

Oct. 8th. The ſhore of Penſylvania has a great quantity of the fineſt oyſters. About this time the people began to bring them to Philadelphia for ſale. They come from that part of the ſhore which is near the mouth of the river Delaware. They are reckoned as good as the New York oyſters, of which I ſhall make more particular mention afterwards. However, I thought that this latter ſort of oyſters was generally larger, fatter, and more palatable. It is remarkable that they commonly became palatable at the time when the agues had left off their fury. Some men went with whole carts full of oyſters, crying them about the ſtreets; this is unuſual here when any thing elſe is to be ſold, but in London it is very common. The oyſter ſhells are thrown away, though formerly a lime was burnt from them, which has been found unneceſſary, there being ſtones for burning of lime in this neighbourhood, and the lime of oyſter ſhells not being as good as this other lime. The people ſhewed me ſome houſes in this town which are built of ſtone, and to the maſon work of which the lime of oyſter ſhells had been employed. The walls of theſe houſes were always ſo wet

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two or three days before a rain, that great drops of water could plainly be perceived, on them; and thus they were as good as hygrometers *. Several people who had lived in this kind of houſes complained of theſe inconveniences.

Oct. 9. Peaſe are not much cultivated in Penſylvania at preſent, though formerly, according to the accounts of ſome old Swedes, every farmer had a little field with peaſe. In New Jerſey, and the ſouthern parts of New York, peaſe are likewiſe not ſo much cultivated as they uſed to be. But in the northern parts of New York, or about Albany, and in all the parts of Canada, which are inhabited by the French, the people ſow great quantities, and have a plentiful crop. In the former colonies, a little deſpicable inſect has obliged the people to give up ſo uſeful a part of agriculture. This little inſect was formerly little known, but a few years ago it multiplied exceſſively. It couples in ſummer, about the time when the peaſe are in bloſſom, and then depoſits an egg into almoſt every one of the little peaſe. When the peaſe are ripe, their outward appearance does not diſcover the worm, which, however, is found within when it is cut. This worm lies in the pea, if it is not ſtirred, during all the winter, and part of the ſpring, and in that ſpace of time conſumes the greateſt part of the inſide of the pea: in ſpring, therefore, little more than the mere thin outward ſkin is left. This worm at laſt changes into an inſect of the coleoptera claſs, and in that ſtate creeps through a hole of its own making in the huſk, and flies off, in order to look for new fields of peaſe, in which it may couple with its cogeneric inſects, and provide food ſufficient for its poſterity.

This noxious inſect has ſpread from Penſylvania to the north. For the country of New York, where it is common at preſent, has not been plagued with it above twelve or fifteen years ago; and before that time the people ſowed peaſe every year, without any inconvenience, and had excellent crops. But by degrees theſe little enemies came in ſuch numbers that the inhabitants were forced to leave off ſowing of peaſe. The people complained of this in ſeveral places. The country people about Albany have yet the pleaſure to ſee their fields of peaſe not infected by theſe beetles, but are always afraid of their approach; as it has been obſerved they come every year nearer to that province.

I know not whether this inſect would live in Europe, and I ſhould think our Swediſh winters muſt kill the worm, even if it be ever ſo deeply incloſed in the pea; notwithſtanding it is often as cold in New York (where this inſect is ſo abundant) as in our country, yet it continues to multiply here every year, and proceeds always farther to the north. I was very near bringing ſome of theſe vermin into Europe without knowing of it. At my departure from America I took ſome ſweet peaſe with me in a paper, and they were at that time quite freſh and green; but on opening the paper, after my arrival at Stockholm, on Auguſt the 1ſt, 1751, I found all the peaſe hollow, and the head of an inſect peeping out of each. Some of theſe inſects even crept out, in order to try the weather of this new climate; but I made haſte to ſhut the paper again, in order to prevent the ſpreading of this noxious inſect †. I own, that when I firſt per-

* As the ſhells of oyſters are a marine animal production, and their cavities are full of particles of ſea-water, the moiſture of it flies off, leaving behind its ſalt; when the ſhells are burnt, and the lime is ſlacked, the ſalt mixes with the lime: and though the mortar of ſuch a lime grows ever ſo dry, the particles of ſalt immediately attract the moiſture of the air, and cauſe that dampneſs complained of here. F.

† Though Mr. Kalm has ſo carefully avoided peopling Europe with this inſect, yet Dr. Linnæus aſſures us, in his Syſtema Naturæ, that the ſouthern countries of Europe are already infeſted with it; Scopoli mentions it among his inſecta carniolica, p. 63. and Geoffroy, among his Pariſian inſects, vol. i. p. 267. t. 4. f. 9. has given a fine figure of it. F.

ceived them, I was more frightened than I ſhould have been at the ſight of a viper. For I at once had a full view of the whole damage, which my dear country would have ſuffered, if only two or three of theſe noxious inſects had eſcaped me. The poſterity of many families, and even the inhabitants of whole provinces, would have had ſufficient reaſon to deteſt me, as the cauſe of ſo great a calamity. I afterwards ſent ſome of them, though well ſecured, to Count Teſſin, and to Dr. Linnæus, together with an account of their deſtructive qualities. Dr. Linnæus has already inſerted a deſcription of them in an academical diſſertation, which has been drawn up under his preſidency, and treats of the damages made by inſects*. He there calls this inſect the Bruchus of North America †. It was very peculiar that every pea in the paper was eaten without exception.

When the inhabitants of Penſylvania ſow peaſe procured from abroad, they are not commonly attacked by theſe inſects for the firſt year; but in the next they take poſſeſſion of the pea. It is greatly to be wiſhed that none of the ſhips which annually depart from New York or Penſylvania, may bring them into the European countries. From hence the power of a ſingle deſpicable inſect will plainly appear; as alſo, that the ſtudy of the œconomy and of the qualities of inſects is not to be looked upon as a mere paſtime and uſeleſs employment ‡.

The rhus radicans is a ſhrub or tree which grows abundantly in this country, and has in common with the ivy, called hedera arborea, the quality of not growing without the ſupport either of a tree, a wall, or a hedge. I have ſeen it climbing to the very top of high trees in the woods, and its branches ſhoot out every where little roots, which faſten upon the tree, and as it were enter into it. When the ſtem is cut, it emits a pale brown ſap of a diſagreeable ſcent. This ſap is ſo ſharp that the letters and characters made upon linen with it cannot be got out again, but grow blacker the more the cloth is waſhed. Boys commonly marked their names on their linen with this juice. If you write with it on paper the letters never go out, but grow blacker from time to time.

This ſpecies of ſumach has the ſame noxious qualities as the poiſonous ſumach, or poiſon-tree, which I have above deſcribed, being poiſonous to ſome people, though not to every one. Therefore all that has been ſaid of the poiſon-tree is likewiſe applicable to this; excepting that the former has the ſtronger poiſon. However, I have ſeen people who have been as much ſwelled from the noxious exhalations of the latter, as they could have been from thoſe of the former. I likewiſe know, that of two ſiſters, the one could manage the tree without being affected by its venom, though the other immediately felt it as ſoon as the exhalations of the tree came near her, or whenever ſhe came a yard too near the tree, and even when ſhe ſtood in the way of the wind, which blew directly from this ſhrub. But upon me this ſpecies of ſumach has never exerted its power; though I made above a hundred experiments upon myſelf with the greateſt ſtems, and the juice once ſquirted into my eye, without doing me any harm. On another perſon's hand, which I had covered very thick with it, the ſkin, a few hours after, became as hard as a piece of tanned leather, and peeled off in the following days, as if little ſcales fell from it.

* Diſſ. de Noxa Inſectorum, Amœn. Acad. vol. 3. p. 347.

† In his Syſtema Naturæ, he calls it bruchus piſi, or the peaſe beetle; and ſays, that the gracula quiſcula, or purple daw of Cateſby, is the greateſt deſtroyer of them, and though this bird has been proſcribed by the legiſlature of Penſylvania, New Jerſey, and New England, as a maize-thief, they feel however the imprudence of extirpating this bird: for a quantity of worms, which formerly were eaten by theſe birds, deſtroy their meadows at preſent. F.

‡ If the peaſe were ſteeped, before they are ſown, in a lye of lime water and ſome diſſolved arſenic, the pupa or aurelia of the inſect would be killed. F.

Oct. 10th. In the morning I accompanied Mr. Cock to his country ſeat.

Though the woods of Penſylvania afford many oaks, and more ſpecies of them than are found further north, yet they do not build ſo many ſhips in this province as they do in the northern ones, and eſpecially in New England. But experience has taught the people that the ſame kind of trees is more durable the further it grows to the north, and that this advantage decreaſes the more it grows in warm climates. It is likewiſe plain that the trees in the ſouth grow more every year, and form thicker ringlets, than thoſe in the north. The former have likewiſe much greater tubes for the circulation of the ſap than the latter. And for this reaſon they do not build ſo many ſhips in Penſylvania, as they do in New England, though more than in Virginia and Maryland; but Carolina builds very few, and its merchants get all their ſhips from New England. Thoſe which are here made of the beſt oak hardly are ſerviceable above ten or at moſt twelve years; for then they are ſo rotten that nobody ventures to go to ſea in them. Many captains of ſhips come over from England to North America, in order to get ſhips built. But moſt of them chooſe New England, that being the moſt northerly province; and if they even come over in ſhips which are bound for Philadelphia, they frequently, on their arrival, ſet out from Penſylvania for New England. The Spaniards in the Weſt Indies are ſaid to build their ſhips of a peculiar ſort of cedar, which holds out againſt putrefaction and wet; but it is not to be met with on the continent in the Engliſh provinces. Here are above nine different ſorts of oak, but not one of them is comparable to the ſingle ſpecies we have in Sweden, with regard to its goodneſs. And therefore a ſhip of European oak coſts a great deal more than one made of American oak.

Many people who chiefly employed themſelves in gardening, had found, in a ſucceſſion of years, that the red beet, which grew out of the ſeed which was got from New York, became very ſweet, and had a very fine taſte; but that it every year loſt part of its goodneſs, if it was cultivated from ſeeds which were got here. The people were therefore obliged to get as many ſeeds of red beet every year from New York, as were wanted in their gardens. It has likewiſe been generally obſerved, that the plants which are produced from Engliſh ſeeds are always much better and more agreeable than thoſe which come from ſeeds of this country.

In the garden of Mr. Cock was a radiſh, which was in the looſe ſoil grown ſo big as to be ſeven inches in diameter. Every body that ſaw it, owned it was uncommon to ſee them of ſuch a ſize.

That ſpecies of convolvulus which is commonly called batatas, has here the name of Bermudian potatoes. The common people, and the gentry without diſtinction, planted them in their gardens. This is done in the ſame manner as with the common potatoes. Some people made little hillocks, into which they put theſe potatoes; but others only planted them in flat beds. The ſoil muſt be a mixture of ſand and earth, and neither too rich nor too poor. When they are going to plant them, they cut them as the common potatoes, taking care however that a bud or two be left on each piece which is intended to be planted. Their colour is commonly red without and yellow within. They are bigger than the common ſort, and have a ſweet and very agreeable taſte which I cannot find in the other potatoes, in artichokes, or in any other root; and they almoſt melt in the mouth. It is not long ſince they have been planted here. They are dreſſed in the ſame manner as common potatoes, and eaten either along with them, or by themſelves. They grow very faſt and very well here; but the greateſt difficulty conſiſts in keeping them over winter, for they will bear neither cold nor a great heat, nor wet. They muſt therefore be kept, during winter, in a box

with ſand, in a warm room. In Penſylvania, where they have no valves in their chimnies, they are put in ſuch a box with ſand, at ſome diſtance from the fire, and there they are ſecured both againſt froſt and againſt over great heat. It will not anſwer the purpoſe to put them into dry ſand in a cellar, as is commonly done with the common ſort of potatoes; for the moiſture which is always in cellars, penetrates the ſand, and makes them putrify. It would probably be very eaſy to keep them in Sweden in warm rooms, during the cold ſeaſon. But the difficulty lies wholly in bringing them over to Sweden. I carried a conſiderable number of them with me on leaving America, and took all poſſible care in preſerving them, but we had a very violent ſtorm at ſea, by which the ſhip was ſo greatly damaged that the water got in every where, and wetted our cloaths, beds, and other moveables ſo much, that we could wring the water out of them. It is therefore no wonder that my Bermuda potatoes were rotten; but as they are now cultivated in Portugal and Spain, nay even in England, it will be eaſy to bring them into Sweden. The drink which the Spaniards prepare from theſe potatoes, in their American poſſeſſions, is not uſual in Penſylvania. *

Mr. Cock had a paper mill, on a little brook, and all the coarſer ſorts of paper are manufactured in it. It is now annually rented for fifty pounds Penſylvania currency.

Oct. 11th. I have already mentioned that every countryman has a greater or leſſer number of apple-trees planted round his farm-houſe, from whence he gets great quantities of fruit, part of which he ſells, part he makes cyder of, and part he uſes in his own family for pies, tarts, and the like. However, he cannot expect an equal quantity of fruit every year; and I was told, that this year had not by far afforded ſuch a great quantity of apples as the preceding; the cauſe of which they told me, was the continual and great drought in the month of May, which had hurt all the bloſſoms of the apple trees, and made them wither. The heat had been ſo great as to dry up all the plants, and the graſs in the fields.

The polytrichum commune, a ſpecies of moſs, grew plentifully on wet and low meadows between the woods, and in ſeveral places quite covered them, as our moſſes cover the meadows in Sweden. It was likewiſe very plentiful on hills.

Agriculture was in a very bad ſtate hereabouts. When a perſon had bought a piece of land, which perhaps had never been ploughed ſince the creation, he cut down part of the wood, tore up the roots, ploughed the ground, ſowed corn on it, and the firſt time got a plentiful crop. But the ſame land being tilled for ſeveral years ſucceſſively without being manured, it at laſt muſt of courſe loſe its fertility. Its poſſeſſor therefore leaves it fallow, and proceeds to another part of this ground, which he treats in the ſame manner. Thus he goes on till he has changed a great part of his poſſeſſions into corn-fields, and by that means deprives the ground of its fertility. He then returns to the firſt field, which now is pretty well recovered; this he again tills as long as it will afford him a good crop, but when its fertility is exhauſted, he leaves it fallow again, and proceeds to the reſt as before.

It being cuſtomary here to let the cattle go about the fields and in the woods both day and night, the people cannot collect much dung for manure, but by leaving the land fallow for ſeveral years together, a great quantity of weeds ſpring up in it, and get ſuch ſtrength, that it requires a conſiderable time to extirpate them. From hence it likewiſe comes, that the corn is always ſo much mixed with weeds. The great richneſs of the

* Mr. Miller deſcribes this liquor in his Gardener's Dictionary, under the article of Convolvulus, ſpecies the 17th and 18th. F.

ſoil, which the firſt European coloniſts found here, and which had never been ploughed before, has given riſe to this neglect of agriculture, which is ſtill obſerved by many of the inhabitants. But they do not conſider, that when the earth is quite exhauſted, a great ſpace of time, and an infinite deal of labour is neceſſary to bring it again into good order; eſpecially in theſe countries which are almoſt every ſummer ſo ſcorched up by the exceſſive heat and drought. The ſoil of the corn fields conſiſted of a thin mould, greatly mixed with a brick-coloured clay, and a quantity of ſmall particles of glimmer. This latter came from the ſtones which are here almoſt every where to be met with at the depth of a foot or thereabouts. Theſe little pieces of glimmer made the ground ſparkle when the ſun ſhone upon it.

Almoſt all the houſes hereabouts were built either of ſtone or bricks: but thoſe of ſtone were more numerous. Germantown, which is about two Engliſh miles long, had no other houſes, and the country houſes thereabouts were all built of ſtone. But there are ſeveral varieties of that ſtone which is commonly made uſe of in building. Sometimes it conſiſted of a black or grey glimmer, running in undulated veins, the ſpaces between their bendings being filled up with a grey, looſe, ſmall-grained limeſtone, which was eaſily friable. Some tranſparent particles of quartz were ſcattered in the maſs, of which the glimmer made the greateſt part. It was very eaſy to be cut, and with proper tools could readily be ſhaped into any form. Sometimes however the pieces conſiſted of a black, ſmall-grained glimmer, a white ſmall-grained ſandſtone, and ſome particles of quartz, and the ſeveral conſtituent parts were well mixed together; and ſometimes the ſtone had broad ſtripes of the white limeſtone without any addition of glimmer, but moſt commonly they were much blended together, and of a grey colour. Sometimes this ſtone was found to conſiſt of quite fine and black pieces of glimmer, and a grey, looſe, and very ſmall-grained limeſtone. This was likewiſe very eaſy to be cut, being looſe.

Theſe varieties of the ſtone are commonly found cloſe together. They were every where to be met with, at a little depth, but not in equal quantity and goodneſs; and not always eaſy to be broken. When therefore a perſon intended to build a houſe, he enquired where the beſt ſtone could be met with. It is to be found on corn fields and meadows, at a depth which varies from two to ſix feet. The pieces were different as to ſize. Some were eight or ten feet long, two broad, and one thick. Sometimes they were ſtill bigger, but frequently much leſs. Hereabouts they lay in ſtrata one above another, the thickneſs of each ſtratum being about one foot. The length and breadth were different, but commonly ſuch as I have before mentioned. They muſt commonly dig three or four feet before they reach the firſt ſtratum. The looſe ground above that ſtratum is full of little pieces of this ſtone. This ground is the common brick-coloured ſoil, which is univerſal here, and conſiſts of ſand and clay, though the former is more plentiful. The looſe pieces of glimmer which ſhine ſo much in it, ſeem to have been broken off from the great ſtrata of ſtone.

It muſt be obſerved that when the people build with this ſtone, they take care to turn the flat ſide of it outwards. But as that cannot always be done, the ſtone being frequently rough on all ſides, it is eaſily cut ſmooth with tools, ſince it is ſoft, and not very difficult to be broken. The ſtones however are unequal in thickneſs, and therefore by putting them together they cannot be kept in ſuch ſtraight lines as bricks. It ſometimes likewiſe happens that pieces break off when they are cut, and leave holes on the outſide of the wall. But in order to fill up theſe holes, the little pieces of ſtone which cannot be made uſe of are pounded, mixed with mortar, and put into the holes; the places thus filled up, are afterwards ſmoothed, and when they are dry, they are hardly

hardly diſtinguiſhable from the reſt, at ſome diſtance. At laſt they draw, on the outſide of the wall, ſtrokes of mortar, which croſs each other perpendicularly, ſo that it looks as if the wall conſiſted wholly of equal ſquare ſtones, and as if the white ſtrokes were the places where they were joined with mortar. The inſide of the wall is made ſmooth, covered with mortar, and white-waſhed. It has not been obſerved that this kind of ſtone attracts the moiſture in a rainy or wet ſeaſon. In Philadelphia and its environs, you find ſeveral houſes built of this kind of ſtone.

The houſes here are commonly built in the Engliſh manner.

One of Mr. Cock's negroes ſhewed me the ſkin of a badger (urſus meles) which he had killed a few days ago, and which convinced me that the American badger is the ſame with the Swediſh one: it was here called ground-hog.

Towards night I returned to Philadelphia.

Oct. 12th. In the morning we went to the river Skulkill, partly to gather ſeeds, partly to collect plants for the herbal, and to make all ſorts of obſervations. The Skulkill is a narrow river, which falls into the Delaware, about four miles from Philadelphia to the ſouth; but narrow as it is, it riſes on the weſt ſide of thoſe high mountains commonly called the Blue Mountains, and runs two hundred Engliſh miles, and perhaps more. It is a great diſadvantage to this country, that there are ſeveral cataracts in this river as low as Philadelphia, for which reaſon there can be no navigation on it. To-day I made ſome deſcriptions and remarks on ſuch plants as the cattle liked, or ſuch as they never touched.

I obſerved ſeveral little ſubterraneous walks in the fields, running under ground in various directions, the opening of which was big enough for a mole: the earth, which formed as it were a vault above it, and lay elevated like a little bank, was near two inches high, full as broad as a man's hand, and about two inches thick. In uncultivated fields I frequently ſaw theſe ſubterraneous walks, which diſcovered themſelves by the ground thrown up above them, which when trod upon gave way, and made it inconvenient to walk in the field.

Theſe walks are inhabited by a kind of mole *, which I intend to deſcribe more accurately in another work. Their food is commonly roots: I have obſerved the following qualities in one which was caught. It had greater ſtiffneſs and ſtrength in its legs than I ever obſerved in other animals, in proportion to their ſize. Whenever it intended to dig, it held its legs obliquely like oars. I laid my handkerchief before it, and it began to ſtir in it with the ſnout, and taking away the handkerchief to ſee what it had done to it, I found that in the ſpace of a minute it had made it full of holes, and it looked as if it had been pierced very much by an awl. I was obliged to put ſome books on the cover of the box in which I kept this animal, or elſe it was flung off immediately. It was very iraſcible, and would bite great holes into any thing that was put in its way; I held a ſteel pen-caſe to it, it at firſt bit at it with great violence, but having felt its hardneſs, it would not venture again to bite at any thing. Theſe moles do not make ſuch hills as the European ones, but only ſuch walks as I have already deſcribed.

Oct. 13th. There is a plant here, from the berries of which they make a kind of wax or tallow, and for that reaſon the Swedes call it the tallow-ſhrub. The Engliſh call the ſame tree the candleberry-tree, or bayberry-buſh; and Dr. Linnæus gives it the name of myrica cerifera; it grows abundantly on a wet ſoil, and ſeems to thrive

* This animal is probably the ſorex criſtatus of Dr. Linnæus, who ſays it is like the mole, and lives in Penſylvania. F.

particularly

particularly well in the neighbourhood of the ſea, nor have I ever found it high up in the country far from the ſea. The berries grow abundantly on the female ſhrub, and look as if flour had been ſtrewed upon them. They are gathered late in autumn, being ripe about that time, and are then thrown into a kettle or pot full of boiling water; by this means their fat melts out, floats at the top of the water, and may be ſkimmed off into a veſſel; with the ſkimming, they go on till there is no tallow left. The tallow, as ſoon as it is congealed, looks like common tallow or wax, but has a dirty green colour; it is for that reaſon melted over again and refined; by which means it acquires a fine and tranſparent green colour; this tallow is dearer than common tallow, but cheaper than wax. In Philadelphia they pay a ſhilling Penſylvania currency, for a pound of this tallow; but a pound of common tallow only came to half that money, and wax coſts as much again. From this tallow they make candles in many parts of this province, but they uſually mix ſome common tallow with it. Candles of this kind do not eaſily bend, nor melt in ſummer as common candles do; they burn better and ſlower, nor do they cauſe any ſmoke, but rather yield an agreeable ſmell, when they are extinguiſhed. An old Swede, of ninety-one years of age, told me, that this ſort of candles had formerly been much in uſe with his countryman. At preſent they do not make ſo many candles of this kind, if they can get the tallow of animals; it being too troubleſome to gather the berries. However, theſe candles are made uſe of by poor people, who live in the neighbourhood of a place where the buſhes grow, and have not cattle enough to kill, in order to ſupply them with a ſufficient quantity of tallow. From the wax of the candleberry-tree they likewiſe make a ſoap here, which has an agreeable ſcent, and is the beſt for ſhaving. This wax is likewiſe uſed by doctors and ſurgeons, who reckon it exceedingly good for plaſters upon wounds. A merchant of this town once ſent a quantity of theſe candles to thoſe American provinces which had Roman Catholic inhabitants, thinking he would be well paid, ſince wax candles are made uſe of in the Roman Catholic churches; but the clergy would not take them. An old Swede mentioned that the root of the candleberry-tree was formerly made uſe of by the Indians, as a remedy againſt the tooth-ach, and that he himſelf having had the tooth-ach very violently, had cut the root in pieces and applied it round his tooth; and that the pain had been leſſened by it. Another Swede aſſured me, that he had been cured of the tooth-ach, by applying the peel of the root to it. In Carolina they not only make candles out of the wax of the berries, but likewiſe ſealing-wax.

Oct. 14th. Penny-royal is a plant which has a peculiar ſtrong ſcent, and grows abundantly on dry places in the country; botaniſts call it cunila pulegioides. It is reckoned very wholeſome to drink as a tea, when a perſon has got cold, as it promotes perſpiration. I was likewiſe told, that on feeling a pain in any limb, this plant, if applied to it, would give immediate relief.

The goods which are ſhipped to London from New England are the following: all ſorts of fiſh caught near Newfoundland and elſewhere; train-oil of ſeveral ſorts; whalebone, tar, pitch, maſts, new ſhips, of which a great number is annually built, a few hides, and ſometimes ſome ſorts of wood. The Engliſh iſlands in America, as Jamaica and Barbadoes, get from New England, fiſh, fleſh, butter, cheeſe, tallow, horſes, cattle; all ſorts of lumber, ſuch as pails, buckets, and hogſheads; and have returns made in rum, ſugar, molaſſes, and other produces of the country, or in caſh, the greateſt part of all which they ſend to London (the money eſpecially) in payment of the goods received from thence; and yet all this is inſufficient to pay off the debt.

Oct. 15th. The alders grew here in conſiderable abundance on wet and low places, and even ſometimes on pretty high ones, but never reached the height of the European alders, and commonly ſtood like a buſh, about a fathom or two high. Mr. Bartram and other gentlemen who had frequently travelled in theſe provinces, told me, that the more you go to the ſouth, the leſs are the alders; but that they are higher and taller, the more you advance to the north. I found afterwards myſelf, that the alders, in ſome places of Canada, are little inferior to the Swediſh ones. Their bark is employed here in dying red and brown. A Swediſh inhabitant of America told me, that he had cut his leg to the very bone, and that ſome coagulated blood had already been ſettled within; that he had been adviſed to boil the alder bark, and to waſh the wound often with the water: that he followed this advice, and ſoon got his leg healed, though it had been very dangerous at firſt.

The phytolacca decandra was called poke by the Engliſh. The Swedes had no particular name for it, but made uſe of the Engliſh, with ſome little variation into paok. When the juice of its berries is put upon paper or the like, it ſtrikes it with a high purple colour, which is a fine as any in the world: and it is pity that no method is as yet found out of making this colour laſt on woollen and linen cloth, for it fades very ſoon. Mr. Bartram mentioned, that having hit his foot againſt a ſtone, he had got a violent pain in it; he then bethought himſelf to put a leaf of the phytolacca on his foot, by which he loſt the pain in a ſhort time. The berries are eaten by the birds about this time. The Engliſh and ſeveral Swedes make uſe of the leaves in ſpring, when they are juſt come out, and are yet tender and ſoft, and eat them partly as green cale, and partly in the manner we eat ſpinnage. Sometimes they likewiſe prepare them in the firſt of theſe ways, when the ſtalks are already grown a little longer, breaking off none but the upper ſprouts, which are yet tender, and not woody; but in this latter caſe, great care is to be taken, for if you eat the plant when it is already grown up, and its leaves are no longer ſoft, you may expect death as a conſequence, which ſeldom fails to follow; for the plant has then got a power of purging the body to exceſs. I have known people, who, by eating great full-grown leaves of this plant, have got ſuch a ſtrong dyſentery, that they were near dying with it; its berries however are eaten in autumn by children, without any ill conſequence.

Woollen and linen cloth is died yellow with the bark of hiccory. This likewiſe is done with the bark of the black oak, or Linnæus's quercus nigra, and that variety of it which Cateſby in his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, vol. i. tab. 19, calls quercus marilandica. The flowers and leaves of the impatiens noli tangere, or balſamine, likewiſe dyed all woollen ſtuffs with a fine yellow colour.

The collinſonia canadenſis was frequently found in little woods and buſhes, in a good rich ſoil. Mr. Bartram, who knew the country perfectly well, was ſure that Penſylvania, and all the parts of America in the ſame climate, were the true and original places where this plant grows; for further to the ſouth, neither he nor Meſſrs. Clayton and Mitchel ever found it, though the latter gentlemen have made accurate obſervations in Virginia and part of Maryland; and from his own experience he knew that it did not grow in the northerly parts. I have never found it more than fifteen minutes north of forty-three degrees. The time of the year when it comes up in Penſylvania is ſo late, that its ſeed has but juſt time ſufficient to ripen in, and it therefore ſeems unlikely that it can ſucceed farther north. Mr. Bartram was the firſt who diſcovered it, and ſent it over into Europe. Mr. Juſſieu, during his ſtay at London, and Dr. Linnæus afterwards, called collinſonia, from the celebrated Mr. Peter Collinſon, a merchant in London,

London, and fellow of the Engliſh and Swediſh Royal Societies. He well deſerved the honour of having a plant called after his name, for there are few people that have promoted natural hiſtory and all uſeful ſciences with a zeal like his; or that have done as much as he towards collecting, cultivating, and making known all ſorts of plants. The collinſonia has a peculiar ſcent, which is agreeable, but very ſtrong. It always gave me a pretty violent head-ach whenever I paſſed by a place where it ſtood in plenty, and eſpecially when it was in flower. Mr. Bartram was acquainted with a better quality of this plant, which was that of being an excellent remedy againſt all ſorts of pain in the limbs, and againſt a cold, when the parts affected are rubbed with it; and Mr. Conrad Weiſſer, interpreter of the language of the Indians in Penſylvania, had told him of a more wonderful cure with this plant. He was once among a company of Indians, one of which had been ſtung by a rattle-ſnake; the ſavages gave him over; but he boiled the collinſonia, and made the poor wretch drink the water, from which he happily recovered. Somewhat more to the north, and in New York, they call this plant horſe-weed, becauſe the horſes eat it in ſpring, before any other plant comes up.

Oct. 16th. I aſked Mr. Franklin, and other gentlemen who were well acquainted with this country, whether they had met with any ſigns, from whence they could have concluded, that any place which was now a part of the continent, had formerly been covered with water? and I got the following account in anſwer:

Firſt, on travelling from hence to the ſouth you meet with a place where the high road is very low in the ground between two mountains. On both ſides you ſee nothing but oyſter-ſhells and muſcle-ſhells in immenſe quantities above each other; however the place is many miles off the ſea.

Second, whenever they dig wells, or build houſes in town, they find the earth lying in ſeveral ſtrata above each other. At a depth of fourteen feet or more, they find globular ſtones, which are as ſmooth on the outſide as thoſe which lie on the ſea-ſhore, and are made round and ſmooth by the rolling of the waves; and after having dug through the ſand, and reached a depth of eighteen feet or more, they diſcover in ſome places a ſlime like that which the ſea throws up on the ſhore, and which commonly lies at its bottom and in rivers: this ſlime is quite full of trees, leaves, branches, reed, charcoal, &c.

Third, it has ſometimes happened that new houſes have ſunk on one ſide in a ſhort time, and have obliged the people to pull them down again. On digging deeper, for a very hard ground to build upon, they have found a quantity of the above ſlime, wood, roots, &c.

Are not theſe reaſons ſufficient to make one ſuppoſe that thoſe places in Philadelphia, which are at preſent fourteen feet and more under ground, formerly were the bottom of the ſea, and that, by ſeveral accidents, ſand, earth, and other things, were carried upon it? or, that the Delaware formerly was broader than it is at preſent? or, that it has changed its courſe? This laſt ſtill often happens at preſent; the river breaking off the bank on one ſide, and forming one on the other. Both the Swedes and Engliſh often ſhewed me ſuch places.

Oct. 18th. At preſent I did not find above ten different kinds of plants in bloſſom: they were, a gentiana, two ſpecies of aſter, the common golden rod, or ſolidago virga aurea, a ſpecies of hieracium, the yellow wood-ſorrel, or oxalis corniculata, the fox-gloves, or digitalis purpurea, the hamamelis virginiana, or witch hazel, our common millefoil, or achillœa millefolium, and our dandelion, or leontodon taraxacum. All other plants had for this year laid aſide their gay colours. Several trees, eſpecially thoſe which were to flower early in ſpring, had already formed ſuch large buds, that on

opening them all the parts of fructification, ſuch as calyx, corolla, ſtamina, and piſtillum, were plainly diſtinguiſhable. It was therefore eaſy to determine the genus to which ſuch trees belonged. Such were the red maple, or acer rubrum, and the laurus æſtivalis, a ſpecies of bay. Thus nature prepared to bring forth flowers, with the firſt mild weather in the next year. The buds were at preſent quite hard, and all their parts preſſed cloſe together, that the cold might by all means be excluded.

The black walnut-trees had for the greateſt part dropt their leaves, and many of them were entirely without them. The walnuts themſelves were already fallen off. The green peel which encloſed them, if frequently handled, would yield a black colour, which could not be got off the fingers in two or three weeks time, though the hands were waſhed ever ſo much.

The cornus florida was called dog-wood by the Engliſh, and grew abundantly in the woods. It looks beautiful when it is adorned with its numerous great white flowers in ſpring. The wood is very hard, and is therefore made uſe of for weavers ſpools, joiners planes, wedges, &c. When the cattle fall down in ſpring for want of ſtrength, the people tie a branch of this tree on their neck, thinking it will help them.

Oct. 19th. The tulip-tree grows every where in the woods of this country. The botaniſts call it liriodendron tulipifera, becauſe its flowers, both in reſpect to their ſize, and in reſpect to their exterior form, and even in ſome meaſure with regard to their colour, reſemble tulips. The Swedes call it canoe-tree, for both the Indians and the Europeans often make their canoes of the ſtem of this tree. The Engliſhmen in Penſylvania give it the name of poplar. It is reckoned a tree which grows to the greateſt height and thickneſs of any in North America, and which vies in that point with our greateſt European trees. The white oak and the fir in North America, however, are little inferior to it. It cannot therefore but be very agreeable to ſee in ſpring, at the end of May (when it is in bloſſom), one of the greateſt trees covered for a fortnight together with flowers, which, with regard to their ſhape, ſize, and partly colour, are like tulips; the leaves have likewiſe ſomething peculiar; the Engliſh, therefore, in ſome places, call the tree the old woman's ſmock, becauſe their imagination finds ſomething like it below the leaves.

Its wood is here made uſe of for canoes, boards, planks, bowls, diſhes, ſpoons, door-poſts, and all ſorts of joiners work. I have ſeen a barn of a conſiderable ſize, whoſe walls and roof were made of a ſingle tree of this kind, ſplit into boards. Some joiners reckoned this wood better than oak, becauſe this latter frequently is warped, which the other never does, but works very eaſy; others again valued it very little. It is certain, that it contracts ſo much in hot weather, as to occaſion great cracks in the boards, and in wet weather it ſwells ſo as to be near burſting, and the people hardly know of a wood in theſe parts which varies ſo much in contracting and expanding itſelf. The joiners, however, make much uſe of it in their work; they ſay there are two ſpecies of it; but they are merely two varieties, one of which, in time, turns yellow within; the other is white; the former is ſaid to have a looſer texture. The bark (like Ruſſian glaſs) is diviſible into very thin leaves, which are very tough like baſt, though I have never ſeen it employed as ſuch. The leaves, when cruſhed and applied to the forehead, are ſaid to be a remedy againſt the head-ach. When horſes are plagued with worms, the bark is pounded, and given them quite dry. Many people believe its roots to be as efficacious againſt the fever as the Jeſuits bark. The trees grow in all ſorts of dry ſoil, both on high and low grounds, but too wet a ſoil will not agree with them.

Oct.

Oct. 20th. The beaver-tree is to be met with in ſeveral parts of Penſylvania and New Jerſey, in a poor ſwampy ſoil, or on wet meadows. Dr. Linnæus calls it magnolia glauca; both the Swedes and Engliſh call it beaver-tree, becauſe the root of this tree is the dainty of beavers, which are caught by its means; however, the Swedes ſometimes gave it a different name, and the Engliſh as improperly called it ſwamp ſaſſafras, and white laurel. The trees of this kind dropt their leaves early in autumn, though ſome of the young trees kept them all the winter. I have ſeldom found the beaver-tree to the north of Penſylvania, where it begins to flower about the end of May. The ſcent of its bloſſoms is excellent; for by it you can diſcover, within three quarters of an Engliſh mile, whether theſe little trees ſtand in the neighbourhood, provided the wind be not againſt it. For the whole air is filled with this ſweet and pleaſant ſcent. It is beyond deſcription agreeable to travel in the woods about that time, eſpecially towards night. They retain their flowers for three weeks, and even longer, according to the quality of the ſoil on which the trees ſtand; and, during the whole time of their being in bloſſom, they ſpread their odoriferous exhalations. The berries likewiſe look very fine when they are ripe, for they have a rich red colour, and hang in bunches on ſlender ſtalks. The cough, and other pectoral diſeaſes, are cured by putting the berries into rum or brandy, of which a draught every morning may be taken; the virtues of this remedy were univerſally extolled, and even praiſed for their ſalutary effects in conſumptions. The bark being put into brandy, or boiled in any other liquor, is ſaid not only to eaſe pectoral diſeaſes, but likewiſe to be of ſome ſervice againſt all internal pains and heat; and it was thought that a decoction of it could ſtop the dyſentery. Perſons who had caught cold, boiled the branches of the beaver-tree in water, and drank it to their great relief. A Swede, called Lars Lack, gave the following account of a cure effected by this tree: one of his relations, an old man, had an open ſore in his leg, which would not heal up again, though he had had much advice, and uſed many remedies. An Indian at laſt effected the cure in the following manner: he burnt ſome of this wood to charcoal, which he reduced to powder, mixed with the freſh fat of pork, and rubbed the open places ſeveral times. This dried up the holes, which before were continually open, and the legs of the old man were quite ſound to his death. The wood is likewiſe made uſe of for joiners planes.

Oct. 22d. Upon trial it has been found that the following animals and birds, which are wild in the woods of North America, can be made nearly as tractable as domeſtic animals.

The wild cows and oxen, of which ſeveral people of diſtinction have got young calves from theſe wild cows, which are to be met with in Carolina, and other provinces to the ſouth of Penſylvania, and brought them up among the tame cattle; when grown up, they were perfectly tame, but, at the ſame time, very unruly, ſo that there was no encloſure ſtrong enough to reſiſt them, if they had a mind to break through it; for as they poſſeſs a great ſtrength in their neck, it was eaſy for them to overthrow the pales with their horns, and to get into the corn-fields; and as ſoon as they had made a road, all the tame cattle followed them; they likewiſe copulated with the latter, and by that means generated as it were a new breed. This American ſpecies of oxen is Linnæus's bos biſon, β.

American deer can likewiſe be tamed; and I have ſeen them tame myſelf in different places. A farmer in New Jerſey had one in his poſſeſſion, which he had caught when it was very young; and at preſent it was ſo tame, that in the day-time it run into the wood for its food, and towards night it returned home, and frequently brought a

wild deer out of the wood, giving its maſter an opportunity to ſhoot it. Several people have therefore tamed young deer, and make uſe of them for hunting wild deer, or for decoying them home, eſpecially in the time of their rutting.

Beavers have been ſo tamed, that they have gone on fiſhing, and brought home what they had caught to their maſters. This often is the caſe with otters, of which I have ſeen ſome, which were as tame as dogs, and followed their maſters wherever they went; if he went out in a boat, the otter went with him, jumped into the water, and after a while came up with a fiſh. The opoſſum can likewiſe be tamed, ſo as to follow people like a dog.

The raccoon, which we (Swedes) call ſiupp, can in time be made ſo tame as to run about the ſtreets like a domeſtic animal; but it is impoſſible to make it leave off its habit of ſtealing. In the dark it creeps to the poultry, and kills in one night a whole ſtock. Sugar and other ſweet things muſt be carefully hidden from it; for if the cheſts and boxes are not always locked up, it gets into them, eats the ſugar, and licks up the treacle with its paws: the ladies therefore have every day ſome complaint againſt it, and for this reaſon many people rather forbear the diverſion which this ape-like animal affords.

The grey and flying ſquirrels are ſo tamed by the boys, that they ſit on their ſhoulders, and follow them every where.

The turkey cocks and hens run about in the woods of this country, and differ in nothing from our tame ones, except in their ſuperior ſize, and redder though more palatable fleſh. When their eggs are found in the wood, and put under tame turkey hens, the young ones become tame; however, when they grow up, it ſometimes happens that they fly away; their wings are therefore commonly clipped, eſpecially when young; but the tamed turkeys are commonly much more iraſcible than thoſe which are naturally tame. The Indians likewiſe employ themſelves in taming them and keeping them near their huts.

Wild geeſe have likewiſe been tamed in the following manner: when the wild geeſe firſt come hither in ſpring, and ſtop a little while (for they do not breed in Penſylvania) the people try to ſhoot them in the wing, which, however, is generally mere chance. They then row to the place where the wild-gooſe fell, catch it, and keep it for ſome time at home; by this means many of them have been made ſo tame, that when they were let out in the morning they returned in the evening; but, to be more ſure of them, their wings are commonly clipped. I have ſeen wild-geeſe of this kind, which the owner aſſured me that he had kept for more than twelve years; but though he kept eight of them, yet he never had the pleaſure to ſee them copulate with the tame ones, or lay eggs.

Partridges, which are here in abundance, may likewiſe be ſo far tamed, as to run about all day with the poultry, and to come along with them to be fed when they are called. In the ſame manner I have ſeen wild pigeons, which were made ſo tame as to fly out and return again. In ſome winters there are immenſe quantities of wild pigeons in Penſylvania.

Oct. 24th. Of all the rare birds of North America, the humming-bird is the moſt admirable, or at leaſt moſt worthy of peculiar attention. Several reaſons induce me to believe that few parts of the world can produce its equal. Dr. Linnæus calls it trochilus colubris. The Swedes, and ſome Engliſhmen, call it the king's bird; but the name of humming-bird is more common. Cateſby, in his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, vol. i. page 65. tab. 65. has drawn it, in its natural ſize, with its proper

colours, and added a deſcription of it *. In ſize it is not much bigger than a large humble-bee, and is therefore the leaſt of all birds†, or it is much if there is a leſſer ſpecies in the world. Its plumage is moſt beautifully coloured, moſt of its feathers being green, ſome grey, and others forming a ſhining red ring round its neck; the tail glows with fine feathers, changing from green into a braſs colour. Theſe birds come here in ſpring, about the time when it begins to grow very warm, and make their neſts in ſummer; but, towards autumn, they retreat again into the more ſouthern countries of America. They ſubſiſt barely upon the nectar, or ſweet juice of flowers, contained in that part which botaniſts call the nectarium, and which they ſuck up with their long bills. Of all the flowers, they like thoſe moſt, which have a long tube; and I have obſerved that they have fluttered chiefly about the impatiens noli tangere, and the monarda with crimſon flowers. An inhabitant of the country is ſure to have a number of theſe beautiful and agreeable little birds before his windows all the ſummer long, if he takes care to plant a bed with all ſorts of fine flowers under them. It is indeed a diverting ſpectacle to ſee theſe little active creatures flying about the flowers like bees, and ſucking their juices with their long and narrow bills. The flowers of the above-mentioned monarda grow verticillated, that is, at different diſtances they ſurround the ſtalk, as the flowers of our mint (mentha), baſtard hemp (galeopſis), mother-wort (leonurus), and dead nettle (lamium). It is therefore diverting to ſee them putting their bills into every flower in the circle. As ſoon as they have ſucked the juice of one flower, they flutter to the next. One that has not ſeen them would hardly believe in how ſhort a ſpace of time they have had their tongues in all the flowers of a plant, which when large, and with a long tube, the little bird, by putting its head into them, looks as if it crept with half its body into them.

During their ſucking the juice out of the flowers they never ſettle on it, but flutter continually like bees, bend their feet backwards, and move their wings ſo quick that they are hardly viſible. During this fluttering they make a humming like bees, or like that which is occaſioned by the turning of a little wheel. After they have thus, without reſting, fluttered for a while, they fly to a neighbouring tree or poſt, and reſume their vigour again. They then return to their humming and ſucking. They are not very ſhy; and I, in company with ſeveral other people, have not been full two yards from the place where they fluttered about and ſucked the flowers; and though we ſpoke and moved, yet they were no ways diſturbed; but, on going towards them, they would fly off with the ſwiftneſs of an arrow. When ſeveral of them were on the ſame bed there was always a violent combat between them, in meeting each other at the ſame flower (for envy was likewiſe predominant amongſt theſe little creatures), and they attacked with ſuch impetuoſity that it would ſeem as if the ſtrongeſt would pierce its antagoniſt through and through with its long bill. During the fight, they ſeem to ſtand in the air, keeping themſelves up by the incredibly ſwift motion of their wings. When the windows towards the garden are open, they purſue each other into the rooms, fight a little, and flutter away again. Sometimes they come to a flower which is withering, and has no more juice in it; they then, in a fit of anger, pluck it off, and throw it on the ground, that it may not miſlead them for the future. If a garden contains a great number of theſe little birds, they are ſeen to pluck

* The ſame is to be met with in Edwards's Natural Hiſtory of Birds, p. 38. tab. 38. F.

† There is a much leſſer ſpecies of humming-bird, by Linnæus called trochilus minimus, being the leaſt bird known: Sir Hans Sloane's living one weighed only twenty grains, and Mr. Edwards's dry one forty-five. It is drawn in Edwards's birds, t. 150. in its natural ſize, together with its egg. F.

off

off the flowers in ſuch quantities that the ground is quite covered with them, and it ſeems as if this proceeded from a motion of envy.

Commonly you hear no other ſound than their humming; but when they fly againſt each other in the air, they make a chirping noiſe like a ſparrow or chicken. I have ſometimes walked with ſeveral other people in ſmall gardens, and theſe birds have on all ſides fluttered about us without appearing very ſhy. They are ſo ſmall that one would eaſily miſtake them for great humming-bees or butterflies, and their flight reſembles that of the former, and is incredibly ſwift. They have never been obſerved to feed on inſects or fruit; the nectar of flowers ſeems therefore to be their only food. Several people have caught ſome humming-birds, on account of their ſingular beauty, and have put them into cages, where they died for want of a proper food. However, Mr. Bartram has kept a couple of them for ſeveral weeks together, by feeding them with water in which ſugar had been diſſolved; and I am of opinion, that it would not be difficult to keep them all winter in a hot-houſe.

The humming-bird always builds its neſt in the middle of a branch of a tree, and it is ſo ſmall that it cannot be ſeen from the ground, but he who intends to ſee it muſt get up to the branch. For this reaſon it is looked upon as a great rarity if a neſt is accidentally found, eſpecially as the trees in ſummer have ſo thick a foliage. The neſt is likewiſe the leaſt of all; that which is in my poſſeſſion is quite round, and conſiſts in the inſide of a browniſh and quite ſoft down, which ſeems to have been collected from the leaves of the great mullein or verbaſcum thapſus, which are often found covered with a ſoft wool of this colour, and the plant is plentiful here. The outſide of the neſt has a coating of green moſs, ſuch as is common on old pales, or encloſures, and on trees; the inner diameter of the neſt is hardly a geometrical inch at the top, and its depth half an inch. It is however known, that the humming-birds make their neſts likewiſe of flax, hemp, moſs, hair, and other ſuch ſoft materials; they are ſaid to lay two eggs, each of the ſize of a pea.

Oct. 25th. I employed this day and the next in packing up all the ſeeds gathered this autumn, for I had an opportunity of ſending them to England by the ſhips which ſailed about this time. From England they were forwarded to Sweden.

Oct. 27th. In the morning I ſet out on a little journey to New York, in company with Mr. Cock, with a view to ſee the country, and to enquire into the ſafeſt road, which I could take in going to Canada, through the deſart or uninhabited country between it and the Engliſh provinces.

That part where we travelled at preſent was pretty well inhabited on both ſides of the road, by Engliſhmen, Germans, and other Europeans. Plains and hills of different dimenſions were ſeen alternately: mountains and ſtones I never ſaw, excepting a few pebbles. Near almoſt every farm was a great orchard with peach and apple-trees, ſome of which were yet loaded with fruit.

The encloſures were in ſome parts low enough for the cattle to leap over them with eaſe; to prevent this the hogs had a triangular wooden yoke; and to the horſe's neck was faſtened a piece of wood, which at the lower end had a tooth or hook, faſtening in the encloſure, and ſtopping the horſe, juſt when it lifted its fore feet to leap over; but I know not whether this be a good invention with regard to horſes. They were likewiſe kept in bounds by a piece of wood, one end of which was faſtened to one of the fore feet, and the other to one of the hind feet, and it forced them to walk pretty ſlowly, as at the ſame time it made it impoſſible for them to leap over the encloſures. To me it appeared that the horſes were ſubject to all ſorts of dangerous accidents from this piece of wood.

Near

Near New Frankfurt we rode over a little ſtone bridge, and ſomewhat further, eight or nine Engliſh miles from Philadelphia, we paſſed over another, which was likewiſe of ſtone. There are not yet any mileſtones put up in the country, and the inhabitants only compute the diſtances by gueſs. We were afterwards brought over a river in a ferry, where we paid threepence a perſon for ourſelves and our horſes.

At one of the places where we ſtopt to have our horſes fed, the people had a mocking-bird in a cage; and it is here reckoned the beſt ſinging bird, though its plumage be very ſimple, and not ſhowy at all. At this time of the year it does not ſing. Linnæus calls ittiurdus polyglottos; and Cateſby, in his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, vol. 1. p. 27. tab. 27, has likewiſe deſcribed and drawn this bird. The people ſaid that it built its neſts in the buſhes and trees, but is ſo ſhy, that if any body come and look at its eggs, it leaves the neſt, never to come to it again. Its young ones require great care in being bred up. If they are taken from their mother and put into a cage ſhe feeds them for three or four days but ſeeing no hopes of ſetting them at liberty, ſhe flies away; it then often happens, that the young ones die ſoon after, doubtleſs becauſe they cannot accuſtom themſelves to eat what the people give them. Theſe birds ſtay all ſummer in the colonies, but retire in autumn to the ſouth, and ſtay away all winter. They have got the name of mocking-birds on account of their ſkill in imitating the note of almoſt every bird they hear. The ſong peculiar to them is excellent, and varied by an infinite change of notes and melody; ſeveral people are therefore of opinion that they are the beſt ſinging birds in the world. So much is certain, that few birds come up to them; this is what makes them precious.

About noon we came to New Briſtol, a ſmall town in Penſylvania, on the banks of the Delaware, about fifteen Engliſh miles from Philadelphia. Moſt of the houſes are built of ſtone, and ſtand aſunder. The inhabitants carry on a ſmall trade, though moſt of them get their goods from Philadelphia. On the other ſide of the river, almoſt directly oppoſite to New Briſtol, lies the town of Burlington, in which the governor of New Jerſey reſides.

Country ſeats appeared on both ſides of the roads. But ſoon we came into a lane encloſed with pales on both ſides, including pretty great corn-fields. Next followed a wood, and we perceived, for the ſpace of four Engliſh miles, nothing but woods, and a very poor ſoil, on which the lupinus perennis grew plentifully and ſucceeded well. I was overjoyed to ſee a plant come on ſo well in theſe poor dry places, and even began to meditate how to improve this diſcovery in a ſoil like that which it inhabited. But I afterwards had the mortification to find that the horſes and cows eat almoſt all the other plants, but left the lupine, which was however very green, looked very freſh, and was extremely ſoft to the touch. Perhaps means may be found out of making this plant palatable to the cattle. In the evening we arrived at Trenton, after having previouſly paſſed the Delaware in a ferry.

Oct. 28th. Trenton is a long narrow town, ſituate at ſome diſtance from the river Delaware, on a ſandy plain; it belongs to New Jerſey, and they reckon it thirty miles from Philadelphia. It has two ſmall churches, one for the people belonging to the church of England, the other for the Preſbyterians. The houſes are partly built of ſtone, though moſt of them are made of wood or planks, commonly two ſtories high, together with a cellar below the building, and a kitchen under ground, cloſe to the cellar. The houſes ſtand at a moderate diſtance from one another. They are commonly built ſo that the ſtreet paſſes along one ſide of the houſes, while gardens of different dimenſions bound the other ſide; in each garden is a draw-well; the place is reckoned very healthy. Our landlord told us, that twenty-two years ago, when he

firſt ſettled here, there was hardly more than one houſe; but from that time Trenton has encreaſed ſo much that there are at preſent near a hundred houſes. The houſes were within divided into ſeveral rooms by their partitions of boards. The inhabitants of the place carried on a ſmall trade with the goods which they got from Philadelphia, but their chief gain conſiſted in the arrival of the numerous travellers between that city and New York; for they are commonly brought by the Trenton yatchs from Philadelphia to Trenton, or from thence to Philadelphia. But from Trenton further to New Brunſwick, the travellers go in the waggons which ſet out every day for that place. Several of the inhabitants, however, likewiſe ſubſiſt on the carriage for all ſorts of goods, which are every day ſent in great quantities either from Philadelphia to New York or from thence to the former places; for between Philadelphia and Trenton all goods go by water, but between Trenton and New Brunſwick they are all carried by land, and both theſe conveniences belong to people of this town.

For the yatchts which go between this place and the capital of Penſylvania, they uſually pay a ſhilling and ſixpence of Penſylvania currency per perſon, and every one pays beſides for his baggage. Every paſſenger muſt provide meat and drink for himſelf, or pay ſome ſettled fare: between Trenton and New Brunſwick a perſon pays two ſhillings and ſixpence, and the baggage is likewiſe paid for ſeparately.

We continued our journey in the morning; the country through which we paſſed was for the greateſt part level, though ſometimes there were ſome long hills; ſome parts were covered with trees, but far the greater part of the country was without woods; on the other hand, I never ſaw any place in America, the towns excepted, ſo well peopled. An old man, who lived in this neighbourhood, and accompanied us for ſome part of the road, however aſſured me, that he could well remember the time when between Trenton and New Brunſwick there were not above three farms, and he reckoned it was about fifty and ſome odd years ago. During the greater part of the day we had very extenſive corn-fields on both ſides of the road; and commonly towards the ſouth the country had a great declivity. Near almoſt every farm was a ſpacious orchard full of peaches and apple-trees, and in ſome of them the fruit was fallen from the trees in ſuch quantities as to cover nearly the whole ſurface. Part of it they left to rot, ſince they could not take it all in and conſume it. Wherever we paſſed by, we were always welcome to go into the fine orchards, and gather our pockets full of the choiceſt fruit, without the poſſeſſor's ſo much as looking after it. Cherry-trees were planted near the farms, on the roads, &c.

The barns* had a peculiar kind of conſtruction hereabouts, which I will give a conciſe deſcription of. The whole building was very great, ſo as almoſt to equal a ſmall church; the roof was pretty high, covered with wooden ſhingles, declining on both ſides, but not ſteep: the walls which ſupport it were not much higher than a full-grown man; but, on the other hand, the breadth of the building was the more conſiderable: in the middle was the threſhing-floor, and above it, or in the loft or garret, they put the corn which was not yet threſhed, the ſtraw, or any thing elſe, according to the ſeaſon: on one ſide were ſtables for the horſes, and on the other for the cows. And the ſmall cattle had likewiſe their particular ſtables or ſtyes; on both ends of the buildings were great gates, ſo that one could come in with a cart and horſes through one of them, and go out at the other: here was therefore under one roof the threſhing-floor, the barn, the ſtables, the hay-loft, the coach-houſe, &c. This kind of buildings is chiefly made uſe of by the Dutch and Germans; for it is to be obſerved, that the

* The author ſeems to comprehend more by this word than what it commonly includes, for he deſcribes it as a building which contains both a barn and ſtables. F.

country

country between Trenton and New York is inhabited by few Engliſhmen, but, inſtead of them, by Germans or Dutch *, the latter of which eſpecially are numerous.

Before I proceed I find it neceſſary to remark one thing with regard to the Indians, or old Americans. For this account may perhaps meet with readers, who, like many people of my acquaintance, may be of opinion that all North America was almoſt wholly inhabited by ſavage or heathen nations, and they may be aſtoniſhed that I do not mention them more frequently in my account. Others may perhaps imagine, that when I mention in my journal that the country is much cultivated, that in ſeveral places houſes of ſtone or wood are built, round which are corn-fields, gardens, and orchards, that I am ſpeaking of the property of the Indians; to undeceive them, I here give the following explication. The country, eſpecially all along the coaſts, in the Engliſh colonies, is inhabited by Europeans, who in ſome places are already ſo numerous that few parts of Europe are more populous. The Indians have ſold the country to the Europeans, and have retired further up: in moſt parts you may travel twenty Swediſh miles, or about a hundred and twenty Engliſh miles from the ſea-ſhore before you reach the firſt habitations of the Indians: and it is very poſſible for a perſon to have been at Philadelphia and other towns on the ſea-ſhore for half a year together without ſo much as ſeeing an Indian. I intend in the ſequel to give a more circumſtantial account of them, their religion, manners, œconomy, and other particulars relating to them: at preſent I return to the ſequel of my journal.

About nine Engliſh miles from Trenton, the ground began to change its colour; hitherto it conſiſted of a conſiderable quantity of hazel-coloured clay, but at preſent the earth was a reddiſh brown, ſo that it ſometimes had a purple colour, and ſometimes looked like logwood. This colour came from a red limeſtone, which approached very near to that which is on the mountain Kinnekulle in Weſt Gothland, and makes a particular ſtratum in the rock. The American red limeſtone therefore ſeems to be merely a variety of that I ſaw in Sweden, it lay in ſtrata of two or three fingers thickneſs; but was diviſible into many thinner plates or ſhivers, whoſe ſurface was ſeldom flat and ſmooth, but commonly rough: the ſtrata themſelves were frequently cut off by horizontal cracks. When theſe ſtones were expoſed to the air they, by degrees, ſhivered and withered into pieces, and at laſt turned into duſt. The people of this neighbourhood did not know how to make any uſe of it; the ſoil above is ſometimes rich and ſometimes poor: in ſuch places where the people had lately dug new wells, I perceived that moſt of the rubbiſh which was thrown up conſiſted of ſuch a ſpecies of ſtone. This reddiſh brown earth we always ſaw till near New Brunſwick, where it is particularly plentiful. The banks of the river ſhewed, in many places, nothing but ſtrata of limeſtone, which did not run horizontally but dipped very much.

About ten o'clock in the morning we came to Prince-town, which is ſituated in a plain. Moſt of the houſes are built of wood, and are not contiguous, ſo that there are gardens and paſtures between them. As theſe parts were ſooner inhabited by Europeans than Penſylvania, the woods were likewiſe more cut away, and the country more cultivated, ſo that one might have imagined himſelf to be in Europe.

We now thought of continuing our journey, but as it began to rain very heavily, and continued ſo during the whole day and part of the night, we were forced to ſtay till next morning.

* This kind of building is frequent in the north of Germany, Holland, and Pruſſia, and therefore it is no wonder that it is employed by people who were uſed to them in their own country. F.

Oct. 29th. This morning we proceeded on our journey. The country was pretty well peopled; however there were yet great woods in many places: they all conſiſted of deciduous trees; and I did not perceive a ſingle tree of the fir kind till I came to New Brunſwick. The ground was level, and did not ſeem to be every where of the richeſt kind. In ſome places it had hillocks, loſing themſelves almoſt imperceptibly in the plains, which were commonly croſſed by a rivulet. Almoſt near every farm-houſe were great orchards. The houſes were commonly built of timber, and at ſome diſtance by themſelves ſtood the ovens for baking, conſiſting commonly of clay.

On a hill covered with trees, and called Rock-hill, I ſaw ſeveral pieces of ſtone or rock, ſo big that they would have required three men to roll them down. But beſides theſe there were few great ſtones in the country; for moſt of thoſe which we ſaw could eaſily be lifted up by a ſingle man. In another place we perceived a number of little round pebbles, but we did not meet with either mountains or rocks.

About noon we arrived at New Brunſwick, a pretty little town in the province of New Jerſey, in a valley on the weſt ſide of the river Rareton; on account of its low ſituation it cannot be ſeen (coming from Penſylvania) before you get to the top of the hill, which is quite cloſe up to it: the town extends north and ſouth along the river. The German inhabitants have two churches, one of ſtone and the other of wood; the Engliſh church is of the latter kind, but the preſbyterians were building one of ſtone: the town-houſe makes likewiſe a pretty good appearance. Some of the other houſes are built of bricks, but moſt of them are made either wholly of wood, or of bricks and wood; the wooden houſes are not made of ſtrong timber but merely of boards or planks, which are within joined by laths: ſuch houſes as conſiſt of both wood and bricks have only the wall towards the ſtreet of bricks, all the other ſides being merely of planks. This peculiar kind of oſtentation would eaſily lead a traveller who paſſes through the town in haſte, to believe that moſt of the houſes are built of bricks. The houſes were covered with ſhingles; before each door there was an elevation, to which you aſcend by ſome ſteps from the ſtreet; it reſembled a ſmall balcony, and had ſome benches on both ſides, on which the people ſat in the evening, in order to enjoy the freſh air, and to have the pleaſure of viewing thoſe who paſſed by. The town has only one ſtreet lengthways, and at its northern extremity there is a ſtreet acroſs; both of theſe are of a conſiderable length.

The river Rareton paſſes hard by the town, and is deep enough for great yachts to come up; its breadth near the town is within the reach of a common gun-ſhot; the tide comes up ſeveral miles beyond the town, the yachts were placed lengthways along the bridge; the river has very high and pretty ſteep banks on both ſides, but near the town there are no ſuch banks, it being ſituated in a low valley. One of the ſtreets is almoſt entirely inhabited by Dutchmen, who came hither from Albany, and for that reaſon they call it Albany-ſtreet. Theſe Dutch only keep company among themſelves, and ſeldom or ever go amongſt the other inhabitants, living as it were quite ſeparate from them. New Brunſwick belongs to New Jerſey; however the greateſt part, or rather all its trade is to New York, which is about forty Engliſh miles diſtant; to that place they ſend corn, flour in great quantities, bread, ſeveral other neceſſaries, a great quantity of linſeed, boards, timber, wooden veſſels, and all ſorts of carpenter's work. Several ſmall yachts are every day going backwards and forwards between theſe two towns. The inhabitants likewiſe get a conſiderable profit from the travellers who every hour paſs through on the high road.

The

The ſteep banks conſiſt of the red limeſtone, which I have before deſcribed. It is here plainly viſible that the ſtrata are not horizontal, but conſiderably dipping, eſpecially towards the ſouth. The weather and the air has in a great meaſure diſſolved the ſtone here: I enquired whether it could not be made uſe of; but was aſſured, that in building houſes it was entirely uſeleſs; for, though it is hard and permanent under ground, yet, on being dug out, and expoſed for ſome time to the air, it firſt crumbles into greater, then into leſſer pieces, and at laſt is converted into duſt. An inhabitant of this town, however, tried to build a houſe with this ſort of ſtone, but its outſides being expoſed to the air, ſoon began to change ſo much, that the owner was obliged to put boards all over the wall to preſerve it from falling to pieces. The people however pretend that this ſtone is a very good manure, if it is ſcattered upon the corn-fields in its rubbiſh ſtate, for it is ſaid to ſtifle the weeds: it is therefore made uſe of both on the fields and in gardens *.

Towards the evening we continued our journey, and were ferried over the river Rareton, together with our horſes. In a very dry ſummer, and when the tide has ebbed, it is by no means dangerous to ride through this river. On the oppoſite ſhore the red juniper tree was pretty abundant. The country through which we now paſſed was pretty well inhabited, but in moſt places full of ſmall pebbles.

We ſaw guinea-hens in many places where we paſſed by. They ſometimes run about the fields, at a good diſtance from the farm houſes.

About eight Engliſh miles from New Brunſwick the road divided. We took that on the left, for that on the right leads to Amboy, the chief ſea-town in New Jerſey. The country now made a charming appearance; ſome parts being high, others forming vallies, and all of them well cultivated. From the hills you had a proſpect of houſes, farms, gardens, corn-fields, foreſts, lakes, iſlands, roads, and paſtures.

In moſt of the places where we travelled this day the colour of the ground was reddiſh. I make no doubt but there were ſtrata of the before mentioned red limeſtone under it. Sometimes the ground looked very like a cinnabar ore.

Wood-bridge is a ſmall village in a plain, conſiſting of a few houſes: we ſtopped here to reſt our horſes a little. The houſes were moſt of them built of boards; the walls had a covering of ſhingles on the outſide; theſe ſhingles were round at one end, and all of a length in each row: ſome of the houſes had an Italian roof, but the greateſt part had roofs with pediments; moſt of them were covered with ſhingles. In moſt places we met with wells, and buckets to draw up the water.

Elizabeth-town is a ſmall town, about twenty Engliſh miles diſtant from New Brunſwick: we arrived there immediately after ſun-ſetting. Its houſes are moſtly ſcattered, but well built, and generally of boards, with a roof of ſhingles, and walls covered with the ſame. There were likewiſe ſome ſtone buildings. A little rivulet paſſes through the town from weſt to eaſt; it is almoſt reduced to nothing when the water ebbs away, but with the full tide they can bring up ſmall yachts. Here were two fine churches, each of which made a much better appearance than any one in Philadelphia. That belonging to the people of the church of England was built of bricks, had a ſteeple with bells, and a baluſtrade round it, from which there was a proſpect of the country. The meeting-houſe of the preſbyterians was built of wood, but had both a ſteeple and bells, and was, like the other houſes, covered with ſhingles. The town-houſe made likewiſe a good appearance, and had a ſpire with a bell. The banks of the river were red, from the reddiſh lime-

* Probably it is a ſtone marle; a blue and reddiſh ſpecies of this kind is uſed with good ſucceſs in the county of Bamff in Scotland.

ſtone; both in about the town were many gardens and orchards; and it might truly be ſaid, that Elizabeth-town was ſituated in a garden, the ground hereabouts being even and well cultivated.

At night we took up our lodgings at Elizabeth-town Point, an inn, about two Engliſh miles diſtant from the town, and the laſt houſe on this road belonging to New Jerſey. The man who had taken the leaſe of it, together with that of the ferry near it, told us that he paid a hundred and ten pounds of Penſylvania currency to the owner.

Oct. 30th. We were ready to proceed on our journey at ſun-riſing. Near the inn where we had paſſed the night, we were to croſs a river, and we were brought over, together with our horſes, in a wretched half-rotten ferry. This river came a conſiderable way out of the country, and ſmall veſſels could eaſily ſail up it. This was a great advantage to the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, giving them an opportunity of ſending their goods to New York with great eaſe; and they even made uſe of it for trading to the Weſt Indies. The country was low on both ſides of the river, and conſiſted of meadows. But there was no other hay to be got than ſuch as commonly grows in ſwampy grounds; for as the tide comes up in this river, theſe low plains were ſometimes overflowed when the water was high. The people hereabouts are ſaid to be troubled in ſummer with immenſe ſwarms of gnats or muſquitos, which ſting them and their cattle. This was aſcribed to the low ſwampy meadows, on which theſe inſects depoſit their eggs, which are afterwards hatched by the heat.

As ſoon as we had got over the river, we were upon Staten Iſland, which is quite ſurrounded with ſalt water. This is the beginning of the province of New York. Moſt of the people ſettled here were Dutchmen, or ſuch as came hither whilſt the Dutch were yet in poſſeſſion of this place. But at preſent they were ſcattered among the Engliſh and other European inhabitants, and ſpoke Engliſh for the greateſt part. The proſpect of the country here is extremely pleaſing, as it is not ſo much intercepted by woods, but offers more cultivated fields to view. Hills and vallies ſtill continued, as uſual, to change alternately.

The farms were near each other. Moſt of the houſes were wooden; however ſome were built of ſtone. Near every farm-houſe was an orchard with apple-trees. Here, and on the whole journey before, I obſerved a preſs for cyder at every farm-houſe, made in different manners, by which the people had already preſſed the juice out of the apples, or were juſt buſied with that work. Some people made uſe of a wheel made of thick oak planks, which turned upon a wooden axis, by means of a horſe drawing it, much in the ſame manner as the people do with woad; * except that here the wheel runs upon planks. Cherry-trees ſtood along the encloſures round corn-fields.

The corn-fields were excellently ſituated, and either ſown with wheat or rye. They had no ditches on their ſides, but (as is uſual in England) only furrows, drawn at greater or leſſer diſtances from each other.

In one place we obſerved a water-mill, ſo ſituated that when the tide flowed the water ran into a pond; but when it ebbed, the floodgate was drawn up, and the mill driven by the water flowing out of the pond.

About eight o'clock in the morning we arrived at the place where we were to croſs the water, in order to come to the town of New York. We left our horſes here, and went on board the yacht: we were to go eight Engliſh miles by ſea; however, we landed about eleven o'clock in the morning at New York. We ſaw a kind of wild

* Dr. Linnæus, in his Travels through Weſtrogothia, has given a drawing of the machine by which woad prepared, on the 128th page.

ducks

ducks in immenſe quantities upon the water: the people called them blue bills, and they ſeemed to be the ſame with our pintail ducks, or Linnæus's anas acuta: but they were very ſhy. On the ſhore of the continent we ſaw ſome very fine ſloping corn-fields, which at preſent looked quite green, the corn being already come up. We ſaw many boats, in which the fiſhermen were buſy catching oyſters: to this purpoſe they make uſe of a kind of rakes with long iron teeth bent inwards; theſe they uſed either ſingle, or two tied together, in ſuch a manner that the teeth were turned towards each other.

Oct. 31ſt. About New York they find innumerable quantities of excellent oyſters, and there are few places which have oyſters of ſuch an exquiſite taſte, and of ſo great a ſize: they are pickled and ſent to the Weſt Indies and other places; which is done in the following manner. As ſoon as the oyſters are caught, their ſhells are opened, and the fiſh waſhed clean; ſome water is then poured into a pot, the oyſters are put into it, and they muſt boil for a while; the pot is then taken off from the fire again, the oyſters taken out and put upon a diſh, till they are ſomewhat dry: then you take ſome mace, allſpice, black pepper, and as much vinegar as you think is ſufficient to give a ſouriſh taſte. All this is mixed with half the liquor in which the oyſters were boiled, and put over the fire again. While you boil it, great care is to be taken in ſcumming off the thick ſcum; at laſt the whole pickle is poured into a glaſs or earthen veſſel, the oyſters are put to it, and the veſſel is well ſtopped to keep out the air. In this manner oyſters will keep for years together, and may be ſent to the moſt diſtant parts of the world.

The merchants here buy up great quantities of oyſters about this time, pickle them in the above-mentioned manner, and ſend them to the Weſt Indies: by which they frequently make a conſiderable profit: for the oyſters which coſt them five ſhillings of their currency, they commonly ſell for a piſtole, or about ſix times as much as they gave for them; and ſometimes they get even more: the oyſters which are thus pickled have a very fine flavour. The following is another way of preſerving oyſters: they are taken out of the ſhells, fried with butter, put into a glaſs or earthen veſſel with the melted butter over them, ſo that they are quite covered with it, and no air can get to them. Oyſters prepared in this manner have likewiſe an agreeable taſte, and are exported to the Weſt Indies, and other parts.

Oyſters are here reckoned very wholeſome, ſome people aſſured us, that they had not felt the leaſt inconvenience after eating a conſiderable quantity of them. It is likewiſe a common rule here, that oyſters are beſt in thoſe months, which have an *r* in their name, ſuch as September, October, &c.; but that they are not ſo good in other months; however there are poor people who live all the year long upon nothing but oyſters with bread.

The ſea near New York, affords annually the greateſt quantity of oyſters. They are found chiefly in a muddy ground, where they lie in the ſlime, and are not ſo frequent in a ſandy bottom: a rocky and a ſtony bottom is ſeldom found here. The oyſter ſhells are gathered in great heaps, and burnt into a lime, which by ſome people is made uſe of in building houſes, but is not reckoned ſo good as that made of limeſtone. On our journey to New York, we ſaw high heaps of oyſter ſhells near the farm-houſes, upon the ſea ſhore; and about New York, we obſerved the people had carried them upon the fields, which were ſown with wheat. However they were entire, and not cruſhed.

The Indians, who inhabited the coaſt before the arrival of the Europeans, have made oyſters and other ſhell-fiſh their chief food; and at preſent, whenever they come

come to a ſalt water, where oyſters are to be got, they are very active in catching them, and ſell them in great quantities to other Indians, who live higher up the country: for this reaſon you ſee immenſe numbers of oyſter and muſcle ſhells piled up near ſuch places, where you are certain that the Indians formerly built their huts. This circumſtance ought to make us cautious in maintaining, that in all places on the ſea-ſhore, or higher up in the country, where ſuch heaps of ſhells are to be met with, the latter have lain there ever ſince the time that thoſe places were overflowed by the ſea.

Lobſters are likewiſe plentifully caught hereabouts, pickled much in the ſame way as oyſters, and ſent to ſeveral places. I was told of a very remarkable circumſtance about theſe lobſters, and I have afterwards frequently heard it mentioned. The coaſt of New York had already European inhabitants for a conſiderable time, yet no lobſters were to be met with on that coaſt; and though the people fiſhed ever ſo often, they could never find any ſigns of lobſters being in this part of the ſea: they were therefore continually brought in great well-boats from New England, where they are plentiful; but it happened that one of theſe well-boats broke in pieces near Hellgate, about ten Engliſh miles from New York, and all the lobſters in it got off. Since that time they have ſo multiplied in this part of the ſea that they are now caught in the greateſt abundance.

Nov. 1ſt. A kind of cold fever, which the Engliſh in this country call fever and ague, is very common in ſeveral parts of the Engliſh colonies. There are, however, other parts where the people have never felt it. I will in the ſequel deſcribe the ſymptoms of this diſeaſe at large. Several of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants of this town aſſured me, that this diſeaſe was not near ſo common in New York as it is in Penſylvania, where ten were ſeized by it to one in the former province; therefore they were of opinion, that this diſeaſe was occaſioned by the vapours ariſing from ſtagnant freſh water, from marſhes, and from rivers; for which reaſon thoſe provinces, ſituated on the ſea ſhore, could not be ſo much affected by it. However the careleſsneſs with which people eat quantities of melons, water melons, peaches, and other juicy fruit, in ſummer, was reckoned to contribute much towards the progreſs of this fever; and repeated examples confirmed the truth of this opinion. The Jeſuit's bark was reckoned a good remedy againſt it. It has, however, often been found to have operated contrary to expectation, though I am ignorant whether it was adulterated, or whether ſome miſtake had been committed in the manner of taking it. Mr. Davis van Horne, a merchant, told me, that he cured himſelf, and ſeveral other people, of this fever, by the leaves of the common garden ſage, or ſalvia officinalis of Linnæus. The leaves are cruſhed or pounded in a mortar, and the juice is preſſed out of them; this is continued till they get a ſpoonful of the liquid, which is mixed with lemon juice. This draught is taken about the time that the cold fit comes on; and after taking it three or four times the fever does not come again.

The bark of the white oak was reckoned the beſt remedy which had as yet been found againſt the dyſentery. It is reduced to a powder, and then taken: ſome people aſſured me, that in caſes where nothing would help, this remedy had given a certain and ſpeedy relief. The people in this place likewiſe make uſe of this bark (as is uſually done in the Engliſh colonies) to dye wool a brown colour, which looks like that of bohea tea, and does not fade by being expoſed to the ſun. Among the numerous ſhells which are found on the ſea-ſhore, there are ſome, which by the Engliſh here are called clams, and which bear ſome reſemblance to the human ear. They have a conſiderable thickneſs, and are chiefly white, excepting the pointed end, which both without and within has a blue colour, between purple and violet. They are met with in vaſt

numbers on the ſea-ſhore of New York, Long Iſland, and other places. The ſhells contain a large animal, which is eaten both by the Indians and Europeans ſettled here.

A conſiderable commerce is carried on in this article with ſuch Indians as live further up the country. When theſe people inhabited the coaſt they were able to catch their own clams, which at that time made a great part of their food; but at preſent this is the buſineſs of the Dutch and Engliſh, who live in Long Iſland and other maritime provinces. As ſoon as the ſhells are caught, the fiſh is taken out of them, drawn upon a wire, and hung up in the open air, in order to dry by the heat of the ſun. When this is done, the fleſh is put into proper veſſels, and carried to Albany upon the river Hudſon; there the Indians buy them, and reckon them one of their beſt diſhes. Beſides the Europeans, many of the native Indians come annually down to the ſea-ſhore, in order to catch clams, proceeding with them afterwards in the manner I have juſt deſcribed.

The ſhells of theſe clams are uſed by the Indians as money, and make what they call their wampum; they likewiſe ſerve their women for an ornament, when they intend to appear in full dreſs. Theſe wampums are properly made of the purple parts of the ſhells, which the Indians value more than the white parts. A traveller, who goes to trade with the Indians, and is well ſtocked with them, may become a conſiderable gainer; but if he take gold coin, or bullion, he will undoubtedly be a loſer; for the Indians, who live farther up the country, put little or no value upon theſe metals which we reckon ſo precious, as I have frequently obſerved in the courſe of my travels. The Indians formerly made their own wampums, though not without a deal of trouble; but at preſent the Europeans employ themſelves that way, eſpecially the inhabitants of Albany, who get a conſiderable profit by it. In the ſequel I intend to relate the manner of making the wampum.

Nov. 2d. Beſides the different ſects of Chriſtians there are many Jews ſettled in New York, who poſſeſs great privileges. They have a ſynagogue and houſes, and great country ſeats of their own property, and are allowed to keep ſhops in town. They have likewiſe ſeveral ſhips, which they freight, and ſend out with their own goods; in fine, they enjoy all the privileges common to the other inhabitants of this town and province.

During my reſidence at New York this time, and in the two next years, I was frequently in company with Jews. I was informed, among other things, that theſe people never boiled any meat for themſelves on Saturday, but that they always did it the day before; and that in winter they kept a fire during the whole Saturday. They commonly eat no pork; yet I have been told by ſeveral men of credit, that many of them (eſpecially among the young Jews) when travelling, did not make the leaſt difficulty about eating this or any other meat that was put before them; even though they were in company with Chriſtians. I was in their ſynagogue laſt evening for the firſt time, and this day at noon I viſited it again, and each time I was put into a particular ſeat, which was ſet apart for ſtrangers or Chriſtians. A young rabbi read the divine ſervice, which was partly in Hebrew, and partly in the rabbinical dialect. Both men and women were dreſſed entirely in the Engliſh faſhion; the former had all of them their hats on, and did not once take them off during ſervice. The galleries, I obſerved, were appropriated to the ladies, while the men ſat below. During prayers the men ſpread a white cloth over their heads; which perhaps is to repreſent ſackcloth; but I obſerved that the wealthier ſort of people had a much richer cloth than the poorer ones. Many of the men had Hebrew books, in which they ſang and read alternately. The rabbi

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ſtood in the middle of the ſynagogue, and read with his face turned towards the eaſt: he ſpoke, however, ſo faſt, as to make it almoſt impoſſible for any one to underſtand what he ſaid *.

New York, the capital of a province of the ſame name, is ſituated under forty degrees and forty minutes north latitude, and ſeventy-four degrees and four minutes of weſtern longitude from London; and is about ninety-ſeventy Engliſh miles diſtant from Philadelphia. The ſituation of it is extremely advantageous for trade; for the town ſtands upon a point which is formed by two bays, into one of which the river Hudſon diſcharges itſelf, not far from the town; New York is therefore on three ſides ſurrounded with water: the ground it is built on is level in ſome parts, and hilly in others: the place is generally reckoned very wholeſome.

The town was firſt founded by the Dutch: this, it is ſaid, was done in the year 1623, when they were yet maſters of the country; they called it New Amſterdam, and the country itſelf New Holland. The Engliſh, towards the end of the year 1664, taking poſſeſſion of it under the conduct of Des Cartes, and keeping it by the virtue of the next treaty of peace, gave the name of New York to both the town and the province belonging to it; in ſize it comes neareſt to Boſton and Philadelphia. But with regard to its fine buildings, its opulence, and extenſive commerce, it diſputes the preference with them: at preſent it is about half as big again as Gothenburg in Sweden.

The ſtreets do not run ſo ſtraight as thoſe of Philadelphia, and have ſometimes conſiderable bendings: however they are very ſpacious and well-built, and moſt of them are paved, except in high places, where it has been found uſeleſs. In the chief ſtreets there are trees planted, which in ſummer gave them a fine appearance, and during the exceſſive heat at that time, afford a cooling ſhade: I found it extremely pleaſant to walk in the town, for it ſeemed quite like a garden; the trees which are planted for this purpoſe are chiefly of two kinds: the water-beech, or Linnæus's platanus occidentalis, are the moſt numerous, and give an agreeable ſhade in ſummer, by their great and numerous leaves. The locuſt-tree, or Linnæus's robinia pſeud-acacia, is likewiſe frequent: its fine leaves, and the odoriferous ſcent which exhales from its flowers, make it very proper for being planted in the ſtreets near the houſes, and in gardens. There are likewiſe lime-trees and elms in theſe walks, but they are not by far ſo frequent as the others: one ſeldom met with trees of the ſame ſort next to each other, they being in general planted alternately.

Beſides numbers of birds of all kinds which make theſe trees their abode, there are likewiſe a kind of frogs which frequent them in great numbers in ſummer; they are Dr. Linnæus's rana arborea, and eſpecially the American variety of this animal. They are very clamorous in the evening and in the nights (eſpecially when the days had been hot, and a rain was expected) and in a manner drown the ſinging of the birds. They frequently make ſuch a noiſe that it is difficult for a perſon to make himſelf heard.

Moſt of the houſes are built of bricks, and are generally ſtrong and neat, and ſeveral ſtories high. Some had, according to old architecture, turned the gable-end towards the ſtreets; but the new houſes were altered in this reſpect. Many of the houſes had a balcony on the roof, on which the people uſed to ſit in the evenings in the ſummer ſeaſon; and from thence they had a pleaſant view of a great part of the town, and likewiſe of part of the adjacent water, and of the oppoſite ſhore. The roofs are com-

* As there are no Jews in Sweden, Prof. Kalm was an utter ſtranger to their manners and religious cuſtoms, and therefore relates them as a kind of novelty. F.

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monly covered with tiles or ſhingles; the latter of which are made of the white fir-tree, or pinus ſtrobus (Linn. ſp. plant.) which grows higher up in the country. The inhabitants are of opinion, that a roof made of theſe ſhingles is as durable as one made in Penſylvania of the white cedar, or cupreſſus thyoides (Linn. ſpec. plant.) The walls were white-waſhed within; and I did not any where ſee hangings, with which the people in this country ſeem in general to be but little acquainted. The walls were quite covered with all ſorts of drawings and pictures in ſmall frames. On each ſide of the chimnies they had uſually a ſort of alcove; and the wall under the windows was wainſcotted, and had benches placed near it. The alcoves and all the wood work were painted with a bluiſh grey colour.

There are ſeveral churches in the town, which deſerve ſome attention. 1. The Engliſh church, built in the year 1695, at the weſt end of the town, conſiſting of ſtone, and has a ſteeple with a bell. 2. The new Dutch church, which is likewiſe built of ſtone, is pretty large, and is provided with a ſteeple; it alſo has a clock, which is the only one in the town. This church ſtands almoſt due from north to ſouth. No particular point of the compaſs has here been in general attended to in erecting ſacred buildings. Some churches ſtand as is uſual from eaſt to weſt, others from ſouth to north, and others in different poſitions. In this Dutch church there is neither altar, veſtry, choir, ſconces, nor paintings. Some trees are planted round it, which make it look as if it was built in a wood. 3. The old Dutch church, which is alſo built of ſtone; it is not ſo large as the new one. It was painted in the inſide, though without any images, and adorned with a ſmall organ, of which Governor Burnet made them a preſent. The men, for the moſt part, ſit in the gallery, and the women below. 4. The Preſbyterian church, which is pretty large, and was built but lately; it is of ſtone, and has a ſteeple and a bell in it. 5. The German Lutheran church. 6. The German Reformed church. 7. The French church, for Proteſtant refugees. 8. The Quaker's meeting-houſe. 9. To theſe may be added the Jewiſh ſynagogue, which I mentioned before.

Towards the ſea, on the extremity of the promontory, is a pretty good fortreſs, called Fort George, which entirely commands the port, and can defend the town, at leaſt from a ſudden attack on the ſea-ſide. Beſides that, it is likewiſe ſecured on the north, or towards the ſhore, by a palliſade, which, however, (as for a conſiderable time the people have had nothing to fear from an enemy) is in many places in a very bad ſtate of defence.

There is no good water to be met with in the town itſelf, but at a little diſtance there is a large ſpring of good water, which the inhabitants take for their tea, and for the uſes of the kitchen. Thoſe, however, who are leſs delicate in this point, make uſe of the water from the wells in town, though it be very bad. This want of good water lies heavy upon the horſes of the ſtrangers that come to this place; for they do not like to drink the water from the wells in the town.

The port is a good one; ſhips of the greateſt burthen can lie in it, quite cloſe up to the bridge; but its water is very ſalt, as the ſea continually comes in upon it, and therefore is never frozen, except in extraordinary cold weather. This is of great advantage to the city and its commerce; for many ſhips either come in or go out of the port at any time of the year, unleſs the winds be contrary; a convenience which, as I have before obſerved, is wanting at Philadelphia. It is ſecured from all violent hurricanes from the ſouth-eaſt by Long Iſland, which is ſituated juſt before the town; therefore only the ſtorms from the ſouth-weſt are dangerous to the ſhips which ride at anchor here, becauſe the port is open only on that ſide. The entrance however has its faults; one

of them is, that no men of war can pafs through it; for though the water is pretty deep, yet it is not fufficiently fo for great fhips. Sometimes even merchant fhips of a large fize have, by the rolling of the waves and by finking down between them, flightly touched the bottom, though without any bad confequences. Befides this, the canal is narrow; and for this reafon many fhips have been loft here, becaufe they may be eafily caft upon a fand, if the fhip is not well piloted. Some old people, who had conftantly been upon this canal, affured me, that it was neither deeper nor fhallower at prefent than in their youth.

The common difference between high and low water at New York amounts to about fix feet, Engliſh meafure. But at a certain time in every month, when the tide flows more than commonly, the difference in the height of the water is feven feet.

New York probably carries on a more extenfive commerce than any town in the Engliſh North American provinces; at leaft it may be faid to equal them: Boſton and Philadelphia however come very near up to it. The trade of New York extends to many places; and it is faid they fend more fhips from thence to London than they do from Philadelphia. They export to that capital all the various forts of fkins which they buy of the Indians, fugar, logwood, and other dying woods, rum, mahogany, and many other goods which are the produce of the Weft Indies; together with all the fpecie which they get in the courfe of trade. Every year they build feveral fhips here, which are fent to London, and there fold; and of late years they have fhipped a quantity of iron to England. In return for thefe, they import from London ftuffs, and every other article of Engliſh growth or manufacture, together with all forts of foreign goods. England, and efpecially London, profits immenfely by its trade with the American colonies; for not only New York, but likewife all the other Engliſh towns on the continent, import fo many articles from England, that all their fpecie, together with the goods which they get in other countries, muft altogether go to Old England, in order to pay the amount, to which they are however inſufficient. From hence it appears how much a well-regulated colony contributes to the increafe and welfare of its mother country.

New York fends many fhips to the Weft Indies, with flour, corn, biſcuit, timber, tuns, boards, fleſh, fiſh, butter, and other proviſions; together with fome of the few fruits that grow here. Many fhips go to Boſton in New England, with corn and flour; and take in exchange, fleſh, butter, timber, different forts of fiſh, and other articles, which they carry further to the Weft Indies. They now and then take rum from thence, which is diſtilled there in great quantities, and fell it here with a conſiderable advantage. Sometimes they fend yachts with goods from New York to Philadelphia, and at other times yachts are fent from Philadelphia to New York, which is only done, as appears from the gazettes, becaufe certain articles are cheaper at one place than at the other. They fend fhips to Ireland every year, laden with all kinds of Weft India goods, but efpecially with linfeed, which is reaped in this province. I have been affured, that in fome years no lefs than ten fhips have been fent to Ireland, laden with nothing but linfeed, becaufe it is faid the flax in Ireland does not afford good feed; but probably the true reafon is this; the people of Ireland, in order to have the better flax make ufe of the plant before the feed is ripe, and therefore are obliged to fend for foreign feed; and hence it becomes one of the chief articles in trade.

At this time a buſhel of linfeed is ſold for eight ſhillings of New York currency, or exactly a piece of eight.

The goods which are ſhipped to the Weſt Indies are ſometimes paid for with ready money, and ſometimes with Weſt India goods, which are either firſt brought to New York,

York, or immediately ſent to England or Holland. If a ſhip does not chuſe to take in Weſt India goods in its return to New York, or if nobody will freight it, it often goes to Newcaſtle in England, to take in coals for ballaſt, which when brought home ſell for a pretty good price. In many parts of the town coals are made uſe of, both for kitchen fires, and in rooms, becauſe they are reckoned cheaper than wood, which at preſent coſts thirty ſhillings of New York currency per fathom; of which meaſure I have before made mention. New York has likewiſe ſome intercourſe with South Carolina; to which it ſends corn, flour, ſugar, rum, and other goods, and takes rice in return, which is almoſt the only commodity exported from South Carolina.

The goods with which the province of New York trades are not very numerous. They chiefly export the ſkins of animals, which are bought of the Indians about Oſwego; great quantities of boards, coming for the moſt part from Albany; timber and ready-made lumber, from that part of the country which lies about the river Hudſon; and laſtly, wheat, flour, barley, oats, and other kinds of corn, which are brought from New Jerſey and the cultivated parts of this province. I have ſeen yachts from New Brunſwick, laden with wheat which lay looſe on board, and with flour packed up in tuns; and alſo with great quantities of linſeed. New York likewiſe exports ſome fleſh and other proviſions out of its own province, but they are very few; nor is the quantity of peaſe, which the people about Albany bring, much greater. Iron however may be had more plentifully, as it is found in ſeveral parts of this province, and is of a conſiderable goodneſs; but all the other products of this country are of little account.

Moſt of the wine, which is drank here and in the other colonies, is brought from the iſle of Madeira, and is very ſtrong and fiery.

No manufactures of note have as yet been eſtabliſhed here; at preſent they get all manufactured goods, ſuch as woollen and linen cloth, &c. from England, and eſpecially from London.

The river Hudſon is very convenient for the commerce of this city; as it is navigable for near an hundred and fifty Engliſh miles up the country, and falls into the bay not far from the town, on its weſtern ſide. During eight months of the year this river is full of yachts, and other greater and leſſer veſſels, either going to New York or returning from thence, laden either with inland or foreign goods.

I cannot make a juſt eſtimate of the ſhips that annually come to this town or ſail from it. But I have found, by the Penſylvania gazettes, that from the firſt of December in 1729, to the fifth of December in the next year, two hundred and eleven ſhips entered the port of New York, and two hundred and twenty-two cleared it; and ſince that time there has been a great increaſe of trade here.

The country people come to market in New York twice a week, much in the ſame manner as they do at Philadelphia, with this difference, that the markets are here kept in ſeveral places.

The governor of the province of New York reſides here, and has a palace in the fort. Among thoſe who have been entruſted with this poſt, William Burnet deſerves to be had in perpetual remembrance. He was one of the ſons of Dr. Thomas Burnet (ſo celebrated on account of his learning) and ſeemed to have inherited the knowledge of his father. But his great aſſiduity in promoting the welfare of this province, is what makes the principal merit of his character. The people of New York therefore ſtill reckon him the beſt governor they ever had, and think that they cannot praiſe his ſervices too much. The many aſtronomical obſervations which he made in theſe parts are inſerted in ſeveral Engliſh works. In the year 1727, at the acceſſion of King

George II. to the throne of Great Britain, he was appointed governor of New England. In conſequence of this he left New York, and went to Boſton, where he died univerſally lamented, on the 7th of September 1729.

An aſſembly of deputies, from all the particular diſtricts of the province of New York, is held at New York once or twice every year. It may be looked upon as a parliament or diet in miniature. Every thing relating to the good of the province is here debated. The governor calls the aſſembly, and diſſolves it at pleaſure: this is a power which he ought only to make uſe of, either when no farther debates are neceſſary, or when the members are not ſo unanimous in the ſervice of their king and country as is their duty: it frequently however happens, that, led aſide by caprice or by intereſted views, he exerts it to the prejudice of the province. The colony has ſometimes had a governor whoſe quarrels with the inhabitants have induced their repreſentatives, or the members of the aſſembly, through a ſpirit of revenge, to oppoſe indifferently every thing he propoſed, whether it was beneficial to the country or not. In ſuch caſes the governor has made uſe of his power; diſſolving the aſſembly, and calling another ſoon after, which however he again diſſolved upon the leaſt mark of their ill humour. By this means he ſo much tired them, by the many expences which they were forced to bear in ſo ſhort a time, that they were at laſt glad to unite with him in his endeavours for the good of the province. But there have likewiſe been governors who have called aſſemblies and diſſolved them ſoon after, merely becauſe the repreſentatives did not act according to their whims, or would not give their aſſent to propoſals which were perhaps dangerous or hurtful to the common welfare.

The king appoints the governor according to his royal pleaſure, but the inhabitants of the province make up his excellency's ſalary. Therefore a man entruſted with this place has greater or leſſer revenues, according as he knows how to gain the confidence of the inhabitants. There are examples of governors, in this and other provinces of North America, who, by their diſſenſions with the inhabitants of their reſpective governments, have loſt their whole ſalary, his Majeſty having no power to make them pay it. If a governor had no other reſource in theſe circumſtances, he would be obliged either to reſign his office, or be content with an income too ſmall for his dignity; or elſe to conform himſelf in every thing to the inclinations of the inhabitants; but there are ſeveral ſtated profits, which in ſome meaſure make up for this. 1. No one is allowed to keep a public houſe without the governor's leave, which is only to be obtained by the payment of a certain fee, according to the circumſtances of the perſon. Some governors therefore, when the inhabitants refuſed to pay them a ſalary, have hit upon the expedient of doubling the number of inns in their province. 2. Few people who intend to be married, unleſs they be very poor, will have their banns publiſhed from the pulpit; but inſtead of this they get licenſes from the governor, which empower any miniſter to marry them. Now for ſuch a licence the governor receives about half a guinea, and this, collected throughout the whole province, amounts to a conſiderable ſum. 3. The governor ſigns all paſſports, and eſpecially of ſuch as go to ſea; and this gives him another means of ſupplying his expences. There are ſeveral other advantages allowed to him, but as they are very trifling I ſhall omit them.

At the above aſſembly the old laws are reviewed and amended, and new ones are made; and the regulation and circulation of coin, together with all other affairs of that kind, are there determined. For it is to be obſerved, that each Engliſh colony in North America is independent of the other, and that each has its proper laws and coin, and may be looked upon in ſeveral lights as a ſtate by itſelf. From hence it happens, that in time of war, things go on very ſlowly and irregularly here: for not only the

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ſenſe of one province is ſometimes directly oppoſite to that of another, but frequently the views of the governor, and thoſe of the aſſembly, of the ſame province, are quite different: ſo that it is eaſy to ſee that while the people are quarrelling about the beſt and cheapeſt manner of carrying on the war, an enemy has it in his power to take one place after another. It has commonly happened that whilſt ſome provinces have been ſuffering from their enemies, the neighbouring ones were quiet and inactive, and as if it did not in the leaſt concern them. They have frequently taken up two or three years in conſidering whether they ſhould give aſſiſtance to an oppreſſed ſiſter colony, and ſometimes they have expreſsly declared themſelves againſt it. There are inſtances of provinces who were not only neuter in theſe circumſtances, but who even carried on a great trade with the power which at that very time was attacking and laying waſte ſome other provinces.

The French in Canada, who are but an inconſiderable body, in compariſon with the Engliſh in America, have, by this poſition of affairs, been able to obtain great advantages in times of war; for if we judge from the number and power of the Engliſh, it would ſeem very eaſy for them to get the better of the French in America*.

It is however of great advantage to the crown of England that the North American colonies are near a country under the government of the French, like Canada. There is reaſon to believe that the King never was earneſt in his attempts to expel the French from their poſſeſſions there; though it might have been done with little difficulty: for the Engliſh colonies in this part of the world have increaſed ſo much in their number of inhabitants, and in their riches, that they almoſt vie with Old England. Now in order to keep up the authority and trade of their mother country, and to anſwer ſeveral other purpoſes, they are forbid to eſtabliſh new manufactures, which would turn to the diſadvantage of the Britiſh commerce: they are not allowed to dig for any gold or ſilver, unleſs they ſend them to England immediately: they have not the liberty of trading to any parts that do not belong to the Britiſh dominions, excepting ſome ſettled places; and foreign traders are not allowed to ſend their ſhips to them. Theſe and ſome other reſtrictions, occaſion the inhabitants of the Engliſh colonies to grow leſs tender for their mother country. This coldneſs is kept up by the many foreigners, ſuch as Germans, Dutch, and French, ſettled here, and living among the Engliſh, who commonly have no particular attachment to Old England; add to this likewiſe, that many people can never be contented with their poſſeſſions, though they be ever ſo great, and will always be deſirous of getting more, and of enjoying the pleaſure which ariſes from changing; and their over great liberty, and their luxury, often lead them to licentiouſneſs.

I have been told by Engliſhmen, and not only by ſuch as were born in America, but even by ſuch as came from Europe, that the Engliſh colonies in North America, in the ſpace of thirty or fifty years, would be able to form a ſtate by themſelves, entirely independent on Old England: but as the whole country which lies along the ſeaſhore is unguarded, and on the land ſide is harraſſed by the French in times of war, theſe dangerous neighbours are ſufficient to prevent the connection of the colonies with their mother country from being quite broken off. The Engliſh government has therefore ſufficient reaſon to conſider the French in North America as the beſt means of keeping the colonies in their due ſubmiſſion. But I am almoſt gone too far from my purpoſe; I will therefore finiſh my obſervations on New York.

* This has really happened by a greater union and exertion of power from the colonies and the mother country; ſo that Canada has been conquered, and its poſſeſſion has been confirmed to Great Britain in the laſt peace. F.

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The declination of the magnetic needle in this town was obſerved by Philip Wells, the chief engineer of the province of New York, in the year 1686, to be eight degrees and forty-five minutes to the weſtward; but, in 1723, it was only ſeven degrees and twenty minutes, according to the obſervations of Governor Burnet.

From hence we may conclude, that in thirty-eight years the magnet approaches about one degree and twenty-five minutes nearer to the true north, or, which is the ſame thing, about two minutes annually. Mr. Alexander, a man of great knowledge in aſtronomy and in mathematics, aſſured me, from ſeveral obſervations, that, in the year 1750, on the eighteenth of September, the deviation was to be reckoned ſix degrees and twenty-two minutes.

There are two printers in the town, and every week ſome Engliſh gazettes are publiſhed, which contain news from all parts of the world.

The winter is much more ſevere here than in Penſylvania, it being nearly as cold as in ſome of the provinces of Sweden: its continuance, however, is much ſhorter than with us: their ſpring is very early, and their autumn very late, and the heat in ſummer is exceſſive. For this reaſon, the melons ſown in the fields are ripe at the beginning of Auguſt; whereas we can hardly bring them ſo ſoon to maturity under glaſſes and on hot-beds. The cold of the winter I cannot juſtly determine, as the meteorological obſervations which were communicated to me were all calculated after thermometers which were ſo placed in the houſes that the air could not freely come at them. The ſnow lies for ſome months together upon the ground, and ſledges are made uſe of here as in Sweden, but they are rather too bulky. The river Hudſon is about an Engliſh mile and a half broad at its mouth: the difference between the higheſt flood and the loweſt ebb is between ſix and ſeven feet, and the water is very brackiſh: yet the ice ſtands in it not only one, but even ſeveral months; it has ſometimes a thickneſs of more than two feet.

The inhabitants are ſometimes greatly troubled with muſquitoes. They either follow the hay, which is made near the town, in the low meadows which are quite penetrated with ſalt water, or they accompany the cattle at night when it is brought home. I have myſelf experienced, and have obſerved in others, how much theſe little animalcules can disfigure a perſon's face during a ſingle night; for the ſkin is ſometimes ſo covered over with little bliſters from their ſtings, that people are aſhamed to appear in public. The water melons, which are cultivated near the town, grow very large: they are extremely delicious, and are better than in other parts of North America, though they are planted in the open fields, and never in a hot-bed. I ſaw a water melon at Governor Clinton's in September 1750, which weighed forty-ſeven Engliſh pounds, and at a merchant's in town another of forty-two pounds weight; however, they were reckoned the biggeſt ever ſeen in this country.

In the year 1710, five kings, or ſachems, of the Iroquois, went from hence to England, in order to engage Queen Anne to make an alliance with them againſt the French. Their names, dreſs, reception at court, ſpeeches to the Queen, opinion of England, and of the European manners, and ſeveral other particulars about them, are ſufficiently known from other writings; it would therefore be here unneceſſary to enlarge about them. The kings or ſachems of the Indians, have commonly no greater authority over their ſubjects than conſtables in a meeting of the inhabitants of a pariſh, and hardly ſo much. On my travels through the country of theſe Indians, I had never any occaſion to go and wait upon the ſachems, for they always came into my habitation without being aſked: theſe viſits they commonly paid in order to get a glaſs or

two of brandy, which they value above any thing they know. One of the five ſachems, mentioned above, died in England; the others returned ſafe.

The firſt coloniſts in New York were Dutchmen: when the town and its territories were taken by the Engliſh, and left them by the next peace in exchange for Surinam, the old inhabitants were allowed either to remain at New York, and to enjoy all the privileges and immunities which they were poſſeſſed of before, or to leave the place with all their goods: moſt of them choſe the former; and therefore the inhabitants, both of the town and of the province belonging to it, are yet for the greateſt part Dutchmen, who ſtill, eſpecially the old people, ſpeak their mother tongue.

They begin, however, by degrees, to change their manners and opinions; chiefly indeed in the town and in its neighbourhood, for moſt of the young people now ſpeak principally Engliſh, and go only to the Engliſh church; and would even take it amiſs if they were called Dutchmen and not Engliſhmen.

Though the province of New York has been inhabited by Europeans much longer than Penſylvania, yet it is not by far ſo populous as that colony. This cannot be aſcribed to any particular diſcouragement ariſing from the nature of the ſoil, for that is pretty good; but I was told of a very different reaſon, which I will mention here. In the reign of Queen Anne, about the year 1709, many Germans came hither, who got a tract of land from the government, on which they might ſettle. After they had lived there for ſome time, and had built houſes and churches, and made corn-fields and meadows, their liberties and privileges were infringed, and, under ſeveral pretences they were repeatedly deprived of parts of their land. This at laſt rouſed the Germans; they returned violence for violence, and beat thoſe who thus robbed them of their poſſeſſions. But theſe proceedings were looked upon in a very bad light by the government; the moſt active people among the Germans being taken up, they were very roughly treated, and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour of the law. This, however, ſo far exaſperated the reſt that the greater part of them left their houſes and fields, and went to eſttle in Penſylvania; there they were exceedingly well received, got a conſiderable tract of land, and were indulged in great privileges, which were given them for ever. The Germans, not ſatisfied with being themſelves removed from New York, wrote to their relations and friends, and adviſed them, if ever they intended to come to America, not to go to New York, where the government had ſhewn itſelf ſo unequitable. This advice had ſuch influence that the Germans, who afterwards went in great numbers to North America, conſtantly avoided New York, and always went to Penſylvania. It ſometimes happened that they were forced to go on board ſuch ſhips as were bound to New York; but they were ſcarce got on ſhore, when they haſtened on to Penſylvania, in ſight of all the inhabitants of New York.

But the want of people in this province may likewiſe be accounted for in a different manner. As the Dutch, who firſt cultivated this country, obtained the liberty of ſtaying here by the treaty with England, and of enjoying all their privileges and advantages without the leaſt limitation, each of them took a very large piece of ground for himſelf; and many of the more powerful heads of families made themſelves the poſſeſſors and maſters of a country of as great an extent as would be ſufficient to form a middling and even a great pariſh. Moſt of them being very rich, their envy of the Engliſh led them not to ſell them any land but at an exceſſive rate; a practice which is ſtill punctually obſerved among their deſcendants. The Engliſh, therefore, as well as people of different nations, have little encouragement to ſettle here. On the other hand, they have ſufficient opportunity in the other provinces to purchaſe land at a more moderate price, and with more ſecurity to themſelves. It is not then to be wondered

wondered that ſo many parts of New York are ſtill uncultivated, and have entirely the appearance of deſerts. This inſtance may teach us how much a ſmall miſtake in a government will injure population.

Nov. 3d. About noon we ſet out from New York on our return; and, continuing our journey, we arrived at Philadelphia on the fifth of November.

In the neighbourhood of this capital (of Penſylvania) the people had a month ago made their cyder, which they were obliged to do, becauſe their apples were ſo ripe as to drop from the trees. But on our journey through New York we obſerved the people ſtill employed in preſſing out the cyder. This is a plain proof, that in Penſylvania the apples are ſooner ripe than in New York; but whether this be owing to the nature of the ſoil, or a greater heat of the ſummer in Philadelphia, or to ſome other cauſe, I know not. However, there is not the leaſt advantage in making cyder ſo early; for long experience had taught the huſbandmen that it is worſe for being made early in the year; the great heat in the beginning of autumn being ſaid to hinder the fermentation of the juice.

There is a certain quadruped which is pretty common not only in Penſylvania but likewiſe in other provinces both of South and North America, and goes by the name of polecat among the Engliſh. In New York they generally call it ſkunk. The Swedes here, by way of nickname, called it ſiſkatta, on account of the horrid ſtench it ſometimes cauſes, as I ſhall preſently ſhow. The French in Canada, for the ſame reaſon, call it bête puante, or ſtinking animal, and enfant du diable, or child of the devil. Some of them likewiſe call it pekan: Cateſby, in his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, has deſcribed it in Vol. ii. p. 62. by the name of putorius Americanus ſtriatus, and drawn in plate 62. Dr. Linnæus calls it viverra putorius. This animal which is very ſimilar to the marten, is of about the ſame ſize, and commonly black; on the back it has a longitudinal white ſtripe, and two others on each ſide, parallel to the former. Sometimes, but very ſeldom, ſome are ſeen which are quite white. On our return to Philadelphia, we ſaw one of theſe animals not far from town, near a farmer's houſe, killed by dogs; and afterwards I had, during my ſtay in theſe parts, ſeveral opportunities of ſeeing it, and of hearing its qualities. It keeps its young ones in holes in the ground, and in hollow trees; for it does not confine itſelf to the ground, but climbs up trees with the greateſt agility: it is a great enemy to birds, for it breaks their eggs, and devours their young ones; and if it can get into a hen-rooſt, it ſoon deſtroys all its inhabitants.

This animal has a particular quality by which it is principally known: when it is purſued by men or dogs, it runs at firſt as faſt as it can, or climbs upon a tree; but if it is ſo beſet by its purſuers as to have no other way of making its eſcape, it ſquirts its urine upon them. This, according to ſome, it does by wetting its tail with the urine, whence, by a ſudden motion, it ſcatters it abroad; but others believe, that it could ſend its urine equally far without the help of its tail: I find the former of theſe accounts to be themoſt likely. For ſome credible people aſſured me, that they have had their faces wetted with it all over, though they ſtood above eighteen feet off from the animal. The urine has ſo horrid a ſtench that nothing can equal it: it is ſomething like that of the craneſbill, or Linnæus's geranium robertianum, but infinitely ſtronger. If you come near a polecat when it ſpreads its ſtench you cannot breathe for a while, and it ſeems as if you were ſtifled; and in caſe the urine comes into the eyes, a perſon is likely to be blinded. Many dogs that in a chace purſue the polecat very eagerly, run away as faſt as they can when they are wetted; however, if they be of the true breed, they will not give over the purſuit till they have caught and killed the polecat; but

but they are obliged now and then to rub their noſes in the ground in order to relieve themſelves.

Clothes which have been wetted by this animal retain the ſmell for more than a month, unleſs they be covered with freſh ſoil, and ſuffered to remain under it for twenty-four hours together, when it will, in a great meaſure, be removed. Thoſe likewiſe who have got any of this urine upon their face and hands, rub them with looſe earth; and ſome even hold their hands in the ground for an hour, as waſhing will not help them ſo ſoon. A certain man of rank, who had by accident been wetted by the polecat, ſtunk ſo ill, that on going into a houſe, the people either ran away, or, on his opening the door, rudely denied him entrance. Dogs that have hunted a polecat are ſo offenſive, for ſome days afterwards, that they cannot be borne in the houſe. At Philadelphia I once ſaw a great number of people on a market-day, throwing at a dog that was ſo unfortunate as to have been engaged with a polecat juſt before, and to carry about him the tokens of its diſpleaſure. Perſons when travelling through a foreſt, are often troubled with the ſtink which this creature makes; and ſometimes the air is ſo much infected that it is neceſſary to hold one's noſe. If the wind blows from the place where the polecat has been, or if it be quite calm, as at night, the ſmell is more ſtrong and diſagreeable.

In the winter of 1749, a polecat, tempted by a dead lamb, came one night near the farm-houſe where I then ſlept. Being immediately purſued by ſome dogs, it had recourſe to its uſual expedient in order to get rid of them. The attempt ſucceeded, the dogs not chooſing to continue the purſuit: the ſtink was ſo extremely great, that, though I was at ſome diſtance, it affected me in the ſame manner as if I had been ſtifled; and it was ſo diſagreeable to the cattle, that it made them roar very loudly: however, by degrees it vaniſhed. Towards the end of the ſame year one of theſe animals got into our cellar, but no ſtench was obſerved, for it only vents that when it is purſued. The cook, however, found for ſeveral days together that ſome of the meat which was kept there was eaten; and ſuſpecting that it was done by the cat, ſhe ſhut up all avenues, in order to prevent their getting at it. But the next night, being awoke by a noiſe in the cellar, ſhe went down, and, though it was quite dark, ſaw an animal with two ſhining eyes, which ſeemed to be all on fire; ſhe however reſolutely killed it, but not before the polecat had filled the cellar with a moſt dreadful ſtench. The maid was ſick of it for ſeveral days; and all the bread, fleſh, and other proviſions kept in the cellar, were ſo penetrated with it, that we could not make the leaſt uſe of them, and were forced to throw them all away.

From an accident that happened at New York to one of my acquaintances, I conclude that the polecat either is not always very ſhy, or that it ſleeps very hard at night. This man coming home out of a wood in a ſummer evening, thought that he ſaw a plant ſtanding before him; ſtooping to pluck it, he was to his coſt convinced of his miſtake, by being all on a ſudden covered with the urine of a polecat, whoſe tail, as it ſtood upright, the good man had taken for a plant: the creature had taken its revenge ſo effectually that he was much at a loſs how to get rid of the ſtench.

However, though theſe animals play ſuch diſagreeable tricks, yet the Engliſh, the Swedes, the French, and the Indians, in theſe parts, tame them. They follow their maſters like domeſtic animals; and never make uſe of their urine except they be very much beaten or terrified. When the Indians kill ſuch a polecat, they always eat its fleſh; but when they pull off its ſkin, they take care to cut away the bladder, that the fleſh may not get a taſte from it. I have ſpoken with both Engliſhmen and Frenchmen, who aſſured me that they had eaten of it, and found it very good meat, and

not much unlike the fleſh of a pig. The ſkin, which is pretty coarſe, and has long hair, is not made uſe of by the Europeans; but the Indians prepare it with the hair on, and make tobacco pouches of it, which they carry before them.

November 6th. In the evening I made a viſit to Mr. Bartram, and found him in converſation with a gentleman of Carolina, from whom I obtained ſeveral particulars; a few of which I will here mention.

Tar, pitch, and rice are the chief products of Carolina. The ſoil is very ſandy, and therefore many pines and furs grow in it, from which they make tar: the firs which are taken for this purpoſe are commonly ſuch as are dried up of themſelves; the people here in general not knowing how to prepare the firs by taking the bark off on one, or on ſeveral ſides, as they do in Oſtrobothnia. In ſome parts of Carolina they likewiſe make uſe of the branches. The manner of burning or boiling, as the man deſcribes it to me, is entirely the ſame as in Finland. The pitch is thus made: they dig a hole into the ground, and ſmear the inſide well with clay, into which they pour the tar, and make a fire round it, which is kept up till the tar has got the conſiſtence of pitch. They make two kinds of tar in the North American colonies: one is the common tar, which I have above deſcribed, and which is made of the ſtems, branches, and roots, of ſuch firs, as were already conſiderably dried out before; which is the moſt common way in this country. The other way is peeling the bark from the firs on one ſide, and afterwards letting them ſtand another year; during which the reſin comes out between the cracks of the ſtem. The tree is then felled and burnt for tar; and the tar thus made is called green tar, not that there is that difference of colour in it, for in this reſpect they are both pretty much alike; but the latter is called ſo from being made of green and freſh trees; whereas common tar is made of dead trees: the burning is done in the ſame manner as in Finland. They uſe only black firs; for the white firs will not ſerve this purpoſe, though they are excellent for boards, maſts, &c. Green tar is dearer than common tar. It is already a pretty general complaint, that the fir woods are almoſt wholly deſtroyed by this practice.

Rice is planted in great quantity in Carolina; it ſucceeds beſt in marſhy and ſwampy grounds, which may be laid under water, and likewiſe ripens there the ſooneſt. Where theſe cannot be had, they muſt chooſe a dry ſoil; but the rice produced here, will be much inferior to the other; the land on which it is cultivated muſt never be manured. In Carolina they ſow it in the middle of April, and it is ripe in September: it is planted in rows like peaſe, and commonly fifteen inches ſpace is left between the rows; as ſoon as the plants are come up, the field is laid under water. This not only greatly forwards the growth of the rice, but likewiſe kills all weeds, ſo as to render weeding unneceſſary. The ſtraw of rice is ſaid to be excellent food for cattle, who eat it very greedily. Rice requires a hot climate, and therefore it will not ſucceed well in Virginia, the ſummer there being too ſhort, and the winter too cold; and much leſs will it grow in Penſylvania. They are as yet ignorant in Carolina of the art of making arrack from rice: it is chiefly South Carolina that produces the greateſt quantity of rice; and on the other hand they make the moſt tar in North Carolina.

Nov. 7th. The ſtranger from Carolina, whom I have mentioned before, had met with many oyſter ſhells at the bottom of a well, ſeventy Engliſh miles diſtant from the ſea, and four from a river: they lay in a depth of fourteen Engliſh feet from the ſurface of the earth: the water in the well was brackiſh; but that in the river was freſh. The ſame man, had at the building of a ſaw-mill, a mile and a half from a river,

found, firſt ſand and then clay filled with oyſter ſhells. Under theſe he found ſeveral bills of ſea-birds as he called them, which were already quite petrified: they were probably gloſſopetræ.

There are two ſpecies of foxes in the Engliſh colonies, the one grey and the other red: but in the ſequel I ſhall ſhew that there are others which ſometimes appear in Canada. The grey foxes are here conſtantly, and are very common in Penſylvania and in the ſouthern provinces: in the northern ones they are pretty ſcarce, and the French in Canada call them Virginian foxes on that account: in ſize they do not quite come up to our foxes. They do no harm to lambs: but they prey upon all ſorts of poultry, whenever they can come at them. They do not however ſeem to be looked upon as animals that cauſe a great deal of damage; for there is no reward given for killing them: their ſkin is greatly ſought for by hatters, who employ the hair in their work. People have their clothes lined with it ſometimes: the greaſe is uſed againſt all ſorts of rheumatic pains. Theſe foxes are ſaid to be leſs nimble than the red ones: they are ſometimes tamed; though they be not ſuffered to run about, but are tied up. Mr. Cateſby has drawn and deſcribed this ſort of foxes in his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, by the name of the grey American fox, vol. 2. p. 78. tab. 78. A ſkin of it was ſold in Philadelphia for two ſhillings and ſixpence in Penſylvanian currency.

The red foxes are very ſcarce here: they are entirely the ſame with the European ſort. Mr. Bartram and ſeveral others aſſured me, that, according to the unanimous teſtimony of the Indians, this kind of foxes never was in the country before the Europeans ſettled in it. But of the manner of their coming over I have two different accounts: Mr. Bartram and ſeveral other people were told by the Indians, that theſe foxes came into America ſoon after the arrival of the Europeans, after an extraordinary cold winter, when all the ſea to the northward was frozen: from whence they would infer, that they could perhaps get over to America upon the ice, from Greenland or the northern parts of Europe and Aſia. But Mr. Evans, and ſome others, aſſured me, that the following account was ſtill known by the people. A gentleman of fortune in New England, who had a great inclination for hunting, brought over a great number of foxes from Europe, and let them looſe in his territories, that he might be able to indulge his paſſion for hunting*. This is ſaid to have happened almoſt at the very beginning of New England's being peopled with European inhabitants. Theſe foxes were believed to have ſo multiplied, that all the red foxes in the country were their offſpring. At preſent they are reckoned among the noxious creatures in theſe parts; for they are not contented, as the grey foxes, with killing fowl; but they likewiſe devour the lambs. In Penſylvania therefore there is a reward of two ſhillings for killing an old fox, and of one ſhilling for killing a young one. And in all other provinces there are likewiſe rewards offered for killing them. Their ſkin is in great requeſt, and is ſold as dear as that of the grey foxes, that is, two ſhillings and ſix-pence in Penſylvanian currency.

* Neither of theſe accounts appear to be ſatisfactory; and therefore I am inclined to believe that theſe red foxes originally came over from Aſia, (moſt probably from Kamtchatka, where this ſpecies is common. See Miller's account of the navigations of the Ruſſians, &c.) though in remote times, and thus ſpread over North America. It is perhaps true that the Indians never took notice of them till the Europeans were ſettled among them; this, however, was becauſe they never had occaſion to uſe their ſkins: but when there was a demand for theſe they began to hunt them, and, as they had not been much accuſtomed to them before, they eſteemed them as a novelty. What gives additional confirmation to this is, that when the Ruſſians, under Commodore Bering, landed on the weſtern coaſt of America, they ſaw five red foxes which were quite tame, and ſeemed not to be in the leaſt afraid of men: now this might very well have been the caſe, if we ſuppoſe them to have been for many generations in a place where nobody diſturbed them; but we cannot account for it, if we imagine that they had been uſed to a country where there were many inhabitants, or where they had been much hunted. F.

They have two ſorts of wolves here, which however ſeem to be of the ſame ſpecies. For ſome of them are yellowiſh, or almoſt pale grey, and others are black or dark brown. All the old Swedes related, that during their childhood, and ſtill more at the arrival of their fathers, there were exceſſive numbers of wolves in the country, and that their howling and yelping might be heard all night. They likewiſe frequently tore in pieces, ſheep, hogs, and other young and ſmall cattle. About that time or ſoon after, when the Swedes and the Engliſh were quite ſettled here, the Indians were attacked by the ſmall-pox: this diſeaſe they got from the Europeans, for they knew nothing of it before: it killed many hundreds of them, and moſt of the Indians, of the country, then called New Sweden, died of it. The wolves then came, attracted by the ſtench of ſo many corpſes, in ſuch great numbers that they devoured them all, and even attacked the poor ſick Indians in their huts, ſo that the few healthy ones had enough to do to drive them away; but ſince that time they have diſappeared, ſo that they are now ſeldom ſeen, and it is very rarely that they commit any diſorders. This is attributed to the greater cultivation of the country, and to their being killed in great numbers. But further up the country, where it is not yet ſo much inhabited, they are ſtill very abundant. On the coaſts of Penſylvania and New Jerſey, the ſheep ſtay all night in the fields, without the people's fearing the wolves: however, to prevent their multiplying too much, there is a reward of twenty ſhillings in Penſylvania, and of thirty in New Jerſey, for delivering in a dead wolf, and the perſon that brings it may keep the ſkin. But for a young wolf the reward is only ten ſhillings of the Penſylvanian currency. There are examples of theſe wolves being made as tame as dogs.

The wild oxen have their abode principally in the woods of Carolina, which are far up in the country. The inhabitants frequently hunt them, and ſalt their fleſh like common beef, which is eaten by ſervants and the lower claſs of people. But the hide is of little uſe, having too large pores to be made uſe of for ſhoes. However the poorer people in Carolina ſpread theſe hides on the ground inſtead of beds.

The viſcum filamentoſum, or fibrous miſletoe, is found in abundance in Carolina; the inhabitants make uſe of it as ſtraw in their beds, and to adorn their houſes; the cattle are very fond of it: it is likewiſe employed in packing goods.

The ſpartium ſcoparium grew in Mr. Bartram's garden from Engliſh ſeeds; he ſaid that he had ſeveral buſhes of it, but that the froſt in the cold winters here had killed moſt of them: they however grow ſpontaneouſly in Sweden.

Mr. Bartram had ſome truffles, or Linnæus's lycoperdon tuber, which he had got out of a ſandy ſoil in New Jerſey, where they are abundant. Theſe he ſhewed to his friend from Carolina, and aſked him whether they were the tuckahoo of the Indians. But the ſtranger denied it, and added, that though theſe truffles were likewiſe very common in Carolina, yet he had never ſeen them uſed any other way but in milk, againſt the dyſentery; and he gave us the following deſcription of the tuckahoo. It grows in ſeveral ſwamps and marſhes, and is commonly plentiful. The hogs greedily dig up its roots with their noſes in ſuch places; and the Indians in Carolina likewiſe gather them in their rambles in the woods, dry them in the ſun-ſhine, grind them, and bake bread of them. Whilſt the root is freſh it is harſh and acrid, but being dried it loſes the greateſt part of its acrimony. To judge by theſe qualities the tuckahoo may very likely be the arum virginianum. Compare with this account, what ſhall be related in the ſequel of the tahim and tuckah.

After dinner I again returned to town.

Nov. 8th. Several Engliſh and Swediſh œconomiſts kept bee-hives, which afforded their poſſeſſors profit: for bees ſucceed very well here: the wax was for the moſt part

ſold

ſold to tradeſmen: but the honey they made uſe of in their own families, in different ways. The people were unanimous, that the common bees were not in North America before the arrival of the Europeans; but that they were firſt brought over by the Engliſh who ſettled here. The Indians likewiſe generally declare, that their fathers had never ſeen any bees either in the woods or any where elſe, before the Europeans had been ſeveral years ſettled here. This is further confirmed by the name which the Indians give them: for having no particular name for them in their language, they call them Engliſh flies, becauſe the Engliſh firſt brought them over; but at preſent they fly plentifully about the woods of North America. However it has been obſerved, that the bees always, when they ſwarm, ſpread to the ſouthward, and never to the northward. It ſeems as if they do not find the latter countries ſo good for their conſtitution: therefore they cannot ſtay in Canada, and all that have been carried over thither, died in winter. It ſeemed to me as if the bees in America were ſomewhat ſmaller than ours in Sweden. They have not yet been found in the woods on the other ſide of the Blue Mountains, which confirms the opinion of their being brought to America of late. A man told Mr. Bartram, that on his travels in the woods of North America, he had found another ſort of bees, which, inſtead of ſeparating their wax and honey, mixed it both together in a great bag. But this account wants both clearing up and confirming.

Nov. 9th. All the old Swedes and Engliſhmen, born in America, whom I ever queſtioned, aſſerted that there were not near ſo many birds fit for eating at preſent, as there uſed to be when they were children, and that their decreaſe was viſible. They even ſaid, that they had heard their fathers complain of this, in whoſe childhood the bays, rivers, and brooks were quite covered with all ſorts of water fowl, ſuch as wild geeſe, ducks, and the like. But at preſent there is ſometimes not a ſingle bird upon them; about ſixty or ſeventy years ago, a ſingle perſon could kill eighty ducks in a morning; but at preſent you frequently wait in vain for a ſingle one. A Swede above ninety years old aſſured me, that he had in his youth killed twenty-three ducks at a ſhot.

This good luck nobody is likely to have at preſent, as you are forced to ramble about for a whole day without getting a ſight of more than three or four. Cranes * at that time came hither by hundreds in the ſpring: at preſent there are but very few. The wild turkeys and the birds, which the Swedes in this country call partridges and hazel-hens, were in whole flocks in the woods. But at this time a perſon is tired with walking before he can ſtart a ſingle bird.

The cauſe of this diminution is not difficult to find. Before the arrival of the Europeans, the country was uncultivated, and full of great foreſts. The few Indians that lived here ſeldom diſturbed the birds; they carried on no trade among themſelves, iron and gunpowder were unknown to them. One hundredth part of the fowl which at that time were ſo plentiful here, would have ſufficed to feed the few inhabitants; and conſidering that they cultivated their ſmall maize fields, caught fiſh, hunted ſtags, beavers, bears, wild cattle, and other animals whoſe fleſh was delicious to them, it will ſoon appear how little they diſturbed the birds. But ſince the arrival of great crouds of Europeans, things are greatly changed; the country is well peopled, and the woods are cut down; the people increaſing in this country, they have by hunting and ſhooting

* When Captain Amadas, the firſt Engliſhman that ever landed in North America, ſet foot on ſhore (to uſe his own words) ſuch a flock of cranes (the moſt part white) aroſe under us with ſuch a cry, redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had ſhouted altogether.

in part extirpated the birds, in part ſcared them away: in ſpring the people ſtill take both eggs, mothers, and young indifferently, becauſe no regulations are made to the contrary; and if any had been made, the ſpirit of freedom which prevails in the country would not ſuffer them to be obeyed. But though the eatable birds have been diminiſhed greatly, yet there are others, which have rather increaſed than decreaſed in number ſince the arrival of the Europeans: this can moſt properly be ſaid of a ſpecies of daws, which the Engliſh call blackbirds *, and the Swedes, maize thieves; Dr. Linnæus calls them gracula quiſcula; and together with them, the ſeveral ſorts of ſquirrels among the quadrupeds have ſpread; for theſe and the former live chiefly upon maize, or at leaſt they are moſt greedy of it. But as population increaſes, the cultivation of maize increaſes, and of courſe the food of the above mentioned animals is more plentiful: to this it is to be added, that theſe latter are rarely eaten, and therefore they are more at liberty to multiply their kind. There are likewiſe other birds which are not eaten, of which at preſent there are nearly as many as there were before the arrival of the Europeans. On the other hand, I heard great complaints of the great decreaſe of eatable fowl, not only in this province, but in all the parts of North America, where I have been.

Aged people had experienced that with the fiſh, which I have juſt mentioned of the birds: in their youth, the bays, rivers, and brooks, had ſuch quantities of fiſh, that at one draught in the morning they caught as many as a horſe was able to carry home. But at preſent things are greatly altered; and they often work in vain all the night long with all their fiſhing tackle. The cauſes of this decreaſe of fiſh are partly the ſame with thoſe of the diminution of the number of birds; being of late caught by a greater variety of contrivances, and in different manners than before. The numerous mills on the rivers and brooks likewiſe contribute to it in part; for it has been obſerved here, that the fiſh go up the river in order to ſpawn in a ſhallow water; but when they meet with works that prevent their proceeding, they turn back and never come again. Of this I was aſſured by a man of fortune at Boſton: his father was uſed to catch a number of herrings throughout the winter, and almoſt always in ſummer, in a river, upon his country ſeat: but he having built a mill with a dyke in this water, they were loſt. In this manner they complained here and every where of the decreaſe of fiſh. Old people aſſerted the ſame in regard to oyſters at New York; for though they are ſtill taken in conſiderable quantity, and are as big and as delicious as can be wiſhed, yet all the oyſter-catchers own, that the number diminiſhes greatly every year; the moſt natural cauſe of it is probably the immoderate catching of them at all times of the year.

Mr. Franklin told me, that in that part of New England where his father lived, two rivers fell into the ſea, in one of which they caught great numbers of herrings, and in the other not one. Yet the places where theſe rivers diſcharged themſelves into the ſea were not far aſunder. They had obſerved that when the herrings came in ſpring to depoſit their ſpawn, they always ſwam up the river, where they uſed to catch them, but never came into the other. This circumſtance led Mr. Franklin's father, who was ſettled between the two rivers, to try whether it was not poſſible to make the herrings likewiſe live in the other river. For that purpoſe he put out his nets, as they were coming up for ſpawning, and he caught ſome. He took the ſpawn out of them, and carefully carried it acroſs the land into the other river. It was hatched, and the conſequence was, that every year afterwards they caught more herrings in that river; and

* Properly ſhining blackbirds.

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this is ſtill the caſe. This leads one to believe that the fiſh always like to ſpawn in the ſame place where they were hatched, and from whence they firſt put out to ſea; being as it were accuſtomed to it.

The following is another peculiar obſervation. It has never formerly been known that codfiſh were to be caught at Cape Hinlopen: they were always caught at the mouth of the Delaware; but at preſent they are numerous in the former place. From hence it may be concluded, that fiſh likewiſe change their places of abode of their own accord.

A captain of a ſhip who had been in Greenland, aſſerted from his own experience, that on paſſing the ſeventieth degree of north latitude, the ſummer heat was there much greater than it is below that degree. From hence he concluded, that the ſummer heat at the pole itſelf muſt be ſtill more exceſſive, ſince the ſun ſhines there for ſuch a long ſpace of time without ever ſetting. The ſame account, with ſimilar conſequences drawn from thence, Mr. Franklin had heard of the ſhip-captains in Boſton, who had ſailed to the moſt northern parts of this hemiſphere. But ſtill more aſtoniſhing is the account he got from Captain Henry Atkins, who ſtill lives at Boſton. He had for ſome time been upon the fiſhery along the coaſts of New England. But not catching as much as he wiſhed, he ſailed north, as far as Greenland. At laſt he went ſo far, that he diſcovered people, who had never ſeen Europeans before (and what is more aſtoniſhing) who had no idea of the uſe of fire, which they had never employed; and if they had known it, they could have made no uſe of their knowledge, as there were no trees in the country. But they eat the birds and fiſh which they caught quite raw. Captain Atkins got ſome very ſcarce ſkins in exchange for ſome trifles.

It is already known from ſeveral accounts of voyages, that to the northward neither trees nor buſhes, nor any ligneous plants, are to be met with, fit for burning. But is it not probable that the inhabitants of ſo deſolate a country, like other northern nations which we know, burn the train-oil of fiſhes, and the fat of animals in lamps, in order to boil their meat, to warm their ſubterraneous caves in winter, and ſo light them in the darkeſt ſeaſon of the year? elſe their darkneſs would be inſupportable.

Nov. 11th. In ſeveral writings we read of a large animal, which is to be met with in New England, and other parts of North America. They ſometimes dig very long and branched horns out of the ground in Ireland, and nobody in that country, or any where elſe in the world, knows an animal that has ſuch horns. This has induced many people to believe that it is the mooſe-deer, ſo famous in North America, and that the horns found were of animals of this kind, which had formerly lived in that iſland, but were gradually deſtroyed. It has even been concluded, that Ireland, in diſtant ages, either was connected with North America, or that a number of little iſlands, which are loſt at preſent, made a chain between them. This led me to enquire, whether an animal with ſuch exceſſive great horns, as are deſcribed to the mooſe-deer, had ever been ſeen in any part of this country. Mr. Bartram told me, that, notwithſtanding he had carefully enquired to that purpoſe, yet there was no perſon who could give him any information which could be relied upon; and therefore, he was entirely of opinion, that there was no ſuch an animal in North America. Mr. Franklin related, that he had, when a boy, ſeen two of the animals which they call mooſe-deer, but he well remembered that they were not near of ſuch a ſize as they muſt have been, if the horns found in Ireland were to fit them: the two animals which he ſaw, were brought to Boſton, in order to be ſent to England to Queen Anne. The height of the animal up to the back was that of a pretty tall horſe, but the head and its horns were ſtill higher: Mr. Dudley has given a deſcription of the mooſe-deer which is found in North

North America. On my travels in Canada, I often enquired of the Frenchmen, whether there had ever been ſeen ſo large an animal in this country, as ſome people ſay there is in North America, and with ſuch great horns as are ſometimes dug out in Ireland. But I was always told, that they had never heard of it, and much leſs ſeen it: ſome added, that if there was ſuch an animal, they certainly muſt have met with it in ſome of their excurſions in the woods. There are elks here, which are either of the ſame ſort with the Swediſh ones, or a variety of them: of theſe they often catch ſome which are larger than common, whence perhaps the report of the very large animal with exceſſive horns in North America firſt had its riſe. Theſe elks are called orignals by the French in Canada, which name they have borrowed from the Indians: perhaps Dudley, in deſcribing the mooſe-deer, meant no other animals than theſe large elks *.

Mr. Franklin gave me a piece of a ſtone, which, on account of its indeſtructibility in the fire, is made uſe of in New England for making melting furnaces and forges.

It conſiſts of a mixture of lapis ollaris, or ſerpentine ſtone, and of aſbeſt. The greateſt part of it is a grey ſerpentine ſtone, which is fat and ſmooth to the touch, and is eaſily cut and worked. Here and there are ſome glittering ſpeckles of that ſort of aſbeſt, whoſe fibres come from a center like rays, or ſtar aſbeſt. This ſtone is not found in ſtrata or ſolid rocks, but here and there ſcattered on the fields.

Another ſtone is called ſoapſtone by many of the Swedes, being as ſmooth as ſoap on the outſide. They make uſe of it for rubbing ſpots out of their cloaths. It might be called ſaxum talcoſum particulis ſpataceis granatiſque immixtis, or a talc with mixed particles of ſpar and garnets. A more exact deſcription I reſerve for another work. At preſent I only add, that the ground-colour is pale green, with ſome dark ſpots, and ſometimes a few of a greeniſh hue. It is very ſmooth to the touch, and runs always waved. It is likewiſe eaſily ſawed and cut, though it is not very ſmooth. I have ſeen large ſtones of it which were a fathom and more long, proportionably broad, and commonly ſix inches or a foot deep. But I cannot determine any thing of their original ſize, as I have not been at the place where they are dug, and have only ſeen the ſtones at Philadelphia, which are brought there ready cut. The particles of talc in this ſtone are about thirty times as many as thoſe of ſpar and garnet. It is found in many parts of the country, for example, in the neighbourhood of Cheſter in Penſylvania. The Engliſh likewiſe call it ſoapſtone †, and it is likely that the Swedes have borrowed that name from them.

This ſtone was chiefly employed in the following manner. Firſt, the people took ſpots out of their cloaths with it. But, for this purpoſe, the whole ſtone is not equally uſeful, for it includes in its clear particles ſome dark ones which conſiſt wholly of ſerpentine ſtone, and may eaſily be cut with a knife; ſome of the looſe ſtone is ſcraped off like a powder, and ſtrewed upon a greaſy ſpot, in ſilk or any other ſtuff; this imbibes the greaſe, and after rubbing off the powder the ſpot diſappears: and as this ſtone is likewiſe very durable in the fire, the country people make their hearths with it, eſpecially the place where the fire lies, and where the heat is the greateſt, for the ſtone ſtands

* What gives ſtill more weight to Mr. Kalm's opinion of the elk being the mooſe-deer, is, the name muſu, which the Algonkins give to the elk, as Mr. Kalm himſelf obſerves in the ſequel of his work; and this circumſtance is the more remarkable, as the Algonkins, before the Irokeeſe, or Five Nations, got ſo great a power in America, were the moſt powerful nation in the northern part of this continent; inſomuch that, though they be now reduced to an inconſiderable number, their language is however a kind of univerſal language in North America; ſo that there is no doubt that the elk is the famous mooſe-deer. F.

† It ſeems to be either the ſubſtance commonly called French chalk, or perhaps the ſoap-rock, which is common in Cornwall, near the Lizard point, and which conſiſts, beſides of ſome particles of talc, chiefly of an earth like magneſia; which latter, with acid of vitriol, yields an earthy vitriolic ſalt, or Epſom ſalt. F.

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the ſtrongeſt fire. If the people can get a ſufficient quantity of this ſtone, they lay the ſteps before the houſes with it, inſtead of bricks, which are generally uſed for that purpoſe.

The walls round the court-yards, gardens, burying-places, and thoſe for the ſloping cellar-doors towards the ſtreet, which are all commonly built of brick, are covered with a coping of this ſtone; for it holds excellently againſt all the effects of the ſun, air, rain, and ſtorm, and does not decay, but ſecures the bricks. On account of this quality, people commonly get the door-poſts, in which their hinges are faſtened, made of this ſtone; and in ſeveral public buildings, ſuch as the houſe of aſſembly for the province, the whole lower wall is built of it, and in other houſes the corners are laid out with it.

The ſalt which is uſed in the Engliſh North American colonies, is brought from the Weſt Indies. The Indians have in ſome places ſalt ſprings, from which they get ſalt by boiling. I ſhall in the ſequel have occaſion to deſcribe ſome of them. Mr. Franklin was of opinion, that the people in Penſylvania could eaſier make good ſalt of ſea water, than in New England, where ſometimes ſalt is made of the ſea water on their coaſt; though their ſituation is more northerly. Lead-ore has been diſcovered in Penſylvania, but as it is not to be met with in quantity, nobody ever attempted to uſe it. Loadſtones of conſiderable goodneſs have likewiſe been found; and I myſelf poſſeſs ſeveral pretty pieces of them.

Iron is dug in ſuch great quantities in Penſylvania, and in the other American provinces of the Engliſh, that they could provide with that commodity not only England, but almoſt all Europe, and perhaps the greater part of the globe. The ore is here commonly infinitely eaſier got in the mines than our Swediſh ore. For in many places, with a pick-axe, a crow-foot, and a wooden club, it is got with the ſame eaſe with which a hole can be made in a hard ſoil: in many places the people know nothing of boring, blaſting, and firing; and the ore is likewiſe very fuſible. Of this iron they get ſuch quantities, that not only the numerous inhabitants of the colonies themſelves have enough of it, but great quantities are ſent to the Weſt Indies, and they have lately began even to trade to Europe with it. This iron is reckoned better for ſhip-building than our Swediſh iron, or any other, becauſe ſalt water does not corrode it ſo much. Some people believed, that, without reckoning the freight, they could ſell their iron in England at a lower rate than any other nation; eſpecially when the country becomes better peopled, and labour cheaper.

The mountain flax *, or that kind of ſtone, which Biſhop Browallius calls amiantus fibris ſeparabilibus molliuſculis, in his lectures on mineralogy, which were publiſhed in 1739, or the amiant with ſoft fibres, which can eaſily be ſeparated, is found abundantly in Penſylvania. Some pieces are very ſoft, others pretty tough: Mr. Franklin told me, that, twenty and ſome odd years ago, when he made a voyage to England, he had a little purſe with him, made of the mountain flax of this country, which he preſented to Sir Hans Sloane. I have likewiſe ſeen paper made of this ſtone; and I have likewiſe received ſome ſmall pieces of it, which I keep in my cabinet. Mr. Franklin had been told by others, that, on expoſing this mountain flax to the open air in winter, and leaving it in the cold and wet, it would grow together, and more fit for ſpinning. But he did not venture to determine how far this opinion was grounded.

* Amiantus (Aſbeſtus) fibroſus, fibris ſeparabilibus flexilibus tenacibus, Linn. Syſt. Nat. p. 55.
Amiantus fibris mollibus parallelis facile ſeparabilibus, Wall. Min. 140
Mountain flax, linum montanum, Forſter's Mineralogy, p. 17. F.

On this occaſion he related a very pleaſant accident which happened to him with this mountain flax: he had, ſeveral years ago, got a piece of it, which he gave to one of his journeymen printers, in order to get it made into a ſheet at the paper mill. As ſoon as the fellow brought the paper, Mr. Franklin rolled it up, and threw it into the fire, telling the journeyman he would ſee a miracle, a ſheet of paper which did not burn: the ignorant fellow aſſerted the contrary, but was greatly aſtoniſhed upon ſeeing himſelf convinced. Mr. Franklin then explained to him, though not very clearly, the peculiar qualities of the paper. As ſoon as he was gone, ſome of his acquaintance came in, who immediately knew the paper. The journeyman thought he would ſhew them a great curioſity and aſtoniſh them. He accordingly told them, that he had curiouſly made a ſheet of paper which would not burn, though it was thrown into the fire. They pretended to think it impoſſible, and he as ſtrenuouſly maintained his aſſertion. At laſt they laid a wager about it; but whilſt he was buſy with ſtirring up the fire, the others ſlily beſmeared the paper with fat: the journeyman, who was not aware of it, threw it into the fire, and that moment it was all in flames: this aſtoniſhed him ſo much, that he was almoſt ſpeechleſs; upon which they could not help laughing, and ſo diſcovered the whole artifice.

In ſeveral houſes of the town, a number of little ants run about, living under ground, and in holes in the wall. The length of their bodies is one geometrical line. Their colour is either black or dark red: they have the cuſtom of carrying off ſweet things, if they can come at them, in common with the ants of other countries. Mr. Franklin was much inclined to believe that theſe little inſects could by ſome means communicate their thoughts or deſires to each other, and he confirmed his opinion by ſome examples. When an ant finds ſome ſugar, it runs immediately under ground to its hole, where, having ſtayed a little while, a whole army comes out, unites and marches to the place where the ſugar is, and carries it off by pieces; or if an ant meets with a dead fly, which it cannot carry alone, it immediately haſtens home, and ſoon after ſome more come out, creep to the fly, and carry it away. Some time ago Mr. Franklin put a little earthen pot with treacle into a cloſet. A number of ants got into the pot, and devoured the treacle very quickly. But as he obſerved it, he ſhook them out, and tied the pot with a thin ſtring to a nail which he had faſtened in the ceiling; ſo that the pot hung down by the ſtring. A ſingle ant by chance remained in the pot: this ant eat till it was ſatisfied; but when it wanted to get off, it was under great concern to find its way out: it ran about the bottom of the pot, but in vain: at laſt it found, after many attempts, the way to get to the ceiling by the ſtring. After it was come there, it ran to the wall, and from thence to the ground. It had hardly been away for half an hour, when a great ſwarm of ants came out, got up to the ceiling, and crept along the ſtring into the pot, and began to eat again: this they continued till the treacle was all eaten: in the mean time, one ſwarm running down the ſtring, and the other up.

Nov. 12th. A man of fortune, who has long been in this province, aſſerted, that, by twenty years experience, he had found a confirmation of what other people have obſerved with regard to the weather, viz. that the weather in winter was commonly foretold by that on the firſt of November, old ſtile, or twelve new ſtile; if that whole day be fair, the next winter will bring but little rain and ſnow along with it; but if the firſt half of the day be clear, and the other cloudy, the beginning of winter would accordingly be fair, but its end, and ſpring, would turn out rigorous and diſagreeable: of the ſame kind were the other preſages. I have likewiſe in other places heard of ſimilar ſigns of the weather; but as a mature judgment greatly leſſens

the confidence in them, ſo the meteorological obſervations have ſufficiently ſhewn, how infinitely often theſe prophecies have failed.

Penſylvania abounds in ſprings, and you commonly meet with a ſpring of clear water on one or the other, and ſometimes on ſeveral ſides of a mountain. The people near ſuch ſprings uſe them for every purpoſe of a fine ſpring water. They alſo conduct the water into a little ſtone building near the houſe, where they can confine it, and bring freſh ſupplies at pleaſure. In ſummer they place their milk, bottles of wine, and other liquors, in this building, where they keep cool and freſh. In many country houſes, the kitchen or buttery was ſo ſituated, that a rivulet ran under it, and had the water near at hand.

Not only people of fortune, but even others that had ſome poſſeſſions, commonly had fiſh-ponds in the country near their houſes. They always took care that freſh water might run into their ponds, which is very ſalutary for the fiſh: for that purpoſe the ponds were placed near a ſpring on a hill.

Nov. 13th. I ſaw, in ſeveral parts of this province, a ready method of getting plenty of graſs to grow in the meadows. Here muſt be remembered what I have before mentioned about the ſprings, which are ſometimes found on the ſides of hills, and ſometimes in vallies. The meadows lie commonly in the vallies between the hills: if they are too ſwampy and wet, the water is carried off by ſeveral ditches. But the ſummer in Penſylvania is very hot; and the ſun often burns the graſs ſo much, that it dries up entirely. The huſbandmen therefore have been very attentive to prevent this in their meadows: to that purpoſe they look for all the ſprings in the neighbourhood of a meadow; and as the rivulets flowed before by the ſhorteſt way into the vallies, they raiſe the water as much as poſſible and neceſſary, to the higher part of meadow, and make ſeveral narrow channels from the brook, down into the plain, ſo that it is entirely watered by it. When there are ſome deeper places, they frequently lay wooden gutters acroſs them, through which the water flows to the other ſide; and from thence it is again, by very narrow channels, carried to all the places where it ſeems neceſſary. To raiſe the water the higher, and in order to ſpread it more, there are high dykes built near the ſprings, between which the water riſes till it is ſo high as to run down where the people want it. Induſtry and ingenuity went further: when a brook runs in a wood, with a direction not towards the meadow, and it has been found, by levelling, and taking an exact ſurvey of the land between the meadow and the rivulet, that the latter can be conducted towards the former; a dyke is made, which hems the courſe of the brook, and the water is led round the meadow, over many hills, ſometimes for the ſpace of an Engliſh mile and further, partly acroſs vallies in wooden pipes, till at laſt it is brought where it is wanted, and where it can be ſpread as above mentioned. One that has not ſeen it himſelf, cannot believe how great a quantity of graſs there is in ſuch meadows, eſpecially near the little channels; whilſt others, which have not been thus managed, look wretchedly. The meadows commonly lie in the vallies, and one or more of their ſides have a declivity. The water can therefore eaſily be brought to run down in them. Theſe meadows, which are ſo carefully watered, are commonly mowed three times every ſummer. But it is likewiſe to be obſerved, that ſummer continues ſeven months here. The inhabitants ſeldom fail to employ a brook or ſpring in this manner, if it is not too far from the meadows to be led to them.

The leaves were at preſent fallen from all the trees; both from oaks, and from all thoſe which have deciduous leaves, and they covered the ground in the wood ſix inches deep. The great quantity of leaves which drop annually would neceſſarily ſeem to

encreaſe the upper black mould greatly. However, it is not above three or four inches thick in the woods, and under it lays a brick-coloured clay, mixed with a ſand of the ſame colour. It is remarkable, that a ſoil which, in all probability, has not been ſtirred, ſhould be covered with ſo little black mould: but I ſhall ſpeak of this is the ſequal.

Nov. 14th. The ſquirrels, which run about plentifully in the woods, are of different ſpecies; I here intend to deſcribe the moſt common ſorts more accurately.

The grey ſquirrels are very plentiful in Penſylvania, and in the other provinces of North America. Their ſhape correſponds with that of our Swediſh ſquirrel; but they differ from them by keeping their grey colour all the year long, and in ſize being ſomething bigger. The woods in all theſe provinces, and chiefly in Penſylvania, conſiſt of trees with deciduous leaves, and in ſuch theſe ſquirrels like to live. Ray, in his Synopſis Quadrupedum, p. 215, and Cateſby, in his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, Vol. 2, p. 74, tab. 74, call it the Virginian greater grey ſquirrel; and the latter has added a figure after life. The Swedes call it grao ickorn, which is the ſame as the Engliſh grey ſquirrel. Their neſts are commonly in hollow trees, and are made of moſs, ſtraw, and other ſoft things: their food is chiefly nuts; as hazel nuts, chinquapins, cheſnuts, walnuts, hiccory nuts, and the acorns of the different ſorts of oak which grow here; but maize is what they are moſt greedy of. The ground in the woods is in autumn covered with acorns, and all kinds of nuts which drop from the numerous trees; of theſe the ſquirrels gather great ſtores for winter, which they lay up in holes dug by them for that purpoſe: they likewiſe carry a great quantity of them into their neſts.

As ſoon as winter comes, the ſnow and cold confines them to their holes for ſeveral days, eſpecially when the weather is very rough. During this time they conſume the little ſtore which they have brought to their neſts: as ſoon therefore as the weather grows milder, they creep out, and dig out part of the ſtore which they have laid up in the ground: of this they eat ſome on the ſpot, and carry the reſt into their neſts on the trees. We frequently obſerved, that, in winter, at the eve of a great froſt, when there had been ſome temperate weather, the ſquirrels, a day or two before the froſt, ran about the woods in greater numbers than common, partly in order to eat their fill, and partly to ſtore their neſts with a new proviſion for the enſuing great cold, during which they did not venture to come out, but lay ſnug in their neſts: therefore, ſeeing them run in the woods in greater numbers than ordinary, was a ſafe prognoſtic of an enſuing cold.

The hogs which are here driven into the woods, whilſt there is yet no ſnow in them, often do conſiderable damage to the poor ſquirrels, by rooting up their ſtore-holes, and robbing their winter proviſions. Both the Indians, and the European Americans, take great pains to find out theſe ſtore-holes, whether in trees or in the ground, as all the nuts they contain are choice, and not only quite ripe, but likewiſe not pierced by worms. The nuts and acorns which the dormice, or mus cricetus, Linn. ſtore up in autumn, are all in the ſame condition. The Swedes relate, that, in the long winter, which happened here in the year 1741, there fell ſuch a quantity of ſnow, that the ſquirrels could not get to their ſtore, and many of them were ſtarved to death.

The damage which theſe animals do in the maize fields I have already deſcribed: they do the more harm, as they do not eat all the corn, but only the inner and ſweet part, and as it were take off the huſks. In ſpring, towards the end of April, when the oaks were in full flower, I once obſerved a number of ſquirrels on them, ſometimes five, ſix, or more in a tree, who bit off the flower-ſtalks a little below the flowers,

and dropt them on the ground; whether they eat any thing off them, or made uſe of them for ſome other purpoſe, I know not; but the ground was quite covered with oak flowers, to which part of the ſtalk adhered. For this reaſon the oaks do not bear ſo much fruit by far to feed hogs and other animals as they would otherwiſe do.

Of all the wild animals in this country the ſquirrels are ſome of the eaſieſt to tame, eſpecially when they are taken young for that purpoſe. I have ſeen them tamed ſo far that they would follow the boys into the woods, and run about every where, and when tired would ſit on their ſhoulders. Sometimes they only ran a little way into the wood, and then returned home again to the little hole that had been fitted up for them. When they eat, they ſit almoſt upright, hold their food between their fore feet, and their tail bent upwards. When the tame ones got more than they could eat at a time, they carried the remainder to their habitations, and hid it amongſt the wool which they lay upon. Such tame ſquirrels ſhewed no fear of ſtrangers, and would ſuffer themſelves to be touched by every body, without offering to bite. They ſometimes would leap upon ſtrangers' cloaths, and lie ſtill on them, in order to ſleep. In the farm-houſes, where they were kept, they played with cats and dogs: they likewiſe eat bread.

The wild grey ſquirrels likewiſe hold up their tails when ſitting. As ſoon as they perceive a man, they continually wag their tails and begin to gnaſh with their teeth, and make a great noiſe, which they do not readily give over. Thoſe who go a ſhooting birds and other animals are therefore very angry at them, as this noiſe diſcovers them, and alarms the game. Though a grey ſquirrel does not ſeem to be very ſhy, yet it is very difficult to kill, for when it perceives a man, it climbs upon a tree, and commonly chuſes the higheſt about it. It then tries to hide itſelf behind the trunk, ſo that the ſhooter may not ſee it, and though he goes ever ſo faſt round the tree, yet the ſquirrel changes its place as quickly, if not quicker; if two boughs bend towards each other, the ſquirrel lies in the middle of them, and preſſes itſelf ſo cloſe, that it is hardly viſible. You may then ſhake the tree, throw ſticks and ſtones to the place where it lies, or ſhoot at it, yet it will never ſtir. If three branches join, it takes refuge between them, and lies as cloſe to them as poſſible, and then it is ſufficiently ſafe. Sometimes it eſcapes on a tree where there are old neſts of ſquirrels, or of large birds; it ſlips into ſuch, and cannot be got out, either by ſhooting, throwing, or any thing elſe; for the grey ſquirrels ſeldom leap from one tree to another, except extreme danger compels them. They commonly run directly up the trees, and down the ſame way, with their head ſtraight forward. Several of them which I ſhot in the woods had great numbers of fleas.

I have already mentioned, that theſe ſquirrels are among the animals which at preſent are more plentiful than they formerly were, and that the infinitely greater cultivation of maize, which is their favourite food, is the cauſe of their multiplication. However, it is peculiar, that in ſome years a greater number of ſquirrels come down from the higher countries into Penſylvania, and other Engliſh colonies. They commonly come in autumn, and are then very buſy in the woods gathering nuts and acorns, which they carry into hollow trees or their ſtore-holes, in order to be ſufficiently provided with food for winter. They are ſo diligent in ſtoring up of proviſions, that though the nuts have been extremely plentiful this year, yet it is difficult to get a conſiderable quantity of them. The people here pretended, from their own experience, to know, that when the ſquirrels came down in ſuch numbers from the higher parts of the country, the winter enſuing was uncommonly rigorous and cold, and for that reaſon they always look upon their coming down as a ſure ſign of ſuch a winter. Yet

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this does not always prove true, as I experienced in the autumn of the year 1749: at that time a great number of ſquirrels came down into the colonies, yet the winter was very mild, and no colder than common. But it appeared that their migration was occaſioned by the ſcarcity of nuts and acorns, which happened that year in the higher parts of the country, and obliged them to come hither for their food. Therefore they generally return the next year to the place from which they came.

Some people reckon ſquirrel fleſh a great dainty, but the generality make no account of it. The ſkin is good for little, yet ſmall ſtraps are ſometimes made of it, as it is very tough: others uſe it as a fur lining, for want of a better. Ladies ſhoes are likewiſe ſometimes made of it.

The rattle-ſnake often devours the ſquirrels, notwithſtanding all their agility. This unwieldy creature is ſaid to catch ſo agile an one merely by faſcination. I have never had an opportunity of ſeeing how it is done; but ſo many credible people aſſured me of the truth of the fact, and aſſerted that they were preſent, and paid peculiar attention to it, that I am almoſt forced to believe their unanimous accounts. The faſcination is effected in the following manner: the ſnake lies at the bottom of the tree upon which the ſquirrel ſits; its eyes are fixed upon the little animal, and from that moment it cannot eſcape; it begins a doleful outcry, which is ſo well known, that a perſon paſſing by, on hearing it, immediately knows that it is charmed by a ſnake. The ſquirrel runs up the tree a little way, comes downwards again, then goes up, and now comes lower again. On that occaſion it has been obſerved, that the ſquirrel always goes down more than it goes up. The ſnake ſtill continues at the root of the tree, with its eyes fixed on the ſquirrel, with which its attention is ſo entirely taken up, that a perſon accidentally approaching may make a conſiderable noiſe, without the ſnake's ſo much as turning about. The ſquirrel, as before-mentioned, comes always lower, and at laſt leaps down to the ſnake, whoſe mouth is already wide open for its reception. The poor little animal then with a piteous cry runs into the ſnake's jaws, and is ſwallowed at once, if it be not too big; but if its ſize will not allow it to be ſwallowed at once, the ſnake licks it ſeveral times with its tongue, and by that means makes it fit for ſwallowing. Every thing elſe remarkable at this enchantment I have deſcribed in a treatiſe inſerted in the Memoirs of the Royal Swediſh Academy of Sciences, in the volume for the year 1753. I therefore am not ſo circumſtantial here. The ſame power of enchanting is aſcribed to that kind of ſnake, which is commonly called the black ſnake in America, and it is ſaid to catch and devour ſquirrels in the ſame manner as the former*.

But theſe little animals do conſiderable damage to the maize, not only whilſt it is upon the ſtalk, as I have before obſerved, but even when it is brought home into the barns; for if they can come at it without any obſtacle, they can in a few nights bring a whole buſhel away into their lurking holes. The government, in moſt of the North American colonies, has therefore been obliged to offer a certain premium to be paid out of the common treaſury, for the head of a ſquirrel. It ſeems inconceivable what a ſum of money has been paid for grey and black ſquirrels heads, in the province of Penſylvania only, from the firſt of January 1749 to the firſt of January

* It has been obſerved, that only ſuch ſquirrels and birds as have their neſts near the place where ſuch ſnakes come to, make this pitiful noiſe, and are ſo buſy in running up and down the tree and the neighbouring branches, in order to draw off the attention of the ſnake from their brood, and often they come ſo very near in order to fly away again, that being within reach of the ſnakes, they are at laſt bit, poiſoned, and devoured; and this will, I believe, perfectly account for the powers of faſcinating birds and ſmall creatures in the ſnakes. F.

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1750; for when the deputies from the ſeveral diſtricts of the province met, in order to deliberate upon the affairs of the province, each of them complained that their treaſures were exhauſted by paying ſo much for ſquirrels; for at that time the law had appointed a reward of threepence for each ſquirrel's head. So far extended the vengeance taken upon theſe little creatures, i. e. upon the grey and black ſquirrels. It was found, by caſting up accounts, that in that one year eight thouſand pounds of Penſylvania currency had been expended in paying theſe rewards: this I was aſſured of by a man who had looked over the accounts himſelf.

Many people, eſpecially young men, left all other employment, and went into the woods to ſhoot ſquirrels; but the government, having experienced how much threepence per head took out of the treaſury, ſettled half that ſum upon each ſquirrel's head.

Flying ſquirrels are a peculiar kind, which ſeem to be the ſame with thoſe which inhabit Finland, and which Dr. Linnæus, in his Fauna Svecica, No. 38, calls ſciurus volans. The American flying-ſquirrel at the utmoſt is only a variety of that which we have in Finland. Cateſby, in his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, vol. 2, p. 76, 77, has deſcribed it, and tab. 76, 77, drawn it after life. He likewiſe calls it ſciurus volans. Edwards, in his Natural Hiſtory of Birds, repreſents it, t. 191. They are met with in the woods, but not very frequently. They are ſcarce ever ſeen in the day-time, unleſs they are forced out by men who have diſcovered their neſts; for they ſleep in the day-time, but as ſoon as it grows dark, they come out, and run about almoſt all night. They live in hollow trees, and by cutting one down, ſeven or more flying-ſquirrels are frequently found in it. By the additional ſkin with which Providence has provided them on both ſides, they can fly from one tree to another. They expand their ſkins like wings, and contract them again as ſoon as they can get hold of the oppoſite tree. Some people ſay that they fly in a horizontal line; but others aſſerted that they firſt went a little downwards, and then roſe up again, when they approached the tree to which they would fly: they cannot fly further than four or five fathoms. Among all the ſquirrels in this country, theſe are the moſt eaſily tamed. The boys carry them to ſchool, or wherever they go, without their ever attempting to eſcape; if even they put their ſquirrel aſide, it leaps upon them again immediately, creeps either into their boſom, or their ſleeve, or any fold of the clothes, and lies down to ſleep: its food is the ſame with that of the grey ſquirrel.

There is a ſmall ſpecies of ſquirrels abounding in the woods, which the Engliſh call ground ſquirrels. Cateſby has deſcribed and drawn them from life, in the 2d vol. of his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, p. 75, tab. 75, and Edwards in his Natural Hiſtory of Birds, t. 181.* He and Dr. Linnæus call it ſciurus ſtriatus, or the ſtreaked ſquirrel. Theſe do not properly live in trees, as others of this genus, but dig holes in the ground (much in the ſame manner as rabbets) in which they live, and whither they take refuge when they perceive any danger. Their holes go deep, and commonly further inwards divide into many branches. They are alſo cunning enough to make ſometimes an opening or hole to the ſurface of the ground from one of theſe branches. The advantage they have from hence, is, that when they ſtroll about for food, and the hole is ſtopt up through which they went out, they may not expoſe themſelves to be caught,

* It is not yet made out with certainty whether the American flying ſquirrel, and that found in Finland, and in the north of Europe and Aſia, be the ſame animal. The American kind has a flat pennated tail, but the European kind a round one, which affords a very diſtinguiſhing character. F.

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but preſently find the other hole, into which they may retreat: but in autumn, when the leaves fall from the trees, or ſome time after, it is diverſion to ſee the conſternation they are ſometimes in when purſued; for their holes being eaſily covered with the great fall of leaves, or by the wind, they have a great deal to do, to find them on a ſudden: they then run backwards and forwards as if they had loſt their way: they ſeem to know the places where they have made their ſubterraneous walks, but cannot conceive where he entrances are. If they be then purſued, and one claps his hands, they know no other refuge than that of climbing upon a tree; for it is to be obſerved that theſe ſquirrels always live under ground, and never climb upon trees unleſs purſued, and unable in the hurry to find their holes. This kind of ſquirrels is much more numerous in Penſylvania than in any other province of North America through which I have travelled. Its length is commonly ſix inches, without the curved tail; and it is very narrow. The ſkin is ferruginous, or of a reddiſh brown, and marked with five black ſtreaks, one of which runs along the back, and two on each ſide. Their food conſiſts of all ſorts of corn, as rye, barley, wheat, maize, and of acorns, nuts, &c. They gather their winter proviſions in autumn, like the common grey ſquirrels, and keep them in their holes under ground. If they get into a granary, they do as much miſchief as mice and rats. It has often been obſerved that if, after eating rye, they come to ſome wheat, they throw up the former, which they do not like ſo well as the wheat, in order to fill their belly with the latter. When the maize is reaped in the fields, they are very buſy in biting off the ears, and filling the pouches in their mouth with corn, ſo that their cheeks are quite blown up. With this booty they haſten into the holes which they have made in the ground.

As a Swede was making a mill-dyke, pretty late in autumn, he employed for that purpoſe the ſoil of a neighbouring hill, and met with a hole on a ſubterraneous walk belonging to theſe ſquirrels: he followed it for ſome time, and diſcovered a walk on one ſide like a branch, parting from the chief ſtem: it was near two feet long, and at its end was a quantity of choice acorns of the white oak, which the little careful animal had ſtored up for winter. Soon after he found another walk on the ſide like the former, but containing a fine ſtore of maize: the next had hiccory nuts, and the laſt and moſt hidden one contained ſome excellent cheſnuts, which might have filled two hats.

In winter theſe ſquirrels are ſeldom ſeen, for during that ſeaſon they live in their ſubterraneous holes, upon the proviſions which they have ſtored up there. However on a very fine and clear day they ſometimes come out. They frequently dig through the ground, into cellars in which the country people lay up their apples, which they partly eat, and partly ſpoil, ſo that the maſter has little or nothing left. They handle the maize ſtores full as roughly as the apples. But the cats are their great enemies, who devour them and bring them home to their young ones: their fleſh is not eaten by men, and their ſkin is not made uſe of.

Of all the ſquirrels in the country, theſe are the moſt difficult to be tamed; for, though they be caught very young, yet it is dangerous to touch them with naked hands, as they bite very ſharp when one is not aware of them. Many boys, who had loſt a deal of time in trying to tame theſe ſquirrels, owned that they knew of no art to make them quite tame; at leaſt they are never ſo far tamed as the other ſpecies. In order to do any thing towards taming them, they muſt be caught when they are very ſmall. Some people kept them in that ſtate in a cage, becauſe they looked very pretty.

I ſhall take another opportunity of ſpeaking of the black and ferruginous ſquirrels, which likewiſe inhabit this country.

Nov. 15th. In the morning I returned to Philadelphia. Mr. Cock told me to-day, and on ſome other occaſions afterwards, an accident which happened to him, and which ſeemed greatly to confirm a peculiar ſign of an imminent hurricane. He ſailed to the Weſt Indies in a ſmall yacht, and had an old man on board, who had for a conſiderable time ſailed in this ſea. The old man ſounding the depth, called to the mate to tell Mr. Cock to launch the boats immediately, and to put a ſufficient number of men into them, in order to tow the yacht during the calm, that they might reach the iſland before them, as ſoon as poſſible, as within twenty-four hours there would be a ſtrong hurricane. Mr. Cock aſked him what reaſons he had to think ſo; the old man replied, that on ſounding, he ſaw the lead in the water at a diſtance of many fathoms more than he had ſeen it before; and that therefore the water was become clear all of a ſudden, which he looked upon as a certain ſign of an impending hurricane in the ſea. Mr. Cock likewiſe ſaw the exceſſive clearneſs of the water. He therefore gave immediate orders for launching the boat, and towing the yacht, ſo that they arrived before night in a ſafe harbour. But before they had quite reached it the waves began to riſe more and more, and the water was as it were boiling, though no wind was perceptible. In the enſuing night the hurricane came on, and raged with ſuch violence, that not only many ſhips were loſt, and the roofs were torn off from the houſes, but even Mr. Cock's yacht and other ſhips, though they were in ſafe harbours, were by the wind, and the violence of the ſea, waſhed ſo far on ſhore, that ſeveral weeks elapſed before they could be got off.

An old Dutch ſkipper ſaid, that he had once caught a dogfiſh in the bay of New York, which being cut open, had a quantity of eels in his ſtomach.

Nov. 18th. Mr. Bartram ſhewed me an earthen pot, which had been found in a place where the Indians formerly lived. He, who firſt dug it out, kept greaſe and fat in it to ſmear his ſhoes, boots, and all ſorts of leather with: Mr. Bartram bought the pot of that man; it was yet entire and not damaged: I could perceive no glaze or colour upon it, but on the outſide it was very much ornamented, and upon the whole well made. Mr. Bartram ſhewed me ſeveral pieces of broken earthen veſſels which the Indians formerly made uſe of. It plainly appeared in all theſe that they were not made of mere clay; but that different materials had been mixed with it, according to the nature of the places where they were made. Thoſe Indians, for example, who lived near the ſea-ſhore, pounded the ſhells of ſnails and muſcles, and mixed them with the clay. Others who lived further up in the country, where mountain cryſtals could be found, pounded them and mixed them with their clay; but how they proceeded in making the veſſels, is entirely unknown: it was plain that they did not burn them much, for they were ſo ſoft that they might be cut in pieces with a knife: the workmanſhip however ſeems to have been very good; for at preſent they find whole veſſels or pieces in the ground, which are not damaged at all, though they have lain in the ground above a century. Before the Europeans ſettled in North America, the Indians had no other veſſels to boil their meat in, than theſe earthen pots of their own making: but ſince their arrival, they have always bought pots, kettles, and other neceſſary veſſels, of the Europeans, and take no longer the pains of making ſome, by which means this art is entirely loſt among them. Such veſſels of their own conſtruction are therefore a great rarity even among the Indians. I have ſeen ſuch old pots and pieces of them, conſiſting of a kind of ſerpentine ſtone, or Linnæus's talcum, Syſt. Nat. 3. p. 52.

Mr. Bartram likewiſe ſhewed me little pieces of a black ſlate, which is plentifully found in ſome parts of the river Skullkill. There are pieces to be found which are four feet and above ſquare: the colour and configuration is the ſame as in the table

ſlate (ſchiſtus tabularis Linn.) Syſt. Nat. 3. p. 37., except that this is a little thicker. The inhabitants of the country thereabouts (in the neighbourhood of the Skullkill) cover their roofs with it; Mr. Bartram aſſured me, that he had ſeen a whole roof compoſed of four ſuch ſlates. The rays of the ſun, heat, cold, and rain do not act upon the ſtone.

Mr. Bartram further related, that in ſeveral parts of the country, caves or holes were to be met with, going deep into the mountains: he had been in ſeveral of them, and had often found a number of ſtalactites, Linnæus's ſtalactites ſtillatitius, Syſt. Nat. 3. p. 183., of different dimenſions at the top: they differed in colour, but the greateſt curioſity was, that in ſome of the caves Mr. Bartram had found ſtalactites, whoſe outward ſide was as it were wreathed from top to bottom: he had ſent ſome pieces of it to London, and had none at preſent.

Nov. 20th. This morning I ſet out in company of a friend, on a journey to Raccoon in New Jerſey, where many Swedes live, who have their own church. We had three miles to go before we came to the ferry which was to bring us over the Delaware. The country here was very low in ſome places: the plains on the banks of the river were overflowed at every high water or flowing of the tide, and at the ebbing they were left dry again. However the inhabitants of the country hereabouts made uſe of this plain: for that purpoſe they had in ſeveral places thrown up walls or dykes of earth towards the river, to prevent its overflowing the plains, which they made uſe of as meadows. On them the water-beeches (platanus occidentalis Linn.) were planted in great numbers on both ſides the road, quite cloſe together: theſe in ſummer afford a pleaſant ſhade, on account of the abundance and ſize of their leaves, and make the road extremely delightful, as it reſembles a fine ſhady walk. The Delaware has nearly the ſame breadth here which it has near Philadelphia. Near the place where the ferry is to be met with, ſeveral pretty houſes were built on both ſides, where travellers might get all kinds of refreſhment. On our journey from Penſylvania to New Jerſey, we were brought over the Delaware in a ferry belonging to the Penſylvania-men; but on our return we were obliged to take the ferry belonging to the New Jerſey ſide. As ſoon as we had croſſed the river, we were in a different province; for the Delaware makes the diviſion between Penſylvania and New Jerſey, ſo that every thing to the weſt of it belongs to the former, and all to the eaſt, to the latter province. Both theſe provinces have in moſt things different laws, and their peculiar coin.

We now purſued our journey further, and ſoon obſerved that the country on this ſide appeared very different from that on the other; for in Penſylvania the ground conſiſts of more clay and black mould, and is very fertile; but in New Jerſey it is more ſandy and very poor, ſo that the horſes went very deep in ſand in ſeveral parts of the road. Near the place where we were brought over, and a little way along the ſhore, was a thick fir wood: the trees were not very high, but in their greateſt vigour: between them appeared now and then a low buſh of oak. But after travelling about three Engliſh miles, the fir wood ended, and we ſaw no more trees of this kind till we came to the church in Raccoon. In all the parts of Penſylvania where I have been, I have found few fir woods; on the other hand, they are abundant in New Jerſey, and eſpecially in the lower part of that province. We afterwards found all the day long no other trees than ſuch as have deciduous leaves; moſt of theſe were oaks of different ſorts, and of conſiderable height, but they ſtood every where far enough aſunder to admit a chaiſe to paſs through the wood without any inconvenience, there being ſeldom any ſhrubs or underwood between the trees, to obſtruct the way. In ſeveral places flowed a ſmall rivulet. The country was commonly plain, but ſometimes formed a few

a few hills with an eaſy declivity, though no high mountains appeared, and in a few places we found ſome ſmall ſtones not bigger than a fiſt. Single farm-houſes were ſcattered in the country, and in one place only was a ſmall village: the country was yet more covered with foreſts than cultivated, and we were for the greateſt part always in a wood.

This day and the next we paſſed ſeveral kills, or ſmall rivulets, which flowed out of the country into the Delaware with no great deſcent nor rapidity. When the tide came up in the Delaware, it likewiſe roſe in ſome of theſe rivulets a good way; formerly they muſt have ſpread to a conſiderable breadth by the flowing of the tide, but at preſent there were meadows on their banks, formed by throwing up ſtrong dykes as cloſe as poſſible to the water, to keep it from overflowing. Such dykes were made along all rivers here to confine their water; therefore when the tide was higheſt, the water in the rivers was much higher than the meadows: in the dykes were gates through which the water can be drawn from, or led into the meadows; they were ſometimes placed on the outward ſide of the wall, ſo that the water in the meadows forced it open, but the river water ſhut it.

In the evening we came into the houſe of a Swede, called Peter Rambo, and we ſtaid the night at his houſe.

The pines which we had ſeen to-day, and which I have mentioned before, were of that kind which has double leaves and oblong cones, covered with aculeated ſcales. The Engliſh to diſtinguiſh it call it the Jerſey pine: commonly there were only two ſpines or leaves in one faſcicle, as in our common Swediſh pines, but ſometimes three; the cones had long ſpines ſo that they were difficult to be touched. Theſe pines look at a diſtance wholly like the Swediſh ones, ſo that if the cones were not regarded, they might eaſily be taken for the ſame ſpecies. Of theſe pines they make a great quantity of tar, of which I ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel; but as moſt them are but ſmall, they are good for nothing elſe; for if they be employed as poſts, or poles in the ground, they are in a ſhort time rendered uſeleſs by rotting: as ſoon as they are cut down the worms are very greedy of them; they ſoon eat through the wood, and only a few weeks after it is cut down; however it is made uſe of as fuel, where no other wood is to be got, in ſeveral places they make charcoal of it, as I intend to mention in the ſequel. There is another thing which deſerves notice, in regard to theſe trees, and which ſeveral people beſides myſelf have experienced. In the great heat of the ſummer, the cattle like to ſtand in the ſhade of theſe trees, preferably to that of the oak, hiccory, walnut, water-beech, and other trees of this kind, whoſe foliage is very thick; and when the cattle find the latter with the former, they always chooſe to ſtand under the firs and pines, though the other trees with annual deciduous leaves could afford a better ſhade; and if there be but a ſingle pine in the wood, as many cattle from the herd as can ſtand under it throng to it. Some people would infer from hence, that the reſinous exhalations of theſe trees were beneficial to the cattle, and which made them more inclined to be near firs and pines than any other trees.

The ſpoon-tree, which never grows to a great height, we ſaw this day in ſeveral places. The Swedes here have called it thus becauſe the Indians, who formerly lived in theſe provinces, uſed to make their ſpoons and trowels of the wood of this tree. In my cabinet of natural curioſities I have a ſpoon made of this wood by an Indian, who has killed many ſtags and other animals on the very ſpot where Philadelphia afterwards was built; for in his time that ſpot was yet covered with trees and ſhrubs. The Engliſh call this tree a laurel, becauſe its leaves reſemble thoſe of the laurocerauſus. Dr. Linnæus, conformable to the peculiar friendſhip and goodneſs which he has

always honoured me with, has been pleaſed to call this tree kalmia foliis ovatis, corymbis terminalibus, or kalmia latifolia. It ſucceeds beſt on the ſide of hills, eſpecially on the north ſide, where a brook paſſes by; therefore on meeting with ſome ſteep places (on hills) towards a brook, or with a ſteep ſide of a hill towards a marſh, you are ſure to find the kalmia. But it frequently ſtands mixed among beech-trees. The higher the kalmias ſtand on the north ſide of a mountain the leſs they grow: I have ſeen them not only in Penſylvania and New Jerſey, but even in New York, but there they are more ſcarce: I never found them beyond the forty-ſecond degree of north latitude, though I took ever ſo great care to look for them: they have the quality of preſerving their fine green leaves throughout winter, ſo that when all other trees have loſt their ornaments, and ſtand quite naked, theſe chear the woods with their green foliage. About the month of May they begin to flower in theſe parts, and then their beauty rivals that of moſt of the known trees in nature; the flowers are innumerable, and ſit in great bunches. Before they open they have a fine red colour, but as they are expanded the ſun bleaches them, ſo that ſome are quite white; many preſerve the colour of roſes. Their ſhape is ſingular, for they reſemble a crater of the ancients: their ſcent however is none of the moſt agreeable. In ſome places it was cuſtomary to adorn the churches on Chriſtmas-day or Newyear's-day with the fine branches of this tree, which are then thick covered with leaves.

But theſe trees are known for another remarkable quality: their leaves are poiſon to ſome animals, and food for others: experience has taught the people that when ſheep eat of theſe leaves, they either die immediately, or fall very ſick, and recover with great difficulty. The young and more tender ſheep are killed by a ſmall portion, but the elder ones can bear a ſtronger doſe. Yet this food will likewiſe prove mortal to them, if they take too much of it: the ſame noxious effect it ſhews in regard to calves which eat too much of the leaves; they either die, or do not recover eaſily. I can remember, that in the autumn of the year 1748, ſome calves eat of the leaves, but fell very ſick, ſwelled, foamed at the mouth, and could hardly ſtand; however they were cured by giving them gunpowder and other medicines: the ſheep are moſt expoſed to be tempted by theſe leaves in winter; for, after having been kept in ſtables for ſome months, they are greedy of all greens, eſpecially if the ſnow ſtill lies upon the fields, and therefore the green but poiſonous leaves of the kalmia are to them very tempting. Horſes, oxen, and cows, which have eaten them, have likewiſe been very ill after the meal, and though none of them ever died of eating theſe leaves, yet moſt people believed, that if they took too great a portion of them, death would certainly be the reſult; for it has been obſerved that when theſe animals only eat ſmall quantities, yet they ſuffer great pains. On the other hand, the leaves of the kalmia are the food of ſtags, when the ſnow covers the ground, and hides all other proviſions from them. Therefore, if they be ſhot in winter, their bowels are found filled with theſe leaves; and it is very extraordinary, that if thoſe bowels are given to dogs, they become quite ſtupid, and as it were drunk, and often fall ſo ſick that they ſeem to be at the point of death; but the people who have eaten the veniſon have not felt the leaſt indiſpoſition. The leaves of the kalmia are likewiſe the winter food of thoſe birds, which the Swedes in North America call hazel-hens, and which ſtay here all winter, for when they are killed, their crop is found quite filled with them.

The wood of the kalmia is very hard, and ſome people on that account make the axis of their pullies of it. Weavers' ſhuttles are chiefly made of it, and the weavers are of opinion, that no wood in this country is better for this purpoſe; for it is compact, may be made very ſmooth, and does not eaſily crack or burſt. The joiners and turners here

here employ it in making all kinds of work which requires the beſt wood; they chiefly uſe the root becauſe it is quite yellow: the wood has a very ſuitable hardneſs and fineneſs, and from the centre ſpreads, as it were, ſmall rays, which are at ſome diſtance from each other. When the leaves of the kalmia are thrown into the fire, they make a crackling like ſalt. The chimney-ſweepers make brooms in winter of the branches with the leaves on them, ſince they cannot get others in that ſeaſon. In the ſummer of the year 1750, a certain kind of worms devoured the leaves of almoſt all the trees in Penſylvania; yet they did not venture to attack the leaves of the kalmia. Some people aſſerted, that when a fire happened in the woods it never went further as ſoon as it came to the kalmias or ſpoon-trees.

Nov. 21ſt. The Swedes and all the other inhabitants of the country plant great quantities of maize, both for themſelves and for their cattle. It was aſſerted that it is the beſt food for hogs, becauſe it makes them very fat, and gives their fleſh an agreeable flavour, preferable to all other other meat. I have given in two diſſertations upon this kind of corn to the Swediſh Royal Academy of Sciences, which ſtand in their Memoirs for 1751 and 1752.

The wheels of the carts which are here made uſe of, are compoſed of two different kinds of wood. The fellies were made of what is called the Spaniſh oak, and the ſpokes of the white oak.

The ſaſſafras-tree grows every where in this place. I have already obſerved ſeveral particulars in regard to it, and intend to add a few more here. On throwing ſome of the wood into the fire it cauſes a crackling as ſalt does. The wood is made uſe of for poſts belonging to the incloſures, for it is ſaid to laſt a long time in the ground: but it is likewiſe ſaid, that there is hardly any kind of wood which is more attacked by worms than this when it is expoſed to the air without cover; and that in a ſhort time it is quite worm-eaten through and through. The Swedes related, that the Indians, who formerly inhabited theſe parts, made bowls of it. On cutting ſome part of the ſaſſafras-tree, or its ſhoots, and holding it to the noſe, it has a ſtrong but pleaſant ſmell. Some people peel the root, and boil the peel with the beer which they are brewing, becauſe they believe it wholeſome; for the ſame reaſon, the peel is put into brandy, either whilſt it is diſtilling, or after it is made.

An old Swede remembered that his mother cured many people of the dropſy by a a decoction of the root of ſaſſafras in water, drank every morning; but ſhe uſed, at the ſame time, to cup the patient on the feet. The old man aſſured me, he had often ſeen people cured by this means, who had been brought to his mother wrapped up in ſheets.

When a part of a wood is deſtined for cultivation the ſaſſafras-trees are commonly left upon it, becauſe they have a very thick foliage, and afford a cool ſhade to the cattle during the great heats. Several of the Swedes waſh and ſcour the veſſels in which they intend to keep cyder, beer, or brandy, with water in which the ſaſſafras root or its peel has been boiled; which they think renders all thoſe liquors more wholeſome. Some people get their bed-poſts made of ſaſſafras wood, in order to expel the bugs; for its ſtrong ſcent, it is ſaid, prevents thoſe vermin from ſettling in them. For two or three years together this has the deſired effect, or about as long as the wood keeps its ſtrong aromatic ſmell; but after that time it has been obſerved to loſe its effect. A joiner ſhewed me a bed which he had made for himſelf, the poſts of which were of ſaſſafras wood, but as it was ten or twelve years old, there were ſo many bugs in it that it ſeemed likely they would not let him ſleep peaceably. Some Engliſhmen related, that ſome years ago it had been cuſtomary in London to drink a kind

kind of tea of the flowers of ſaſſafras, becauſe it was looked upon as very ſalutary; but upon recollecting that the ſame potion was much uſed againſt the venereal diſeaſe it was ſoon left off, leſt thoſe that uſed it ſhould be looked upon as infected with that diſeaſe. In Penſylvania ſome people put chips of ſaſſafras into their cheſts, where they keep all ſorts of woollen ſtuffs, in order to expel the moths (or larvæ, or caterpillars of moths or tinies) which commonly ſettle in them in ſummer. The root keeps its ſmell for a long while: I have ſeen one which had lain five or ſix years in the drawer of a table, and ſtill preſerved the ſtrength of its ſcent.

A Swede, named Rambo, related that the Indians formerly dyed all ſorts of leather red with the bark of the cheſnut oak.

Nov. 22d. Aoke Helm was one of the moſt conſiderable Swedes in this place, and his father came over into this country along with the Swediſh governor Prince; he was upwards of ſeventy years of age. This old man told us, that in his youth there was graſs in the woods, which grew very cloſe, and was every where two feet high; but that it was ſo much leſſened at preſent that the cattle hardly find food enough, and that therefore four cows now give no more milk than one at that time; but the cauſes of this alteration are eaſy to find. In the younger years of old Helm, the country was little inhabited, and hardly the tenth part of the cattle kept which is at preſent; a cow had therefore as much food at that time as ten now have. Further, moſt kinds of graſs here are annual, and do not for ſeveral years together ſhoot up from the ſame root, as our Swediſh graſſes: they muſt ſow themſelves every year, becauſe the laſt year's plant dies away every autumn. The great numbers of cattle hinder this ſowing, as the graſs is eaten before it can produce flowers and fruit. We need not therefore wonder that the graſs is ſo thin on fields, hills, and paſtures in theſe provinces. This is likewiſe the reaſon why travellers in New Jerſey, Penſylvania, and Maryland, find many difficulties, eſpecially in winter, to get forwards with their own horſes, for the graſs in theſe provinces is not very abundant, becauſe the cattle eat it before it can bring ſeeds: but more to the north, as in Canada, are a ſufficient quantity of perennial graſſes; ſo wiſely has the Creator regulated every thing. The cold parts of the earth naturally bring forth a more durable graſs, becauſe the inhabitants want more hay to feed their cattle with, on account of the length of the winter. The ſouthern provinces again have leſs perennial graſs, as the cattle may be in the fields all the winter. However careful œconomiſts have got ſeeds of perennial graſſes from England, and other European ſtates, and ſowed it in their meadows, where they ſeem to thrive exceedingly well.

The perſimon (dioſpyros Virginiana) was pretty common here: I have already mentioned it before, but I intend now to add ſome more particulars. Some of its fruits began to ripen and to become fit for eating about this time, for they always ripen very late in autumn, and then the people eat them like other fruit: they are very ſweet and glutinous, yet have a little aſtringency: I frequently uſed to eat a great quantity of them, without feeling the leaſt inconvenience. From the perſimon ſeveral Engliſhmen and Swedes brew a very palatable liquor in the following manner. As ſoon as the fruit is ripe, a ſufficient quantity is gathered, which is very eaſy, as each tree is well ſtocked with them. Theſe perſimon apples are put into a dough of wheat or other flour, formed into cakes, and put into an oven, in which they continue till they are quite baked, and ſufficiently dry, when they are taken out again: then, in order to brew the liquor, a pot full of water is put on the fire, and ſome of the cakes are put in: theſe become ſoft by degrees as the water grows warm, and crumble in pieces at laſt; the pot is then taken from the fire, and the water in it well ſtirred about, that

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the cakes may mix with it: this is then poured into another veſſel, and they continue to ſteep and break as many cakes as are neceſſary for a brewing: the malt is then infuſed, and they proceed as uſual with the brewing. Beer thus prepared is reckoned much preferable to other beer. They likewiſe make brandy of this fruit in the following manner; having collected a ſufficient quantity of perſimons in autumn, they are all together put into a veſſel, where they lie for a week till they are quite ſoft: then they pour water on them, and in that ſtate they are left to ferment of themſelves, without promoting the fermentation by any addition. The brandy is then made in the common way, and is ſaid to be very good, eſpecially if grapes (in particular of the ſweet ſort) which are wild in the woods, be mixed with the perſimon fruit. Some perſimons are ripe at the end of September, but moſt of them later, and ſome not before November and December, when the cold firſt overcomes their acrimony. The wood of this tree is very good for joiners' inſtruments, ſuch as planes, handles to chiſſels, &c., but if after being cut down, it lies expoſed to ſunſhine and rain, it is the firſt wood which rots, and in a year's time there is nothing left but what is uſeleſs. When the perſimon trees get once into a field they are not eaſily got out of it again as they ſpread ſo much. I was told, that if you cut off a branch, and put it into the ground, it ſtrikes root; but in very ſtrong winters theſe trees often die by froſt, and they, together with the peach-trees, bear cold the leaſt of any.

Nov. 23d. Several kinds of gourds and melons are cultivated here: they have partly been originally cultivated by the Indians, and partly brought over by Europeans. Of the gourds there was a kind which were crooked at the end, and oblong in general, and therefore they were called crooked necks (crocknacks); they keep almoſt all winter. There is yet another ſpecies of gourds which have the ſame quality: others again are cut in pieces or ſlips, drawn upon thread, and dried; they keep all the year long, and are then boiled or ſtewed. All ſorts of gourds are prepared for eating in different manners, as is likewiſe cuſtomary in Sweden. Many farmers have a whole field of gourds.

Squaſhes are a kind of gourds, which the Europeans got from the Indians, and I have already mentioned them before. They are eaten boiled, either with fleſh or by themſelves. In the firſt caſe, they are put on the edge of the diſh round the meat, they require little care, for into whatever ground they are ſown, they grow in it and ſucceed well. If the ſeed is put into the fields in autumn it brings ſquaſhes next ſpring, though during winter it has ſuffered from froſt, ſnow, and wet.

The calibaſhes are likewiſe gourds, which are planted in quantities by the Swedes and other inhabitants, but they are not fit for eating, and are made uſe of for making all ſorts of veſſels; they are more tender than the ſquaſhes, for they do not always ripen here, and only when the weather is very warm. In order to make veſſels of them, they are firſt dried well; the ſeeds, together with the pulpy and ſpungy matter in which they lie, are afterwards taken out and thrown away; the ſhells are ſcraped very clean within, and then great ſpoons or ladles, funnels, bowls, diſhes, and the like, may be made of them: they are particularly fit for keeping ſeeds of plants in, which are to be ſent over ſea, for they keep their power of vegetating much longer, if they be put in calibaſhes, than by any other means. Some people ſcrape the outſide of the calibaſhes before they are opened, dry them afterwards, and then clean them within; this makes them as hard as bones: they are ſometimes waſhed, ſo that they always keep their white colour.

Moſt of the farmers in this country ſow buck-wheat in the middle of July: it muſt not be ſown later, for in that caſe the froſt ruins it; but if it be ſown before July, it flowers

flowers all the ſummer long, but the flowers drop, and no ſeed is generated. Some people plough the ground twice where they intend to ſow buck-wheat; others plough it only once, about two weeks before they ſow it. As ſoon as it is ſown the field is harrowed. It has been found by experience, that in a wet year buck-wheat has been moſt likely to ſucceed: it ſtands on the fields till the froſt comes on. When the crop is favourable, they get twenty, thirty, and even forty buſhels from one. The Swediſh churchwarden Ragnilſon, in whoſe houſe we were at this time, had got ſuch a crop: they make buck-wheat cakes and pudding. The cakes are commonly made in the morning, and are baked in a frying-pan, or on a ſtone: are buttered and then eaten with tea or coffee, inſtead of toaſted bread with butter, or toaſt, which the Engliſh commonly eat at breakfaſt. The buck-wheat cakes are very good, and are likewiſe uſual at Philadelphia and in other Engliſh colonies, eſpecially in winter. Buck-wheat is an excellent food for fowls; they eat it greedily, and lay more eggs than they do with other food; hogs are likewiſe fattened with it. Buck-wheat ſtraw is of no uſe; it is therefore left upon the field, in the places where it has been thraſhed, or it is ſcattered in the orchards, in order to ſerve as a manure by putrifying. Neither cattle nor any other animal will eat of it, except in the greateſt neceſſity, when the ſnow covers the ground; and nothing elſe is to be met with. But though buck-wheat is ſo common in the Engliſh colonies, yet the French had no right notion of it in Canada, and it was never cultivated among them.

Towards night we found ſome glow-worms in the wood: their body was linear, conſiſting of eleven articulations, a little pointed before and behind; the length from head to tail was five and a half geometrical lines; the colour was brown, and the articulations joined in the ſame manner as in the oniſci or woodlice. The antennæ, or feel-horns, were ſhort and filiform, or thread-ſhaped; and the feet were faſtened to the foremoſt articulations of the body: when the inſect creeps, its hindmoſt articulations are dragged on the ground, and help its motion. The extremity of the tail contains a matter which ſhines in the dark, with a green light: the inſect could draw it in, ſo that it was not viſible. It had rained conſiderably all day, yet they crept in great numbers among the buſhes, ſo that the ground ſeemed as it were ſown with ſtars. I ſhall in the ſequel have occaſion to mention another kind of inſects or flies which ſhine in the dark, when flying in the air.

Nov. 24th. Holly, or ilex aquifolium, grows in wet places, ſcattered in the foreſt, and belongs to the rare trees: its leaves are green both in ſummer and in winter. The Swedes dry its leaves, bruiſe them in a mortar, boil them in ſmall beer, and take them againſt the pleuriſy.

Red is dyed with Brazil wood, and likewiſe with a kind of moſs, which grows on the trees here; blue is dyed with indigo; but to get a black colour, the leaves of the common field ſorrel (rumex acetoſella) are boiled with the ſtuff to be dyed, which is then dried, and boiled again with logwood and copperas: the black colour thus produced is ſaid to be very durable. The people ſpin and weave a great part of their every day's apparel, and dye them in their houſes. Flax is cultivated by many people, and ſucceeds very well, but the uſe of hemp is not very common.

Rye, wheat, and buck-wheat are cut with the ſickle, but oats are mown with a ſcythe. The ſickles which are here made uſe of are long and narrow, and their ſharp edges have cloſe teeth on the inner ſide. The field lies fallow during a year, and in that time the cattle may graze on it.

All the inhabitants of this place, from the higheſt to the loweſt, have each their orchard, which is greater or leſs according to their wealth. The trees in it are chiefly peach

peach trees, apple trees, and cherry trees: compare with this what I have already ſaid upon this ſubject before.

A little before noon we left this place, and continued our journey, paſt the Swediſh church in Raccoon, to Peils groves. The country on the ſides of this road is very ſandy in many places, and pretty near level. Here and there appear ſingle farms, yet they are very ſcarce; and large extenſive pieces of ground are ſtill covered with foreſts, which chiefly conſiſt of ſeveral ſpecies of oak and hiccory. However, we could go with eaſe through theſe woods, as there are few buſhes (or under-wood) and ſtones to be met with. It was not only eaſy to ride in every part of the wood on horſeback, but even in moſt places there was ſufficient room for a ſmall coach or a cart.

Nov. 25th. During my ſtay at Raccoon, at this time and all the enſuing winter, I endeavoured to get the moſt information from the old Swedes relating to the increaſe of land, and the decreaſe of water in theſe parts; I ſhall therefore inſert the anſwers here, which I have received to my queſtions. They are as I got them; and I ſhall only throw in a few remarks which may ſerve to explain things: the reader therefore is left at liberty to draw his own inferences and concluſions.

One of the Swedes called King, who was above fifty years of age, was convinced that about this time the little lakes, brooks, ſprings, and rivers, had much leſs water than they had when he was a boy. He could mention ſeveral lakes on which the people went in large boats in his youth, and had ſufficient water even in the hotteſt ſummers; but now they were either entirely dried up, or for the greateſt part; and in the latter caſe, all the water was loſt in ſummer. He had himſelf ſeen the fiſh dying in them; and he was apt to believe that at this time it did not rain ſo much in ſummer as it did when he was young. One of his relations, who lived about eight miles from the river Delaware, on a hill near a rivulet, had got a well dug in his court yard: at the depth of forty feet they found a quantity of ſhells of oyſters and muſcles, and likewiſe a great quantity of reed and pieces of broken branches. I aſked to what cauſes they aſcribed what they had diſcovered, and I was anſwered, that ſome people believed theſe things had lain there ever ſince the deluge, and others, that the ground increaſed.

Peter Rambo, a man who was near ſixty years of age, aſſured me, that in ſeveral places at Raccoon, where wells had been dug, or any other work carried deep into the ground, he had ſeen great quantities of muſcle ſhells and other marine animals. On digging wells, the people have ſometimes met with logs of wood at the depth of twenty feet, ſome of which were petrified, and others as it were burnt. They once found a great ſpoon in the ground at this depth. Query, Is it not probable that the burnt wood which has been thus dug up was only blackened by a ſubterraneous mineral vapour? People however have concluded from this, that America has had inhabitants before the deluge. This man (Peter Rambo) further told me, that bricks had been found deep in the ground; but may not the brick-coloured clay (of which the ground here chiefly conſiſts, and which is a mixture of clay and ſand) in a hard ſtate have had the appearance of bricks? I have ſeen ſuch hardened clay, which at firſt ſight is eaſily miſtaken for brick. He likewiſe aſſerted, that the water in rivers was ſtill as high as it uſed to be, as far back as memory could reach; but little lakes, ponds, and waters in marſhes are viſibly decreaſed, and many of them dried up.

Maons Keen, a Swede, above ſeventy years old, aſſerted, that, on digging a well, he had ſeen, at the depth of forty feet, a great piece of cheſnut wood, together with roots and ſtalks of reed, and a clayey earth like that which commonly covers the

ſhores of ſalt-water bays and coves. This clay had a ſimilar ſmell and a ſaline taſte. Maons Keen, and ſeveral other people, inferred from hence, that the whole country, where Raccoon and Penn's neck are ſituated, was anciently quite overflowed by the ſea. They likewiſe knew, that, at a great depth in the ground, ſuch a trowel as the Indians make uſe of, had been found.

Sven Lock, and William Cobb, both above fifty years of age, agreed, that in many places hereabouts, where wells had been dug, they had ſeen a great quantity of reed, moſtly rotten, at the depth of twenty or thirty feet and upwards.

As Cobb made a well for himſelf, the workmen, after digging twenty feet deep, came upon ſo thick a branch that they could not get forwards till it was cut in two places; the wood was ſtill very hard. It is very common to find, near the ſurface of the earth, quantities of all ſorts of leaves not quite putrified. On making a dyke ſome years ago, along the river on which the church at Raccoon ſtands; and for that purpoſe cutting through a bank, it was found quite full of oyſter ſhells, though this place is above a hundred and twenty Engliſh miles from the neareſt ſea ſhore. Theſe men, and all the inhabitants of Raccoon, concluded from this circumſtance (of their own accord, and without being led to the thought) that this tract of land was a part of the ſea many centuries ago. They likewiſe aſſerted, that many little lakes, which in their youth were full of water, even in the hotteſt ſeaſon, now hardly formed a narrow brook in ſummer, except after heavy rains; but it did not appear to them that the rivers had loſt any water.

Aoke Helm found (on digging a well) firſt ſand and little ſtones, to the depth of eight feet; next a pale-coloured clay, and then a black one. At the depth of fifteen feet he found a piece of hard wood, and ſeveral pieces of mundick or pyrites. He told me, that he knew ſeveral places in the Delaware, where the people went in boats when he was young, but which at preſent were changed into little iſlands, ſome of which were near an Engliſh mile in length. Theſe iſlands derive their origin from a ſand or bank in the river; on this the water waſhes ſome clay, in which ruſhes come up, and thus the reſt is generated by degrees.

On a meeting of the oldeſt Swedes in the pariſh of Raccoon, I obtained the following anſwers to the queſtions which I aſked them on this account. Whenever they dig a well in this neighbourhood, they always find, at the depth of twenty or thirty feet, great numbers of oyſter ſhells and clams: the latter are, as was above-mentioned, a kind of large ſhells, which are found in bays, and of which the Indians make their money. In many places, on digging wells, a quantity of ruſhes and reeds have been found almoſt wholly undamaged; and once on ſuch an occaſion a whole bundle of flax was brought up, found between twenty and thirty feet under ground: it ſeemed as little damaged as if it had been lately put under ground: all looked at it with aſtoniſhment, as it was beyond conception how it could get there; but I believe the good people ſaw ſome American plants, ſuch as the wild Virginian flax, or linum Virginianum, and the antirrhinum Canadenſe, which look very like common flax; yet it is remarkable that the bundle was really tied together. The Europeans, on their arrival in America, found our common flax neither growing wild nor cultivated by the Indians, how then could this bundle get into the ground? Can it be ſuppoſed, that paſt ages have ſeen a nation here, ſo early acquainted with the uſe of flax? I would rather abide by the opinion, that the above American plants, or other ſimilar ones, have been taken for flax. Charcoal and fire-brands have often been found under ground. The Swediſh church-warden, Eric Ragnilſon, told me that he had ſeen a quantity of them, which had been brought up at the digging of a well: on

on ſuch occaſions people have often found (at the depth of between twenty and fifty feet) great branches and blocks. There were ſome ſpots where, twenty feet under the ſurface of the earth, the people had found ſuch trowels as the Indians uſe: from theſe obſervations they all concluded, that this tract of land had formerly been the bottom of the ſea. It is to be obſerved, that moſt of the wells which have hitherto been made, have been dug in new ſettlements, where the wood was yet ſtanding, and had probably ſtood for centuries together. From the obſervations which have hitherto been mentioned, and to which I ſhall add ſimilar ones in the ſequel, we may, with a conſiderable degree of certainty, conclude that a great part of the province of New Jerſey, in ages unknown to poſterity, was part of the bottom of the ſea, and was afterwards formed by the ſlime and mud, and the many other things which the river Delaware carries down along with it, from the upper parts of the country: however, Cape May ſeems to give ſome occaſion for doubts, of which I ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel.

Nov. 27th. The American ever-greens are,

1. Ilex aquifolium, holly.
2. Kalmia latifolia, the ſpoon tree.
3. Kalmia anguſtifolia, another ſpecies of it.
4. Magnolia glauca, the beaver tree. The young trees of this kind only keep their leaves, the others drop them.
5. Viſcum album, or miſletoe: this commonly grows upon the nyſſa aquatica, or tupelo tree, upon the liquidambar ſtyraciflua, or ſweet gum tree, the oak and lime tree, ſo that their whole ſummits were frequently quite green in winter.
6. Myrica cerifera, or the candleberry tree: of this however only ſome of the youngeſt ſhrubs preſerve ſome leaves, but moſt of them had already loſt them.
7. Pinus abies, the pine.
8. Pinus ſylveſtris, the fir.
9. Cupreſſus thyoides, the white cedar.
10. Juniperus Virginiana, the red cedar.

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

Nov. 30th. It has been obſerved, that the Europeans in North America, whether they were born in Sweden, England, Germany, or Holland; or in North America, of European parents, always loſt their teeth much ſooner than common: the women eſpecially were ſubject to this diſagreeable circumſtance: the men did not ſuffer ſo much from it. Girls, not above twenty years old, frequently had loſt half of their teeth, without any hopes of getting new ones. I have attempted to penetrate into the cauſes of this early ſhedding of the teeth, but I know not whether I have hit upon a true one. Many people were of opinion that the air of this country hurt the teeth: ſo much is certain, that the weather can no where be ſubject to more frequent and ſudden changes; for the end of a hot day often turns out piercing cold, and vice verſa. Yet this change of weather cannot be looked upon as having any effect upon the ſhedding of the teeth, for the Indians prove the contrary: they live in the ſame air, and always keep fine, entire white teeth: this I have ſeen myſelf, and have been aſſured of by every body: others aſcribe it to the great quantities of fruit and ſweetmeats which are here eaten. But I have known many people who never eat any fruit, and nevertheleſs had hardly a tooth left.

I then began to ſuſpect the tea, which is drank here in the morning and afternoon, eſpecially by women, and is ſo common at preſent, that there is hardly a farmer's wife, or a poor woman, who does not drink tea in the morning: I was confirmed in this opinion, when I took a journey through ſome parts of the country which were ſtill inhabited by Indians. For Major General Johnſon told me at that time, that ſeveral of the Indians, who lived cloſe to the European ſettlements, had learnt to drink tea. And it has been obſerved, that ſuch of the Indian women, as uſed themſelves too much to this liquor, had, in the ſame manner as the European women, loſt their teeth prematurely, though they had formerly been quite ſound. Thoſe again, who had not uſed tea, preſerved their teeth ſtrong and ſound to a great age.

I afterwards found, that the uſe of tea could not entirely cauſe this accident. Several young women, who lived in this country, but were born in Europe, complained that they loſt moſt of their teeth after they came to America: I aſked, whether they did not think that it aroſe from the frequent uſe of tea, as it was known that ſtrong tea, as it were, enters into and corrodes the teeth; but they anſwered, that they had loſt their teeth before they had began to drink tea; but, continuing my enquiries, I found at laſt a ſufficient cauſe to account for the loſs of their teeth: each of theſe women owned, that they were accuſtomed to eat every thing hot, and nothing was good, in their opinion, unleſs they could eat it as faſt as it came from the fire. This is likewiſe the caſe with the women in the country, who loſe their teeth much ſooner and more abundantly than the men. They drink tea in greater quantity, and much oftener, in the morning, and even at noon, when the employment of the men will not allow them to ſit at the tea-table. Beſides that, the Engliſhmen care very little for tea, and a bowl of punch is much more agreeable to them. When the Engliſh women drink tea, they never pour it out of the cup into the ſaucer, but drink it hot as it is out of the former. The Indian women, in imitation of them, ſwallow the tea in the ſame manner. On the contrary, thoſe Indians, whoſe teeth are ſound, never eat any thing hot, but take their meat either quite cold, or only juſt milk warm.

I aſked the Swediſh church-warden in Philadelphia, Mr. Bengtſon, and a number of old Swedes, whether their parents and countrymen had likewiſe loſt their teeth as ſoon as the American coloniſts; but they told me that they had preſerved them to a very great age. Bengtſon aſſured me, that his father, at the age of ſeventy, cracked peach ſtones and the black walnuts with his teeth, notwithſtanding their great hardneſs, which at this time no body dares to venture at that age. This confirms what I have before ſaid, for at that time the uſe of tea was not yet known in North America.

No diſeaſe is more common here, than that which the Engliſh call fever and ague, which is ſometimes quotidian, tertian, or quartan. But it often happens, that a perſon who has had a tertian ague, after loſing it for a week or two, gets a quotidian ague in its ſtead, which after a while again changes into a tertian. The fever commonly attacks the people at the end of Auguſt, or beginning of September, and commonly continues during autumn and winter, till towards ſpring, when it ceaſes entirely.

Strangers who arrive here commonly are attacked by this ſickneſs the firſt or ſecond year after their arrival; and it is more violent upon them than upon the natives, ſo that they ſometimes die of it; but if they eſcape the firſt time, they have the advantage of not being viſited again the next year, or perhaps never any more. It is commonly ſaid here, that ſtrangers get the fever to accuſtom them to the climate. The natives of European offſpring have annual fits of this ague in ſome parts of the country: ſome, however, are ſoon delivered from it; with others, on the contrary, it continues for ſix months together, and others are afflicted with it till they die. The Indians alſo ſuffer

it, but not ſo violently as the Europeans. No age is ſecured againſt it: in thoſe places where it rages annually, you ſee old men and women attacked with it; and even children in the cradle ſometimes not above three weeks old: it is likewiſe quotidian, tertian, or quartan, with them. This autumn the ague was more violent here than it commonly uſed to be. People who are afflicted with it look as pale as death, and are greatly weakened, but in general are not prevented from doing their work in the intervals. It is remarkable, that every year there are great parts of the country where this fever rages, and others where ſcarce a ſingle perſon has been taken ill. It likewiſe is worth notice, that there are places where the people cannot remember that it formerly prevailed in their country, though at preſent it begins to grow more common: yet there was no other viſible difference between the ſeveral places. All the old Swedes, Engliſhmen, Germans, &c. unanimouſly aſſerted, that the fever had never been ſo violent, and of ſuch continuance, when they were boys, as it is at preſent. They were likewiſe generally of opinion, that about the year 1680, there were not ſo many people afflicted with it as about this time. However, others equally old were of opinion, that the fever was proportionably as common formerly as it is at preſent; but that it could not at that time be ſo ſenſibly perceived, on account of the ſcarcity of inhabitants, and the great diſtance of their ſettlements from each other; it is therefore probable that the effects of the fever have at all times been equal.

It would be difficult to determine the true cauſes of this diſeaſe: they ſeem to be numerous, and not always alike: ſometimes, and I believe commonly, ſeveral of them unite. I have taken all poſſible care to ſound the opinions of the phyſicians here on that head, and I here offer them to the reader.

Some of them think that the peculiar qualities of the air of this country cauſe this fever; but moſt of them aſſert, that it is generated by the ſtanding and putrid water, which it ſeems is confirmed by experience. For it has been obſerved in this country, that ſuch people as live in the neighbourhood of moraſſes or ſwamps, or in places where a ſtagnant, ſtinking water is to be met with, are commonly infeſted with the fever and ague every year, and get it more readily than others. And this chiefly happens at a time of the year when thoſe ſtagnant waters are moſt evaporated by the exceſſive heat of the ſun, and the air is filled with the moſt noxious vapours. The fever likewiſe is very violent in all places which have a very low ſituation, and where ſalt water comes up with the tide twice in twenty-four hours, and unites with the ſtagnant freſh water in the country. Therefore on travelling in ſummer over ſuch low places where freſh and ſalt water unite, the nauſeous ſtench ariſing from thence often forces the traveller to ſtop his noſe. On that account moſt of the inhabitants of Penn's Neck, and Salem in New Jerſey, where the ground has the above-mentioned quality, are annually infeſted with the fever to a much greater degree than the inhabitants of the higher country. If an inhabitant of the higher part of the country, where the people are free from the fever, removes into the lower parts, he may be well aſſured that the fever will attack him at the uſual time, and that he will get it again every year, as long as he continues in that country. People of the livelieſt complexion, on coming into the low parts of the country, and continuing there for ſome time, have entirely loſt their colour and become quite pale. However, this cannot be the ſole cauſe of the fever, as I have been in ſeveral parts of the country which had a low ſituation, and had ſtagnant waters near them, where the people declared they ſeldom ſuffered from this ſickneſs; but theſe places were about two or three degrees more northerly.

Others were of opinion that diet did very much contribute towards it, and chiefly laid the blame upon the inconſiderate and intemperate conſumption of fruit. This is particularly

particularly the caſe with the Europeans who come into America, and are not uſed to its climate and its fruit; for thoſe who are born here can bear more, yet are not entirely free from the bad effects of eating too much. I have heard many Engliſhmen, Germans, and others, ſpeak from their own experience on this account; they owned, that they had often tried, and were certain that after eating a water melon once or twice before they had breakfaſted they would have the fever and ague in a few days after. Yet it is remarkable that the French in Canada told me that fevers were leſs common in that country, though they conſumed as many water melons as the Engliſh colonies, and that it had never been obſerved that they occaſioned a fever; but that on coming in the hot ſeaſon to the Illinois, an Indian nation which is nearly in the ſame latitude with Penſylvania and New Jerſey, they could not eat a water melon without feeling the ſhaking fits of an ague, and that the Indians therefore warned them not to eat of ſo dangerous a fruit. Query, Does not this lead us to think that the greater heat in Penſylvania, and the country of the Illinois, which are both five or ſix degrees more ſoutherly than Canada, makes fruit in ſome meaſure more dangerous? In the Engliſh North American colonies, every countryman plants a number of water melons, which are eaten whilſt the people make hay, or during the harveſt, when they have nothing upon their ſtomachs, in order to cool them during the great heat, as that juicy fruit ſeems very proper to give refreſhment. In the ſame manner melons, cucumbers, gourds, ſquaſhes, mulberries, apples, peaches, cherries, and ſuch like fruit are eaten here in ſummer, and all together contribute to the attacks of the ague.

But that the manner of living contributes greatly towards it, may be concluded from the unanimous accounts of old people concerning the times of their childhood; according to which the inhabitants of theſe parts were at that time not ſubject to ſo many diſeaſes as they are at preſent, and people were ſeldom ſick. All the old Swedes likewiſe agreed, that their countrymen, who firſt came into North America, attained to a great age, and their children nearly to the ſame; but that their grand children, and great grand children did not reach the age of their anceſtors, and their health was not near ſo vigorous and durable. But the Swedes who firſt ſettled in America lived very frugally; they were poor, and could not buy rum, brandy, or other ſtrong liquors, which they ſeldom diſtilled themſelves, as few of them had a diſtilling veſſel. However they ſometimes had a good ſtrong beer. They did not underſtand the art of making cyder, which is now ſo common in the country: tea, coffee, chocolate, which are at preſent even the country people's daily breakfaſt, were wholly unknown to them: moſt of them had never taſted ſugar or punch. The tea which is now drank is either very old or mixed with all ſorts of herbs, ſo that it no longer deſerves the name of tea: therefore it cannot have any good effect upon thoſe who uſe it plentifully; beſides, it cannot fail of relaxing the bowels, as it is drank both in the morning and in the afternoon quite boiling hot. The Indians, the offspring of the firſt inhabitants of this country, are a proof of what I have ſaid. It is well known that their anceſtors, at the time of the firſt arrival of the Europeans, lived to a very great age. According to the common accounts, it was then not uncommon to find people among the Indians, who were above a hundred years old: they lived frugally, and drank pure water: brandy, rum, wine, and all the other ſtrong liquors, were utterly unknown to them; but ſince the Chriſtians have taught them to drink theſe liquors, and the Indians have found them too palatable, thoſe who cannot reſiſt their appetites hardly reach half the age of their parents.

Laſtly, ſome people pretended that the loſs of many odoriferous plants, with which the woods were filled at the arrival of the Europeans, but which the cattle have now extirpated, might be looked upon as a cauſe of the greater progreſs of the fever at preſent.

The number of thoſe ſtrong plants occaſioned a pleaſant ſcent to riſe in the woods every morning and evening. It is therefore not unreaſonable to think that the noxiouſneſs of the effluvia from putrifying ſubſtances was then prevented, ſo that they were not ſo dangerous to the inhabitants.

Several remedies are employed againſt this diſeaſe: the jeſuit's bark was formerly a certain one, but at preſent it has not always this effect, though they ſell it genuine, and for the very beſt. Many people accuſed it of leaving ſomething noxious in the body. Yet it was commonly obſerved, that when the bark was good, and it was taken as ſoon as the fever made its appearance, and before the body was weakened, it was almoſt ſure to conquer the fever, ſo that the cold fits never returned, and no pain or ſtiffneſs remained in the limbs; but when the diſeaſe is rooted in, and has conſiderably weakened the patients, or they are naturally very weak, the fever leaves them after uſing the jeſuit's bark, but returns again in a fortnight's time, and obliges them to take the bark again; but the conſequence frequently is a pain and a ſtiffneſs in their limbs, and ſometimes in their bowels, which almoſt hinders them from walking: this pain continues for ſeveral years together, and even accompanies ſome to the grave. This bad effect is partly attributed to the bark, which can ſeldom be got genuine here, and partly to the little care which the patients take in uſing the bark. A man of my acquaintance was particularly dexterous in expelling the ague by the uſe of the jeſuit's bark. His manner of proceeding was as follows: when it was poſſible, the patient muſt uſe the remedy as ſoon as the fever begun, and before it was ſettled in his body; but before he took the medicine he was to take a diaphoretic remedy, as that had been found very ſalutary; and as the fever is frequently of ſuch a nature here as not to make the patient ſweat, even when the hot fit is upon him, a perſpiration was to be brought about by ſome other means. To that purpoſe the patient took his doſe on the day when he had his cold fit, and was not allowed to eat any thing at night. The next morning he continued in a warm bed, drank a quantity of tea, and was well covered, that he might perſpire plentifully. He continued ſo till the perſpiration ceaſed, and then left the bed in a hot room, and waſhed his body with milk-warm water, in order to cleanſe it from the impurities that ſettled on it from the perſpiration, and to prevent their ſtopping up of the pores. The patient was then dried again, and at laſt he took the bark ſeveral times in one day. This was repeated twice or thrice on the days after he had the ague, and it commonly left him without returning, and moſt people recover ſo well that they do not look pale after their ſickneſs.

The bark of the root of the tulip tree, or liriodendron tulipifera, taken in the ſame manner as the jeſuit's bark, ſometimes had a ſimilar effect.

Several people peeled the roots of the cornus florida, or dog-wood, and gave this peel to patients; and even ſome people, who could not be cured by the jeſuit's bark, have recovered by the help of this. I have likewiſe ſeen people cured of the fever by taking brimſtone reduced to powder, and mixed with ſugar, every night before they went to bed, and every morning before they got up: they took it three or four times in the intervals, and at each time drank ſome warm liquor, to waſh the powder down. However, others that tried the ſame remedy did not find much relief from it.

Some people collected the yellow bark of the peach tree, eſpecially that which is on the root, and boiled it in water, till half of it was evaporated by boiling. Of this decoction the patient took every morning about a wine glaſs full before he had eaten any thing. This liquor has a diſagreeable taſte, and contracts the mouth and tongue like

like alum; yet ſeveral perſons at Raccoon, who had tried many remedies in vain, were cured by this.

Others boiled the leaves of the potentilla reptans, or of the potentilla canadenſis, in water, and made the patients drink it before the ague fit came on, and it is well known that ſeveral perſons have recovered by this means.

The people who are ſettled upon the river Mohawk in New York, both Indians and Europeans, collect the root of the geum rivale, and pound it. This powder ſome of them boil in water till it is a pretty ſtrong decoction: others only infuſe cold water on it and leave it ſo for a day; others mix it with brandy. Of this medicine the patient is to take a wine glaſs full on the morning of the day when the fever does not come, before he has eaten any thing. I was aſſured that this was one of the ſureſt remedies, and more certain than the jeſuit's bark.

The people who live near the iron mines declared that they were ſeldom or never viſited by the fever and ague; but when they have the fever they drink the water of ſuch fountains as ariſe from the iron mines, and have a ſtrong chalybeat taſte; and they aſſured me that this remedy was infallible. Other people therefore who did not live very far from ſuch ſprings, went to them for a few days, when they had the fever, in order to drink the water, which commonly cured them.

I have already ſhewn above, that ſage mixed with lemon juice has been found very ſalutary againſt the ague.

It was however univerſally remarkable, that that which cures one perſon of it has no effect upon another.

The pleuriſy is likewiſe a diſeaſe which the people of this country are much ſubject to. The Swedes in this province call it ſtitches and burning, and they always mean the pleuriſy whenever they mention thoſe words. Many of the old Swedes told me that they had heard very little of it when they were young, and that their parents had known ſtill leſs of it in their childhood; but that it was ſo common now that many people died every year of it: yet it has been obſerved, that in ſome years this diſeaſe has been very moderate, and taken few people away with it, whilſt in other years it makes great havock: it likewiſe is more violent in ſome places than in others.

In the autumn of the year 1728, it ſwept away many at Penn's Neck, a place below Raccoon, and nearer to the Delaware, where a number of Swedes are ſettled. Almoſt all the Swedes there died of it, though they were very numerous. From hence it happened that their children who were left in a very tender age, and grew up among the Engliſh children, forgot their mother tongue, ſo that few of them underſtand it at preſent. Since that time, though the pleuriſy has every year killed a few people at Penn's Neck, yet it has not carried off any conſiderable numbers. It reſted as it were till the autumn of the year 1748, but then it began to make dreadful havock, and every week ſix or ten of the old people died. The diſeaſe was ſo violent, that when it attacked a perſon, he ſeldom lived above two or three days; and of thoſe who were taken ill with it very few recovered. When the pleuriſy was got into a houſe it killed moſt of the old people in it: it was a true pleuriſy, but it had a peculiarity with it, for it commonly began with a great ſwelling under the throat and in the neck, and with a difficulty of ſwallowing. Some people looked upon it as contagious, and others ſeriouſly declared, that when it came into a family, not only thoſe who lived in the ſame houſe ſuffered from it, but even ſuch relations as lived far off. There have been ſeveral people at Penn's Neck, who, without viſiting their ſick friends, have got the pleuriſy and died of it. I do not diſpute the truth of this, though

though I do not agree to the concluſion. The pleuriſy was the moſt violent in November; yet ſome old people died of it even in the next winter; but children were pretty free from it. The phyſicians did not know what to make of it, nor how to remedy it.

It is difficult to determine the cauſes of ſuch violent diſeaſes. An old Engliſh ſurgeon who lived here gave the following reaſon. The inhabitants of this country drink great quantities of punch and other ſtrong liquors in ſummer, when it is very hot; by that means the veins in the diaphragm contract, and the blood grows thick. Towards the end of October and the beginning of November, the weather is apt to alter very ſuddenly, ſo that heat and cold change ſeveral times a day. When the people during this changeable weather are in the open air, they commonly get this diſeaſe. It is likewiſe certain that the air is more unwholeſome one year than another, which depends upon the heat and other circumſtances: this peculiar quality of the air muſt of courſe produce a pleuriſy. It is remarkable, that both in the year 1728, and in the preſent, when ſo many people died at Penn's Neck, few died at Raccoon, though the two places are near each other, and ſeem to have the ſame ſoil and climate. But there is this difference, that Penn's Neck lies remarkably low, and Raccoon pretty high. The people in the former place have ſettled between marſhes and ſwamps, in which the water ſtagnates and putrifies; and moſt of theſe places are covered with trees, by which means the wet is ſhut up ſtill more, and near ſuch marſhes are the houſes. Laſtly, the water at Penn's Neck is not reckoned ſo good as that in Raccoon. It likewiſe becomes brackiſh in ſeveral little rivers, when the Delaware, during the tide, riſes very high, and runs up into them. On the banks of theſe rivulets live many of the Swedes, and take water for common uſe from them.

December the 3d. This morning I ſet out for Philadelphia, where I arrived in the evening.

Wild grapes are very abundant in the woods, and of various kinds; a ſpecies of them, which are remarkable for their ſize, grow in the marſhes, and are greedily eaten by the racoon: they are therefore called marſh grapes, but the Engliſh call them fox grape: they have not an agreeable flavour, and are ſeldom eaten by the inhabitants of this country, who make uſe of a ſmall kind of wild grapes, which grow on a dry ſoil: pretty late in autumn, when they are quite ripe, they have a very good flavour, being a mixture of ſweet and acid. Some people dry theſe grapes when gathered, and bake them in tarts, &c.: they likewiſe make uſe of them as dried ſweetmeats. The Swedes formerly made a pretty good wine from them, but have now left it off. However, ſome of the Engliſh ſtill preſs an agreeable liquor from theſe grapes, which they aſſured me was as good as the beſt claret, and that it would keep for ſeveral years.

The manner of preparing this ſort of wine has been deſcribed at large in an almanack of this country, for the year 1743, and is as follows: the grapes are collected from the twenty-firſt of September to about the eleventh of November, that is as they grow ripe: they muſt be gathered in dry weather, and after the dew is gone off: the grapes are cleared of the cobwebs, dry leaves, and other things adhering to them. Next a great hogſhead is prepared which has either had treacle or brandy in it; it is waſhed very clean, one of the bottoms beat out, and the other placed on a ſtand for the purpoſe, or on pieces of wood in the cellar, or elſe in a warm room, about two feet above the ground: the grapes are put into this hogſhead, and as they ſink lower in three or four days time, more are added. A man with naked feet

gets into the hogſhead and treads the grapes, and in about half an hour's time the juice is forced out; the man then turns the loweſt grapes uppermoſt, and treads them for about a quarter of an hour: this is ſufficient to ſqueeze the good juice out of them, for an additional preſſure would even cruſh the unripe grapes, and give the whole a diſagreeable flavour. The hogſhead is then covered with a thick blanket; but if there is no cellar, or it is very cold, two are ſpread over it. Under this covering the juice is left to ferment for the firſt time, and in the next four or five days it ferments and works very ſtrongly. As ſoon as the fermentation ceaſes, a hole is made about ſix inches from the bottom, and ſome of the juice is tapped off about twice in a day. As ſoon as this is clear and ſettled, it is poured into an anker of a middling ſize; for from twenty buſhels of grapes, they get about as many gallons of juice: the anker remains untouched; and the muſt in it ferments a ſecond time: at this time it is neceſſary that the anker be quite full; the ſcum which ſettles at the bung-hole muſt be taken off, and the anker always filled up with more muſt, which is kept ready for that purpoſe; this is continued till Chriſtmas, when the anker may be ſtopped up; at laſt the wine is ready in February and bottled. It is likewiſe uſual here to put ſome of the ripe grapes into a veſſel, in order to make a vinegar; and that which is got by this means is very good. Several people made brandy from theſe grapes, which has a very pleaſant taſte, but is ſtill more pleaſant if the fruits of the perſimon are mixed with it. The wood of theſe vines is of no uſe, it is ſo brittle that it cannot be uſed for ſticks: on cutting into the ſtem, a white, inſipid reſin comes out a few hours after the wound is made. In many gardens vines are planted for the purpoſe of making arbours, for which they are indeed excellent; as their large and plentiful leaves form a very cloſe cover againſt the ſcorching heat of the ſun. When the vines flower here in May and June, the flowers exhale a ſtrong, but exceeding pleaſant and refreſhing ſmell, which is perceptible even at a great diſtance. Therefore on coming into the woods about that time, you may judge from the ſweet perfume in the air, ariſing from the flowers of the vines, that you are near them, though you do not ſee them. Though the winters be ever ſo ſevere, yet they do not affect the vines. Each grape is about the ſize of a pea, but further ſouthward they are ſaid to be of the ſize of common raiſins, and of a fine flavour. Further up in the country, during a part of autumn, they are the chief food of bears, who climb up the trees in order to pluck them. People are of opinion, that if the wild vines were cultivated with more care, the grapes would grow larger, and more palatable.

December the 5th. I ſhall here mention two prognoſtics of the weather, which were greatly valued here. Some people pretended to foretel that the enſuing winter would not be a ſevere one: this they conjectured from having ſeen wild geeſe and other migratory birds go to the ſouth in October, but return a few days ago in great numbers, and even paſs on further to the north. Indeed, the enſuing winter was one of the moſt temperate ones.

Several perſons likewiſe aſſured us that we ſhould have rain before to-morrow night. The reaſon they gave for this conjecture was, that this morning at ſun-riſing, from their windows they had ſeen every thing very plainly on the other ſide of the river, ſo that it appeared much nearer than uſual, and that this commonly foreboded rain. This preſage was likewiſe pretty exactly fulfilled.

The Indians, before the arrival of the Europeans, had no notion of the uſe of iron, though that metal was abundant in their country. However, they knew in ſome meaſure how to make uſe of copper. Some Dutchmen who lived here, ſtill preſerved

the old account among them, that their anceſtors, on their firſt ſettling in New York, had met with many of the Indians, who had tobacco pipes of copper, and who made them underſtand by ſigns, that they got them in the neighbourhood: afterwards the fine copper mine was diſcovered, upon the ſecond river between Elizabeth-town and New York. On digging in this mine, the people met with holes worked in the mountain, out of which ſome copper had been taken, and they found even ſome tools, which the Indians probably made uſe of, when they endeavoured to get the metal for their pipes. Such holes in the mountains have likewiſe been found in ſome parts of Penſylvania, viz. below Newcaſtle towards the ſea ſide, and always ſome marks of a copper ore along with them. Some people have conjectured, that the Spaniards, after diſcovering Mexico, ſailed along the coaſts of North America, and landed now and then, in order to enquire whether any gold or ſilver was to be met with, and that they perhaps made theſe holes in the mountains; but ſuppoſing them to have made ſuch a voyage along the coaſts, they could not immediately have found out the copper mines; and they probably did not ſtop to blaſt this ore, as they were bent only upon gold and ſilver; it is therefore almoſt undoubted that the Indians dug theſe holes: or may we be allowed to ſuſpect that our old Normans, long before the diſcoveries of Columbus, came into theſe parts, and met with ſuch veins of copper, when they ſailed to what they called the excellent Wineland*, of which our ancient traditional records called Sagor ſpeak, and which undoubtedly was North America? But in regard to this, I ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel better to explain my ſentiments. It was remarkable, that in all thoſe places where ſuch holes have lately been found in the mountains, which manifeſtly ſeem to have been dug by men, they were always covered with a great quantity of earth, as if they were intended to remain hidden from ſtrangers.

Dec. 6th. On long voyages the ſailors ſometimes catch ſuch fiſh as are known to none of the ſhip's company; but as they are very greedy after freſh proviſions, they ſeldom abſtain from eating them; however it proves often venturing too much, experience having ſhown, that their want of caution has often coſt them their lives, for ſometimes poiſonous fiſh are caught. But there is a method of finding them out, as I have heard from ſeveral captains of ſhips; it is uſual when ſuch unknown fiſh are boiled, to put a ſilver button, or any piece of ſilver, into the kettle, which, if the fiſh be poiſonous, will turn quite black, but if it be not, it will not change: ſome of the ſeamen referred to their own repeated experience†.

Mr. Franklin and ſeveral other gentlemen frequently told me, that a powerful Indian, who poſſeſſed Rhode Iſland, had ſold it to the Engliſh for a pair of ſpectacles: it is large enough for a prince's domain, and makes a peculiar government at preſent. This Indian knew to ſet a true value upon a pair of ſpectacles: for undoubtedly if thoſe glaſſes were not ſo plentiful, and only a few of them could be found, they would, on account of their great uſe, bear the ſame price with diamonds.

The ſervants which are made uſe of in the Engliſh American colonies are either free perſons, or ſlaves, and the former are again of two different ſorts.

* See for this opinion the ſcarce and curious work intituled, "Torfæi hiſtoria Vinlandiæ antiquæ ſeu partis Americæ ſeptentrionalis." Hafniæ, 1715, 4to. F.

† This experiment with the ſilver ſuppoſes, that the broth of the fiſh would be ſo ſtrong as to act as a ſolvent upon the ſilver; but there may be poiſons, which would not affect the ſilver, and however prove fatal to men; the ſureſt way therefore would be to ſuppreſs that appetite, which may become fatal not only to a few men of the crew, but alſo endanger the whole ſhip, by the loſs of neceſſary hands. F.

Firſt, Thoſe who are quite free ſerve by the year; they are not only allowed to leave their ſervice at the expiration of their year, but may leave it at any time when they do not agree with their maſters. However, in that caſe they are in danger of loſing their wages, which are very conſiderable. A man-ſervant who has ſome abilities, gets between ſixteen and twenty pounds in Penſylvania currency, but thoſe in the country do not get ſo much. A ſervant-maid gets eight or ten pounds a year: theſe ſervants have their food beſides their wages, but muſt buy their own clothes, and what they get of theſe, they muſt thank their maſter's goodneſs for.

Second, The ſecond kind of free ſervants conſiſt of ſuch perſons as annually come from Germany, England, and other countries, in order to ſettle here. Theſe new comers are very numerous every year: there are old and young ones, and of both ſexes; ſome of them have fled from oppreſſion, under which they ſuppoſed themſelves to have laboured. Others have been driven from their country by perſecution on account of religion; but moſt of them are poor, and have not money enough to pay their paſſage, which is between ſix and eight pounds ſterling for each perſon; therefore they agree with the captain that they will ſuffer themſelves to be ſold for a few years, on their arrival. In that caſe the perſon who buys them, pays the freight for them; but frequently very old people come over, who cannot pay their paſſage, they therefore ſell their children, ſo that they ſerve both for themſelves and for their parents: there are likewiſe ſome who pay part of their paſſage, and they are ſold only for a ſhort time. From theſe circumſtances it appears, that the price of the poor foreigners who come over to North America is not equal, and that ſome of them ſerve longer than others: when their time is expired, they get a new ſuit of clothes from their maſter, and ſome other things: he is likewiſe obliged to feed and clothe them during the years of their ſervitude. Many of the Germans who come hither, bring money enough with them to pay their paſſage, but rather ſuffer themſelves to be ſold, with a view, that during their ſervitude they may get ſome knowledge of the language and quality of the country, and the like, that they may the better be able to conſider what they ſhall do when they have got their liberty. Such ſervants are taken preferable to all others, becauſe they are not ſo dear; for to buy a negroe or black ſlave requires too much money at once; and men or maids who get yearly wages, are likewiſe too dear; but this kind of ſervants may be got for half the money, and even for leſs; for they commonly pay fourteen pounds, Penſylvania currency, for a perſon who is to ſerve four years, and ſo on in proportion. Their wages therefore are not above three pounds Penſylvania currency per annum. This kind of ſervants, the Engliſh call ſervings. When a perſon has bought ſuch a ſervant for a certain number of years, and has an intention to ſell him again, he is at liberty to do ſo; but he is obliged, at the expiration of the term of the ſervitude, to provide the uſual ſuit of cloaths for the ſervant, unleſs he has made that part of the bargain with the purchaſer. The Engliſh and Iriſh commonly ſell themſelves for four years, but the Germans frequently agree with the captain before they ſet out, to pay him a certain ſum of money, for a certain number of perſons; as ſoon as they arrive in America, they go about and try to get a man who will pay the paſſage for them: in return they give according to the circumſtances, one or ſeveral of their children, to ſerve a certain number of years: at laſt they make their bargain with the higheſt bidder.

Third, The negroes or blacks make the third kind. They are in a manner ſlaves; for when a negro is once bought, he is the purchaſer's ſervant as long as he lives, unleſs he gives him to another, or makes him free. However, it is not in the power of the maſter to kill his negro for a fault, but he muſt leave it to the magiſtrates to pro-

ceed according to the laws. Formerly the negroes were brought over from Africa, and bought by almoſt every one who could afford it. The quakers alone ſcrupled to have ſlaves; but they are no longer ſo nice, and they have as many negroes as other people. However, many people cannot conquer the idea of its being contrary to the laws of Chriſtianity to keep ſlaves. There are likewiſe ſeveral free negroes in town, who have been lucky enough to get a very zealous quaker for their maſter, who gave them their liberty, after they had faithfully ſerved him for ſome time.

At preſent they ſeldom bring over any negroes to the Engliſh colonies, for thoſe which were formerly brought thither, have multiplied conſiderably. In regard to their marriage, they proceed as follows: In caſe you have not only male but likewiſe female negroes, they muſt intermarry, and then the children are all your ſlaves; but if you poſſeſs a male negro only, and he has an inclination to marry a female belonging to a different maſter, you do not hinder your negro in ſo delicate a point; but it is no advantage to you, for the children belong to the maſter of the female; it is therefore advantageous to have negro-women. A man who kills his negro muſt ſuffer death for it: there is not however an example here of a white man's having been executed on this account. A few years ago it happened that a maſter killed his ſlave; his friends and even the magiſtrates ſecretly adviſed him to leave the country, as otherwiſe they could not avoid taking him priſoner, and then he would be condemned to die according to the laws of the country, without any hopes of ſaving him. This lenity was employed towards him, that the negroes might not have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a maſter executed for killing his ſlave; for this would lead them to all ſorts of dangerous deſigns againſt their maſters, and to value themſelves too much.

The negroes were formerly brought from Africa, as I mentioned before; but now this ſeldom happens, for they are bought in the Weſt Indies, or American Iſlands, whither they were originally brought from their own country: for it has been found that on tranſporting the negroes from Africa, immediately into theſe northern countries, they have not ſuch a good ſtate of health, as when they gradually change places, and are firſt carried from Africa to the Weſt Indies, and from thence to North America. It has frequently been found, that the negroes cannot ſtand the cold here ſo well as the Europeans or whites; for whilſt the latter are not in the leaſt affected by the cold, the toes and fingers of the former are frequently frozen. There is likewiſe a material difference among them in this point; for thoſe who come immediately from Africa, cannot bear the cold ſo well as thoſe who are either born in this country, or have been here for a conſiderable time; for the froſt eaſily hurts the hands or feet of the negroes which come from Africa, or occaſions violent pains in their whole body, or in ſome parts of it, though it does not at all affect thoſe who have been here for ſome time. There are frequent examples that the negroes on their paſſage from Africa, if it happens in winter, have ſome of their limbs deſtroyed by froſt, on board the ſhip, when the cold is but very inconſiderable, and the ſailors are ſcarce obliged to cover their hands. I was even aſſured, that ſome negroes have been ſeen here, who have had an exceſſive pain in their legs, which afterwards broke in the middle, and dropped entirely from the body, together with the fleſh on them. Thus it is the ſame caſe with men here, as with plants which are brought from the ſouthern countries, and cannot accuſtom themſelves to a colder climate.

The price of negroes differs according to their age, health, and abilities. A full-grown negro coſts from forty pounds and upwards to a hundred, of Penſylvania currency. A negro boy or girl, of two or three years old, can hardly be got for leſs than

eight

eight or fourteen pounds in Penſylvania currency. Not only the quakers, but likewiſe ſeveral chriſtians of other denominations, ſometimes ſet their negroes at liberty. This is done in the following manner: When a gentleman has a faithful negro, who has done him great ſervices, he ſometimes declares him independent at his death. This is however very expenſive; for they are obliged to make a proviſion for the negro thus ſet at liberty, to afford him ſubſiſtence when he is grown old, that he may not be driven by neceſſity to wicked actions, or that he may be at any body's charge, for theſe free negroes become very lazy and indolent afterwards. But the children which the free negro has begot during his ſervitude, are all ſlaves, though their father be free. On the other hand, thoſe negro children are free whoſe parents are at liberty. The negroes in the North American colonies are treated more mildly, and fed better than thoſe in the Weſt Indies. They have as good food as the reſt of the ſervants, and they poſſeſs equal advantages in all things, except their being obliged to ſerve their whole life-time, and get no other wages than what their maſter's goodneſs allows them: they are likewiſe clad at their maſter's expence. On the contrary, in the Weſt Indies, and eſpecially in the Spaniſh iſlands, they are treated very cruelly; therefore no threats make more impreſſion upon a negro here, than that of ſending him over to the Weſt Indies, in caſe he would not reform. It has likewiſe been frequently found by experience, that when you ſhow too much remiſſneſs to theſe negroes, they grow ſo obſtinate, that they will no longer do any thing but of their own accord: therefore a ſtrict diſcipline is very neceſſary, if their maſter expects to be ſatisfied with their ſervices.

In the year 1620, ſome negroes were brought to North America in a Dutch ſhip, and in Virginia they bought twenty of them. Theſe are ſaid to have been the firſt that came hither. When the Indians, who were then more numerous in the country than at preſent, ſaw theſe black people for the firſt time, they thought they were a true breed of devils, and therefore they called them Manitto for a great while: this word in their language ſignifies not only God, but likewiſe the devil. Some time before that, when they ſaw the firſt European ſhip on their coaſts, they were perfectly perſuaded that God himſelf was in the ſhip. This account I got from ſome Indians, who preſerved it among them as a tradition which they had received from their anceſtors: therefore the arrival of the negroes ſeemed to them to have confuſed every thing; but ſince that time, they have entertained leſs diſagreeable notions of the negroes, for at preſent many live among them, and they even ſometimes intermarry, as I myſelf have ſeen.

The negroes have therefore been upwards of a hundred and thirty years in this country: but the winters here, eſpecially in New England and New York, are as ſevere as our Swediſh winters. I therefore very carefully enquired, whether the cold had not been obſerved to affect the colour of the negroes, and to change it, ſo that the third or fourth generation from the firſt that came hither, were not ſo black as their anceſtors. But I was generally anſwered, that there was not the leaſt difference of colour to be perceived; and that a negro born here, of parents which were likewiſe born in this country, and whoſe anceſtors both men and women had all been blacks born in this country, up to the third or fourth generation, was not at all different in colour from thoſe negroes who are brought directly over from Africa. From hence many people conclude, that a negro or his poſterity do not change colour, though they continue ever ſo long in a cold climate; but the mixing of a white man with a negro woman, or of a negro with a white woman, has a different effect; therefore to prevent any diſagreeable mixtures of the white people and negroes, and that the negroes may not form too great an opinion of themſelves, to the diſadvantage of their maſters, I am told there is a law

a law made, prohibiting the whites of both ſexes to marry negroes, under pain of death, and deprivation of the clergyman who marries them; but that the whites and blacks ſometimes mix, appears from children of a mixed complexion, which are ſometimes born.

It is likewiſe greatly to be pitied, that the maſters of theſe negroes in moſt of the Engliſh colonies take little care of their ſpiritual welfare, and let them live on in their Pagan darkneſs. There are even ſome, who would be very ill pleaſed at, and would by all means hinder their negroes from being inſtructed in the doctrines of Chriſtianity; to this they are partly led by the conceit of its being ſhameful, to have a ſpiritual brother or ſiſter among ſo deſpicable a people; partly by thinking that they ſhould not be able to keep their negroes ſo meanly afterwards; and partly through fear of the negroes growing too proud, on ſeeing themſelves upon a level with their maſters in religious matters.

Several writings are well known, which mention, that the negroes in South America have a kind of poiſon with which they kill each other, though the effect is not ſudden, but happens a long time after the perſon has taken it: the ſame dangerous art of poiſoning is known by the negroes of North America, as has frequently been experienced. However only a few of them know the ſecret, and they likewiſe know the remedy againſt it, therefore when a negro feels himſelf poiſoned, and can recollect the enemy who might poſſibly have given him the poiſon, he goes to him, and endeavours by money and entreaties to move him to deliver him from the poiſon; but if the negro is malicious, he does not only deny that he ever poiſoned him, but likewiſe that he knows a remedy againſt it: this poiſon does not kill immediately, for ſometimes the ſick perſon dies ſome years after. But from the moment he has the poiſon, he falls into a conſumption, and enjoys few days of good health: ſuch a poor wretch often knows that he is poiſoned, the moment he gets the poiſon. The negroes commonly employ it on ſuch of their brethren as behave well, are beloved by their maſters, and ſeparate as it were from their countrymen, or do not like to converſe with them. They have likewiſe often other reaſons for their enmity; but there are few examples of their having poiſoned their maſters. Perhaps the mild treatment they receive, keeps them from doing it, or perhaps they fear that they may be diſcovered, and that, in ſuch a caſe, the ſevereſt puniſhments would be inflicted on them.

They never diſcover what the poiſon conſiſts of, and keep it ſecret beyond conception. It is probable that it is a very common thing, which may be got all the world over, for wherever they are they can always eaſily procure it. Therefore it cannot be a plant, as ſeveral learned men have thought; for that is not to be met with every where. I have heard many accounts here of negroes who have been killed by this poiſon. I ſhall only mention one incident, which happened during my ſtay in this country. A man here had a negro who was exceedingly faithful to him, and behaved ſo well, that he would not have given him for twenty other negroes. His maſter likewiſe ſhewed him a peculiar kindneſs, and the ſlave's conduct equalled that of the beſt Chriſtian ſervant; he likewiſe converſed as little as poſſible with the other negroes; on that account they hated him to exceſs; but as he was ſcarce ever in company with them, they had no opportunity of conveying the poiſon to him, which they had often tried. However, on coming to town during the fair (for he lived in the country), ſome other negroes invited him to drink with them. At firſt he would not, but they preſſed him till he was obliged to comply. As ſoon as he came into the room, the others took a pot from the wall and pledged him, deſiring him to drink likewiſe: he drank,

drank, but when he took the pot from his mouth, he ſaid, what beer is this? It is full of ******. I purpoſely omit what he mentioned, for it ſeems undoubtedly to have been the name of the poiſon with which malicious negroes do ſo much harm, and which is to be met with almoſt every where. It might be too much employed to wicked purpoſes, and it is therefore better that it remains unknown. The other negroes and negro-women fell a laughing at the complaints of their hated countryman, and danced and ſung as if they had done an excellent action, and had at laſt obtained the point ſo much wiſhed-for. The innocent negro went away immediately, and, when he got home, ſaid, that the other negroes had certainly poiſoned him: he then fell into a conſumption, and no remedy could prevent his death.

Dec. 7th. In the morning I undertook again a little journey to Raccoon, in New Jerſey.

It does not ſeem difficult to find out the reaſons why the people multiply more here than in Europe. As ſoon as a perſon is old enough, he may marry in theſe provinces, without any fear of poverty; for there is ſuch a tract of good ground yet uncultivated, that a new-married man can, without difficulty, get a ſpot of ground, where he may ſufficiently ſubſiſt with his wife and children. The taxes are very low, and he need not be under any concern on their account. The liberties he enjoys are ſo great, that he conſiders himſelf as a prince in his poſſeſſions. I ſhall here demonſtrate, by ſome plain examples, what effect ſuch a conſtitution is capable of.

Maons Keen, one of the Swedes in Raccoon, was now near ſeventy years old: he had many children, grandchildren, and great-grand-children; ſo that, of thoſe who were yet alive, he could muſter up forty-five perſons. Beſides them, ſeveral of his children and grand-children died young, and ſome in a mature age. He was, therefore uncommonly bleſſed. Yet his happineſs is not comparable to that which is to be ſeen in the following examples, and which I have extracted from the Philadelphia gazette.

In the year 1732, died at Ipſwich, in New England, Mrs. Sarah Tuthil, a widow, aged eighty-ſix years. She had brought ſixteen children into the world; and from ſeven of them only, ſhe had ſeen one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven grand-children and great-grand-children.

In 1739, May 30th, the children, grand, and great-grand-children, of Mr. Richard Buttington, in the pariſh of Cheſter, in Penſylvania, were aſſembled in his houſe; and they made together one hundred and fifteen perſons. The parent of theſe children, Richard Buttington, who was born in England, was then entering into his eighty-fifth year; and was at that time quite freſh, active, and ſenſible. His eldeſt ſon, then ſixty years old, was the firſt Engliſhman born in Penſylvania.

In 1742, 8th of Jan., died at Trenton, in New Jerſey, Mrs. Sarah Furman, a widow, aged ninety-ſeven years. She was born in New England, and left five children, ſixty-one grand-children, one hundred and eighty-two great-grand-children, and twelve great-great-grand-children, who were all alive when ſhe died.

In 1739, 28th of Jan., died at South Kingſton, in New England, Mrs. Maria Hazard, a widow, in the hundredth year of her age. She was born in Rhode Iſland, and was a grandmother of the then vice-governor of that iſland, Mr. George Hazard. She could count altogether five hundred children, grand-children, great-grand-children, and great-great-grand-children. When ſhe died, two hundred and five perſons of them were alive; a grand-daughter of hers had already been grandmother near fifteen years.

In

In this manner, the uſual wiſh of bleſſing in our liturgy, that the new-married couple may ſee their grand children, till the third and fourth generation, has been literally fulfilled in regard to ſome of theſe perſons*.

Dec. 9th. In every country we commonly meet with a number of inſects; of which many, though they be ever ſo ſmall and contemptible, can do conſiderable damage to the inhabitants. Of theſe dangerous inſects there are likewiſe ſome in North America: ſome are peculiar to that country, others are common to Europe likewiſe.

I have already mentioned the moſquitoes as a kind of diſagreeable gnats; and another noxious inſect, the bruchus piſi, which deſtroys whole fields with peaſe. I ſhall here add ſome more.

There are a kind of locuſts, which about every ſeventeenth year, come hither in incredible numbers. They come out of the ground in the middle of May, and make, for ſix weeks together, ſuch a noiſe in the trees and woods, that two perſons who meet in ſuch places, cannot underſtand each other, unleſs they ſpeak louder than the locuſts can chirp. During that time, they make with the ſting in their tail, holes into the ſoft bark of the little branches on the trees, by which means theſe branches are ruined. They do no other harm to the trees or other plants. In the interval, between the years when they are ſo numerous, they are only ſeen or heard ſingle in the woods.

There is likewiſe a kind of caterpillars in theſe provinces, which eat the leaves from the trees. They are alſo innumerable in ſome years. In the intervals there are but few of them: but when they come, they ſtrip the tree ſo entirely of their leaves, that the woods in the middle of ſummer are as naked as in winter. They eat all kinds of leaves, and very few trees are left untouched by them: as, about that time of the year, the heat is moſt exceſſive, the ſtripping the trees of their leaves has this fatal conſequence, that they cannot withſtand the heat, but dry up entirely. In this manner, great foreſts are ſometimes entirely ruined. The Swedes, who live here, ſhewed me, here and there, great tracts in the woods, where young trees were now growing, inſtead of the old ones, which ſome years ago had been deſtroyed by the caterpillars. Theſe caterpillars afterwards change into moths, or phalænæ, which ſhall be deſcribed in the ſequel, in their proper places.

In other years the graſs-worms do a great deal of damage in ſeveral places, both in the meadows and corn-fields. For the fields are at certain times over-run with great armies of theſe worms, as with the other inſects; yet it is very happy that theſe many plagues do not come all together. For in thoſe years, when the locuſts are numerous, the caterpillars and graſs-worms are not very conſiderable, and it happens ſo with the latter kinds, ſo that only one of the three kinds comes at a time. Then there are ſeveral years when they are very ſcarce. The graſs-worms have been obſerved to ſettle chiefly in a fat ſoil; but as ſoon as careful huſbandmen diſcover them, they draw narrow channels with almoſt perpendicular ſides quite round the field in which the worms are ſettled; then, by creeping further, they all fall into the ditch, and cannot get out again. I was aſſured, by many perſons, that theſe three ſorts of inſects followed each other pretty cloſely; and that the locuſts came in the firſt year, the caterpillars in the ſecond, and the graſs-worms in the laſt: I have likewiſe found, by my own experience, that this is partly true.

Moths, or tineæ, which eat the clothes, are likewiſe abundant here. I have ſeen cloth, worſted gloves, and other woollen ſtuffs, which had hung all the ſummer locked

* Mr. Kalm ſpeaks here of the Swediſh liturgy.

up in a ſhrine, and had not been taken care of, quite cut through by theſe worms, ſo that whole pieces fell out. Furs, which had been kept in the garret, were frequently ſo ruined by worms, that the hair went off by handfuls. I am, however, not certain whether theſe worms were originally in the country, or whether they were brought over from Europe.

Fleas are likewiſe to be found in this part of the world. Many thouſands were undoubtedly brought over from other countries; yet immenſe numbers of them have certainly been here ſince time immemorial. I have ſeen them on the grey ſquirrels, and on the hares which have been killed in ſuch deſart parts of this country, where no human creature ever lived. As I afterwards came further up into the country, and was obliged to lie at night in the huts and beds of the Indians, I was ſo plagued by immenſe quantities of fleas that I imagined I was put to the torture. They drove me from the bed, and I was very glad to ſleep on the benches below the roof of the huts. But it is eaſy to conceive that the many dogs which the Indians keep, breed fleas without end. Dogs and men lie promiſcuouſly in the huts; and a ſtranger can hardly lie down and ſhut his eyes, but he is in danger of being either ſqueezed to death, or ſtifled by a dozen or more dogs, which lie round him and upon him, in order to have a good reſting place. For I imagine they do not expect that ſtrangers will venture to beat them, or throw them off as their maſters and miſtreſſes commonly do.

The noiſy crickets (gryllus domeſticus) which are ſometimes to be met with in the houſes in Sweden, I have not perceived in any part of Penſylvania or New Jerſey; and other people whom I have aſked, could not ſay that they had ever ſeen any. In ſummer there are a kind of black crickets * in the fields, which make exactly the ſame chirping noiſe as our houſe crickets. But they keep only to the fields, and were ſilent as ſoon as winter or the cold weather came on. They ſay it ſometimes happens that theſe field crickets take refuge in houſes, and chirp continually there, whilſt it is warm weather, or whilſt the rooms are warm; but as ſoon as it grows cold they are ſilent. In ſome parts of the province of New York, and in Canada, every farm-houſe, and moſt of the houſes in the towns, ſwarm with ſo many, that no farm-houſe in our country can be better ſtocked with them. They continue their muſic there throughout the whole winter.

Bugs (cimex lectularius) are very plentiful here. I have been ſufficiently tormented by them in many places in Canada; but I do not remember having ſeen any with the Indians, during my ſtay at Fort Frederick. The commander there, Mr. de Louſignan, told me, that none of the Illinois and other Indians of the weſtern parts of North America knew any thing of theſe vermin; and he added, that he could with certainty ſay this from his own experience, having been among them for a great while. Yet I cannot determine whether bugs were firſt brought over by the Europeans, or whether they have originally been in the country. Many people looked upon them as natives of this country, and as a proof of it ſaid, that under the wings of bats the people had often found bugs, which had eaten very deep into the fleſh. It was therefore believed that the bats had got them in ſome hollow tree, and had afterwards brought them into the houſes, as they commonly fix themſelves cloſe to the walls, and creep into the little chinks which they meet with; but as I have never ſeen any bugs upon bats, I cannot ſay any thing upon that ſubject. Perhaps a louſe or a tick (acarus) has been taken

* Perhaps it is the gryllus campeſtris, or common black field cricket of Europe, of which Roeſel, in his work on inſects, vol. 2, Gryll. f. 13. has giving a fine drawing. F.

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for a bug; or, if a real bug has been found upon a bat's wing, it is very eaſy to conceive that it fixed on the bat, whilſt the latter was ſitting in the chinks of a houſe ſtocked with European bugs.

As the people here could not bear the inconvenience of theſe vermin, any more than we can in Sweden, they endeavoured to expel them by different means. I have already remarked, that the beds to that purpoſe were made of ſaſſafras wood, but that they were only temporary remedies. Some perſons aſſured me that they had found, from their own experience, and by repeated trials, that no remedy was more effectual towards the expulſion of bugs than the injecting of boiling water into all the cracks where they are ſettled, and waſhing all the wood of the beds with it; this being twice or thrice repeated, the bugs are wholly deſtroyed. But if there are bugs in neighbouring houſes, they will faſten to one's clothes, and thus be brought over into other houſes.

I cannot ſay whether theſe remedies are good or no, as I have not tried them; but by repeated trials I have been convinced that ſulphur, if it be properly employed, entirely deſtroys bugs and their eggs in beds and walls, though they were ten times more numerous than the ants in an ant-hill*.

The mill-beetles, or cock-roaches, are likewiſe a plague of North America, and are ſettled in many of its provinces. The learned Dr. Colden was of opinion that theſe inſects were properly natives of the Weſt Indies, and that thoſe that were found in North America were brought over from thoſe iſlands. To confirm his opinion, he ſaid, that it was yet daily ſeen how the ſhips coming with goods from the Weſt Indies to North America, brought mill-beetles with them in great numbers. But from the obſervations which I have made in this country, I have reaſon to believe that theſe inſects have been on the continent of North America time immemorial. Yet notwithſtanding this I do not deny their being brought over from the Weſt Indies. They are in almoſt every houſe in the city of New York; and thoſe undoubtedly came over in ſhips. But how can that be ſaid of thoſe mill-beetles which are found in the midſt of the woods and deſerts?

The Engliſh likewiſe call the mill-beetles cock-roaches, and the Dutch give them the name of cackerlack. The Swedes in this country call them brodoetare, or bread-eaters, on account of the damage they do to the bread, which I am going to deſcribe. Dr. Linnæus calls them blatta orientalis. Many of the Swedes call them likewiſe kackerlack. They are not only obſerved in the houſes, but in the ſummer they appear often in the woods, and run about the trees which are cut down. On bringing in all ſorts of old rotten blocks of wood for fuel, in February, I diſcovered ſeveral cock-roaches ſettled in them; they were at firſt quite torpid, or as it were dead; but after lying in the room for a while, they recovered, became very lively, and began to run about. I afterwards found very often, that when old rotten wood was brought home in winter, and cut in pieces for fuel, the cock-roaches were got into it in numbers, and lay in it in a torpid ſtate. In the ſame winter, a fellow cut down a great dry tree, and was about to ſplit it. I then obſerved in a crack, ſome fathoms above the ground, ſeveral cock-roaches together with the common ants. They were, it ſeems, crept up a great way, in order to find a ſecure place of abode againſt winter. On travelling, in the middle of October 1749, through the uninhabited country between the Engliſh and French colonies, and making a fire at night near a thick half-rotten tree, on the

* A ſtill more infallible remedy is to waſh all the furniture infected with that vermin, with a ſolution of arſenic. F.

ſhore of Lake Champlain, numbers of cock-roaches came out of the wood, being wakened by the ſmoke and the fire, which had driven them out of their holes. The Frenchmen, who were then in my company, did not not know them, and could not give them any name. In Canada the French did not remember ſeeing any in the houſes. In Penſylvania, I am told, they run in immenſe numbers about the ſheaves of corn, during the harveſt. At other times they live commonly in the houſes in the Engliſh ſettlements, and lie in the crevices, eſpecially in the cracks of thoſe beams which ſupport the ceiling, and are neareſt to the chimney.

They do a deal of damage by eating the ſoft parts of the bread. If they have once made a hole into a loaf, they will in a little time eat all the ſoft part in it, ſo that on cutting the loaf, nothing but the cruſt is left. I am told they likewiſe eat other victuals. Sometimes they bite people's noſes or feet, whilſt they are aſleep. An old Swede, called Suen Laock, a grandſon of the Rev. Mr. Laockenius, one of the firſt Swediſh clergymen that came to Penſylvania, told me, that he had in his younger years been once very much frightened on account of a cock-roach, which crept into his ear whilſt he was aſleep. He waked ſuddenly, jumped out of bed, and felt that the inſect, probably out of fear, was endeavouring with all its ſtrength to get deeper. Theſe attempts of the cock-roach were ſo painful to him, that he imagined his head was burſting, and he was almoſt ſenſeleſs; however he haſtened to the well, and bringing up a bucket full of water, threw ſome into his ear. As ſoon as the cock-roach found itſelf in danger of being drowned, it endeavoured to ſave itſelf, and puſhed backwards out of the ear, with its hind feet, and thus happily delivered the poor man from his fears.

The wood-lice are diſagreeable inſects, which in a manner are worſe than the preceding; but as I have already deſcribed them in a peculiar memoir, which is printed among the memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences for the year 1754, I refer my readers to that account.

Dec. 11th. This morning I made a little excurſion to Penn's Neck, and further over the Delaware to Wilmington. The country round Penn's Neck has the ſame qualities as that about other places in this part of New Jerſey. For the ground conſiſts chiefly of ſand, with a thin ſtratum of black ſoil. It is not very hilly, but chiefly flat, and in moſt places covered with open woods of ſuch trees as have annual leaves, eſpecially oak. Now and then you ſee a ſingle farm, and a little corn-field round it. Between them are here and there little marſhes or ſwamps, and ſometimes a brook with water, which has a very ſlow motion.

The woods of theſe parts conſiſt of all ſorts of trees, but chiefly of oak and hiccory. Theſe woods have certainly never been cut down, and have always grown without hindrance. It might therefore be expected that there are trees of an uncommon great age to be found in them; but it happens otherwiſe, and there are very few trees three hundred years old. Moſt of them are only two hundred years old; and this convinced me that trees have the ſame quality as animals, and die after they are arrived at a certain age. Thus we find great woods here, but when the trees in them have ſtood an hundred and fifty or an hundred and eighty years, they are either rotting within, or loſing their crown, or their wood becomes quite ſoft, or their roots are no longer able to draw in ſufficient nouriſhment, or they die from ſome other cauſe. Therefore when ſtorms blow, which ſometimes happens here, the trees are broke off either juſt above the root, or in the middle, or at the ſummit. Several trees are likewiſe torn out with their roots by the power of the winds. The ſtorms thus cauſe great devaſtations in theſe foreſts. Everywhere you ſee trees thrown down by the winds, after they are too

much weakened by one or the other of the above-mentioned cauſes to be able to reſiſt their fury. Fire likewiſe breaks out often in the woods, and burns the trees half way from the root, ſo that a violent guſt of wind eaſily throws them down.

On travelling through theſe woods, I purpoſely tried to find out, by the poſition of the trees which were fallen down, which winds are the ſtrongeſt hereabouts. But I could not conclude any thing with certainty, for the trees fell on all ſides, and lay towards all the points of the compaſs. I therefore judged, that any wind which blows from that ſide where the roots of the tree are weakeſt and ſhorteſt, and where it can make the leaſt reſiſtance, muſt root it up and throw it down. In this manner the old trees die away continually, and are ſucceeded by a young generation. Thoſe which are thrown down lie on the ground and putrify, ſooner or later, and by that means increaſe the black ſoil, into which the leaves are likewiſe finally changed, which drop abundantly in autumn, are blown about by the winds for ſome time, but are heaped up, and lie on both ſides of the trees, which are fallen down. It requires ſeveral years before a tree is entirely reduced to duſt. When the winds tear up a tree with the roots, a quantity of looſe ſoil commonly comes out with, and ſticks to them for ſome time, but at laſt it drops off, and forms a little hillock, which is afterwards augmented by the leaves, which commonly gather about the roots. Thus ſeveral inequalities are formed in the woods, ſuch as little holes and hills; and by this means the upper ſoil muſt likewiſe be heaped up in ſuch places.

Some trees are more inclined to putrify than others. The tupelo-tree (nyſſa), the tulip-tree (liriodendron), and the ſweet gum-tree (liquidambar), became rotten in a ſhort time. The hiccory did not take much time, and the black oak fell ſooner to pieces than the white oak; but this was owing to circumſtances. If the bark remained on the wood, it was for the greateſt part rotten, and entirely eaten by worms within, in the ſpace of ſix, eight, or ten years, ſo that nothing was to be found but a reddiſh brown duſt. But if the bark was taken off, they would often lie twenty years before they were entirely rotten. The ſuddenneſs of a tree's growth, the bigneſs of its pores, and the frequent changes of heat and wet in ſummer, cauſe it to rot ſooner. To this it muſt be added, that all ſorts of inſects make holes into the ſtems of the fallen trees, and by that means the moiſture and the air get into the tree, which muſt of courſe forward putrefaction. Moſt of the trees here have deciduous or annual leaves. Many of them begin to rot whilſt they are yet ſtanding and blooming. This forms the hollow trees, in which many animals make their neſts and places of refuge.

The breadth of the Delaware directly oppoſite Wilmington, is reckoned an Engliſh mile and a half; yet to look at it, it did not ſeem to be ſo great. The depth of the river, in the middle, is ſaid to be from four to ſix fathoms here.

Dec. 12th. The joiners ſay, that among the trees of this country they chiefly uſe the black walnut-trees, the wild cherry-trees, and the curled maple. Of the black walnut-trees (juglans nigra) there is yet a ſufficient quantity. However careleſs people take pains enough to deſtroy them, and ſome peaſants even uſe them as fuel. The wood of the wild cherry-trees (prunus Virginiana) is very good, and looks exceedingly well; it has a yellow colour, and the older the furniture is, which is made of it, the better it looks. But it is already difficult to get at it, for they cut it everywhere, and plant it nowhere. The curled maple (acer rubrum) is a ſpecies of the common red maple, but likewiſe very difficult to be got. You may cut down many trees without finding the wood which you want. The wood of the ſweet gum-tree (liquidambar) is merely employed in joiner's work, ſuch as tables and other furniture. But it muſt not

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be brought near the fire, becauſe it warps. The firs and the white cedars (cupreſſus thyoides) are likewiſe made uſe of by the joiners for different ſorts of work.

The millers who attended the mill which ſtood here, ſaid, that the axletrees of the wheels of the mill were made of white oak, and that they continued good three or four years, but that the fir-wood does not keep ſo well. The cogs of the mill-wheel and the pullies are made of the wood of the white walnut-tree, becauſe it is the hardeſt which can be got here. The wood of mulberry-trees is of all others reckoned the moſt excellent for pegs and plugs in ſhips and boats.

At night I went over the river Delaware, from Wilmington to the ferrying-place, on the New Jerſey ſide.

Dec. 13th. In the morning I returned to Raccoon.

On many trees in the woods of this country, either on one of the ſides, or in the middle of a branch, or round a branch, are greater or leſſer knobs or excreſcences. Sometimes there is only a ſingle one in a tree. In the ſize there is a conſiderable difference, for ſome of theſe knobs are as big and bigger than a man's head, others are only ſmall. They project above the ſurface of the tree, like a tumor. Sometimes a tree was quite covered with them. They do not lie on one ſide only, but often form a circle round a branch, and even round the ſtem itſelf. The trees which have theſe knobs are not always great ones, but ſome not above a fathom high. The knobs commonly conſiſt of the ſame parts as the wood itſelf, and look within like curled wood. Some of them are hollow. When a knob on a little tree is cut open, we commonly find a number of little worms in it, which are ſometimes alſo common in the greater knobs. This ſhews the origin of the knobs in general. The tree is ſtung by inſects, which lay their eggs under the bark, and from the eggs worms are afterwards hatched. They occaſion an extravaſation of the ſap, which gradually condenſes into a knob. Only the trees with annual deciduous leaves have theſe knobs, and among them chiefly the oak, of which again the black and Spaniſh oak have the greateſt abundance of knobs. The-aſh trees, (fraxinus excelſior) and the red maple (acer rubrum) likewiſe have enough of them. Formerly the Swedes, and more eſpecially the Finlanders, who are ſettled here, made diſhes, bowls, &c. of the knobs which were on the aſh-trees. Theſe veſſels, I am told, were very pretty, and looked as if they were made of curled wood. The oak-knobs cannot be employed in this manner as they are commonly worm-eaten and rotten within. At preſent the Swedes no longer make uſe of ſuch bowls and diſhes, but make uſe of earthenware, or veſſels made of other wood. Some knobs are of an uncommon ſize, and make a tree have a monſtrous appearance. Trees with knobs are very common in the woods of this country*.

The roads are good or bad according to the difference of the ground. In a ſandy ſoil the roads are dry and good; but in a clayey one they are bad. The people here are likewiſe very careleſs in mending them. If a rivulet be not very great, they do not make a bridge over it; and travellers may do as well as they can to get over: Therefore many people are in danger of being drowned in ſuch places, where the water is

* In Siberia, and in the province of Wiatka, in the government of Cazan, in Ruſſia, the inhabitants make uſe of the knobs, which are pretty frequently found in birches, to make bowls and other domeſtic utenſils thereof. They are turned, made pretty thin, and covered with a kind of varniſh, which gives them a pretty appearance; for the utenſil looks yellow, and is marbled quite in a picturesque manner, with brown veins. The beſt kind of theſe veſſels are made ſo thin that they are ſemidiaphanous, and when put into hot water they grow quite pliant, and may be formed by main force, quite flat, but when again left to themſelves, and grown cold, they return to their original ſhape. This kind of wood is called, in Ruſſia, kap, and the veſſels made of it, kappowie tchaſhkt, and are pretty high in price, when they are of the beſt kind, and well varniſhed. F.

riſen by a heavy rain. When a tree falls acroſs the road, it is ſeldom cut off, to keep the road clear, but the people go round it. This they can eaſily do, ſince the ground is very even, and without ſtones; has no underwood or ſhrubs, and the trees on it ſtand much aſunder. Hence the roads here have ſo many bendings.

The farms are moſt of them ſingle, and you ſeldom meet with even two together, except in towns, or places which are intended for towns; therefore there are but few villages. Each farm has its corn-fields, its woods, its paſtures and meadows. This may perhaps have contributed ſomething towards the extirpation of wolves, that they everywhere met with houſes, and people who fired at them. Two or three farm-houſes have generally a paſture or a wood in common, and there are ſeldom more together; but moſt of them have their own grounds divided from the others.

Dec. 18th. All perſons who intend to be married, muſt either have their banns publiſhed three times from the pulpit, or get a licence from the governor. The banns of the poorer ſort of people only are publiſhed, and all thoſe who are a little above them get a licence from the governor. In that licence he declares that he has examined the affair, and found no obſtacles to hinder the marriage, and therefore he allows it. The licence is ſigned by the governor; but, before he delivers it, the bridegroom muſt come to him in company with two creditable and well-known men, who anſwer for him, that there really is no lawful obſtacle to his marriage. Theſe men muſt ſubſcribe a certificate, in which they make themſelves anſwerable for, and engage to bear all the damages of, any complaints made by the relations of the perſons who intend to be married, by their guardians, their maſters, or by thoſe to whom they may have been promiſed before. For all theſe circumſtances the governor cannot poſſibly know. They further certify that nothing hinders the intended marriage, and that nothing is to be feared on that account. For a licence they pay five and twenty ſhillings in Penſylvanian money, at Philadelphia. The governor keeps twenty ſhillings, or one pound, and the remaining five ſhillings belong to his ſecretary. The licence is directed only to proteſtant clergymen. The quakers have a peculiar licence to their marriages. But as it would be very troubleſome, eſpecially for thoſe who live far from the governor's reſidence, to come up to town for every licence, and to bring the men with them who are to anſwer for them, the clergymen in the country commonly take a ſufficient number of licences and certificates, which are ready printed, with blanks left for the names; they give them occaſionally, and get the common money, one pound five ſhillings, for each of them, beſides ſomething for their trouble. The money that they have collected, they deliver to the governor as ſoon as they come to town, together with the certificates, which are ſigned by two men, as above-mentioned; they then take again as many licences as they think ſufficient: from hence we may conceive that the governors in the Engliſh North American colonies, beſides their ſalaries, have very conſiderable revenues *.

There is a great mixture of people of all ſorts in theſe colonies, partly of ſuch as are lately come over from Europe, and partly of ſuch as have not yet any ſettled place of abode. Hence it frequently happens that when a clergyman has married ſuch a couple, the bridegroom ſays he has no money at preſent, but would pay the fee at the firſt opportunity: however he goes off with his wife, and the clergyman never gets his due.

* Though it is very deſirable that the members of the church of England may enjoy the ſame religious liberty in America as the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects, and have every part of their religious eſtabliſhment among themſelves, and that therefore biſhops might be introduced in America, it is however to be feared this will prove one of the obſtacles to the introducing of Engliſh biſhops in that part of the world.

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This proceeding has given occaſion to a cuſtom which is now common in Maryland. When the clergyman marries a very poor couple, he breaks off in the middle of the liturgy, and cries out, Where is my fee? The man muſt then give the money, and the clergyman proceeds; but if the bridegroom has no money, the clergyman defers the marriage till another time, when the man is better provided. People of fortune, of whom the clergyman is ſure to get his due, need not fear this diſagreeable queſtion, when they are married.

However, though the parſon has got licences to marry a couple, yet if he be not very careful, he may get into very diſagreeable circumſtances; for in many parts of the country there is a law made, which, notwithſtanding the governor's licence, greatly limits a clergyman in ſome caſes. He is not allowed to marry a couple who are not yet of age, unleſs he be certain of the conſent of their parents. He cannot marry ſuch ſtrangers as have bound themſelves to ſerve a certain number of years, in order to pay off their paſſage from Europe, without the conſent of their maſters; if he acts without their conſent, or in oppoſition to it, he muſt pay a penalty of fifty pounds, Penſylvania currency, though he has the licence, and the certificate of the two men who are to anſwer for any objection. But parents or maſters give themſelves no concern about theſe men, but take hold of the clergyman, who is at liberty to proſecute thoſe who gave him the certificate, and to get his damages repaid. With the conſent of the parents and maſters, he may marry people without danger to himſelf. No clergyman is allowed to marry a negro with one of European extraction, or he muſt pay a penalty of one hundred pounds, according to the laws of Penſylvania.

There is a very peculiar diverting cuſtom here, in regard to marrying. When a man dies, and leaves his widow in great poverty, or ſo that ſhe cannot pay all the debts with what little ſhe has left; and that, notwithſtanding all that, there is a perſon who will marry her, ſhe muſt be married in no other habit than her ſhift. By that means, ſhe leaves to the creditors of her deceaſed huſband her cloaths, and every thing which they find in the houſe. But ſhe is not obliged to pay them any thing more, becauſe ſhe has left them all ſhe was worth, even her cloaths, keeping only a ſhift to cover her, which the laws of the country cannot refuſe her. As ſoon as ſhe is married, and no longer belongs to the deceaſed huſband, ſhe puts on the cloaths which the ſecond has given her. The Swediſh clergymen here have often been obliged to marry a woman in a dreſs which is ſo little expenſive, and ſo light. This appears from the regiſters kept in the churches, and from the accounts given by the clergymen themſelves. I have likewiſe often ſeen accounts of ſuch marriages in the Engliſh gazettes, which are printed in theſe colonies; and I particularly remember the following relation: A woman went, with no other dreſs than her ſhift, out of the houſe of her deceaſed huſband to that of her bridegroom, who met her half way with fine new cloaths, and ſaid, before all who were preſent, that he lent them his bride; and put them on her with his own hands. It ſeems he ſaid that he lent the cloaths, leſt, if he had ſaid he gave them, the creditors of the firſt huſband ſhould come and take them from her; pretending, that ſhe was looked upon as the relict of her firſt huſband, before ſhe was married to the ſecond.

Dec. 21ſt. It ſeems very probable, from the following obſervations, that long before the arrival of the Swedes, there have been Europeans in this province; and, in the ſequel, we ſhall give more confirmations of this opinion. The ſame old Maons Keen, whom I have already mentioned before, told me repeatedly, that, on the arrival of the Swedes in the laſt century, and on their making a ſettlement, called Helſingburg, on the banks of the Delaware, ſomewhat below the place where Salem is now ſituated; they found, at the depth of twenty feet, ſome wells, incloſed with walls. This could not

not be a work of the native Americans, or Indians, as bricks were entirely unknown to them when the Europeans firſt ſettled here, at the end of the fifteenth century; and they ſtill leſs knew how to make uſe of them. The wells were at that time on the land; but in ſuch a place, on the banks of the Delaware, as is ſometimes under water, and ſometimes dry. But ſince the ground has been ſo waſhed away, that the wells are entirely covered by the river, and the water is ſeldom low enough to ſhew the wells. As the Swedes afterwards made new wells for themſelves, at ſome diſtance from the former, they diſcovered in the ground, ſome broken earthen veſſels, and ſome entire good bricks; and they have often got them out of the ground by ploughing.

From theſe marks, it ſeems we may conclude, that, in times of yore, either Europeans, or other people of the then civilized parts of the world, have been carried hither by ſtorms, or other accidents, ſettled here, on the banks of the river, burnt bricks, and made a colony here; but that they afterwards mixed with the Indians, or were killed by them. They may gradually, by converſing with the Indians, have learnt their manners, and turn of thinking. The Swedes themſelves are accuſed, that they were already half Indians, when the Engliſh arrived in the year 1682. And we ſtill ſee, that the French, Engliſh, Germans, Dutch, and other Europeans, who have lived for ſeveral years together in diſtant provinces, near and among the Indians, grow ſo like them, in their behaviour and thoughts, that they can only be diſtinguiſhed by the difference of their colour. But hiſtory, together with the tradition among the Indians, aſſures us, that the above-mentioned wells and bricks cannot have been made at the time of Columbus's expedition, nor ſoon after; as the traditions of the Indians ſay, that thoſe wells were made long before that epocha. This account of the wells, which had been incloſed with bricks, and of ſuch bricks as have been found in ſeveral places in the ground, I have afterwards heard repeated by many other old Swedes.

Dec. 22d. An old farmer foretold a change of the weather, becauſe the air was very warm this day at noon, though the morning had been very cold. This he likewiſe concluded, from having obſerved the clouds gathering about the ſun. The meteorological obſervations annexed to this work, will prove that his obſervation was juſt.

Dec. 31ſt. The remedies againſt the tooth-ach are almoſt as numerous as days in a year. There is hardly an old woman but can tell you three or four ſcore of them, of which ſhe is perfectly certain that they are as infallible and ſpeedy in giving relief, as a month's faſting, by bread and water, is to a burthenſome paunch. Yet it happens often, nay, too frequently, that this painful diſeaſe eludes all this formidable army of remedies. However, I cannot forbear obſerving the following remedies, which have ſometimes, in this country, been found effectual againſt the tooth-ach.

When the pains come from the hollowneſs of the teeth, the following remedy is ſaid to have had a good effect: A little cotton is put at the bottom of a tobacco-pipe; the tobacco is put in upon it, and lighted; and you ſmoke till it is almoſt burnt up. By ſmoking, the oil of the tobacco gets into the cotton, which is then taken out, and applied to the tooth as hot as it can be ſuffered.

The chief remedy of the Iroquois, or Iroqueſe, againſt the tooth-ach, occaſioned by hollow teeth, I heard of Captain Lindſey's lady, at Oſwego; and ſhe aſſured me, that ſhe knew, from her own experience, that the remedy was effectual. They take the ſeed capſules of the Virginian Anemone, as ſoon as the ſeed is ripe, and rub them in pieces. It will then be rough, and look like cotton. This cotton-like ſubſtance is dipped into ſtrong brandy, and then put into the hollow tooth, which commonly ceaſes to ache ſoon after. The brandy is biting or ſharp, and the ſeeds of the anemone, as moſt ſeeds of

the polyandria polygynia claſs of plants (or ſuch as have many ſtamina, or male flowers, and many piſtilla, or female flowers) have likewiſe an acrimony. They therefore, both together, help to aſſuage the pain; and this remedy is much of the ſame kind with the former. Beſides that, we have many ſeeds which have the ſame qualities with the American anemone.

The following remedy was much in vogue againſt the tooth-ach which is attended with a ſwelling: They boil gruel of flour of maize, and milk; to this they add, whilſt it is yet over the fire, ſome of the fat of hogs or other ſuet, and ſtir it well, that every thing may mix equally. A handkerchief is then ſpread over the gruel, and applied as hot as poſſible to the ſwelled cheek, where it is kept till it is gone cool again. I have found, that this remedy has been very efficacious againſt a ſwelling; as it leſſens the pain, abates the ſwelling, opens a gathering if there be any, and procures a good diſcharge of the pus.

I have ſeen the Iroqueſe boil the inner bark of the ſambucus Canadenſis, or Canada elder, and put it on that part of the cheek in which the pain was moſt violent. This, I am told, often diminiſhes the pain.

Among the Iroqueſe, or Five Nations, upon the river Mohawk, I ſaw a young Indian woman, who, by frequent drinking of tea, had got a violent tooch-ach. To cure it, ſhe boiled the myrica aſplenii folia, and tied it, as hot as ſhe could bear it, on the whole cheek. She ſaid, that remedy had often cured the tooth-ach before.

Jan. 2d, 1749. Before the Europeans, under the direction of columbus, came to the Weſt Indies, the ſavages or Indians (who lived there ſince times immemorial) were entirely unacquainted with iron, which appears very ſtrange to us, as North America, almoſt in every part of it, contains a number of iron mines. They were therefore obliged to ſupply this want with ſharp ſtones, ſhells, claws of birds and wild beaſts, pieces of bones, and other things of that kind, whenever they intended to make hatchets, knives, and ſuch like inſtruments. From hence it appears, that they muſt have led a very wretched life. The old Swedes, who lived here, and had had an intercourſe with the Indians when they were young, and at a time when they were yet very numerous in theſe parts, could tell a great many things concerning their manner of living. At this time the people find accidentally, by ploughing and digging in the ground, ſeveral of the inſtruments which the Indians employed, before the Swedes and other Europeans had provided them with iron tools. For it is obſervable that the Indians at preſent make uſe of no other tools, than ſuch as are made of iron and other metals, and which they always get from the Europeans. Of this I ſhall be more particular, in its proper place. But having had an opportunity of ſeeing and partly collecting a great many of the ancient Indian tools, I ſhall here deſcribe them.

Their hatchets were made of ſtone. Their ſhape is ſimilar to that of the wedges with which we cleave our wood, about half a foot long, and broad in proportion; they are made like a wedge, ſharp at one end, but rather blunter than our wedges. As this hatchet muſt be fixed on a handle, there was a notch made all round the thick end. To faſten it, they ſplit a ſtick at one end, and put the ſtone between it, ſo that the two halves of the ſtick come into the notches of the ſtone; then they tied the two ſplit ends together with a rope, or ſomething like it, almoſt in the ſame way as ſmiths faſten the inſtrument with which they cut off iron, to a ſplit ſtick. Some of theſe ſtone-hatchets were not notched or furrowed at the upper end, and it ſeems they only held thoſe in their hands in order to hew or ſtrike with them, and did not make handles to them. Moſt of the hatchets which I have ſeen, conſiſted of a hard rock-ſtone; but ſome were made of a fine, hard, black, apyrous ſtone. When the

Indians intended to fell a thick ſtrong tree, they could not make uſe of their hatchets, but, for want of proper inſtruments, employed fire. They ſet fire to a great quantity of wood at the roots of the tree, and made it fall by that means. But that the fire might not reach higher than they would have it, they faſtened ſome rags to a pole, dipped them into water, and kept continually waſhing the tree, a little above the fire. Whenever they intended to hollow out a thick tree for a canoe, they laid dry branches all along the ſtem of the tree, as far as it muſt be hollowed out. They then put fire to thoſe dry branches, and as ſoon as they were burnt, they were replaced by others. Whilſt theſe branches were burning, the Indians were very buſy with wet rags, and pouring water upon the tree, to prevent the fire from ſpreading too far on the ſides, and at the ends. The tree being burnt hollow as far as they found it ſufficient, or as far as it could, without damaging the canoe, they took the above deſcribed ſtone-hatchets, or ſharp flints, and quartzes, or ſharp ſhells, and ſcraped off the burnt part of the wood, and ſmoothened the boats within. By this means they likewiſe gave it what ſhape they pleaſed. Inſtead of cutting with a hatchet ſuch a piece of wood as was neceſſary for making a canoe, they likewiſe employed fire. A canoe was commonly between thirty and forty feet long. The chief uſe of their hatchets was, according to the unanimous accounts of all the Swedes, to make good fields for maize-plantations; for if the ground where they intended to make a maize-field was covered with trees, they cut off the bark all round the trees with their hatchets, eſpecially at the time when they loſe their ſap. By that means the tree became dry and could not take any more nouriſhment, and the leaves could no longer obſtruct the rays of the ſun from paſſing. The ſmaller trees were then pulled out by main force, and the ground was a little turned up with crooked or ſharp branches.

Inſtead of knives they were ſatisfied with little ſharp pieces of flint or quartz, or elſe ſome other hard kind of a ſtone, or with a ſharp ſhell, or with a piece of a bone which they had ſharpened.

At the end of their arrows they faſtened narrow angulated pieces of ſtone; they made uſe of them, having no iron to make them ſharp again, or a wood of ſufficient hardneſs: theſe points were commonly flints or quartzes, but ſometimes likewiſe another kind of a ſtone. Some employed the bones of animals, or the claws of birds and beaſts. Some of theſe ancient harpoons are very blunt, and it ſeems that the Indians might kill birds and ſmall quadrupeds with them; but whether they could enter deep into the body of a great beaſt or of a man, by the velocity which they get from the bow, I cannot aſcertain; yet ſome have been found very ſharp and well made.

They had ſtone peſtles, about a foot long, and as thick as a man's arm. They conſiſt chiefly of a black ſort of a ſtone, and were formerly employed by the Indians, for pounding maize, which has, ſince times immemorial, been their chief and almoſt their only corn. They had neither wind-mills, water-mills, nor hand-mills, to grind it, and did not ſo much as know a mill before the Europeans came into the country. I have ſpoken with old Frenchmen in Canada, who told me that the Indians had been aſtoniſhed beyond expreſſion when the French ſet up the firſt wind-mill. They came in numbers, even from the moſt diſtant parts, to view this wonder, and were not tired with ſitting near it for ſeveral days together, in order to obſerve it; they were long of opinion that it was not driven by the wind, but by the ſpirits who lived within it. They were partly under the ſame aſtoniſhment when the firſt water-mill was built. They formerly pounded all their corn or maize in hollow trees, with the above-mentioned peſtles, made of ſtone. Many Indians had only wooden

peſtles. The blackiſh ſtone, of which the hatchets and peſtles are ſometimes made, is very good for a grindſtone, and therefore both the Engliſh and the Swedes employ the hatchets and peſtles chiefly as grindſtones, at preſent, when they can get them.

The old boilers or kettles of the Indians, were either made of clay, or of different kinds of potſtone, (lapis ollaris). The former conſiſted of a dark clay, mixt with grains of white ſand or quartz, and burnt in the fire. Many of theſe kettles have two holes in the upper margin, on each ſide one, through which the Indians put a ſtick, and held the kettle over the fire, as long as it was to boil. Moſt of the kettles have no feet. It is remarkable that no pots of this kind have been found glazed, either on the outſide or the inſide. A few of the oldeſt Swedes could yet remember ſeeing the Indians boil their meat in theſe pots. They are very thin, and of different ſizes; they are made ſometimes of a greeniſh, and ſometimes of a grey potſtone, and ſome are made of another ſpecies of apyrous ſtone; the bottom and the margin are frequently above an inch thick. The Indians, notwithſtanding their being unacquainted with iron, ſteel, and other metals, have learnt to hollow out very ingenioufly theſe pots or kettles of pot-ſtone.

The old tobacco-pipes of the Indians are likewiſe made of clay, or pot-ſtone, or ſerpentine-ſtone. The firſt ſort are ſhaped like our tobacco-pipes, though much coarſer and not ſo well made. The tube is thick and ſhort, hardly an inch long, but ſometimes as long as a finger; their colour comes neareſt to that of our tobacco-pipes which have been long uſed. Their tobacco-pipes of pot-ſtone are made of the ſame ſtone as their kettles. Some of them are pretty well made, though they had neither iron nor ſteel. But beſides theſe kinds of tobacco-pipes, we find another ſort of pipes, which are made with great ingenuity, of a very fine red pot-ſtone, or a kind of ſerpentine marble. They are very ſcarce, and ſeldom made uſe of by any other than the Indian ſachems, or elders. The fine red ſtone, of which theſe pipes are made, is likewiſe very ſcarce, and is found only in the country of thoſe Indians who are called Ingouez, and who, according to father Charlevoix, live on the other ſide of the river Miſſiſippi*. The Indians themſelves commonly value a pipe of this kind as much as a piece of ſilver of the ſame ſize, and ſometimes they make it ſtill dearer. Of the ſame kind of ſtone commonly conſiſts their pipe of peace, which the French call calumet de paix, and which they make uſe of in their treaties of peace and alliances. Moſt authors who have wrote of theſe nations mention this inſtrument, and I intend to ſpeak of it when an opportunity offers.

The Indians employ hooks made of bone, or bird's claws, inſtead of fiſhing-hooks. Some of the oldeſt Swedes here told me, that when they were young, a great number of Indians had been in this part of the country, which was then called New Sweden, and had caught fiſhes in the river Delaware with theſe hooks.

They made fire by rubbing one end of a hard piece of wood continually againſt another dry one, till the wood began to ſmoke, and afterwards to burn.

Such were the tools of the ancient Indians, and the uſe which they made of them, before the Europeans invaded this country, and before they (the Indians) were acquainted with the advantages of iron. North America abounds in iron-mines, and the Indians lived all about the country before the arrival of the Europeans, ſo that ſeveral places can be ſhewn in this country where at preſent there are iron-mines, and where not a hundred years ago, ſtood great towns or villages of the Indians. It is

* See his Journal hiſtorique d'un voyage de l'Amerique. Tome v. p. m. 311. and the 13th letter.

therefore

therefore very remarkable, that the Indians did not know how to make uſe of a metal or ore which was always under their eyes, and on which they could not avoid treading every day. They even lived upon the very ſpots where iron ores were afterwards found, and yet they often went many miles in order to get a wretched hatchet, knife, or the like, as above deſcribed. They were forced to employ ſeveral days in order to ſharpen their tools, by rubbing them againſt a rock, or other ſtones, though the advantage was far from being equal to the labour. For they could never cut down a thick tree with their hatchets, and with difficulty they felled a ſmall one. They could not hollow out a tree with their hatchets, or do a hundredth part of the work which we can perform with eaſe, by the help of our iron hatchets. Thus we ſee how diſadvantageous the ignorance and inconſiderate contempt of uſeful arts is. Happy is the country which knows their full value!

January the 5th. Chriſtmas-day was celebrated this day by the Swedes and Engliſh, for they kept them to the old ſtile.

January the 6th. There are a great number of hares in this country, but they differ from our Swediſh ones in their ſize, which is very ſmall, and but little bigger than that of a rabbit; they keep almoſt the ſame grey colour both in ſummer and winter, which our northern hares have in ſummer only; the tip of their ears is always grey, and not black; the tail is likewiſe grey on the upper ſide, at all ſeaſons; they breed ſeveral times a year: in ſpring they lodge their young ones in hollow trees, and in ſummer, in the months of June and July, they breed in the graſs. When they are ſurpriſed they commonly take refuge in hollow trees, out of which they are taken by means of a crooked ſtick, or by cutting a hole into the tree, oppoſite to the place where they lie; or by ſmoke, which is occaſioned by making a fire on the outſide of the tree. On all theſe occaſions the greyhounds muſt be at hand. Theſe hares never bite, and can be touched without any danger. In day-time they uſually lie in hollow trees, and hardly ever ſtir from thence, unleſs they be diſturbed by men or dogs; but in the night they come out, and ſeek their food. In bad weather, or when it ſnows, they lie cloſe for a day or two, and do not venture to leave their retreats. They do a great deal of miſchief in the cabbage-fields; but apple-trees ſuffer infinitely more from them, for they peel off all the bark next to the ground. The people here agreed that the hares are fatter in a cold and ſevere winter, than in a mild and wet one, of which they could give me ſeveral reaſons, from their own conjectures. The ſkin is uſeleſs, becauſe it is ſo looſe that it can be drawn off; for when you would ſeparate it from the fleſh, you need only pull at the fur, and the ſkin follows: theſe hares cannot be tamed. They were at all times, even in the midſt of winter, plagued with a number of common fleas*.

Jan. 16th. The common mice were in great abundance in the towns and in the country; they do as much miſchief as in the old countries. Oldmixon in his book, the Britiſh Empire in America, vol. i. p. 444, writes, that North America had neither rats nor mice before European ſhips brought them over. How far this is true I know not. It is undoubted, that in ſeveral deſart places, where no man ever lived, I have ſeen and killed the common mice in crevices of ſtones or mountains; and is it probable that all ſuch mice as are ſpread in this manner, throughout the inland

* This account ſufficiently proves, that theſe hares are a ſpecies diſtinct from our European reddiſh grey kind, and alſo of that ſpecies or variety only, which in the northern parts of Europe and Aſia is white in winter, with black tipped ears, and has a grey coat in ſummer. Upon a cloſer examination naturaliſts will perhaps find more characters to diſtinguiſh them more accurately. F.

parts

parts of the country, derive their origin from thoſe which were brought over from Europe?

Rats likewiſe may be ranked among thoſe animals which do great damage in this country. They live both in the cities and in the country, and deſtroy their proviſions. Their ſize is the ſame with that of our rats, but their colour differs; for they are grey, or blue-grey. I enquired of the Swedes, whether theſe rats had been here prior to the arrival of the Europeans, or whether they came over in the ſhips? But I could not get an anſwer which I might depend upon. All agreed, that a number of theſe dangerous and miſchievous animals were every year brought to America, by ſhips from Europe and other countries. But Mr. Bartram maintained, that before the Europeans ſettled here, rats had been in the country; for he ſaw a great number of them on the high mountains which are commonly called the blue mountains, where they lived among ſtones, and in the ſubterraneous grottoes which are in thoſe mountains. They always lie very cloſe in the day-time, and you hardly ever ſee one out; but at night they come out, and make a terrible noiſe. When the cold was very violent, they ſeemed quite torpid; for during the continuance of the cold weather, one could not hear the leaſt noiſe or ſhrieking, occaſioned by them. It is to be obſerved, that neither the Swedes nor the Engliſh have any dark windows in their houſes here. There is hardly a dormer-window in the garret; but only looſe boards. The walls in the wooden houſes are frequently not cloſed, even with moſs; ſo that the rooms, though they have fires in them, are no warmer than the outſide apartment, or hall. The rooms where the ſervants ſleep have never any fire in them, though the winter is pretty ſevere ſometimes. The rats have therefore, little or no warmth in winter; but as ſoon as a milder ſeaſon makes its appearance, they come out again. We obſerved ſeveral times this winter, that the rats were very active, and made an unuſual noiſe all night, juſt before a ſevere cold. It ſeems, they had ſome ſenſation of cold weather being at hand; and that they therefore eat ſufficiently, or ſtored up proviſions. In mild weather, they were uſed to carry away apples, and other proviſions: therefore, we could always conclude with certainty, when the rats made an uncommon noiſe at night or were extremely greedy, that a ſevere cold would enſue. I have already obſerved, that the grey ſquirrels in this country have the ſame quality. When theſe, and the common mice eat maize, they do not conſume the whole grains, but only the looſe, ſweet, and ſoft kernel, and leave the reſt.

Jan 21ſt. The cold now equalled that of Sweden, though this country is ſo much more ſoutherly. The Celſian or Swediſh thermometer was twenty two degrees below the freezing point in the morning. As the rooms are without any ſhutters here, the cracks in the walls not cloſed with moſs, and ſometimes no fire-place or chimney in the room, the winters here muſt be very diſagreeable to one who is uſed to our Swediſh warm winter-rooms. But the greateſt comfort here is, that the cold is of a very ſhort duration. Some days of this month, the room which I lodged in was ſuch, that I could not write two lines before the ink would freeze in my pen. When I did not write, I could not leave the ink-ſtand on the table; but was forced to put it upon the hearth, or into my pocket. Yet, notwithſtanding it was ſo cold, as appears from the meteorological obſervations annexed to this work; and though it ſnowed ſometimes for ſeveral days and nights together, and the ſnow lay near ſix inches high upon the ground; yet all the cattle are obliged to ſtay, day and night, in the fields during the whole winter. For neither the Engliſh nor the Swedes had any ſtables; but the Germans and Dutch had preſerved the cuſtom of their country, and generally kept their cattle in ſtables during winter. Almoſt all the old Swedes ſay, that on their

firſt arrival in this country, they made ſtables for their cattle, as is uſual in Sweden; but as the Engliſh came and ſettled among them, and left their cattle in the fields all winter, as is cuſtomary in England, they left off their former cuſtom and adopted the Engliſh one. They owned, however, that the cattle ſuffered greatly in winter when it was very cold, eſpecially when it froze after a rain; and that ſome cattle were killed by it in ſeveral places, in the long winter of the year 1741. About noon, the cattle went out into the woods, where there were yet ſome leaves on the young oak; but they did not eat the leaves, and only bit off the extremities of the branches and the tops of the youngeſt oaks. The horſes went into the maize fields, and eat the dry leaves on the few ſtalks which remained. The ſheep ran about the woods and on the corn-fields. The chickens perched on the trees of the gardens at night; for they had no particular habitations. The hogs were likewiſe expoſed to the roughneſs of the weather, within a ſmall incloſure.

A ſmall kind of birds, which the Swedes call ſnow-bird, and the Engliſh chuck-bird, came into the houſes about this time. At other times, they ſought their food along the roads. They are ſeldom ſeen but when it ſnows. Cateſby, in his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, calls it paſſer nivalis; and Dr. Linnæus, in his Syſtema Naturæ, calls it emberiza hyemalis.

The river Delaware was now covered with ice oppoſite Philadelphia, and even ſomewhat lower, and the people could walk over it; but nobody ventured to ride over on horſeback.

Jan. 22d. There are partridges in this country; but they are not of the ſame kind with ours. The Swedes called them ſometimes rapphons (partridges), and ſometimes aekkerhoens (quails). Some of the Engliſh likewiſe called them partridges, others quails. Their ſhape is almoſt the ſame with that of the European partridges, and their nature and qualities the ſame: I mean, they run and hide themſelves, when purſued. But they are ſmaller, and entirely different in colour. In this work I cannot inſert at large, the deſcriptions which I have made of birds, inſects, quadrupeds, and plants; becauſe it would ſwell my volume too much. I only obſerve, that the feet are naked and not hairy; the back is ſpotted with brown, black, and white; the breaſt is dark yellow; and the belly whitiſh, with black edges on the tips of the feathers. The ſize is nearly that of a hazel-hen, or tetrao bonaſia. Above each eye is a narrow ſtroke of whitiſh yellow. Theſe birds are numerous in this part of the country. On going but a little way, you meet with great coveys of them. However, they keep at a great diſtance from towns; being either extirpated or frightened there by the frequent ſhooting. They are always in leſſer or greater coveys, do not fly very much, but run in the fields, and keep under the buſhes and near the incloſures, where they ſeek their food. They are reckoned very delicious food; and the people here prepare them in different ways. For that purpoſe they are caught, and ſhot in great numbers. They are caught by putting up a ſieve, or a ſquare open box, made of boards, in the places they frequent. The people ſtrew ſome oats under the ſieve, and lift it up on one ſide by a little ſtick, and as ſoon as the partridges are got under the ſieve, in order to pick up the oats, it falls, and they are caught alive. Sometimes they get ſeveral partridges at once. When they run in the buſhes, you can come very near them, without ſtarting them. When they ſleep at night, they come together in an heap. They ſcratch in the buſhes and upon the field, like common chickens. In ſpring they make their neſts, either under a buſh or in the maize fields, or on the hills in the open air: they ſcratch ſome hay together, into which they lay about thirteen white eggs. They eat ſeveral ſorts of corn, and ſeeds of graſs. They have likewiſe been ſeen eating the

the berries of ſumach, or rhus glabra. Some people have taken them young, and kept them in a cage till they were tame: then they let them go; and they followed the chickens, and never left the court-yards.

The incloſures made uſe of in Penſylvania and New Jerſey, but eſpecially in New York, are thoſe, which on account of their ſerpentine form reſembling worms, are called worm-fences in Engliſh. The poles which compoſe this fence are taken from different trees; but they are not all of equal duration: the red cedar is reckoned the moſt durable of any, for it holds out above thirty years: but it is very ſcarce, and grows only in a ſingle place hereabouts, ſo that no fences can be made of it. It is true, the fences about Philadelphia (which however are different from the worm-fences) are all made of red cedar; but it has been brought by water from Egg-harbour, where it grows in abundance. The ſupports on which the poles lie are made of the white cedar, or cupreſſus thyoides, and the poles which are laid between them of the red cedar or juniperus Virginiana. Next to the cedar-wood, oak and cheſnut are reckoned beſt. Cheſnut is commonly preferred, but it is not every where ſo plentiful as to be made into fences; in its ſtead they make uſe of ſeveral ſorts of oak. In order to make incloſures, the people do not cut down the young trees, as is common with us, but they fell here and there thick trees, cut them in ſeveral places, leaving the pieces as long as it is neceſſary, and ſplit them into poles of the uſual thickneſs; a ſingle tree affords a multitude of poles. Several old men in this country told me, that the Swedes, on their arrival here, made ſuch incloſures as are uſual in Sweden, but they were forced to leave off in a few years time, becauſe they could not get poſts enough; for they had found by experience, that a poſt being put into the ground would not laſt above four or ſix years before the part under ground was entirely rotten; but the chief thing was, that they could not get any ſwitches for to tie them together; they made ſome of hiccory, which is one of the tougheſt trees in this country, and of the white oak; but in the ſpace of a year or two the ſwitches were rotten, and the fence fell in pieces of itſelf, therefore they were forced to give over making ſuch incloſures. Several of the new comers again attempted, but with the ſame bad ſucceſs, to make fences with poſts and ſwitches. The Swediſh way of incloſing therefore will not ſucceed here. Thus the worm-fences are one of the moſt uſeful ſorts of incloſures, eſpecially as they cannot get any poſt, made of the woods of this country, to ſtay above ſix or eight years in the ground without rotting. The poles in this country are very heavy, and the poſts cannot bear them well, eſpecially when it blows a ſtorm; but the worm-fences are eaſily put up again when they are thrown down. Experience has ſhewn that an incloſure made of cheſnut or white oak ſeldom holds out above ten or twelve years, before the poles and poſts are thoroughly rotten: when the poles are made of other wood, the fences hardly ſtand ſix or eight years. Conſidering how much more wood the worm-fences require, (ſince they run in bendings) than other incloſures which go in ſtraight lines, and that they are ſo ſoon uſeleſs, one may imagine how the foreſts will be conſumed, and what ſort of an appearance the country will have forty or fifty years hence, in caſe no alteration is made; eſpecially as woods is really ſquandered away in immenſe quantities, day and night all the winter, or nearly one half of the year, for fuel.

Feb. 8th. The muſk-rats, ſo called by the Engliſh in this country, on account of their ſcent, are pretty common in North America; they always live near the water, eſpecially on the banks of lakes, rivers, and brooks. On travelling to places where they are, you ſee the holes which they have dug in the ground juſt at the water's edge, or a little above its ſurface. In theſe holes they have their neſts, and there they con-

tinue whenever they are not in the water in purſuit of food. The Swedes call them deſmans rattor *, and the French, rats muſqués. Linnæus calls this animal caſtor zibethicus. Their food is chiefly the muſcles which lie at the bottom of lakes and rivers; you ſee a number of ſuch ſhells near the entrance of their holes. I am told they likewiſe eat ſeveral kinds of roots and plants. They differ from the European muſk-rat, or Linnæus's caſtor moſchatus. The teeth are the ſame in both; the tail of the American is compreſſed on the ſides ſo, that one ſharp edge goes upwards and the other downwards: the hind feet are not palmated, or joined by a moveable ſkin, but are peculiar for having on both ſides of the feet, long, white, cloſe, pectinated, off-ſtanding hair, beſides the ſhort hair with which the feet are quite covered. Such hairs are on both ſides of the toes, and do the ſame ſervice in ſwimming as a web. Their ſize is that of a little cat, or to be more accurate, the length of the body is about ten inches, and the tail of the ſame length: the colour of the head, neck, back, ſides, and of the outſide of the thighs, is blackiſh brown; the hairs are ſoft and ſhining; under the neck, on the breaſts, and on the inſide of the thighs, they are grey. They make their neſts in the dykes that are erected along the banks of rivers to keep off the water from the adjoining meadows; but they often do a great deal of damage, by ſpoiling the dykes with digging, and opening paſſages for the water to come into the meadows; whereas beavers ſtop up all the holes in a dyke or bank. They make their neſts of twigs and ſuch like things externally, and carry ſoft ſtuff into them for their young ones to lie upon. The Swedes aſſerted that they could never obſerve a diminution in their number, but believed that they were as numerous at preſent as formerly. As they damage the banks ſo conſiderably the people are endeavouring to extirpate them when they can find out their neſts; the ſkin is paid for, and this is an encouragement towards catching the animal. A ſkin of a muſk-rat formerly coſt but threepence, but at preſent they gave from ſixpence to ninepence. The ſkins are chiefly employed by hatters, who make hats of the hair, which are ſaid to be nearly as good as beaver hats. The muſk-rats are commonly caught in traps, with apples as baits. In the country of the Iroqueſe, I ſaw thoſe Indians following the holes of the muſk-rats, by digging till they came to their neſts, where they killed them all. Nobody here eats their fleſh; I do not know whether the Indians eat it, for they are commonly not over nice in the choice of meat. The muſk-bag is put between the cloaths, in order to preſerve them againſt worms. It is very difficult to extirpate theſe rats when they are once ſettled in a bank. A Swede, however, told me, that he had freed his bank, or piece of dyke along the river, from them in the following manner: he ſought for all their holes, ſtopped them all up with earth, excepting one, on that ſide from whence the wind came. He put a quantity of ſulphur into the open entrance, ſet fire to it, and then cloſed the hole, leaving but a ſmall one for the wind to paſs through. The ſmoke of the ſulphur then entered their moſt remote neſts, and ſtifled all the animals. As ſoon as the ſulphur was burnt, he was obliged to dig up part of the ground in the bank, where they had their neſts; and he found them lie dead by heaps. He ſold the ſkins, and they paid his trouble, not to mention the advantage he got by clearing his bank of the muſk-rats.

Beavers were formerly abundant in New Sweden, as all the old Swedes here told me. At that time they ſaw one bank after another raiſed in the rivers by beavers.

* Deſm ſignifies muſk in the Swediſh, and in ſome provincial dialects of the German language; conſequently, déſman rat is nothing but muſk-rat; and from hence M. de Buffon has formed his deſman or Ruſſian muſk-rat. F.

But after the Europeans came over in great numbers, and cultivated the country better, the beavers have been partly killed, and partly extirpated, and partly are removed higher into the country, where the people are not ſo numerous. Therefore there is but a ſingle place in Penſylvania where beavers are to be met with; their chief food is the bark of the beaver-tree, or magnolia glauca, which they prefer to any other. The Swedes therefore put branches of this tree near the beaver-dykes, into traps, which they laid for the beavers, whilſt they were yet plentiful; and they could almoſt be certain of good ſucceſs. Some perſons in Philadelphia have tamed beavers, ſo that they go a fiſhing with them, and they always come back to their maſters. Major Roderfert, in New York, related that he had a tame beaver above half a year in his houſe, where he went about quite looſe, like a dog. The Major gave him bread, and ſometimes fiſh, which he was very greedy of: he got as much water in a bowl as he wanted. All the rags and ſoft things he could meet with he dragged into a corner, where he was uſed to ſleep, and made a bed of them. The cat in the houſe having kittens, took poſſeſſion of his bed, and he did not hinder her. When the cat went out, the beaver often took the kitten between his fore-paws, and held it to his breaſt to warm it, and doated upon it; as ſoon as the cat returned he gave her the kitten again. Sometimes he grumbled, but never did any hurt, or attempted to bite.

The Engliſh and the Swedes gave the name of mink to an animal of this country, which likewiſe lives either in the water, or very near it. I have never had an opportunity to ſee any more than the ſkin of this animal; but the ſhape of the ſkin, and the unanimous accounts I have heard of it make me conclude, with much certainty, that it belonged to the genus of weaſels or muſtelæ. The greateſt ſkin I ever ſaw, was one foot eight inches long, a leſſer one was about ten inches long, and about three inches one-third broad, before it was cut; the colour was dark brown, and ſometimes almoſt black; the tail was buſhy, as that of a marten; the hair was very cloſe, and the ears ſhort, with ſhort hair. The length of the feet belonging to the leſſer ſkin was about two inches long. I am told this animal is ſo ſimilar to the American polecat, or viverra putorius, that they are hardly diſtinguiſhable *. I have had the following accounts given me of its way of living: it ſeldom appears in day time, but at night it comes out of the hollow trees, on the banks of rivers. Sometimes it lives in the docks and bridges, at Philadelphia, where it is a cruel enemy to the rats. Sometimes it gets into the court-yards at night, and creeps into the chicken-houſe, through a ſmall hole, where it kills all the poultry, and ſucks their blood, but ſeldom eats one. If it meets with geeſe, fowls, ducks, or other birds on the road, it kills and devours them. It lives upon fiſh and birds. When a brook is near the houſes, it is not eaſy to keep ducks and geeſe, for the mink, which lives near rivers, kills the young ones. It firſt kills as many as it can come at, and then it carries them off, and feaſts upon them. In banks and dykes near the water, it likewiſe does miſchief with digging. To catch it the people put up traps, into which they put heads of birds, fiſhes, or other meat. The ſkin is ſold in the towns, and at Philadelphia; they give twenty-pence and even two ſhillings a-piece for them, according to their ſize. Some of the ladies get muffs made of theſe ſkins; but for the greateſt part they are ſent over to England, from whence they are diſtributed to other countries. The old Swedes told me that the Indians formerly uſed to eat all kinds of fleſh, except that of the mink.

I have already mentioned ſomething of the raccoon; I ſhall here add more of the

* The mink, or minx, is a kind of ſmall otter, which is called by Dr. Linnæus, muſtela lutreola, in his ſyſtem, i. p. 66. F.

nature

nature of this animal, in a place which is properly its native country *. The Engliſh call it everywhere by the name of raccoon, which name they have undoubtedly taken from one of the Indian nations; the Dutch call it heſpan; the Swedes, eſpan; and the Iroqueſe, attigbro. It commonly lodges in hollow trees, lies cloſe in the day-time, never going out but on a dark cloudy day; but at night it rambles and ſeeks its food. I have been told by ſeveral people, that in bad weather, eſpecially when it ſnows and blows a ſtorm, the raccoon lies in its hole for a week together, without coming out once; during that time it lives by ſucking and licking its paws. Its food are ſeveral ſorts of fruit, ſuch as maize, whilſt the ears are ſoft. In gardens it often does a great deal of damage among the apples, cheſnuts, plumbs, and wild grapes, which are what it likes beſt; among the poultry it is very cruel. When it finds the hens on their eggs, it firſt kills them, and then eats the eggs. It is caught by dogs, which trace it back to its neſt, in hollow trees, or by ſnares and traps, in which a chicken, ſome other bird, or a fiſh, is put as a bait. Some people eat its fleſh. It leaps with all its feet at once; on account of this and of ſeveral other qualities, many people here reckoned it to the genus of bears. The ſkin ſold for eighteen-pence at Philadelphia. I was told that the raccoons were not near ſo numerous as they were formerly; yet in the more inland parts they were abundant. I have mentioned the uſe which the hatters make of their furs; as likewiſe that they are eaſily tamed, that they are very greedy of ſweet-meats, &c. in the preceding pages. Of all the North American wild quadrupeds none can be tamed to ſuch a degree as this.

February 10th. In the morning I went to Philadelphia, where I arrived towards night. On my arrival at the ferry upon the river Delaware, I found the river quite covered with drifts of ice, which at firſt prevented our croſſing the water. After waiting about an hour, and making an opening near the ferry, I, together with many more paſſengers, got over before any more ſhoals came on. As it began to freeze very hard ſoon after the twelfth of January (or new year, according to the old ſtyle) the river Delaware was covered with ice, which by the intenſeneſs of the froſt grew ſo ſtrong, that the people croſſed the river with horſes at Philadelphia. The ice continued till the eighth of February, when it began to get looſe, and the violent hurricane, which happened that night, broke it, and it was driven down ſo faſt, that on the twelfth of February not a ſingle ſhoal came down, excepting a piece or two near the ſhore.

Crows flew in great numbers together to-day, and ſettled on the tops of trees. During the whole winter we hardly obſerved one, though they are ſaid to winter there. During all this ſpring they commonly uſed to ſit at the tops of trees in the morning; yet not all together, but in ſeveral trees. They belong to the noxious birds in this part of the world, for they chiefly live upon corn. After the maize is planted or ſown, they ſcratch the grains out of the ground and eat them. When the maize begins to ripen, they peck a hole into the involucrum which ſurrounds the ear, by which means the maize is ſpoiled, as the rain paſſes through the hole which they have made, and occaſions the putrefaction of the corn. Beſides eating corn, they likewiſe ſteal chickens. They are very fond of dead carcaſſes. Some years ago the government of Penſylvania had given threepence, and that of New Jerſey fourpence premium for every head of a crow, but this law has now been repealed, as the expences are too great. I have ſeen the young crows of this kind in ſeveral places playing with tame ones whoſe wings were cut. The latter hopped about the fields, near the farm-houſes where they belonged to, but always returned again, without endeavouring to eſcape on any occaſion. Theſe American crows are only a variety of the Royſton crow, or Linnæus's corvus cornix.

Feb. 12th. In the afternoon I returned to Raccoon from Philadelphia.

* The village of Raccoon.

On my journey to Raccoon, I attentively obſerved the trees which had yet any leaves left. The leaves were pale and dried up, but not all dropt from the following trees:

The beech-tree, (fagus ſylvatica) whether great or ſmall; it always kept a conſiderable part of its leaves during the whole winter, even till ſpring. The greater trees kept the lowermoſt leaves.

The white oak (quercus alba). Moſt of the young trees, which were not above a quarter of a yard in diameter, had the greateſt part of their leaves ſtill on them, but the old trees had loſt moſt of theirs, except in ſome places where they have got new ſhoots. The colour of the dry leaves was much paler in the white oak than in the black one.

The black oak (as it is commonly called here). Dr. Linnæus calls it the red oak, quercus rubra. Moſt of the young trees ſtill preſerved their dried leaves. Their colour was reddiſh brown, and darker than that of the white oak.

The Spaniſh oak, which is a mere variety of the black oak. The young trees of this kind likewiſe keep their leaves.

A ſcarce ſpecies of oak which is known by its leaves having a triangular apex or top, whoſe angles terminate in a ſhort briſtle; the leaves are ſmooth below, but woolly above*. The young oaks of this ſpecies had ſtill their leaves.

When I came into any wood where the above kinds of oaks were only twenty years, and even not ſo old, I always found the leaves on them.

It ſeems that Providence has, beſides other views, aimed to protect ſeveral ſorts of birds, it being very cold and ſtormy about this time, by preſerving even the dry leaves on theſe trees. I have this winter at ſeveral times ſeen birds hiding in the trees covered with old leaves, during a ſevere cold or ſtorm.

Feb. 13th. As I began to dig a hole to-day, I found ſeveral inſects which were crept deep into the ground in order to paſs the winter. As ſoon as they came to the air, they moved their limbs a little, but had not ſtrength ſufficient for creeping, except the black ants, which crept a little, though ſlowly.

Formica nigra, or the black ant, were pretty numerous, and ſomewhat lively. They lay about ten inches below the ſurface.

Carabus latus. Some of theſe lay at the ſame depth with the ants. This is a very common inſect in all North America.

Scarabæus; cheſnut-coloured, with a hairy thorax; the elytræ ſhorter than the abdomen, with ſeveral longitudinal lines, beſet with hair. It is ſomething ſimilar to the cock-chaffer, but differs in many reſpects. I found it very abundant in the ground.

Gryllus campeſtris, or the field-cricket. They lay ten inches deep; they were quite torpid, but as ſoon as they came into a warm place, they revived and were quite lively. In ſummer I have found theſe crickets in great plenty in all parts of North America where I have been. They leaped about on the fields, and made a noiſe like that of our common houſe crickets, ſo that it would be difficult to diſtinguiſh them by their chirping. They ſometimes make ſo great a noiſe that it cauſes pain in the ears, and even two people cannot underſtand each other. In ſuch places where the rattle-ſnakes live, the field-crickets are very diſagreeable, and in a manner dangerous, for their violent chirping prevents the warning which that horrid ſnake gives with its rattle from reaching the ear, and thus deprives one of the means of avoiding it. I

* This ſeems to be nothing but a variety of the quercus rubra, Linn. F.

have

have already mentioned that they likewiſe winter ſometimes in chimnies. Here they lie all winter in the ground, but at the beginning of March, as the air was grown warm, they came out of their holes, and began their muſic, though at firſt it was but very faint and rarely heard. When we were forced on our travels to ſleep in uninhabited places, the crickets had got into the folds of our clothes, ſo that we were obliged to ſtop an hour every morning in examining our clothes, before we could get rid of them.

The red ants (formica rufa) which in Sweden make the great ant-hills, I likewiſe found to-day and the following day; they were not in the ground, for when my ſervant Yungſtroem cut down old dry trees, he met with a number of them in the cracks of the tree. Theſe cracks were at the height of many yards in the tree, and the ants were crept ſo high, in order to find their winter habitation. As ſoon as they came into a warm place, they began to ſtir about very briſkly.

Feb. 14th. The Swedes and the Engliſh gave the name of blue bird to a very pretty little bird, which was of a fine blue colour. Linnæus calls it motacilla ſialis. Cateſby has drawn it in his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, vol. 1. pl. 47, and deſcribed it by the name of rubecula Americana cærulea; and Edwards has repreſented it in his Natural Hiſtory of Birds, plate and page 24. In my own journal I called it motacilla cærulea nitida, pectore rufo, ventre albo. In Cateſby's plate I muſt obſerve, that the colour of the breaſt ought to be dirty red or ferruginous; the tibiæ and feet black as jet; the bill too ſhould be quite black; the blue colour in general ought to be much deeper, more lively and ſhining; no bird in Sweden has ſo ſhining and deep a blue colour as this. The jay has perhaps a plumage like it. The food of the blue bird is not merely inſects, he likewiſe feeds upon plants; therefore in winter, when no inſects are to be met with, they come to the farm-houſes in order to ſubſiſt on the ſeeds of hay and other ſmall grains.

Red-bird is another ſpecies of ſmall bird. Cateſby has likewiſe figured it*. Dr. Linnæus calls it loxia cardinalis. It belongs to that claſs of birds which are enemies to bees, lying in wait for them and eating them. I fed a cock for five months together in a cage; it eat both maize and buck-wheat, for I gave it nothing elſe. By its ſong it attracted others of its ſpecies to the court-yard; and after we had put ſome maize on the ground under the window where I had it, the others came there every day to get their food; it was then eaſy to catch them by means of traps. Some of them, eſpecially old ones, both cocks and hens, would die with grief on being put into cages. Thoſe on the other hand which were grown tame, began to ſing exceedingly ſweet. Their note very nearly reſembles that of our European nightingale, and on account of their agreeable ſong, they are ſent to London in cages. They have ſuch ſtrength in their bill that when you hold your hand to them they pinch it ſo hard as to cauſe the blood to iſſue forth. In ſpring they ſit warbling on the tops of the higheſt trees in the woods in the morning. But in cages they ſit quite ſtill for an hour; the next hour they hop up and down, ſinging; and ſo they go on alternately all day.

Feb. 17th. Cranes (ardea Canadenſis) were ſometimes ſeen flying in the day-time to the northward. They commonly ſtop here early in ſpring, for a ſhort time, but they do not make their neſts here, for they proceed on more to the north. Certain old Swedes told me that in their younger years, as the country was not yet much cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every ſpring; but at preſent they

* See Cateſby's Natural Hiſtory, vol. 1. pl. 38. Coccothrauſtes rubra.

are not ſo numerous. Several people who have ſettled here eat their fleſh, when they can ſhoot them. They are ſaid to do no harm to corn or the like.

Feb. 23d. This morning I went down to Penn's Neck, and returned in the evening.

Snow lay yet in ſeveral parts of the woods, eſpecially where trees the ſtood very thick, and the ſun could not make its way; however, it was not above four inches deep. All along the roads was ice, eſpecially in the woods, and therefore it was very difficult to ride horſes which were not ſharp-ſhoed. The people who are ſettled here know little of ſledges, but ride on horſeback to church in winter, though the ſnow is ſometimes near a foot deep. It lays ſeldom above a week before it melts, and then ſome freſh ſnow falls.

A ſpecies of birds, called by the Swedes maize-thieves, do the greateſt miſchief in this country. They have given them that name becauſe they eat maize both publicly and ſecretly, juſt after it is ſown and covered with the ground, and when it is ripe. The Engliſh call them black-birds. There are two ſpecies of them, both deſcribed and drawn by Cateſby*. Though they are very different in ſpecies, yet there is ſo great a friendſhip between them, that they frequently accompany each other in mixed flocks. However, in Penſylvania, the firſt ſort are more obvious, and often fly together, without any of the red-winged ſtares. The firſt ſort, or the purple daws, bear, in many points, ſo great a likeneſs to the daw, the ſtare, and the thruſh, that it is difficult to determine to which genus they are to be reckoned, but ſeem to come neareſt to the ſtare; for the bill is exactly the ſame with that of the thruſh, but the tongue, the flight, their ſitting on the trees, their ſong, and ſhape, make it entirely a ſtare; at a diſtance they look almoſt black, but cloſe by they have a very blue or purple caſt, but not ſo much as Cateſby's print: their ſize is that of a ſtare; the bill is conic, almoſt ſubulated, ſtrait, convex, naked at the baſe, black, with almoſt equal mandibles, the upper being only a very little longer than the lower; the noſtrils are oblong, yet a little angulated, ſo as to form almoſt ſquares: they are placed obliquely at the baſe of the bill, and have no hair; there is a little horny knob, or a ſmall prominence, on the upper ſide of them: the tongue is ſharp and bifid at the point: the iris of the eyes is pale: the forehead, the crown, the nucha, the upper part, and the ſides of the neck, are of an obſcure blue and green ſhining colour: the ſides of the head under the eyes are obſcurely blue; all the back and coverts of the wings are purple; the upper coverts of the tail are not of ſo conſpicuous a purple colour, but as it were blackened with ſoot: the nine primary quill-feathers are black: the other ſecondary ones are likewiſe black, but their outward margin is purple; the twelve tail feathers have a blackiſh purple colour, and their tips are round; thoſe on the outſide are the ſhorteſt, and the middle extremely long. When the tail is ſpread, it looks round towards the extremity. The throat is blueiſh green, and ſhining; the breaſt is likewiſe black or ſhining green, according as you turn it to the light; the belly is blackiſh, and the vent feathers are obſcurely purple-coloured; the parts of the breaſt and belly which are covered by the wings, are purple-coloured; the wings are black below, or rather ſooty; and the thighs have blackiſh feathers; the legs (tibiæ), and the toes are of a ſhining black. It has four toes, as moſt birds have. The claws are black, and that on the back toe is longer than the reſt. Dr. Linnæus calls this bird gracula quiſcula.

* See Cateſby's Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, vol. i. table 12, the purple daw; and table 13, the red-winged ſtarling.

A few of these birds are said to winter in swamps, which are quite overgrown with thick woods; and they only appear in mild weather. But the greatest number go to the south at the approach of winter. To-day I saw them, for the first time this year. They flew in great flocks already. Their chief and most agreeable food is maize. They come in great swarms in spring, soon after the maize is put under ground. They scratch up the grains of maize, and eat them. As soon as the leaf comes out, they take hold of it with their bills, and pluck it up, together with the corn or grain; and thus they give a great deal of trouble to the country people, even so early in spring. To lessen their greediness of maize, some people dip the grains of that plant in a decoction of the root of the veratrum album, or white hellebore, (of which I shall speak in the sequel) and plant them afterwards. When the maize-thief eats a grain or two, which are so prepared, his head is disordered, and he falls down: this frightens his companions, and they dare not venture to the place again. But they repay themselves amply towards autumn, when the maize grows ripe; for at that time, they are continually feasting. They assemble by thousands in the maize-fields, and live at discretion. They are very bold; for when they are disturbed, they only go and settle in another part of the field. In that manner they always go from one end of the field to the other, and do not leave it till they are quite satisfied. They fly in incredible swarms in autumn; and it can hardly be conceived whence such immense numbers of them should come. When they rise in the air they darken the sky, and make it look quite black. They are then in such great numbers, and so close together, that it is surprising how they find room to move their wings. I have known a person shoot a great number of them on one side of a maize-field, which was far from frightening the rest; for they only just took flight and dropped at about the distance of a musket-shot in another part of the field, and always changed their place when their enemy approached. They tired the sportsman before he could drive them from off the maize, though he killed a great many of them at every shot. They likewise eat the seeds of the aquatic tare-grass (zizania aquatica) commonly late in autumn, after the maize is got in. I am told, they likewise eat buck-wheat and oats. Some people say, that they even eat wheat, barley, and rye, when pressed by hunger; yet, from the best information I could obtain, they have not been found to do any damage to these species of corn. In spring, they sit in numbers on the trees, near the farms; and their note is pretty agreeable. As they are so destructive to maize, the odium of the inhabitants against them is carried so far, that the laws of Pensylvania and New Jersey have settled a premium of threepence a dozen for dead maize-thieves. In New England, the people are still greater enemies to them; for Dr. Franklin told me, in the spring of the year 1750, that, by means of the premiums which have been settled for killing them in New England, they have been so extirpated, that they are very rarely seen, and in a few places only. But as, in the summer of the year 1749, an immense quantity of worms appeared on the meadows, which devoured the grass, and did great damage, the people have abated their enmity against the maize-thieves; for they thought they had observed, that those birds lived chiefly on these worms before the maize is ripe, and consequently extirpated them, or at least prevented their spreading too much. They seem therefore to be entitled, as it were, to a reward for their trouble. But after these enemies and destroyers of the worms (the maize-thieves) were extirpated, the worms were more at liberty to multiply; and therefore they grew so numerous that they did more mischief now than the birds did before. In the summer 1749, the worms left so little hay in New England that the inhabitants were forced to get hay from Pensylvania and even from Old England. The maize-thieves have enemies besides the human species. A species of little hawks live upon them,

them, and upon other little birds. I ſaw ſome of theſe hawks driving up the maize-thieves, which were in the greateſt ſecurity, and catching them in the air. Nobody eats the fleſh of the purple maize-thieves or daws (gracula quiſcula); but that of the red-winged maize-thieves, or ſtares (oriolus phœniceus) is ſometimes eaten. Some old people have told me, that this part of America, formerly called New Sweden, ſtill contained as many maize-thieves as it did formerly. The cauſe of this they derive from the maize, which is now ſown in much greater quantity than formerly; and they think that the birds can get their food with more eaſe at preſent.

The American whortleberry, or the vaccinium hiſpidulum, is extremely abundant over all North America, and grows in ſuch places where we commonly find our whortle-berries in Sweden. The American ones are bigger, but in moſt things ſo like the Swediſh ones, that many people would take them to be mere varieties. The Engliſh call them cranberries, the Swedes tranbær, and the French in Canada atopa, which is a name they have borrowed from the Indians. They are brought to market every Wedneſday and Saturday at Philadelphia, late in autumn. They are boiled and prepared in the ſame manner as we do our red whortle-berries, or vaccinium vitis idæa; and they are made uſe of during winter, and part of ſummer, in tarts and other kinds of paſtry. But as they are very ſour, they require a deal of ſugar; but that is not very dear in a country where the ſugar-plantations are not far off. Quantities of theſe berries are ſent over, preſerved, to Europe and to the Weſt Indies.

Mar. 2d. Mytilus anatinus, a kind of muſcle-ſhells, was found abundantly in little furrows, which croſſed the meadows. The ſhells were frequently covered on the outſide with a thin cruſt of particles of iron, when the water in the furrows came from an iron mine. The Engliſhmen and Swedes ſettled here, ſeldom made any uſe of theſe ſhells; but the Indians who formerly lived here, broiled them and eat the fleſh. Some of the Europeans eat them ſometimes.

Mar. 3d. The Swedes call a ſpecies of little birds, ſnofogel, and the Engliſh call it ſnow-bird. This is Dr. Linnæus's emberiza hyemalis. The reaſon why it is called ſnow-bird is becauſe it never appears in ſummer, but only in winter, when the fields are covered with ſnow. In ſome winters they come in as great numbers as the maize-thieves, fly about the houſes and barns, into the gardens, and eat the corn, and the ſeeds of graſs, which they find ſcattered on the hills.

At eight o'clock at night we obſerved a meteor, commonly called a ſnow-fire*.

Wild pigeons, (columba migratoria), flew in the woods in numbers beyond conception; and I was aſſured that they were more plentiful than they had been for ſeveral years paſt. They came this week, and continued here for about a fortnight, after which they all diſappeared, or advanced further into the country, from whence they came. I ſhall ſpeak of them more particularly in another place.

Mar. 7th. Several people told me, that it was a certain ſign of bad weather here when a thunder-ſtorm aroſe in the ſouth or ſouth-weſt, if it ſpread to the eaſt and afterwards to the north: but that on the contrary, when it did not ſpread at all, or when it ſpread both eaſt and weſt, though it ſhould riſe in ſouth or ſouth-weſt, yet it would prognoſticate fair weather. To-day it was heard in ſouth-weſt, but it did not ſpread at all.

Till now the froſt had continued in the ground, ſo that if any one had a mind to dig a hole, he was forced to cut it through with a pick-axe. However it had not penetrated

* Probably nothing but an aurora borealis.

above

above four inches deep. But to-day it was quite gone out. This made the ſoil ſo ſoft, that on riding, even in the woods, the horſe ſunk in very deep.

I often enquired among the old Engliſhmen and Swedes, whether they had found that any trees were killed in very ſevere winters, or had received much hurt. I was anſwered, that young hiccory-trees are commonly killed in very cold weather; and the young black oaks likewiſe ſuffer in the ſame manner. Nay, ſometimes black oaks, five inches in diameter, were killed by the froſt in a ſevere winter, and ſometimes, though very ſeldom, a ſingle mulberry-tree was killed. Peach-trees very frequently die in a cold winter, and often all the peach-trees in a whole diſtrict are killed by a ſevere froſt. It has been found repeatedly, with regard to theſe trees, that they can ſtand the froſt much better on hills than in vallies; inſomuch, that when the trees in a valley were killed by froſt, thoſe on a hill were not hurt at all. They aſſured me that they had never obſerved that the black walnut-tree, the ſaſſafras, and other trees, had been hurt in winter. In regard to a froſt in ſpring, they had obſerved, at different times, that a cold night or two happened often after the trees were furniſhed with pretty large leaves, and that by this moſt of the leaves were killed. But the leaves thus killed have always been ſupplied by freſh ones. It is remarkable that in ſuch cold nights the froſt acts chiefly upon the more delicate trees, and in ſuch a manner that all the leaves, to the height of ſeven, and even of ten feet from the ground, were killed by the froſt, and all the top remained unhurt. Several old men aſſured me they had made this obſervation, and the attentive engineer, Mr. Lewis Evans, has ſhewn it me among his notes. Such a cold night happened here, in the year 1746, in the night between the 14th and 15th of June, new ſtyle, attended with the ſame effect, as appears from Mr. Evans's obſervations. The trees which were then in bloſſom had loſt both their leaves and their flowers in theſe parts which were neareſt the ground; ſome time after they got freſh leaves, but no new flowers. Further it is obſervable, that the cold nights which happen in ſpring and ſummer never do any hurt to high grounds, damaging only the low and moiſt ones. They are likewiſe very perceptible in ſuch places where limeſtone is to be met with; and though all the other parts of the country be not viſited by ſuch cold nights in a ſummer, yet thoſe where limeſtone lies have commonly one or two every ſummer. Frequently the places where the limeſtone lies are ſituated on a high ground; but they ſuffer notwithſtanding their ſituation; whilſt a little way off in a lower ground, where no limeſtone is to be found, the effects of the cold nights are not felt. Mr. Evans was the firſt who made this obſervation, and I have had occaſion at different times to ſee the truth of it on my travels, as I ſhall mention in the ſequel. The young hiccory-trees have their leaves killed ſooner than other trees in ſuch a cold night, and the young oaks next; this has been obſerved by other people, and I have found it to be true in the years 1749 and 1750.

Mar. 11th. Of the genus of wood-peckers, we find here all thoſe which Cateſby, in his firſt volume of the Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, has drawn and deſcribed. I ſhall only enumerate them, and add one or two of their qualities; but their deſcription at large I defer for another occaſion.

Picus principalis, the king of the wood-peckers, is found here, though very ſeldom, and only at a certain ſeaſon.

Picus pileatus, the creſted wood-pecker. This I have already mentioned.

Picus auratus, the gold-winged wood-pecker. This ſpecies is plentiful here, and the Swedes call it hittock, and piut; both theſe names have a relation to its note; it is almoſt continually on the ground, and is not obſerved to pick in the trees; it lives chiefly on inſects, but ſometimes becomes the prey of hawks; it is commonly very fat, and

its flesh is very palatable. As it stays all the year, and cannot easily get insects in winter, it must doubtless eat some kinds of grass or plants in the fields. Its form, and some of its qualities, make it resemble a cuckow.

Picus Carolinus, the Carolina wood-pecker. It lives here likewise, and the colour of its head is of a deeper and more shining red than Catesby has represented it, vol. i. p. 19. t. 19.

Picus villosus, the spotted, hairy, middle-sized wood-pecker is abundant here; it destroys the apple-trees by pecking holes into them.

Picus erythrocephalus, the red-headed wood-pecker. This bird was frequent in the country, and the Swedes called it merely hackspick, or wood-pecker. They give the same name to all the birds which I now enumerate, the gold-winged wood-pecker excepted. This species is destructive to maize-fields and orchards, for it pecks through the ears of maize, and eats apples. In some years they are very numerous, especially where sweet apples grow, which they eat so far that nothing but the mere peels remain. Some years ago there was a premium of twopence per head paid from the public funds, in order to extirpate this pernicious bird, but this law has been repealed. They are likewise very fond of acorns. At the approach of winter they travel to the southward. But when they stay in numbers in the woods, at the beginnining of winter, the people look upon it as a sign of a pretty mild winter.

Picus varius, the lesser, spotted, yellow-bellied wood-pecker. These birds are much more numerous than many people wished; for this, as well as the preceding and succeeding species, are very hurtful to apple-trees.

Picus pubescens, or the least spotted wood-pecker. This species abounds here. Of all the wood-peckers it is the most dangerous to orchards, because it is the most daring. As soon as it has pecked a hole into the tree, it makes another close to the first, in a horizontal direction, proceeding till it has pecked a circle of holes round the tree. Therefore the apple-trees in the orchards here have several rings round their stems, which lie very close above each other, frequently only an inch distant from each other. Sometimes these wood-peckers peck the holes so close that the tree dries up. This bird, as Catesby remarks, is so like the lesser spotted wood-pecker, in regard to its colour and other qualities, that they would be taken for the same bird were not the former (the picus pubescens) a great deal less. They agree in the bad quality, which they both possess, of pecking holes into the apple-trees.

Rana ocellata are a kind of frogs here, which the Swedes call sill-hoppetosser, i. e. herring-hoppers, and which now began to quack in the evening, and at night, in swamps, pools, and ponds. The name which the Swedes give them is derived from their beginning to make their noise in spring, at the same time when the people here go catching what are called herrings, which however differ greatly from the true European herrings. These frogs have a peculiar note, which is not like that of our European frogs, but rather corresponds with the chirping of some large birds, and can nearly be expressed by picet. With this noise they continued throughout a great part of spring, beginning their noise soon after sun-setting, and finishing it just before sun-rising. The sound was sharp, but yet so loud that it could be heard at a great distance. When they expected rain they cried much worse than commonly, and began in the middle of the day, or when it grew cloudy, and the rain came usually six hours after. As it snowed on the 16th of the next month, and blew very violently all day, there was not the least sign of them at night; and during the whole time that it was cold, and whilst the snow lay on the fields, the frost had so silenced them, that we could not hear one: but as soon as the mild weather returned, they began their noise again. They were

were very timorous, and it was difficult to catch them; for as ſoon as a perſon approached the place where they lived, they are quite ſilent, and none of them appeared. It ſeems that they hide themſelves entirely under water, except the tip of the ſnout, when they cry. For when I ſtepped to the pond where they were in, I could not obſerve a ſingle one hopping into the water. I could not ſee any of them before I had emptied a whole pool, where they lodged in. Their colour is a dirty green, variegated with ſpots of brown. When they are touched they make a noiſe and moan; they then ſometimes aſſume a form as if they had blown up the hind part of the back, ſo that it makes a high elevation; and then they do not ſtir, though touched. When they are put alive into ſpirits of wine, they die within a minute.

Mar. 12th. The bird which the Engliſh and Swedes in this country call robin-red-breaſt, is found here all the year round. It is a very different bird from that which in England bears the ſame name. It is Linnæus's turdus migratorius. It ſings very melodiouſly, is not very ſhy, but hops on the ground, quite cloſe to the houſes.

The hazels (corylus avellana) were now opening their bloſſoms. They ſucceeded beſt in a rich mould, and the Swedes reckoned it a ſign of a good ſoil where they found them growing.

Mar. 13th. The alder (betula alnus) was juſt bloſſoming.

The dracontium fœtidum grew plentifully in the marſhes, and began to flower. Among the ſtinking plants, this is the moſt fœtid; its nauſeous ſcent was ſo ſtrong that I could hardly examine the flower; and when I ſmelled a little too long at it my head ached. The Swedes call it byorn-blad (bear's-leaf) or byorn-retter (bear's-root.) The Engliſh call it polecat-root, becauſe its effluvia are as nauſeous and fœtid as thoſe of the polecat, which I have mentioned before. The flowers are purple-coloured; when they are in full flower the leaves begin to come out of the ground; in ſummer the cattle do not touch it. Dr. Colden told me, that he had employed the root in all caſes where the root of the arum is made uſe of, eſpecially againſt the ſcurvy, &c. The Swediſh name it got, becauſe the bears, when they leave their winter habitations, are fond of it in ſpring. It is a common plant in all North America.

The draba verna was abundant here, and now appeared in flower.

The veratrum album was very common in the marſhes, and in low places, over all North America. The Swedes here call it dack, dackor, or dackretter, that is puppet-root, becauſe the children make puppets of its ſtalks and leaves. The Engliſh call it itch-reed or ellebore. It is a poiſonous plant, and therefore the cattle never touch it; however it ſometimes happens that the cattle are deceived in the beginning of ſpring, when the paſtures are bare, and eat of the fine broad green leaves of this plant, which come up very early; but ſuch a meal frequently proves fatal to them. Sheep and geeſe have likewiſe often been killed with it. By means of its root the maize is preſerved from the greedineſs of voracious birds in the following manner: The roots are boiled in water, into which the maize is put as ſoon as the water is quite cool; the maize muſt lie all night in it, and is then planted as uſual. When the maize-thieves, crows, or other birds, pick up or pluck out the grains of maize their heads grow delirious, and they fall, which ſo frightens the reſt, that they never venture on the field again: when thoſe which have taſted the grains recover, they leave the field, and are no more tempted to viſit it again. By thus preparing maize one muſt be very careful that no other creatures touch it; for when ducks or fowls eat a grain or two of the maize which is thus ſteeped they become very ſick; but if they ſwallow a conſiderable quantity they die. When the root is thrown away raw no animal eats it;

but when it is put out boiled, its ſweet taſte tempts the beaſts to eat it. Dogs have been ſeen to eat a little of it, and have been very ſick after it; however they have recovered after a vomit, for when animals cannot free themſelves of it by this means, they often die. Some people boil the root, and waſh the ſcorbutic parts with the water or decoction. This is ſaid to cauſe ſome pain, and even a plentiful diſcharge of urine, but it re-eſtabliſhes the patient. When the children here are plagued with vermin, the women boil this root, put the comb into the decoction, and comb the head with it, and this kills them moſt effectually.

Mar. 17th. At the firſt arrival of the Swedes in this country, and long after that time, it was filled with Indians. But as the Europeans proceeded to cultivate the land, the Indians ſold their land, and went further into the country. But in reality few of the Indians really left the country in this manner; moſt of them ended their days before, either by wars among themſelves, or by the ſmall pox, a diſeaſe which the Indians were unacquainted with before their commerce with the Europeans, and which ſince that time has killed incredible numbers of them. For though they can heal wounds and other external hurts, yet they know not how to proceed with fevers, or in general with internal diſeaſes. One can imagine how ill they would ſucceed with the cure of the ſmall-pox, when, as ſoon as the puſtules appeared, they leaped, naked, into the cold water of the rivers, lakes, or fountains, and either dived over head into it, or poured it over their body in great abundance, in order to cool the heat of the fever. In the ſame manner they carry their children, when they have the ſmall-pox, into the water and duck them *. But brandy has killed moſt of the Indians. This liquor was likewiſe entirely unknown to them before the Europeans came hither; but after they had taſted it they could never get enough of it. A man can hardly have a greater deſire of a thing than the Indians have of brandy. I have heard them ſay, that to die by drinking brandy was a deſirable and an honorable death; and indeed it is no very uncommon thing to kill themſelves by drinking this liquor to exceſs.

The food of theſe Indians was very different from that of the inhabitants of the other parts of the world. Wheat, rye, barley, oats, and rice-groats, were quite unknown in America. In the ſame manner it is with regard to the fruits and herbs which are eaten in the old countries. The maize, ſome kinds of beans, and melons, made almoſt the whole of the Indian agriculture and gardening; and dogs were the only domeſtic animals in North America. But as their agriculture and their gardening were very trifling, and they could hardly live two months in a year upon their produce, they were forced to apply to hunting and fiſhing, which at that time, and even at preſent, are their chief ſubſiſtence, and to ſeek ſome of the wild plants and trees here. Some of the

* Profeſſor Kalm wrote this when the truly laudable method of treating the ſmall-pox with a cold regimen was not yet adopted; and he thought therefore the way in which the Americans treated this diſeaſe was the cauſe of its being ſo deleterious. But when the Kalmucks, in the Ruſſian dominions, get the ſmall-pox, it has been obſerved that very few eſcape. Of this I believe no other reaſon can be alledged than that the ſmall-pox is always dangerous, either when the open pores of the human ſkin are too numerous, which is cauſed by opening them in a warm-water bath, or when they are too much cloſed, which is the caſe with all the nations that are dirty and greaſy. All the American Indians rub their body with oils, the Kalmucks never waſh themſelves, and rub their bodies and their fur coats with greaſe; the Hottentots are, I believe, known to be patterns of filthineſs, their bodies being richly anointed with their ornamental greaſy ſheep guts; this ſhuts up all the pores, hinders perſpiration entirely, and makes the ſmall-pox always lethal among theſe nations; to which we may yet add the too frequent uſe of ſpirituous inflammatory liquors, ſince their acquaintance with the Europeans. F.

old Swedes were yet alive, who in their younger years had an intercourſe with the Indians, and had ſeen the minutiæ of their œconomy. I was therefore deſirous of knowing which of the ſpontaneous herbs they made uſe of for food at that time; and all the old men agreed that the following plants were what they chiefly conſumed.

Hopniſs or hapniſs was the Indian name of a wild plant which they ate at that time. The Swedes ſtill call it by that name, and it grows in the meadows in a good ſoil. The roots reſemble potatoes, and were boiled by the Indians, who eat them inſtead of bread. Some of the Swedes at that time likewiſe ate this root for want of bread. Some of the Engliſh ſtill eat them inſtead of potatoes. Mr. Bartram told me, that the Indians who live farther in the country do dot only eat theſe roots, which are equal in goodneſs to potatoes, but likewiſe take the peaſe which lie in the pods of this plant, and prepare them like common peaſe. Dr. Linnæus calls the plant glycine apios.

Katniſs is another Indian name of a plant, the root of which they were likewiſe accuſtomed to eat, when they lived here. The Swedes ſtill preſerve this name. It grows in low, muddy, and very wet ground. The root is oblong, commonly an inch and an half long, and one inch and a quarter broad in the middle; but ſome of the roots have been as big as a man's fiſts. The Indians either boiled this root or roaſted it in hot aſhes. Some of the Swedes likewiſe eat them with much appetite, at the time when the Indians were ſo near the coaſt; but at preſent none of them make any uſe of the roots. A man of ninety-one years of age, called Nils Guſtafson, told me, that he had often eaten theſe roots when he was a boy, and that he liked them very well at that time. He added, that the Indians, eſpecially their women, travelled to the iſlands, dug out the roots, and brought them home; and whilſt they had them, they deſired no other food. They ſaid that the hogs, which are amazingly greedy of them, have made them very ſcarce. The cattle are very fond of its leaves. I afterwards got ſome of theſe roots roaſted, and in my opinion they taſted well, though they were rather dry: the taſte was nearly the ſame with that of the potatoes. When the Indians come down to the coaſt and ſee the turnips of the Europeans, they likewiſe give them the name of katniſs. Their katniſs is in an arrow-head or ſagittaria, and is only a variety of the Swediſh arrow-head or ſagittaria ſagittifolia, for the plant above the ground is entirely the ſame, but the root under ground is much greater in the American than in the European. Mr. Oſbeck in his voyage to China, mentions that the Chineſe plant a ſagittaria, and eat its roots. This ſeems undoubtedly to be a variety of this kitnaſs. Further in the north of this part of America, I met with the other ſpecies of ſagittaria which we have in Sweden.

Taw-ho and taw-him was the Indian name of another plant, the root of which they eat. Some of them likewiſe call it tuckah; but moſt of the Swedes ſtill knew it by the name of taw-ho. It grows in moiſt ground and ſwamps. Hogs are very greedy of the roots, and grow very fat by feeding on them. Therefore, they often viſit the places where theſe roots grow; and they are frequently ſeen rooting up the mud, and falling with their whole body into the water, ſo that only a little of the back part was out of the water. It is therefore very plain that theſe roots muſt have been extirpated in places which are frequented by hogs. The roots often grow to the thickneſs of a man's thigh. When they are freſh they have a pungent taſte, and are reckoned a poiſon in that freſh ſtate. Nor did the Indians ever venture to eat them raw, but prepared them in the following manner: They gathered a great heap of theſe roots, dug

a great

a great long hole, ſometimes two or three fathoms and upwards in length, into which they put the roots, and covered them with the earth that had been taken out of the hole; they made a great fire above it, which burnt till they thought proper to remove it; and then they dug up the roots, and conſumed them with great avidity. Theſe roots, when prepared in this manner, I am told, taſte like potatoes. The Indians never dry and preſerve them; but always take them freſh out of the marſhes, when they want them. This taw-ho is the arum Virginicum, or Virginian wake-robin. It is remarkable, that the arums, with the plants next akin to them, are eaten by men in different parts of the world, though their roots, when raw, have a fiery pungent taſte, and are almoſt poiſonous in that ſtate. How can men have learnt that plants ſo extremely oppoſite to our nature were eatable; and that their poiſon, which burns on the tongue, can be conquered by fire? Thus the root of the cala paluſtris, which grows in the north of Europe, is ſometimes uſed inſtead of bread on an exigency. The North American Indians conſume this ſpecies of arum. Thoſe of South America, and of the Weſt Indies, eat other ſpecies of arums. The Hottentots, at the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa, prepare bread from a ſpecies of arum or wake-robin, which is as burning and poiſonous as the other ſpecies of this plant. In the ſame manner, they employ the roots of ſome kinds of arum as a food, in Egypt and Aſia. Probably, that ſevere but ſometimes uſeful miſtreſs, neceſſity, has firſt taught men to find out a food which the firſt taſte would have rejected as uſeleſs. This taw-ho ſeems to be the ſame with what the Indians in Carolina call tuckahoo.

Taw-kee is another plant, ſo called by the Indians, who eat it. Some of them call it taw-kim, and others tackvim. The Swedes call it always by the name of taw-kee. The plant grows in marſhes, near moiſt and low grounds, and is very plentiful in North America. The cattle, hogs, and ſtags, are very fond of the leaves in ſpring; for they are ſome of the earlieſt. The leaves are broad, like thoſe of the convallaria, or lilly of the valley, green on the upper ſide, and covered with very minute hair, ſo that they looked like a fine velvet. The Indians pluck the ſeeds, and keep them for eating. They cannot be eaten freſh or raw, but muſt be dried. The Indians were forced to boil them repeatedly in water, before they were fit for uſe; and then they ate them like peaſe. When the Swedes gave them butter or milk, they boiled or broiled the ſeeds in it. Sometimes they employ theſe ſeeds inſtead of bread; and they taſte like peaſe. Some of the Swedes likewiſe ate them, and the old men among them told me, they liked this food better than any of the other plants which the Indians formerly made uſe of. This taw-kee was the orontium aquaticum.

Bilberries were likewiſe a very common diſh among the Indians. They are called huckle-berries by the Engliſh here, and belong to ſeveral ſpecies of vaccinium, which are all of them different from our Swediſh bilberry-buſh, though their berries, in regard to colour, ſhape, and taſte, are ſo ſimilar to the Swediſh bilberry that they are diſtinguſhed from each other with difficulty. The American ones grow on ſhrubs, which are from two to four feet high; and there are ſome ſpecies which are above ſeven feet in height. The Indians formerly plucked them in abundance every year, dried them either in the ſun-ſhine or by the fire-ſide, and afterwards prepared them for eating in different manners. Theſe huckle-berries are ſtill a dainty diſh among the Indians. On my travels through the country of the Iroqueſe, they offered me, whenever they deſigned to treat me well, freſh maize-bread, baked in an oblong ſhape, mixed with dried huckle-berries, which lay as cloſe in it as the raiſins in a plumb-pudding, of which more in the ſequel. The Europeans are likewiſe uſed to collect a

quantity of theſe berries, to dry them in ovens, to bake them in tarts, and to employ them in ſeveral other ways. Some preſerve them with treacle. They are likewiſe eaten raw, either quite alone or with freſh milk.

I ſhall, on the 27th of March, find occaſion to mention another diſh, which the Indians ate formerly, and ſtill eat, on formal ceremonies.

Mar. 18th. Almoſt during the whole of this ſpring, the weather and the winds were always calm in the morning at ſun riſing. At eight o'clock the wind began to blow pretty hard, and continued ſo all day, till ſun-ſetting; when it ceaſed, and all the night was calm. This was the regular courſe of the weather; but ſometimes the winds raged without intermiſſion for two or three days together. At noon it was commonly moſt violent. But in the ordinary way the wind decreaſed and increaſed as follows: At ſix in the morning, a calm; at ſeven, a very gentle weſtern breeze, which grew ſtronger at eight; at eleven it was much ſtronger; but at four in the afternoon, it is no ſtronger than it was at eight o'clock in the morning; and thus it goes on decreaſing till it is quite a calm, juſt before ſun-ſet. The winds this ſpring blew generally weſt, as appears from the obſervations at the end of this work.

I was told, that it was a very certain prognoſtic of bad weather, that when you ſee clouds in the horizon in the ſouth-weſt, about ſun-ſetting, and when thoſe clouds ſink below the horizon, in an hour's time, it will rain the next day, though all the forenoon be fair and clear. But if ſome clouds be ſeen in the ſouth-weſt, in the horizon at ſun-ſet, and they riſe ſome time after, you may expect fair weather the next day.

Mar. 20th. An old Swede prognoſticated a change in the weather, becauſe it was calm to-day; for when there has been wind for ſome days together, and a calm follows, they ſay, rain or ſnow, or ſome other change in the weather will happen. I was likewiſe told, that ſome people here were of that falſe opinion, that the weather commonly alters on Friday; ſo that, in caſe it had rained or blown hard all the week, and a change was to happen, it would commonly fall on Friday. How far the former prognoſtic has been true, appears from my own obſervations of the weather, to which I refer.

Mar. 21ſt. The red maple (acer rubrum) and the American elm (ulmus Americana) began to flower at preſent; and ſome of the latter kind were already in full bloſſom.

Mar. 24th. I walked pretty far to-day, in order to ſee whether I could find any plants in flower. But the cloudy weather, and the great rains which had lately fallen, had allowed little or nothing to grow up. The leaves now began to grow pretty green. The plants which I have juſt before mentioned were now in full bloſſom.

The noble liverwort, or anemone hepatica, was now every where in flower. It was abundant; and the Swedes call it blablomſter, or blue-flower. They did not know any uſe of it.

Near all the corn fields on which I walked to-day, I did not ſee a ſingle ditch; though many of them wanted it. But the people generally followed the Engliſh way of making no ditches along the fields, without conſidering whether the corn-fields wanted them or not. The conſequence was, that the late rain had in many places waſhed away great pieces of the grounds, ſown with wheat and rye. There were no ridges left between the fields, except a very narrow one near the fence, which was entirely overgrown with the ſumach, or rhus glabra, and with black-berry buſhes, ſo that

that there the cattle could find very little or no food. The corn-fields were broad-caſt, or divided into pieces, which were near ſeventeen feet broad, and ſeparated from each other only by means of furrows. Theſe pieces were uniform, and not elevated in the middle.

Meloe majalis, a ſpecies of oil-beetle, crept about on the hills.

Papilio antiopa, or willow butterfly, flew in the woods to-day, and was the firſt butterfly which I ſaw this year.

Papilio euphroſyne, or the April butterfly, was one of the ſcarce ſpecies. The other American inſects, which I deſcribed this day and the following days, I ſhall mention on ſome other occaſion. In the ſequel I ſhall only mention thoſe which were remarkable for ſome peculiar qualities.

The hay-ſtacks were commonly made here after the the Swediſh manner, that is, in the ſhape of a thick and ſhort cone, without any cover over it. When the people wanted any hay, they cut ſome of it looſe, by a peculiar ſort of a knife. However, many people, eſpecially in the environs of Philadelphia, had hay-ſtacks with roofs which could be moved up and down. Near the ſurface of the ground were ſome poles laid, on which the hay was put, that the air may paſs freely through it. I have mentioned before, that the cattle have no ſtables in winter or ſummer, but muſt go in the open air, during the whole year. However, in Philadelphia, and in a few other places, I have ſeen that thoſe people who made uſe of the latter kind of hay-ſtacks, viz. that with moveable roofs, commonly had built them ſo that the hay was put a fathom or two above the ground, on a floor of boards, under which the cattle could ſtand in winter, when the weather was very bad. Under this floor of boards were partitions of boards on all the ſides, which however ſtood far enough from each other to afford the air a free paſſage.

Mar. 27th. In the morning I went in order to ſpeak with the old Swede, Nils Guſtafson, who was ninety-one years of age. I intended to get an account of the former ſtate of New Sweden. The country which I now paſſed through was the ſame with that which I had found in thoſe parts of North America I had hitherto ſeen. It was diverſified with a variety of little hills and vallies: the former conſiſted of a very pale brick-coloured earth, compoſed, for the greateſt part, of a fine ſand mixed with ſome mould. I ſaw no mountains, and no ſtones, except ſome little ſtones, not above the ſize of a pigeon's or hen's egg, lying on the hills, and commonly conſiſting of white quartz, which was generally ſmooth and poliſhed on the outſide. At the bottom, along the vallies, ran ſometimes rivulets of chryſtalline water, the bottom of which was covered with ſuch white pebbles as I have juſt deſcribed. Now and then I met with a ſwamp in the vallies. Sometimes there appeared, though at conſiderable diſtances from each other, ſome farms frequently ſurrounded on all ſides by corn-fields. Almoſt on every corn-field there yet remained the ſtumps of trees, which had been cut down; a proof that this country has not been long cultivated, being overgrown with trees forty or fifty years ago. The farms did not lie together in villages, or ſo that ſeveral of them were near each other, in one place; but they were all ſeparated from one another. Each countryman lived by himſelf, had his own ground about his houſe, ſeparated from the property of his neighbour. The greateſt part of the land, between theſe farms ſo diſtant from each other, was overgrown with woods, conſiſting of tall trees. Here and there appeared ſome fallen trees, thrown down by the wind; ſome were torn up by the roots; others broken quite acroſs the ſtem. In ſome parts of the country the trees were thick and tall, but in others I found large tracts covered with young trees, only twenty, thirty, or forty years old: theſe tracts, I am told, the Indians formerly had their little plantations in. I did not yet ſee any marks of the leaves coming out, and

I did

I did not meet with a flower in the woods; for the cold winds, which had blown for ſeveral days together ſucceſſively, had hindered this. The woods conſiſted chiefly of ſeveral ſpecies of oak, and of hiccory. The ſwamps were filled with red maple, which was all now in flower, and made theſe places look quite red at a diſtance.

The old Swede, whom I came to viſit, ſeemed to be ſtill pretty hearty and freſh, and could walk by the help of a ſtick; but he complained of having felt, in theſe latter years, ſome pains in his back and limbs, that he could keep his feet warm in winter only by ſitting near the fire. He ſaid he could very well remember the ſtate of this country, at the time when the Dutch poſſeſſed it, and in what circumſtances it was in before the arrival of the Engliſh. He added, that he had brought a great deal of timber to Philadelphia, at the time that it was built. He ſtill remembered to have ſeen a great foreſt on the ſpot where Philadelphia now ſtands. The father of this old man had been one of the Swedes who were ſent over from Sweden, in order to cultivate and inhabit this country. He returned me the following anſwers to the queſtions I aſked him.

Quere, Whence did the Swedes, who firſt came hither, get their cattle? The old man anſwered, that when he was a boy, his father and other people had told him, that the Swedes brought their horſes, cows, and oxen, ſheep, hogs, geeſe, and ducks, over with them. There were but few of a kind at firſt, but they multiplied greatly here afterwards. He ſaid, that Maryland, New York, New England, and Virginia, had been ſooner inhabited by Europeans than this part of the country; but he did not know whether the Swedes ever got cattle of any kind from any of theſe provinces, except from New York. Whilſt he was yet very young, the Swedes, as well as he could remember, had already a ſufficient ſtock of all theſe animals. The hogs had propagated ſo much at that time, there being ſo great a plenty of food for them, that they ran about wild in the woods, and that the people were obliged to ſhoot them, when they intended to make uſe of them. The old man likewiſe recollected, that horſes ran wild in the woods, in ſome places; but he could not tell whether any other kind of cattle turned wild. He thought that the cattle grow as big at preſent as they did when he was a boy, ſuppoſing they get as much food as they want; for in his younger years, food for all kinds of cattle was ſo plentiful, and even ſo ſuperfluous, that the cattle were extremely well fed by it. A cow at that time gave more milk than three or four do at preſent; but ſhe got more and better food at that time, than three or four get now.

Quere, Whence did the Engliſh in Penſylvania and New Jerſey get their cattle? They bought them chiefly from the Swedes and Dutch, who lived here; and a ſmall number were brought over from Old England. The form of the cattle, and the unanimous accounts of the Engliſh here, confirmed what the old man had ſaid.

Quere, Whence did the Swedes here ſettled get their ſeveral ſorts of corn, and likewiſe their fruit-trees and kitchen-herbs? The old man told me that he had frequently heard, when he was young, that the Swedes had brought all kinds of corn, and fruits, and herbs, or ſeeds of them, with them. For, as far as he could recollect, the Swedes here were plentifully provided with wheat, rye, barley, and oats. The Swedes, at that time, brewed all their beer of malt made of barley, and likewiſe made good ſtrong beer. They had already got diſtilling veſſels, and made good brandy. Every one among them had not a diſtilling veſſel, but when they intended to diſtil, they lent their apparatus to one another. At firſt they were forced to buy maize of the Indians, both for ſowing and eating. But after continuing for ſome years in this country, they extended their maize plantations ſo much that the Indians were obliged, ſome time after, to buy maize of the Swedes. The old man likewiſe aſſured me, that the Indians formerly, and about the time of the firſt ſettling of the Swedes, were more induſtrious and laborious in

in every branch of buſineſs than they are now. Whilſt he was young, the Swedes had a great quantity of very good white cabbage. Winter cabbage, or cale, which was left on the ground during winter, was likewiſe abundant. They were likewiſe well provided with turnips: in winter they kept them in holes under ground; but the old man did not like that method; for when they had lain too long in theſe holes, in winter they became ſpungy. He preferred that method of keeping them which is now commonly adopted, and which conſiſts in the following particulars. After the turnips have been taken out of the ground in autumn, and expoſed to the air for a while, they are put in a heap upon the field, covered with ſtraw at the top, and on the ſides, and with earth over the ſtraw. By this means they ſtand the winter very well here, and do not become ſpungy. The Indians are very fond of turnips, and called them ſometimes hopniſs, ſometimes katniſs. The Swedes likewiſe cultivated carrots, in the old man's younger years. Among the fruit-trees were apple-trees: they were not numerous, and only ſome of the Swedes had little orchards of them, whilſt others had not a ſingle tree. None of the Swedes made cyder, for it is come into uſe but lately. The Swedes brewed ſtrong beer and ſmall beer, and it was their common liquor; but at preſent there are very few who brew beer, for they commonly prepare cyder. Cherry-trees were abundant when Nils Guſtafson was yet a boy. Peach-trees were at that time more numerous than at preſent, and the Swedes brewed beer of the fruit. The old man could not tell from whence the Swedes firſt of all got the peach-trees.

During the younger years of this old man, the Indians were every where ſpread in the country; they lived among the Swedes, and were ſcattered every where. The old man mentioned Swedes who had been killed by the Indians; and he mentioned two of his countrymen who had been ſcalped by them. They ſtole children from the Swedes, and carried them off, and they were never heard of again. Once they came and killed ſome Swedes, and took the upper part of their ſculls with them; on that occaſion they ſcalped a little girl, and would have killed her, if they had not perceived a boat full of Swedes, making towards them, which obliged them to fly; the girl was afterwards healed, but never got any hair on her head again: ſhe was married, had many children, and lived to a conſiderable age. At another time the Indians attempted to kill the mother of this old man, but ſhe vigorouſly reſiſted them, and in the mean while a number of Swedes came up, who frightened the Indians, and made them run away. Nobody could ever find out to what nation of Indians theſe owe their origin; for in general they lived very peaceably with the Swedes.

The Indians had their little plantations of maize in many places; before the Swedes came into this country, the Indians had no other than their hatchets made of ſtone. In order to make maize plantations they cut out the trees, and prepared the ground in the manner I have before mentioned. They planted but little maize, for they lived chiefly upon hunting; and throughout the greateſt part of ſummer, their hopniſs, or the roots of the glycine apios, their katniſs, or the roots of the ſagittaria ſagittifolia, their tawho or the roots of the arum virginicum, their taw-kee or orontium aquaticum, and whortleberries, were their chief food. They had no horſes or other cattle which could be ſubſervient to them in their agriculture, and therefore did all the work with their own hands. After they had reaped the maize, they kept it in holes under ground, during winter; they dug theſe holes ſeldom deeper than a fathom, and often not ſo deep; at the bottom and on the ſides they put broad pieces of bark. The andropogon bicorne, a graſs which grows in great plenty here, and which the Engliſh call Indian graſs, and the Swedes wilſkt graſs *, ſupplies the want of bark; the ears of maize are then thrown into the hole, and covered to a conſiderable thickneſs with the ſame graſs, and the

* Graſs of the ſavages.

whole is again covered by a ſufficient quantity of earth: the maize kept extremely well in thoſe holes, and each Indian had ſeveral ſuch ſubterraneous ſtores, where his corn lay ſafe, though he travelled far from it. After the Swedes had ſettled here, and planted apple-trees and peach-trees, the Indians, and eſpecially their women, ſometimes ſtole the fruit in great quantity; but when the Swedes caught them, they gave them a ſevere drubbing, took the fruit from them, and often their clothes too. In the ſame manner it happened ſometimes, that as the Swedes had a great increaſe of hogs, and they ran about in the woods, the Indians killed ſome of them privately and feaſted upon them; but there were likewiſe ſome Indians who bought hogs of the Swedes and fed them; they taught them to run after them like dogs, and whenever they removed from one place to another, their hogs always followed them. Some of thoſe Indians got ſuch numbers of theſe animals, that they afterwards gave them to the Swedes for a mere trifle. When the Swedes arrived in America the Indians had no domeſtic animals, except a ſpecies of little dogs. The Indians were extremely fond of milk, and ate it with pleaſure when the Swedes gave it them. They likewiſe prepared a kind of liquor like milk in the following manner: they gathered a great number of hiccory nuts, and walnuts from the black walnut-trees, dried and cruſhed them; then they took out the kernels, pounded them ſo fine as flour, and mixed this flour with water, which took a milky hue from them, and was as ſweet as milk. They had tobacco-pipes of clay, manufactured by themſelves, at the time that the Swedes arrived here; they did not always ſmoke true tobacco, but made uſe of another plant inſtead of it, which was unknown to the old Swedes, but of which he aſſured me that it was not the common mullein, or verbaſcum thapſus, which is generally called Indian tobacco here.

As to their religion, the old man thought it very trifling, and even believed that they had none at all; when they heard loud claps of thunder, they ſaid that the evil ſpirit was angry; ſome of them ſaid that they believed in a God, who lives in heaven. The old Swede once walked with an Indian, and they met with a red-ſpotted ſnake on the road: the old man therefore went to ſeek a ſtick in order to kill the ſnake; but the Indian begged he would not touch it, becauſe he adored it: perhaps the Swede would not have killed it, but on hearing that it was the Indian's deity, he took a ſtick and killed it, in the preſence of the Indian, ſaying: becauſe thou believeſt in it, I think myſelf obliged to kill it. Sometimes the Indians came into the Swediſh churches, looked at them, heard them, and went away again, after a while. One day as this old Swede was at church, and did not ſing, becauſe he had no pſalm-book by him, one of the Indians, who was well acquainted with him, tapped him on the ſhoulder, and ſaid: Why doſt thou not ſing with the others, Tantanta! Tantanta! Tantanta? On another occaſion, as a ſermon was preached in the Swediſh church at Raccoon, an Indian came in, looked about him, and, after hearkening a while to the preacher, he ſaid: Here is a great deal of prattle and nonſenſe, but neither brandy nor cyder; and went out again. For it is to be obſerved, that when an Indian makes a ſpeech to his companions, in order to encourage them to war, or to any thing elſe, they all drink immoderately on thoſe occaſions.

At the time when the Swedes arrived, they bought land at a very inconſiderable price. For a piece of baize, or a pot full of brandy, or the like, they could get a piece of ground, which at preſent would be worth more than four hundred pounds, Penſylvania currency. When they ſold a piece of land, they commonly ſigned an agreement; and though they could neither read nor write, yet they ſcribbled their marks, or ſignatures, at the bottom of it. The father of old Nils Guſtafson bought a

piece of ground from the Indians in New Jerſey. As ſoon as the agreement was drawn up, and the Indians ſhould ſign it, one of them, whoſe name ſignified a beaver, drew a beaver; another of them drew a bow and arrow; and a third a mountain, inſtead of their names. Their canoes they made of thick trees, which they hollowed out by fire, and made them ſmooth again with their hatchets, as has been before mentioned.

The following account the old man gave me, in anſwer to my queſtions with regard to the weather and its changes: it was his opinion, that the weather had always been pretty uniform ever ſince his childhood: that there happen as great ſtorms at preſent as formerly: that the ſummers now are ſometimes hotter, ſometimes colder, than they were at that time; that the winters were often as cold and as long as formerly; and that ſtill there often falls as great a quantity of ſnow as in former times. However, he thought that no cold winter came up to that which happened in the year 1697; and which is often mentioned in the almanacks of this country; and I have mentioned it in the beginning of this volume. For in that winter the river Delaware was ſo ſtrongly covered with ice, that the old man brought many waggons full of hay over it, near Chriſtina; and that it was paſſable in ſledges even lower. No cattle, as far as he could recollect, were ſtarved to death in cold winters; except, in later years, ſuch cattle as were lean, and had no ſtables to retire into. It commonly does not rain, neither more nor leſs, in ſummer than it did formerly; excepting that, during the laſt years, the ſummers have been more dry. Nor could the old Swede find a diminution of water in brooks, rivers, and ſwamps. He allowed, as a very common and certain fact, that wherever you dig wells you meet with oyſter-ſhells in the ground.

The old Guſtafson was of opinion that intermitting fevers were as frequent and violent formerly as they are now; but that they ſeemed more uncommon, becauſe there were fewer people at that time here. When he got this fever he was not yet full grown. He got it in ſummer, and had it till the enſuing ſpring, which is almoſt a year; but it did not hinder him from doing his work, either within or out of doors. Pleuriſy likewiſe attacked one or two of the Swedes formerly; but it was not near ſo common as it is now. The people in general were very healthy at that time.

Some years ago, the old Swede's eyes were ſo much weakened, that he was forced to make uſe of a pair of ſpectacles. He then got a fever; which was ſo violent that it was feared he would not recover. However, he became quite well again, and at the ſame time got new ſtrength in his eyes, ſo that he has been able to read without ſpectacles ſince that time.

The houſes which the Swedes built when they firſt ſettled here, were very bad. The whole houſe conſiſted of one little room, the door of which was ſo low, that one was obliged to ſtoop in order to get in. As they had brought no glaſs with them, they were obliged to be content with little holes, before which a moveable board was faſtened. They found no moſs, or at leaſt none which could have been ſerviceable in ſtopping up holes or cracks in the walls. They were therefore forced to cloſe them, both without and within, with clay. The chimneys were made in a corner, either of grey ſand, a ſtone, or (in places where no ſtone was to be got) of mere clay, which they laid very thick in one corner of the houſe. The ovens for baking were likewiſe in the rooms.

Before the Engliſh came to ſettle here, the Swedes could not get as many cloaths as they wanted, and were therefore obliged to make ſhift as well as they could. The men wore waiſtcoats and breeches of ſkins. Hats were not in faſhion; and they made little caps, provided with flaps before. They had worſted ſtockings. Their ſhoes were of their own making. Some of them had learnt to prepare leather, and to make com-

mon ſhoes, with heels; but thoſe who were not ſhoemakers by profeſſion, took the length of their feet, and ſewed the leather together accordingly; taking a piece for the ſole, one for the hind-quarters, and one more for the upper-leather. At that time they likewiſe ſowed flax here, and wove linen cloth. Hemp was not to be got; and they made uſe of flaxen ropes and fiſhing tackle. The women were dreſſed in jackets and petticoats of ſkins. Their beds, excepting the ſheets, were ſkins of ſeveral animals; ſuch as bears, wolves, &c.

Tea, coffee, and chocolate, which are at preſent univerſally in uſe here, were then* wholly unknown. Bread and butter, and other ſubſtantial food, was what they breakfaſted upon; and the above-mentioned ſuperfluities have only been lately introduced, according to the account of the old Swede. Sugar and treacle they had in abundance, as far as he could remember; and rum formerly bore a more moderate price.

From the accounts of this old Swede I concluded, that before the Engliſh ſettled here they followed wholly the cuſtoms of Old Sweden; but after the Engliſh had been in the country for ſome time, the Swedes began gradually to follow their cuſtoms. When this Swede was but a boy there were two Swediſh ſmiths here, who made hatchets, knives, and ſcythes, exactly like the Swediſh ones, and made them ſharper than they can be got now. The hatchets now in uſe are in the Engliſh way, with a broad edge; and their handles are very narrow. Almoſt all the Swedes made uſe of baths; and they commonly bathed every Saturday. They celebrated Chriſtmas with ſeveral ſorts of games, and with ſeveral peculiar diſhes, as is uſual in Sweden; all which is now, for the greateſt part, left off. In the younger years of this Swede they made a peculiar kind of carts here. They ſawed thick pieces of liquidamber trees, and made uſe of two of them for the foremoſt wheels, and of two more for the hindmoſt. With thoſe carts they brought home their wood. Their ſledges were at that time made almoſt in the ſame manner as they are now, or about as broad again as the true Swediſh ones. Timber and great beams of wood were carried upon a dray. They baked great loaves, ſuch as they do now. They had never any biſcuit, though the clergymen, who came from Sweden, commonly got ſome baked.

The Engliſh on their arrival here bought large tracts of land of the Swedes, at a very inconſiderable price. The father of the old Swede ſold an eſtate to the Engliſh, which at this time would be reckoned worth three hundred pounds, for which he got a cow, a ſow, and a hundred gourds.

With regard to the decreaſe of birds, the number of them and fiſh, he was wholly of that opinion which I have already mentioned. This was the account which the old man gave me of the former ſtate of the Swedes in this country. I ſhall ſpeak more particularly of it in the ſequel.

Hurricanes are ſometimes very violent here, and often tear up great trees. They ſometimes proceed as it were in peculiar tracts, or lines. In ſome places, eſpecially in the hurricane's tract, all the trees are ſtruck down, and it looks as if the woods were cut down deſignedly; but cloſe to the tract the trees receive no hurt. Such is the place which was ſhewn to me to-day. It is dangerous to go into the woods where the hurricanes blow; for no one can guard ſufficiently againſt the ſudden fall of trees.

The Penſylvania aſp was now in full bloſſom. But neither this tree, nor thoſe near a-kin to it, ſhewed their leaves.

* Before the Engliſh ſettled here.

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An old countryman aſſerted, that he commonly ſowed a buſhel of rye on an acre of ground, and got twenty buſhels in return; but from a buſhel of barley he got thirty buſhels. However, in that caſe the ground muſt be well prepared. Wheat returns about as much as rye. The ſoil was a clay mixed with ſand and mould.

In the evening I returned*.

March 28th. I found a black beetle † (ſcarabæus) with a pentagonal oval clypeus or ſhield, on the head a ſhort blunt horn, and a gibbous or hump-backed thorax, or corſelet. This beetle is one of the bigger ſort here. I found here and there holes on the hills, which were ſo wide that I could put my finger into them. On digging them up I always found theſe beetles lying at the bottom, about five inches under ground. Sometimes there were ſhort whitiſh worms, about as thick as one's finger, which lay with the beetles; and perhaps they were related to them. There were likewiſe other inſects in ſuch holes, as a black cricket (gryllus campeſtris), ſpiders, earth-beetles (carabi), and others. This beetle had a ſcent exactly like the trifolium melilotus cærulea, or the blue melilot. It was entirely covered with oblong pale ticks (acari). Its feet were as ſtrong as thoſe of the common dung chaffer (ſcarabæus ſtercorarius).

April 4th. A cicindela, or ſhining beetle, with a gold-green head, thorax, and feet, and a blue-green abdomen or belly, flew every where about the fields, and was hunting other inſects. It is very common in North America, and ſeems to be a mere variety of the cicindela campeſtris.

Cimex lacuſtris, a kind of water-bugs, hopped in numbers on the ſurface of waters which had a ſlow courſe.

Dytiſcus piceus, or, the great water-beetle, ſwam ſometimes in the water.

About ſixty years ago, the greateſt part of this country was covered with tall and thick trees, and the ſwamps were full of water. But it has undergone ſo great a change, as few other places have undergone in ſo ſhort a time. At preſent the foreſts are cut down in moſt places, the ſwamps drained by ditches, the country cultivated, and changed into corn-fields, meadows, and paſtures. Therefore, it ſeems very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſo ſudden a change has likewiſe had ſome effect upon the weather. I was therefore deſirous of hearing from the old Swedes, who have lived the longeſt in this country, and have been inhabitants of this place during the whole time of the change mentioned, whether the preſent ſtate of the weather was in ſome particulars remarkably different from that which they felt in their younger years? The following is an account which they all unanimouſly gave me in anſwer to this queſtion.

The winter came ſooner formerly than it does now. Mr. Iſaac Norris, a wealthy merchant, who has a conſiderable ſhare in the government of Penſylvania, confirmed this by a particular account. His father, one of the firſt Engliſh merchants in this country, obſerved, that in his younger years the river Delaware was commonly covered with ice, about the middle of November, old ſtyle, ſo that the merchants were obliged to bring down their ſhips in great haſte before that time, for fear of their being obliged to lie all winter. On the contrary, this river ſeldom freezes over at preſent, before the middle of December, old ſtyle.

* From Nils Guſtafson, the old Swede.

† The beetle here deſcribed ſeems to be the ſcarabæus Carolinus, Linn. Syſt. Nat. p. 545, and of Drury Illuſtrations of Nat. Hiſt. tab. 35. f. 2. It is common in New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, and Carolina. F.

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It ſnowed much more in winter, formerly, than it does now; but the weather in general was likewiſe more conſtant and uniform; and when the cold ſet in, it continued to the end of February, or till March, old ſtyle, when it commonly began to grow warm. At preſent, it is warm, even the very next day after a ſevere cold; and ſometimes the weather changes ſeveral times a day.

Moſt of the old people here were of opinion, that ſpring came much later at preſent, than formerly, and that it was now much colder in the latter end of February, and the whole month of May, than when they were young. Formerly the fields were as green, and the air as warm, towards the end of February, as it is now in March, or in the beginning of April, old ſtyle. The Swedes at that time made uſe of this phraſe: paſk bitida, paſk ſent, altid gras, that is, we have always graſs at Eaſter, whether it be ſoon or late in the year. But perhaps we can account as follows, for the opinion which the people here have, that vegetation appeared formerly more forward than it does now. Formerly the cattle were not ſo numerous as now; however, the woods were full of graſs and herbs, which, according to the teſtimony of all the old people here, grew to the height of a man. At preſent a great part of the annual graſſes and plants have been entirely extirpated by the continual grazing of numbers of cattle. Theſe annual graſſes were probably green very early in ſpring, and (being extirpated) might lead the people to believe, that every thing came on ſooner formerly than it does at preſent.

It uſed to rain more abundantly than it does now; during the harveſt eſpecially, the rains fell in ſuch plenty, that it was very difficult to bring home the hay and corn. Some of the laſt years had been extremely dry. However, a few people were of opinion that it rained as plentifully at preſent, as formerly.

All the people agreed, that the weather was not by far ſo inconſtant, when they were young, as it is now. For at preſent it happens at all times of the year, that when a day has been warm, the next is very cold, and vice verſa. It frequently happens that the weather alters ſeveral times in one day; ſo that when it has been a pretty warm morning, the wind blows from north weſt about ten o'clock, and brings a cold air with it; yet a little after noon it may be warm again. My meteorological obſervations ſufficiently confirm the reality of theſe ſudden changes of weather, which are ſaid to cauſe, in a great meaſure, the people to be more unhealthy at preſent, than they were formerly.

I likewiſe found every body agree in aſſerting, that the winter, betwixt the autumn of the year 1697, and the ſpring of the year 1698, was the coldeſt and the ſevereſt which they had ever felt.

April 6th. Sanguinaria Canadenſis, which is here called blood-root, becauſe the root is great and red, and, when cut, looks like the root of red beet, and the epigæa repens, which ſome call the creeping ground-laurel, were both beginning to flower. The former grew in a rich mould, the other in a poorer ſoil.

The Laurus æſtivalis, which ſome people call ſpice-wood, likewiſe began to bloſſom about this time; its leaves were not yet broke out; it liked a moiſt ſoil in the woods.

April 9th. Apocynum Cannabinum was by the Swedes called hemp of the Indians *; and grew plentifully in old corn-grounds, in woods, on hills, and in high glades. The Swedes have given it the name of Indian hemp, becauſe the Indians formerly, and even now, apply it to the ſame purpoſes as the Europeans do hemp; for the ſtalk may

* Wilſkt hampa.

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be divided into filaments, and is eaſily prepared. When the Indians were yet ſettled among the Swedes, in Penſylvania and New Jerſey, they made ropes of this apocynum, which the Swedes bought, and employed them as bridles, and for nets. Theſe ropes were ſtronger, and kept longer in water, than ſuch as were made of common hemp. The Swedes commonly got fourteen yards of theſe ropes for one piece of bread. Many of the Europeans ſtill buy ſuch ropes, becauſe they laſt ſo well. The Indians likewiſe make ſeveral other ſtuffs of their hemp. On my journey through the country of the Iroqueſe, I ſaw the women employed in manufacturing this hemp. They made uſe neither of ſpinning-wheels nor diſtaffs, but rolled the filaments upon their bare thighs, and made thread and ſtrings of them, which they dyed red, yellow, black, &c. and afterwards worked them into ſtuffs, with a great deal of ingenuity. The plant is perennial, which renders the annual planting of it altogether unneceſſary. Out of the root and ſtalk of this plant, when it is freſh, comes a white milky juice, which is ſomewhat poiſonous. Sometimes the fiſhing tackle of the Indians conſiſts entirely of this hemp. The Europeans make no uſe of it, that I know of.

Flax and cat-tail, were names given to a plant which grows in bays, rivers, and in deep whirlpools, and which is known to botaniſts by the name of Typha latifolia. Its leaves are here twiſted together, and formed into great oblong rings, which are put upon the horſe's neck, between the mane and the collar, in order to prevent the horſe's neck from being hurt by the collar. The bottoms of chairs were frequently made of theſe leaves, twiſted together. Formerly the Swedes employed the wool or cotton which ſurrounds its ſeeds, and put it into their beds inſtead of feathers; but as it coaleſces into lumps after the beds have been uſed for ſome time, they have left off making uſe of them. I omit the uſe of this plant in phyſic, it being the peculiar province of the phyſicians.

A ſpecies of leek*, very like that which appears only in woods on hills in Sweden, grows at preſent on almoſt all corn-fields mixed with ſand. The Engliſh here called it garlick. On ſome fields it grew in great abundance. When the cattle grazed on ſuch fields, and ate the garlick, their milk, and the butter which was made of it, taſted ſo ſtrongly of it, that they were ſcarce eatable. Sometimes they ſold butter in the Philadelphia markets, which taſted to ſtrongly of garlick that it was entirely uſeleſs. On this account, they do not ſuffer milking cows to graze on fields where garlick abounds: this they reſerve for other ſpecies of cattle. When the cattle eat much of this garlick in ſummer, their fleſh has likewiſe ſuch a ſtrong flavour, that it is unfit for eating. This kind of garlick appears early in ſpring; and the horſes always paſſed by it without ever touching it.

* Allium arvenſe; odore gravi, capitulis bulboſis rubentibus. See Gronov. Flora Virginica, 37. This leek ſeems to be Dr. Linnæus's Allium Canadenſe, ſcapo nudo tereti, foliis linearibus, capitulo bulbifero. Spec. plant. I. p. 431. F.

PETER KALM'S TRAVELS.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

PREFACE OF THE EDITOR TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

I COULD have left this volume without preface, was it not for ſome circumſtances which I am going to mention.

The author of this account of North America is a Swede, and therefore ſeems always to ſhew a peculiar way of thinking in regard to the Engliſh in general, and in regard to the firſt proprietors and inhabitants of Philadelphia in particular. The French, the natural enemies of the Engliſh, have, for upwards of a century, been the allies of the Swedes, who therefore are in general more fond of them than of the Engliſh. The external politeneſs of the French in Canada fully captivated our author, prejudiced him in their favour, and alienated his mind, though unjuſtly, from the Engliſh. I have therefore now and then, in remarks, been obliged to do the Engliſh juſtice, eſpecially when I ſaw the author carried away either by prejudice or miſinformation. He paſſed almoſt all the winter, between 1748 and 1749, at Raccoon, and converſed there with his countrymen; when he came to Philadelphia he likewiſe was in the company of the Swedes ſettled there; theſe, no doubt, furniſhed him with many partial and diſingenuous accounts of the Engliſh, and gave his mind that unfavourable bias which he ſo often diſplays in prejudice of a nation, now at the head of the enlightened world, in regard to every religious, moral, and ſocial virtue. The author frequently ſeems to throw an illiberal reflection on the firſt proprietors of Penſylvania, and the Quakers; though they got that province not by force, but by a charter from the Engliſh government, to whom the Swedes gave it up by virtue of a public treaty. Prompted by ſuch falſe inſinuations of his countrymen, he likewiſe enters very minutely into the circumſtances of the Swedes, and often omits more important points relative to the legiſlator and father of Penſylvania, William Penn, who gave that province exiſtence, laws, and reputation.

The author, however, often does juſtice to the excellent conſtitution of Penſylvania, as may be ſeen in vol. 1. But when he ſpeaks of ſtones attracting the moiſture of the air, ſee vol. 1. this is ſomewhat unphiloſophically expreſſed. No ſtone attracts the moiſture of the air unleſs impregnated with ſaline particles; however, when the ſtones are colder than the atmoſphere, they then condenſe the moiſture of the air on their ſurface: the porous ſtones abſorb it immediately, but thoſe of a more ſolid texture, as marbles, &c. keep it on their ſurface till it evaporates.

I here take the opportunity of returning my humble thanks to my friends, who have generouſly promoted this publication; as without this public manner of acknowledging their favours, I would think myſelf guilty of ingratitude, which, in my opinion, is one of the moſt deteſtable vices.

London,
Feb. the 15th, 1771.

PETER KALM'S TRAVELS.—*VOLUME THE SECOND.*

APRIL the 12th, 1749. This morning I went to Philadelphia and the places adjacent, in order to know whether there were more plants lately ſprung up than at Raccoon, and in New Jerſey in general. The wet weather which had happened the preceding days had made the roads very bad in low and clayey places.

The leaves which dropt laſt autumn had covered the ground in depth three or four inches. As this ſeems to hinder the growth of the graſs, it was cuſtomary to burn it in March, or at the end of that month, (according to the old ſtile) in order to give the graſs the liberty of growing up. I found ſeveral ſpots burnt in this manner to-day; but if it be uſeful one way, it does a great deal of damage in another; all the young ſhoots of ſeveral trees were burnt with the dead leaves, which diminiſhes the woods conſiderably; and in ſuch places where the dead leaves had been burnt for ſeveral years together, the old trees were only left, which being cut down, there remains nothing but a great field, without any wood. At the ſame time, all ſorts of trees and plants are conſumed by the fire, or at leaſt deprived of their power of budding; a great number of plants, and moſt of the graſſes here, are annual; their ſeeds fall between the leaves, and by that means are burnt: this is another cauſe of univerſal complaint, that graſs is much ſcarcer at preſent in the woods than it was formerly; a great number of dry and hollow trees are burnt at the ſame time, though they could ſerve as fuel in the houſes, and by that means ſpare part of the foreſts. The upper mould likewiſe burns away in part by that means, not to mention ſeveral other inconveniencies with which this burning of the dead leaves is attended. To this purpoſe, the government of Penſylvania have lately publiſhed an edict, which prohibits this burning; nevertheleſs every one did as he pleaſed, and this prohibition met with a general cenſure.

There were vaſt numbers of woodlice in the woods about this time; they are a very diſagreeable inſect; for as ſoon as a perſon ſits down on an old ſtump of a tree, or on a tree which is cut down, or on the ground itſelf, a whole army of woodlice creep upon his clothes, and inſenſibly come upon the naked body.

I had a piece of petrified wood given me to-day, which was found deep in the ground at Raccoon. In this wood the fibres and inward rings appeared very plainly; it ſeemed to be a piece of hiccory, for it was as like it, in every reſpect, as if it had but juſt been cut from a hiccory tree.

I likewiſe got ſome ſhells to-day, which the Engliſh commonly call clams, and whereof the Indians make their ornaments and money, which I ſhall take an opportunity of ſpeaking of in the ſequel. Theſe clams were not freſh, but ſuch as are every where found in New Jerſey, on digging deep into the ground; the live ſhells of this kind are only found in ſalt water, and on the ſea coaſts. But theſe clams were found at Raccoon, about eight or nine Engliſh miles from the river Delaware, and near a hundred from the neareſt ſea-ſhore.

At night I went to Mr. Bartram's ſeat.

April 13th. I employed this day in ſeveral obſervations relative to botany.

Two neſts of waſps hung in a high maple-tree, over a brook. Their form was wholly the ſame with that of our waſp neſts, but they exceeded them in ſize. Each

neſt was ten inches in diameter; in each neſt were three cakes, above one another, of which the lowermoſt was the biggeſt, and the two uppermoſt decreaſed in proportion: there were ſome eggs of waſps in them. The diameter of the loweſt cake was about ſix inches and one quarter, and that of the uppermoſt, three inches and three quarters. The cells in which the eggs, or the young ones were depoſited, were hexagonal, and the colour of the neſt grey. I was told that the waſps make this kind of neſts out of the grey ſplints, which ſtick to old pales and walls. A dark brown bee, with black antennæ, and two black rings on the belly, and purple wings, flew about the trees, and might perhaps be an inhabitant of theſe neſts.

Another kind of waſps, which are larger than theſe, make their neſts quite open. It conſiſts merely of one cake, which has no covering, and is made of the boughs of trees. The cells are horizontal, and when the eggs or young larvæ lie in them they have lids or coverings, that the rain may not come into them. But whither the old waſps retreat during ſtorms, is a myſtery to me, except they creep into the crevices of rocks. That ſide of the cake which is uppermoſt is covered with ſome oily particles, ſo that the rain cannot penetrate. The cells are hexagonal, from five to ſeven lines deep, and two lines in diameter. Mr. Bartram obſerved, that theſe neſts are built of two ſorts of materials, viz. the ſplints which are found upon old pales, or fences, and which the wind ſeparates from them; for the waſps have often been obſerved to ſit on ſuch old wood, and to gnaw away theſe ſplints; the ſides, and the lid or cover of the cells are made of an animal ſubſtance, or glutinous matter, thrown up by the waſps, or prepared in their mouths; for when this ſubſtance is thrown into the fire, it does not burn, but is only ſinged, like hair or horn. But the bottom of the neſt being put into the fire, burns like linen or half-rotten wood, and leaves a ſmell of burnt wood. The waſps, whoſe neſts I have now deſcribed, have three elevated black ſhining points on the forehead*, and a pentagonal black ſpot on the thorax. Towards the end of autumn theſe waſps creep into the cavities of mountains, where they lie torpid during winter. In ſpring, when the ſun begins to operate, they come out during day-time, but return towards night, when it grows cold. I ſaw them early in ſpring during ſunſhine, in and about ſome cavities in the mountains. I was told of another ſpecies of waſps, which make their neſts under ground.

Gyrinus natator (Americanus), or the whirl-beetles. Theſe were found dancing in great numbers on the ſurface of the waters.

April 14th. This morning I went down to Cheſter: in ſeveral places on the road are ſaw-mills; but thoſe which I ſaw to-day had no more than one ſaw. I likewiſe perceived that the woods and foreſts of theſe parts had been very roughly treated. It is cuſtomary here, when they erect ſaw-mills, wind-mills, or iron-works, to lead the water a good way lower, in caſe the ground near a fall in the river is not convenient for building upon.

April 16th. This morning I returned to Raccoon. This country has ſeveral kinds of ſwallows, viz. ſuch as live in barns, in chimneys, and under ground; there are likewiſe martens.

The barn ſwallows, or houſe ſwallows, are thoſe with a furcated tail. They are Linnæus's hirundo ruſtica. I found them in all the parts of North America which I travelled over. They correſpond very nearly to the European houſe-ſwallow. In regard to

* Theſe three points are common to moſt inſects, and ought therefore not to be made characteriſtics of any particular ſpecies. They are called ſtemmata, and are a kind of eyes which ſerve the inſects for looking at diſtant objects, as the compound eyes do for objects near at hand. F.

their colour, however, there ſeems to be a ſmall difference in the note. I took no notice this year when they arrived: but the following year, 1750, I obſerved them for the firſt time, on the 10th of April (new ſtyle); the next day in the morning, I ſaw great numbers of them ſitting on poſts and planks, and they were as wet as if they had been juſt come out of the ſea *. They build their neſts in houſes, and under the roofs on

* It has been a ſubject of conteſt among naturaliſts, to determine the winter retreat of ſwallows. Some think, they go to warmer climates when they diſappear in the northern countries: others ſay, they creep into hollow trees, and holes in clefts of rocks, and lie there all the winter in a torpid ſtate: and others affirm, that they take their retreat into water, and revive again in ſpring. The two firſt opinions have been proved, and it ſeems have found credit; the laſt have been treated as ridiculous, and almoſt as an old woman's tale. Natural hiſtory, as all the other hiſtories, depends not always upon the intrinſic degree of probability, but upon facts founded on the teſtimony of people of noted veracity. — Swallows are ſeldom ſeen ſinking down into the water; ſwallows have not ſuch organs as frogs or lizards, which are torpid during winter, ergo, ſwallows live not, and cannot live under water. — This way of arguing, I believe, would carry us, in a great many caſes, too far; for though it is not clear to every one, it may however be true; and lizards and frogs are animals of a claſs widely different from that of birds, and muſt therefore of courſe have a different ſtructure; hence it is they are claſſed ſeparately. The bear and the marmot are in winter in a torpid ſtate, and have however not ſuch organs as lizards and frogs; and nobody doubts of their being, during ſome time, in the moſt rigid climates, in a torpid ſtate; for the Alpine nations hunt the marmots frequently, by digging their holes up, and find them ſo torpid, that they cut their throats, without their reviving or giving the leaſt ſign of life during the operation; but when the torpid marmot is brought into a warm room and placed before the fire, it revives from its lethargy. The queſtion muſt therefore be decided by facts; nor are they wanting here; Dr. Wallerius, the celebrated Swediſh chemiſt, wrote in 1748, September the 6th, O. S. to the late Mr. Klein, ſecretary to the city of Dantzick: "That he has ſeen, more than once, ſwallows aſſembling on a reed, till they were all immerſed and went to the bottom; this being preceded by a dirge of a quarter of an hour's length. He atteſts likewiſe, that he had ſeen a ſwallow caught during winter out of a lake with a net, drawn, as is common in northern countries, under the ice: this bird was brought into a warm room, revived, fluttered about, and ſoon after died."

Mr. Klein applied to many fermiers generaux of the King of Pruſſia's domains, who had great lakes in their diſtricts, the fiſhery in them being a part of the revenue; in winter the fiſhery thereon is the moſt conſiderable under the ice, with nets ſpreading more than two hundred or three hundred fathoms, and they are often wound by ſcrews and engines, on account of their weight. All the people queſtioned made affidavits upon oath before the magiſtrates. Firſt, The mother of the Counteſs Lehndorf ſaid, that ſhe had ſeen a bundle of ſwallows brought from the Friſh-haff (a lake communicating with the Baltic at Pillau) which when brought into a moderately warm room, revived and fluttered about. Secondly, Count Schlieben gave an inſtrument on ſtamped paper, importing, that by fiſhing on the lake belonging to his eſtate of Gerdauen, in winter, he ſaw ſeveral ſwallows caught in the net, one of which he took up with his hand, brought it into a warm room, where it lay about an hour, when it began to ſtir, and half an hour after it flew about in the room. Thirdly, fermier general (Amtman) Witkowſki made affidavit, that in the year 1740, three ſwallows were brought up with the net in the great pond at Didlacken; in the year 1741 he got two ſwallows from another part of the pond, and took them home, (they all being caught in his preſence); after an hour's ſpace they revived all in a warm room, fluttered about, and died three hours after. Fourthly, Amtmam Bönke ſays, that having had the eſtate Kleſkow in farm, he had ſeen nine ſwallows brought up in the net from under the ice, all which he took into a warm room, where he diſtinctly obſerved how they gradually revived; but a few hours after they all died. Another time his people got likewiſe ſome ſwallows in a net, but he ordered them again to be thrown into the water. Fifthly, Andrew Rutta, a maſter fiſherman, at Oletſko, made affidavit, 1747, that twenty-two years ago, two ſwallows were taken up by him, in a net, under the ice, and being brought into a warm room, they flew about. Sixthly, Jacob Koſiulo, a maſter fiſherman, at Stradauen, made affidavit, that in 1736, he brought up in winter, in a net, from under the ice of the lake at Raſki, a ſeemingly dead ſwallow, which revived in half an hour's time, in a warm room, and he ſaw, a quarter of an hour after, the bird grow weaker, and ſoon after dying. Seventhly, I can reckon myſelf among the eye-witneſſes of this paradoxon of natural hiſtory. In the year 1735, being a little boy, I ſaw ſeveral ſwallows brought in winter by fiſhermen, from the river Viſtula, to my father's houſe, where two of them were brought into a warm room, revived, and flew about. I ſaw them ſeveral times ſettling on the warm ſtove, (which the northern nations have in their rooms) and I recollect well that the ſame forenoon they died, and I had them, when dead, in my hand.

on theoutſide; I likewiſe found their neſts built on mountains and rocks whoſe top projected beyond the bottom; they build too under the corners of perpendicular rocks; and this ſhews where the ſwallows made their neſts, before the Europeans ſettled and built houſes here; for it is well known that the huts of the Indians could not ſerve the purpoſe of the ſwallows. A very creditable lady and her children told me the following ſtory, aſſuring me that they were eye-witneſſes to it: a couple of ſwallows built their neſt in the ſtable belonging to the lady; the female ſwallow ſat upon the neſt, laid eggs in it, and was about to brood them; ſome days after, the people ſaw the female ſtill ſitting on the eggs; but the male flying about the neſt, and ſometimes ſettling on a nail, was heard to utter a very plaintive note, which betrayed his uneaſineſs: on a nearer examination the cauſe appeared, for the female was found dead in the neſt. The male then went to ſit upon the eggs, but after being about two hours on them, and thinking the buſineſs too troubleſome for him, he went out, and returned in the afternoon with another female, which ſat upon the eggs, and afterwards fed the young ones

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In the year 1754, after the death of my uncle Godefroy Wolf, captain in the Poliſh regiment of foot-guards; being myſelf one of his heirs, I adminiſtered for my co-heirs ſeveral eſtates called the Staroſty of Dirſchau, in Poliſh Pruſſia, which my late uncle farmed under the King. In January the lake of Lybſhau, belonging to theſe eſtates being covered with ice, I ordered the fiſhermen to fiſh therein, and in my preſence ſeveral ſwallows were taken, which the fiſhermen threw in again; but one I took up myſelf, brought it home, which was five miles from thence, and it revived, but died about an hour after its reviving. Theſe are facts atteſted by people of the higheſt quality, by ſome in public offices, and by others, who, though of a low rank, however made theſe affidavits upon oath. It is impoſſible to ſuppoſe indiſcriminately that they were prompted by views of intereſt, to aſſert as a fact, a thing which had no truth in it. It is therefore highly probable, or rather inconteſtably true, that ſwallows retire in the Northern countries during winter into the water, and ſtay there in a torpid ſtate, till the return or warmth revives them again in ſpring. The queſtion therefore I believe ought for the future to be thus ſtated: The ſwallows in Spain, Italy, France, and perhaps ſome from England, remove to warmer climates; ſome Engliſh ones, and ſome in Germany and other mild countries, retire into clefts and holes in rocks, and remain there in a torpid ſtate. In the colder northern countries the ſwallows immerſe in the ſea, in lakes and rivers, and remain in a torpid ſtate under ice during winter. There are ſtill ſome objections to this latter aſſertion, which we muſt remove. It is ſaid, why do not rapacious fiſh, and aquatic quadrupeds and birds, devour theſe ſwallows? The anſwer is obvious. Swallows chuſe only ſuch places in the water for their winter retreat, as are near reeds and ruſhes, ſo that ſinking down there between them and their roots, they are by them ſecured againſt the rapaciouſneſs of their enemies. But others object, why are not theſe birds caught in ſuch waters as are continually harraſſed by nets? I believe the ſame anſwer which has been made to the firſt objection, will ſerve for this likewiſe. Fiſhermen take care to keep off with their nets from places filled with reeds and ruſhes, for fear of entangling and tearing their nets; and thus the ſituation of ſwallows under water, is the reaſon that they are ſeldom diſturbed in their ſilent winter retreats. What confirms this opinion ſtill more is, that ſwallows were never caught in Pruſſia, according to the above-mentioned affidavits, but with thoſe parts of the net which paſſed near to the reeds and ruſhes; and ſometimes the ſwallows were yet faſtened with their feet to a reed when they were drawn up by the net. As to the argument taken from their being ſo long under water without corruption, I believe there is a real difference between animals ſuffocated in water, and animals being torpid therein. We have examples of things being a long time under water, to which we may add the intenſe cold of theſe northern regions which preſerves them. Who would have thought it, that ſnails and polypes may be diſſected, and could reproduce the parts ſevered from their body, if it was not a fact? Natural hiſtory ought to be ſtudied as a collection of facts, not as the hiſtory of our gueſſes or opinions. Nature varies in an infinite manner; and Providence has diverſified the inſtinct of animals, and their œconomy, and adapted it to the various ſeaſons and climates. This long digreſſion I thought neceſſary and excuſable; and the more ſo, as the ingenious great friends to the cauſe of Natural Hiſtory, the late Mr. Collinſon and Mr. Pennant, have both aſſerted the impoſſibility and improbability of this immerſion. I revere the memory and the aſhes of the one, and think the friendſhip of the other an honour to me; but am aſſured, that both prefer truth to their private opinion, and can bear a modeſt oppoſition, when it is propoſed with candour, with a view to promote truth, and with ſentiments of reſpect and gratitude, as it is done by me in the preſent caſe. F.

till

till they were able to provide for themſelves. The people differed here in their opinions about the abode of ſwallows in winter: moſt of the Swedes thought that they lay at the bottom of the ſea; ſome, with the Engliſh and the French in Canada, thought that they migrate to the ſouthward in Autumn, and return in ſpring. I have likewiſe been credibly informed in Albany, that they have been found ſleeping in deep holes and clefts of rocks, during winter.

The chimney ſwallows are the ſecond ſpecies, and they derive their name from building their neſts in chimneys, which are not made uſe of in ſummer: ſometimes when the fire is not very great, they do not mind the ſmoke, and remain in the chimney. I did not ſee them this year till late in May, but in the enſuing year, 1750, they arrived on the 3d of May, for they appear much later than the other ſwallows. It is remarkable that each feather in their tail ends in a ſtiff ſharp point, like the end of an awl; they apply the tail to the ſide of the wall in the chimneys, hold themſelves with their feet, and the ſtiff tail ſerves to keep them up: they make a great thundering noiſe all the day long, by flying up and down in the chimneys; and as they build their neſts in chimneys only, and it is well known that the Indians have not ſo much as a hearth made of maſonry, much leſs a chimney, but make their fires on the ground in their huts, it is an obvious queſtion, Where did theſe ſwallows build their neſts before the Europeans came, and made houſes with chimneys? It is probable that they formerly made them in great hollow trees. This opinion was adopted by Mr. Bartram, and many others here. Cateſby has deſcribed the chimney ſwallow and figured it *, and Dr. Linnæus calls it hirundo pelaſgia.

The ground ſwallows or ſand martins, (Linnæus's hirundo riparia) are to be met with every where in America; they make their neſts in the ground on the ſteep ſhores of rivers and lakes.

The purple martins have likewiſe been deſcribed and drawn in their natural colours by Cateſby †. Dr. Linnæus likewiſe calls them hirundo purpurea. They are leſs common here than the former ſpecies; I have ſeen in ſeveral places little houſes made of boards, and fixed on the outſide of the walls, on purpoſe that theſe martins may make their neſts in them; for the people are very deſirous of having them near their houſes, becauſe they both drive away hawks and crows as ſoon as they ſee them, and alarm the poultry, by their anxious note, of the approach of their enemies. The chickens are likewiſe uſed to run under ſhelter, as ſoon as they are warned by the martins.

April 17th. The dirca paluſtris, or mouſe-wood, is a little ſhrub which grows on the riſing ground adjoining to the ſwamps and marſhes, and was now in full bloſſom. The Engliſh in Albany, call it leather-wood, becauſe its bark is as tough as leather. The French in Canada, call it bois de plomb, or leaden-wood, becauſe the wood itſelf is as ſoft and as tough as lead. The bark of this ſhrub was made uſe of for ropes, baſkets, &c. by the Indians, whilſt they lived among the Swedes; and it is really very fit for that purpoſe, on account of its remarkable ſtrength and toughneſs, which is equal to that of the lime-tree bark. The Engliſh and the Dutch in many parts of North America, and the French in Canada, employ this bark in all caſes where we make uſe of lime-tree bark in Europe. The tree itſelf is very tough, and you cannot eaſily ſeparate its branches without the help of a knife: ſome people employ the twigs for rods.

* Hirundo, caudâ aculeatâ, Americana. Cateſb. Carol. vol. iii. t. 8.
† Hirundo purpurea. Nat. Hiſt. of Carol. vol. i. t. 51.

April

April 20th. This day I found the ſtrawberries in flower, for the firſt time this year: the fruit is commonly larger than that in Sweden; but it ſeems to be leſs ſweet and agreeable.

The annual harveſt, I am told, is always of ſuch a nature, that it affords plenty of bread for the inhabitants, though it turns out to greater advantage in ſome years than it does in others. A venerable ſeptuagenary Swede, called Aoke Helm, aſſured me, that in his time no abſolutely barren crop had been met with, but that the people had always had pretty plentiful crops. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the people eat their bread of maize, rye, or wheat, quite pure and free from the inferior kinds of corn, and clear of huſks, ſtalks, or other impurities. Many aged Swedes and Engliſhmen confirmed this account, and ſaid, that they could not remember any crop ſo bad as to make the people ſuffer in the leaſt, much leſs that any body was ſtarved to death, whilſt they were in America. Sometimes the price of corn roſe higher in one year than in another, on account of a great drought or bad weather, but ſtill there was always corn ſufficient for the conſumption of the inhabitants. Nor is it likely that any great famine can happen in this country, unleſs it pleaſe God to afflict it with extraordinary puniſhments. The weather is well known, from more than ſixty years experience. Here are no cold nights which hurt the germ; the wet is of ſhort continuance, and the drought is ſeldom or never of long duration; but the chief thing is the great variety of corn. The people ſow the different kinds at different times and ſeaſons, and though one crop turn out bad, yet another ſucceeds. The ſummer is ſo long, that of ſome ſpecies of corn they may get three crops. There is hardly a month from May to October or November incluſive, in which the people do not reap ſome kind of corn, or gather ſome ſort of fruit. It would indeed be a very great misfortune if a bad crop ſhould happen; for here, as in many other places, they lay up no ſtores, and are contented that there is plenty of food for the preſent exigencies.

The peach-trees were now every where in bloſſom; their leaves were not yet come out of the buds, and therefore the flowers ſhewed to greater advantage; their beautiful pale red colour had a very fine effect; and they ſat ſo cloſe that the branches were entirely clad with them. The other fruit trees were not yet in flower; however, the apple bloſſoms began to appear.

The Engliſh and the Swedes of America, give the name of currants * to a ſhrub which grows in wet ground, and near ſwamps, and which was now in bloſſom; its flowers are white, have a very agreeable fragancy, and grow in oblong bunches; the fruit is very good eating, when it is ripe; the ſtyle (ſtylus) is thread-ſhaped (filiformis), and ſhorter than the ſtamina; it is divided in the middle, into five parts, or ſtigmata. Dr. Linnæus calls it cratægus †, and Dr. Gronovius calls it a meſpilus ‡.

April 22d. The Swedes give the name of whipperiwill, and the Engliſh that of whip-poor-will, to a kind of nocturnal bird, whoſe voice is heard in North America, almoſt throughout the whole night. Cateſby and Edwards both have deſcribed and figured it §. Dr. Linnæus calls it a variety of the caprimulgus Europæus, or goat-ſucker: its ſhape, colour, ſize, and other qualities make it difficult to diſtinguiſh them from each other; but the peculiar note of the American one diſtinguiſhes it from the European

* It muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from what is called currants in England, which is the ribes rubrum. F.

† Cratægus tomentoſa, Linn. Spec. pl. p. 682.

‡ Meſpilus inermis, foliis ovato-oblongis, ſerratis, ſubtus tomentoſis. Gronov. Fl. Virgin. 55.

§ Caprimulgus minor Americanus. Cateſb. Nat. Hiſt. of Carolina, vol. iii. t. 16. Edwards's Nat. Hiſt. of Birds, t. 63.

one, and from all other birds: it is not found here during winter, but returns with the beginning of ſummer. I heard it to-day, for the firſt time, and many other people ſaid, that they had not heard it before this ſummer; its Engliſh and Swediſh name is taken from its note; but, accurately ſpeaking, it does not call whipperiwill, nor whip-poor-will, but rather whipperiwip, ſo that the firſt and laſt ſyllables are accented, and the intermediate ones but ſlightly pronounced. The Engliſh change the call of this bird into whip-poor-will, that it may have ſome kind of ſignification: it is neither heard nor ſeen in day-time; but ſoon after ſun-ſet it begins to call, and continues for a good while, as the cuckoo does in Europe. After it has continued calling in a place for ſome time, it removes to another, and begins again: it uſually comes ſeveral times in a night, and ſettles cloſe to the houſes; I have ſeen it coming late in the evening, and ſettling on the ſteps of the houſe in order to ſing its ſong; it is very ſhy, and when a perſon ſtood ſtill, it would ſettle cloſe by him, and begin to call. It came to the houſes in order to get its food, which conſiſts of inſects; and thoſe always abound near the houſes at night; when it ſat and called its whipperiwhip, and ſaw an inſect paſſing, it flew up and caught it, and ſettled again. Sometimes you hear four or five, or more, near each other, calling as it were for a wager, and raiſing a great noiſe in the woods. They were ſeldom heard in towns, being either extirpated there, or frightened away, by frequent ſhooting. They do not like to ſit on trees, but are commonly on the ground, or very low in buſhes, or on the lower poles of the encloſures; they always fly near the ground; they continue their calling at night till it grows quite dark; they are ſilent till the dawn of day comes on, and then they call till the ſun riſes. The ſun ſeems to ſtop their mouths, or dazzle their eyes, ſo as to make them ſit ſtill. I have never heard them call in the midſt of night, though I have hearkened very attentively on purpoſe to hear it, and many others have done the ſame. I am told they make no neſt, but lay two eggs in the open fields. My ſervant ſhot at one which ſat on a buſh near the houſe, and though he did not hit it, yet it fell down through fear, and lay for ſome time as if dead, but recovered afterwards. It never attempted to bite when it was held in the hands, only endeavouring to get looſe by ſtirring itſelf about. Above, and cloſe under the eyes, were ſeveral black, long, and ſtiff briſtles, as in other nocturnal birds. The Europeans eat it. Mr. Cateſby ſays, the Indians affirm, that they never ſaw theſe birds, or heard of them, before a certain great battle, in which the Europeans killed a great number of Indians. Therefore, they ſuppoſe that theſe birds, which are reſtleſs, and utter their plaintive note at night, are the ſouls of their anceſtors who died in battle.

April 24th. To-day the cherry-trees began to ſhow their bloſſoms; they had already pretty large leaves.

The apple-trees likewiſe began to bloſſom; however, the cherry-trees were more forward: they likewiſe got a greeniſh hue from their leaves.

The mulberry-trees * were yet quite naked; and I was ſorry to find that this tree is one of the lateſt in getting leaves, and one of the firſt which gets fruit.

April 26th. This morning I travelled to Penn's Neck. The tulip-trees, eſpecially the tall ones, looked quite green, being covered with their leaves; this tree is therefore one of the earlieſt which get leaves.

To-day I ſaw the flowers of the ſaſſafras-tree, (laurus ſaſſafras.) The leaves were not yet come out. The flowers have a fine ſmell.

The lupinus perennis is abundant in the woods, and grows equally in good ſoil and

* Morus rubra.

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in poor. I often found it thriving on very poor ſandy fields, and on heaths, where on other plants will grow. Its flowers, which commonly appear in the middle of May, make a fine ſhew by their purple hue. I was told, that the cattle eat theſe flowers very greedily; but I was ſorry to find very often that they were not ſo fond of it as it is repreſented, eſpecially when they had any thing elſe to eat; and they ſeldom touched it, notwithſtanding its fine green colour, and its ſoftneſs: the horſes eat the flowers, but leave the ſtalks and leaves. If the cattle eat this plant in ſpring, neceſſity and hunger give it a reliſh. This country does not afford any green paſtures like the Swediſh ones; the woods are the places where the cattle muſt collect their food. The ground in the woods is chiefly flat, or with very little riſings. The trees ſtand far aſunder; but the ground between them is not covered with green ſods; for there are but few kinds of graſſes in the woods, and they ſtand ſingle and ſcattered. The ſoil is very looſe, partly owing to the dead leaves which cover the ground during a great part of the year. Thus the cattle find very little graſs in the woods, and are forced to be ſatiſfied with all kinds of plants which come in their way, whether they be good or bad food. I ſaw for ſome time this ſpring, that the cattle bit off the tops and ſhoots of young trees, and fed upon them; for no plants were yet come up, and they ſtand in general but very thin, and ſcattered here and there, as I have juſt mentioned. Hence you may eaſily imagine that hunger compels the cattle to eat plants, which they would not touch were they better provided for. However, I am of opinion, that it would be worth while to make uſe of this lupine to mend dry ſandy heaths, and, I believe, it would not be abſolutely impoſſible to find out the means of making it agreeable to the cattle.

The oaks here have ſimilar qualities with the European ones. They keep their dead leaves almoſt during the whole winter, and are very backward in getting freſh ones; they had no leaves as yet, and were but juſt beginning to ſhew a few.

The humming-bird, which the Swedes call king's-bird*, and which I have mentioned in a former volume, appeared hereabouts to-day, for the firſt time this ſpring.

Numbers of oil beetles, (Meloë Proſcaraboeus) ſat on the leaves of white hellebore (Veratrum album) and feaſted on them. I conſidered them a great while, and they devoured a leaf in a few minutes. Some of them had already eaten ſo much that they could hardly creep. Thus this plant, which is almoſt certain death to other animals, is their dainty food.

The fire-flies appeared at night, for the firſt time this year, and flew about between the trees, in the woods. It ſeemed, in the dark, as if ſparks of fire flew up and down. I will give a more particular account of them in another place.

Towards night I went to Raccoon.

May 1ſt. The laſt night was ſo cold, that the ground at ſun-riſing was as white as ſnow, from the hoary-froſt. The Swediſh thermometer was a degree and a half below the freezing point. We obſerved no ice in the rivers or waters of any depth; but upon ſuch only as were about three inches deep, the ice lay to the thickneſs of one third part of a line †. The evening before, the wind was ſouth, but the night was calm. The apple-trees and cherry-trees were in full bloſſom. The peach-trees were almoſt out of flower. Moſt of the foreſt-trees had already got new and tender leaves, and moſt of them were in flower, as almoſt all kinds of oaks, the dog-wood, (Cornus Florida), hiccory, wild prunes, ſaſſafras, horn-beam, beeches, &c.

The plants which were found damaged by the froſt, were the following. 1. The hiccory. Moſt of the young trees of this kind had their leaves killed by the froſt, ſo

* Kungsfogel.

† The tenth part of an inch.

that they looked quite black in the afternoon; the leaves were conſumed by froſt every where in the fields, near the marſhes, and in the woods. 2. The black oak. Several of theſe trees had their leaves damaged by the froſt. 3. The white oak. Some very young trees of this kind had loſt their leaves by the froſt. 4. The bloſſoms of the cherry-trees were hurt in ſeveral places. 5. The flowers of the Engliſh walnut-tree were entirely ſpoiled by the froſt. 6. The rhus glabra. Some of theſe trees had already got leaves, and they were killed by the cold. 7. The rhus radicans; the tender young trees of this kind ſuffered from the froſt, and had their leaves partly killed. 8. The thalictra, or meadow rues, had both their flowers and leaves hurt by the froſt. 9. The podophyllum peltatum. Of this plant there was not above one in five hundred hurt by the froſt. 10. The ferns. A number of them, which were lately come up, were deſtroyed. I muſt add ſeveral plants which were likewiſe hurt, but which I could not diſtinguiſh, on account of their ſmallneſs.

I went to ſeveral places this day.

The bartſia coccinea grew in great abundance on ſeveral low meadows. Its flower-buds were already tinged with their precious ſcarlet, and adorned the meadows. It is not yet applied to any uſe, but that of delighting the ſight.

One of the Swedes here had planted an Engliſh walnut-tree (Juglans regia) in his garden, and it was now about three yards high; it was in full bloſſom, and had already great leaves, whereas the black walnut-trees, which grow ſpontaneouſly in every part of this country, had not yet any leaves, or flowers. The laſt night's froſt had killed all the leaves of the European kind. Dr. Franklin told me afterwards, that there had been ſome Engliſh walnut-trees in Philadelphia, which came on very well; but that they were killed by the froſt.

I looked about me for the trees which had not yet got freſh leaves, and I found the following ones:

Juglans nigra, or the black walnut-tree.
Fraxinus excelſior, or the aſh.
Acer Negundo, called the white aſh here.
Nyſſa aquatica, the tupelo-tree.
Dioſpyros Virginiana, or the perſimon.
Vitis labruſca, or the fox-grapes; and
Rhus glabra, or the ſumach.

The trees whoſe leaves were coming out, were the following:

Morus rubra, the mulberry-tree.
Fagus Caſtanea, the cheſnut-tree.
Platanus occidentalis, or the water-beech.
Laurus ſaſſafras, the ſaſſafras-tree.

Juglans alba, the hiccory. Some trees of this kind had already large leaves, but others had none at all; the ſame difference, I believe, exiſts likewiſe among the other ſpecies of hiccory.

The Virginian cherry-tree grows here and there, in the woods and glades: its leaves were already pretty large; but the flowers were not yet entirely open.

The ſaſſafras-tree was now every where in flower; but its leaves were not yet quite diſcloſed.

The Liquidambar ſtyraciflua or ſweet gum-tree, grows in the woods, eſpecially in wet ſoil, in and near purling rivulets: its leaves were now already ſprouting out at its ſummit. This tree grows to a great thickneſs, and its height rivals that of the talleſt firs and oaks; as it grows higher, the lower branches die and drop, and leave the ſtem

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at laſt quite ſmooth and ſtrait, with a great crown at the very ſummit; the ſeeds are contained in round, dentated cones, which drop in autumn; and as the tree is very tall, ſo the high winds carry the ſeeds away to a great diſtance. I have already given an account of the uſe of this tree in the firſt volume, to which I muſt add the following account.

The wood can be made very ſmooth, becauſe its veins are extremely fine: but it is not hard; you can carve letters on it with a knife, which will ſeem to be engraved. Mr. Lewis Evans told me, from his own experience, that no wood in this country was more fit for making moulds for caſting braſs in, than this. I enquired of Mr. Bartram, "Whether he had found the roſin on this tree, which is ſo much praiſed in phyſic?" He told me, "That a very odoriferous roſin always flows out of any cut or wound, which is made in the tree; but that the quantity here was too inconſiderable to recompenſe the labour of collecting it." This odoriferous roſin or gum firſt gave riſe to the Engliſh name. The further you go to the ſouth, the greater quantity of gum does the tree yield, ſo that it is eaſy to collect it. Mr. Bartram was of opinion, that this tree was properly calculated for the climate of Carolina, and that it was brought by ſeveral ways ſo far north as New York. In the ſouthern countries the heat of the ſun fills the tree with gum, but in the northern ones it does not.

May 2nd. This morning I travelled down to Salem, in order to ſee the country.

The ſaſſafras-tree ſtood ſingle in the woods, and along the fences, round the fields: it was now diſtinguiſhable at a diſtance for its fine flowers, which being now quite open, made it look quite yellow. The leaves were not yet come out.

In ſome meadows the graſs was already grown up pretty high: but it is to be obſerved, that theſe meadows were marſhy, and that no cattle had been on them this year. Theſe meadows are mown twice a year, viz. in May, and the end of Auguſt, or beginning of September, old ſtyle. I ſaw ſome meadows of this kind to-day, in which I ſaw graſs which was now almoſt fit to be mown; and many meadows in Sweden have not ſuch graſs at the proper time of mowing, as theſe had now; theſe meadows lay in marſhes and vallies, where the ſun had very great power: the graſs conſiſted merely of cyprus-graſs or carex. The wild prune-trees were now every where in flower; they grow here and there in the woods, but commonly near marſhes and in wet ground: they are diſtinguiſhable by their white flowers: the fruit when ripe is eatable.

The cornus florida, or dogwood, grows in the foreſts, on hills, on plains, in vallies, in marſhes, and near rivulets. I cannot therefore ſay which is its native ſoil; however, it ſeems that in a low but not a wet ſoil it ſucceeds beſt; it was now adorned with its great ſnowy involucra, which render it conſpicuous even at a diſtance. At this time it is a pleaſure to travel through the woods, ſo much are they beautified by the bloſſoms of this tree. The flowers which are within the involucra began to open to-day. The tree does not grow to any conſiderable height or thickneſs, but is about the ſize of our mountain aſh (Sorbus aucuparia). There are three ſpecies of this tree in the woods; one with great white involucra, another with ſmall white ones, and a third with reddiſh ones.

The woods were now full of birds: I ſaw the leſſer ſpecies every where hopping on the ground, or creeping in buſhes, without any great degree of ſhineſs; it is therefore very eaſy for all kind of ſnakes to approach and bite them. I believe that the rattle-ſnake has nothing to do but to lie ſtill, and without waiting long, ſome little bird or other will paſs by or run directly upon her, giving her an opportunity of catching it, without any enchantment.

Salem is a little trading town, ſituated at ſome diſtance from the river Delaware. The houſes do not ſtand far aſunder, and are partly ſtone, and partly wood. A rivulet paſſes by the town, and falls into the Delaware. The inhabitants live by their ſeveral trades as well as they can. In the neighbourhood of Salem are ſome very low and ſwampy meadows; and therefore it is reckoned a very unwholeſome place. Experience has ſhewn, that thoſe who came hither from other places to ſettle, got a very pale and ſickly look, though they arrived in perfect health, and with a very lively colour. The town is very eaſily diſtinguiſhed about this time, by the diſagreeable ſtench which ariſes from the ſwamps. The vapours of the putrid water are carried to thoſe inhabitants which live next to the marſhes; and enter the body along with the air, and through the pores, and thus are hurtful to health. At the end of every ſummer, the intermitting fevers are very frequent. I knew a young couple, who came along with me from England to America: ſoon after their arrival at Philadelphia, they went to Salem, in perfect health; but a few weeks after they fell ſick, and before the winter was half over they were both dead.

Many of the inhabitants plant ſaffron; but it is not ſo good and ſo ſtrong as the Engliſh and French ſaffron. Perhaps it grows better by being laid up for ſome years, as tobacco does.

The goſſypium herbaceum, or cotton plant, is an annual plant; and ſeveral of the inhabitants of Salem had began to ſow it. Some had the ſeeds from Carolina, where they have great plantations of cotton; but others got it out of ſome cotton which they had bought. They ſaid, it was difficult at firſt to get ripe ſeeds from the plants which were ſown here; for the ſummer in Carolina, from whence their firſt ſeed came, is both longer and hotter than it is here. But after the plants have been more uſed to the climate, and haſtened more than they were formerly, the ſeeds are ripe in due time.

At night I returned to Raccoon.

May 4th. Crab trees are a ſpecies of wild apple trees, which grow in the woods and glades, but eſpecially on little hillocks near rivers *. In New Jerſey the tree is rather ſcarce; but in Penſylvania is plentiful. Some people had planted a ſingle tree of this kind near their farms, on account of the fine ſmells which its flowers afford. It had begun to open ſome of its flowers about a day or two ago; however, moſt of them were not yet open. They are exactly like the bloſſoms of the common apple trees, except that the colour is a little more reddiſh in the crab trees; though ſome kinds of the cultivated trees have flowers which are very near as red: but the ſmell diſtinguiſhes them plainly; for the wild trees have a very pleaſant ſmell, ſomewhat like the raſp-berry. The apples, or crabs, are ſmall, ſour, and unfit for any thing but to make vinegar of. They lie under the trees all the winter, and acquire a yellow colour. They ſeldom begin to rot before ſpring comes on.

I cannot omit an obſervation here. The crab-trees opened their flowers only yeſterday and to-day; whereas the cultivated apple-trees, which were brought from Europe, had already loſt their flowers. The wild cherry-trees did not flower before the 12th of May: on the other hand, the cultivated or European ones, had already opened their bloſſoms on the 24th of April. The black walnut-trees of this country had neither leaves nor flowers, when the European kind has large leaves and bloſſoms. From hence it appears that trees brought over from Europe, of the ſame kind with the wild trees of America, flower much ſooner than the latter. I cannot ſay what is the reaſon

* Pyrus coronaria. Linn. Sp. Plant. Malus ſylveſtris, floribus odoratis. Gronov. Fl. Virginica. p. 55.

of this forwardneſs of the European trees in this country, unleſs they bring forth their bloſſoms as ſoon as they get a certain degree of warmth, which they have in their native country. It ſeems the European trees do not expect, after a conſiderable degree of warmth, any ſuch cold nights as will kill their flowers; for, in the cold countries, there ſeldom happen any hot days ſucceeded by ſuch cold nights as will hurt the flowers conſiderably. On the contrary, the wild trees in this country are directed by experience, (if I may ſo ſpeak) not to truſt to the firſt warmth; but they wait for a greater heat, when they are already ſafe from cold nights. Therefore, it happens often that the flowers of the European trees are killed by the froſts here; but the native trees are ſeldom hurt, though they be of the ſame kind with the European ones. This is a manifeſt proof of the wiſdom of the Creator.

May 5th. Early this morning I went to Rapaapo, which is a great village, whoſe farms lay all ſcattered. It was inhabited merely by Swedes, and not a ſingle Engliſhman, or people of any other nation lived in it: therefore they have preſerved their native Swediſh tongue, and mixed but few Engliſh words with it. The intention of my journey was partly to ſee the place, and to collect plants and other natural curioſities there; and partly to find the places where the white cedar, or cupreſſus thyoides, grows.

The May flowers, as the Swedes call them, were plentiful in the woods wherever I went to-day; eſpecially on a dry ſoil, or one that is ſomewhat moiſt. The Swedes have given them this name becauſe they are in full bloſſom in May. Some of the Swedes and the Dutch call them pinxter-bloem, (Whitſunday flowers), as they really are in bloſſom about Whitſuntide. The Engliſh call them wild honeyſuckles; and at a diſtance they have ſome ſimilarity to the honeyſuckle or lonicera. Dr. Linnæus, and other botaniſts, call it an azalea *. Its flowers were now open, and added a new ornament to the woods, being little inferior to the flowers of the honeyſuckle and hedyſarum. They ſit in a circle round the ſtem's extremity, and have either a dark red or a lively red colour; but, by ſtanding for ſome time, the ſun bleaches them, and at laſt they get a whitiſh hue. I know not why Colden calls them yellow †. The height of the buſh is not always alike. Some were as tall as a full grown man, and taller; others were but low, and ſome were not above a palm from the ground; yet they were all full of flowers. The people have not yet found that this plant may be applied to any uſe; they only gather the flowers, and put them in pots, becauſe, they are very ſhewy. They have ſome ſmell; but I cannot ſay it is very pleaſant. However, the beauty of the colour entitles them to a place in every flower-garden.

To-day I ſaw the firſt ear of this year's rye. In Sweden, rye begins to ſhew its ears about Ericmas, that is about the 18th of May, old ſtile ‡. But in New Sweden, the people ſaid, they always ſaw the ears of rye in April, old ſtile; whether the ſpring begins late or early. However, in ſome years the ears come early, and in others late in April. This ſpring was reckoned one of the late ones.

Bullfrogs ‖ are a large ſpecies of frogs which I had an opportunity of hearing and ſeeing to-day. As I was riding out, I heard a roaring before me; and I thought it was a bull in the buſhes, on the other ſide of the dyke, though the ſound was rather more hoarſe than that of a bull. I was, however, afraid that a bad goring bull might

* Azalea nudiflora. Linn. Spec. Plant. p. 214. Azalea ramis infra flores nudis. Gron. Virg. 21.
† Azalea erecta, foliis ovatis, integris, alternis, flore luteo, piloſo, præcoci. Cold. Ebor. 25.
‡ Accordingly about the 29th of May, new ſtile.
‖ Rana boana. Linn. Syſt. I. p. 358. Rana maxima, Americana, aquatica. Cateſb. Carol. II. 72.

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be near me, though I did not ſee him, and I continued to think ſo ſtill ſome hours after, when I talked with ſome Swedes about the bullfrogs, and, by their account, I immediately found that I had heard their voice; for the Swedes told me, that there were numbers of them in the dyke. I afterwards hunted for them. Of all the frogs in this country, this is doubtleſs the greateſt. I am told that towards autumn, as ſoon as the air begins to grow a little cool, they hide themſelves under the mud, which lies at the bottom of ponds and ſtagnant waters, and lie there torpid during winter. As ſoon as the weather grows mild, towards ſummer, they begin to get out of their holes and croak. If the ſpring, that is, if the mild weather begins early, they appear about the end of March, old ſtile; but if it happens late, they tarry under water till late in April. Their places of abode are ponds and bogs with ſtagnant water; they are never in any flowing water. When many of them croak together, they make an enormous noiſe. Their croak exactly reſembles the roaring of an ox or bull which is ſomewhat hoarſe. They croak ſo loud, that two people talking by the ſide of a pond cannot underſtand each other. They croak all together; then ſtop a little, and begin again. It ſeems as if they had a captain among them: for when he begins to croak, all the others follow; and when he ſtops, the others are all ſilent. When this captain gives the ſignal for ſtopping, you hear a note like poop coming from him. In day time they ſeldom make any great noiſe, unleſs the ſky is covered. But the night is their croaking time; and, when all is calm, you may hear them, though you are near a mile and a half off. When they croak, they commonly are near the ſurface of the water, under the buſhes, and have their heads out of the water. Therefore, by going ſlowly, one may get cloſe up to them before they go away. As ſoon as they are quite under water, they think themſelves ſafe, though the water be very ſhallow.

Sometimes they ſit at a good diſtance from the pond, but as ſoon as they ſuſpect any danger, they haſten with great leaps into the water. They are very expert at hopping. A full-grown bullfrog takes near three yards at one hop. I have often been told the following ſtory by the old Swedes, which happened here, at the time when the Indians lived with the Swedes. It is well known, that the Indians are excellent runners; I have ſeen them at Governor Johnſon's, equal the beſt horſe in its ſwifteſt courſe, and almoſt paſs by it. Therefore, in order to try how well the bull-frogs could leap, ſome of the Swedes laid a wager with a young Indian, that he could not overtake the frog, provided it had two leaps before hand. They carried a bull-frog, which they had caught in a pond, upon a field, and burnt his back-ſide; the fire, and the Indian, who endeavoured to be cloſely up with the frog, had ſuch an effect upon the animal, that it made its long hops acroſs the field as faſt as it could. The Indian began to purſue the frog with all his might at the proper time: the noiſe he made in running frightened the poor frog; probably it was afraid of being tortured with fire again, and therefore it redoubled its leaps, and by that means it reached the pond before the Indian could overtake it.

In ſome years they are more numerous than in others: nobody could tell whether the ſnakes had ever ventured to eat them, though they eat all the leſſer kinds of frogs. The women are no friends to theſe frogs, becauſe they kill and eat young ducklings and goſlings: ſometimes they carry off chickens that come too near the ponds. I have not obſerved that they bite when they are held in the hands, though they have little teeth; when they are beaten, they cry out almoſt like children. I was told that ſome eat the thighs of the hind legs, and that they are very palatable.

A tree which grows in the ſwamps here, and in other parts of America, goes by the name of white juniper tree. Its ſtem indeed looks like one of our old tall and ſtrait

juniper-trees in Sweden: but the leaves are different, and the wood is white. The Engliſh call it white cedar, becauſe the boards which are made of the wood are like thoſe made of cedar. But neither of theſe names are juſt, for the tree is of the cypreſs kind *. It always grows in wet ground or ſwamps: it is therefore difficult to come to them, becauſe the ground between the little hillocks is full of water. The trees ſtand both on the hillocks and in the water: they grow very cloſe together, and have ſtrait, thick, and tall ſtems; but they were greatly reduced in number to what they have been before. In ſuch places where they are left to grow up, they grow as tall and as thick as the talleſt fir trees; they preſerve their green leaves both in winter and ſummer; the tall ones have no branches on the lower part of the ſtem.

The marſhes where theſe trees grow are called cedar ſwamps. The cedar ſwamps are numerous in New Jerſey, and likewiſe in ſome parts of Penſylvania and New York. The moſt northerly place, where it has been hitherto found, is near Goſhen in New York, under forty-one degrees and twenty-five minutes of north latitude, as I am informed by Dr. Colden. For to the north of Goſhen, it has not been found in the woods. The white cedar is one of the trees which reſiſt the moſt to putrefaction; and when it is put above ground, it will laſt longer than under ground: therefore it is employed for many purpoſes; it makes good fences, and poſts which are to be put into the ground; but in this point, the red cedar is ſtill preferable to the white; it likewiſe makes good canoes. The young trees are employed for hoops round barrels, tuns, &c., becauſe they are thin and pliable; the thick and tall trees afford timber and wood for cooper's work. The houſes which are built of it ſurpaſs, in duration, thoſe which are built of American oak. Many of the houſes in Rapaapo were made of this white cedar wood; but the chief thing which the white cedar affords is the beſt kind of ſhingles. The white cedar ſhingles are preferred to all others for ſeveral reaſons; firſt, they are more durable than any others made of American wood, the red cedar ſhingles excepted; ſecondly, they are very light, ſo that no ſtrong beams are requiſite to ſupport the roof. For the ſame reaſon it is unneceſſary to build thick walls, becauſe they are not preſſed by heavy roofs. When fires break out, it is leſs dangerous to go under or along the roofs, becauſe the ſhingles being very light can do little hurt by falling; they ſuck the water, being ſomewhat ſpongy, ſo that the roofs can eaſily be wetted in caſe of a fire: however, their fatneſs occaſions that the water does not hurt them, but evaporates eaſily. When they burn and are carried about by the wind, they have commonly what is called a dead coal, which does not eaſily ſet fire where it alights. The roofs made of theſe ſhingles can eaſily be cut through, if required, becauſe they are thin, and not very hard; for theſe qualities the people in the country, and in the towns, are very deſirous of having their houſes covered with white cedar ſhingles, if the wood can be got. Therefore all churches, and the houſes of the more ſubſtantial inhabitants of the towns, have ſhingle roofs. In many parts of New York province, where the white cedar does not grow, the people, however, have their houſes roofed with cedar ſhingles, which they get from other parts. To that purpoſe great quantities of ſhingles are annually exported from Eggharbour and other parts of New Jerſey, to the town of New York, from whence they are diſtributed throughout the province. A quantity of white cedar wood is likewiſe exported every year to the Weſt Indies, for ſhingles, pipe-ſtaves, &c. Thus the inhabitants are very buſy here, not only to leſſen the number of theſe trees, but even to extirpate them entirely.

* Cupreſſus thyoides. Linn. Spec. Pl. p. 1422. Cypreſſus Americana, fructu minimo. Miller's Gard. Dictionary.

They

They are here (and in many other places) in regard to wood, bent only upon their own preſent advantage, utterly regardleſs of poſterity. By this means many cedar ſwamps are already quite deſtitute of cedars, having only young ſhoots left; and I plainly obſerved, by counting the circles round the ſtem, that they do not grow up very quickly, but require a great deal of time before they can be cut for timber. It is well known that a tree gets only one circle every year; a ſtem, eighteen inches in diameter, had one hundred and eight circles round the thicker end: another, ſeventeen inches in diameter, had a hundred and ſixteen; and another, two feet in diameter, had one hundred and forty-two circles upon it. Thus near eighty years growth is required, before a white cedar raiſed from ſeed can be uſed for timber. Among the advantages which the white cedar ſhingles have over others, the people reckon their lightneſs. But this good and uſeful quality may in future times turn out very diſadvantageous to Philadelphia, and other places where the houſes are roofed with cedar ſhingles: for as the roofs made of theſe ſhingles are very light, and bear but a trifling weight on the walls, ſo the people have made the walls but very thin. I meaſured the thickneſs of the walls of ſeveral houſes here, of three ſtories high (cellar and garret not not included), and found moſt of them nine inches and a half, and ſome ten inches thick; therefore it is by no means ſurpriſing, that violent hurricanes ſometimes make the brick gable-ends to vibrate apparently, eſpecially on ſuch houſes as have a very open ſituation. And ſince the cedar trees will ſoon be wanting in this country, and the preſent roofs when rotten muſt be ſupplied with heavier ones of tiles, or of other wood, it is more than probable, that the thin walls will not be able to bear ſuch an additional weight, and will either break or require to be ſupported by props: or elſe the whole houſe muſt be pulled down and rebuilt with thicker walls. This obſervation has already been made by others. Some of the people here make uſe of the chips of white cedar inſtead of tea, aſſuring me that they preferred it in regard to its wholeſomeneſs to all foreign tea. All the inhabitants here were of opinion, that the water in the cedar ſwamps is wholeſomer than any other drink; it creates a great appetite, which they endeavoured to prove by ſeveral examples. They aſcribed this quality to the water itſelf, which is filled with the roſin of the trees, and to the exhalations which came from the trees, and can eaſily be ſmelled. The people likewiſe thought that the yellowiſh colour of the water, which ſtands between the cedar trees, was owing to the roſin, which comes out of the roots of theſe trees. They likewiſe all agreed, that this water is always very cold in the hotteſt ſeaſon, which may be partly owing to the continual ſhade it is in. I knew ſeveral people who were reſolved to go to theſe cedar ſwamps, and uſe the waters for the recovery of their appetite. Mr. Bartram planted a white cedar in a dry ſoil, but it could not ſucceed there: he then put it into a ſwampy ground, where it got as it were new life, and came on very well; and though it was not taller than a man, yet it was full of cones. Another thing is very remarkable, with regard to the propagation of this tree: Mr. Bartram cut its branches in ſpring two years ſucceſſively, and put them into the ſwampy ſoil, where they ſtruck roots, and ſucceeded very well. I have ſeen them myſelf.

The red juniper-tree is another tree which I have mentioned very frequently in the courſe of my account. The Swedes have given it the name of red juniper, becauſe the wood is very red and fine within. The Engliſh call it red cedar, and the French cedre rouge. However, the Swediſh name is the moſt proper, as the tree belongs to the junipers *. At its firſt growth it has a deal of ſimilarity to the Swediſh juniper †,

* Juniperus Virginiana. Lin. Spec. pl. p. 114.
† Juniperus communis. Linn. Spec. pl. p. 1470.

but

but after it is grown up it gets quite different leaves. The berry exactly reſembles that of the Swediſh juniper, in regard to its colour and ſhape; however, they are not ſo big, though the red cedar grows very tall. At Raccoon theſe trees ſtood ſingle, and were not very tall. But at other places I have ſeen them ſtanding together in cluſters; they like the ſame ground as the common Swediſh juniper, eſpecially on the riſing banks of rivers, and on other riſing grounds, in a dry, and frequently in a poor ſoil. I have ſeen them growing in abundance, as thick and tall as the talleſt fir-trees, on poor dry and ſandy heaths. Towards Canada, or in the moſt northerly places, where I have ſeen them, they commonly chooſe the ſteep ſides of the mountains, and there they grow promiſcuouſly with the common juniper. The moſt northerly places where I have found them wild in the woods, is in Canada, eighteen French miles to the ſouthward of the Fort Saint Jean, or St. John, in about 44° 35′ north latitude. I have likewiſe ſeen it growing very well in a garden, on the iſland of Magdalene*, belonging to the then governor of Montreal, Monſieur le Baron de Longueil. But it had been got at more ſoutherly places, and was tranſplanted here. Of all the woods in this country, this is without exception the moſt durable, and withſtands putrefaction longer than any other; it is therefore employed in all ſuch caſes where it is moſt liable to rot, eſpecially for all kinds of poſts which are to be put into the ground. Some people ſay, that if an iron be put into the ground along with a pole of cedar, the iron would be half corroded by ruſt in the ſame time that the wood would be rotten. In many places both the fences, and the poſts belonging to them, are made of red cedar. The beſt canoes, conſiſting of a ſingle piece of wood, are made of red cedar; for they laſt longer than any others, and are very light. In New York I have ſeen pretty large yachts built of red cedar. Several yachts which go from New York to Albany, up the river Hudſon, are built in a different manner, as I have mentioned in the firſt volume†. In Philadelphia they cannot make any yachts or other boats of red cedar, becauſe the quantity and the ſize of the trees will not allow of it. For the ſame reaſon they do not roof their houſes with red cedar ſhingles; but in ſuch places where it is plentiful, it makes excellent good roofs. The heart of this cedar is of a fine red colour, and whatever is made of it looks very fine, and has a very agreeable and wholeſome ſmell. But the colour fades by degrees, or elſe the wood would be exceedingly proper for cabinet work. I ſaw a parlour in the country ſeat of Mr. Norris, one of the members of the Penſylvanian houſe of aſſembly, wainſcotted many years ago with boards of red cedar. Mr. Norris aſſured me that the cedar looked exceedingly well in the beginning, but it was quite faded when I ſaw it, and the boards looked very ſhabby, eſpecially the boards near the window had entirely loſt their colour; ſo that Mr. Norris had been obliged to put mahogany in their ſtead: however, I was told, that the wood will keep its colour if a thin varniſh is put upon it whilſt it is freſh, and juſt after it has been planed, and if care is taken that the wood is not afterwards rubbed or hurt. At leaſt it makes the wood keep its colour much longer than commonly. Since it has a very pleaſant ſmell when freſh, ſome people put the ſhavings and chips of it among their linen to ſecure it againſt being worm-eaten. Some likewiſe get bureaus, &c. made of red cedar, with the ſame view. But it is only uſeful for this purpoſe as long as it is freſh, for it loſes its ſmell after ſome time, and is then no longer good for keeping off inſects. It is ſometimes ſent to England, as timber, and ſells very well. In many places round Philadelphia,

* An iſland in the river St. Lawrence, cloſe by the town of Montreal in Canada.

† The lower part of the yachts, which is continually under water, is made of black oak; the upper part is built of red cedar, becauſe it is ſometimes above and ſometimes in the water.

in the ſeats of the gentry, there was commonly an avenue, with a row of theſe trees planted on both ſides, leading from the high road to the houſe. The lower branches were cut, and only a fine crown left. In winter, when moſt other trees have loſt their leaves, this looks very fine. This tree has likewiſe a very ſlow growth; for a ſtem, thirteen inches and a quarter in diameter, had one hundred and eighty-eight rings, or annual circles; and another, eighteen inches in diameter, had at leaſt two hundred and fifty, for a great number of the rings were ſo fine that they could not be counted. This tree is propagated in the ſame manner as the common juniper-tree is in Sweden, viz. chiefly by birds, which eat the berries and emit the ſeeds entire.

In the evening I returned to Raccoon.

May 6th. The mulberry-trees (morus rubra) about this time began to bloſſom, but their leaves were yet very ſmall. The people divided them into male and female trees or flowers; and ſaid that thoſe which never bore any fruit were males, and thoſe which did, females.

Smilax laurifolia was ſuperabundant in all the ſwamps near this place. Its leaves were now beginning to come out, for it ſheds them all every winter; it climbs up along trees and ſhrubs, and runs acroſs from one tree or buſh to another: by this means it ſhuts up the paſſage between the trees, faſtening itſelf every where with its cirrhi or tendrils, and even on people, ſo it is with the utmoſt difficulty one muſt force a paſſage in the ſwamps and woods, where it is plentiful; the ſtalk towards the bottom is full of long ſpines, which are as ſtrong as the ſpines of a roſe-buſh, and catch hold of the clothes, and tear them: this troubleſome plant may ſometimes bring you into imminent danger, when botanizing or going into the woods, for, not to mention that the cloaths muſt be abſolutely ruined by its numberleſs ſpines, it occaſions a deep ſhade in the woods, by croſſing from tree to tree ſo often; this forces you to ſtoop, and even to creep on all fours through the little paſſages which are left cloſe to the ground, and then you cannot be careful enough to prevent a ſnake (of which there are numbers here) from darting into your face. The ſtalk of the plant has the ſame colour as the young roſe-buſhes. It is quite green and ſmooth between the ſpines; ſo that a ſtranger would take it to be a kind of thorn-buſh, in winter, when it is deſtitute of leaves.

May 8th. The trees hereabouts were now ſtocked with innumerable caterpillars; one kind eſpecially was obſervable, which is worſe than all the others. They immediately formed great white webs, between the branches of the trees, ſo that they were perceptible, even at a diſtance; in each of theſe webs were thouſands of caterpillars, which crept out of them afterwards, and ſpread chiefly upon the apple-trees. They conſumed the leaves, and often left not one on a whole branch. I was told, that ſome years ago they did ſo much damage, that the apple-trees and peach-trees hardly bore any fruit at all; becauſe they had conſumed all the leaves, and expoſed the naked trees to the intenſe heat of the ſun, by which means ſeveral of the trees died. The people took the following method of killing theſe caterpillars: They fixed ſome ſtraw or flax on a pole, ſet it on fire, and held it under the web or neſts; by which a part was burnt, and a part fell to the ground. However, numbers of the caterpillars crept up the trees again, which could have been prevented, if they had been trod upon, or killed any other way. I called chickens to ſuch places where they crept on the ground in numbers; but they would not eat them. Nor did the wild birds like them; for the trees were full of theſe webs, though whole flights of little birds had their neſts in the gardens and orchards.

May 18th. Though it was already pretty late in May, yet the nights were very dark here. About an hour after ſun-ſet, it was ſo dark, that it was impoſſible to read in a

book, though the type was ever ſo large. About ten o'clock, on a clear night, the dark was ſo much increaſed, that it looked like one of the darkeſt ſtar-light nights in autumn, in Sweden. It likewiſe ſeemed to me, that though the nights were clear, yet the ſtars did not give ſo great a light as they do in Sweden. And as, about this time, the nights are commonly dark, and the ſky covered with clouds; I could compare them only to dark and cloudy Swediſh winter nights. It was therefore, at this time of the year, very difficult to travel in ſuch cloudy nights; for neither man nor horſe could find their way. The nights, in general, ſeem very diſagreeable to me, in compariſon to the light and glorious ſummer nights of Sweden. Ignorance ſometimes makes us think ſlightly of our country. If other countries have their advantages, Sweden is not deſtitute of matter to boaſt of on this head: it likewiſe has its peculiar advantages; and upon weighing the advantages and inconveniencies of different places, Sweden will be found to be not inferior to any of them.

I will briefly mention in what points I think Sweden is preferable to this part of America; and why I prefer Old Sweden to New Sweden.

The nights are very dark here all the ſummer; and in winter, they are quite as dark, if not darker, than the winter nights in Sweden; for here is no kind of aurora borealis, and the ſtars give a very faint light. It is very remarkable if an aurora borealis appears once or twice a year. The winters here bring no ſnow, to make the nights clear, and to make travelling more ſafe and eaſy. The cold is, however, frequently as intenſe as in Old Sweden. The ſnow which falls lies only a few days, and always goes off with a great deal of wet. The rattle-ſnakes, horned-ſnakes, red-bellied, green, and other poiſonous ſnakes, againſt whoſe bite there is frequently no remedy, are in great plenty here. To theſe I muſt add the wood-lice, with which the foreſts are ſo peſtered, that it is impoſſible to paſs through a buſh without having a whole army of them on your cloaths, or to ſit down, though the place be ever ſo pleaſant. The weather is ſo inconſtant here, that when a day is moſt exceſſively hot, the next is often ſenſibly cold. This ſudden change often happens in one day; and few people can ſuffer theſe changes, without impairing their health. The heat in ſummer is exceſſive, and the cold in winter often very piercing, but may be guarded againſt. But when the great heat endures long, there is hardly any remedy for it. It has frequently happened, that people who walked into the fields, dropped down dead, on account of the violence of the heat. Several diſtempers prevail here; and they increaſe every year. Nobody is left unattacked by the intermitting fever; and many people are forced to ſuffer it every year, together with other diſeaſes. Peaſe cannot be ſown, on account of the inſects which conſume them*. There are worms in the grains of rye, and numbers of them are in the cherry-trees. The caterpillars often eat all the leaves from the trees, ſo that they cannot bear fruit in that year; and numbers die every year, both of fruit-trees and foreſt-trees. The graſs in the meadows is likewiſe conſumed by a kind of worms, and other ſpecies cauſe the plumbs to drop before they are half ripe. The oak here affords not near ſo good timber as the European oak. The houſes are of no long duration. The meadows are poor, and what graſs they have is bad. The paſture for cattle in the foreſts conſiſts of ſuch plants as they do not like, and which they are compelled to eat by neceſſity; for it is difficult to find a ſingle graſs in great foreſts, where the trees ſtand far aſunder, notwithſtanding the ſoil is excellent. For this reaſon, the cattle are forced, during almoſt the whole winter and part of the ſummer, to live upon the young ſhoots and branches of trees, which ſometimes have no leaves: therefore, the cows give very little milk, and decreaſe in ſize every generation. The houſes

* Bruchus piſi.

are extremely unfit for winter habitations. Hurricanes are frequent, which overthrow trees, carry away roofs, and ſometimes houſes, and do a great deal of damage. Some of theſe inconveniences might be remedied by art; but others will either admit of no alteration, or they will at leaſt coſt vaſt trouble. Thus every country has its advantages, and its defects: happy is he who can content himſelf with his own.

The rye grows very ill in moſt of the fields, which is chiefly owing to the careleſſneſs in agriculture, and to the poorneſs of the fields, which are ſeldom or never manured. After the inhabitants have converted a tract of land into fields, which had been a foreſt for many centuries together, and which conſequently had a very fine ſoil, they uſe it as ſuch, as long as it will bear any corn; and when it ceaſes to bear any, they turn it into paſtures for the cattle, and take new corn-fields in another place, where a fine ſoil can be met with, and where it has never been made uſe of for this purpoſe. This kind of agriculture will do for ſome time; but it will afterwards have bad conſequences, as every one may clearly ſee. A few of the inhabitants, however, treated their fields a little better: the Engliſh in general have carried agriculture to a higher degree of perfection than any other nation. But the depth and riches of the ſoil, which thoſe found here who came over from England, (as they were preparing land for ploughing which had been covered with woods from times immemorial) miſled them, and made them careleſs huſbandmen. It is well known, that the Indians lived in this country for ſeveral centuries before the Europeans came into it; but it is likewiſe known, that they lived chiefly by hunting and fiſhing, and had hardly any fields. They planted maize, and ſome ſpecies of beans and gourds; and at the ſame time it is certain, that a plantation of ſuch vegetables as ſerve an Indian family during one year, take up no more ground than a farmer in our country takes to plant cabbage for his family upon; at leaſt, a farmer's cabbage and turnip ground, taken together, is always as extenſive, if not more ſo, than the corn-fields and kitchen-gardens of an Indian family. Therefore, the Indians could hardly ſubſiſt for one month upon the produce of their gardens and fields. Commonly, the little villages of Indians are about twelve or eighteen miles diſtant from each other. From hence one may judge how little ground was formerly employed for corn-fields; and the reſt was overgrown with thick and tall trees. And though they cleared (as is yet uſual) new ground, as ſoon as the old had quite loſt its fertility, yet ſuch little pieces as they made uſe of were very inconſiderable when compared to the vaſt foreſts which remained. Thus the upper fertile ſoil increaſed conſiderably for centuries together; and the Europeans coming to America found a rich and fine ſoil before them, lying as looſe between the trees as the beſt bed in a garden. They had nothing to do but to cut down the wood, put it up in heaps, and to clear the dead leaves away. They could then immediately proceed to ploughing, which in ſuch looſe ground is very eaſy; and having ſown their corn, they got a moſt plentiful harveſt. This eaſy method of getting a rich crop has ſpoiled the Engliſh and other European inhabitants, and induced them to adopt the ſame method of agriculture which the Indians make uſe of; that is, to ſow uncultivated grounds, as long as they will produce a crop without manuring, but to turn them into paſtures as ſoon as they can bear no more, and to take in hand new ſpots of ground, covered ſince time immemorial with woods, which have been ſpared by the fire or the hatchet ever ſince the creation. This is likewiſe the reaſon why agriculture, and the knowledge of this uſeful branch, is ſo imperfect here, that one can learn nothing in a great tract of land, neither of the Engliſh, nor of the Swedes, Germans, Dutch, and French; except that, from their groſs miſtakes and careleſſneſs for futurity, one finds opportunities every day of making all ſorts of obſervations, and of growing wiſe at the expence of other people.

In a word, the corn-fields, the meadows, the foreſts, the cattle, &c. are treated with great careleſſneſs by the inhabitants. We can hardly be more laviſh of our woods in Sweden and Finland than they are here: their eyes are fixed upon the preſent gain, and they are blind to futurity. Every day their cattle are harraſſed by labour, and each generation decreaſes in goodneſs and ſize, by being kept ſhort of food, as I have before mentioned. On my travels in this country I obſerved ſeveral plants which the horſes and cows preferred to all others. They were wild in this country, and likewiſe grew well on the drieſt and pooreſt ground, where no other plants would ſucceed. But the inhabitants did not know how to turn this to their advantage, owing to the little account made of Natural Hiſtory, that ſcience being here (as in other parts of the world) looked upon as a mere trifle, and the paſtime of fools. I am certain, and my certainty is founded upon experience, that by mean of theſe plants, in the ſpace of a few years, I have been able to turn the pooreſt ground, which would hardly afford food for a cow, into the richeſt and moſt fertile meadow, where great flocks of cattle have found ſuperfluous food, and are grown fat upon. I own, that theſe uſeful plants were not to be found on the grounds of every planter; but with a ſmall ſhare of natural knowledge, a man would eaſily collect them in the places where they were to be got. I was aſtoniſhed, when I heard the country people complaining of the badneſs of the paſtures; but I likewiſe perceived their negligence, and often ſaw excellent plants growing on their own grounds, which only required a little more attention and aſſiſtance from their unexperienced owners. I found every where the wiſdom and goodneſs of the Creator; but too ſeldom ſaw any acknowledgment, or adequate eſtimation of it, among men.

O fortunatos nimium ſua ſi bona norint
Agricolas! VIRG. Georgic.

I have been led to theſe reflections, which may perhaps ſeem foreign to my purpoſe, by the bad and neglected ſtate of agriculture in every part of this continent. I likewiſe intended to ſhew the reaſon why this journal is ſo thinly ſtocked with œconomical advantages in the ſeveral branches of huſbandry. I do not however deny that I have ſometimes found one or two ſkilful œconomiſts, but they were very ſcarce.

Birds of prey which purſue the poultry are found in abundance here, and if poſſible more plentiful than in Sweden. They enjoy great liberty here, as there are ſtill great foreſts in many places, from whence they can come unawares upon chickens and ducks. To the birds of prey it is quite indifferent whether the woods conſiſt of good or bad trees, provided they are in ſhade. At night the owls, which are very numerous, endanger the ſafety of the tame fowls. They live chiefly in marſhes, give a diſagreeable ſhriek at night, and attack the chickens, which commonly rooſt at night in the apple-trees, peach-trees, and cherry-trees, in the garden. But ſince they are very buſy in clearing this country of woods, as we are in Sweden and Finland, it may be of uſe for expoſing the birds of prey, more than they are now, and for depriving them of the opportunities of doing miſchief with ſo much eaſe.

The thick foreſts of America contain numbers of ſtags; they do not ſeem to be a different ſpecies from the European ſtags. An Engliſhman was poſſeſſed of a tame hind. It is obſervable that though theſe creatures are very ſhy when wild in the woods and cedar ſwamps, which are very much frequented by them, yet they can be tamed to ſuch a degree, if taken young, that they will come of their own accord to ſeek for food. This hind was caught when it was but very little; the colour of the whole body was a dirty reddiſh brown, the belly and the under ſide of the tail excepted, which were white; the ears were grey; the head, towards the ſnout, was very narrow; but

upon

upon the whole the creature looked very fine. The hair lay close together, and was quite short; the tail reached almost to the bend of the knee, near which, on the inside of each hind-foot, was a knob or callus. The possessor of the hind said that he had tamed several stags, by catching them whilst they were very young. It was now big with young ones. It had a little bell hung about its neck, that by walking in the woods, the people might know it to be tame, and take care not to shoot it. It was at liberty to go where it pleased, and to keep it confined would have been a pretty hard task, as it could leap over the highest enclosures. Sometimes it went far into the woods, and frequently staid away a night or two, but afterwards returned home like other cattle. When it went into the woods, it was often accompanied by wild stags, and decoyed them even into the very houses, especially in rutting time, giving its master numerous opportunities of shooting the wild stags, almost at his door. Its scent was excellent, and when it was turned towards the wind, I often saw it rising and looking towards that part, though I did not see any people on the road, but they commonly appeared about an hour after. As soon as the wild stags have the scent of a man, they make off. In winter the man fed the hind with corn and hay; but in summer it went out into the woods and meadows, seeking its own food, eating both grass and other plants: it was now kept in a meadow; it did chiefly eat clover, the leaves of hiccory, of the andromeda paniculata, and the geranium maculatum. It was likewise contented with the leaves of the common plantane, or plantago, grasses, and several other plants. The possessor of this hind sold stags to people in Philadelphia, who sent them as curiosities to other places. He got twenty-five, thirty, and forty shillings a-piece for them. In the long and severe winter, which commenced here upon the tenth of December 1740, and continued to the thirteenth of March, old style, during the course of which there fell a great quantity of snow, the stags were found dead in the snow, but chiefly higher up the country, where the snow was deeper. Nobody could determine whether their death was the consequence of the great quantity and depth of snow, which hindered their getting out, or whether the frost had been too severe, and of too long duration, or whether they were short of food. The old people likewise relate that vast numbers of stags came down in the year 1705, when there was a heavy fall of snow, near a yard deep, and that they were afterwards found dead in the woods, in great numbers, because the snow was deeper than they could pass through. Numbers of birds were likewise found dead at that time. In that same winter a stag came to Matsong into the stables, and eat hay together with the cattle. It was so pinched by hunger that it grew tame immediately, and did not run away from people. It afterwards continued in the house, as another tame creature. All aged persons asserted, that formerly this country abounded more with stags than it does at present. It was formerly not uncommon to see thirty or forty of them in a flock together. The reason of their decrease is chiefly owing to the increase of population, the destruction of the woods, and the number of people who kill and frighten the stags at present. However, high up in the country, in great forests and deserts, there are yet great numbers of them. Among their enemies is the lynx of this country, which is the same with the Swedish one*. They climb up the trees, and when the stags pass by, they dart down upon him, get fast hold, bite, and suck the blood, and never give over till they have killed it.

* Warglo; felis lynx Linn. The Swedes mention two kinds of lynx; the one is called the warglo, or wolf-lynx, and the other the kattlo, or cat-lynx. The Germans make the same distinction, and call the former wolf-luchs, and the latter katz-luchs: the former is the biggest, of a brownish red, mixed with grey and white on its back, and white towards the belly, with brownish spots; the latter is smaller, and has a coat which is more white, and with more spots. F.

I saw

I ſaw ſeveral holes in the ground, both on hills and on fields, and fallow grounds; they were round, and commonly about an inch wide; they went almoſt perpendicularly into the earth, and were made by dung-beetles, or by great worms, which are made uſe of for angling. The dung-beetles had dug very deep into the ground, through horſe-dung, though it lay on the hardeſt road, ſo that a great heap of earth lay near it. Theſe holes were afterwards occupied by other inſects, eſpecially graſshoppers, (grylli) and cicadæ; for by digging theſe holes up, I commonly found one or more young ones of theſe inſects, which had not yet got their perfect ſize.

May 19th. This morning I left Raccoon, a pariſh in the country called New Sweden, and which is yet chiefly inhabited by Swedes, in order to proceed in my travels to the North. I firſt intended to ſet out with the beginning of April, but for ſeveral reaſons this was not adviſable. No leaves were come out at that time, and hardly any flowers appeared. I did not know what flowers grew here in ſpring; for the autumnal plants are different from the vernal ones. The Swedes had this winter told me the œconomical and medical uſes of many plants, to which they gave names unknown to me: they could not then ſhew me thoſe plants on account of the ſeaſon, and by their deficient and erroneous deſcriptions, I was not able to gueſs what plants they meant. By going away ſo early as the beginning of April I would have remained in uncertainty in regard to theſe things. It was therefore fit that I ſhould ſpend a part of the ſpring at Raccoon, eſpecially as I had ſtill time enough left for my tour to the North.

On the road we ſaw a black ſnake, which we killed, and found juſt five feet long. Cateſby has deſcribed it and its qualities, and alſo drawn it*. The full-grown black ſnakes are commonly about five feet long, but very ſlender; the thickeſt I ever ſaw was in the broadeſt part hardly three inches thick; the back is black, ſhining, and ſmooth; the chin white and ſmooth; the belly whitiſh turning into blue, ſhining, and very ſmooth; I believe there are ſome varieties of this ſnake. One, which was nineteen inches long, had a hundred and eighty-ſix ſcales on the belly, (ſcuta abdominalia) and ninety-two half ſcales on the tail (ſquamæ ſubcaudales), which I found to be true, by a repeated counting of the ſcales. Another, which was ſeventeen inches and a half in length, had a hundred and eighty-four ſcales on the belly, and only ſixty-four half ſcales on the tail; this I likewiſe aſſured myſelf of, by counting the ſcales over again. It is poſſible that the end of this laſt ſnake's tail was cut off, and the wound healed up again †.

The country abounds with black ſnakes. They are among the firſt that come out in ſpring, and often appear very early if warm weather happens; but if it grows cold again after that, they are quite frozen, and lie ſtiff and torpid on the ground or on the ice; when taken in this ſtate and put before a fire, they revive in leſs than an hour's time. It has ſometimes happened, when the beginning of January is very warm, that

* Anguis niger. See Cateſby's Nat. Hiſt. of Carol. ii. t. 48.

† It has been found by repeated experience, that the ſpecific character employed by Dr. Linnæus, for the diſtinction of the ſpecies of ſnakes, taken from their ſcuta abdominalia and caudalia, or their ſquamæ ſubcaudales, varies greatly in ſnakes of the ſame ſpecies, ſo that often the difference amounts to ten or more: the whole number of the ſcuta ſometimes helps to find out the ſpecies; care ought however to be taken that the ſnake may not by any accident have loſt its tail, and that it be growing again; in which caſe it is impoſſible to make uſe of this character. The character is not quite ſo good and deciſive as may be wiſhed, but neither are the marks taken from colours, ſpots, ſtripes, &c. quite conſtant; and ſo it is better to make uſe of an imperfect character than none at all. Time, and greater acquaintance with this claſs of animals may perhaps clear up their natural characters. F.

they

they come out of their winter habitations. They commonly appear about the end of March, old ſtyle.

This is the ſwifteſt of all the ſnakes which are to be found here, for it moves ſo quick that a dog can hardly catch it. It is therefore almoſt impoſſible for a man to eſcape it if purſued; but happily its bite is neither poiſonous nor any way dangerous; many people have been bit by it in the woods, and have ſcarce felt any more inconvenience than if they had been wounded by a knife; the wounded place only remains painful for ſome time. The black ſnakes ſeldom do any harm, except in ſpring, when they copulate; at which time, if diſturbed, they will attack the perſon that diſturbs them. I am acquainted with ſeveral people, who have on ſuch an occaſion run ſo hard as to be quite out of breath, in endeavouring to eſcape the ſnake, which moved with the ſwiftneſs of an arrow after them. If a perſon thus purſued can muſter up courage enough to oppoſe the ſnake with a ſtick or any thing elſe, when it is either paſſed by him, or when he ſteps aſide to avoid it, it will turn back again, and ſeek a refuge in its ſwiftneſs. I have been aſſured by ſeveral, that when it overtakes a perſon who has tried to eſcape it, and who has not courage enough to oppoſe it, it winds round his feet, ſo as to make him fall down; it then bites him ſeveral times in the leg, or whatever part it can get hold of, and goes off again. I ſhall mention two circumſtances, which confirm what I have ſaid. During my ſtay in New York, Doctor Colden told me, that in the ſpring 1748, he had ſeveral workmen at his country ſeat, and among them one lately arrived from Europe, who of courſe knew very little of the qualities of the black ſnake. The other workmen ſeeing a great black ſnake copulating with its female, engaged the new comer to go and kill it, which he intended to do with a little ſtick. But on approaching the place where the ſnakes lie, they perceived him, and the male in great wrath leaves his pleaſure to purſue the fellow with amazing ſwiftneſs; he little expected ſuch courage in the ſnake, and flinging away his ſtick, began to run as faſt as he was able. The ſnake purſued him, overtook him, and twiſting ſeveral times round his feet, threw him down, and frightened him almoſt out of his ſenſes; he could not get rid of the ſnake, till he took a knife and cut it through in two or three places. The other workmen were rejoiced at this ſight, and laughed at it, without offering to help their companion. Many people at Albany told me of an accident which happened to a young lady, who went out of town in ſummer, together with many other girls, attended by her negro. She ſat down in the wood, in a place where the others were running about, and before ſhe was aware, a black ſnake being diſturbed in its amours, ran under her petticoats, and twiſted round her waiſt, ſo that ſhe fell backwards in a ſwoon, occaſioned by her fright or by the compreſſion which the ſnake cauſed. The negro came up to her, and ſuſpecting that a black ſnake might have hurt her, on making uſe of a remedy to bring his lady to herſelf again, he lifted up her cloaths, and really found the ſnake wound about her body as cloſe as poſſible; the negro was not able to tear it away, and therefore cut it, and the girl came to herſelf again; but ſhe conceived ſo great an averſion to the negro, that ſhe could not bear the ſight of him afterwards, and died of a conſumption. At other times of the year this ſnake is more apt to run away than to attack people. However, I have heard it aſſerted frequently, that even in ſummer when its time of copulation is paſt, it purſues people, eſpecially children, if it finds that they are afraid and run from it. Several people likewiſe aſſured me from their own experience, that it may be provoked to purſue people, if they throw at it, and then run away. I cannot well doubt of this, as I have heard it ſaid by numbers of creditable people; but though I wanted to try the experiment I could never ſucceed in provoking them.

Moſt

Moſt of the people in this country aſcribed to this ſnake a power of faſcinating birds and ſquirrels, as I have deſcribed in ſeveral parts of my journal. When the ſnake lies under a tree, and has fixed his eyes on a bird or ſquirrel above; it obliges them to come down, and to go directly into its mouth. I cannot account for this, for I never ſaw it done. However, I have a liſt of more than twenty perſons, among which are ſome of the moſt creditable people, who have all unanimouſly, though living far diſtant from each other, aſſerted the ſame thing; they aſſured me, upon their honour, that they have ſeen (at ſeveral times) theſe black ſnakes faſcinating ſquirrels and birds which ſat on the tops of trees, the ſnake lying at the foot of the tree, with its eyes fixed upon the bird or ſquirrel, which ſits above it, and utters a doleful note; from which it is eaſy to conclude with certainty that it is about to be faſcinated, though you cannot ſee it. The bird or ſquirrel runs up and down along the tree continuing its plaintive ſong, and always comes nearer the ſnake, whoſe eyes are unalterably fixed upon it. It ſhould ſeem as if theſe poor creatures endeavoured to eſcape the ſnake, by hopping or running up the tree; but there appears to be a power which withholds them: they are forced downwards, and each time that they turn back they approach nearer their enemy, till they are at laſt forced to leap into its mouth, which ſtands wide open for that purpoſe. Numbers of ſquirrels and birds are continually running and hopping fearleſs in the woods on the ground, where the ſnakes lie in wait for them, and can eaſily give theſe poor creatures a mortal bite. Therefore it ſeems that this faſcination might be thus interpreted, that the creature has firſt got a mortal wound from the ſnake, which is ſure of her bite, and lies quiet, being aſſured that the wounded creature has been poiſoned with the bite, or at leaſt feels pain from the violence of the bite, and that it will at laſt be obliged to come down into its mouth. The plaintive note is perhaps occaſioned by the acuteneſs of the pain which the wound gives the creature. But to this it may be objected, that the bite of the black ſnake is not poiſonous; it may further be objected, that if the ſnake could come near enough to a bird or ſquirrel to give it a mortal bite, it might as eaſily keep hold of it, or, as it ſometimes does with poultry, twiſt round and ſtrangle or ſtifle it. But the chief objection which lies againſt this interpretation is the following account, which I received from the moſt creditable people, who have aſſured me of it. The ſquirrel being upon the point of running into the ſnake's mouth, the ſpectators have not been able to let it come to that pitch, but killed the ſnake, and as ſoon as it had got a mortal blow the ſquirrel or bird deſtined for deſtruction flew away, and left off their moanful note, as if they had broke looſe from a net. Some ſay, that if they only touched the ſnake, ſo as to draw off its attention from the ſquirrel, it went off quickly, not ſtopping till it had got to a great diſtance. Why do the ſquirrels or birds go away ſo ſuddenly, and why no ſooner? If they had been poiſoned or bitten by the ſnake before, ſo as not to be able to get from the tree, and to be forced to approach the ſnake always more and more, they could however not get new ſtrength by the ſnake being either killed or diverted. Therefore, it ſeems that they are only enchanted, whilſt the ſnake has its eyes fixed on them. However, this looks odd and unaccountable, though many of the worthieſt and moſt reputable people have related it, and though it is ſo univerſally believed here, that to doubt it would be to expoſe oneſelf to general laughter.

The black ſnakes kill the ſmaller ſpecies of frogs, and eat them. If they get at eggs of poultry, or of other birds, they make holes in them, and ſuck the contents. When the hens are ſitting on the eggs they creep into the neſt, wind round the birds, ſtifle them, and ſuck the eggs. Mr. Bartram aſſerted, that he had often ſeen this ſnake creep up into the talleſt trees, after birds' eggs, or young birds, always with the

head foremoſt, when deſcending. A Swede told me, that a black ſnake had once got the head of one of his hens in its mouth, and was wound ſeveral times round the body, when he came and killed the ſnake. The hen was afterwards as well as ever.

This ſnake is very greedy of milk, and it is difficult to keep it out when it is once uſed to go into a cellar where milk is kept. It has been ſeen eating milk out of the ſame diſh with children, without biting them, though they often gave it blows with the ſpoon upon the head, when it was over greedy. I never heard it hiſſing. It can raiſe more than one half of its body from the ground, in order to look about her. It ſkins every year; and its ſkin is ſaid to be a remedy againſt the cramp, if continually worn about the body.

The rye was now beginning to flower.

I have often obſerved with aſtoniſhment, on my travels, the great difference between the plants and the ſoil, on the two oppoſite banks of brooks. Sometimes a brook, which one can ſtride over, has plants on one bank widely different from thoſe on the oppoſite bank. Therefore, whenever I came to a great brook or a river, I expected to find plants which I had not met with before. Their ſeeds are carried down with the ſtream from diſtant parts. The ſoil is likewiſe very often different on the different ſides of a rivulet, being rich and fertile on the one, and dry, barren, and ſandy on the other. But a great river can make ſtill greater differences. Thus we ſee the great diſparity between the province of Penſylvania and New Jerſey, which are only divided by the river Delaware. In Penſylvania the ſoil conſiſts of a mould mixed with ſand and clay, and is very rich and fertile; and in the woods which are high in the country, the ground is mountainous and ſtony. On the other hand, in the province of New Jerſey, the ſoil is poor and dry, and not very fertile, ſome parts excepted. You can hardly find a ſtone in New Jerſey, and much leſs mountains. In Penſylvania you ſcarce ever ſee a fir-tree, and in New Jerſey are whole woods of it.

This evening I arrived at Philadelphia.

May 22d. The locuſts began to creep out of their holes in the ground laſt night, and continued to do ſo to-day. As ſoon as their wings were dry, they began their ſong, which is almoſt ſufficient to make one deaf, when travelling through the woods. This year there was an immenſe number of them.

May 25th. The tulip-tree (liriodendron tulipifera) was now in full bloſſom. The flowers have a reſemblance to tulips, and look very fine, and though they have not a very agreeable ſmell, yet the eye is pleaſed to ſee trees as tall as full-grown oaks, covered with tulip-like flowers.

On the flowers of the tulip-tree was an olive-coloured chafer (ſcarabæus), without horns (muticus), the future and borders of his wing-ſhells (elytræ) were black, and his thighs brown. I cannot with certainty ſay whether they collected the pollen of the flower, or whether they coupled. Later in ſummer, I ſaw the ſame kind of beetles make deep holes into the ripe mulberries, either to eat them, or to lay their eggs in them. I likewiſe found them abundant in the leaves of the magnolia glauca, or beaver-tree.

The ſtrawberries were now ripe on the hills.

The country people already brought ripe cherries up to town; but they were only a few to ſatisfy curioſity, yet we may form a judgment of the climate from hence.

May 26th. A peculiar kind of ſtorm called a travat, or travado, happened to-day. In the evening about ten o'clock, when the ſky was quite clear, a thick black cloud came ruſhing from the ſouth-weſt, with a wind. The air was quite calm, and we could not feel any breeze; but the approach of this cloud was perceived from the ſtrong

ruſhing noiſe in the woods to the ſouth-weſt, and which increaſed in proportion as the cloud came nearer. As ſoon as it was come up to us, it was attended by a violent guſt of wind, which in its courſe threw down the weaker encloſures, carried them a good way along with it, and broke down ſeveral trees. It was then followed by a hard ſhower of rain, which put an end to the ſtorm, and every thing was calm as before. Theſe travadoes are frequent in ſummer, and have the quality of cooling the air. However, they often do a great deal of damage; they are commonly attended by thunder and lightning; as ſoon as they are paſſed over the ſky is as clear as it was before.

May 28th. The magnolia glauca was now in full bloom. Its flowers have a very pleaſant fragrancy, which refreſhes the travellers in the woods, eſpecially towards the evening. The flowers of the wild vine afterwards ſupplied the place of thoſe of the magnolia. Several other flowers contribute likewiſe towards perfuming the ambient air.

The kalmia anguſtifolia was now every where in flower: it grows chiefly on ſandy heaths or on dry poor grounds, which few other plants will agree with; it is common in Penſylvania, but particularly in New Jerſey and the province of New York; it is ſcarce in Canada; its leaves ſtay the winter; the flowers are a real ornament to the woods; they grow in bunches like crowns, and are of a fine lively purple colour; at the bottom is a circle of deep purple, and within it a greyiſh or whitiſh colour. The flowers grow as aforeſaid, in bunches, round the extremity of the ſtalk, and make it look like a decorated pyramid. The Engliſh at New York, call this plant the dwarf laurel. Its qualities are the ſame with thoſe of the kalmia latifolia, viz. that it kills ſheep and other ſmaller animals, when they eat plentifully of it. I do not know whether it is noxious to the greater cattle. It is not of any known uſe, and only ſerves to attract the eye whilſt in flower.

The kalmia latifolia was likewiſe in full bloſſom at preſent: it rivals the preceding one in the beauty of its colour; yet though they are conſpicuous in regard to the colours and ſhape of their flowers, they are no ways remarkable for ſmell, ſuch as the magnolia is; for they have little or no ſmell at all. So equally and juſtly does nature diſtribute her gifts; no part of the creation has them all, each has its own, and none is abſolutely without a ſhare of them.

May 30th. The Moravian brethren, who arrived in great numbers from Europe at New York, in May, brought two converted Greenlanders with them. The Moravians who were already ſettled in America, immediately ſent ſome of their brethren from Philadelphia to the new comers, in order to welcome them. Among theſe deputies were two North American Indians, who had been converted to their doctrine, and likewiſe two South American Indians, from Surinam. Theſe three kinds of converted Indians accordingly met at New York. I had no opportunity of ſeeing them; but all thoſe who had ſeen them, and whom I converſed with, thought that they had plainly perceived a ſimilarity in their features and ſhape, the Greenlanders being only ſomewhat ſmaller. They concluded from hence that all theſe three kinds of Americans were the poſterity of one and the ſame deſcendant of Noah, or that they were perhaps yet more nearly related. How far their gueſſes are to be relied upon I cannot determine.

Ripe cherries were now already pretty common, and conſequently cheap.

Yams are a ſpecies of roots which are cultivated in the hotteſt parts of America, for eating as we do potatoes. It has not yet been attempted to plant them here, and they are brought from the Weſt Indies in ſhips; therefore they are reckoned a rarity here, and

and as ſuch I ate them at Dr. Franklin's to-day. They are white, and taſte like common potatoes, but not quite ſo agreeable; and I think it would not be worth while to plant them in Sweden, though they might bear the climate. The plant theſe roots belong to is the dioſcorea alata.

The inhabitants make plenty of cheeſe: they are not reckoned ſo good as Engliſh cheeſe: however, ſome take them to be full as good when old; and ſo they ſeemed to me. A man from Boſton, in New England, told me, that they made very good cheeſe there: but they take care to keep the cattle from ſalt water, eſpecially thoſe who live near the ſea coaſts; for it has been found that the cheeſe will not become ſo good when the cows graze near ſalt water as it will when they have freſh water. This, however, wants nearer examination, in my opinion.

May 31ſt. About noon I left Philadelphia, and went on board a ſmall yacht, which ſails continually up and down upon the river Delaware, between Trenton and Philadelphia. We ſailed up the river with fair wind and weather. Sturgeons leaped often a fathom into the air. We ſaw them continuing this exerciſe all day, till we came to Trenton. The banks on the Penſylvanian ſide were low; and thoſe on the New Jerſey ſide ſteep and ſandy, but not very high. On both ſides were perceived foreſts of tall trees, with deciduous leaves.

During the courſe of this month the forenoon was always calm; but immediately after noon it began to blow gently, and ſometimes pretty ſtrongly. This morning was likewiſe fair, and in the afternoon it was cloudy, but did not rain.

We ſaw ſome ſmall houſes near the ſhore, in the woods; and now and then a good houſe built of ſtone. The river now decreaſed viſibly in breadth. About three o'clock this afternoon we paſſed Burlington.

Burlington, the chief town in the province of New Jerſey, and the reſidence of the governor, is but a ſmall town, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, on the eaſtern ſide of the Delaware. The houſes were chiefly built of ſtone, though they ſtood far diſtant from each other. The town has a good ſituation, ſince ſhips of conſiderable burthen can ſail cloſe up to it: but Philadelphia prevents its carrying on an extenſive trade; for the proprietors of that place * have granted it great immunities, by which it is increaſed ſo as to ſwallow all the trade of the adjacent towns. The houſe of the governor at Burlington is but a ſmall one: it is built of ſtone, cloſe by the river ſide, and is the firſt building in the town as you come from Philadelphia. It is obſerved, that about the full moons, when the tides are higheſt, and the high water at Cape Hinlopen comes at nine o'clock in the morning, it will be at Cheſter, on the river Delaware, about ten minutes after one o'clock; at Philadelphia, about ten minutes after two o'clock; and at Burlington, about ten minutes after three o'clock; for the tide in the river Delaware comes quite up to Trenton.

The banks of the river were now chiefly high and ſteep on the ſide of New Jerſey, conſiſting of a pale brick-coloured ſoil. On the Penſylvanian ſide they were gently ſloping, and conſiſted of a blackiſh rich mould, mixed with particles of glimmer (mica). On the New Jerſey ſide appeared ſome firs; but ſeldom on the other, except in a few places where they were accidentally brought over from New Jerſey.

Towards night, after the tide had begun to ebb, and the wind was quite ſubſided, we could not proceed, but dropped our anchor about ſeven miles from Trenton, and paſſed the night there. The woods were full of fireflies, (lampyris) which flew like ſparks of fire between the trees, and ſometimes acroſs the river. In the marſhes, the

* William Penn, Eſq. and his heirs.

bullfrogs

bullfrogs now and then began their hideous roaring; and more than a hundred of them roared together. The whip-poor-will, or goat-ſucker, was likewiſe heard every where.

June 1ſt. We continued our voyage this morning after the rain was over. The river Delaware was very narrow here, and the banks the ſame as we found them yeſterday, after we had paſſed Burlington. About eight o'clock in the morning we arrived at Trenton.

June 2nd. This morning we left Trenton, and proceeded towards New York. The country I have deſcribed before. The fields were ſown with wheat, rye, maize, oats, hemp, and flax. In ſeveral places we ſaw very large pieces of ground with hemp.

We ſaw abundance of cheſnut-trees in the woods. They often ſtood in exceſſive poor ground, which was neither too dry nor too wet.

Tulip-trees did not appear on the road; but the people ſaid there were ſome in the woods.

The beaver-tree (magnolia glauca) grows in the ſwamps. It was now in flower, and the fragrancy of its bloſſoms had ſo perfumed the air that one could enjoy it before one approached the ſwamps; and this fine ſmell likewiſe ſhewed that a beaver-tree was near us, though we often happened not to ſee it.

The phlox glaberrima grows abundantly in the woods, and cuts a fine figure with its red flowers. It grows in ſuch ſoil here as in Europe is occupied by the lychnis viſcaria and lychnis dioica, or read catchfly and campion. The phlox maculata grows abundantly in wet ground, and has fine red and odoriferous flowers. It grows on low meadows, where in Europe the meadow-pinks, or lychnis flos cuculi, would be met with. By adding to theſe flowers the bartſia coccinea, the lobelia cardinalis, and the monarda didyma, which grow wild in this country, they are undoubtedly altogether adorned with the fineſt red imaginable.

The ſaſſafras-tree was abundant in the woods and near the incloſures.

The houſes which we paſſed by were moſt of them wooden. In one place, I ſaw the people building a houſe with walls of mere clay, which is likewiſe employed in making ovens for baking.

Buckwheat was already coming up in ſeveral places. We ſaw ſingle plants of it all day in the woods and in the fields, but always by the ſide of the road; from whence it may be concluded that they ſpring up from loſt and ſcattered ſeeds.

Late this evening we arrived at New Brunſwick.

June the 3rd. At noon we went on board a yacht bound for New York, and ſailed down the river, which had at firſt pretty high and ſteep banks of red ſand-ſtone on each ſide, which I have mentioned before. Now and then there was a farm-houſe on the high ſhore. As we came lower down, we ſaw on both ſides great fields and meadows cloſe up to the water. We could not ſail at random with the yacht; for the river was often ſhallow in ſome places and ſometimes in the very middle. For that purpoſe, the courſe which we were to take was marked out by branches with leaves on them. At laſt we got into the ſea, which bounded our proſpect on the ſouth; but on the other ſide, we were continually in ſight of land at ſome diſtance. On coming to the mouth of the river, we had a choice of two roads to New York, viz. either within the Staten Iſland, or without it. The inhabitants are determined in their choice by the weather; for when it is ſtormy and cloudy, or dark, they do not venture to ſail without, where the ſea itſelf communicates. We took that courſe now, it being very pleaſant weather; and though we ſtruck on the ſands once or twice, yet we got looſe again, and arrived at New York about nine o'clock.

June 4th. I found vines in ſeveral gardens, got from the old countries. They bear annually a quantity of excellent grapes. When the winters are very ſevere they are killed by the froſt, and die quite to the ground; but the next ſpring new ſhoots ſpring up from the root.

Strawberries were now ſold in abundance about the town every day. An Engliſhman from Jamaica aſſerted, that in that iſland there were no ſtrawberries. The ſnakes are very fond of ſtrawberries. Thoſe which they had here were as good as the Swediſh and Finland ones.

Red clover was ſown in ſeveral places on the hills without the town. The country people were now employed in mowing the meadows. Some were already mown; and the dry clover was put under cover, in order to be carried away the firſt opportunity.

Cherry-trees were planted in great quantities before the farm-houſes, and along the high-roads, from Philadelphia to New Brunſwick; but behind that place they became more ſcarce. On coming to Staten Iſland, in the province of New York, I found them very common again, near the gardens. Here are not ſo many varieties of cherries as there are in Penſylvania. I ſeldom ſaw any of the black ſweet cherries * at New York; but commonly the four red ones. All travellers are allowed to pluck ripe fruit as they paſs by. Between New Brunſwick and Staten Iſland, are a few cherry-gardens; but proportionarly more orchards, with apple-trees.

June 6th. Several gentlemen and merchants, between fifty and ſixty years of age, aſſerted, that during their life they had plainly found ſeveral kinds of fiſh decreaſe in number every year; and that they could not get near ſo many fiſh now as they could formerly.

Rum, a brandy prepared from the ſugar-canes, and in great uſe with all the Engliſh North American colonies, is reckoned much wholeſomer than brandy, made from wine or corn †. In confirmation of this opinion, they ſay, that if you put a piece of freſh meat into rum, and another into brandy, and leave them there for ſome months, that in the rum will keep as it was, but that in the brandy will be quite eaten, and full of holes. But this experiment does not ſeem a very accurate one to me. Major Roderfort told me, that being upon the Canada expedition, he had obſerved, that ſuch of his men as drank brandy for ſome time died of it; but thoſe who drank rum were not hurt, though they got drunk with it every day, and oftener than the others.

Long Iſland is the name of an iſland oppoſite the town of New York, in the ſea. The northern part of the iſland is much more fertile than the ſouthern. Formerly there lived a number of Indians on this iſland; and there are yet ſome, which however decreaſe in number every year, becauſe they leave the iſland. The ſoil of the ſouthern part of the iſland is very poor; but this deficiency is made up by a vaſt quantity of oyſters, lobſters, crabs, ſeveral kinds of fiſh, and numbers of water-fowl, all which are there far more abundant than on the northern ſhores of the iſland. Therefore the Indians formerly choſe the ſouthern part to live in, becauſe they ſubſiſted on oyſters, and other productions of the ſea. When the tide is out it is very eaſy to fill a whole cart with oyſters, which have been driven on ſhore by one flood. The iſland is ſtrewed

* Commonly called black-heart cherries.

† That rum is among the ſpirituous liquors leſs noxious than any one of the reſt, is chiefly owing to the balſamic quality it gets from the ſugar, which corrects the ſtyptic quality all kinds of brandy and ſpirituous liquors have. The older the rum is, and the longer it has been kept in a great caſk, the more is its ſtypticity corrected. All which has been lately proved by the cleareſt experiments, explained and deducted from the moſt indiſputable principles of chemiſtry, in a pamphlet written by that able chemiſt Mr. Doſſie. F.

with

with oyſter-ſhells and other ſhells, which the Indians left there; theſe ſhells ſerve now for good manure for the fields. The ſouthern part of the iſland is turned into meadows, and the northern part into fields. The winter is more conſtant on the northern part, and the ſnow in ſpring lies longer there than on the ſouthern part. The people are very fertile here, and commonly tall and ſtrong.

June 10th. At noon we left New York, and ſailed up the river Hudſon, in a yacht bound for Albany. All this afternoon we ſaw a whole fleet of little boats returning from New York, whither they had brought proviſions and other goods for ſale, which on account of the extenſive commerce of this town, and the great number of its inhabitants, go off very well. The river Hudſon runs from north to ſouth here, except ſome high pieces of land which ſometimes project far into it, and alter its direction; its breadth at the mouth is reckoned about a mile and a quarter. Some porpoiſes played and tumbled in the river. The eaſtern ſhore, or the New York ſide, was at firſt very ſteep and high; but the weſtern was very ſloping and covered with woods. There appeared farm-houſes on both ſides, ſurrounded with corn-fields. The ground of which the ſteep ſhores conſiſted was of a pale brick colour, and ſome little rocks of a grey ſand-ſtone were ſeen here and there. About ten or twelve miles from New York, the weſtern ſhore appears quite different from what it was before; it conſiſts of ſteep mountains with perpendicular ſides towards the river, and they are exactly like the ſteep ſides of the mountains of Hall and Hunnebarg in Weſt Gothland. Sometimes a rock projects like the ſalliant angle of a baſtion: the tops of theſe mountains are covered with oaks, and other wood; a number of ſtones of all ſizes lay along the ſhore, having rolled down from the mountains.

Theſe high and ſteep mountains continue for ſome Engliſh miles on the weſtern ſhore; but on the eaſtern ſide the land is high, and ſometimes diverſified with hills and vallies, which are commonly covered with deciduous trees, amongſt which there appears a farm now and then in a glade. The hills are covered with ſtones in ſome places. About twelve miles from New York we ſaw ſturgeons * (acipenſer ſturio), leaping up out of the water, and on the whole paſſage we met with porpoiſes in the river. As we proceeded we found the eaſtern banks of the river very much cultivated; and a number of pretty farms, ſurrounded with orchards and fine corn-fields, preſented themſelves to our view. About twenty-two miles from New York the high mountains which I have before mentioned left us, and made as it were a high ridge here from eaſt to weſt quite acroſs the country. This altered the face of the country on the weſtern ſhore of the river: from mountainous, it became interſperſed with little vallies and round hillocks, which were ſcarce inhabited at all; but the eaſtern ſhore continued to afford us a delightful proſpect. After ſailing a little while in the night, we caſt our anchor and lay here till the morning, eſpecially as the tide was ebbing with great force.

June 11th. This morning we continued our voyage up the river, with the tide and a faint breeze. We now paſſed the Highland mountains, which were to the eaſt of us; they conſiſt of a grey ſand-ſtone, are very high and pretty ſteep, and covered with deciduous trees, and likewiſe with firs and red cedars. The weſtern ſhore was full of rocks, which however did not come up to the height of the mountains on the oppoſite ſhore; the tops of theſe eaſtern mountains were cut off from our ſight by a thick fog which ſurrounded them. The country was unfit for cultivation, being ſo full of rocks,

* The New York ſturgeons which I ſaw this year brought over, had ſhort blunt noſes, in which particular they are different from the Engliſh ones, which have long noſes. F.

and

and accordingly we ſaw no farms. The diſtance from theſe mountains to New York is computed at thirty-ſix Engliſh miles.

A thick fog now roſe up from the high mountains. For the ſpace of ſome Engliſh miles we had hills and rocks on the weſtern banks of the river; and a change of leſſer and greater mountains and vallies covered with young firs, red cedars, and oaks, on the eaſtern ſide. The hills cloſe to the river ſide are commonly low, but their height increaſes as they are further from the river. Afterwards we ſaw, for ſome miles together, nothing but high round mountains and vallies, both covered with woods; the vallies are in reality nothing but low rocks, and ſtand perpendicular towards the river in many places. The breadth of the river is ſometimes two or three muſket-ſhot, but commonly not above one; every now and then we ſaw ſeveral kinds of fiſh leaping out of the water. The wind vaniſhed away about ten o'clock in the morning, and forced us to get forwards with our oars, the tide being almoſt ſpent.

The water in the river has here no more a brackiſh taſte; yet I was told that the tide, eſpecially when the wind is ſouth, ſometimes carries the ſalt water up higher with it. The colour of the water was likewiſe altered, for it appeared darker here than before. To account for the firſt origin of rivers is very difficult, if not wholly impoſſible; ſome rivers may have come from a great reſervoir of water, which being conſiderably encreaſed by heavy falls of rain or other circumſtances, paſſed its old bounds and flowed to the lower countries, through the places where it met with the leaſt oppoſition. This is perhaps the reaſon why ſome rivers run in ſo many bendings equally through fields of ſoft earth, as likewiſe there, where mountains, rocks, and ſtones, divert their paſſage. However, it ſeems that ſome rivers derive their firſt origin from the creation itſelf, and that Providence then pointed out their courſe; for their exiſtence can, in all probability, not be owing to the accidental eruption of water alone. Among theſe rivers we may rank the river Hudſon: I was ſurpriſed on ſeeing its courſe, and the variety of its ſhores. It takes its riſe a good way above Albany, and deſcends to New York, in a direct line from north to ſouth, which is a diſtance of about a hundred and ſixty Engliſh miles, and perhaps more; for the little bendings which it makes are of no ſignification. In many places between New York and Albany are ridges of high mountains running weſt and eaſt. But it is remarkable that they go on undiſturbed till they come to the river Hudſon, which cuts directly acroſs them, and frequently their ſides ſtand perpendicular towards the river. There is an opening left in the chain of mountains, as broad as the river commonly is, for it to paſs through, and the mountains go on as before, on the other ſide, in the ſame direction. It is likewiſe remarkable that the river in ſuch places where it paſſes through the mountains is as deep, and often deeper than in the other places. The perpendicular rocks on the ſides of the river are ſurpriſing, and it appears that if no paſſages had been opened by Providence, for the river to paſs through, the mountains in the upper part of the country would have been inundated, ſince theſe mountains, like ſo many dykes, would have hindered the water from going on. Quere, Why does this river go on in a direct line for ſo conſiderable a diſtance? Why do the many paſſages, through which the river flows acroſs the mountains, lie under the ſame meridian? Why are water-falls near ſome of theſe paſſages, or at leaſt ſhallow water with a rocky ground?

We now perceived exceſſive high and ſteep mountains on both ſides of the river, which echoed back each ſound we uttered. Yet notwithſtanding they were ſo high and ſteep, they were covered with ſmall trees.

The Blue Mountains, which reared their towering tops above all the other mountains, were now ſeen before us, towards north, but at a great diſtance.

The

The country began here to look more cultivated, and leſs mountainous.

The laſt of the high weſtern mountains is called Butterhill, after which the country between the mountains grows more ſpacious. The farms became very numerous, and we had a proſpect of many corn-fields, between the hills: before we paſſed theſe hills we had the wind in our face, and we could only get forward by tacking, which went very ſlow, as the river was hardly a muſket-ſhot in breadth. Afterwards we caſt anchor, becauſe we had both wind and tide againſt us.

Whilſt we waited for the return of tide, and the change of wind, we went on ſhore.

The ſaſſafras-tree (laurus ſaſſafras) and the cheſnut-tree grows here in great abundance. I found the tulip-tree (liriodendron tulipifera) in ſome parts of the wood, as likewiſe the kalmia latifolia, which was now in full bloſſom, though the flowers were already withering.

Some time after noon the wind aroſe from ſouth-weſt, which being a fair wind, we weighed anchor, and continued our voyage. The place where we lay at anchor was juſt the end of thoſe ſteep and amazing high mountains: their height is very amazing; they conſiſt of grey rock-ſtone, and cloſe to them on the ſhores lay a vaſt number of little ſtones. As ſoon as we had paſſed theſe mountains, the country became clearer of mountains, and higher. The river likewiſe increaſed in breadth, ſo as to be near an Engliſh mile broad. After ſailing for ſome time, we found no more mountains along the river; but on the eaſtern ſide goes a high chain of mountains to the north-eaſt, whoſe ſides are covered with woods up to one-half of their height. The ſummits however are quite barren, for I ſuppoſe that nothing would grow there, on account of the great degree of heat *, dryneſs, and the violence of the wind, to which that part is expoſed. The eaſtern ſide of the river is much more cultivated than the weſtern, where we ſeldom ſaw a houſe, the land being covered with woods, though it is in general very level. About fifty-ſix Engliſh miles from New York the country is not very high; yet it is every where covered with woods, except ſome new farms which were ſcattered here and there. The high mountains which we left in the afternoon, now appeared above the woods and the country. Theſe mountains which were called the Highlands, did not project more north than the other, in the place where we anchored. Their ſides (not thoſe towards the river) were ſeldom perpendicular, but ſloping, ſo that one could clime up to the top, though not without difficulty.

On ſeveral high grounds near the river, the people burnt lime. The maſter of the yacht told me, that they break a fine blueiſh grey lime-ſtone in the high grounds along both ſides of the river, for the ſpace of ſome Engliſh miles, and burn lime of it. But at ſome miles diſtance there is no more lime-ſtone, and they find alſo none on the banks till they come to Albany.

We paſſed by a little neck of land, which projected on the weſtern ſide of the river, and was called Dance. The name of this place is ſaid to derive its origin from a feſtival which the Dutch celebrated here in former times, and at which they danced and diverted themſelves; but once there came a number of Indians, who killed them all.

We caſt anchor late at night, becauſe the wind ceaſed and the tide was ebbing. The depth of the river is twelve fathoms here.

* Mr. Kalm was certainly miſtaken by thinking the ſummits of theſe mountains without wood, on account of the great degree of heat: for it is a general notion founded on experience, that the ſun operates not ſo much on the tops of mountains, as in plains or vallies, and the cold often hinders the increaſe of wood on the ſummits of high mountains. F.

The fire-flies paſſed the river in numbers at night, and ſometimes ſettled upon the rigging.

June 12th. This morning we proceeded with the tide, but againſt the wind. The river was here a muſket-ſhot broad. The country in general is low on both ſides, conſiſting of low rocks and ſtony fields, which are however covered with woods. It is ſo rocky, ſtony, and poor, that nobody can ſettle in it or inhabit it, there being no ſpot of ground fit for a corn-field. The country continued to have the ſame appearance for the ſpace of ſome miles, and we never perceived one ſettlement. At eleven o'clock this morning we came to a little iſland, which lies in the middle of the river, and is ſaid to be half-way between New York and Albany. The ſhores are ſtill low, ſtony, and rocky, as before. But at a greater diſtance we ſaw high mountains, covered with woods, chiefly on the weſtern ſhore, raiſing their tops above the reſt of the country: and ſtill further off, the blue mountains roſe up above them. Towards noon it was quite calm, and we went on very ſlow. Here the land is well cultivated, eſpecially on the eaſtern ſhore, and full of great corn-fields; yet the ſoil ſeemed ſandy. Several villages lay on the eaſtern ſide, and one of them called Straſburg, was inhabited by a number of Germans. To the weſt we ſaw ſeveral cultivated places. The blue mountains are very plainly to be ſeen here. They appear through the clouds, and tower above all other mountains. The river is full an Engliſh mile broad oppoſite Straſburg.

They make uſe of a yellow agaricus, or muſhroom, which grows on maple-trees, for tinder; that which is found on the red-flowering maple (acer rubrum) is reckoned the beſt, and next in goodneſs is that of the ſugar-maple (acer ſaccarinum), which is ſometimes reckoned as good as the former.

Rhinbeck is a place at ſome diſtance from Straſburg, further off from the river. It is inhabited by many Germans, who have a church there.

At two in the afternoon it began again to blow from the ſouth, which enabled us to proceed. The country on the eaſtern ſide is high, and conſiſts of a well cultivated ſoil. We had fine corn-fields, pretty farms, and good orchards in view. The weſtern ſhore is likewiſe ſomewhat high, but ſtill covered with woods, and we now and then, though ſeldom, ſaw one or two little ſettlements. The river is above an Engliſh mile broad in moſt places, and comes in a ſtrait line from the north, ſo that we could not ſometimes follow it with our eye.

June 13th. The wind favoured our voyage during the whole night, ſo that I had no opportunity of obſerving the nature of the country. This morning at five o'clock we were but nine Engliſh miles from Albany. The country on both ſides the river is low, and covered with woods, excepting a few little ſcattered ſettlements. Under the higher ſhores of the river are wet meadows, covered with ſword-graſs (carex), and they formed ſeveral little iſlands. We ſaw no mountains; and haſtened towards Albany. The land on both ſides of the river is chiefly low, and more carefully cultivated as we came nearer to Albany.

As to the houſes which we ſaw, ſome were of wood, others of ſtone. The river is ſeldom above a muſket-ſhot broad, and in ſeveral parts of it are ſands, which require great experience for governing the yachts. At eight o'clock in the morning we arrived at Albany.

All the yachts which ply between Albany and New York, belong to Albany. They go up and down the river Hudſon, as long as it is open and free from ice. They bring from Albany boards or planks, and all ſorts of timber, flour, peaſe, and furs, which they get from the Indians, or which are ſmuggled from the French. They come home

almoſt

almoſt empty, and only bring a few merchandizes with them, among which rum is the chief. This laſt is abſolutely neceſſary to the inhabitants of Albany; they cheat the Indians in the fur trade with it; for when the Indians are drunk, they will leave it to the Albanians to fix the price of the furs. The yachts are pretty large, and have a good cabin, in which the paſſengers can be very commodiouſly lodged. They are commonly built of red cedar, or of white oak. Frequently, the bottom conſiſts of white oak, and the ſides of red cedar, becauſe the latter withſtands putrefaction much longer than the former. The red cedar is likewiſe apt to ſplit when it is ſtruck againſt any thing, and the river Hudſon is in many parts full of ſands and rocks, againſt which the keel of the yacht ſometimes hits; therefore they chooſe white oak for the bottom, as being the ſofter wood, and not ſplitting ſo eaſily: and the bottom being continually under water, is not ſo much expoſed to putrefaction, and holds out longer.

The canoes which the yachts have along with them are made of a ſingle piece of wood, hollowed out; they are ſharp on both ends, frequently three or four fathoms long, and as broad as the thickneſs of the wood will allow. The people in it do not row ſitting, but commonly a fellow ſtands at each end, with a ſhort oar in his hand with which he governs and brings the canoe forwards. Thoſe which are made here at Albany, are commonly of the white pine; they can do ſervice for eight or twelve years, eſpecially if they be tarred and painted. At Albany they make them of the white pine, ſince there is no other wood fit for them; at New York they are made of the tulip-tree, and in other parts they are made of red or white cedars: but both theſe trees are ſo ſmall, in the neighbourhood of Albany, that they are unfit for canoes; there are no ſeats in the canoes, for if they had any, they would be more liable to be overſet, as one could not keep the equilibrium ſo well.

Battoes* are another kind of boats, which are much in uſe in Albany: they are made of boards of white pine; the bottom is flat that they may row the better in ſhallow water; they are ſharp at both ends, and ſomewhat higher towards the end than in the middle. They have ſeats in them, and are rowed as common boats. They are long, yet not all alike, commonly three, and ſometimes four fathoms long. The height from the bottom to the top of the board (for the ſides ſtand almoſt perpendicular) is from twenty inches to two feet, and the breadth in the middle about a yard and ſix inches. They are chiefly made uſe of for carrying goods, by means of the rivers, to the Indians; that is, when thoſe rivers are open enough for the battoes to paſs through, and when they need not be carried by land a great way. The boats made of the bark of trees, break eaſily by knocking againſt a ſtone, and the canoes cannot carry a great cargo, and are eaſily overſet; the battoes are therefore preferable to them both. I ſaw no boats here like thoſe in Sweden, and other parts of Europe.

The froſt does frequently a great deal of damage at Albany. There is hardly a month in ſummer during which a froſt does not happen. The ſpring comes very late, and in April and May are numerous cold nights, which frequently kill the flowers of trees and kitchen herbs. It was feared that the bloſſoms of the apple-trees had been ſo ſeverely damaged by the froſt laſt May, that next autumn there would be but very few apples. The oak bloſſoms are very often killed by the froſt in the woods. The autumn here is of long continuance, with warm days and nights. However, the cold

* From the French bateaux (boats).

nights commonly commence towards the end of September, and are frequent in October. The people are forced to keep their cattle in ſtables from the middle of November till March or April, and muſt find them hay during that time *.

During ſummer the wind blows commonly from the ſouth, and brings a great drought along with it. Sometimes it rains a little, and as ſoon as it has rained the wind veers to north-weſt, blowing for ſeveral days from that point, and then returning to the ſouth. I have had frequent opportunities of ſeeing this change of wind happen very exactly, both this year and the following.

June 15th. The encloſures were made of boards of fir-wood, of which there is abundance in the extenſive woods, and many ſaw-mills to cut it into boards.

The ſeveral ſorts of apple-trees grow very well here, and bear as fine fruit as in any other part of North America. Each farm has a large orchard. They have ſome apples here, which are very large, and very palatable; they are ſent to New York, and other places as a rarity. They make excellent cyder in autumn, in the country round Albany.

All the kinds of cherry-trees, which have been planted here, ſucceed very well.

Pear-trees do not ſucceed here. This was complained of in many other parts of North America. But I fear that they do not take ſufficient care in the management and planting of them; for I had ſeen fine pears in ſeveral parts of North America.

Peach-trees have often been planted here, and never would ſucceed well. This was attributed to a worm which lives in the ground, and eats through the root, ſo that the tree dies. Perhaps the ſeverity of the winter contributes much to it.

They plant no other fruit-trees at Albany beſides theſe I have mentioned.

They ſow as much hemp and flax here as they want for home conſumption.

They ſow maize in great abundance: a looſe ſoil is reckoned the beſt for this purpoſe; for it will not grow in clay: from half a buſhel they reap a hundred buſhels. They reckon maize a very good kind of corn, becauſe the ſhoots recovers after being hurt by the froſt. They have had examples here of the ſhoots dying twice in ſpring, to the very ground, and yet they ſhot up again afterwards, and afforded an excellent crop. Maize has likewiſe the advantage of ſtanding much longer againſt a drought than wheat. The larger ſort of maize which is commonly ſown here, ripens in September.

They ſow wheat in the neighbourhood of Albany, with great advantage. From one buſhel they get twelve ſometimes; if the ſoil be good, they get twenty buſhels. If their crop amounts only to ten buſhels from one, they think it very trifling. The inhabitants of the country round Albany are Dutch and Germans. The Germans live in ſeveral great villages, and ſow great quantities of wheat, which is brought to Albany; and from thence they ſent many yachts laden with flour to New York. The wheat flour from Albany is reckoned the beſt in all North America, except that from Sopus or King's Town, a place between Albany and New York. All the bread in Albany is made of wheat. At New York they pay the Albany flour with ſeveral ſhillings more per hundred weight than that from other places.

Rye is likewiſe ſown here, but not ſo generally as wheat.

They do not ſow much barley here, becauſe they do not reckon the profits very great. Wheat is ſo plentiful that they make malt of it. In the neighbourhood of New York I ſaw great fields ſown with barley.

* The reader muſt reckon all this according to the old ſtile.

They

They do not ſow more oats than are neceſſary for their horſes.

The Dutch and Germans who live hereabouts, ſow peaſe in great abundance; they ſucceed very well, and are annually carried to New York, in great quantities. They have been free from inſects for a conſiderable time; but of late years the ſame beetles which deſtroy the peaſe in Penſylvania, New Jerſey, and the lower parts of the province of New York, have likewiſe appeared abundant among the peaſe here. It is a real loſs to this town, and to the other parts of North America, which uſed to get peaſe from hence for their own conſumption, and that of their ſailors. It had been found that if they procured good peaſe from Albany, and ſowed them near King's Town, or the lower part of the province of New York, they ſucceeded very well the firſt year, but were ſo full of worms the ſecond, and following years, that nobody could or would eat them. Some people put aſhes into the pot, among the peaſe, when they will not boil, or ſoften well; but whether this is wholeſome and agreeable to the palate, I do not know.

Potatoes are generally planted. Some people preferred aſhes to ſand for keeping them in during winter.

The Bermuda potatoes (convolvulus batatas) have likewiſe been planted here, and ſucceed pretty well. The greateſt difficulty is to keep them during winter; for they generally rot in that ſeaſon.

The humming-bird (trochilus colubris) comes to this place ſometimes; but it is rather a ſcarce bird.

The ſhingles with which the houſes are covered are made of the white pine, which is reckoned as good and as durable, and ſometimes better, than the white cedar (cupreſſus thyoides). The white pine is found abundant here, in ſuch places where common pines grow in Europe. I have never ſeen them in the lower parts of the province of New York, nor in New Jerſey and Penſylvania. They ſaw a vaſt quantity of deal from the white pine on this ſide of Albany, which are brought down to New York, and from thence exported.

The woods abound with vines, which likewiſe grow on the ſteep banks of the river in ſurpriſing quantities. They climbed to the tops of trees on the bank, and bent them by their weight; but where they found no trees, they hung down along the ſteep ſhores, and covered them entirely. The grapes are eaten after the froſt has attacked them; for they are too ſour before. They are not much uſed any other way.

The vaſt woods and uninhabited grounds between Albany and Canada contain immenſe ſwarms of gnats, which annoy the travellers. To be in ſome meaſure ſecured againſt theſe inſects, ſome beſmear their face with butter or greaſe; for the gnats do not like to ſettle on greaſy places. The great heat makes boots very uneaſy; but to prevent the gnats from ſtinging the legs, they wrap ſome paper round them, under the ſtockings. Some travellers wear caps which cover the whole face, and have ſome gauze before their eyes. At night they lie in tents, if they can carry any with them; and make a great fire at the entrance, by the ſmoke of which the gnats are driven away.

The porpoiſes ſeldom go higher up the river Hudſon than the ſalt water goes; after that, the ſturgeons fill their place. It has however ſometimes happened, that porpoiſes have gone quite up to Albany.

The fire-flies (lampyris) which are the ſame that are ſo common in Penſylvania during ſummer, are here ſeen in abundance every night. They fly up and down in the ſtreets of this town. They come into the houſes, if the doors and windows are open.

Several of the Penſylvanian trees are not to be met with in theſe woods, viz.
Magnolia glauca, the beaver-tree.
Nyſſa aquatica, the tupelo-tree.
Liquidambar ſtyraciflua, the ſweet-gum tree.
Dioſpyros Virginiana, the perſimon.
Liriodendron tulipifera, the tulip-tree.
Juglans nigra, the black walnut-tree.
Quercus——, the ſwamp oak.
Cercis Canadenſis, the ſallad-tree.
Robinia pſeudacacia, the locuſt-tree.
Gleditſia triacanthos, the honey-locuſt-tree.
Annona muricata, the papaw-tree.
Celtis occidentalis, the nettle-tree; and a number of ſhrubs, which are never found here.

The more northerly ſituation of the place, the height of the blue mountains, and the courſe of the rivers, which flow here ſouthward into the ſea, and accordingly carry the ſeeds of plants from north to ſouth, and not the contrary way, are chiefly the cauſes that ſeveral plants which grow in Penſylvania cannot be found here.

This afternoon I went to ſee an iſland which lies in the middle of the river, about a mile below the town. This iſland is an Engliſh mile long, and not above a quarter of a mile broad. It is almoſt entirely turned into corn-fields; and is inhabited by a ſingle planter, who, beſides poſſeſſing this iſland, is the owner of two more. Here we ſaw no woods, except a few trees which were left round the iſland on the ſhore, and formed as it were a tall and great hedge. The red maple (acer rubrum) grows in abundance in ſeveral places. Its leaves are white or ſilvery on the under ſides, and when agitated by the wind, they make the tree appear as if it was full of white flowers. The water-beech (platanus occidentalis) grows to a great height, and is one of the moſt ſhady trees here. The water-poplar * is the moſt common tree hereabouts, grows exceedingly well on the ſhores of the river, and is as tall as the talleſt of our aſps. In ſummer it affords the beſt ſhade for men and cattle againſt the ſcorching heat. On the banks of rivers and lakes it is one of the moſt uſeful trees, becauſe it holds the ſoil by its extenſive branched roots, and prevents the water from waſhing it away. The water-beech and the elm-tree (ulmus) ſerve the ſame purpoſe. The wild prune-trees were plentiful here, and were full of unripe fruit: its wood is not made uſe of; but its fruit is eaten. Sumach (rhus glabra) is plentiful here; as alſo the wild vines, which climb up the trees, and creep along the high ſhores of the river. I was told that the grapes ripen very late, though they were already pretty large.

The American elm-tree (ulmus Americana) formed ſeveral high hedges. The ſoil of this iſland is a rich mould, mixed with ſand, which is chiefly employed in maize plantations. There were likewiſe large fields of potatoes. The whole iſland was leaſed for one hundred pounds of New York currency. The perſon who had taken the leaſe again let ſome greater and ſome ſmaller lots of ground to the inhabitants of Albany, for making kitchen gardens of, and by that means reimburſed himſelf. Portulack (portulaca oleracea) grows ſpontaneouſly here in great abundance, and looks very well.

* Populus glandulis variis baſi foliorum adnexis, foliis cordato-deltoidibus, acuminatis, ſerrato-angulosis, utrinque glabris. — An populus heterophylla Linnæi?

June 20th. The tide in the river Hudſon goes about eight or ten Engliſh miles above Albany, and conſequently runs one hundred and fifty-ſix Engliſh miles from the ſea. In ſpring, when the ſnow melts, there is hardly any flowing near this town; for the great quantity of water which comes from the mountains during that ſeaſon occaſions a continual ebbing. This likewiſe happens after heavy rains.

The cold is generally reckoned very ſevere here. The ice in the river Hudſon is commonly three or four feet thick. On the 3d of April ſome of the inhabitants croſſed the river with ſix pair of horſes. The ice commonly diſſolves about the end of March or beginning of April. Great pieces of ice come down about that time, which ſometimes carry with them the houſes that ſtand cloſe to the ſhore. The water is very high at that time in the river, becauſe the ice ſtops ſometimes, and ſticks in places where the river is narrow. The water has been often obſerved to riſe three fathoms higher than it commonly is in ſummer. The ground is frozen here in winter to the depth of three, four, or five feet. On the 16th of November the yachts are put up, and about the beginning or middle of April they are in motion again.

The water of ſeveral wells in this town was very cool about this time;—but had a kind of acid taſte, which was not very agreeable. On a nearer examination, I found an abundance of little inſects in it, which were probably monoculi. Their length was different; ſome were a geometrical line and an half, others two, and others four lines long: they were very narrow, and of a pale colour. The head was blacker and thicker than the other parts of the body, and about the ſize of a pin's head. The tail was divided into two branches, and each branch terminated in a little black globule. When theſe inſects ſwim, they proceed in crooked or undulated lines, almoſt like tadpoles. I poured ſome of this water into a bowl, and put near a fourth part of rum to it. The monoculi, inſtead of being affected with it, ſwam about as briſkly as they had done in the water. This ſhews, that if one makes punch with this water, it muſt be very ſtrong to kill the monoculi. I think this water is not very wholeſome for people who are not uſed to it, though the inhabitants of Albany, who drink it every day, ſay, they do not feel the leaſt inconvenience from it. I have been ſeveral times obliged to drink water here, in which I have plainly ſeen monoculi ſwimming; but I generally felt the next day ſomewhat like a pea in my throat, or as if I had a ſwelling there; and this continued for above a week. I felt ſuch ſwellings this year, both at Albany and in other parts. My ſervant, Yungſtroem, likewiſe got a great pain in his breaſt, and a ſenſation as from a ſwelling, after drinking water with monoculi in it; but whether theſe inſects occaſioned it, or whether it came from ſome other cauſe, I cannot aſcertain. However, I have always endeavoured as much as poſſible to do without ſuch water as had monoculi in it. I have found monoculi in very cold water taken from the deepeſt wells, in different parts of this country. Perhaps many of our diſeaſes ariſe from waters of this kind, which we do not ſufficiently examine. I have frequently obſerved abundance of minute inſects in water, which has been remarkable for its clearneſs. Almoſt each houſe in Albany has its well, the water of which is applied to common uſe; but for tea, brewing, and waſhing, they commonly take the water of the river Hudſon, which flows cloſe by the town. This water is generally quite muddy, and very warm in ſummer; and, on that account, it is kept in cellars, in order that the ſlime may ſubſide, and that the water may cool a little.

We lodged with a gunſmith, who told us, that the beſt charcoals for the forge were made of the black pine. The next in goodneſs, in his opinion, were charcoals made of the beech-tree.

The

The beſt and deareſt ſtocks for his muſkets were made of the wood of the wild cherry-tree; and next to theſe he valued thoſe of the red maple moſt. They ſcarce make uſe of any other wood for this purpoſe. The black walnut-tree affords excellent wood for ſtocks; but it does not grow in the neighbourhood of Albany.

June 21ſt. Next to the town of New York, Albany is the principal town, or at leaſt, the moſt wealthy, in the province of New York. It is ſituated on the declivity of a hill, cloſe to the weſtern ſhore of the river Hudſon, about one hundred and forty-ſix Engliſh miles from New York. The town extends along the river, which flows here from N.N.E. to S.S.W. The high mountains in the weſt, above the town, bound the proſpect on that ſide. There are two churches in Albany, an Engliſh one and a Dutch one. The Dutch church ſtands at ſome diſtance from the river, on the eaſt ſide of the market. It is built of ſtone; and in the middle it has a ſmall ſteeple, with a bell. It has but one miniſter, who preaches twice every Sunday. The Engliſh church is ſituated on the hill, at the weſt end of the market, directly under the fort. It is likewiſe built of ſtone, but has no ſteeple. There was no ſervice at this church at this time, becauſe they had no miniſter; and all the people underſtood Dutch, the garriſon excepted. The miniſter of this church has a ſettled income of one hundred pounds ſterling, which he gets from England. The town-hall lies to the ſouthward of the Dutch church, cloſe by the river ſide. It is a fine building of ſtone, three ſtories high. It has a ſmall tower or ſteeple, with a bell, and a gilt ball and vane at the top of it.

The houſes in this town are very neat, and partly built with ſtones covered with ſhingles of the white pine. Some are ſlated with tiles from Holland, becauſe the clay of this neighbourhood is not reckoned fit for tiles. Moſt of the houſes are built in the old way, with the gable-end towards the ſtreet; a few excepted, which were lately built in the manner now uſed. A great number of houſes were built like thoſe of New Brunſwick, which I have deſcribed; the gable-end being built, towards the ſtreet, of bricks, and all the other walls of planks. The outſide of the houſes is never covered with lime or mortar, nor have I ſeen it practiſed in any North American towns which I have viſited; and the walls do not ſeem to be damaged by the air. The gutters on the roofs reach almoſt to the middle of the ſtreet. This preſerves the walls from being damaged by the rain, but is extremely diſagreeable in rainy weather for the people in the ſtreets, there being hardly any means of avoiding the water from the gutters. The ſtreet-doors are generally in the middle of the houſes; and on both ſides are ſeats, on which, during fair weather, the people ſpend almoſt the whole day, eſpecially on thoſe which are in the ſhadow of the houſes. In the evening theſe ſeats are covered with people of both ſexes; but this is rather troubleſome, as thoſe who paſs by are obliged to greet every body, unleſs they will ſhock the politeneſs of the inhabitants of this town. The ſtreets are broad, and ſome of them are paved; in ſome parts they are lined with trees; the long ſtreets are almoſt parallel to the river, and the others interſect them at right angles. The ſtreet which goes between the two churches is five times broader than the others, and ſerves as a market-place. The ſtreets upon the whole are very dirty, becauſe the people leave their cattle in them during the ſummer nights. There are two market-places in the town, to which the country people reſort twice a week.

The fort lies higher than any other building, on a high ſteep hill on the weſt ſide of the town. It is a great building of ſtone, ſurrounded with high and thick walls; its ſituation is very bad, as it can only ſerve to keep off plundering parties, without being

able to ſuſtain a ſiege. There are numerous high hills to the weſt of the fort, which command it, and from whence one may ſee all that is done within it. There is commonly an officer and a number of ſoldiers quartered in it. They ſay the fort contains a ſpring of water.

The ſituation of Albany is very advantageous in regard to trade. The river Hudſon, which flows cloſe by it, is from twelve to twenty feet deep. There is not yet any quay made for the better lading of the yachts, becauſe the people feared it would ſuffer greatly, or be entirely carried away in ſpring by the ice, which then comes down the river; the veſſels which are in uſe here may come pretty near the ſhore in order to be laden, and heavy goods are brought to them upon canoes tied together. Albany carries on a conſiderable commerce with New York, chiefly in furs, boards, wheat, flour, peaſe, ſeveral kinds of timber, &c. There is not a place in all the Britiſh colonies, the Hudſon's Bay ſettlements excepted, where ſuch quantities of furs and ſkins are bought of the Indians as at Albany. Moſt of the merchants in this town ſend a clerk or agent to Oſwego, an Engliſh trading town upon the lake Ontario, to which the Indians reſort with their furs. I intend to give a more minute account of this place in my journal for the year 1750. The merchants from Albany ſpend the whole ſummer at Oſwego, and trade with many tribes of Indians who come to them with their goods. Many people have aſſured me, that the Indians are frequently cheated in diſpoſing of their goods, eſpecially when they are in liquor, and that ſometimes they do not get one half of the value of their goods. I have been a witneſs to ſeveral tranſactions of this kind. The merchants of Albany glory in theſe tricks, and are highly pleaſed when they have given a poor Indian a greater portion of brandy than he can bear, and when they can after that get all his goods for mere trifles. The Indians often find, when they are ſober again, that they have been cheated, they grumble ſomewhat, but are ſoon ſatisfied when they reflect that they have for once drank as much as they are able, of a liquor which they value beyond any thing elſe in the whole world, and they are quite inſenſible to their loſs if they again get a draught of this nectar. Beſides this trade at Oſwego, a number of Indians come to Albany from ſeveral parts, eſpecially from Canada; but from this latter place, they hardly bring any thing but beaver-ſkins. There is a great penalty in Canada for carrying furs to the Engliſh, that trade belonging to the French Weſt India Company; notwithſtanding which the French merchants in Canada carry on a conſiderable ſmuggling trade. They ſend their furs, by means of the Indians, to their correſpondents at Albany, who purchaſe it at the price which they have fixed upon with the French merchants. The Indians take in return ſeveral kinds of cloth, and other goods, which may be got here at a lower rate than thoſe which are ſent to Canada from France.

The greater part of the merchants at Albany have extenſive eſtates in the country, and a great deal of wood. If their eſtates have a little brook, they do not fail to erect a ſaw-mill upon it for ſawing boards and planks, with which commodity many yachts go during the whole ſummer to New York, having ſcarce any other lading than boards.

Many people at Albany make the wampum of the Indians, which is their ornament and their money, by grinding ſome kinds of ſhells and muſcles; this is a conſiderable profit to the inhabitants. I ſhall ſpeak of this kind of money in the ſequel. The extenſive trade which the inhabitants of Albany carry on, and their ſparing manner of life, in the Dutch way, contribute to the conſiderable wealth which many of them acquire.

The inhabitants of Albany and its environs are almoſt all Dutchmen. They ſpeak Dutch, have Dutch preachers, and divine ſervice is performed in that language: their manners are likewiſe quite Dutch; their dreſs is however like that of the Engliſh. It is well known that the firſt Europeans who ſettled in the province of New York were Dutchmen. During the time that they were the maſters of this province, they poſſeſſed themſelves of New Sweden*, of which they were jealous. However, the pleaſure of poſſeſſing this conquered land and their own, was but of ſhort duration; for towards the end of 1664, Sir Robert Carre, by order of King Charles the Second, went to New York, then New Amſterdam, and took it. Soon after Colonel Nichols went to Albany, which then bore the name of Fort Orange, and upon taking it, named it Albany, from the Duke of York's Scotch title. The Dutch inhabitants were allowed either to continue where they were, and, under the protection of the Engliſh, to enjoy all their former privileges, or to leave the country. The greater part of them choſe to ſtay, and from them the Dutchmen are deſcended, who now live in the province of New York, and who poſſeſs the greateſt and beſt eſtates in that province.

The avarice and ſelfiſhneſs of the inhabitants of Albany are very well known throughout all North America, by the Engliſh, by the French, and even by the Dutch, in the lower part of New York province. If a Jew, who underſtands the art of getting forward perfectly well, ſhould ſettle amongſt them, they would not fail to ruin him. For this reaſon nobody comes to this place without the moſt preſſing neceſſity; and therefore I was aſked in ſeveral places, what induced me to go to it, two years one after another. I likewiſe found that the judgment, which people formed of them, was not without foundation. For though they ſeldom ſee any ſtrangers, (except thoſe who go from the Britiſh colonies to Canada and back again) and one might therefore expect to find victuals and accommodation for travellers cheaper than in places where travellers always reſort to, yet I experienced the contrary. I was here obliged to pay for every thing twice, thrice, and four times as dear as in any part of North America which I have paſſed through. If I wanted their aſſiſtance, I was obliged to pay them very well for it, and when I wanted to purchaſe any thing, or to be helped in ſome caſe or other, I could preſently ſee what kind of blood ran into their veins; for they either fixed exorbitant prices for their ſervices, or were very backward to aſſiſt me. Such was this people in general. However, there were ſome amongſt them who equalled any in North America, or any where elſe, in politeneſs, equity, goodneſs, and readineſs to ſerve and to oblige; but their number fell far ſhort of that of the former. If I may be allowed to declare my conjectures, the origin of the inhabitants of Albany and its neighbourhood ſeems to me to be as follows. Whilſt the Dutch poſſeſſed this country, and intended to people it, the government took up a pack of vagabonds, of which they intended to clear the country, and ſent them along with a number of other ſettlers to this province. The vagabonds were ſent far from the other coloniſts, upon the borders towards the Indians and other enemies, and a few honeſt families were perſuaded to go with them, in order to keep them in bounds. I cannot any other way account for the difference between the inhabitants of Albany, and the other deſcendants of ſo reſpectable a nation as the Dutch, who are ſettled in the lower part of New York province. The latter are civil, obliging, juſt in the prices, and ſincere; and though they are not ceremonious, yet they are well meaning and honeſt, and their promiſes are to be relied on.

* New Jerſey and part of Penſylvania were formerly compriſed under this name.

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The behaviour of the inhabitants of Albany, during the war between England and France, which was ended with the peace of Aix la Chapelle, has, among ſeveral other cauſes, contributed to make them the object of hatred in all the Britiſh colonies, but more eſpecially in New England. For at the beginning of that war, when the Indians of both parties had received orders to commence hoſtilities, the French engaged theirs to attack the inhabitants of New England; which they faithfully executed, killing every body they met with, and carrying off whatever they found. During this time the people of Albany remained neutral, and carried on a great trade with the very Indians who murdered the inhabitants of New England. The plate, ſuch as ſilver-ſpoons, bowls, cups, &c. of which the Indians robbed the houſes in New England, was carried to Albany, for ſale. The people of that town bought up theſe ſilver veſſels, though the names of the owners were graved on many of them, and encouraged the Indians to get more of them, promiſing to pay them well, and whatever they would demand. This was afterwards interpreted by the inhabitants of New England, as if the Albanians encouraged the Indians to kill more of the people, who were in a manner their brothers, and who were ſubjects of the ſame crown. Upon the firſt news of this behaviour, which the Indians themſelves ſpread in New England, the inhabitants of the latter province were greatly incenſed, and threatened, that the firſt ſtep they would take in another war, would be to burn Albany, and the adjacent parts. In the preſent war it would ſufficiently appear how backward the other Britiſh provinces in America are in aſſiſting Albany, and the neighbouring places, in caſe of an attack from the French or Indians*. The hatred which the Engliſh bear againſt the people, at Albany, is very great, but that of the Albanians againſt the Engliſh is carried to a ten times higher degree. This hatred has ſubſiſted ever ſince the time when the Engliſh conquered this country, and is not yet extinguiſhed, though they could never have got ſuch advantages under the Dutch government, as they have obtained under that of the Engliſh. For, in a manner, their privileges are greater than thoſe of Engliſhmen.

The inhabitants of Albany are much more ſparing than the Engliſh. The meat which is ſerved up is often inſufficient to ſatisfy the ſtomach, and the bowl does not circulate ſo freely as amongſt the Engliſh. The women are perfectly well acquainted with œconomy; they riſe early, go to ſleep very late, and are almoſt over-nice and cleanly in regard to the floor, which is frequently ſcoured ſeveral times in the week. The ſervants in the town are chiefly negroes. Some of the inhabitants wear their own hair, but it is very ſhort, without a bag or queue, which are looked upon as the characteriſtics of Frenchmen; and as I wore my hair in a bag the firſt day I came here from Canada, I was ſurrounded with children, who called me Frenchman, and ſome of the boldeſt offered to pull at my French dreſs.

Their meat, and manner of dreſſing it, is very different from that of the Engliſh. Their breakfaſt is tea, commonly without milk. About thirty or forty years ago, tea was unknown to them, and they breakfaſted either upon bread and butter, or bread and milk. They never put ſugar into the cup, but take a ſmall bit of it into their mouths whilſt they drink. Along with the tea they eat bread and butter, with ſlices of hung beef. Coffee is not uſual here; they breakfaſt generally about ſeven. Their dinner is butter-milk and bread, to which they ſometimes add ſugar, then it is a delicious diſh for them; or freſh milk and bread; or boiled or roaſted fleſh. They ſometimes make uſe of butter-milk inſtead of freſh milk, to boil a thin kind of porridge

* Mr. Kalm publiſhed this third volume juſt during the time of the laſt war. F.

with, which taſtes very ſour, but not diſagreeable in hot weather. To each dinner they have a great ſallad, prepared with abundance of vinegar, and very little or no oil. They frequently eat butter-milk, bread, and ſallad, one mouthful after another. Their ſupper is generally bread and butter, and milk and bread. They ſometimes eat cheeſe at breakfaſt and at dinner; it is not in ſlices, but ſcraped or raſped, ſo as to reſemble coarſe flour, which they pretend adds to the good taſte of cheeſe. They commonly drink very ſmall beer, or pure water.

The governor of New York often confers at Albany with the Indians of the Five Nations, or the Iroqueſe, (Mohawks, Senekas, Cayugaws, Onondagoes, and Onidoes) eſpecially when they intend either to make war upon, or to continue a war againſt the French. Sometimes their deliberations likewiſe turn upon their converſion to the chriſtian religion, and it appears by the anſwer of one of the Indian chiefs, or Sachems, to Governor Hunter, at a conference in this town, that the Engliſh do not pay ſo much attention to a work of ſo much conſequence as the French do, and that they do not ſend ſuch able men to inſtruct the Indians as they ought to do *. For after Governor Hunter had preſented theſe Indians, by order of Queen Anne, with many clothes, and other preſents, of which they were fond, he intended to convince them ſtill more of Her Majeſty's good-will, and care for them, by adding, that their good mother, the Queen, had not only generouſly provided them with fine clothes for their bodies, but likewiſe intended to adorn their ſouls, by the preaching of the goſpel; and that to this purpoſe ſome miniſters ſhould be ſent to them to inſtruct them. The governor had ſcarce ended, when one of the oldeſt Sachems got up, and anſwered, that in the name of all the Indians, he thanked their gracious good Queen and mother for the fine clothes ſhe had ſent them; but that in regard to the miniſters, they had already had ſome among them (whom he likewiſe named), who inſtead of preaching the holy goſpel to them, had taught them to drink to exceſs, to cheat, and to quarrel among themſelves. He then entreated the governor to take from them theſe preachers, and a number of Europeans who reſided amongſt them; for before they were come among them, the Indians had been an honeſt, ſober, and innocent people, but moſt of them became rogues now. That they had formerly had the fear of God, but that they hardly believed his exiſtence at preſent. That if he (the governor) would do them any favour, he ſhould ſend two or three blackſmiths amongſt them, to teach them to forge iron, in which they were unexperienced. The governor could not forbear laughing at this extraordinary ſpeech. I think the words of St. Paul not wholly unapplicable on this occaſion: For the name of God is blaſphemed amongſt the Gentiles, through you *.

June 21ſt. About five o'clock in the afternoon we left Albany, and proceeded towards Canada. We had two men with us, who were to accompany us to the firſt

* Mr. Kalm is, I believe, not rightly informed. The French eccleſiaſtics have allured ſome few wretched Indians to their religion and intereſt, and ſettled them in ſmall villages; but by the accounts of their behaviour in the ſeveral wars of the French and Engliſh, they were always guilty of the greateſt cruelties and brutalities; and more ſo than their heathen countrymen; and therefore it ſeems that they have been rather perverted than converted. On the other hand, the Engliſh have tranſlated the bible into the language of the Virginian Indians, and converted many of them to the true knowledge of God; and at this preſent time, the Indian charity ſchools and miſſions, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Eleazor Wheelock, have brought numbers of the Indians to the knowledge of the true God. The ſociety for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts, ſends every year many miſſionaries, at their own expence, among the Indians. And the Moravian brethren are alſo very active in the converſion of Gentiles; ſo that if Mr. Kalm had conſidered all theſe circumſtances, he would have judged otherwiſe of the zeal of the Britiſh nation, in propagating the goſpel among the Indians. F.

† Romans ii. 24.

French place, which is Fort St. Frederick, or, as the Engliſh call it, Crown Point. For this ſervice each of them was to receive five pounds of New York currency, beſides which I was to provide them with victuals. This is the common price here, and he that does not chooſe to conform to it, is obliged to travel alone. We were forced to take up with a canoe *, as we could get neither battoes, nor boats of bark; and as there was a good road along the weſt ſide of the river Hudſon, we left the men to row forwards, in the canoe, and we went along it on the ſhore, that we might be better able to examine it, and its curioſities, with greater accuracy. It is very incommodious to row in theſe canoes; for one ſtands at each end and puſhes the boat forwards. They commonly keep cloſe to the ſhore, that they may be able to reach the ground eaſily. Thus the rowers are forced to ſtand upright, whilſt they row in a canoe. We kept along the ſhore all the evening, towards the river; it conſiſted of great hills, and next to the water grew the trees, which I have above mentioned, and which likewiſe are to be met with on the ſhores of the iſle, in the river, ſituate below Albany. The eaſterly ſhore of the river is uncultivated, woody, and hilly; but the weſtern is flat, cultivated, and chiefly turned into corn-fields, which had no drains, though they wanted them in ſome places. It appeared very plainly here, that the river had formerly been broader; for there is a ſloping bank on the corn-fields, at about thirty yards diſtance from the river, with which it always runs parallel. From this it ſufficiently appears, that the riſing ground formerly was the ſhore of the river, and the corn-fields its bed. As a further proof, it may be added, that the ſame ſhells which abound on the preſent ſhore of the river, and are not applied to any uſe by the inhabitants, lie plentifully ſcattered on theſe fields. I cannot ſay whether this change was occaſioned by the diminiſhing of the water in the river, or by its waſhing ſome earth down the river, and carrying it to its ſides, or by the river's cutting deeper in on the ſides.

All the grounds were ploughed very even, as is uſual in the Swediſh province of Upland. Some were ſown with yellow, and others with white wheat. Now and then we ſaw great fields of flax, which was now beginning to flower. In ſome parts it grows very well, and in others it was but indifferent. The exceſſive drought which had continued throughout this ſpring, had parched all the graſs and plants on hills and high grounds, leaving no other green plant than the common mullein (Verbaſcum thapſus Linn.) which I ſaw in ſeveral places, on the drieſt and higheſt hills, growing in ſpite of the parching heat of the ſun, and though the paſtures and meadows were exceſſively poor, and afforded ſcarce any food at all, yet the cattle never touched the mullein. Now and then I found fields with peaſe, but the charlock (ſinapis arvenſis Linn.) kept them quite under. The ſoil in moſt of theſe fields is a fine mould, which goes pretty deep.

The wild vines cover all the hills along the rivers, on which no other plants grow, and on thoſe which are covered with trees, they climb to the tops of them, and wholly cover them, making them bend down with their weight. They had already large grapes; we ſaw them abundant all this day, and during all the time that we kept to the river Hudſon, on the hills, along the ſhores, and on ſome little iſlands in the river.

The white-backed maize-thieves appeared now and then, flying amongſt the buſhes: their note is fine, and they are not ſo large as the black maize-thieves, (oriolus phœniceus). We ſaw them near New York, for the firſt time.

* See the deſcription of it, p. 84.

We

We found a water-beech tree (platanus occidentalis) cut down near the road, meaſuring about five feet in diameter.

This day, and for ſome days afterwards, we met with iſlands in the river. The larger ones were cultivated, and turned into corn-fields and meadows.

We walked about five Engliſh miles along the river to-day, and found the ground, during that time, very uniform, and conſiſting of pure earth. The red maple, the water-beech, the water-aſp, the wild prune-tree, the ſumach, the elm, the wild vines, and ſome ſpecies of willows, were the trees which we met with on the riſing ſhores of the river, where ſome aſparagus (aſparagus officinalis) grew wild.

We paſſed the night about ſix miles from Albany, in a countryman's cottage. On the weſt ſide of the river we ſaw ſeveral houſes, one after another, inhabited by the deſcendants of the firſt Dutch ſettlers, who lived by cultivating their grounds. About half an Engliſh mile beyond our lodgings, was the place where the tide ſtops in the river Hudſon, there being only ſmall and ſhallow ſtreams above it. At that place they catch a good many ſorts of fiſh in the river.

The barns were generally built in the Dutch way, as I have before deſcribed; for in the middle was the threſhing-floor, above it a place for the hay and ſtraw, and on each ſide ſtables for horſes, cows, and other animals. The barn itſelf was very large. Sometimes the buildings in the court-yard conſiſt only of a room, and a garret above it, together with a barn upon the above plan.

June 22d. This morning I followed one of our guides to the water-fall near Cohoes, in the river Mohawk, before it falls into the river Hudſon. This fall is about three Engliſh miles from the place where I paſſed the night. The country till the fall is a plain, and only hilly about the fall itſelf. The wood is cleared in moſt places, and the ground cultivated, and interſperſed with farm-houſes.

The Cohoes fall is one of the greateſt in North America: it is in the river Mohawk, before it unites with the river Hudſon. Above and below the fall, the ſides and the bottom of the river conſiſt of hard rock. The river is three hundred yards broad here. At the fall there is a rock croſſways in the river, running every where equally high, and croſſing in a ſtrait line with the ſide which forms the fall. It repreſents, as it were, a wall towards the lower ſide, which is not quite perpendicular, wanting about four yards. The height of this wall, over which the water rolls, appeared to me about twenty or twenty-four yards. I had marked this height in my pocket-book; and afterwards found it agreed pretty well with the account which that ingenious engineer, Mr. Lewis Evans, communicated to me at Philadelphia. He ſaid, that he had geometrically meaſured the breadth and height of the fall, and found it nine hundred Engliſh feet broad, and ſeventy-five feet high. The repreſentation of this fall, which is here joined, has been made by Mr. Evans. There was very little water in the river at preſent, and it only ran over the fall in a few places. In ſuch places where the water had rolled down before, it had cut deep holes below into the rock, ſometimes to the depth of two or three fathoms. The bed of the river, below the fall, was of rock, and quite dry, there being only a channel in the middle fourteen feet broad, and a fathom or ſomewhat more deep, through which the water paſſed which came over the fall. We ſaw a number of holes in the rock, below the fall, which bore a perfect reſemblance to thoſe in Sweden which we call giants pots, or mountain kettles. They differed in ſize; there being large deep ones, and ſmall ſhallow ones. We had clear uninterrupted ſun-ſhine, not a cloud above horizon, and no wind at all. However, cloſe to this fall, where the water was in ſuch a ſmall quantity, there was a continual drizzling rain,

occaſioned by the vapours which roſe from the water during its fall, and were carried about by the wind. Therefore, in coming within a muſket-ſhot of the fall, againſt the wind, our cloths were wetted at once, as from a rain. The whirl-pools, which were in the water below the fall, contained ſeveral kinds of fiſh; and they were caught by ſome people, who amuſed themſelves with angling. The rocks hereabouts conſiſt of the ſame black ſtone which forms the hills about Albany. When expoſed to the air, it is apt to ſhiver into horizontal flakes, as ſlate does.

At noon we continued our journey to Canada in the canoe, which was pretty long, and made out of a white pine. Somewhat beyond the farm where we lay at night, the river became ſo ſhallow that the men could reach the ground every where with their oars; it being in ſome parts not above two feet and ſometimes but one foot deep. The ſhore and bed of the river conſiſted of ſand and pebbles. The river was very rapid, and againſt us; ſo that our rowers found it very hard work to get forward againſt the ſtream. The hills along the ſhore conſiſted merely of ſoil; and were very high and ſteep in ſome parts. The breadth of the river was generally near two muſket-ſhot.

Sturgeons abound in the river Hudſon. We ſaw them for ſeveral days together leap high up in the air, eſpecially in the evening; our guides, and the people who lived hereabouts, aſſerted that they never ſee any ſturgeons in winter time, becauſe theſe fiſh go into the ſea late in autumn, but come up again in ſpring and ſtay in the river all the ſummer. They are ſaid to prefer the ſhalloweſt places in the river, which agreed pretty well with our obſervations; for we never ſaw them leap out of the water but in ſhallows. Their food is ſaid to be ſeveral kinds of confervæ, which grow in plenty in ſome places at the bottom of the river; for theſe weeds are found in their bellies when they are opened. The Dutch who are ſettled here, and the Indians, fiſh for ſturgeons, and every night of our voyage upon this river, we obſerved ſeveral boats with people who ſtruck them with harpoons. The torches which they employed were made of that kind of pine, which they call the black pine here. The nights were exceedingly dark, though they were now ſhorteſt, and though we were in a country ſo much to the ſouth of Sweden. The banks of the river lay covered with dead ſturgeons, which had been wounded with the harpoon, but eſcaped, and died afterwards; they occaſioned an inſupportable ſtench during the exceſſive heat of the weather.

As we went further up the river, we ſaw an Indian woman and her boy ſitting in a boat of bark, and an Indian wading through the river, with a great cap of bark on his head. Near them was an iſland on which there were a number of Indians at preſent, on account of the ſturgeon fiſhery. We went to their huts to try if we cuold get one of them to accompany us to Fort St. Frederick. On our arrival we found that all the men were gone into the woods a hunting, and we were forced to engage their boys to go and look for them. They demanded bread for payment, and we gave them twenty little round loaves; for as they found that it was of great importance to us to ſpeak with the Indians, they raiſed difficulties, and would not go till we gave them what they wanted. The iſland belonged to the Dutch, who had turned it into corn-fields. But at preſent they had leaſed it to the Indians, who planted their maize and ſeveral kinds of mellons on it. They built their huts or wigwams on this iſland, on a very ſimple plan. Four poſts were put into the ground perpendicularly, over which they had placed poles, and made a roof of bark upon them. They had either no walls at all, or they conſiſted of branches with leaves, which were fixed to the poles. Their beds conſiſted of deer-ſkins which were ſpread on the ground. Their utenſils were a couple of ſmall kettles, and two ladles, and a bucket or two of bark, made ſo cloſe as to keep water. The ſturgeons were cut into long ſlices, and hung up in the ſun-ſhine to dry,

and

and to be ready againſt winter. The Indian women were ſitting at their work on the hill, upon deer-ſkins. They never make uſe of chairs, but ſit on the ground: however they do not ſit croſs-legged, as the Turks do, but between their feet, which, though they be turned backwards, are not croſſed, but bent outwards. The women wear no head-dreſs, and have black hair. They have a ſhort blue petticoat, which reaches to their knees, and the brim of which is bordered with red or other ribbands. They wear their ſhifts over their petticoats. They have large ear-rings; and their hair is tied behind, and wrapped in ribbands. Their wampum, or pearls, and their money, which is made of ſhells, are tied round the neck, and hang down on the breaſt. This is their whole dreſs. They were now making ſeveral kinds of work of ſkins, to which they ſowed the quills of the American porcupines, having dyed them black or red, or left them in their original colour.

Towards evening, we went from hence to a farm cloſe to the river, where we found only one man, looking after the maize and the fields; the chief of the men not being then returned from the war.

The little brooks here contain crawfiſh, which are exactly the ſame with ours *, with this difference only, that they are ſomewhat leſs; however, the Dutch inhabitants will not eat them.

June 23d. We waited a good while for the Indians, who had promiſed to come home, in order to ſhew us the way to Fort St. Ann, and to aſſiſt us in making a boat of bark, to continue our voyage. About eight o'clock three of the men arrived. Their hair was black, and cut ſhort; they wore rough pieces of woollen cloth, of a bright green colour, on their ſhoulders, a ſhirt which covers their thighs, and pieces of cloth, or ſkins, which they wrap round the legs and part of the thighs. They had neither hats, caps, nor breeches. Two of them had painted the upper part of their foreheads, and their cheeks, with vermilion. Round their neck was a ribband, from which hung a bag down to the breaſt, containing their knives. They promiſed to accompany us for thirty ſhillings; but ſoon after changed their minds, and went with an Engliſhman, who gave them more. Thus we were obliged to make this journey without theſe guides, who were, however, honeſt enough to return us fifteen ſhillings, which we had paid them before-hand.

Our laſt night's lodging was about ten Engliſh miles from Albany. During the laſt war, which was juſt ended, the inhabitants had retreated from thence to Albany, becauſe the French Indians had taken or killed all the people they met with, ſet the houſes on fire, and cut down the trees. Therefore, when the inhabitants returned, they found no houſes, and were forced to lie under a few boards which were huddled together.

The river was almoſt a muſket-ſhot broad, and the ground on both ſides cultivated. The hills near the river were ſteep, and the earth of a pale colour.

The American elder (Sambucus occidentalis †) grows in incredible quantities along thoſe hills, which appear quite white, from the abundance of flowers on the elder.

All this day along, we had one current after another, full of ſtones, which were great obſtacles to our getting forward. The water in the river was very clear, and generally ſhallow, being only from two to four feet deep, running very violently againſt us in moſt places. The ſhore was covered with pebbles, and a grey ſand. The hills conſiſted of earth, were high, and ſtood perpendicular towards the river, which was

* Cancer Aſtacus Linn. † Sambucus Canadenſis Linn.

near

near two muſket-ſhot broad. Sometimes the land was cultivated, and ſometimes it was covered with woods.

The hills near the river abound with red and white clover. We found both theſe kinds plentiful in the woods. It is therefore difficult to determine whether they were brought over by the Europeans, as ſome people think, or whether they were originally in America, which the Indians deny.

We found purſlane (portulaca oleracea) growing plentifully in a ſandy ſoil. In gardens it was one of the worſt weeds.

We found people returning every where to their habitations, which they had been forced to leave during the war.

The farms were commonly built cloſe to the river, on the hills. Each houſe has a little kitchen-garden, and a ſtill leſſer orchard. Some farms, however, had large gardens. The kitchen-gardens afford ſeveral kinds of gourds, water-melons, and kidney-beans. The orchards are full of apple-trees. This year the trees had few or no apples, on account of the froſty nights which had happened in May, and the drought which had continued throughout this ſummer.

The houſes hereabouts are generally built of beams of wood, and of unburnt bricks dried by the ſun and the air. The beams are firſt erected, and upon them a gable with two walls, and the ſpars. The wall on the gable is made of boards. The roof is covered with ſhingles of fir. They make the walls of unburnt bricks, between the beams, to keep the rooms warmer; and that they might not eaſily be deſtroyed by rain and air, they are covered with boards on the outſide. The cellar is below the houſe.

The farms are either built cloſe to the river-ſide, or on the high grounds; and around them are large fields with maize.

We ſaw great numbers of muſk-rats (caſtor zibethicus Linn.) on the ſhores of the river, where they had many holes, ſome on a level with the ſurface of the water. Theſe holes were large enough to admit a kitten. Before and in the entrance to the holes lay a quantity of empty ſhells, the animals of which had been eaten by the muſk-rats*. They are caught in traps placed along the water-ſide, and baited with ſome maize or apples.

The ſaſſafras-trees abound here, but never grow to any conſiderable height.

Cheſnut-trees appear now and then.

The cockſpur hawthorn (cratægus crus galli Linn.) grows in the pooreſt ſoil, and has very long ſpines; which ſhews, that it may be very advantageouſly planted in hedges, eſpecially in a poor ſoil.

This night we lodged with a farmer, who had returned to his farm after the war was over. All his buildings, except the great barn, were burnt.

June 24th. The farm where we paſſed the night was the laſt in the province of New York, towards Canada, which had been left ſtanding, and which was now inhabited. Further on, we met ſtill with inhabitants; but they had no houſes, and lived in huts of boards; the houſes being burnt during the war.

As we continued our journey, we obſerved the country on both ſides of the river to be generally flat, but ſometimes hilly; and large tracts of it are covered with woods of fir-trees. Now and then we found ſome parts turned into corn-fields and meadows; however, the greater part was covered with woods. Ever ſince we left Albany, almoſt

* This appears to be a new obſervation, as Linnæus, De Buffon, and Sarrafin, pretend they only feed on the acorns, or reeds, and other roots.

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half-way to Saratoga, the river runs very rapid; and it coſt us a deal of pains to get upwards. But afterwards it becomes very deep, for the ſpace of ſeveral miles; and the water moves very ſlowly. The ſhores are very ſteep, though they are not very high. The river is two muſket-ſhot broad. In the afternoon it changed its direction; for hitherto its direction was from north to ſouth, but now it came from N. N. E. to S. S. W. and ſometimes from N. E. to S. W.

Ant-hills are very ſcarce in America; and I do not remember ſeeing a ſingle one before I came to the Cohoes Fall. We obſerved a few in the woods to-day. The ants were the ſame with our common red ones (formica rufa Linn.) The ant-hills conſiſt chiefly of the ſlate-like mouldered ſtone which abounds here, there being nothing elſe for them.

Cheſnut-trees grew ſcattered in the woods. We are told, that mulberry-trees (morus rubra Linn.) likewiſe grow wild here, but rather ſcarce; and this is the moſt northerly place where they grow in America; at leaſt, they have not been obſerved further to the north. We met with wild parſnips every day; but commonly in ſuch places where the land was, or had been, cultivated. Hemp grows ſpontaneouſly, and in great abundance, near old plantations.

The woods abound with wood-lice, which were extremely troubleſome to us.

The thuya occidentalis Linn. appeared along the ſhores of the river. I had not ſeen it there before.

The trees which grow along the ſhores, and on the adjacent hills, within our ſight to-day, are elms, birches, white firs, alders, dog-trees, lime-trees, red willows, and cheſnut-trees. The American elder, (ſambucus Canadenſis Linn.) and the wild vines, only appear in places where the ground has been ſomewhat cultivated, as if they were deſirous of being the companions of men. The lime-trees and white walnut-trees are the moſt numerous. The horn-beams, with inflated cones, (carpinus oſtrya Linn.) appeared now and then; but the water-beech and water-poplar never came within ſight any more.

We frequently ſaw ground-ſquirrels and black ſquirrels in the woods.

At a little diſtance from Saratoga, we met two Indians in their boats of bark, which could ſcarce contain more than one perſon.

Near Saratoga the river becomes ſhallow and rapid again. The ground is here turned into corn-fields and meadows, but on account of the war it was not made uſe of.

Saratoga has been a fort built of wood by the Engliſh, to ſtop the attacks of the French Indians upon the Engliſh inhabitants in theſe parts, and to ſerve as a rampart to Albany. It is ſituated on a hill, on the eaſt ſide of the river Hudſon, and is built of thick poſts driven into the ground, cloſe to each other, in the manner of paliſades, forming a ſquare, the length of whoſe ſides was within the reach of a muſket-ſhot. At each corner are the houſes of the officers, and within the paliſades are the barracks, all of timber. This fort has been kept in order and was garriſoned till the laſt war, when the Engliſh themſelves in 1747 ſet fire to it, not being able to defend themſelves in it againſt the attacks of the French and their Indians; for as ſoon as a party of them went out of the fort, ſome of theſe enemies lay concealed, and either took them all priſoners, or ſhot them.

I ſhall only mention one out of many artful tricks which were played here, and which both the Engliſh and French who were preſent here at that time told me repeatedly. A party of French, with their Indians, concealed themſelves one night in a thicket near the fort. In the morning ſome of their Indians, as they had previouſly reſolved,

reſolved, went to have a nearer view of the fort. The Engliſh fired upon them, as ſoon as they ſaw them at a diſtance; the Indians pretended to be wounded, fell down, got up again, ran a little way, and dropped again. Above half the garriſon ruſhed out to take them priſoners; but as ſoon as they were come up with them, the French and the remaining Indians came out of the buſhes, betwixt the fortreſs and the Engliſh, ſurrounded them, and took them priſoners. Thoſe who remained in the fort had hardly time to ſhut the gates, nor could they fire upon the enemy, becauſe they equally expoſed their countrymen to danger, and they were vexed to ſee their enemies take and carry them off in their ſight, and under their cannon. Such French artifices as theſe made the Engliſh weary of their ill-planned fort. We ſaw ſome of the paliſades ſtill in the ground. There was an iſland in the river, near Saratoga, much better ſituated for a fortification. The country is flat on both ſides of the river near Saratoga, and its ſoil good. The wood round about was generally cut down. The ſhores of the river are high, ſteep, and conſiſt of earth. We ſaw ſome hills in the north, beyond the diſtant foreſt. The inhabitants are Dutch, and bear an inveterate hatred to all Engliſhmen.

We lay over night in a little hut of boards, erected by the people who were come to live here.

June 25th. Several ſaw-mills were built here before the war, which were very profitable to the inhabitants, on account of the abundance of wood which grows here.

The boards were eaſily brought to Albany, and from thence to New York, in rafts every ſpring with the high water; but all the mills were burnt at preſent.

This morning we proceeded up the river, but after we had advanced about an Engliſh mile, we fell in with a water-fall, which coſt us a deal of pains before we could get our canoe over it. The water was very deep juſt below the fall, owing to its hollowing the rock out by the fall. In every place where we met with rocks in the river, we found the water very deep, from two to four fathoms and upwards; becauſe by finding a reſiſtance it had worked a deeper channel into the ground. Above the fall, the river is very deep again, the water ſlides along ſilently, and increaſes ſuddenly near the ſhores. On both ſides, till you come to Fort Nicholſon, the ſhore is covered with tall trees. After rowing ſeveral miles we paſſed another water-fall which was longer and more dangerous than the preceding one.

Giants-pots*, which I have deſcribed in the Memoirs of the Royal Swediſh Academy of Sciences, are abundant near the fall of the rock which extends acroſs the river. The rock was almoſt dry at preſent, the river containing very little water at this ſeaſon of the year. Some of the giants-pots were round, but in general they were oblong. At the bottom of moſt of them lay either ſtones or grit, in abundance. Some were fifteen inches in diameter, but ſome were leſs. Their depth was likewiſe different, and ſome that I obſerved were above two feet deep. It is plain that they owed their origin to the whirling of the water round a pebble, which by that means was put in motion, together with the ſand.

We intended to have gone quite up to Fort Nicholſon in the canoe, which would have been a great convenience to us; but we found it impoſſible to get over the upper fall, the canoe being heavy, and ſcarce any water in the river, except in one place where it flowed over the rock, and where it was impoſſible to get up, on account of the ſteepneſs and the violence of the fall. We were accordingly obliged to leave

* This is the literal meaning of the Swediſh word jætte grytor.

our canoe here, and to carry our baggage through unfrequented woods to Fort Anne, on the river Woodcreek, which is a ſpace from forty-three to fifty Engliſh miles, during which we were quite ſpent through the exceſs of heat. Sometimes we had no other way of croſſing deep rivers, than by cutting down tall trees, which ſtood on their banks, and throwing them acroſs the water. All the land we paſſed over this afternoon was almoſt level, without hills and ſtones, and entirely covered with a tall and thick foreſt, in which we continually met with trees which were fallen down, becauſe no one made the leaſt uſe of the woods. We paſſed the next night in the midſt of the foreſt, plagued with muſkitoes, gnats, and wood-lice, and in fear of all kinds of ſnakes.

June 26th. Early this morning we continued our journey through the wood, along the river Hudſon. There was an old path leading to Fort Nicholſon, but it was ſo overgrown with graſs that we diſcovered it with great difficulty. In ſome places we found plenty of raſpberries.

Fort Nicholſon is the place on the eaſtern ſhore of the river Hudſon, where a wooden fortification formerly ſtood. We arrived here ſome time before noon, and reſted a while. Colonel Lydius reſided here till the beginning of the laſt war, chiefly with a view of carrying on a greater trade with the French Indians; but during the war, they burnt his houſe, and took his ſon priſoner. The fort was ſituated on a plain, but at preſent the place is all overgrown with a thicket. It was built in the year 1709, during the war with Queen Anne carried on againſt the French, and it was named after the brave Engliſh General Nicholſon. It was not ſo much a fort, as a magazine to Fort Anne. In the year 1711, when the Engliſh naval attempt upon Canada miſcarried, the Engliſh themſelves ſet fire to this place. The ſoil hereabouts ſeems to be pretty fertile. The river Hudſon paſſed cloſe by here.

In the afternoon we continued our journey. We had hitherto followed the eaſtern ſhore of the river Hudſon, and gone almoſt due north; but now we left it and went N. N. E. or N. E. acroſs the woods, in order to come to the upper end of the river Woodcreak, which flows to Fort St. Frederick, where we might go in a boat from the former place. The ground we paſſed over this afternoon was generally flat, and ſomewhat low. Sometimes we ſaw a little hill, but neither mountains nor ſtones, and the country was every where covered with tall and thick foreſts. The trees ſtood cloſe, and afforded a fine ſhade; but the pleaſure which we enjoyed from it was leſſened by the incredible quantity of gnats which filled the woods. We found ſeveral plants here, but they were far from each other, (as in our woods where the cattle have deſtroyed them) though no cattle ever came here. The ground was every where thick covered with leaves of the laſt autumn. In ſome places we found the ground overgrown with great quantities of moſs. The ſoil was generally very good, conſiſting of a deep mould, in which the plants thrive very well. Therefore it ſeems that it would anſwer very well if it were cultivated: however, flowing waters were very ſcarce hereabouts; and if the woods were cleared, how great would be the effects of the parching heat of the ſun, which might then act with its full force!

We lodged this night near a brook, in order to be ſufficiently ſupplied with water, which was not every where at hand during this ſeaſon. The muſkitoes, punchins, or gnats, and the wood-lice, were very troubleſome. Our fear of ſnakes, and of the Indians, rendered this night's reſt very precarious and inſecure.

Punchins, as the Dutch call them, are the little gnats (culex pulicaris Linn.) which abound here. They are very minute, and their wings grey, with black ſpots. They are ten times worſe than the larger ones, (culex pipiens Linn.) or muſkitoes; for their

ſize renders them next to imperceptible; they are every where careleſs of their lives, ſuck their fill of blood, and cauſe a burning pain.

We heard ſeveral great trees fall of themſelves in the night, though it was ſo calm that not a leaf ſtirred. They made a dreadful cracking.

June 27th. We continued our journey in the morning. We found the country like that which we paſſed over yeſterday, except meeting with a few hills. Early this morning we plainly heard a fall in the river Hudſon.

In every part of the foreſt we found trees thrown down either by ſtorms or age; but none were cut down, there being no inhabitants; and though the wood is very fine, yet nobody makes uſe of it. We found it very difficult to get over ſuch trees, becauſe they had ſtopped up almoſt all the paſſages, and cloſe to them was the chief reſidence of rattle-ſnakes, during the intenſeneſs of the heat.

About two o'clock this afternoon we arrived at Fort Anne. It lies upon the river Woodcreek, which is here at its origin no bigger than a little brook. We ſtayed here all this day, and next, in order to make a new boat of bark, becauſe there was no poſſibility to go down the river to Fort St. Frederick without it. We arrived in time, for one of our guides fell ill this morning, and could not have gone any further with his burthen. If he had been worſe, we ſhould have been obliged to ſtop on his account, which would have put us under great difficulties, as our proviſions would ſoon have been exhauſted, and from the deſart place where we were, we could not have arrived at any inhabited place in leſs than three or four days. Happily we reached the wiſhed for place, and the ſick man had time to reſt and recover.

About Fort Anne were found a number of mice of the common kind. They were probably the offspring of thoſe which were brought to the fort in the ſoldier's proviſions, at the time when it was kept in a ſtate of defence.

We met with ſome apple and plumb-trees, which were certainly planted when the fort was in a good condition.

June 28th. The American elm, (ulmus Americana Linn.) grows in abundance in the foreſts hereabouts. There are two kinds of it. One was called the white elm, on account of the inſide of the tree being white. It was more plentiful than the other ſpecies, which was called the red elm, becauſe the colour of the wood was reddiſh. Of the bark of the former the boats made uſe of here are commonly made, it being tougher than the bark of any other tree. With the bark of hiccory, which is employed as baſt, they ſow the elm-bark together, and with the bark of the red elm they join the ends of the boat ſo cloſe as to keep the water out. They beat the bark between two ſtones; or for want of them, between two pieces of wood,

The making of the boat took up half yeſterday and all this day. To make ſuch a boat they pick out a thick tall elm with a ſmooth bark, and with as few branches as poſſible. This tree is cut down, and great care is taken to prevent the bark from being hurt by falling againſt other trees, or againſt the ground. With this view ſome people do not fell the trees, but climb to the top of them, ſplit the bark, and ſtrip it off, which was the method our carpenter took. The bark is ſplit on one ſide in a ſtrait line along the tree, as long as the boat is intended to be; at the ſame time, the bark is carefully cut from the ſtem a little way on both ſides of the ſlit, that it may more eaſily ſeparate; the bark is then pealed off very carefully, and particular care is taken not to make any holes into it; this is eaſy when the ſap is in the trees, and at other ſeaſons the tree is heated by the fire for that purpoſe. The bark thus ſtript off is ſpread on the ground in a ſmooth place, turning the inſide downwards, and the rough out-

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ſide upwards, and to ſtretch it better, ſome logs of wood or ſtones are carefully put on it, which preſs it down. Then the ſides of the bark are gently bent upwards, in order to form the ſides of the boat; ſome ſticks are then fixed into the ground, at the diſtance of three or four feet from each other, in the curve line, in which the ſides of the boat are intended to be, ſupporting the bark intended for the ſides; the ſides of the bark are then bent in the form which the boat is to have, and according to that the ſticks are either put nearer or further off. The ribs of the boat are made of thick branches of hiccory, they being tough and pliable. They are cut into ſeveral flat pieces, about an inch thick, and bent into the form which the ribs require, according to their places in the broader or narrower part of the boat. Being thus bent, they are put acroſs the boat, upon the back, or its bottom, pretty cloſe, about a ſpan or ten inches from each other. The upper edge on each ſide of the boat is made of two thin poles, of the length of the boat, which are put cloſe together, on the ſide of the boat, being flat, where they are to be joined. The edge of the bark is put between theſe two poles, and ſewed up with threads of baſt, of the mouſe-wood, or other tough bark, or with roots. But before it is thus ſewed up the ends of the ribs are likewiſe put between the two poles on each ſide, taking care to keep them at ſome diſtance from each other; after that is done, the poles are ſewed together, and being bent properly, both their ends join at each end of the boat, where they are tied together with ropes. To prevent the widening of the boat at the top, three or four tranſverſe bands are put acroſs it, from one edge to the other, at the diſtance of thirty or forty inches from each other. Theſe bands are commonly made of hiccory, on account of its toughneſs and flexibility, and have a good length. Their extremities are put through the bark on both ſides, juſt below the poles, which make the edges; they are bent up above thoſe poles, and twiſted round the middle part of the bands, where they are carefully tied by ropes. As the bark at the two ends of the boat cannot be put ſo cloſe together as to keep the water out, the crevices are ſtopped up with the cruſhed or pounded bark of the red elm, which in that ſtate looks like oakum. Some pieces of bark are put upon the ribs in the boat, without which the foot would eaſily pierce the thin and weak bark below, which forms the bottom of the boat, for the better ſecurity of which, ſome thin boards are commonly laid at the bottom, which may be trod upon with more ſafety. The ſide of the bark which has been upon the wood, thus becomes the outſide of the boat, becauſe it is ſmooth and ſlippy, and cuts the water with leſs difficulty than the other. The building of theſe boats is not always quick, for ſometimes it happens that after peeling the bark off an elm, and carefully examining it, it is found pierced with holes and ſplits, or it is too thin to venture one's life in; in ſuch a caſe another elm muſt be looked out; and it ſometimes happens that ſeveral elms muſt be ſtripped of their bark, before one is found fit for a boat. That which we made was big enough to bear four perſons, with our baggage, which weighed ſomewhat more than a man.

All poſſible precautions muſt be taken in rowing on the rivers and lakes of theſe parts with a boat of bark. For as the rivers, and even the lakes, contain numbers of broken trees, which are commonly hidden under the water, the boat may eaſily run againſt a ſharp branch, which would tear half the boat away, if one rowed on very faſt, expoſing the people in it to great danger, where the water is very deep, eſpecially if ſuch a branch held the boat.

To get into ſuch a dangerous veſſel muſt be done with great care, and for the greater ſafety, without ſhoes. For with the ſhoes on, and ſtill more with a ſudden leap into the boat, the heels may eaſily pierce through the bottom of the boat, which might

ſometimes be attended with very diſagreeable circumſtances, eſpecially when the boat is ſo near a rock, and cloſe to that a ſudden depth of water; and ſuch places are common in the lakes and rivers here.

I never ſaw the muſkitoes (culex pipiens) more plentiful in any part of America than they are here. They were ſo eager for our blood that we could not reſt all the night, though we had ſurrounded ourſelves with fire.

Wood-lice (acarus Americanus Linn.) abound here, and are more plentiful than on any part of the journey. Scarcely any one of us ſat down but a whole army of them crept upon his clothes. They cauſed us as much inconvenience as the gnats, during the laſt night, and the ſhort time we ſtayed here. Their bite is very diſagreeable, and they would prove very dangerous, if any one of them ſhould creep into a man's ear, from whence it is difficult to extract them. There are examples of people whoſe ears were ſwelled to the ſize of the fiſt, on account of one of theſe inſects creeping into them, and biting them.

The whipperiwill, or whip-poor-will, cried all night on every ſide. The fire-flies flew in numbers through the woods at night.

Fort Anne derives its name from Queen Anne; for in her time it ſerved as a fortification againſt the French. It lies on the weſtern ſide of the river Woodcreek, which is here as inconſiderable as a brook, of a fathom's breadth, and may be waded through in any part, during this ſeaſon. The fort is built in the ſame manner as the forts Saratoga and Nicholſon, that is to ſay, of paliſades, within which the ſoldiers were quartered, and at the corners of which were the lodgings of the officers. The whole conſiſted of wood, becauſe it was erected only with a view to reſiſt irregular troops. It is built on a little riſing ground which runs obliquely to the river Woodcreek. The country round about it is partly flat, partly hilly, and partly marſhy, but it conſiſts merely of earth, and no ſtones are to be met with, though ever ſo carefully ſought for. General Nicholſon built this fort in the year 1709; but at the concluſion of the war then carrying on againſt the French, it ſhared the ſame fate with Saratoga and Fort Nicholſon, being burnt by the Engliſh in 1711. This happened with the following circumſtance: In 1711 the Engliſh reſolved to attack Canada by land and by ſea at the ſame time. A powerful fleet ſailed up the river St. Lawrence to beſiege Quebec, and General Nicholſon, who was the greateſt promoter of this expedition, headed a numerous army to this place by land, to attack Montreal at the ſame time from hence; but a great part of the Engliſh fleet was ſhipwrecked in the river St. Lawrence, and obliged to return to New England. The news of this misfortune was immediately communicated to General Nicholſon, who was adviſed to retreat. Captain Butler who commanded Fort Mohawk, during my ſtay in America, told me, that he had been at Fort Anne in 1711, and that General Nicholſon was about to leave it, and to go down the river Woodcreek, in boats ready for that purpoſe, when he received the accounts of the diſaſter which befell the fleet. He was ſo enraged, that he endeavoured to tear his wig, but it being too ſtrong for him, he flung it to the ground, and trampled on it, crying out, Roguery, treachery! He then ſet fire to the fort, and returned. We ſaw the remains of the burnt paliſades in the ground. And I aſked my guides, Why the Engliſh had been at ſo great an expence in erecting the fort, and why they afterwards burnt it without any previous conſideration? They replied, that it was done to get money from the government once more, for the rebuilding of the fort, which money coming into ſome people's hands, they would appropriate a great part of it to themſelves, and erect again a wretched, inconſiderable fort. They further told me, that

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ſome of the richeſt people in Albany had promoted their poor relations to the places for ſupplying the army with bread, &c. with a view to patch up their broken fortunes; and that they had acquired ſuch fortunes as rendered them equal to the richeſt inhabitants of Albany.

The heat was exceſſive to-day, eſpecially in the afternoon, when it was quite calm. We were on the very ſpot where Fort Anne formerly ſtood; it was a little place free from trees, but ſurrounded with them on every ſide, where the ſun had full liberty to heat the air. Afternoon it grew as warm as in a hot-bath *, and I never felt a greater heat. I found a difficulty of breathing, and it ſeemed to me as if my lungs could not draw in a ſufficient quantity of air. I was more eaſed when I went down into the vallies, and eſpecially along the Woodcreek. I tried to fan the air to me with my hat, but it only encreaſed the difficulty of breathing, and I received the greateſt relief when I went to the water, and in a ſhady place frequently ſprinkled ſome water in the air. My companions were all very much weakened, but they did not find ſuch difficulty in breathing as I had done; however towards evening the air became ſomewhat cooler.

June 29th. Having completed our boat, after a great deal of trouble, we continued our journey this morning. Our proviſions, which were much diminiſhed, obliged us to make great haſte; for by being obliged to carry every thing on our backs, through the woods to Fort Anne, we could not take a great quantity of proviſions with us, having ſeveral other very neceſſary things with us; and we did always eat very heartily. As there was very little water in the river, and ſeveral trees were fallen acroſs it, which frequently ſtopped the boat, I left the men in the boat, and went along the ſhore with Yungſtroem. The ground on both ſides of the river was ſo low, that it muſt be under water in ſpring and autumn. The ſhores were covered with ſeveral ſorts of trees, which ſtood at moderate diſtances from each other, and a great deal of graſs grew between them. The trees afforded a fine ſhade, very neceſſary and agreeable in this hot ſeaſon; but the pleaſure it gave was conſiderably leſſened by the numbers of gnats which we met with. The ſoil was extremely rich.

As we came lower down the river, the dykes, which the beavers had made in it, produced new difficulties. Theſe laborious animals had carried together all ſorts of boughs and branches, and placed acroſs the river, putting mud and clay in betwixt them, to ſtop the water. They had bit off the ends of the branches as neatly as if they had been chopped off with a hatchet. The graſs about theſe places was trod down by them, and in the neighbourhood of the dykes we ſometimes met with paths in the graſs, where the beavers probably carried trees along. We found a row of dykes before us, which ſtopped us a conſiderable while, as we could not get forwards with the boat, till we had cut through them.

* In Sweden and in Ruſſia it is uſual for people of all ranks to bathe every week at leaſt one time; this is done in a ſtove heated by an oven, to a ſurpriſing degree, and which is enough to ſtifle people who are not uſed to it: for commonly the heat is increaſed by the hot ſteam, cauſed by throwing red hot ſtones into water. In theſe baths, in Ruſſia, the lower ſorts of people, men and women, bathe promiſcuouſly, as the Romans did, and from whom, as Plutarch obſerves, in his Life of Cato, the Greeks adopted this indelicate and indecent cuſtom, and which ſpread ſo much, that the Emperor Adrian, and Marcus Antoninus were obliged to make laws againſt it, but neither were they long obſerved, for we find ſoon the Council of Laodicea obliged to preſcribe a canon againſt this brutal cuſtom, and notwithſtanding this, we find ſoon after that not only perſons of all ranks, but even clergymen and monks bathed promiſcuouſly with women, in the ſame baths; and from thence, it is probable, this cuſtom paſſed among the Ruſſians, when Chriſtianity took place among them. Near the bath, in Ruſſia, is commonly a pond, where the people plunge in, when quite hot, and in winter they welter in the ſnow; and Saturdays it is common to ſee before the bath naked men and women, each having a bundle of rods in their hands, with which they gently beat one another, when in the bath. F.

As

As ſoon as the river was more open, we got into the boat again, and continued our journey in it. The breadth of the river, however, did not exceed eight or nine yards, and frequently it was not above three or four yards broad, and generally ſo ſhallow, that our boat got on with difficulty. Sometimes it acquired ſuch a ſudden depth, that we could not reach the ground with ſticks of ſeven feet long. The ſtream was very rapid in ſome places, and very ſlow in others. The banks were low at firſt, but afterwards remarkably high and ſteep, and now and then a rock projected into the water, which always cauſed a great depth in ſuch places. The rocks conſiſted here of a grey quartz, mixed with grey lime-ſtone, lying in ſtrata. The water in the river was very clear and tranſparent, and we ſaw ſeveral little paths leading to it from the woods, ſaid to be made by beavers, and other animals, which reſorted here to drink. After going a little more than three Engliſh miles, we came to a place, where a fire was yet burning, and then we little thought that we had narrowly eſcaped death laſt night, as we heard this evening. Now and then we met with ſeveral trees lying acroſs the river, and ſome dykes of beavers, which were troubleſome to us.

Towards night we met with a French ſerjeant and ſix French ſoldiers, who were ſent by the commander of Fort St. Frederick to accompany three Engliſhmen to Saratoga, and to defend them in caſe of neceſſity, againſt ſix French Indians, who were gone to be revenged on the Engliſh, for killing the brother of one of them in the laſt war. The peace was already concluded at that time, but as it had not yet been proclaimed in Canada, the Indians thought they could take this ſtep; therefore they ſilently got away, contrary to the order of the governor of Montreal, and went towards the Engliſh plantations. We here had occaſion to admire the care of Providence for us, in eſcaping theſe barbarians. We found the graſs trod down all the day long, but had no thoughts of danger, as we believed every thing was quiet and peaceable. We were afterwards informed, that theſe Indians had trod the graſs down, and paſſed the laſt night in the place where we found the burning brands in the morning. The uſual road which they were to take, was by Fort Anne, but to ſhorten their journey they had gone an unfrequented road. If they had gone on towards Fort Anne, they would have met us without doubt, and looking upon us all as Engliſhmen, for whoſe blood they were gone out, they could eaſily have ſurpriſed and ſhot us all, and by that means have been rid of the trouble of going any further to ſatisfy their cruelty. We were greatly ſtruck when the Frenchmen told us how near death we had been to-day. We paſſed the night here, and though the French repeatedly adviſed and deſired me not to venture any further with my company, but to follow them to the firſt Engliſh ſettlement, and then back to Fort St. Frederick, yet I reſolved, with the protection of the Almighty, to continue my journey the next day.

We ſaw immenſe numbers of thoſe wild pigeons flying in the woods, which ſometimes come in incredible flocks to the ſouthern Engliſh colonies, moſt of the inhabitants not knowing where they come from. They have their neſts in the trees here; and almoſt all the night make a great noiſe and cooing in the trees, where they rooſt. The Frenchmen ſhot a great number of them, and gave us ſome, in which we found great quantity of the ſeeds of the elm, which evidently demonſtrated the care of Providence in ſupplying them with food; for in May the ſeeds of the red maple, which abounds here, are ripe, and drop from the trees, and are eaten by the pigeons during that time: afterwards, the ſeeds of the elm ripen, which then become their food, till other ſeeds ripen for them. Their fleſh is the moſt palatable of any bird's fleſh I ever taſted.

Almoſt every night, we heard ſome trees crack and fall, whilſt we lay here in the woods, though the air was ſo calm that not a leaf ſtirred. The reaſon of this breaking

ing I am totally unacquainted with. Perhaps the dew looſens the roots of trees at night; or perhaps there are too many branches on one ſide of the tree. It may be, that the above-mentioned wild-pidgeons ſettle in ſuch quantities on one tree as to weigh it down; or perhaps the tree begins to bend more and more to one ſide, from its centre of gravity, making the weight always greater for the roots to ſupport, till it comes to the point, when it can no longer be kept upright, which may as well happen in the midſt of a calm night as at any other time. When the wind blows hard, it is reckoned very dangerous to ſleep or walk in the woods, on account of the many trees which fall in them; and even when it is very calm, there is ſome danger in paſſing under very great and old trees. I was told, in ſeveral parts of America, that the ſtorms or hurricanes ſometimes only paſs over a ſmall part of the woods, and tear down the trees in it; and I have had opportunities of confirming the truth of this obſervation, by finding places in the foreſts, where almoſt all the trees were thrown down, and lay all in one direction.

Tea is differently eſteemed by different people; and I think we would be as well, and our purſes much better, if we were both without tea and coffee. However, I muſt be impartial, and mention in praiſe of tea, that if it be uſeful, it muſt certainly be ſo in ſummer, on ſuch journies as mine, through a deſart country, where one cannot carry wine or other liquors, and where the water is generally unfit for uſe, as being full of inſects. In ſuch caſes, it is very reliſhing when boiled, and tea is drunk with it; and I cannot ſufficiently deſcribe the fine taſte it has in ſuch circumſtances. It relieves a weary traveller more than can be imagined, as I have myſelf experienced, together with a great many others who have travelled through the deſart foreſts of America; on ſuch journeys, tea is found to be almoſt as neceſſary as victuals *.

June 30th. This morning we left our boat to the Frenchmen, who made uſe of it to carry their proviſions; for we could not make any further uſe of it, on account of the number of trees which the French had thrown acroſs the river during the laſt war, to prevent the attacks of the Engliſh upon Canada. The Frenchmen gave us leave to make uſe of one of their boats, which they had left behind them, about ſix miles from the place where we paſſed the laſt night. Thus we continued our journey on foot, along the river; and found the country flat, with ſome little vales here and there. It was every where covered with tall trees of the deciduous kind; among which the beech, the elm, the American lime-tree, and the ſugar-maple, were the moſt numerous. The trees ſtand at ſome diſtance from each other; and the ſoil in which they grow is extremely rich.

After we had walked about a Swediſh mile, or ſix Engliſh miles, we came to the place where the ſix Frenchmen had left their bark boats, of which we took one, and rowed down the river, which was now between nineteen and twenty yards broad. The ground on both ſides was very ſmooth, and not very high. Sometimes we found a hill conſiſting of grey quartz, mixed with ſmall fine grains of grey ſpar. We likewiſe obſerved black ſtripes in it; but they were ſo ſmall, that I could not determine whether they were of glimmer, or of another kind of ſtone. The hills were frequently divided into ſtrata, lying one above another, of the thickneſs of five inches. The ſtrata went from north to ſouth; and were not quite horizontal, but dipping to the north. As we went further on, we ſaw high and ſteep hills on the river-ſide, partly

* On my travels through the deſart plains, beyond the river Volga, I have had ſeveral opportunities of making the ſame obſervations on tea; and every traveller in the ſame circumſtances, will readily allow them to be very juſt. F.

covered

covered with trees; but in other parts, the banks conſiſt of a ſwampy turf ground, which gave way when it was walked upon, and had ſome ſimilarity to the ſides of our marſhes, which my countrymen are now about to drain. In thoſe parts where the ground was low and flat, we did not ſee any ſtones either on the ground or on the ſofter ſhore; and both ſides of the river, when they were not hilly, were covered with tall elms, American lime-trees, ſugar-maples, beeches, hiccory-trees, ſome water-beeches, and white walnut-trees.

On our left we ſaw an old fortification of ſtones laid above one another; but nobody could tell me whether the Indians or the Europeans had built it.

We had rowed very faſt all the afternoon, in order to get forward; and we thought that we were upon the true road, but found ourſelves greatly miſtaken: for towards night we obſerved, that the reeds in the river bent towards us, which was a mark that the river likewiſe flowed towards us; whereas, if we had been on the true river, it ſhould have gone with us. We likewiſe obſerved, from the trees which lay acroſs the river, that nobody had lately paſſed that way, though we ſhould have ſeen the ſteps of the Frenchmen in the graſs along the ſhore, when they brought their boat over theſe trees. At laſt, we plainly ſaw that the river flowed againſt us, by ſeveral pieces of wood which floated ſlowly towards us; and we were convinced, that we had gone twelve Engliſh miles and upwards upon a wrong river, which obliged us to return, and to row till very late at night. We ſometimes thought, through fear, that the Indians, who were gone to murder ſome Engliſh, would unavoidably meet with us. Though we rowed very faſt, yet we were not able to-day to get half-way back to the place where we firſt left the true river.

The moſt odoriferous effluvia ſometimes came from the banks of the river, towards night, but we could not determine what flowers diffuſed them. However, we ſuppoſed they chiefly aroſe from the aſclepias ſyriaca, and the apocynum androſæmifolium.

The muſk rats could likewiſe be ſmelled at night. They had many holes in the ſhores, even with the ſurface of the water.

We paſſed the night in an iſland, where we could not ſleep on account of the gnats. We did not venture to make a fire for fear the Indians ſhould find us out, and kill us. We heard ſeveral of their dogs barking in the woods, at a great diſtance from us, which added to our uneaſineſs.

July 1ſt. 1749. At day break we got up, and rowed a good while before we got to the place where we left the true road. The country which we paſſed was the pooreſt and moſt diſagreeable imaginable. We ſaw nothing but a row of amazing high mountains covered with woods, ſteep and dirty on their ſides; ſo that we found it difficult to get to a dry place, in order to land and boil our dinner. In many places the ground, which was very ſmooth, was under water, and looked like the ſides of our Swediſh moraſſes which are intended to be drained; for this reaſon the Dutch in Albany call theſe parts the drowned lands *. Some of the mountains run from S. S. W. to N. N. E. and when they come to the river, they form perpendicular ſhores, and are full of ſtones of different magnitudes. The river runs for the diſtance of ſome miles together from ſouth to north.

The wind blew north all day, and made it very hard work for us to get forwards, though we all rowed as hard as we could, for all our proviſions were eaten to-day at breakfaſt. The river was frequently an Engliſh mile and more broad, then it became

* De verdronkene landen.

narrow again, and ſo on alternately; but upon the whole it kept a good breadth, and was ſurrounded on both ſides by high mountains.

About ſix o'clock in the evening, we arrived at a point of land about twelve Engliſh miles from Fort St. Frederick. Behind this point the river is converted into a ſpacious bay; and as the wind ſtill kept blowing pretty ſtrong from the north, it was impoſſible for us to get forward, ſince we were extremely weak. We were therefore obliged to paſs the night here, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of our hungry ſtomachs.

It is to be attributed to the peculiar grace of God towards us, that we met the above mentioned Frenchmen on our journey, and that they gave us leave to take one of their bark boats. It ſeldom happens once in three years, that the French go this road to Albany; for they commonly paſs over the Lake St. Sacrament, or, as the Engliſh call it, Lake George, which is the nearer and better road, and every body wondered why they took this troubleſome one. If we had not got their large ſtrong boat, and been obliged to keep that which we had made, we would in all probability have been very ill off; for to venture upon the great bay during the leaſt wind with ſo wretched a veſſel, would have been a great piece of temerity, and we ſhould have been in danger of being ſtarved if we had waited for a calm. For being without fire-arms, and theſe deſerts having but few quadrupeds, we muſt have ſubſiſted upon frogs and ſnakes, which, (eſpecially the latter) abound in theſe parts. I can never think of this journey, without reverently acknowledging the peculiar care and providence of the merciful Creator.

July 2d. Early this morning we ſet out on our journey again, it being moon-ſhine and calm, and we feared leſt the wind ſhould change and become unfavourable to us if we ſtopped any longer. We all rowed as hard as poſſible, and happily arrived about eight in the morning at Fort St. Frederick, which the Engliſh call Crown Point. Monſieur Luſignan, the governor, received us very politely. He was about fifty years old, well acquainted with polite literature, and had made ſeveral journies into this country, by which he had acquired an exact knowledge of ſeveral things relative to its ſtate.

I was informed that during the whole of this ſummer, a continual drought had been here, and that they had not had any rain ſince laſt ſpring. The exceſſive heat had retarded the growth of plants; and on all dry hills the graſs, and a vaſt number of plants, were quite dried up; the ſmall trees which grew near rocks, heated by the ſun, had withered leaves, and the corn in the fields bore a very wretched aſpect. The wheat had not yet eared, nor were the peaſe in bloſſoms. The ground was full of wide and deep cracks, in which the little ſnakes retired and hid themſelves when purſued, as into an impregnable aſylum.

The country hereabout, it is ſaid, contains vaſt foreſts of firs of the white, black, and red kind, which had been formerly ſtill more extenſive. One of the chief reaſons of their decreaſe are, the numerous fires which happen every year in the woods, through the careleſſneſs of the Indians, who frequently make great fires when they are hunting, which ſpread over the fir woods when every thing is dry.

Great efforts are made here for the advancement of natural hiſtory, and there are few places in the world where ſuch good regulations are made for this uſeful purpoſe, all which is chiefly owing to the care and zeal of a ſingle perſon. From hence it appears, how well a uſeful ſcience is received and ſet off, when the leading men of a country are its patrons. The governor of the fort was pleaſed to ſhew me a long paper,

which the then governor-general of Canada, the Marquis la Galiſſonniere, had ſent him. It was the ſame marquis, who, ſome years after, as a French admiral, engaged the Engliſh fleet under Admiral Byng, the conſequence of which was the conqueſt of Minorca. In this writing, a number of trees and plants are mentioned, which grow in North America, and deſerve to be collected and cultivated on account of their uſeful qualities. Some of them are deſcribed, among which is the polygala ſenega, or rattle-ſnake-root; and with ſeveral of them the places where they grow are mentioned. It is further requeſted that all kinds of ſeeds and roots be gathered here; and, to aſſiſt ſuch an undertaking, a method of preſerving the gathered ſeeds and roots is preſcribed, ſo that they may grow and be ſent to Paris. Specimens of all kinds of minerals are required; and all the places in the French ſettlements are mentioned, where any uſeful or remarkable ſtone, earth, or ore has been found. There is likewiſe a manner of making obſervations and collections of curioſities in the animal kingdom. To theſe requeſts it is added, to enquire and get information, in every poſſible manner, to what purpoſe, and in what manner the Indians employ certain plants and other productions of nature, as medicines, or in any other caſe. This uſeful paper was drawn up by order of the Marquis la Galiſſonniere, by M. Gaultier, the royal phyſician at Quebec, and afterwards corrected and improved by the Marquis's own hand. He had ſeveral copies made of it, which he ſent to all the officers in the forts, and likewiſe to other learned men who travelled in the country. At the end of the writing is an injunction to the officers, to let the governor-general know which of the common ſoldiers had uſed the greateſt diligence in the diſcovery and collection of plants and other natural curioſities, that he might be able to promote them, when an opportunity occurred, to places adapted to their reſpective capacities, or to reward them in any other manner. I found that the people of diſtinction, in general here, had a much greater taſte for natural hiſtory and other parts of literature than in the Engliſh colonies, where it was every body's ſole care and employment to ſcrape a fortune together, and where the ſciences were held in univerſal contempt *. It was ſtill complained of here, that thoſe who ſtudied natural hiſtory, did not ſufficiently enquire into the medicinal uſe of the plants of Canada.

The French, who are born in France, are ſaid to enjoy a better health in Canada than in their native country, and to attain to a greater age than the French born in Canada. I was likewiſe aſſured that the European Frenchmen can do more work, and perform more journies in winter, without prejudice to their health, than thoſe born in this country.

* It ſeems Mr. Kalm has forgotten his own aſſertions in the former part of this work. Dr. Colden, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Bartram, have been the great promoters and inveſtigators of nature in this country; and how would the inhabitants of Old England have gotten the fine collections of North American trees, ſhrubs, and plants, which grow at preſent almoſt in every garden, and are as if it were naturalized in Old England, had they not been aſſiſted by their friends, and by the curious in North America. One needs only caſt an eye on Dr. Linnæus's new edition of his Syſtema, and the repeated mention of Dr. Garden, in order to be convinced that the Engliſh in America have contributed a greater ſhare towards promoting natural hiſtory than any nation under heaven, and certainly more than the French, though their learned men are often handſomely penſioned by their great monarch: on the other hand the Engliſh ſtudy that branch of knowledge, from the ſole motive of its utility, and the pleaſure it affords to a thinking being, without any of thoſe mercenary views held forth to the learned of other countries. And as to the other parts of literature, the Engliſh in America are undoubtedly ſuperior to the French in Canada, witneſs the many uſeful inſtitutions, colleges, and ſchools founded in the Engliſh colonies in North America, and ſo many very conſiderable libraries now erecting in this country, which contain ſuch a choice of uſeful and curious books, as were very little known in Canada before it fell into the hands of the Engliſh; not to mention the productions of original genius written by Americans born. F.

The

The intermitting fever which attacks the Europeans on their arrival in Penſylvania, and which, as it were, makes the climate familiar to them, is not known here, and the people are as well after their arrival as before. The Engliſh have frequently obſerved, that thoſe who are born in America of European parents, can never bear ſea-voyages, and go to the different parts of South-America, as well as thoſe born in Europe. The French born in Canada have the ſame conſtitutions; and when any of them go to the Weſt-India iſlands, ſuch as Martinique, Domingo, &c., and make ſome ſtay there, they commonly fall ſick, and die ſoon after: thoſe who fall ill there ſeldom recover, unleſs they are brought back to Canada. On the contrary, thoſe who go from France to thoſe iſlands can more eaſily bear the climate, and attain a great age there, which I heard confirmed in many parts of Canada.

July 5th. Whilſt we were at dinner, we ſeveral times heard a repeated diſagreeable out-cry, at ſome diſtance from the fort, in the river Woodcreek. Mr. Luſignan, the governor, told us this cry was no good omen, becauſe he could conclude from it that the Indians, whom we eſcaped near Fort Anne, had compleated their deſign of revenging the death of one of their brethren upon the Engliſh, and that their ſhouts ſhewed that they had killed an Engliſhman. As ſoon as I came to the window, I ſaw their boat, with a long pole at one end, on the extremity of which they had put a bloody ſkull. As ſoon as they were landed, we heard that they, being ſix in number, had continued their journey (from the place where we had marks of their paſſing the night), till they had got within the Engliſh boundaries, where they found a man and his ſon employed in mowing the corn. They crept on towards this man, and ſhot him dead upon the ſpot. This happened near the very village, where the Engliſh, two years before, killed the brother of one of theſe Indians, who were then gone out to attack them. According to their cuſtom they cut off the ſkull of the dead man, and took it with them, together with his clothes and his ſon, who was about nine years old. As ſoon as they came within a mile of Fort St. Frederick, they put the ſkull on a pole, in the fore part of the boat, and ſhouted as a ſign of their ſucceſs. They were dreſſed in ſhirts, as uſual, but ſome of them had put on the dead man's clothes; one his coat, the other his breeches, another his hat, &c. Their faces were painted with vermillion, with which their ſhirts were marked acroſs the ſhoulders. Moſt of them had great rings in their ears, which ſeemed to be a great inconvenience to them, as they were obliged to hold them when they leaped, or did any thing which required a violent motion. Some of them had girdles of the ſkins of rattle-ſnakes, with the rattles on them; the ſon of the murdered man had nothing but his ſhirt, breeches and cap, and the Indians had marked his ſhoulders with red. When they got on ſhore, they took hold of the pole on which the ſkull was put, and danced and ſung at the ſame time. Their view in taking the boy, was to carry him to their habitations, to educate him inſtead of their dead brother, and afterwards to marry him to one of their relations. Notwithſtanding they had perpetrated this act of violence in time of peace, contrary to the command of the governor in Montreal, and to the advice of the governor of St. Frederick, yet the latter could not at preſent deny them proviſions, and whatever they wanted for their journey, becauſe he did not think it adviſeable to exaſperate them; but when they came to Montreal, the governor called them to account for this action, and took the boy from them, whom he afterwards ſent to his relations. Mr. Luſignan aſked them, what they would have done to me and my companions, if they had met us in the deſert? They replied, that as it was their chief intention to take their revenge on the Engliſhmen in the village where their brother was killed, they would have let us alone; but it much depended on the

humour they were in, juſt at the time when we firſt came to their ſight. However, the commander, and all the Frenchmen, ſaid, that what had happened to me was infinitely ſafer and better.

Some years ago a ſkeleton of an amazing great animal had been found in that part of Canada where the Illinois live. One of the lieutenants in the fort aſſured me, that he had ſeen it. The Indians who were there, had found it in a ſwamp. They were ſurpriſed at the ſight of it, and when they were aſked, what they thought it was? They anſwered, that it muſt be the ſkeleton of the chief or father of all the beavers. It was of a prodigious bulk, and had thick white teeth, about ten inches long. It was looked upon as the ſkeleton of an elephant. The lieutenant aſſured me that the figure of the whole ſnout was yet to be ſeen, though it was half mouldered. He added, that he had not obſerved that any of the bones were taken away, but thought the ſkeleton lay quite perfect there. I have heard people talk of this monſtrous ſkeleton in ſeveral other parts of Canada *.

Bears are plentiful hereabouts, and they kept a young one, about three months old, at the fort. He had perfectly the ſame ſhape, and qualities, as our common bears in Europe, except the ears, which ſeemed to be longer in proportion, and the hairs which were ſtiffer; his colour was deep brown, almoſt black. He played and wreſtled every day with one of the dogs. A vaſt number of bear-ſkins are annually exported to France from Canada. The Indians prepare an oil from bear's greaſe, with which in ſummer they daub their face, hands, and all naked parts of their body, to ſecure them from the bite of the gnats. With this oil they likewiſe frequently ſmear the body, when they are exceſſively cold, tired with labour, hurt, and in other caſes. They believe it ſoftens the ſkin, and makes the body pliant, and is very ſerviceable to old age.

The common dandelion (Leontodon Taraxacum Linn.) grows in abundance on the paſtures and roads between the fields, and was now in flower. In ſpring, when the young leaves begin to come up, the French dig up the plants, take their roots †, waſh them, cut them, and prepare them as a common ſallad; but they have a bitter taſte. It is not uſual here to make uſe of the leaves for eating.

July 6th. The ſoldiers, which had been paid off after the war, had built houſes round the fort, on the grounds allotted to them; but moſt of theſe habitations were no more than wretched cottages, no better than thoſe in the moſt wretched places of Sweden; with that difference, however, that their inhabitants here were rarely oppreſſed by hunger, and could eat good and pure wheat bread. The huts which they had erected conſiſted of boards, ſtanding perpendicularly cloſe to each other. The roofs were of wood too. The crevices were ſtopped up with clay, to keep the room warm. The floor was commonly clay, or a black lime-ſtone, which is common here. The hearth was built of the ſame ſtone, except the place where the fire was to lie, which was made of grey ſand-ſtones, which for the greateſt part conſiſt of particles of quartz. In ſome hearths, the ſtones quite cloſe to the fire-place were lime-ſtones; however, I was aſſured that there was no danger of fire, eſpecially if the ſtones, which were moſt expoſed to the heat, were of a large ſize. They had no glaſs in their windows.

* The country of the Illinois is on the river Ohio, near the place where the Engliſh have found ſome bones, ſuppoſed to belong to elephants.

† In France the young blanched leaves, which ſcarce peep out of molehills, and have yet a yellow colour, are univerſally eaten as a ſallad, under the name of Piſenlit. F.

July

July 8th. The galium tinctorium is called tiſavojaune rouge by the French throughout all Canada, and abounds in the woods round this place, growing in a moiſt but fine ſoil. The roots of this plant are employed by the Indians in dying the quills of the American porcupines red, which they put into ſeveral pieces of their work; and air, ſun, or water, ſeldom change this colour. The French women in Canada ſometimes dye their clothes red with theſe roots, which are but ſmall, like thoſe of galium uteum, or yellow bed-ſtraw.

The horſes are left out of doors during the winter, and find their food in the woods, living upon nothing but dry plants, which are very abundant; however they do not fall off by this food, but look very fine and plump in ſpring.

July 9th. The ſkeleton of a whale was found ſome French miles from Quebec, and one French mile from the river St. Laurence, in a place where no flowing water comes to at preſent. This ſkeleton has been of a very conſiderable ſize, and the governor of the fort ſaid, he had ſpoke with ſeveral people who had ſeen it.

July 10th. The boats which are here made uſe of are of three kinds. 1. Bark-boats, made of the bark of trees, and of ribs of wood. 2. Canoes, conſiſting of a ſingle piece of wood, hollowed out, which I have already deſcribed before. They are here made of the white fir, and of different ſizes. They are not brought forward by rowing, but by paddling; by which method not half the ſtrength can be applied, which is made uſe of in rowing; and a ſingle man might, I think, row as faſt as two of them could paddle. 3. The third kind of boats are bateaux. They are always made very large here, and employed for large cargoes. They are flat-bottomed, and the bottom is made of the red, but more commonly of the white oak, which reſiſts better, when it runs againſt a ſtone, than other wood. The ſides are made of the white fir, becauſe oak would make the bateau too heavy. They make plenty of tar and pitch here.

The ſoldiery enjoy ſuch advantages here as they are not allowed in every part of the world. Thoſe who formed the garriſon of this place had a very plentiful allowance from their government. They get every day a pound and a half of wheat bread. They likewiſe get peaſe, bacon, and ſalt meat in plenty. Sometimes they kill oxen and other cattle, the fleſh of which is diſtributed among the ſoldiers. All the officers kept cows, at the expence of the king, and the milk they gave was more than ſufficient to ſupply them. The ſoldiers had each a ſmall garden without the fort, which they were allowed to attend, and plant in it whatever they liked, and ſome of them had built ſummer-houſes in them, and planted all kind of pot-herbs. The governor told me, that it was a general cuſtom to allow the ſoldiers a ſpot of ground for kitchen-gardens, at ſuch of the French forts hereabouts as were not ſituated near great towns, from whence they could be ſupplied with greens. In time of peace the ſoldiers have very little trouble with being upon guard at the fort; and as the lake cloſe by is full of fiſh, and the woods abound with birds and animals, thoſe amongſt them who chooſe to be diligent may live extremely well, and very grand in regard to food. Each ſoldier got a new coat every two years; but annually, a waiſtcoat, cap, hat, breeches, cravat, two pair of ſtockings, two pair of ſhoes, and as much wood as he had occaſion for in winter. They likewiſe got five ſols * a piece every day; which is augmented to thirty ſols when they have any particular labour for the king. When this is conſidered, it is not ſurpriſing to find the men are very freſh, well fed, ſtrong and lively here. When a ſoldier falls ſick he is brought to the hoſpital, where the king provides him with a bed,

* A ſol in France is about the value of one half-penny ſterling.

food,

food, medicines, and people to take care of and ſerve him. When ſome of them aſked leave to be abſent for a day or two, to go abroad, it was generally granted them, if circumſtances would permit, and they enjoyed as uſual their ſhare of proviſions and money, but were obliged to get ſome of their comrades to mount the guard for them as often as it came to their turns, for which they gave them an equivalent. The governor and officers were duly honoured by the ſoldiers; however, the ſoldiers and officers often ſpoke together as comrades, without any ceremonies, and with a very becoming freedom. The ſoldiers who are ſent hither from France, commonly ſerve till they are forty or fifty years old, after which they are diſmiſſed and allowed to ſettle upon, and cultivate a piece of ground: but if they have agreed on their arrival to ſerve no longer than a certain number of years, they are diſmiſſed at the expiration of their term. Thoſe who are born here commonly agree to ſerve the crown during ſix, eight, or ten years; after which they are diſmiſſed, and ſet up for farmers in the country. The King preſents each diſmiſſed ſoldier with a piece of land, being commonly fortyarpents * long, and but three broad, if the ſoil be of equal goodneſs throughout; but they get ſomewhat more, if it be a worſe ground †. As ſoon as a ſoldier ſettles to cultivate ſuch a piece of land, he is at firſt aſſiſted by the King, who ſupplies himſelf, his wife and children, with proviſions, during the three or four firſt years. The King likewiſe gives him a cow, and the moſt neceſſary inſtruments for agriculture. Some ſoldiers are ſent to aſſiſt him in building a houſe, for which the King pays them. Theſe are great helps to a poor man, who begins to keep houſe; and it ſeems that in a country where the troops are ſo highly diſtinguiſhed by the royal favour, the King cannot be at a loſs for ſoldiers. For the better cultivation and population of Canada, a plan has been propoſed ſome years ago, for ſending three hundred men over from France every year, by which means the old ſoldiers may always be diſmiſſed, marry, and ſettle in the country. The land which was allotted to the ſoldiers about this place was very good, conſiſting throughout of a deep mould, mixed with clay.

July 11th. The harrows which they make uſe of here are made entirely of wood, and of a triangular form. The ploughs ſeemed to be leſs convenient. The wheels upon which the plough-beam is placed are as thick as the wheels of a cart, and all the wood-work is ſo clumſily made that it requires a horſe to draw the plough along a ſmooth field.

Rock-ſtones of different ſorts lay ſcattered on the fields. Some were from three to five feet high, and about three feet broad. They were pretty much alike in regard to the kind of the ſtone; however, I obſerved three different ſpecies in them.

Firſt, Some conſiſted of a quartz, whoſe colour reſembled ſugar-candy, and which was mixed with a black ſmall-grained glimmer, a black horn-ſtone, and a few minute grains of a brown ſpar. The quartz was moſt abundant in the mixture; the glimmer was likewiſe in great quantity, but the ſpar was inconſiderable. The ſeveral kinds of ſtones were well mixed, and though the eye could diſtinguiſh them, yet no inſtrument could

* An arpent in France contains 100 French perches, and each of thoſe 22 French feet; then the French foot being to the Engliſh as 1440 to 1352; an arpent is about 2346 Engliſh feet, and 8 inches long. See Ordonnances de Louis XIV. ſur le fait des Eaux and Forêts. Paris, 1687. p. 112. F.

† Mr. Kalm ſays, in his original, that the length of an arpent was ſo determined, that they reckoned 84 of them in a French lieue or league; but as this does by no means agree with the ſtatute arpent of France, which by order of King Lewis XIV. was fixed at 2200 feet, Paris meaſure, (ſee the preceding note) we thought proper to leave it out of the text. F.

ſeparate them. The ſtone was very hard and compact, and the grains of quartz looked very fine.

Second, Some pieces conſiſted of grey particles of quartz, black glimmer, and horn-ſtone, together with a few particles of ſpar, which made a very cloſe, hard, and compact mixture, only differing from the former in colour.

Third, A few of the ſtones conſiſted of a mixture of white quartz and black glimmer, to which ſome red grains of quartz were added. The ſpar (quartz) was moſt predominant in this mixture, and the glimmer appeared in large flakes. This ſtone was not ſo well mixed as the former, and was by far not ſo hard and ſo compact, being eaſily pounded.

The mountains on which Fort St. Frederick is built, as likewiſe thoſe on which the above kinds of ſtone are found, conſiſted generally of a deep black lime-ſtone, lying in lamellæ as ſlates do, and it might be called a kind of ſlates, which can be turned into quick-lime by fire *. This lime-ſtone is quite black in the inſide, and, when broken, appears to be of an exceeding fine texture. There are ſome grains of a dark ſpar ſcattered in it, which, together with ſome other inequalities, form veins in it. The ſtrata which lie uppermoſt in the mountains conſiſt of a grey lime-ſtone, which is ſeemingly no more than a variety of the preceding. The black lime-ſtone is conſtantly found filled with petrifactions of all kinds, and chiefly the following.

Pectinites, or petrified oſtreæ pectines. Theſe petrified ſhells were more abundant than any others that have been found here, and ſometimes whole ſtrata are met with, conſiſting merely of a quantity of ſhells of this ſort, grown together; they are generally ſmall, never exceeding an inch and a half in length. They are found in two different ſtates of petrifaction; one ſhews always the impreſſions of the elevated and hollow ſurfaces of the ſhells, without any veſtige of the ſhells themſelves. In the other appears the real ſhell ſticking in the ſtone, and by its light colour is eaſily diſtinguiſhable from the ſtone. Both theſe kinds are plentiful in the ſtone; however, the impreſſions are more in number than the real ſhells. Some of the ſhells are very elevated, eſpecially in the middle, where they form as it were a hump; others again are depreſſed in the middle; but in moſt of them the outward ſurface is remarkably elevated. The furrows always run longitudinally, or from the top, diverging to the margin.

Petrified cornua ammonis. Theſe are likewiſe frequently found, but not equal to the former in number: like the pectinitæ, they are found really petrified, and in impreſſions; amongſt them were ſome petrified ſnails. Some of theſe cornua ammonis were remarkably big, and I do not remember ſeeing their equals, for they meaſured above two feet in diameter.

Different kinds of corals could be plainly ſeen in, and ſeparated from, the ſtone in which they lay. Some were white and ramoſe, or lithophytes; others were ſtarry corals, or madrepores; the latter were rather ſcarce.

I muſt give the name of ſtone-balls to a kind of ſtones foreign to me, which are found in great plenty in ſome of the rock-ſtones. They were globular, one half of them projecting generally above the rock, and the other remaining in it. They conſiſt of nearly parallel fibres, which ariſe from the bottom as from a center, and ſpread over the ſurface of the ball, and have a grey colour. The outſide of the balls is ſmooth, but has a number of ſmall pores, which externally appear to be covered with a pale grey cruſt. They are from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter.

* Marmor ſchiſtoſum, Linn. Syſt. III. p. 40. Marmor unicolor nigrum. Wall. Min. pag. 61. n. 2. Lime-ſlates, ſchiſtus calcareus. Forſt. Introd. to Min. p. 9. F.

Amongſt

Amongſt ſome other kinds of ſand, which are found on the ſhores of lake Champlain, two were very peculiar, and commonly lay in the ſame place; and one was black, and the other reddiſh brown, or granite coloured.

The black ſand always lies uppermoſt, conſiſts of very fine grains, which, when examined by a microſcope, appear to have a dark blue colour, like that of a ſmooth iron, not attacked by ruſt. Some grains are roundiſh, but moſt of them angular, with ſhining ſurfaces; and they ſparkle when the ſun ſhines. All the grains of this ſand, without exception, are attracted by the magnet. Amongſt theſe black or deep blue grains, they meet with a few grains of a red or garnet-coloured ſand, which is the ſame with the red ſand which lies immediately under it, and which I ſhall now deſcribe. This red or garnet-coloured ſand is very fine, but not ſo fine as the black ſand. Its grains not only participate of the colour of garnets, but they are really nothing but pounded garnets. Some grains are round, others angulated: all ſhine and are ſemi-pellucid; but the magnet has no effect on them, and they do not ſparkle ſo much in ſunſhine. This red ſand is ſeldom found very pure, it being commonly mixed with a white ſand, conſiſting of particles of quartz. The black and red ſand is not found in every part of the ſhore, but only in a few places, in the order before mentioned. The uppermoſt or black ſand lay about a quarter of an inch deep; when it was carefully taken off, the ſand under it became of a deeper red the deeper it lay, and its depth was commonly greater than that of the former. When this was carefully taken away, the white ſand of quartz appeared mixed very much at top with the red ſand, but growing purer the deeper it lay. This white ſand was above four inches deep, had round grains, which made it entirely like a pearl ſand. Below this was a pale grey angulated quartz ſand. In ſome places the garnet-coloured ſand lay uppermoſt, and this grey angulated one immediately under it, without a grain of either the black or the white ſand.

I cannot determine the origin of the black or ſteel-coloured ſand, for it was not known here whether there were iron mines in the neighbourhood or not. But I am rather inclined to believe they may be found in theſe parts, as they are common in different parts of Canada, and as this ſand is found on the ſhores of almoſt all the lakes and rivers in Canada, though not in equal quantities. The red or garnet-coloured ſand has its origin hereabouts; for though the rocks near Fort St. Frederick contained no garnets, yet there are ſtones of different ſizes on the ſhores, quite different from the ſtones which form thoſe rocks; theſe ſtones are very full of grains of garnets, and when pounded there is no perceptible difference between them and the red ſand. In the more northerly parts of Canada, or below Quebec, the mountains themſelves contain a great number of garnets. The garnet-coloured ſand is very common on the ſhores of the river St. Laurence. I ſhall leave out ſeveral obſervations which I made upon the minerals hereabouts, as unintereſting to moſt of my readers.

The apocynum androſæmifolium grows in abundance on hills covered with trees, and is in full flower about this time; the French call it herbe à le puce. When the ſtalk is cut or tore, a white milky juice comes out. The French attribute the ſame qualities to this plant, which the poiſon-tree, or rhus vermix, has in the Engliſh colonies; that its poiſon is noxious to ſome perſons, and harmleſs to others. The milky juice when ſpread upon the hands and body, has no bad effect on ſome perſons; whereas others cannot come near it without being bliſtered. I ſaw a ſoldier whoſe hands were bliſtered all over, merely by plucking the plant, in order to ſhew it me; and it is ſaid its exhalations affect ſome people, when they come within reach of them. It is generally allowed here, that the lacteſcent juice of this plant, when ſpread on any part of

the human body not only ſwells the part, but frequently corrodes the ſkin; at leaſt there are few examples of perſons on whom it had no effect. As for my part, it has never hurt me, though in preſence of ſeveral people I touched the plant, and rubbed my hands with the juice till they were white all over, and I have often rubbed the plant in my hands till it was quite cruſhed, without feeling the leaſt inconvenience, or change on my hand. The cattle never touch this plant.

July 12th. Burdock, or arctium lappa, grows in ſeveral places about the fort; and the governor told me, that its tender ſhoots are eaten in ſpring as raddiſhes, after the exterior peel is taken off.

The ſiſon Canadenſe abounds in the woods of all North America. The French call it cerfeuil ſauvage, and make uſe of it in ſpring, in green ſoups, like chervil. It is univerſally praiſed here as a wholeſome antiſcorbutic plant, and as one of the beſt which can be had here in ſpring.

The aſclepias ſyriaca, or, as the French call it, le cotonier, grows abundant in the country, on the ſides of hills which lie near rivers and other ſituations, as well in a dry and open place in the woods, as in a rich looſe ſoil. When the ſtalk is cut or broken it emits a lacteſcent juice, and for this reaſon the plant is reckoned in ſome degree poiſonous. The French in Canada nevertheleſs uſe its tender ſhoots in ſpring, preparing them like aſparagus; and the uſe of them is not attended with any bad conſequences, as the ſlender ſhoots have not yet had time to ſuck up any thing poiſonous. Its flowers are very odoriferous, and when in ſeaſon, they fill the woods with their fragrant exhalations, and make it agreeable to travel in them, eſpecially in the evening. The French in Canada make a ſugar of the flowers, which for that purpoſe are gathered in the morning, when they are covered all over with dew. This dew is expreſſed, and by boiling yields a very good brown, palatable ſugar. The pods of this plant, when ripe, contain a kind of wool, which encloſes the ſeed, and reſembles cotton, from whence the plant has got its French name. The poor collect it, and fill their beds, eſpecially their children's, with it, inſtead of feathers. This plant flowers in Canada at the end of June, and beginning of July, and the ſeeds are ripe in the middle of September. The horſes never eat of this plant.

July 16th. This morning I croſſed lake Champlain to the high mountain on its weſtern ſide, in order to examine the plants and other curioſities there. From the top of the rocks, at a little diſtance from Fort St. Frederick, a row of very high mountains appear on the weſtern ſhore of lake Champlain, extending from ſouth to north; and on the eaſtern ſide of this lake is another chain of high mountains, running in the ſame direction. Thoſe on the eaſtern ſide are not cloſe to the lake, being about ten or twelve miles from it; and the country between it and them is low and flat, and covered with woods, which likewiſe clothe the mountains, except in ſuch places as the fires, which deſtroy the foreſts here, have reached them and burnt them down. Theſe mountains have generally ſteep ſides, but ſometimes they are found gradually ſloping. We croſſed the lake in a canoe, which could only contain three perſons, and as ſoon as we landed we walked from the ſhore to the top of the mountains. Their ſides are very ſteep, and covered with a mould, and ſome great rock-ſtones lay on them. All the mountains are covered with trees; but in ſome places the foreſts have been deſtroyed by fire. After a great deal of trouble, we reached the top of one of the mountains, which was covered with a duſty mould. It was none of the higheſt; and ſome of thoſe which were at a greater diſtance were much higher, but we had no time to go to them; for the wind encreaſed, and our boat was but a little one. We found no curious plants, or any thing remarkable here.

When we returned to the ſhore we found the wind riſen to ſuch a height, that we did not venture to croſs the lake in our boat, and for that reaſon I left the fellow to bring it back, as ſoon as the wind ſubſided, and walked round the bay, which was a walk of about ſeven Engliſh miles. I was followed by my ſervant, and, for want of a road, we kept cloſe to the ſhore, where we paſſed over mountains and ſharp ſtones; through thick foreſts and deep marſhes, all which were known to be inhabited by numberleſs rattle-ſnakes, of which we happily ſaw none at all. The ſhore is very full of ſtones in ſome places, and covered with large angulated rock-ſtones, which are ſometimes roundiſh, and their edges as it were worn off. Now and then we met with a ſmall ſandy ſpot covered with grey, but chiefly with the fine red ſand which I have before-mentioned; and the black iron ſand likewiſe occurred ſometimes. We found ſtones of a red glimmer of a fine texture, on the mountains. Sometimes theſe mountains with the trees on them ſtood perpendicular with the water-ſide, but in ſome places the ſhore was marſhy.

I ſaw a number of petrified cornua ammonis in one place, near the ſhore, among a number of ſtones and rocks. The rocks conſiſt of a grey lime-ſtone, which is a variety of the black one, and lies in a ſtrata, as that does. Some of them contain a number of petrifactions with, and without ſhells; and in one place we found prodigious large cornua ammonis, about twenty inches in breadth. In ſome places the water had wore off the ſtone, but could not have the ſame effect on the petrifactions, which lay elevated above, and in a manner glued on the ſtones.

The mountains near the ſhore are amazingly high and large, conſiſting of a compact grey rock ſtone, which does not lie in ſtrata as the lime-ſtone, and the chief of whoſe conſtituent parts are a grey quartz, and a dark glimmer. This rock-ſtone reached down to the water, in places where the mountains ſtood cloſe to the ſhore; but where they were at ſome diſtance from it, they were ſupplied by ſtrata of grey and black lime-ſtone, which reached to the water-ſide, and which I never have ſeen covered with the grey rocks.

The zizania aquatica grows in mud, and in the moſt rapid parts of brooks, and is in full bloom about this time.

July 17th. The diſtempers which rage among the Indians are rheumatiſms and pleuriſies, which ariſe from their being obliged frequently to lie in moiſt parts of the woods at night; from the ſudden changes of heat and cold, to which the air is expoſed here; and from their being frequently loaded with too great a quantity of ſtrong liquor, in which caſe they commonly lie down naked in the open air, without any regard to the ſeaſon, or the weather. Theſe diſtempers, eſpecially the pleuriſies, are likewiſe very common among the French here; and the governor told me he had once a very violent fit of the latter, and that Dr. Sarraſin had cured him in the following manner, which has been found to ſucceed beſt here. He gave him ſudorifics, which were to operate between eight and ten hours; he was then bled, and the ſudorifics repeated; he was bled again, and that effectually cured him.

Dr. Sarraſin was the royal phyſician at Quebec, and a correſpondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. He was poſſeſſed of great knowledge in the practice of phyſic, anatomy, and other ſciences, and very agreeable in his behaviour. He died at Quebec of a malignant fever, which had been brought to that place by a ſhip, and with which he was infected at an hoſpital, where he viſited the ſick. He left a ſon, who likewiſe ſtudied phyſic, and went to France to make himſelf more perfect in the practical part of it, but he died there.

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The intermitting fevers ſometimes come amongſt the people here, and the venereal diſeaſe is common here. The Indians are likewiſe infected with it; and many of them have had it, and ſome ſtill have it; but they likewiſe are perfectly poſſeſſed of the art of curing it. There are examples of Frenchmen and Indians, infected all over the body with this diſeaſe, who have been radically and perfectly cured by the Indians, within five or ſix months. The French have not been able to find this remedy out; though they know that the Indians employ no mercury, but that their chief remedies are roots which are unknown to the French. I have afterwards heard what theſe plants were, and given an account of them at large to the Royal Swediſh Academy of Sciences*.

We are very well acquainted in Sweden with the pain cauſed by the tæniæ, or a kind of worms. They are leſs abundant in the Britiſh North American colonies; but in Canada they are very frequent. Some of theſe worms, which have been evacuated by a perſon, have been ſeveral yards long. It is not known, whether the Indians are afflicted with them or not. No particular remedies againſt them are known here, and no one can give an account from whence they come, though the eating of ſome fruits contributes, as is conjectured, to create them.

July 19th. Fort St. Frederick is a fortification on the ſouthern extremity of lake Champlain, ſituated on a neck of land, between that lake and the river, which ariſes from the union of the river Woodcreek, and lake St. Sacrement. The breadth of this river is here about a good muſket-ſhot. The Engliſh call this fortreſs Crown Point, but its French name is derived from the French ſecretary of ſtate, Frederic Maurepas, in whoſe hands the direction and management of the French court of admiralty was at the time of the erection of this fort; for it is to be obſerved, that the government of Canada is ſubject to the court of admiralty in France, and the governor-general is always choſen out of that court. As moſt of the places in Canada bear the names of ſaints, cuſtom has made it neceſſary to prefix the word ſaint to the name of the fortreſs. The fort is built on a rock, conſiſting of black lime-ſlates, as aforeſaid; it is nearly quadrangular, has high and thick walls, made of the ſame lime-ſtone, of which there is a quarry about half a mile from the fort. On the eaſtern part of the fort is a high tower, which is proof againſt bombſhells, provided with very thick and ſubſtantial walls, and well ſtored with cannon from the bottom almoſt to the very top; and the governor lives in the tower. In the terre-plein of the fort is a well built little church, and houſes of ſtone for the officers and ſoldiers. There are ſharp rocks on all ſides towards the land, beyond a cannon-ſhot from the fort, but among them are ſome which are as high as the walls of the fort, and very near them.

The ſoil about fort St. Frederick is ſaid to be very fertile, on both ſides of the river; and before the laſt war a great many French families, eſpecially old ſoldiers, have ſettled there; but the king obliged them to go into Canada, or to ſettle cloſe to the fort, and to lie in it at night. A great number of them returned at this time, and it was thought that about forty or fifty families would go to ſettle here this autumn. Within one or two muſket-ſhots to the eaſt of the fort, is a wind-mill built of ſtone, with very thick walls, and moſt of the flour which is wanted to ſupply the fort is ground here. This wind-mill is ſo contrived as to ſerve the purpoſe of a redoubt, and at the top of it are five or ſix ſmall pieces of cannon. During the laſt war there was a number of ſoldiers quartered in this mill, becauſe they could from thence look a great

* See the Memoirs of that Academy, for the year 1750, page 284. The ſtillingia ſylvatica is probably one of theſe roots. F.

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way up the river, and obſerve whether the Engliſh boats approached; which could not be done from the fort itſelf, and which was a matter of great conſequence, as the Engliſh might (if this guard had not been placed here) have gone in their little boats cloſe under the weſtern ſhore of the river, and then the hills would have prevented their being ſeen from the fort. Therefore the fort ought to have been built on the ſpot where the mill ſtands, and all thoſe who come to ſee it are immediately ſtruck with the abſurdity of its ſituation. If it had been erected in the place of the mill, it would have commanded the river, and prevented the approach of the enemy; and a ſmall ditch cut through the looſe lime-ſtone, from the river (which comes out of the lake St. Sacrement) to lake Champlain, would have ſurrounded the fort with flowing water, becauſe it would have been ſituated on the extremity of the neck of land. In that caſe the fort would always have been ſufficiently ſupplied with freſh water, and at a diſtance from the high rocks which ſurrounded it in its preſent ſituation. We prepared to-day to leave this place, having waited during ſome days for the arrival of the yacht, which plies conſtantly all ſummer between the forts St. John and St. Frederick: during our ſtay here, we had received many favours. The governor of the fort, Mr. Luſignan, a man of learning and of great politeneſs, heaped obligations upon us, and treated us with as much civility as if we had been his relations. I had the honour of eating at his table during my ſtay here, and my ſervant was allowed to eat with his. We had our rooms, &c. to ourſelves, and at our departure the governor ſupplied us with ample proviſions for our journey to fort St. John. In ſhort, he did us more favours than we could have expected from our own countrymen, and the officers were likewiſe particularly obliging to us.

About eleven o'olock in the morning we ſet out, with a fair wind. On both ſides of the lake are high chains of mountains; with the difference which I have before obſerved, that on the eaſtern ſhore is a low piece of ground covered with a foreſt, extending between twelve and eighteen Engliſh miles, after which the mountains begin; and the country behind them belongs to New England. This chain conſiſts of high mountains, which are to be conſidered as the boundaries between the French and Engliſh poſſeſſions in theſe parts of North America. On the weſtern ſhore of the lake, the mountains reach quite to the water ſide. The lake at firſt is but a French mile broad, but always encreaſes afterwards. The country is inhabited within a French mile of the fort, but after that, it is covered with a thick foreſt. At the diſtance of about ten French miles from fort St. Frederick, the lake is four ſuch miles broad, and we perceive ſome iſlands in it. The captain of the yacht ſaid there were about ſixty iſlands in that lake, of which ſome were of a conſiderable ſize. He aſſured me that the lake was in moſt parts ſo deep, that a line of two hundred yards could not fathom it; and cloſe to the ſhore, where a chain of mountains generally runs acroſs the country, it frequently has a depth of eighty fathoms. Fourteen French miles from fort St. Frederick we ſaw four large iſlands in the lake, which is here about ſix French miles broad. This day the ſky was cloudy, and the clouds, which were very low, ſeemed to ſurround ſeveral high mountains, near the lake, with a fog; and from many mountains the fog roſe as the ſmoke of a charcoal-kiln. Now and then we ſaw a little river which fell into the lake: the country behind the high mountains, on the weſtern ſide of the lake, is, as I am told, covered for many miles together with a tall foreſt, interſected by many rivers and brooks, with marſhes and ſmall lakes, and very fit to be inhabited. The ſhores are ſometimes rocky, and ſometimes ſandy here. Towards night the mountains decreaſed gradually; the lake is very clear, and we obſerved neither rocks nor

ſhallows in it. Late at night the wind abated, and we anchored cloſe to the ſhore, and ſpent one night here.

July 20th. This morning we proceeded with a fair wind. The place where we paſſed the nightwas above half way to Fort St. John; for the diſtance of that place from Fort St. Frederick, acroſs lake Champlain is computed to be forty-one French miles; that lake is here about ſix Engliſh miles in breadth. The mountains were now out of ſight, and the country low, plain, and covered with trees. The ſhores were ſandy, and the lake appeared now from four to ſix miles broad. It was really broader, but the iſlands made it appear narrower.

We often ſaw Indians in bark-boats cloſe to the ſhore, which was however not inhabited; for the Indians came here only to catch ſturgeons, wherewith this lake abounds, and which we often ſaw leaping up in the air. Theſe Indians lead a very ſingular life: at one time of the year they live upon the ſmall ſtore of maize, beans, and melons, which they have planted; during another period, or about this time, their food is fiſh, without bread or any other meat; and another ſeaſon they eat nothing but ſtags, roes, beavers, &c., which they ſhoot in the woods, and rivers. They, however, enjoy long life, perfect health, and are more able to undergo hardſhips than other people. They ſing and dance, are joyful, and always content; and would not, for a great deal, exchange their manner of life for that which is preferred in Europe.

When we were yet ten French miles from fort St. John, we ſaw ſome houſes on the weſtern ſide of the lake, in which the French had lived before the laſt war, and which they then abandoned, as it was by no means ſafe: they now returned to them again. Theſe were the firſt houſes and ſettlements which we ſaw after we had left thoſe about fort St. Frederick.

There formerly was a wooden fort, or redoubt, on the eaſtern ſide of the lake, near the water-ſide; and the place where it ſtood was ſhewn me, which at preſent is quite overgrown with trees. The French built it to prevent the incurſions of the Indians over this lake; and I was aſſured that many Frenchmen had been ſlain in theſe places. At the ſame time they told me, that they reckon four women to one man in Canada, becauſe annually ſeveral Frenchmen are killed on their expeditions, which they undertake for the ſake of trading with the Indians.

A wind-mill built of ſtone, ſtands on the eaſt ſide of the lake on a projecting piece of ground. Some Frenchmen have lived near it; but they left it when the war broke out, and are not yet come back to it. From this mill to Fort St. John they reckon eight French miles. The Engliſh, with their Indians, have burnt the houſes here ſeveral times, but the mill remained unhurt.

The yacht which we went into St. John was the firſt that was built here, and employed on Lake Champlain, for formerly they made uſe of bateaux to ſend proviſions over the lake. The captain of the yacht was a Frenchman, born in this country; he had built it, and taken the ſoundings of the lake, in order to find out the true road between Fort St. John and Fort St. Frederick. Oppoſite the wind-mill the lake is about three fathoms deep, but it grows more and more ſhallow the nearer it comes to Fort St. John.

We now perceived houſes on the ſhore again. The captain had otter-ſkins in the cabin, which were perfectly the ſame in colour and ſpecies with the European ones. Otters are ſaid to be very abundant in Canada.

Seal-ſkins are here made uſe of to cover boxes and trunks, and they often made portmantles of them in Canada. The common people had their tobacco pouches made of

of the ſame ſkins. The ſeals here are entirely the ſame with the Swediſh or European one, which are grey with black ſpots. They are ſaid to be plentiful in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, below Quebec, and go up that river as far as its water is ſalt. They have not been found in any of the great lakes of Canada. The French call them loups marins *.

The French in their colonies, ſpend much more time in prayer and external worſhip, than the Engliſh and Dutch ſettlers in the Britiſh colonies. The latter have neither morning nor evening prayer in their ſhips and yachts, and no difference is made between Sunday and other days. They never, or very ſeldom, ſay grace at dinner. On the contrary, the French here have prayers every morning and night on board their ſhipping, and on Sundays they pray more than commonly: they regularly ſay grace at their meals; and every one of them ſays prayers in private as ſoon as he gets up. At Fort St. Frederick all the ſoldiers aſſembled together for morning and evening prayers. The only fault was, that moſt of the prayers were read in Latin, which a great part of the people do not underſtand. Below the above mentioned wind-mill, the breadth of the lake is about a muſket-ſhot, and it looks more like a river than a lake. The country on both ſides is low and flat, and covered with woods. We ſaw at firſt a few ſcattered cottages along the ſhore; but a little further the country is inhabited without interruption. The lake is here from ſix to ten foot deep, and forms ſeveral iſlands. During the whole courſe of this voyage, the ſituation of the lake was always directly from S. S. W. to N. N. E.

In ſome parts of Canada are great tracts of land belonging to ſingle perſons; from theſe lands, pieces of forty arpens long, and four wide, are allotted to each diſcharged ſoldier who intends to ſettle here; but after his houſehold is eſtabliſhed, he is obliged to pay the owner of the lands ſix French francs annually.

The lake was now ſo ſhallow in ſeveral places, that we were obliged to trace the way for the yacht, by ſounding the depth with branches of trees. In other places oppoſite, it was ſometimes two fathom deep.

In the evening, about ſun-ſet, we arrived at Fort St. Jean, or St. John, having had a continual change of rain, ſun-ſhine, wind, and calm, all the afternoon.

July 21ſt. St. John is a wooden fort which the French built in 1748, on the weſtern ſhore of the mouth of Lake Champlain, cloſe to the water-ſide. It was intended to cover the country round about it, which they were then going to people, and to ſerve as a magazine for proviſions and ammunition, which were uſually ſent from Montreal to Fort St. Frederick; becauſe they may go in yachts from hence to the laſt mentioned place, which is impoſſible lower down, as about two gun-ſhot further, there is a ſhallow full of ſtones, and very rapid water in the river, over which they can only paſs in bateaux, or flat veſſels. Formerly Fort Chamblan, which lies four French miles lower, was the magazine of proviſions; but as they were forced firſt to ſend them hither in bateaux, and then from hence on yachts, and the road to Fort Chamblan from Montreal being by land, and much round about, this fort was erected. It has a low ſituation, and lies in a ſandy ſoil, and the country about it is likewiſe low, flat, and covered with woods. The fort is quadrangular, and includes the ſpace of one arpent ſquare. In each of the two corners which look towards the lake is a wooden building, four ſtories high, the lower part of which is of ſtone to the height of about a fathom and a half. In theſe buildings, which are polyangular, are holes for cannon and leſſer fire-arms. In each of the two other corners towards the country, is only a little

* See Wolves.

wooden houſe, two ſtories high. Theſe buildings are intended for the habitations of the ſoldiers, and for the better defence of the place; between theſe houſes there are poles, two fathoms and a half high, ſharpened at the top, and driven into the ground cloſe to one another. They are made of the thuya tree, which is here reckoned the beſt wood for keeping from petrifaction, and is much preferable to fir in that point. Lower down the palliſades were double, one row within the other. For the convenience of the ſoldiers, a broad elevated pavement of more than two yards in height, is made in the inſide of the fort all along the paliſades, with a baluſtrade. On this pavement the ſoldiers ſtand and fire through the holes upon the enemy, without being expoſed to their fire. In the laſt year, 1748, two hundred men were in garriſon here; but at this time there were only a governor, a commiſſary, a baker, and ſix ſoldiers to take care of the fort and buildings, and to ſuperintend the proviſions which are carried to this place. The perſon who now commanded at the fort, was the Chevalier de Ganues, a very agreeable gentleman, and brother-in-law to Mr. Luſignan, the governor of Fort St. Frederick. The ground about the fort, on both ſides the water, is rich and has a very good ſoil; but it is ſtill without inhabitants, though it is talked of, that it would get ſome as ſoon as poſſible.

The French in all Canada call the gnats marangoins, which name, it is ſaid, they have borrowed from the Indians. Theſe inſects are in ſuch prodigious numbers in the woods round Fort St. John, that it would more properly be called Fort de Marangoins. The marſhes and the low ſituation of the country, together with the extent of the woods, contribute greatly to their multiplying ſo much; and when the woods are cut down, the water drained, and the country cultivated, they probably will decreaſe in number, and vaniſh at laſt, as they have done in other places.

The rattle ſnake, according to the unanimous accounts of the French, is never ſeen in this neighbourhood, nor further north near Montreal and Quebec; and the mountains which ſurround Fort St. Frederick, are the moſt northerly part on this ſide, where they have been ſeen. Of all the ſnakes which are found in Canada to the north of theſe mountains, none is poiſonous enough to do any great harm to a man; and all without exception run away when they ſee a man. My remarks on the nature and properties of the rattle-ſnake, I have communicated to the royal Swediſh academy of ſciences *, and thither I refer my readers.

July 22d. This evening ſome people arrived with horſes from Prairie, in order to fetch us. The governor had ſent for them at my deſire, becauſe there were not yet any horſes near Fort St. John, the place being only a year old, and the people had not had time to ſettle near it. Thoſe who led the horſes, brought letters to the governor from the governor-general of Canada, the Marquis la Galiſſoniere, dated at Quebec the fifteenth of this month, and from the vice-governor of Montreal, the Baron de Longueil, dated the twenty-firſt of the ſame month. They mentioned that I had been particularly recommended by the French court, and that the governor ſhould ſupply me with every thing I wanted, and forward my journey; and at the ſame time the governor received two little caſks of wine for me, which they thought would relieve me on my journey. At night we drank the kings of France and Sweden's health, under a ſalute from the cannon of the fort, and the health of the governor-general and others.

July 23d. This morning we ſet out on our journey to Prairie, from whence we intended to proceed to Montreal; the diſtance of Prairie from Fort St. John, by land,

* See their Memoirs for the year 1752.

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is reckoned ſix French miles, and from thence to Montreal two lieues (leagues) and a half, by the river St. Lawrence, At firſt we kept along the ſhore, ſo that we had on our right the Riviere de St. John (St. John's river.) This is the name of the mouth of the Lake Champlain, which falls into the river St. Lawrence, and is ſometimes called Riviere de Champlain (Champlain river.) After we had travelled about a French mile, we turned to the left from the ſhore. The country was always low, woody, and pretty wet, though it was in the midſt of ſummer; ſo that we found it difficult to get forward. But it is to be obſerved that Fort St. John was only built laſt ſummer, when this road was firſt made, and conſequently it could not yet have acquired a proper degree of ſolidity. Two hundred and ſixty men were three months at work, in making this road; for which they were fed at the expence of the government, and each received thirty ſols every day; and I was told that they would again reſume the work next autumn. The country hereabouts is low and woody, and of courſe the reſidence of millions of gnats and flies, which were very troubleſome to us. After we had gone about three French miles, we came out of the woods, and the ground ſeemed to have been formerly a marſh, which was now dried up. From hence we had a pretty good proſpect on all ſides. On our right hand at a great diſtance we ſaw two high mountains, riſing remarkably above the reſt; and they were not far from Fort Champlain. We could likewiſe from hence ſee the high mountain which lies near Montreal; and our road went on nearly in a ſtraight line. Soon after, we got again upon wet and low grounds, and after that into a wood which conſiſted chiefly of the fir with leaves which have a ſilvery underſide *. We found the ſoil which we paſſed over to day, very fine and rich, and when the woods are cleared and the ground cultivated, it will probably prove very fertile. There are no rocks, and hardly any ſtones near the road.

About four French miles from Fort St. John, the country makes quite another appearance. It is all cultivated, and a continual variety of fields with excellent wheat, peaſe, and oats, preſented itſelf to our view; but we ſaw no other kinds of corn. The farms ſtood ſcattered, and each of them was ſurrounded by its corn-fields, and meadows; the houſes are built of wood and very ſmall. Inſtead of moſs, which cannot be got here, they employ clay for ſtopping up the crevices in the walls. The roofs are made very much ſloping, and covered with ſtraw. The ſoil is good, flat, and divided by ſeveral rivulets; and only in a few places there are ſome little hills. The proſpect is very fine from this part of the road, and as far as I could ſee the country, it was cultivated; all the fields were covered with corn, and they generally uſe ſummer wheat here. The ground is ſtill very fertile, ſo that there is no occaſion for leaving it to lie as fallow. The foreſts are pretty much cleared, and it is to be feared that there will be a time, when wood will become very ſcarce. Such was the appearance of the country quite up to Prairie, and the river St. Lawrence, which laſt we had now always in ſight; and, in a word, this country was in my opinion the fineſt of North America, which I had hitherto ſeen.

About dinner-time we arrived at Prairie, which is ſituated on a little riſing ground near the river St. Lawrence. We ſtaid here this day, becauſe I intended to viſit the places in this neighbourhood before I went on.

Prairie de la Magdalene is a ſmall village on the eaſtern ſide of the river St. Lawrence, about two French miles and a half from Montreal, which place lies N. W. from hence, on the other ſide of the river. All the country round Prairie is quite flat, and

* Abies foliis ſubtus argenteis.

has hardly any riſings. On all ſides are large corn-fields, meadows, and paſtures. On the weſtern ſide, the river St. Lawrence paſſes by, and has here a breadth of a French mile and a half, if not more. Moſt of the houſes in Prairie are built of timber, with ſloping wooden roofs, and the crevices in the walls are ſtopped up with clay. There are ſome little buildings of ſtone, chiefly of the black lime-ſtone, or of pieces of rock-ſtone, in which latter the enchaſement of the doors and windows was made of the black lime-ſtone. In the midſt of the village is a pretty church of ſtone, with a ſteeple at the weſt end of it, furniſhed with bells. Before the door is a croſs, together with ladders, tongs, hammers, nails, &c., which are to repreſent all the inſtruments made uſe of at the crucifixion of our Saviour, and perhaps many others beſides them. The village is ſurrounded with paliſades, from four yards to five high, put up formerly as a barrier againſt the incurſions of the Indians. Without theſe paliſades are ſeveral little kitchen and pleaſure gardens, but very few fruit-trees in them. The riſing-grounds along the river are very inconſiderable here. In this place there was a prieſt, and a captain, who aſſumed the name of governor. The corn-fields round the place are extenſive, and ſown with ſummer-wheat; but rye, barley and maize are never ſeen. To the ſouth-weſt of this place is a great fall in the river St. Lawrence, and the noiſe which it cauſes, may be plainly heard here. When the water in ſpring encreaſes in the river, on account of the ice which then begins to diſſolve, it ſometimes happens to riſe ſo high as to overflow a great part of the fields, and, inſtead of fertilizing them as the river Nile fertilizes the Egyptian fields by its inundations, it does them much damage, by carrying a number of graſſes and plants on them, the ſeeds of which ſpread the worſt kind of weeds, and ruin the fields. Theſe inundations oblige the people to take their cattle a great way off, becauſe the water covers a great tract of land; but happily it never ſtays on it above two or three days. The cauſe of theſe inundations is generally owing to the ſtopping of ice in ſome part of the river.

The zizania aquatica, or folle avoine grows plentiful in the rivulet, or brook, which flows ſomewhat below Prairie.

July 24th. This morning I went from Prairie in a bateau to Montreal, upon the river St. Lawrence. The river is very rapid, but not very deep near Prairie, ſo that the yatcht cannot go higher than Montreal, except in ſpring with the high water, when they can come up to Prairie, but no further. The town of Montreal may be ſeen at Prairie, and all the way down to it. On our arrival there we found a crowd of people at that gate of the town, where we were to paſs through. They were very deſirous of ſeeing us, becauſe they were informed that ſome Swedes were to come to town; people of whom they had heard ſomething, but whom they had never ſeen; and we are aſſured by every body, that we were the firſt Swedes that ever came to Montreal. As ſoon as we were landed, the governor of the town ſent a captain to me, who deſired I would follow him to the governor's houſe, where he introduced me to him. The Baron Longueuil was as yet vice-governor, but he daily expected his promotion from France. He received me more civilly and generouſly than I can well deſcribe, and ſhewed me letters from the governor-general at Quebec, the Marquis de la Galiſſoniere, which mentioned that he had received orders from the French court to ſupply me with whatever I ſhould want, as I was to travel in this country at the expence of His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. In ſhort Governor Longueuil loaded me with greater favours than I could expect or even imagine, both during my preſent ſtay and on my return from Quebec.

The difference between the manners and cuſtoms of the French in Montreal and Canada, and thoſe of the Engliſh in the American colonies, is as great as that between

the manners of thoſe two nations in Europe. The women in general are handſome here; they are well bred, and virtuous, with an innocent and becoming freedom. They dreſs out very fine on Sundays; and though on the other days they do not take much pains with other parts of their dreſs, yet they are very fond of adorning their heads, the hair of which is always curled and powdered, and ornamented with glittering bodkins and aigrettes. Every day but Sunday, they wear a little neat jacket, and a ſhort petticoat which hardly reaches half the leg, and in this particular they ſeem to imitate the Indian women. The heels of their ſhoes are high, and very narrow, and it is ſurprizing how they walk on them. In their knowledge of œconomy, they greatly ſurpaſs the Engliſh women in the plantations, who indeed have taken the liberty of throwing all the burthen of houſe-keeping upon their huſbands, and ſit in their chairs all day with folded arms *. The women in Canada on the contrary do not ſpare themſelves, eſpecially among the common people, where they are always in the fields, meadows, ſtables, &c. and do not diſlike any work whatſoever. However, they ſeem rather remiſs in regard to the cleaning of the utenſils, and apartments; for ſometimes the floors, both in the town and country, were hardly cleaned once in ſix months, which is a diſagreeable ſight to one who comes from amongſt the Dutch and Engliſh, where the conſtant ſcouring and ſcrubbing of the floors is reckoned as important as the exerciſe of religion itſelf. To prevent the thick duſt, which is thus left on the floor, from being noxious to the health, the women wet it ſeveral times a day, which renders it more conſiſtent; repeating the aſperſion as often as the duſt is dry and riſes again. Upon the whole, however, they are not averſe to the taking a part in all the buſineſs of houſekeeping; and I have with pleaſure ſeen the daughters of the better ſort of people, and of the governor himſelf, not too finely dreſſed, and going into kitchens and cellars, to look that every thing be done as it ought.

The men are extremely civil, and take their hats off to every perſon indifferently whom they meet in the ſtreets. It is cuſtomary to return a viſit the day after you have received one; though one ſhould have ſome ſcores to pay in one day.

I have been told by ſome among the French, who had gone a beaver-hunting with the Indians to the northern parts of Canada, that the animals whoſe ſkins they endeavour to get, and which are there in great plenty, are beavers, wild-cats, or lynxes, and martens. Theſe animals are the more valued, the farther they are caught to the north, for their ſkins have better hair, and look better than thoſe which are taken more ſouthward, and they became gradually better or worſe, the more they are northward or ſouthward.

White partridges† is the name which the French in Canada give to a kind of birds, abounding during winter near Hudſon's Bay, and which are undoubtedly our ptarmigans, or ſnow-hens (tetrao lagopus). They are very plentiful at the time of a great froſt, and when a conſiderable quantity of ſnow happens to fall. They are deſcribed to me as having rough white feet, and being white all over, except three or four black feathers in the tail; and they are reckoned very fine eating. From Edward's Natural Hiſtory of Birds (page 72) it appears, that the ptarmigans are common about Hudſon's Bay ‡.

* It ſeems, that for the future, the fair ſex in the Engliſh colonies in North-America, will no longer deſerve the reproaches Mr. Kalm ſtigmatizes them with repeatedly, ſince it is generally reported, that the ladies of late have vyed one with another, in providing their families with linen, ſtockings, and home-ſpun cloth of their own making, and that a general ſpirit of induſtry prevails among them at this preſent time. F.

† Perdrix blanches.

‡ See Br. Zool. Suppl. plate XIII. f. 1. F.

Hares

Hares are likewiſe ſaid to be plentiful near Hudſon's Bay, and they are abundant even in Canada, where I have often ſeen, and found them perfectly correſponding with our Swediſh hares. In ſummer they have a browniſh grey, and in winter a ſnowy white colour, as with us *.

Mechanics, ſuch as architecture, cabinet-work, turning, and the like, were not yet ſo forward here as they ought to be; and the Engliſh, in that particular, out-do the French. The chief cauſe of this is, that ſcarce any other people than diſmiſſed ſoldiers come to ſettle here, who have not had any opportunity of learning a mechanical trade, but have ſometimes accidentally, and through neceſſity, been obliged to it. There are however ſome who have a good notion of mechanics, and I ſaw a perſon here who made very good clocks and watches, though he had had but very little inſtruction.

July 27th. The common houſe-flies have but been obſerved in this country about one hundred and fifty years ago, as I have been aſſured by ſeveral perſons in this town, and in Quebec. All the Indians aſſert the ſame thing, and are of opinion that the common flies firſt came over here with the Europeans and their ſhips, which were ſtranded on this coaſt. I ſhall not diſpute this; however, I know, that whilſt I was in the deſarts between Saratoga and Crown Point, or Fort St. Frederick, and ſat down to reſt or to eat, a number of our common flies always came and ſettled on me. It is therefore dubious, whether they have not been longer in America than the term above-mentioned, or whether they have been imported from Europe. On the other hand, it may be urged that the flies were left in thoſe deſarts at the time when fort Anne was yet in a good condition, and when the Engliſh often travelled there and back again; not to mention that ſeveral Europeans, both before and after that time, had travelled through thoſe places, and carried the flies with them, which were attracted by their proviſions.

Wild cattle are abundant in the ſouthern parts of Canada, and have been there ſince times immemorial. They are plentiful in thoſe parts, particularly where the Illinois Indians live, which are nearly in the ſame latitude with Philadelphia; but further to the north they are ſeldom obſerved. I ſaw the ſkin of a wild ox to-day; it was as big as one of the largeſt ox hides in Europe, but had better hair. The hair is dark brown, like that on a brown bear-ſkin. That which is cloſe to the ſkin is as ſoft as wool. This hide was not very thick; and in general they do not reckon them ſo valuable as bear-ſkins in France. In winter they are ſpread on the floors, to keep the feet warm. Some of theſe wild cattle, as I am told, have a long and fine wool, as good, if not better, than ſheep wool. They make ſtockings, cloth, gloves, and other pieces of worſted work of it, which look as well as if they were made of the beſt ſheep wool; and the Indians employ it for ſeveral uſes. The fleſh equals the beſt beef in goodneſs and fatneſs. Sometimes the hides are thick, and may be made uſe of as cow-hides are in Europe. The wild cattle in general are ſaid to be ſtronger and bigger than European cattle, and of a brown red colour. Their horns are but ſhort, though very thick cloſe to the head. Theſe, and ſeveral other qualities, which they have in common with, and in greater perfection than the tame cattle, have induced ſome to endeavour to tame them; by which means they would obtain the advantages ariſing from their goodneſs of hair, and, on account of their great ſtrength, be able to employ them ſucceſsfully in agriculture. With this view ſome have repeatedly got young wild calves, and brought them up in Quebec, and other places, among the tame cattle; but they commonly died in three or four years time; and though they have ſeen people every day, yet they

* See a figure of this hare in its white ſtate, in the Supplem. to Br. Zool. plate xlvii. f. 1. F.

have

have always retained a natural ferocity. They have conſtantly been very ſhy, pricked up their ears at the ſight of a man, and trembled, or run about; ſo that the art of taming them has not hitherto been found out. Some have been of opinion, that theſe cattle cannot well bear the cold; as they never go north of the place I mentioned, though the ſummers be very hot, even in thoſe northern parts. They think that, when the country about the Illinois is better peopled, it will be more eaſy to tame theſe cattle, and that afterwards they might more eaſily be uſed to the northerly climates*. The Indians and French in Canada make uſe of the horns of theſe creatures to put gunpowder in.

The peace which was concluded between France and England was proclaimed this day. The ſoldiers were under arms; the artillery on the walls was fired off, and ſome ſalutes were given by the ſmall fire-arms. All night ſome fire-works were exhibited, and the whole town was illuminated. All the ſtreets were crowded with people till late at night. The governor invited me to ſupper, and to partake of the joy of the inhabitants. There were preſent a number of officers, and perſons of diſtinction; and the feſtival concluded with the greateſt joy.

July 28th. This morning I accompanied the governor, Baron Longueuil, and his family, to a little iſland called Magdalene, which is his own property. It lies in the river St. Lawrence, directly oppoſite to the town, on the eaſtern ſide. The governor had here a very neat houſe, though it was not very large, a fine extenſive garden, and a court-yard. The river paſſes between the town and this iſland, and is very rapid. Near the town it is deep enough for yachts; but towards the iſland it grows more ſhallow, ſo that they are obliged to puſh the boats forwards with poles. There was a mill on the iſland, turned by the mere force of the ſtream, without an additional mill-dam.

The ſmooth ſumach, or rhus glabra, grows in great plenty here. I have no where ſeen it ſo tall as in this place, where it had ſometimes the height of eight yards, and a proportionable thickneſs.

Saſſafras is planted here; for it is never found wild in theſe parts, Fort Anne being the moſt northerly place where I have found it wild. Thoſe ſhrubs which were on the iſland had been planted many years ago; however, they were but ſmall ſhrubs, from two to three feet high, and ſcarce ſo much. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſtem is killed every winter, almoſt down to the very root, and muſt produce new ſhoots every ſpring, as I have found from my own obſervations here; and ſo it appeared to be near the Forts Anne, Nicholſon, and Oſwego. It will therefore be in vain to attempt to plant ſaſſafras in a very cold climate.

The red mulberry-trees (morus rubra, Linn.) are likewiſe planted here. I ſaw four or five of them about five yards high, which the governor told me had been twenty years in this place, and were brought from more ſoutherly parts, ſince they do not grow wild near Montreal. The moſt northerly place, where I have found it growing ſpontaneouſly, is about twenty Engliſh miles north of Albany, as I have been aſſured by the country people who live in that place, and who at the ſame time informed me, that it was very ſcarce in the woods. When I came to Saratoga, I enquired whether any of theſe mulberry-trees had been found in that neighbourhood? but every body told me, that they were never ſeen in thoſe parts, but that the before-mentioned place,

* But by this means they would loſe that ſuperiority which in their wild ſtate they have over the tame cattle; as all the progenies of tamed animals degenerate from the excellence of their wild and free anceſtors. F.

twenty miles above Albany, is the moſt northern one where they grow. Thoſe mulberry-trees, which were planted on this iſland, ſucceed very well, though they are placed in a poor ſoil. Their foliage is large and thick, but they did not bear any fruits this year. However, I was informed that they can bear a conſiderable degree of cold.

The water-beech was planted here in a ſhady place, and was grown to a great height. All the French hereabouts call it cotonier *. It is never found wild near the river St. Lawrence; nor north of Fort St. Frederick, where it is now very ſcarce.

The red cedar is called cedre rouge by the French, and it was likewiſe planted in the governor's garden, whether it had been brought from more ſouthern parts, for it is not to be met with in the foreſts hereabouts. However, it came on very well here.

About half an hour after ſeven in the evening we left this pleaſant iſland, and an hour after our return the Baron de Longueuil received two agreeable pieces of news at once. The firſt was, that his ſon, who had been two years in France, was returned; and the ſecond, that he had brought with him the royal patents for his father, by which he was appointed governor of Montreal, and the country belonging to it.

They make uſe of fans here, which are made of the tails of the wild turkeys. As ſoon as the birds are ſhot, their tails are ſpread like fans, and dried, by which means they keep their figure. The ladies and the men of diſtinction in town wear theſe fans, when they walk in the ſtreets, during the intenſeneſs of the heat.

All the graſs on the meadows round Montreal conſiſts chiefly of a ſpecies of meadow-graſs, or the poa capillaris, Linn. †. This is a very ſlender graſs, which grows very cloſe, and ſucceeds even on the drieſt hills. It is however not rich in foliage; and the ſlender ſtalk is chiefly uſed for hay. We have numerous kinds of graſſes in Sweden, which make infinitely finer meadows than this.

July 30th. The wild plumb-trees grow in great abundance on the hills, along the rivulets about the town. They were ſo loaded with fruit, that the boughs were quite bent downwards by the weight. The fruit was not yet ripe, but when it comes to that perfection, it has a red colour and a fine taſte, and preſerves are ſometimes made of it.

Black currants (ribes nigrum, Linn.) are plentiful in the ſame places, and its berries were ripe at this time. They are very ſmall, and not by far ſo agreeable as thoſe in Sweden.

Parſnips grow in great abundance on the riſing banks of rivers, along the corn-fields, and in other places. This led me to think, that they were original natives of America, and not firſt brought over by the Europeans. But on my journey into the country of the Iroquois, where no European ever had a ſettlement, I never once ſaw it, though the ſoil was excellent; and from hence it appears plain enough, that it was tranſported hither from Europe, and is not originally an American plant; and therefore it is in vain ſought for in any part of this continent, except among the European ſettlements.

Auguſt 1ſt. The governor-general of Canada commonly reſides at Quebec; but he frequently goes to Montreal, and generally ſpends the winter there. In ſummer they chiefly reſide at Quebec, on account of the king's ſhips, which arrive there during that ſeaſon, and bring him letters, which he muſt anſwer; beſides other buſineſs which comes in about that time. During his reſidence in Montreal he lives in

* Cotton-tree. Mr. Kalm mentions before, that this name is given to the aſclepias ſyriaca. F.

† Mr. Kalm deſcribes it thus: poa culmo ſubcompreſſo panicula tenuiſſima, ſpiculis trifloris minimis, floſculis baſi pubeſcentibus.

the

the caſtle, as it is called, which is a large houſe of ſtone, built by Governor-general Vaudreuil, and ſtill belonging to his family, who hire it to the King.

They have in Canada ſcarce any other but paper-currency. I hardly ever ſaw any coin, except French ſols, conſiſting of braſs, with a very ſmall mixture of ſilver; they were quite thin by conſtant circulation, and were valued at a ſol and a half. The bills are not printed, but written. Their origin is as follows: the French King having found it very dangerous to ſend money for the pay of the troops, and other purpoſes, over to Canada, on account of privateers, ſhipwrecks, and other accidents; he ordered that inſtead of it the intendant, or King's ſteward, at Quebec, or the commiſſary at Montreal, ſhould write bills for the value of the ſums which are due to the troops, and which they diſtribute to each ſoldier. On theſe bills is inſcribed, that they bear the value of ſuch or ſuch a ſum, till next October; and they are ſigned by the intendant, or the commiſſary; and in the interval they bear the value of money. In the month of October, at a certain ſtated time, every one brings the bills in his poſſeſſion to the intendant at Quebec, or the commiſſary at Montreal, who exchanges them for bills of exchange upon France, which are paid there in lawful money, at the King's exchequer, as ſoon as they are preſented. If the money is not yet wanted, the bill may be kept till next October, when it may be exchanged by one of thoſe gentlemen, for a bill upon France. The paper money can only be delivered in October, and exchanged for bills upon France. They are of different values, and ſome do not exceed a livre, and perhaps ſome are ſtill leſs. Towards autumn, when the merchants' ſhips come in from France, the merchants endeavour to get as many bills as they can, and change them for bills upon the French treaſury. Theſe bills are partly printed, ſpaces being left for the name, ſum, &c.; but the firſt bill, or paper currency is all wrote, and is therefore ſubject to be counterfeited, which has ſometimes been done; but the great puniſhments which have been inflicted upon the authors of theſe forged bills, and which generally are capital, have deterred people from attempting it again; ſo that examples of this kind are very ſcarce at preſent. As there is a great want of ſmall coin here, the buyers or ſellers were frequently obliged to ſuffer a ſmall loſs, and could pay no intermediate prices between one livre and two *.

They commonly give one hundred and fifty livres a year to a faithful and diligent footman, and to a maid-ſervant of the ſame character one hundred livres. A journeyman to an artiſt gets three or four livres a day, and a common labouring man gets thirty or forty ſols a day. The ſcarcity of labouring people occaſions the wages to be ſo high; for almoſt every body finds it ſo eaſy to ſet up as a farmer in this uncultivated country, where he can live well, and at a ſmall expence, that he does not care to ſerve and work for others.

Montreal is the ſecond town in Canada, in regard to ſize and wealth; but it is the firſt on account of its fine ſituation, and mild climate. Somewhat above the town, the river St. Lawrence divides into ſeveral branches, and by that means forms ſeveral iſlands, and among which the iſle of Montreal is the greateſt. It is ten French miles long, and near four broad, in its broadeſt part. The town of Montreal is built on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, and cloſe to one of the moſt conſiderable branches of the river St. Lawrence; and thus it receives a very pleaſant and advantageous ſituation. The town has a quadrangular form, or rather it is a rectangular parallelogram, the long and

* The ſol is the loweſt coin in Canada, and is about the value of a penny in the Engliſh colonies. A livre, or franc, (for they are both the ſame) contains twenty ſols; and three livres, or francs, make an ecu, or crown.

eaſtern ſide of which extends along the great branch of the river. On the other ſide it is ſurrounded with excellent corn-fields, charming meadows, and delightful woods. It has got the name of Montreal from a great mountain, about half a mile weſtwards of the town, and lifting its head far above the woods. Monſieur Cartier, one of the firſt Frenchmen who ſurveyed Canada more accurately, called this mountain ſo, on his arrival in this iſland, in the year 1535, when he viſited the mountain, and the Indian town Hoſhelaga near it. The prieſts who, according to the Roman Catholic way, would call every place in this country after ſome ſaint or other, calling Montreal, Ville Marie, but they have not been able to make this name general, for it has always kept its firſt name. It is pretty well fortified, and ſurrounded with a high and thick wall. On the eaſt ſide it has the river St. Lawrence, and on all the other ſides a deep ditch filled with water, which ſecures the inhabitants againſt all danger from the ſudden incurſions of the enemy's troops. However, it cannot long ſtand a regular ſiege, becauſe it requires a great garriſon, on account of its extent; and becauſe it conſiſts chiefly of wooden houſes. Here are ſeveral churches, of which I ſhall only mention that belonging to the friars of the order of St. Sulpitius, that of the Jeſuits, that of the Franciſcan friars, that belonging to the nunnery, and that of the hoſpital; of which the firſt is however by far the fineſt, both in regard to its outward and inward ornaments, not only in this place, but in all Canada. The prieſts of the ſeminary of St. Sulpitius have a fine large houſe, where they live together. The college of the Franciſcan friars is likewiſe ſpacious, and has good walls, but it is not ſo magnificent as the former. The college of the Jeſuits is ſmall, but well built. To each of theſe three buildings are annexed fine large gardens, for the amuſement, health, and uſe of the communities to which they belong. Some of the houſes in the town are built of ſtone, but moſt of them are of timber, though very neatly built. Each of the better ſort of houſes has a door towards the ſtreet, with a ſeat on each ſide of it, for amuſement and recreation in the morning and evening. The long ſtreets are broad and ſtrait, and divided at right angles by the ſhort ones: ſome are paved, but moſt of them very uneven. The gates of the town are numerous; on the eaſt ſide of the town towards the river are five, two great and three leſſer ones; and on the other ſide are likewiſe ſeveral. The governor-general of Canada, when he is at Montreal, reſides in the caſtle, which the government hires for that purpoſe of the family of Vaudreuil; but the governor of Montreal is obliged to buy or hire a houſe in town; though I was told, that the government contributed towards paying the rents.

In the town is a nunnery, and without its walls half a one; for though the laſt was quite ready, however, it had not yet been confirmed by the pope. In the firſt they do not receive every girl that offers herſelf; for their parents muſt pay about five hundred ecus, or crowns, for them. Some indeed are admitted for three hundred ecus, but they are obliged to ſerve thoſe who pay more than they. No poor girls are taken in.

The King has erected a hoſpital for ſick ſoldiers here. The ſick perſon there is provided with every thing he wants, and the King pays twelve ſols every day for his ſtay, attendance, &c. The ſurgeons are paid by the King. When an officer is brought to this hoſpital, who is fallen ſick in the ſervice of the crown, he receives victuals and attendance gratis: but if he has got a ſickneſs in the execution of his private concerns, and comes to be cured here, he muſt pay it out of his own purſe. When there is room enough in the hoſpital, they likewiſe take in ſome of the ſick inhabitants of the town and country. They have the medicines, and the attendance of the ſurgeons, gratis, but muſt pay twelve ſols per day for meat, &c.

Every Friday is a market-day, when the country people come to the town with proviſions, and thoſe who want them muſt ſupply themſelves on that day, becauſe it is the only market-day in the whole week. On that day likewiſe a number of Indians come to town, to ſell their goods, and buy others.

The declination of the magnetic needle was here ten degrees and thirty-eight minutes weſt. Mr. Gillion, one of the prieſts here, who had a particular taſte for mathematics and aſtronomy, had drawn a meridian in the garden of the ſeminary, which he ſaid he had examined repeatedly by the ſun and ſtars, and found to be very exact. I compared my compaſs with it, taking care that no iron was near it, and found its declination juſt the ſame as that which I have before mentioned.

According to Monſieur Gillion's obſervations, the latitude of Montreal is forty-five degrees and twenty-ſeven minutes.

Monſieur Pontarion, another prieſt, had made thermometrical obſervations in Montreal, from the beginning of this year 1749. He made uſe of Reaumur's thermometer, which he placed ſometimes in the window half open, and ſometimes in one quite open, and accordingly it will ſeldom mark the greateſt degree of cold in the air. However, I ſhall give a ſhort abſtract of his obſervations for the winter months. In January the greateſt cold was on the 18th day of the month, when the Reaumurian thermometer was twenty-three degrees below the freezing point. The leaſt degree of cold was on the 31ſt of the ſame month, when it was juſt at the freezing point, but moſt of the days of this month it was from twelve to fifteen degrees below the freezing point. In February the greateſt cold was on the 19th and 25th, when the thermometer was fourteen degrees below the freezing point; and the leaſt was on the 3d day of that month, when it roſe eight degrees above the freezing point; but it was generally eleven degrees below it. In March the greateſt cold was on the 3d, when it was ten degrees below the freezing point, and on the 22d, 23d, and 24th, it was mildeſt, being fifteen degrees above it: in general it was four degrees below it. In April the greateſt degree of cold happened on the 7th, the thermometer being five degrees below the freezing point; the 25th was the mildeſt day, it being twenty degrees above the freezing point; but in general it was twelve degrees above it. Theſe are the contents chiefly of Monſieur Pontarion's obſervations during thoſe months; but I found, by the manner he made his obſervations, that the cold had every day been from four to ſix degrees greater than he had marked it. He had likewiſe marked in his journal, that the ice in the river St. Lawrence broke on the 3d of April at Montreal, and only on the 20th day of that month at Quebec. On the 3d of May ſome trees began to flower at Montreal, and on the 12th the hoary froſt was ſo great, that the trees were quite covered with it, as with ſnow. The ice in the river cloſe to this town is every winter above a French foot thick, and ſometimes it is two of ſuch feet, as I was informed by all whom I conſulted on that head.

Several of the friars here told me, that the ſummers were remarkably longer in Canada, ſince its cultivation, than they uſed to be before; it begins earlier, and ends later. The winters, on the other hand, are much ſhorter; but the friars were of opinion, that they were as hard as formerly, though they were not of the ſame duration; and likewiſe, that the ſummer at preſent was no hotter than it uſed to be. The coldeſt winds at Montreal are thoſe from the north and north-weſt.

Aug. 2d. Early this morning we left Montreal, and went in a bateau on our journey to Quebec, in company with the ſecond major of Montreal, M. de Sermonville. We fell down the river St. Lawrence, which was here pretty broad on our left; on the north-weſt ſide was the iſle of Montreal, and on the right a number of other iſles, and

the ſhore. The iſle of Montreal was cloſely inhabited along the river; and it was very plain, and the riſing land near the ſhore conſiſted of pure mould, and was between three or four yards high. The woods were cut down along the river-ſide, for the diſtance of an Engliſh mile. The dwelling-houſes were built of wood, or ſtone, indiſcriminately, and white-waſhed on the outſide. The other buildings, ſuch as barns, ſtables, &c. were all of wood. The ground next to the river was turned either into corn-fields or meadows. Now and then we perceived churches on both ſides of the river, the ſteeples of which were generally on that ſide of the church which looked towards the river, becauſe they are not obliged here to put the ſteeples on the weſt end of the churches. Within ſix French miles of Montreal we ſaw ſeveral iſlands of different ſizes on the river, and moſt of them were inhabited; and if ſome of them were without houſes on them, they were ſometimes turned into corn-fields, but generally into meadows. We ſaw no mountains, hills, rocks, or ſtones to-day, the country being flat throughout, and conſiſting of pure mould.

All the farms in Canada ſtand ſeparate from each other, ſo that each farmer has his poſſeſſions entirely diſtinct from thoſe of his neighbour. Each church, it is true, has a little village near it; but that conſiſts chiefly of the parſonage, a ſchool for the boys and girls of the place, and of the houſes of tradeſmen, but rarely of farm-houſes; and if that was the caſe, yet their fields were ſeparated. The farm-houſes hereabouts are generally built all along the riſing banks of the river, either cloſe to the water or at ſome diſtance from it, and about three or four arpens from each other. To ſome farms are annexed ſmall orchards: but they are in general without them; however, almoſt every farmer has a kitchen-garden.

I have been told by all thoſe who have made journies to the ſouthern parts of Canada, and to the river Miſſiſſippi, that the woods there abound with peach-trees, which bear excellent fruit, and that the Indians of thoſe parts ſay, that thoſe trees have been there ſince time immemorial.

The farm-houſes are generally built of ſtone, but ſometimes of timber, and have three or four rooms. The windows are ſeldom of glaſs, but moſt frequently of paper. They have iron ſtoves in one of the rooms, and chimnies in the reſt. The roofs are covered with boards. The crevices and chinks are filled up with clay. The other buildings are covered with ſtraw.

There are ſeveral croſſes put up by the road ſide, which is parallel to the ſhores of the river. Theſe croſſes are very common in Canada, and are put up to excite devotion in the traveller. They are made of wood, five or ſix yards high, and proportionally broad. In that ſide which looks towards the road is a ſquare hole, in which they place an image of our Saviour, the croſs, or of the holy Virgin, with the child in her arms; and before that they put a piece of glaſs, to prevent its being ſpoiled by the weather. Thoſe croſſes, which are not far from churches, are very much adorned, and they put up about them all the inſtruments which they think the Jews employed in crucifying our Saviour, ſuch as a hammer, tongs, nails, a flaſk of vinegar, and perhaps many more than were really made uſe of. A figure of the cock, which crowed when St. Peter denied our Lord, is commonly put at the top of the croſs.

The country on both ſides was very delightful to-day, and the fine ſtate of its cultivation added greatly to the beauty of the ſcene. It could really be called a village, beginning at Montreal, and ending at Quebec, which is a diſtance of more than one hundred and eighty miles; for the farm-houſes are never above five arpens, and ſometimes but three, aſunder, a few places excepted. The proſpect is exceedingly beautiful, when the river goes on for ſome miles together in a ſtrait line, becauſe it then

ſhortens the diſtances between the houſes, and makes them form exactly one continued village.

All the women in the country, without exception, wear caps of ſome kind or other. Their jackets are ſhort, and ſo are their petticoats, which ſcarce reach down to the middle of their legs; and they have a ſilver croſs hanging down on the breaſt. In general they are very laborious; however, I ſaw ſome, who, like the Engliſh women in the colonies, did nothing but prattle all the day. When they have any thing to do within doors, they (eſpecially the girls) commonly ſing ſongs, in which the words Amour and Cœur are very frequent. In the country it is uſual, that when the huſband receives a viſit from perſons of rank, and dines with them, his wife ſtands behind and ſerves him; but in the towns, the ladies are more diſtinguiſhed, and would willingly aſſume an equal, if not a ſuperior, power to their huſbands. When they go out of doors they wear long cloaks, which cover all their other clothes, and are either grey, brown, or blue. The men ſometimes make uſe of them, when they are obliged to go in the rain. The women have the advantage of being in a diſhabille under theſe cloaks, without any body's perceiving it.

We ſometimes ſaw wind-mills near the farms. They were generally built of ſtone, with a roof of boards, which, together with its flyers, could be turned to the wind occaſionally.

The breadth of the river was not always equal to-day; in the narroweſt place it was about a quarter of an Engliſh mile broad; in other parts it was near two Engliſh miles. The ſhore was ſometimes high and ſteep, and ſometimes low, or ſloping.

At three o'clock this afternoon we paſſed by the river, which falls into the river St. Lawrence, and comes from Lake Champlain, in the middle of which latter is a large iſland. The yachts which go between Montreal and Quebec, go on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of this iſland, becauſe it is deeper there; but the boats prefer the north-weſt ſide, becauſe it is nearer, and yet deep enough for them. Beſides this iſland there are ſeveral more hereabouts, which are all inhabited. Somewhat further, the country on both ſides the river is uninhabited, till we come to the lac St. Pierre; becauſe it is ſo low, as to be quite overflowed at certain times of the year. To make up for this deficiency, the country, I am told, is as thickly inhabited further from the river, as we found it along the banks of the river.

Lac St. Pierre is a part of the river St. Lawrence, which is ſo broad that we could hardly ſee any thing but ſky and water before us, and I was every where told, that it is ſeven French miles long, and three broad. From the middle of this lake as it is called, you ſee a large high country in the weſt, which appears above the woods. In the lake are many places covered with a kind of ruſh, or ſcirpus paluſtris, Linn. There are no houſes in ſight on either ſide of the lake, becauſe the land is rather too low there; and in ſpring the water riſes ſo high, that they may go with boats between the trees. However, at ſome diſtance from the ſhores, where the ground is higher, the farms are cloſe together. We ſaw no iſlands in the lake this afternoon, but the next day we met with ſome.

Late in the evening we left lake St. Pierre, and rowed up a little river called Riviere de Loup, in order to come to a houſe where we might paſs the night. Having rowed about an Engliſh mile, we found the country inhabited on both ſides of the river. Its ſhores are high; but the country in general is flat. We paſſed the night in a farm-houſe. The territory of Montreal extends to this place; but here begins the juriſdiction of the governor of Trois Rivieres, to which place they reckon eight French miles from hence.

Aug. 3d. At five o'clock in the morning we ſet out again, and firſt rowed down the little river till we came into the lake St. Pierre, which we went downwards. After we had gone a good way, we perceived a high chain of mountains in the north-weſt, which were very much elevated above the low, flat country. The north-weſt ſhore of lake St. Pierre was now in general very cloſely inhabited; but on the ſouth-eaſt ſide we ſaw no houſes, and only a country covered with woods, which is ſometimes ſaid to be under water, but behind which there are, as I am told, a great number of farms. Towards the end of the lake, the river went into its proper bounds again, being not above a mile and a half broad, and afterwards it grows ſtill narrower. From the end of lake St. Pierre to Trois Rivieres, they reckon three French miles, and about eleven o'clock in the morning we arrived at the latter place, where we attended divine ſervice.

Trois Rivieres is a little market town, which had the appearance of a large village; it is however reckoned among the three great towns of Canada, which are Quebec, Montreal, and Trois Rivieres. It is ſaid to lie in the middle between the two firſt, and thirty French miles diſtant from each. The town is built on the north ſide of the river St. Lawrence, on a flat, elevated ſand, and its ſituation is very pleaſant. On one ſide the river paſſes by, which is here an Engliſh mile and a half broad. On the other ſide, are fine corn-fields, though the ſoil is very much mixed with ſand. In the town are two churches of ſtone, a nunnery, and a houſe for the friars of the order of St. Francis. This town is likewiſe the ſeat of the third governor in Canada, whoſe houſe is likewiſe of ſtone. Moſt of the other houſes are of timber, a ſingle ſtory high, tolerably well built, and ſtand very much aſunder; and the ſtreets are crooked. The ſhore here conſiſts of ſand, and the riſing grounds along it are pretty high. When the wind is very violent here, it raiſes the ſand, and blows it about the ſtreets, making it very troubleſome to walk in them. The nuns, which are about twenty-two in number, are reckoned very ingenious in all kinds of needle-work. This town formerly flouriſhed more than any other in Canada, for the Indians brought their goods to it from all ſides; but ſince that time they go to Montreal and Quebec, and to the Engliſh, on account of their wars with the Iroqueſe, or five nations, and for ſeveral other reaſons, ſo that this town is at preſent very much reduced by it. Its preſent inhabitants live chiefly by agriculture, though the neighbouring iron-works may ſerve in ſome meaſure to ſupport them. About an Engliſh mile below the town, a great river falls into the river St. Lawrence, but firſt divides into three branches, ſo that it appears as if three rivers diſembogued themſelves there. This has given occaſion to call the river and this town, Trois Rivieres (the Three Rivers.)

The tide goes about a French mile above Trois Rivieres, though it is ſo trifling as to be hardly obſervable. But about the equinoxes, and at the new moons and full moons in ſpring and autumn, the difference between the higheſt and loweſt water is two feet. Accordingly the tide in this river goes very far up, for from the above-mentioned place to the ſea they reckon about a hundred and fifty French miles.

Whilſt my company were reſting, I went on horſeback to view the iron-work. The country which I paſſed through was pretty high, ſandy, and generally flat. I ſaw neither ſtones nor mountains here.

The iron-work, which is the only one in this country, lies three miles to the weſt of Trois Rivieres. Here are two great forges, beſides two leſſer ones to each of the great ones, and under the ſame roof with them. The bellows were made of wood, and every thing elſe, as it is in Swediſh forges. The melting ovens ſtand cloſe to the forges, and are the ſame as ours. The ore is got two French miles and a half from the iron works

works, and is carried thither on ſledges. It is a kind of moor ore *, which lies in veins, within ſix inches or a foot from the ſurface of the ground. Each vein is from ſix to eighteen inches deep, and below it is a white ſand. The veins are ſurrounded with this ſand on both ſides, and covered at the top with a thin mould. The ore is pretty rich and lies in looſe lumps in the veins, of the ſize of two fiſts, though there are a few which are near eighteen inches thick. Theſe lumps are full of holes which are filled with ochre. The ore is ſo ſoft that it may be cruſhed betwixt the fingers. They make uſe of a grey lime-ſtone, which is broke in the neighbourhood, for promoting the fuſibility of the ore; to that purpoſe they likewiſe employ a clay marle, which is found near this place. Charcoals are to be had in great abundance here, becauſe all the country round this place is covered with woods, which have never been ſtirred. The charcoals from ever-green trees, that is, from the fir kind, are beſt for the forge, but thoſe of deciduous trees are beſt for the ſmelting oven. The iron which is here made, was to me deſcribed as ſoft, pliable, and tough, and is ſaid to have the quality of not being attacked by ruſt ſo eaſily as other iron; and in this point there appears a great difference between the Spaniſh iron and this in ſhip building. This iron-work was firſt founded in 1737, by private perſons, who afterwards ceded it to the king; they caſt cannon and mortars here of different ſizes, iron ſtoves, which are in uſe all over Canada, kettles, &c., not to mention the bars which are made here. They have likewiſe tried to make ſteel here, but cannot bring it to any great perfection, becauſe they are unacquainted with the beſt manner of preparing it. Here are many officers and overſeers, who have very good houſes, built on purpoſe for them. It is agreed on all hands, that the revenues of the iron-work do not pay the expences which the king muſt every year be at in maintaining it. They lay the fault on the bad ſtate of population, and ſay that the few inhabitants in the country have enough to do with agriculture, and that it therefore coſts great trouble and large ſums to get a ſufficient number of workmen. But however plauſible this may appear, yet it is ſurpriſing that the king ſhould be a loſer in carrying on this work; for the ore is eaſily broken, very near the iron-work, and very fuſible. The iron is good, and can be very conveniently diſperſed over the country. This is moreover the only iron-work in the country, from which every body muſt ſupply himſelf with iron tools, and what other iron he wants. But the officers and ſervants belonging to the iron-work, appear to be in very affluent circumſtances. A river runs down from the iron-work into the river St. Lawrence, by which all the iron can be ſent in boats throughout the country at a low rate. In the evening I returned again to Trois Rivieres.

Aug. 4th. At the dawn of day we left this place and went on towards Quebec. We found the land on the north ſide of the river ſomewhat elevated, ſandy, and cloſely inhabited along the water-ſide. The ſouth-eaſt ſhore, we were told, is equally well inhabited; but the woods along that ſhore prevented our ſeeing the houſes, which are built further up in the country, the land cloſe to the river being ſo low as to be ſubject to annual inundations. Near Trois Rivieres, the river grows ſomewhat narrow; but it enlarges again, as ſoon as you come a little below that place, and has the breadth of above two Engliſh miles.

As we went on, we ſaw ſeveral churches of ſtone, and often very well built ones. The ſhores of the river are cloſely inhabited for about three quarters of an Engliſh mile

* Tophus tubalcaini, Linn. Syſt. Nat. III. p. 187. n. 5. Minera ferri ſubaquoſa nigro cæruleſcens. Wall. Mineral. p. 263. Germ. Ed. p. 340. n. 3. Iron ochres in the ſhape of cruſts, are ſometimes cavernous, as the bruſh ore. Forſter's Mineral. p. 48.

up

up the country; but beyond that, the woods and the wilderneſs increaſe. All the rivulets falling into the river St. Lawrence are likewiſe well inhabited on both ſides. I obſerved throughout Canada, that the cultivated lands lie only along the river St. Lawrence, and the other rivers in the country, the environs of towns excepted, round which the country is all cultivated and inhabited within the diſtance of twelve or eighteen Engliſh miles. The great iſlands in the river are likewiſe inhabited.

The ſhores of the river now became higher, more oblique and ſteep, however they conſiſted chiefly of earth. Now and then ſome rivers, or great brooks, fall into the river St. Lawrence, among which one of the moſt conſiderable is the Riviere Puante, which unites to the ſouth-eaſt ſide with the river St. Lawrence, about two French miles below Trois Rivieres, and has on its banks, a little way from its mouth, a town called Becancourt, which is wholly inhabited by Abenakee Indians, who have been converted to the Roman Catholic religion, and have Jeſuits among them. At a great diſtance, on the north-weſt ſide of the river, we ſaw a chain of very high mountains, running from north to ſouth, elevated above the reſt of the country, which is quite flat here without any remarkable hills.

Here were ſeveral lime kilns along the river; and the lime-ſtone employed in them is broke in the neighbouring high grounds. It is compact and grey, and the lime it yields is pretty white.

The fields here are generally ſown with wheat, oats, maize, and peaſe. Gourds and water-melons are planted in abundance near the farms.

A humming bird (trochillus colubris) flew among the buſhes, in a place where we landed to-day. The French call it oiſeau mouche, and ſay it is pretty common in Canada; and I have ſeen it ſince ſeveral times at Quebec.

About five o'clock in the afternoon we were obliged to take our night's lodgings on ſhore, the wind blowing very ſtrong againſt us, and being attended with rain. I found that the nearer we came to Quebec, the more open and free from woods was the country. The place where we paſſed the night is diſtant from Quebec twelve French miles.

They have a very peculiar method of catching fiſh near the ſhore here. They place hedges along the ſhore, made of twiſted oziers, ſo cloſe that no fiſh can get through them, and from one foot to a yard high, according to the different depth of the water. For this purpoſe they chooſe ſuch places where the water runs off during the ebb, and leaves the hedges quite dry. Within this incloſure they place ſeveral wheels, or fiſh-traps, in the form of cylinders, but broader below. They are placed upright, and are about a yard high, and two feet and a half wide: on one ſide near the bottom is an entrance for the fiſhes, made of twigs, and ſometimes of yarn made into a net. Oppoſite to this entrance, on the other ſide of the wheel, looking towards the lower part of the river, is another entrance, like the firſt, and leading to a box of boards about four feet long, two deep, and two broad. Near each of the wheels is a hedge, leading obliquely to the long hedge, and making an acute angle with it. This latter hedge is made in order to lead the fiſh into the trap, and it is placed on that end of the long hedge which looks towards the upper part of the river; now when the tide comes up the river, the fiſh, and chiefly the eels, go up with it along the river ſide; when the water begins to ebb, the fiſh likewiſe go down the river, and meeting with the hedges, they ſwim along them, till they come through the wheels into the boxes of boards, at the top of which there is a hole with a cover, through which the fiſh could

could be taken out. This apparatus is chiefly made on account of the eels. In ſome places hereabouts they place nets inſtead of the hedges of twigs.

The ſhores of the river now conſiſted no more of pure earth; but of a ſpecies of ſlate. They are very ſteep, and nearly perpendicular here, and the ſlates of which they conſiſt are black, with a brown caſt; and diviſible into thin ſhivers, no thicker than the back of a knife. Theſe ſlates moulder as ſoon as they are expoſed to the open air, and the ſhore is covered with grains of ſmall ſand, which are nothing but particles of ſuch mouldered ſlates. Some of the ſtrata run horizontal, others obliquely, dipping to the ſouth, and riſing to the north, and ſometimes the contrary way. Sometimes they form bendings like large ſemicircles: ſometimes a perpendicular line cuts off the ſtrata, to the depth of two feet; and the ſlates on both ſides of the line form a perpendicular and ſmooth wall. In ſome places hereabouts, they find amongſt the ſlates a ſtratum about four inches thick of a grey, compact, but pretty ſoft lime-ſtone, of which the Indians for many centuries have made, and the French at preſent ſtill make, tobacco-pipes *.

Auguſt 5th. This morning we continued our journey by rowing, the contrary wind hindering us from ſailing. The appearance of the ſhores was the ſame as yeſterday; they were high, pretty ſteep, and quite perpendicular; and conſiſted of the black ſlate before deſcribed. The country at the top was a plain without eminences, and cloſely inhabited along the river, for about the ſpace of an Engliſh mile and a half inland. Here are no iſlands in this part of the river, but ſeveral ſtony places, perceptible at low water only, which have ſeveral times proved fatal to travellers. The breadth of the river varies; in ſome parts it was a little more than three quarters of a mile, in others half a mile, and in ſome above two miles. The inhabitants made uſe of the ſame method of catching eels along the ſhores here, as that which I have juſt before mentioned. In many places they make uſe of nets made of oſiers inſtead of the hedge.

Bugs (cimex lectularius) abound in Canada; and I met with them in every place where I lodged, both in the towns and country, and the people know of no other remedy for them than patience.

The crickets (gryllus domeſticus) are alſo abundant in Canada, eſpecially in the country, where theſe diſagreeable gueſts lodge in the chimnies; nor are they uncommon in the towns. They ſtay here both ſummer and winter, and frequently cut cloths in pieces for paſtime.

The cock-roaches (blatta orientalis) have never been found in the houſes here.

The ſhores of the river grow more ſloping as you come nearer to Quebec. To the northward appears a high ridge of mountains. About two French miles and a half from Quebec the river becomes very narrow, the ſhores being within the reach of a muſket-ſhot from each other. The country on both ſides was ſloping, hilly, covered with trees, and had many ſmall rocks; the ſhore was ſtony. About four o'clock in the afternoon we happily arrived at Quebec. The city does not appear till one is cloſe to it, the proſpect being intercepted by a high mountain on the ſouth ſide. However, a part of the fortifications appear at a good diſtance, being ſituate on the ſame mountain. As ſoon as the ſoldiers, who were with us, ſaw Quebec, they called out, that

* This lime-ſtone ſeems to be a marle, or rather a kind of ſtone-marl: for there is a whitiſh kind of it in the Krim Tartary, and near Stiva or Thebes, in Greece, which is employed by the Turks and Tartars for making heads of pipes, and that from the firſt place is called Keffekil, and in the latter, Sea-Scum: it may be very eaſily cut, but grows harder in time. F.

all thoſe who had never been there before ſhould be ducked, if they did not pay ſomething to releaſe themſelves. This cuſtom even the governor-general of Canada is obliged to ſubmit to, on his firſt journey to Montreal. We did not care when we came in ſight of this town to be exempted from this old cuſtom, which is very advantageous to the rowers, as it enables them to ſpend a merry evening on their arrival at Quebec, after their troubleſome labour.

Immediately after my arrival, the officer who had accompanied me from Montreal, led me to the palace of the then vice-governor-general of Canada, the Marquis la Galiſſonniere, a nobleman of uncommon qualities, who behaved towards me with extraordinary goodneſs, during the time he ſtaid in this country. He had already ordered ſome apartments to be got ready for me, and took care to provide me with every thing I wanted; beſides honouring me ſo far to invite me to his table, almoſt every day I was in town.

Auguſt 6th. Quebec, the chief city in Canada, lies on the weſtern ſhore of the river St. Lawrence, cloſe to the water's edge, on a neck of land, bounded by that river on the eaſt ſide, and by the river St. Charles on the north ſide; the mountain, on which the town is built, riſes ſtill higher on the ſouth ſide, and behind it begin great paſtures; and the ſame mountain likewiſe extends a good way weſtward. The city is diſtinguiſhed into the lower and the upper *. The lower lies on the river eaſtward of the upper. The neck of land I mentioned before, was formed by the dirt and filth, which had from time to time been accumulated there, and by a rock which lay that way, not by any gradual diminution of the water. The upper city lies above the other, on a high hill, and takes up five or ſix times the ſpace of the lower, though it is not quite ſo populous. The mountain, on which the upper city is ſituated, reaches above the houſes of the lower city. Notwithſtanding the latter are three or four ſtories high, and the view, from the palace of the lower city (part of which is immediately under it) is enough to cauſe a ſwimming of the head. There is only one eaſy way of getting to the upper city, and there part of the mountain has been blown up. This road is very ſteep, notwithſtanding it is made winding and ſerpentine. However, they go up and down it in carriages, and with waggons. All the other roads up the mountain are ſo ſteep, that it is very difficult to clime to the top of them. Moſt of the merchants live in the lower city, where the houſes are built very cloſe together. The ſtreets in it are narrow, very rugged, and almoſt always wet. There is likewiſe a church, and a ſmall market-place. The upper city is inhabited by people of quality, by ſeveral perſons belonging to the different offices, by tradeſmen, and others. In this part are the chief buildings of the town, among which the following are worthy particular notice.

I. The palace is ſituated on the weſt or ſteepeſt ſide of the mountain, juſt above the lower city. It is not properly a palace, but a large building of ſtone, two ſtories high, extending north and ſouth. On the weſt ſide of it is a court-yard, ſurrounded partly with a wall, and partly with houſes. On the eaſt ſide, or towards the river, is a gallery as long as the whole building, and about two fathom broad, paved with ſmooth flags, and included on the outſides by iron rails, from whence the city and the river exhibit a charming proſpect. This gallery ſerves as a very agreeable walk after dinner, and thoſe who come to ſpeak with the governor-general wait here till he is at leiſure. The palace is the lodging of the governor-general of Canada, and a number of ſoldiers mount the guard before it, both at the gate and in the court-yard; and

* La haute ville and la baſſe ville.

when the governor, or the biſhop, comes in or goes out, they muſt all appear in arms, and beat the drum. The governor-general has his own chapel where he hears prayers; however he often goes to maſs at the church of the Recolets *, which is very near the palace.

II. The churches in this town are ſeven or eight in number, and all built of ſtone.

1. The cathedral church is on the right hand, coming from the lower to the upper city, ſomewhat beyond the biſhop's houſe. The people were at preſent employed in ornamenting it. On its weſt ſide is a round ſteeple, with two diviſions, in the lower of which are ſome bells. The pulpit, and ſome other parts within the church, are gilt. The ſeats are very fine.

2. The Jeſuits church is built in the form of a croſs, and has a round ſteeple. This is the only church that has a clock, and I ſhall mention it more particularly below.

3. The Recolets church is oppoſite the gate of the palace, on the weſt ſide, looks well, and has a pretty high pointed ſteeple, with a diviſion below for the bells.

4. The church of the Urſulines has a round ſpire.

5. The church of the hoſpital.

6. The biſhop's chapel.

7. The church in the lower city was built in 1690, after the town had been delivered from the Engliſh, and is called Notre Dame de la Victoire. It has a ſmall ſteeple in the middle of the roof, ſquare at the bottom, and round at the top.

8. The little chapel of the governor-general may likewiſe be ranked amongſt theſe churches.

III. The biſhop's houſe is the firſt, on the right hand, coming from the lower to the upper town. It is a fine large building, ſurrounded by an extenſive court-yard and kitchen garden on one ſide, and by a wall on the other.

IV. The college of the Jeſuits, which I will deſcribe more particularly. It has a much more noble appearance, in regard to its ſize and architecture, than the palace itſelf, and would be proper for a palace, if it had a more advantageous ſituation. It is about four times as large as the palace, and is the fineſt building in town. It ſtands on the north ſide of a market, on the ſouth ſide of which is the cathedral.

V. The houſe of the Recolets lies to the weſt, near the palace and directly over againſt it, and conſiſts of a ſpacious building, with a large orchard, and kitchen garden. The houſe is two ſtories high; in each ſtory is a narrow gallery with rooms and halls on one or both ſides.

VI. The Hôtel de Dieu, where the ſick are taken care of, ſhall be deſcribed in the ſequel. The nuns that ſerve the ſick, are of the Auguſtine order.

VII. The houſe of the clergy † is a large building, on the north-eaſt ſide of the cathedral. Here is on one ſide a ſpacious court, and on the other towards the river, a great orchard, and kitchen garden. Of all the buildings in the town none has ſo fine a proſpect as that in the garden belonging to this houſe, which lies on the high ſhore, and looks a good way down the river. The Jeſuits, on the other hand, have the worſt, and hardly any proſpect at all from their college, nor have the Recolets any fine views from their houſe. In this building all the clergy of Quebec lodge with their ſuperior. They have large pieces of land in ſeveral parts of Canada, preſented to them by the government, from which they derive a very plentiful income.

* A kind of Franciſcan friars, called Ordo Sti. Franciſci ſtrictioris obſervantiæ.

† Le Seminaire.

VIII. The convent of the Urſuline nuns ſhall be mentioned in the ſequel.

Theſe are all the chief public buildings in the town, but to the north-weſt, juſt before the town, is

IX. The houſe of the intendant, a public building, whoſe ſize makes it fit for a palace. It is covered with tin, and ſtands in a ſecond lower town, ſituated ſouthward upon the river St. Charles. It has a large and fine garden on its north ſide. In this houſe all the deliberations concerning this province are held; and the gentlemen who have the management of the police and the civil power meet here, and the intendant generally preſides. In affairs of great conſequence the governor-general is likewiſe here. On one ſide of this houſe is the ſtore-houſe of the crown, and on the other the priſon.

Moſt of the houſes in Quebec are built of ſtone, and in the upper city they are generally but one ſtory high, the public buildings excepted. I ſaw a few wooden houſes in the town, but they muſt not be rebuilt when decayed. The houſes and churches in the city are not built of bricks, but the black lime-ſlates of which the mountain conſiſts, whereon Quebec ſtands. When theſe lime-ſlates are broke at a good depth in the mountain, they look very compact at firſt, and appear to have no ſhivers, or lamellæ, at all; but after being expoſed awhile to the air, they ſeparate into thin leaves. Theſe ſlates are ſoft, and eaſily cut; and the city-walls, together with the garden-walls, conſiſt chiefly of them. The roofs of the public buildings are covered with common ſlates, which are brought from France, becauſe there are none in Canada.

The ſlated roofs have for ſome years withſtood the changes of air and weather, without ſuffering any damage. The private houſes have roofs of boards, which are laid parallel to the ſpars, and ſometimes to the eaves, or ſometimes obliquely. The corners of houſes are made of a grey ſmall-grained lime-ſtone, which has a ſtrong ſmell, like the ſtink-ſtone *, and the windows are generally enchaſed with it. This lime-ſtone is more uſeful in thoſe places than the lime-ſlates, which always ſhiver in the air. The outſides of the houſes are generally white-waſhed. The windows are placed on the inner ſide of the walls; for they have ſometimes double windows in winter. The middle roof has two, or at moſt three ſpars, covered with boards only. The rooms are warmed in winter by ſmall iron ſtoves, which are removed in ſummer. The floors are very dirty in every houſe, and have all the appearance of being cleaned but once every year.

The powder magazine ſtands on the ſummit of the mountain, on which the city is built, and ſouthward of the palace.

The ſtreets in the upper city have a ſufficient breadth, but are very rugged, on account of the rock on which it lies; and this renders them very diſagreeable and troubleſome, both to foot-paſſengers and carriages. The black lime-ſlates baſſet out and project every where into ſharp angles, which cut the ſhoes in pieces. The ſtreets croſs other at all angles, and are very crooked.

The many great orchards and kitchen-gardens near the houſe of the Jeſuits, and other public and private buildings, make the town appear very large, though the number of houſes it contains is not very conſiderable. Its extent from ſouth to north is ſaid to be about ſix hundred toiſes, and from the ſhore of the river along the lower town, to the weſtern wall, between three hundred and fifty and four hundred toiſes. It muſt be here obſerved, that this ſpace is not yet wholly inhabited; for on the weſt and ſouth ſide, along the town walls, are large pieces of land without any buildings on

* Nitrum ſuillum. Lynn. Syſt. III. p. 86. Lapis ſuillus priſmaticus, Waller. Mineral. p. 59. a. 1. Stink-ſtone, Forſter's Introd. to Mineralogy, p. 40.

them,

them, and deſtined to be built upon in future times, when the number of inhabitants will be increaſed in Quebec.

The biſhop, whoſe ſee is in the city, is the only biſhop in Canada. His dioceſe extends to Louiſiana, on the Mexican gulf ſouthward, and to the South Seas weſtward.

No biſhop, the Pope excepted, ever had a more extenſive dioceſe. But his ſpiritual flock is very inconſiderable at ſome diſtance from Quebec, and his ſheep are often many hundred miles diſtant from each other.

Quebec is the only ſea-port and trading town in all Canada, and from thence all the produce of the country is exported. The port is below the town in the river, which is there about a quarter of a French mile broad, twenty-five fathoms deep, and its ground is very good for anchoring. The ſhips are ſecured from all ſtorms in this port; however the north-eaſt wind is the worſt, becauſe it can act more powerfully. When I arrived here, I reckoned thirteen great and ſmall veſſels, and they expected more to come in. But it is to be remarked, that no other ſhips than French ones can come into the port, though they may come from any place in France, and likewiſe from the French poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies. All the foreign goods, which are found in Montreal, and other parts of Canada, muſt be taken from hence. The French merchants from Montreal, on their ſide, after making a ſix months ſtay among ſeveral Indian nations, in order to purchaſe ſkins of beaſts and furs, return about the end of Auguſt, and go down to Quebec in September or October, in order to ſell their goods there. The privilege of ſelling the imported goods, it is ſaid, has vaſtly enriched the merchants of Quebec; but this is contradicted by others, who allow that there a few in affluent circumſtances, but that the generality poſſeſs no more than is abſolutely neceſſary for their bare ſubſiſtence, and that ſeveral are very much in debt, which they ſay is owing to their luxury and vanity. The merchants dreſs very finely, and are extravagant in their repaſts; and their ladies are every day in full dreſs, and as much adorned as if they were to go to court.

The town is ſurrounded on almoſt all ſides by a high wall, and eſpecially towards the land. It was not quite completed when I was there, and they were very buſy in finiſhing it. It is built of the above-mentioned black lime-ſlate, and of a dark grey ſand-ſtone. For the corners of the gates they have employed a grey lime-ſtone. They have not made any walls towards the water-ſide, but nature ſeems to have worked for them, by placing a rock there which it is impoſſible to aſcend. All the riſing land thereabouts is likewiſe ſo well planted with cannon, that it ſeems impoſſible for an enemy's ſhips or boats to come to the town without running into imminent danger of being ſunk. On the land ſide the town is likewiſe guarded by high mountains; ſo that nature and art have combined to fortify it.

Quebec was founded by its former governor, Samuel de Champlain, in the year 1608. We are informed by hiſtory, that its riſe was very ſlow. In 1629, towards the end of July, it was taken by two Engliſhmen, Lewis and Thomas Kerk, by capitulation, and ſurrendered to them by the above-mentioned de Champlain. At that time, Canada and Quebec were wholly deſtitute of proviſions; ſo that they looked upon the Engliſh more as their deliverers than their enemies. The above-mentioned Kerks were the brothers of the Engliſh admiral David Kerk, who lay with his fleet ſomewhat lower in the river. In the year 1632, the French got the town of Quebec and all Canada returned to them by the peace. It is remarkable, that the French were doubtful whether they ſhould reclaim Canada from the Engliſh, or leave it to them. The greater part were of opinion, that to keep it would be of no advantage to France, becauſe the country was cold, and the expences far exceeded its produce; and becauſe France could not people ſo extenſive a country, without weakening herſelf, as Spain

had done before; that it was better to keep the people in France, and employ them in all ſorts of manufactures, which would oblige the other European powers who have colonies in America to bring their raw goods to French ports, and take French manufactures in return. Thoſe on the other hand, who had more extenſive views, knew that the climate was not ſo rough as it had been repreſented. They likewiſe believed that that which cauſed the expences was a fault of the company, becauſe they did not manage the country well. They would not have many people ſent over at once, but little by little, ſo that France might not feel it. They hoped that this colony would in future times make France powerful, for its inhabitants would become more and more acquainted with the herring, whale, and cod fiſheries, and likewiſe with the taking of ſeals; and that by this means Canada would become a ſchool for training up ſeamen. They further mentioned the ſeveral ſorts of furs, the converſion of the Indians, the ſhip-building, and the various uſes of the extenſive woods. And laſtly, that it would be a conſiderable advantage to France, even though they ſhould reap no other benefit, to hinder by this means the progreſs of the Engliſh in America, and of their encreaſing power, which would otherwiſe become inſupportable to France; not to mention ſeveral other reaſons. Time has ſhewn that theſe reaſons were the reſult of mature judgment, and that they laid the foundation of the riſe of France. It were to be wiſhed that we had been of the ſame opinion in Sweden, at a time when we were actually in poſſeſſion of New Sweden, the fineſt and beſt province in all North America, or when we were yet in a condition to get the poſſeſſion of it. Wiſdom and foreſight does not only look upon the preſent times, but even extends its views to futurity.

In the year 1663, at the beginning of February, the great earthquake was felt in Quebec and a great part of Canada, and there are ſtill ſome veſtiges of its effects at that time; however, no lives were loſt.

On the 16th of October 1690, Quebec was beſieged by the Engliſh general, William Phips, who was obliged to retire a few days after, with great loſs. The Engliſh have tried ſeveral times to repair their loſſes, but the river St. Lawrence has always been a very good defence for this country. An enemy, and one that is not acquainted with this river, cannot go upwards in it, without being ruined; for in the neighbourhood of Quebec, it abounds with hidden rocks, and has ſtrong currents in ſome places, which oblige the ſhips to make many windings.

The name of Quebec, it is ſaid, is derived from a Norman word, on account of its ſituation on a neck or point of land. For when one comes up in the river by l'Iſle d'Orleans, that part of the river St. Lawrence does not come in ſight, which lies above the town, and it appears as if the river St. Charles, which lies juſt before, was a continuation of the St. Lawrence. But on advancing further the true courſe of the river comes within ſight, and has at firſt a great ſimilarity to the mouth of a river or a great bay. This has given occaſion to a ſailor, who ſaw it unexpectedly, to cry out in his provincial dialect, Que bec *, that is, what a point of land! and from hence it is thought the city obtained its name. Others derive it from the Algonkin word Quebego or Quebec, ſignifying that which grows narrow, becauſe the river becomes narrower as it comes nearer to the town.

The river St. Lawrence is exactly a quarter of a French mile, or three quarters of an Engliſh mile broad at Quebec. The ſalt water never comes up to the town in it, and therefore the inhabitants can make uſe of the water in the river for their kitchens, &c. All accounts agree, that notwithſtanding the breadth of this river, and

* Meaning Quel bec.

the

the violence of its courſe, eſpecially during ebb, it is covered with ice during the whole winter, which is ſtrong enough for walking, and a carriage may go over it. It is ſaid to happen frequently that, when the river has been open in May, there are ſuch cold nights in this month, that it freezes again, and will bear walking over. This is a clear proof of the intenſeneſs of the froſt here, eſpecially when one conſiders that which I ſhall mention immediately after, about the ebbing and flowing of the tide in this river. The greateſt breadth of the river, at its mouth, is computed to be twenty-ſix French miles, or ſeventy-eight Engliſh miles, though the boundary between the ſea and the river cannot well be aſcertained, as the latter gradually loſes itſelf in, and unites with the former. The greateſt part of the water contained in the numerous lakes of Canada, four or five of which are like large ſeas, is forced to diſembogue into the ſea by means of this river alone. The navigation up this river from the ſea is rendered very dangerous by the ſtrength of the current, and by the number of ſand-banks, which often ariſe in places where they never were before. The Engliſh have experienced this formation of new ſands once or twice, when they attempted to conquer Canada. Hence the French have good reaſons to look upon the river as a barrier to Canada*.

The tide goes far beyond Quebec in the river St. Lawrence, as I have mentioned above. The difference between high and low water is generally between fifteen and ſixteen feet, French meaſure; but with the new and full moon, and when the wind is likewiſe favourable, the difference is ſeventeen or eighteen feet, which is indeed very conſiderable.

Auguſt 7th. Ginſeng is the current French name in Canada, of a plant, the root of which has a very great value in China †. It has been growing ſince times immemorial in the Chineſe Tartary and in Corea, where it is annually collected and brought to China. Father Du Halde ſays, it is the moſt precious, and the moſt uſeful of all the plants in Eaſtern Tartary; and attracts, every year, a number of people into the deſerts of that country. The Mantechoux-Tartars call it orhota, that is the moſt noble, or the queen of plants. The Tartars and Chineſe praiſe it very much, and aſcribe to it the power of curing ſeveral dangerous diſeaſes, and that of reſtoring to the body new ſtrength, and ſupplying the loſs cauſed by the exertion of the mental, and corporeal faculties. An ounce of ginſeng bears the ſurprizing price of ſeven or eight ounces of ſilver at Peking. When the French botaniſts in Canada firſt ſaw a figure of it, they remembered to have ſeen a ſimilar plant in this country. They were confirmed in their conjecture by conſidering that ſeveral ſettlements in Canada lie under the ſame latitude with thoſe parts of the Chineſe Tartary, and China, where the true ginſeng grows wild. They ſucceeded in their attempt, and found the ſame ginſeng wild and abundant in ſeveral parts of North America, both in French and Engliſh plantations, in plain parts of the woods. It is fond of ſhade, and of a deep rich mould, and of land which is neither wet nor high. It is not every where very common, for ſometimes one may ſearch the woods for the ſpace of ſeveral miles without finding a ſingle plant of it; but

* The river St. Lawrence was no more a barrier to the victorious Britiſh fleets in the laſt war, nor were the fortifications of Quebec capable to withſtand the gallant attacks of their land army, which diſappointed the good Frenchmen in Canada of their too ſanguine expectations; and, at preſent, they are rather happy at this change of fortune, which has made them ſubjects of the Britiſh ſceptre, whoſe mild influence they at preſent enjoy. F.

† Botaniſts know this plant by the name of panax quinquefolium, foliis ternatis quinatis. Linn. Mat. Med. § 116. Sp. plant. p. 15. 12. Gronov. Fl. Virg. p. 147. See likewiſe Cateſby's Nat. Hiſt. of Carolina, vol. iii. p. 16 t. 16. Laffitau Ginſ. 51. t. 1. Father Charlevoix Hiſt. de la Nouvelle France, tom. iv. p. 308. fig. xiii. and tom. v. p. 24.

in

in thoſe ſpots where it grows it is always found in great abundance. It flowers in May and June, and its berries are ripe at the end of Auguſt. It bears tranſplanting very well, and will ſoon thrive in its new ground. Some people here, who have gathered the berries, and put them into their kitchen-gardens, told me that they lay one or two years in the ground without coming up. The Iroqueſe, or Five (Six) Nations, call the ginſeng roots garangtoging, which it is ſaid ſignifies a child, the roots bearing a faint reſemblance to it; but others are of opinion that they mean the thigh and leg by it, and the roots look pretty like it. The French uſe this root for curing the aſthma, as a ſtomachic, and to promote fertility in women. The trade which is carried on with it here is very briſk; for they gather great quantities of it, and ſend them to France, from whence they are brought to China, and ſold there to great advantage *. It is ſaid the merchants in France met with amazing ſucceſs in this trade at the firſt outſet, but by continuing to ſend the ginſeng over to China, its price is fallen conſiderably there, and conſequently in France and Canada; however, they ſtill find their account in it. In the ſummer of 1748, a pound of ginſeng was ſold for ſix francs, or livres, at Quebec; but its common price here is one hundred ſols, or five livres. During my ſtay in Canada, all the merchants at Quebec and Montreal received orders from their correſpondents in France to ſend over a quantity of ginſeng, there being an uncommon demand for it this ſummer. The roots were accordingly collected in Canada with all poſſible diligence; the Indians eſpecially travelled about the country in order to collect as much as they could together, and to ſell it to the merchants at Montreal. The Indians in the neighbourhood of this town were likewiſe ſo much taken up with this buſineſs, that the French farmers were not able during that time to hire a ſingle Indian, as they commonly do, to help them in the harveſt. Many people feared leſt by continuing for ſeveral ſucceſſive years to collect theſe plants, without leaving one or two in each place to propagate their ſpecies, there will ſoon be very few of them left; which I think is very likely to happen, for by all accounts they formerly grew in abundance round Montreal, but at preſent there is not a ſingle plant of it to be found, ſo effectually have they been rooted out. This obliged the Indians this ſummer to go far within the Engliſh boundaries to collect theſe roots. After the Indians have ſold the freſh roots to the merchants, the latter muſt take a great deal of pains with them. They are ſpread on the floor to dry, which commonly requires two months and upwards, according as the ſeaſon is wet or dry. During that time they muſt be turned once or twice every day, leſt they ſhould putrify or moulder. Ginſeng has never been found far north of Montreal. The ſuperior of the clergy here, and ſeveral other people, aſſured me that the Chineſe value the Canada ginſeng as much as the Tartarian †; and that no one ever had been entirely acquainted with the Chineſe method of preparing it. However it is thought amongſt other preparations they dip the roots in a decoction of the leaves of ginſeng. The roots prepared by the Chineſe are almoſt tranſparent, and look like horn in the inſide; and the roots which are fit for uſe, muſt be heavy and compact in the inſide.

The plant which throughout Canada bears the name of herba capillaris is likewiſe one of thoſe with which a great trade is carried on in Canada. The Engliſh in their plantations call it maiden-hair; it grows in all their North American colonies, which

* Mr. Oſbeck ſeems to doubt whether the Europeans reap any advantages from the ginſeng trade or not, becauſe the Chineſe do not value the Canada roots ſo much as thoſe of the Chineſe Tartary; and therefore the former bear ſcarce half the price of the latter. See Oſbeck's Voyage to China, vol. 1. p. 223. F.

† This is directly oppoſite to Mr. Oſbeck's aſſertion. See the preceding note. F.

I travelled

I travelled through, and likewiſe in the ſouthern parts of Canada; but I never found it near Quebec. It grows in the woods in ſhady places and in a good ſoil *. Several people in Albany and Canada aſſured me that its leaves were very much uſed inſtead of tea, in conſumptions, coughs, and all kinds of pectoral diſeaſes. This they have learnt from the Indians, who have made uſe of this plant for theſe purpoſes ſince time immemorial. This American maiden-hair is reckoned preferable in ſurgery to that which we have in Europe †; and therefore they ſend a great quantity of it to France every year. The price is different, and regulated according to the goodneſs of the plant, the care in preparing it, and the quantity which is to be got. For if it be brought to Quebec in great abundance, the price falls; and on the contrary, it riſes, when the quantity gathered is but ſmall. Commonly the price at Quebec is between five and fifteen ſols a pound. The Indians went into the woods about this time, and travelled far above Montreal in queſt of this plant.

The kitchen herbs ſucceed very well here. The white cabbage is very fine, but ſometimes ſuffers greatly from worms. Onions (allium cepa) are very much in uſe here, together with other ſpecies of leeks. They likewiſe plant ſeveral ſpecies of gourds, melons, ſallads, wild ſuccory or wild endive (cichorium intybus), ſeveral kinds of peaſe, beans, French beans, carrots, and cucumbers. They have plenty of red beets, horſe-radiſhes and common radiſhes, thyme, and marjoram. Turnips are ſown in abundance, and uſed chiefly in winter. Parſnips are ſometimes eaten, though not very common. Few people took notice of potatoes; and neither the common (ſolanum tuberoſum) nor the Bermuda ones (convolvulus batatas) were planted in Canada. When the French here are aſked why they do not plant potatoes, they anſwer, that they cannot find any reliſh in them, and they laugh at the Engliſh who are ſo fond of them. Throughout all North America the root cabbage ‡ (braſſica gongylodes Linn.) is unknown to the Swedes, Engliſh, Dutch, Iriſh, Germans, and French. Thoſe who have been employed in ſowing and planting kitchen herbs in Canada, and have had ſome experience in gardening, told me that they were obliged to ſend for freſh ſeeds from France every year, becauſe they commonly loſe their ſtrength here in the third generation, and do not produce ſuch plants as would equal the original ones in taſte and goodneſs.

The Europeans have never been able to find any characters, much leſs writings, or books, among the Indians, who have inhabited North America ſince time immemorial, and ſeem to be all of one nation, and ſpeak the ſame language. Theſe Indians have therefore lived in the greateſt ignorance and darkneſs, during ſome centuries, and are totally unacquainted with the ſtate of their country before the arrival of the Europeans, and all their knowledge of it conſiſts in vague traditions and mere fables. It is not certain whether any other nations poſſeſſed America before the preſent Indian inhabitants came into it, or whether any other nations viſited this part of the globe before Columbus diſcovered it. It was equally unknown whether the Chriſtian religion was ever preached here in former times. I converſed with ſeveral Jeſuits, who undertook long journies in this extenſive country, and aſked them, whether they had met with any marks that there had formerly been ſome Chriſtians among the Indians which lived here?

* It is the adiantum pedatum of Linn. ſp. pl. p. 1557. Cornutus, in his Canadenſ. plant. Hiſtoria. p. 7. calls it adiantum Americanum, and gives together with the deſcription, a figure of it, p. 6.

† Adiantum capillus veneris. True maiden-hair.

‡ This is a kind of cabbage with large round eatable roots; which grow out above the ground, wherein it differs from the turnip-cabbage (braſſica napobraſſica) whoſe root grows in the ground. Both are common in Germany, and the former likewiſe in Italy.

but they all anſwered, that they had not found any. The Indians have ever been as ignorant of architecture and manual labour as of ſcience and writing. In vain does one ſeek for well-built towns and houſes, artificial fortifications, high towers and pillars, and ſuch like, among them, which the old world can ſhew from the moſt antient times. Their dwelling-places are wretched huts of bark, expoſed on all ſides to wind and rain. All their maſonry-work conſiſts in placing a few grey rock-ſtones on the ground, round their fire-place, to prevent the firebrands from ſpreading too far in their hut, or rather, to mark out the ſpace intended for the fire-place in it. Travellers do not enjoy a tenth part of the pleaſure in traverſing theſe countries which they muſt receive on their journies through our old countries, where they, almoſt every day, meet with ſome veſtige or other of antiquity: now an antient celebrated town preſents itſelf to view; here the remains of an old caſtle; there a field, where, many centuries ago, the moſt powerful and the moſt ſkilful generals, and the greateſt kings, fought a bloody battle, now the native ſpot and reſidence of ſome great or learned man. In ſuch places the mind is delighted in various ways, and repreſents all paſt occurrences in living colours to itſelf. We can enjoy none of theſe pleaſures in America. The hiſtory of the country can be traced no further than from the arrival of the Europeans, for every thing that happened before that period is more like a fiction, or a dream, than any thing that really happened. In later times there have, however, been found a few marks of antiquity, from which it may be conjectured, that North America was formerly inhabited by a nation more verſed in ſcience, and more civilized than that which the Europeans found on their arrival here; or that a great military expedition was undertaken to this continent, from theſe known parts of the world.

This is confirmed by an account which I received from Mr. de Verandrier, who has commanded the expedition to the ſouth-ſea in perſon, of which I ſhall preſently give an account. I have heard it repeated by others, who have been eye-witneſſes of every thing that happened on that occaſion. Some years before I came into Canada, the then governor-general, Chevalier de Beauharnois, gave Mr. de Verandrier an order to go from Canada, with a number of people, on an expedition acroſs North America to the ſouth ſea, in order to examine how far thoſe two places are diſtant from each other, and to find out what advantages might accrue to Canada or Louiſiana from a communication with that ocean. They ſet out on horſeback from Montreal, and went as much due weſt as they could, on account of the lakes, rivers, and mountains, which fell in their way. As they came far into the country, beyond many nations, they ſometimes met with large tracts of land free from wood, but covered with a kind of very tall graſs, for the ſpace of ſome days journey. Many of theſe fields were every where covered with furrows, as if they had been ploughed and ſown formerly. It is to be obſerved, that the nations, which now inhabit North America, could not cultivate the land in this manner, becauſe they never made uſe of horſes, oxen, ploughs, or any inſtruments of huſbandry, nor had they ever ſeen a plough before the Europeans came to them. In two or three places, at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, our travellers met with impreſſions of the feet of grown people and children in a rock; but this ſeems to have been no more than a luſus naturæ. When they came far to the weſt, where, to the beſt of their knowledge, no Frenchmen or European had ever been, they found in one place in the woods, and again on a large plain, great pillars of ſtone, leaning upon each other. The pillars conſiſted of one ſingle ſtone each, and the Frenchmen could not but ſuppoſe that they had been erected by human hands. Sometimes they have found ſuch ſtones laid upon one another, and, as it were, formed into a wall. In ſome of thoſe places where they found ſuch ſtones, they could not find

find any other ſorts of ſtone. They have not been able to diſcover any characters or writing upon any of theſe ſtones, though they have made a very careful ſearch after them. At laſt they met with a large ſtone, like a pillar, and in it a ſmaller ſtone was fixed, which was covered on both ſides with unknown characters. This ſtone, which was about a foot of French meaſure in length, and between four or five inches broad, they broke looſe, and carried to Canada with them, from whence it was ſent to France, to the ſecretary of ſtate, the Count of Maurepas. What became of it afterwards is unknown; to them but they think it is yet preſerved in his collection. Several of the Jeſuits, who have ſeen and handled this ſtone in Canada, unanimouſly affirm, that the letters on it are the ſame with thoſe which in the books, containing accounts of Tataria, are called Tatarian characters *; and that, on comparing both together, they found them perfectly alike. Notwithſtanding the queſtions which the French on the ſouth-ſea expedition aſked the people there concerning the time when, and by whom thoſe pillars were erected? what their traditions and ſentiments concerning them were? who had wrote the characters? what was meant by them? what kind of letters they were? in what language they were written? and other circumſtances; yet they could never get the leaſt explication, the Indians being as ignorant of all thoſe things as the French themſelves. All they could ſay was, that theſe ſtones had been in thoſe places time immemorial. The places where the pillars ſtood were near nine hundred French miles weſtward of Montreal. The chief intention of this journey, viz. to come to the ſouth-ſea, and to examine its diſtance from Canada, was never attained on this occaſion. For the people ſent out for that purpoſe were induced to take part in a war between ſome of the moſt diſtant Indian nations, in which ſome of the French were taken priſoners, and the reſt obliged to return. Among the laſt and moſt weſterly Indians they were with, they heard that the ſouth-ſea was but a few days journey off; that they (the Indians) often traded with the Spaniards on that coaſt, and ſometimes likewiſe

* This account ſeems to be highly probable, for we find in Marco Paolo that Kublai-Khan, one of the ſucceſſors of Genghizkhan, after the conqueſt of the ſouthern part of China, ſent ſhips out to conquer the kingdom of Japan, or, as they call it, Nipan-gri; but in a terrible ſtorm the whole fleet was caſt away, and nothing was ever heard of the men in that fleet. It ſeems that ſome of theſe ſhips were caſt to the ſhores, oppoſite the great American lakes, between forty and fifty degrees north latitude, and there probably erected theſe monuments, and were the anceſtors of ſome nations who are called Mozomlecks, and have ſome degree of civilization. Another part of this fleet, it ſeems, reached the country oppoſite Mexico, and there founded the Mexican empire, which, according to their own records as preſerved by the Spaniards, and in their painted annals in Purchas's Pilgrimage, are very recent; ſo that they can ſcarcely remember any more than ſeven princes before Motezuma II. who was reigning when the Spaniards arrived there 1519, under Fernando Cortez; conſequently the firſt of theſe princes, ſuppoſing each had a reign of thirty-three years and four months, and adding to it the ſixteen years of Montezuma, began to reign in the year 1270, when Kublai-Khan, the conqueror of all China and of Japan, was on the throne, and in whoſe time happened, I believe, the firſt abortive expedition to Japan, which I mentioned above, and probably furniſhed North America with civilized inhabitants. There is, if I am not miſtaken, a great ſimilarity between the figures of the Mexican idols, and thoſe which are uſual among the Tartars, who embrace the doctrines and religion of the Dalai-Lama, whoſe religion Kublai-Khan firſt introduced among the Monguls, or Moguls. The ſavage Indians of North America, it ſeems, have another origin, and are probably deſcended from the Yukaghiri, and Tchucktchai, inhabitants of the moſt eaſterly and northerly part of Aſia, where, according to the accounts of the Ruſſians, there is but a ſmall traject to America. The ferocity of theſe nations, ſimilar to that of the Americans, their way of painting, their fondneſs of inebriating liquors, (which the Yukaghiri prepare from poiſonous and inebriating muſhrooms, bought of the Ruſſians) and many other things, ſhow them plainly to be of the ſame origin. The Eſkimaux ſeems to be the ſame nation with the inhabitants of Greenland, the Samoyedes, and Lapponians. South America, and eſpecially Peru, is probably peopled from the great unknown ſouth continent, which is very near America, civilized, and full of inhabitants of various colours; who therefore might very eaſily be caſt on the American continent, in boats, or proas. F.

they went to Hudſon's Bay, to trade with the Engliſh. Some of theſe Indians had houſes, which were made of earth. Many nations had never ſeen any Frenchmen; they were commonly clad in ſkins, but many were quite naked.

All thoſe who had made long journies in Canada to the ſouth, but chiefly weſtward, agreed that there were many great plains deſtitute of trees, where the land was furrowed, as if it had been ploughed. In what manner this happened no one knows; for the corn-fields of a great village, or town, of the Indians, are ſcarce above four or ſix of our acres in extent; whereas thoſe furrowed plains ſometimes continue for ſeveral days journey, except now and then a ſmall ſmooth ſpot, and here and there ſome riſing grounds.

I could not hear of any more veſtiges of antiquity in Canada, notwithſtanding my careful enquiries after them. In the continuation of my journey for the year 1750 *, I ſhall find an opportunity of ſpeaking of two other remarkable curioſities. Our Swediſh Mr. George Weſtman, A. M. has clearly and circumſtantially ſhewn that our Scandinavians, chiefly the northern ones, long before Columbus's time, have undertaken voyages to North America; ſee his diſſertation on that ſubject, which he read at Abo in 1747, for obtaining his degree.

Auguſt 8th. This morning I viſited the largeſt nunnery in Quebec. Men are prohibited from viſiting under very heavy puniſhments; except in ſome rooms, divided by iron rails, where the men and women that do not belong to the convent, ſtand without, and the nuns within the rails, and converſe with each other. But to encreaſe the many favours which the French nation heaped upon me, as a Swede, the governor-general got the biſhop's leave for me to enter the convent, and ſee its conſtruction. The biſhop alone has the power of granting this favour, but he does it very ſparingly. The royal phyſician, and a ſurgeon, are however at liberty to go in as often as they think proper. Mr. Gaulthier, a man of great knowledge in phyſic and botany, was at preſent the royal phyſician here, and accompanied me to the convent. We firſt ſaw the hoſpital, which I ſhall preſently deſcribe, and then entered the convent, which forms a part of the hoſpital. It is a great building of ſtone, three ſtories high, divided in the inſide into long galleries, on both ſides of which are cells, halls, and rooms. The cells of the nuns are in the higheſt ſtory, on both ſides of the gallery; they are but ſmall; not painted in the inſide, but hung with paper pictures of ſaints, and of our Saviour on the croſs. A bed with curtains, and good bed-clothes, a little narrow deſk, and a chair or two, is the whole furniture of a cell. They have no fires in winter, and the nuns are forced to lie in the cold cells. On the gallery is a ſtove, which is heated in winter, and as all the rooms are left open, ſome warmth can by this means come into them. In the middle ſtory are rooms where they paſs the day together. One of theſe is the room where they are at work; this is large, finely painted and adorned, and has an iron ſtove. Here they were at their needle-work, embroidering, gilding, and making flowers of ſilk, which bear a great ſimilarity to the natural ones. In a word, they were all employed in ſuch nice works, as were ſuitable to ladies of their rank in life. In another hall they aſſembled to hold their juntos. Another apartment contains thoſe who are indiſpoſed; but ſuch as are more dangerouſly ill have rooms to themſelves. The novices, and new comers, are taught and inſtructed in another hall. Another is deſtined for their refectory, or dining-room, in which are tables on all ſides; on one ſide of it is a ſmall deſk, on which is laid a French book, concerning the life of thoſe ſaints who are mentioned in the New Teſtament. When they dine, all are ſilent; one

* This part has not yet been publiſhed.

of

of the eldeſt gets into the deſk, and reads a part of the book before-mentioned; and when they are gone through it, they read ſome other religious book. During the meal, they ſit on that ſide of the table which is turned towards the wall. Almoſt in every room is a gilt table, on which are placed candles, together with the picture of our Saviour on the croſs, and of ſome ſaints: before theſe tables they ſay their prayers. On one ſide is the church, and near it a large gallery, divided from the church by rails, ſo that the nuns could only look into it. In this gallery they remain during divine ſervice, and the clergyman is in the church, where the nuns reach him his ſacerdotal clothes through a hole, for they are not allowed to go into the veſtry, and to be in the ſame room with the prieſt. There are ſtill ſeveral other rooms and halls here, the uſe of which I do not remember. The loweſt ſtory contains a kitchen, bake-houſe, ſeveral butteries, &c. In the garrets they keep their corn, and dry their linen. In the middle ſtory is a balcony on the outſide, almoſt round the whole building, where the nuns are allowed to take air. The proſpect from the convent is very fine on every ſide; the river, the fields, and the meadows out of town, appear there to great advantage. On one ſide of the convent is a large garden, in which the nuns are at liberty to walk about; it belongs to the convent, and is ſurrounded with a high wall. There is a quantity of all ſorts of fruits in it. This convent, they ſay, contains about fifty nuns, moſt of them advanced in years, ſcarce any being under forty years of age. At this time there were two young ladies among them who were inſtructed in thoſe things which belong to the knowledge of nuns. They are not allowed to become nuns immediately after their entrance, but muſt paſs through a noviciate of two or three years, in order to try whether they will be conſtant; for, during that time, it is in their power to leave the convent, if a monaſtic life does not ſuit their inclinations. But as ſoon as they are received among the nuns, and have made their vows, they are obliged to continue their whole life in it: if they appear willing to change their mode of life, they are locked up in a room, from whence they can never get out. The nuns of this convent never go further from it than to the hoſpital, which lies near it, and even makes a part of it. They go there to attend the ſick, and to take care of them. I was told by ſeveral people here, ſome of which were ladies, that none of the nuns went into a convent till ſhe had attained to an age in which ſhe had ſmall hopes of ever getting a huſband. The nuns of all the three convents in Quebec looked very old, by which it ſeems that there is ſome foundation for this account.

The hoſpital, as I have before-mentioned, makes a part of the convent. It conſiſts of two large halls and ſome rooms near the apothecary's ſhop. In the halls are two rows of beds on each ſide, within each other. The beds next to the wall are furniſhed with curtains, the outward ones are without them. In each bed are fine bed-clothes, with clean double ſheets. As ſoon as a ſick perſon has left his bed, it is made again, in order to keep the hoſpital in cleanlineſs and order. The beds are two or three yards diſtant, and near each is a ſmall table. There are good iron ſtoves, and fine windows, in this hall. The nuns attend the ſick people, and bring them meat and other neceſſaries; beſides them there are ſome men who attend, and a ſurgeon. The royal phyſician is likewiſe obliged to come hither once or twice every day, to look after every thing, and give preſcriptions. They commonly receive ſick ſoldiers into this hoſpital, who are very numerous in July and Auguſt, when the king's ſhips arrive, and in time of war; but at other times, when no great number of ſoldiers are ſick, other people can take their places, as far as the number of empty beds will reach. The king finds every thing here that is requiſite for the ſick perſons, viz. proviſions, medicines,

fuel

fuel, &c. Thoſe who are very ill are put into ſeparate rooms, in order that the noiſe in the great hall may not be troubleſome to them.

The civility of the inhabitants here is more refined than that of the Dutch and Engliſh in the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain; but the latter, on the other hand, do not idle their time away in dreſſing, as the French do here. The ladies, eſpecially, dreſs and powder their hair every day, and put their locks in papers every night; which idle cuſtom was not introduced in the Engliſh ſettlements. The gentlemen wear generally their own hair; but ſome have wigs. People of rank are uſed to wear laced cloaths, and all the crown-officers wear ſwords. All the gentlemen, even thoſe of rank, the governor-general excepted, when they go into town on a day that looks like rain, carry their cloaks on their left arm. Acquaintances of either ſex, who have not ſeen each other for ſome time, on meeting again ſalute with mutual kiſſes.

Concerning the Canada plants, I can here add, that the further you go northward the more you find the plants are the ſame with the Swediſh ones: thus, on the north ſide of Quebec, a fourth part of the plants, if not more, are the ſame with the ſpontaneous plants in Sweden. A few plants and trees, which have a particular quality, or are applied to ſome particular uſe, ſhall however, be mentioned in a few words, in the ſequel.

The rein-deer moſs (lichen rangiferinus) grows plentiful in the woods round Quebec. Mr. Gaulthier, and ſeveral other gentlemen, told me, that the French, on their long journies through the woods, on account of their fur trade with the Indians, ſometimes boil this moſs, and drink the decoction for want of better food, when their proviſions are at an end; and they ſay it is very nutritive. Several Frenchmen, who have been in the Terra Labrador, where there are many rein-deer (which the French and Indians here call cariboux) related, that all the land there is in moſt places covered with this rein-deer moſs, ſo that the ground looks as white as ſnow.

Auguſt 10th. This day I dined with the Jeſuits. A few days before I paid my viſit to them; and the next day their preſident, and another, father Jeſuit called on me, to invite me to dine with them to-day. I attended divine ſervice in their church, which is a part of their houſe. It is very fine within, though it has no ſeats; for every one is obliged to kneel down during the ſervice. Above the church is a ſmall ſteeple, with a clock. The building the Jeſuits live in is magnificently built, and looks exceeding fine both without and within, which gives it a ſimilarity to a fine palace. It conſiſts of ſtone, is three ſtories high, excluſive of the garret, covered with ſlates, and built in a ſquare form, like the new palace at Stockholm, including a large court. Its ſize is ſuch that three hundred families would find room enough in it; though at preſent there were not above twenty Jeſuits in it. Sometimes there is a much greater number of them, eſpecially when thoſe return who have been ſent as miſſionaries into the country. There is a long walk along the ſides of the ſquare, in every ſtory, on both ſides of which are either cells, halls, or other apartments for the friars; and likewiſe their library, apothecary ſhop, &c. Every thing is very well regulated, and the Jeſuits are very well accommodated here. On the outſide is their college, which is on two ſides ſurrounded with great orchards and kitchen-gardens, in which they have fine walks. A part of the trees here are the remains of the foreſt which ſtood here when the French began to build this town. They have beſides planted a number of fruit-trees; and the garden is ſtocked with all ſorts of plants for the uſe of the kitchen. The Jeſuits dine together in a great hall. There are tables placed all round it along the walls, and ſeats between the tables and the walls, but not on the other ſide. Near

one wall is a pulpit, upon which one of the fathers gets during the meal, in order to read ſome religious book; but this day it was omitted, all the time being employed in converſation. They dine very well, and their diſhes are as numerous as at the greateſt feaſts. In this ſpacious building you do not ſee a ſingle woman; all are fathers or brothers; the latter of which are young men brought up to be Jeſuits. They prepare the meal, and bring it upon table; for the common ſervants are not admitted.

Beſides the biſhop, there are three kinds of clergymen in Canada; viz. Jeſuits, prieſts, and recolets. The Jeſuits are, without doubt, the moſt conſiderable; therefore they commonly ſay here, by way of proverb, that a hatchet is ſufficient to ſketch out a recolet; a prieſt cannot be made without a chiſſel; but a Jeſuit abſolutely requires the pencil *; to ſhew how much one ſurpaſſes the others. The Jeſuits are commonly very learned, ſtudious, and are very civil and agreeable in company. In their whole deportment there is ſomething pleaſing; it is no wonder therefore that they captivate the minds of the people. They ſeldom ſpeak of religious matters; and if it happens, they generally avoid diſputes. They are very ready to do any one a ſervice; and when they ſee that their aſſiſtance is wanted, they hardly give one time to ſpeak of it, falling to work immediately, to bring about what is required of them. Their converſation is very entertaining and learned, ſo that one cannot be tired of their company. Among all the Jeſuits I have converſed with in Canada, I have not found one who was not poſſeſſed of theſe qualities in a very eminent degree. They have large poſſeſſions in this country, which the French king gave them. At Montreal they have likewiſe a fine church, and a little neat houſe, with a ſmall but pretty garden within. They do not care to become preachers to a congregation in the town or country; but leave theſe places, together with the emoluments ariſing from them, to the prieſts. All their buſineſs here is to convert the heathens; and with that view their miſſionaries are ſcattered over every part of this country. Near every town and village, peopled by converted Indians, are one or two Jeſuits, who take great care that they may not return to Paganiſm, but live as Chriſtians ought to do. Thus there are Jeſuits with the converted Indians in Tadouſſac, Lorette, Becancourt, St. Francois, Saut St. Louis, and all over Canada. There are likewiſe Jeſuit miſſionaries with thoſe who are not converted; ſo that there is commonly a Jeſuit in every village belonging to the Indians, whom he endeavours on all occaſions to convert. In winter he goes on their great hunts, where he is frequently obliged to ſuffer all imaginable inconveniences, ſuch as walking in the ſnow all day, lying in the open air all winter, being out both in good and bad weather, the Indians not regarding any kind of weather: lying in the Indian huts, which often ſwarm with fleas and other vermin, &c. The Jeſuits undergo all theſe hardſhips for the ſake of converting the Indians, and likewiſe for political reaſons. The Jeſuits are of great uſe to their king; for they are frequently able to perſuade the Indians to break their treaty with the Engliſh, to make war upon them, to bring their firs to the French, and not to permit the Engliſh to come amongſt them. But there is ſome danger attending theſe attempts; for when the Indians are in liquor, they ſometimes kill the miſſionaries who live with them; calling them ſpies, or excuſing themſelves by ſaying that the brandy had killed them. Theſe are accordingly the chief occupations of the Jeſuits here. They do not go to viſit the ſick in the town, they do not hear the confeſſions, and attend at no funerals. I have never ſeen them go in

* Pour faire un recolet il faut une hachette, pour un prêtre un ciſeau, mais pour un Jeſuite il faut un pinceau.

proceſſions

proceſſions in remembrance of the Virgin Mary and other ſaints. They ſeldom go into a houſe in order to get meat; and though they be invited, they do not like to ſtay, except they be on a journey. Every body ſees that they are, as it were, ſelected from the other people, on account of their ſuperior genius and qualities. They are here reckoned a moſt cunning ſet of people, who generally ſucceed in their undertakings, and ſurpaſs all others in acuteneſs of underſtanding. I have therefore ſeveral times obſerved that they have enemies in Canada. They never receive any others into their ſociety, but perſons of very promiſing parts; ſo that there are no blockheads among them. On the other hand, the prieſts receive the beſt kind of people among their order they can meet with; and in the choice of monks, they are yet leſs careful. The Jeſuits who live here, are all come from France; and many of them return thither again, after a ſtay of a few years here. Some (five or ſix of which are yet alive) who were born in Canada, went over to France, and were received among the Jeſuits there; but none of them ever came back to Canada. I know not what political reaſon hindered them. During my ſtay in Quebec, one of the prieſts, with the biſhop's leave, gave up his prieſthood and became a Jeſuit. The other prieſts were very ill pleaſed with this, becauſe it ſeemed as if he looked upon their condition as too mean for himſelf. Thoſe congregations in the country that pay rents to the Jeſuits, have, however, divine ſervice performed by prieſts, who are appointed by the biſhop; and the land-rent only belongs to the Jeſuits. Neither the prieſts nor the Jeſuits carry on any trade with furs and ſkins, leaving that entirely to the merchants.

This afternoon I viſited the building called the ſeminary, where all the prieſts live in common. They have a great houſe, built of ſtone, with walks in it, and rooms on each ſide. It is ſeveral ſtories high, and cloſe to it is a fine garden, full of all ſorts of fruit-trees and pot-herbs, and divided by walks. The proſpect from hence is the fineſt in Quebec. The prieſts of the ſeminary are not much inferior to the Jeſuits in civility; and therefore I ſpent my time very agreeably in their company.

The prieſts are the ſecond and moſt numerous claſs of the clergy in this country; for moſt of the churches, both in towns and villages (the Indian converts excepted) are ſerved by prieſts. A few of them are likewiſe miſſionaries. In Canada are two ſeminaries; one in Quebec, the other in Montreal. The prieſts of the ſeminary of Montreal are of the order of St. Sulpitius, and ſupply only the congregation on the iſle of Montreal, and the town of the ſame name. At all the other churches in Canada, the prieſts belonging to the Quebec ſeminary officiate. The former, or thoſe of the order of St. Sulpitius, all come from France; and I was aſſured that they never ſuffer a native of Canada to come among them. In the ſeminary at Quebec, the natives of Canada make the greater part. In order to fit the children of this country for orders, there are ſchools at Quebec and St. Joachim; where the youths are taught Latin, and inſtructed in the knowledge of thoſe things and ſciences which have a more immediate connexion with the buſineſs they are intended for. However, they are not very nice in their choice; and people of a middling capacity are often received among them. They do not ſeem to have made great progreſs in Latin; for notwithſtanding the ſervice is read in that language, and they read their Latin breviary, and other books, every day, yet moſt of them found it very difficult to ſpeak it. All the prieſts in the Quebec ſeminary are conſecrated by the biſhop. Both the ſeminaries have got great revenues from the king; that in Quebec has above thirty thouſand livres. All the country on the weſt ſide of the river St. Lawrence, from the town of Quebec to bay St. Paul, belongs to this ſeminary, beſides their other poſſeſſions in the country. They leaſe the land to the ſettlers for a certain rent, which, if it be annually paid

according to their agreement, the children or heirs of the ſettlers may remain in an undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the lands. A piece of land, three arpents * broad, and thirty, forty, or fifty arpents long, pays annually an ecu †, and a couple of chickens, or ſome other additional trifle. In ſuch places as have convenient water-falls, they have built water-mills, or ſaw-mills, from which they annually get conſiderable ſums. The ſeminary of Montreal poſſeſſes the whole ground on which that town ſtands, together with the whole iſle of Montreal. I have been aſſured that the ground-rent of the town and iſle is computed at ſeventy thouſand livres; beſides what they get for ſaying maſſes, baptizing, holding confeſſions, attending at marriages and funerals, &c. All the revenues of ground-rent belong to the ſeminaries alone, and the prieſts in the country have no ſhare in them. But as the ſeminary in Montreal, conſiſting only of ſixteen prieſts, has greater revenues than it can expend, a large ſum of money is annually ſent over to France, to the chief ſeminary there. The land-rents belonging to the Quebec ſeminary are employed for the uſe of the prieſts in it, and for the maintenance of a number of young people, who are brought up to take orders. The prieſts who live in the country pariſhes, get the tythe from their congregation, together with the perquiſites on viſiting the ſick, &c. In ſmall congregations, the King gives the prieſts an additional ſum. When a prieſt in the country grows old, and has done good ſervices, he is ſometimes allowed to come into the ſeminary in town. The ſeminaries are allowed to place the prieſts on their own eſtates; but the other places are in the gift of the biſhop.

The recolets are a third claſs of clergymen in Canada. They have a fine large dwelling-houſe here, and a fine church, where they officiate. Near it is a large and fine garden, which they cultivate with great application. In Montreal and Trois Rivieres, they are lodged almoſt in the ſame manner as here. They do not endeavour to chooſe cunning fellows amongſt them, but take all they can get. They do not torment their brains with much learning; and I have been aſſured, that after they have put on their monaſtic habit, they do not ſtudy to increaſe their knowledge, but forget even what little they knew before. At night they generally lie on mats, or ſome other hard matraſſes; however, I have ſometimes ſeen good beds in the cells of ſome of them. They have no poſſeſſions here, having made vows of poverty, and live chiefly on the alms which people give them. To this purpoſe, the young monks, or brothers, go into the houſes with a bag, and beg what they want. They have no congregations in the country, but ſometimes they go among the Indians as miſſionaries. In each fort, which contains forty men, the King keeps one of theſe monks inſtead of a prieſt, who officiates there. The King gives him lodging, proviſions, ſervants, and all he wants, beſides two hundred livres a year. Half of it he ſends to the community he belongs to; the other half he reſerves for his own uſe. On board the King's ſhips are generally no other prieſts than theſe friars, who are therefore looked upon as people belonging to the King. When one of the chief prieſts ‡ in the country dies, and his place cannot immediately be filled up, they ſend one of theſe friars there, to officiate whilſt the place is vacant. Part of theſe monks come over from France, and part are natives of Canada. There are no other monks in Canada beſides theſe, except now and then one of the order of St. Auſtin, or ſome other, who comes with one of the King's ſhips, but goes off with it again.

* A French acre. † A French coin, value about a crown Engliſh. ‡ Paſteur.

Auguſt 11th. This morning I took a walk out of town, with the royal phyſician Mr. Gaulthier, in order to collect plants, and to ſee a nunnery at ſome diſtance from Quebec. This monaſtery, which is built very magnificently of ſtone, lies in a pleaſant ſpot, ſurrounded with corn-fields, meadows, and woods, from whence Quebec and the river St. Lawrence may be ſeen; a hoſpital for poor old people, cripples, &c. makes part of the monaſtery, and is divided into two halls, one for men, the other for women. The nuns attend both ſexes, with this difference, however, that they only prepare the meal for the men, and bring it in to them, give them phyſic, and take the cloth away when they have eaten, leaving the reſt for male ſervants. But in the hall where the women are, they do all the work that is to be done. The regulation in the hoſpital was the ſame as in that at Quebec. To ſhew me a particular favour, the biſhop, at the deſire of the Marquis la Galiſſonniere, governor-general of Canada, granted me leave to ſee this nunnery likewiſe, where no man is allowed to enter without his leave, which is an honour he ſeldom confers on any body. The abbeſs led us through all the apartments, accompanied by a great number of nuns. Moſt of the nuns here are of noble families, and one was the daughter of a governor. Many of them are old, but there are likewiſe ſome very young ones among them, who looked very well. They ſeemed all to be more polite than thoſe in the other nunnery. Their rooms are the ſame as in the laſt place, except ſome additional furniture in their cells; the beds are hung with blue curtains; there are a couple of ſmall bureaux, a table between them, and ſome pictures on the walls. There are however no ſtoves in any cell; but thoſe halls and rooms, in which they are aſſembled together, and in which the ſick ones lie, are ſupplied with an iron ſtove. The number of nuns is indeterminate here, and I ſaw a great number of them. Here are likewiſe ſome probationers preparing for their reception among the nuns. A number of little girls are ſent hither by their parents, to be inſtructed by the nuns in the principles of the chriſtian religion, and in all ſorts of ladies work. The convent at a diſtance looks like a palace; and, as I am told, was founded by a biſhop, who they ſay is buried in a part of the church.

We botanized till dinner time in the neighbouring meadows, and then returned to the convent to dine with a venerable old father recollet, who officiated here as a prieſt. The diſhes were all prepared by nuns, and as numerous and various as on the tables of great men. There were likewiſe ſeveral ſorts of wine, and many preſerves. The revenues of this monaſtery are ſaid to be conſiderable. At the top of the building is a ſmall ſteeple with a bell. Conſidering the large tracts of land which the King has given in Canada to convents, Jeſuits, prieſts, and ſeveral families of rank, it ſeems he has very little left for himſelf.

Our common raſpberries are ſo plentiful here on the hills, near corn-fields, rivers, and brooks, that the branches look quite red on account of the number of berries on them. They are ripe about this time, and eaten as a deſert after dinner, both freſh and preſerved.

The mountain-aſh, or ſorb-tree * is pretty common in the woods hereabouts.

They reckon the north-eaſt wind the moſt piercing of all here. Many of the beſt people here aſſured me, that this wind, when it is very violent in winter, pierces through walls of a moderate thickneſs, ſo that the whole wall on the inſide of the houſe is covered with ſnow, or a thick hoar froſt; and that a candle placed near a thinner wall is almoſt blown out by the wind which continually comes through. This wind damages

* Sorbus aucuparia.

the houſes which are built of ſtone, and forces the owners to repair them very frequently on the north-eaſt ſide. The north and north-eaſt winds are likewiſe reckoned very cold here. In ſummer the north wind is generally attended with rain.

The difference of climate between Quebec and Montreal is on all hands allowed to be very great. The wind and weather of Montreal are often entirely different from what they are at Quebec. The winter there is not near ſo cold as in the laſt place. Several ſorts of fine pears will grow near Montreal, but are far from ſucceeding at Quebec, where the froſt frequently kills them. Quebec has generally more rainy weather, ſpring begins later, and winter ſooner than at Montreal, where all ſorts of fruits ripen a week or two earlier than at Quebec.

Aug. 12th. This afternoon I went out of town, to ſtay in the country for a couple of days, that I might have more leiſure to examine the plants which grow in the woods here, and the ſtate of the country. In order to proceed the better, the governor-general had ſent for an Indian from Lorette, to ſhew us the way, and teach us what uſe they make of the ſpontaneous plants hereabouts. This Indian was an Engliſhman by birth, taken by the Indians thirty years ago, when he was a boy, and adopted by them, according to their cuſtom, inſtead of a relation of theirs killed by the enemy. Since that time he conſtantly ſtayed with them, became a Roman Catholic, and married an Indian woman: he dreſſes like an Indian, ſpeaks Engliſh and French, and many of the Indian languages. In the wars between the French and Engliſh, in this country, the French Indians have made many priſoners of both ſexes in the Engliſh plantations, adopted them afterwards, and they married with people of the Indian nations. From hence the Indian blood in Canada is very much mixed with European blood, and a great part of the Indians now living owe their origin to Europe. It is likewiſe remarkable that a great part of the people they had taken during the war and incorporated with their nations, eſpecially the young people, did not chooſe to return to their native country, though their parents and neareſt relations came to them and endeavoured to perſuade them to it, and though it was in their power to do it. The licentious life led by the Indians, pleaſed them better than that of their European relations; they dreſſed like the Indians, and regulated all their affairs in their way. It is therefore difficult to diſtinguiſh them, except by their colour, which is ſomewhat whiter than that of the Indians. There are likewiſe examples of ſome Frenchmen going amongſt the Indians and following their way of life. There is on the contrary ſcarce one inſtance of an Indian's adopting the European cuſtoms; but thoſe who were taken priſoners in the war, have always endeavoured to come to their own people again, even after ſeveral years of captivity, and though they enjoyed all the privileges that were ever poſſeſſed by the Europeans in America.

The lands which we paſſed over were every where laid out into corn-fields, meadows, or paſtures. Almoſt all round us the proſpect preſented to our view farms and farm-houſes, and excellent fields and meadows. Near the town the land is pretty flat, and interſected now and then by a clear rivulet. The roads are very good, broad, and lined with ditches on each ſide, in low grounds. Further from the town, the land riſes higher and higher, and conſiſts as it were of terraces, one above another. This riſing ground is, however, pretty ſmooth, chiefly without ſtones, and covered with rich mould. Under that is the black lime-ſlate, which is ſo common hereabouts, and is divided into ſmall ſhivers, and corroded by the air. Some of the ſtrata were horizontal, others perpendicular; I have likewiſe found ſuch perpendicular ſtrata of lime-ſlates in other places in the neighbourhood of Quebec. All the hills are cultivated; and ſome are adorned with fine churches, houſes, and corn-fields. The meadows are commonly in the vallies, though

ſome were likewiſe on eminences. Soon after we had a fine proſpect from one of theſe hills. Quebec appeared very plain to the eaſtward, and the river St. Lawrence could likewiſe be ſeen; farther diſtant, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of that river, appears a long chain of high mountains, running generally parallel to it, though many miles diſtant from it; to the weſt again, at ſome diſtance from the riſing lands where we were, the hills changed into a long chain of very high mountains, lying very cloſe to each other, and running parallel likewiſe to the river, that is, nearly from ſouth to north. Theſe high mountains conſiſt of a grey rock-ſtone, compoſed of ſeveral kinds of ſtone, which I ſhall mention in the ſequel. Theſe mountains ſeem to prove, that the lime-ſlates are of as ancient a date as the grey rock-ſtone, and not formed in later times; for the amazing large grey rocks lie on the top of the mountains, which conſiſt of black lime-ſlates.

The high meadows in Canada are excellent, and by far preferable to the meadows round Philadelphia, and in the other Engliſh colonies. The further I advanced northward here, the finer were the meadows, and the turf upon them was better and cloſer. Almoſt all the graſs here is of two kinds, viz. a ſpecies of the narrow leaved meadow-graſs *; for its ſpikes † contain either three or four flowers, which are ſo exceedingly ſmall, that the plant might eaſily be taken for a bent graſs ‡; and its ſeeds have ſeveral ſmall downy hairs at the bottom. The other plant, which grows in the meadows, is the white clover §. Theſe two plants form the hay in the meadows; they ſtand cloſe and thick together, and the meadow-graſs (poa) is pretty tall, but has very thin ſtalks. At the root of the meadow-graſs the ground was quite covered with clover, ſo that one cannot wiſh for finer meadows than are found here. Almoſt all the meadows have been formerly corn-fields, as appears from the furrows on the ground, which ſtill remained. They can be mown but once every ſummer, as ſpring commences very late.

They were now buſied with making hay, and getting it in; and I was told, they had begun about a week ago. They have hay-ſtacks near moſt of their meadows, and on the wet ones they make uſe of conic hay-ſtacks. Their meadows are commonly without encloſures, the cattle being in the paſtures on the other ſide of the woods, and having cowherds to take care of them where they are neceſſary.

The corn-fields are pretty large. I ſaw no drains any where, though they ſeemed to be wanting in ſome places. They are divided into ridges, of the breadth of two or three yards broad, between the furrows. The perpendicular height of the middle of the ridge, from the level to the ground, is near one foot. All their corn is ſummer-corn; for as the cold in winter deſtroys the corn which lies in the ground, they never ſow in autumn. I found white wheat moſt commonly in the fields. They have likewiſe large fields with peaſe, oats, in ſome places ſummer-rye, and now and then barley. Near almoſt every farm I met with cabbages, pumpions, and melons. The fields are not always ſown, but lie fallow every two years. The fallow-fields are not ploughed in ſummer, ſo the weeds grow without reſtraint in them, and the cattle are allowed to go on them all ſummer ‖.

The houſes in the country are built promiſcuouſly of ſtone or wood. To thoſe of ſtone they do not employ bricks, as there is not yet any conſiderable quantity of bricks

* Poa anguſtifolia, Linn.
† Spiculæ tri vel quadri floræ minimæ; ſemina baſi pubeſcentia.
‡ Agroſtis, Linn.
§ Trifolium repens, Linn. Trifolium pratenſe album. C. B.
‖ Here follows, in the original, an account of the encloſures made uſe of near Quebec, which is intended only for the Swedes, but not for a nation that has made ſuch progreſs in agriculture and huſbandry as the Engliſh. F.

made here. They therefore take what ſtones they can find in the neighbourhood, eſpecially the black lime-ſlates. Theſe are quite compact when broke, but ſhiver when expoſed to the air; however, this is of little conſequence, as the ſtones ſtick faſt in the wall, and do not fall aſunder. For want of it, they ſometimes make their buildings of lime-ſtone, or ſand-ſtone, and ſometimes of grey rock-ſtone. The walls of ſuch houſes are commonly two feet thick, and ſeldom thinner. The people here can have lime every where in this neighbourhood. The greater part of the houſes in the country are built of wood, and ſometimes plaiſtered over on the outſide. The chinks in the walls are filled with clay inſtead of moſs. The houſes are ſeldom above one ſtory high. In every room is either a chimney or ſtove, or both together. The ſtoves have the form of an oblong ſquare; ſome are entirely of iron, about two feet and a half long, one foot and a half, or two feet, high, and near a foot and a half broad; theſe iron ſtoves are all caſt at the iron-works at Trois Rivieres. Some are made of bricks, or ſtones, not much larger than the iron ſtoves, but covered at top with an iron plate. The ſmoke from the ſtoves is conveyed up the chimney, by an iron pipe. In ſummer the ſtoves are removed.

This evening we arrived at Lorette, where we lodged with the Jeſuits.

Auguſt 13th. In the morning we continued our journey through the woods to the high mountains, in order to ſee what ſcarce plants and curioſities we could get there. The ground was flat at firſt, and covered with a thick wood all round, except in marſhy places. Near half the plants, which are to be met with here, grow in the woods and moraſſes of Sweden.

We ſaw wild cherry-trees here, of two kinds, which are probably mere varieties, though they differ in ſeveral reſpects. Both are pretty common in Canada, and both have red berries. One kind, which is called ceriſier by the French, taſtes like our alpine cherries, and their acid contracts the mouth, and cheeks. The berries of the other ſort have an agreeable ſourneſs, and a pleaſant taſte *.

The three-leaved hellebore † grows in great plenty in the woods, and in many places it covers the ground by itſelf. However, it commonly chooſes moſſy places, that are not very wet; and the wood-ſorrel ‡, with the mountain enchanter's night-ſhade §, are its companions. Its ſeeds were not yet ripe, and moſt of the ſtalks had no ſeeds at all. This plant is called tiſſavoyanne jaune by the French, all over Canada. Its leaves and ſtalks are uſed by the Indians for giving a fine yellow colour to ſeveral kinds of work, which they make of prepared ſkins. The French, who have learned this from them, dye wool and other things yellow with this plant.

We climbed with a great deal of difficulty to the top of one of the higheſt mountains here, and I was vexed to find nothing at its ſummit, but what I had ſeen in other parts of Canada before. We had not even the pleaſure of a proſpect, becauſe the trees, with which the mountain is covered, obſtructed it. The trees that grow here are a kind of horn-beam, or carpinus oſtrya, Linn., the American elm, the red maple, the ſugar-maple, that kind of maple which cures ſcorched wounds (which I have not yet deſcribed), the beech, the common birch-tree, the ſugar-birch ‖, the ſorb-tree, the Canada pine, called peruſſe, the mealy-tree with dentated leaves ¶, the aſh, the cherry-tree (ceriſier) juſt before deſcribed, and the berry-bearing yew.

* The kind called ceriſier by the French, I deſcribed thus in my journal: ceraſus foliis ovatis ſerratis, ſerraturis profundis fere ſubulatis, fructu racemoſo. The other thus: ceraſus foliis lanceolatis, cronato-ſerratis, acutis, fructu fere ſolitario.

† Helleborus trifolius. ‡ Oxalis acetoſella, Linn. § Circæa alpina, Linn.

‖ Betula nigra, Linn. ¶ Viburnum dentatum, Linn.

The

The gnats in this wood were more numerous than we could have wiſhed. Cold water they reckon the beſt remedy againſt the bite, when the wounded places are waſhed with it immediately after.

At night we returned to Lorette, having accurately examined the plants of note we met with to-day.

Auguſt 14th. Lorette is a village three French miles to the weſtward of Quebec, inhabited chiefly by Indians of the Huron nation, converted to the Roman Catholic religion. The village lies near a little river, which falls over a rock there, with a great noiſe, and turns a ſaw-mill, and a flour-mill. When the Jeſuit, who is now with them, arrived among them, they lived in their uſual huts, which are made like thoſe of the Laplanders. They have ſince laid aſide this cuſtom, and built all their houſes after the French faſhion. In each houſe are two rooms, viz. their bed-room, and the kitchen on the outſide before it. In the room is a ſmall oven of ſtone, covered at top with an iron plate. Their beds are near the wall, and they put no other clothes on them than thoſe which they are dreſſed in. Their other furniture and utenſils look equally wretched. Here is a fine little church, with a ſteeple and bell. The ſteeple is raiſed pretty high, and covered with white tin plates. They pretend that there is ſome ſimilarity between this church in its figure and diſpoſition, and the Santa Caſa, at Loretto in Italy, from whence this village has got its name. Cloſe to the church is a houſe built of ſtone, for the clergymen, who are two Jeſuits, that conſtantly live here. The divine ſervice is as regularly attended here as in any other Roman Catholic church; and I was pleaſed with ſeeing the alacrity of the Indians, eſpecially of the women, and hearing their good voices, when they ſing all ſorts of hymns in their own language. The Indians dreſs chiefly like the other adjacent Indian nations; the men, however, like to wear waiſtcoats, or jackets, like the French. The women keep exactly to the Indian dreſs. It is certain, that theſe Indians and their anceſtors, long ſince, on being converted to the Chriſtian religion, have made a vow to God, never to drink ſtrong liquors. This vow they have kept pretty inviolable hitherto, ſo that one ſeldom ſees one of them drunk, though brandy and other ſtrong liquors are goods which other Indians would ſooner be killed for than part with them.

Theſe Indians have made the French their patterns in ſeveral things, beſides the houſes. They all plant maize; and ſome have ſmall fields of wheat and rye. Many of them keep cows. They plant our common ſun-flower * in their maize-fields, and mix the ſeeds of it into their ſagamite, or maize-ſoup. The maize which they plant here is of the ſmall ſort, which ripens ſooner than the other: its grains are ſmaller, but give more and better flour in proportion. It commonly ripens here at the middle, ſometimes however at the end, of Auguſt.

The Swediſh winter-wheat, and winter-rye, has been tried in Canada, to ſee how well it would ſucceed; for they employ nothing but ſummer-corn here, it having been found that the French wheat and rye dies here in winter, if it be ſown in autumn. Dr. Sarrazin has therefore (as I was told by the eldeſt of the two Jeſuits here) got a ſmall quantity of wheat and rye, of the winter-corn ſort, from Sweden. It was ſown in autumn, not hurt by the winter, and bore fine corn. The ears were not ſo large as thoſe of the Canada corn, but weighed near twice as much, and gave a greater quantity of finer flour than that ſummer-corn. Nobody could tell me, why the experiments have not been continued. They cannot, I am told, bake ſuch white bread here of the ſummer-corn, as they can in France of their winter-wheat. Many people

* Helianthus annuus.

have

have assured me, that all the summer-corn now employed here came from Sweden, or Norway: for the French, on their arrival, found the winters in Canada too severe for the French winter-corn, and their summer-corn did not always ripen, on account of the shortness of summer. Therefore they began to look upon Canada as little better than an useless country, where nobody could live; till they fell upon the expedient of getting their summer-corn from the most northern parts of Europe, which has succeeded very well.

This day I returned to Quebec, making botanical observations by the way.

August 15th. The new governor-general of all Canada, the Marquis de la Jonquiere, arrived last night in the river before Quebec; but it being late, he reserved his public entrance for to-day. He had left France on the second of June, but could not reach Quebec before this time, on account of the difficulty which great ships find in passing the sands in the river St. Lawrence. The ships cannot venture to go up without a fair wind, being forced to run in many bendings, and frequently in a very narrow channel. To-day was another great feast, on account of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary, which is very highly celebrated in Roman Catholic countries. This day was accordingly doubly remarkable, both on account of the holiday, and of the arrival of the new governor-general, who is always received with great pomp, as he represents a viceroy here.

About eight o'clock the chief people in town assembled at the house of Mr. de Vaudreuil, who had lately been nominated governor of Trois Rivieres, and lived in the lower town, and whose father had likewise been governor-general of Canada. Thither came likewise the Marquis de la Galissonniere, who had till now been governor-general, and was to sail for France with the first opportunity. He was accompanied by the people belonging to the government. I was likewise invited to see this festivity. At half an hour after eight the new governor-general went from the ship into a barge, covered with red cloth, upon which a signal with cannons was given from the ramparts, for all the bells in the town to be set a ringing. All the people of distinction went down to the shore to salute the governor, who, on alighting from the barge, was received by the Marquis la Galissonniere. After they had saluted each other, the commandant of the town addressed the new governor-general in a very elegant speech, which he answered very concisely; after which all the cannon on the ramparts gave a general salute. The whole street, up to the cathedral, was lined with men in arms, chiefly drawn out from among the burghesses. The governor-general then walked towards the cathedral, dressed in a suit of red, with abundance of gold lace. His servants went before him in green, carrying fire-arms on their shoulders. On his arrival at the cathedral he was received by the bishop of Canada, and the whole clergy assembled. The bishop was arrayed in his pontifical robes, and had a long gilt tiara on his head, and a great crozier of massy silver in his hand. After the bishop had addressed a short speech to the governor-general, a priest brought a silver crucifix on a long stick, (two priests, with lighted tapers in their hands, going on each side of it) to be kissed by the governor. The bishop and the priests then went through the long walk up to the choir. The servants of the governor-general followed with their hats on, and arms on their shoulders. At last came the governor-general and his suite, and after them a crowd of people. At the beginning of the choir the governor-general, and the General de la Galissonniere, stopt before a chair covered with red cloth, and stood there during the whole time of the celebration of the mass, which was celebrated by the bishop himself. From the church he went to the palace, when the gentlemen of note in the town afterwards went to pay their respects to him. The religious

ligious of the different orders, with their reſpective ſuperiors, likewiſe came to him, to teſtify their joy on account of his happy arrival. Among the numbers that came to viſit him, none ſtaid to dine but thoſe that were invited before-hand, among which I had the honour to be. The entertainment laſted very long, and was as elegant as the occaſion required.

The governor-general, Marquis de la Jonquiere, was very tall, and, at that time, ſomething above ſixty years old. He had fought a deſperate naval battle with the Engliſh in the laſt war, but had been obliged to ſurrender, the Engliſh being, as it was told, vaſtly ſuperior in the number of ſhips and men. On this occaſion he was wounded by a ball, which entered one ſide of his ſhoulder, and came out at the other. He was very complaiſant, but knew how to preſerve his dignity, when he diſtributed favours.

Many of the gentlemen, preſent at this entertainment aſſerted that the following expedient had been ſucceſsfully employed to keep wine, beer, or water, cool during ſummer. The wine or other liquor is bottled; the bottles are well corked, hung up in the air, and wrapped in wet clouts. This cools the wine in the bottles, notwithſtanding it was quite warm before. After a little while the clouts are again made wet, with the coldeſt water that is to be had, and this is always continued. The wine or other liquor, in the bottles is then always colder than the water with which the clouts are made wet. And though the bottles ſhould be hung up in the ſunſhine the above way of proceeding will always have the ſame effect *.

Auguſt 16th. The occidental arbor vitæ † is a tree which grows very plentiful in Canada, but not much farther ſouth. The moſt ſoutherly place I have ſeen it in, is a place a little on the ſouth ſide of Saratoga, in the province of New-York, and likewiſe near Caſſes, in the ſame province, which places are in forty-two degrees and ten minutes north latitude.

Mr. Bartram, however, informed me, that he had found a ſingle tree of this kind in Virginia, near the Falls in the river James. Doctor Colden likewiſe aſſerted, that he had ſeen it in many places round his ſeat at Coldingham, which lies between New-York and Albany, about forty-one degrees thirty minutes north latitude. The French, all over Canada, call it cedre blanc. The Engliſh and Dutch in Albany, likewiſe call it the white cedar. The Engliſh in Virginia, have called a thuya, which grows with them, a juniper.

The places and ſoil where it grows beſt, are not always alike, however it generally ſucceeds in ſuch ground where its roots have ſufficient moiſture. It ſeems to prefer ſwamps, marſhes, and other wet places to all others, and there it grows pretty tall. Stony hills, and places where a number of ſtones lie together, covered with ſeveral kinds of moſſes ‡, ſeemed to be the next in order where it grows. When the ſea ſhores were hilly and covered with moſſy ſtones, the thuya ſeldom failed to grow on them. It is likewiſe ſeen now and then on the hills near rivers, and other high grounds,

* It has been obſerved by ſeveral experiments that any liquor dipt into another liquor, and then expoſed to the air for evaporation, will get a remarkable degree of cold; the quicker the evaporation ſucceeds, after repeated dippings, the greater is the cold. Therefore ſpirit of wine evaporating quicker than water, cools more than water: and ſpirit of ſal ammoniac, made by quick-lime, being ſtill more volatile than ſpirit of wine, its cooling quality is ſtill greater. The evaporation ſucceeds better by moving the veſſel containing the liquor, by expoſing it to the air, and by blowing upon it, or uſing a pair of bellows. See de Mairan, Diſſertation ſur le Glace, Prof. Richman in Nov. Comment. Petrop, ad an. 1747 & 1748. and Dr. Cullen in the Edinburgh phyſical and literary Eſſays and Obſervations. Vol. II. p. 145. F.

† Thuja occidentalis, Linn.

‡ Lichen, bryum, hypnum.

which

which are covered with a duſt like earth or mould; but it is to be obſerved that ſuch places commonly carry a ſouriſh water with them, or receive moiſture from the upper countries. I have however ſeen it growing in ſome pretty dry places; but there it never comes to any conſiderable ſize. It is pretty frequent in the clefts of mountains, but cannot grow to any remarkable height or thickneſs. The talleſt trees I have found in the woods in Canada, were about thirty or thirty-ſix feet high. A tree of exactly ten inches diameter had ninety-two rings round the ſtem *; another of one foot and two inches in diameter had one hundred and forty-two rings †.

The inhabitants of Canada generally make uſe of this tree in the following caſes. It being reckoned the moſt durable wood in Canada, and which beſt withſtands putrefaction, ſo as to remain undamaged for above a man's age, encloſures of all kinds are ſcarce made of any other than this wood. All the poſts which are driven into the ground, are made of the Thuya wood. The paliſades round the forts in Canada are likewiſe made of the ſame wood. The planks in the houſes are made of it; and the thin narrow pieces of wood which form both the ribs and the bottom of the bark boats, commonly made uſe of here, are taken from this wood, becauſe it is pliant enough for the purpoſe, eſpecially whilſt it is freſh, and likewiſe becauſe it is very light. The Thuya wood is reckoned one of the beſt for the uſe of lime-kilns. Its branches are uſed all over Canada for beſoms; and the twigs and leaves of it being naturally bent together, ſeem to be very proper for the purpoſe. The Indians make ſuch beſoms and bring them to the towns for ſale, nor do I remember having ſeen any beſoms of any other wood. The freſh branches have a peculiar, agreeable ſcent, which is pretty ſtrongly ſmelled in houſes where they make uſe of beſoms of this kind.

This thuya is made uſe of for ſeveral medicinal purpoſes. The commandant of Fort St. Frederick, M. de Luſignan, could never ſufficiently praiſe its excellence for rheumatic pains. He told me he had often ſeen it tried, with remarkable good ſucceſs, upon ſeveral perſons, in the following manner. The freſh leaves are pounded in a mortar, and mixed with hog's greaſe, or any other greaſe. This is boiled together till it becomes a ſalve, which is ſpread on linen, and applied to the part where the pain is. The ſalve gives certain relief in a ſhort time. Againſt violent pains, which move up and down in the thighs, and ſometimes ſpread all over the body, they recommend the following remedy. Take of the leaves of a kind of polypody ‡ four-fifths, and of the cones of the thuya one-fifth, both reduced to a coarſe powder by themſelves, and mixed together afterwards. Then pour milk-warm water on it, ſo as to make a poultice, which ſpread on linen, and wrap it round the body: but as the poultice burns like fire, they commonly lay a cloth between it and the body, otherwiſe it would burn and ſcorch the ſkin. I have heard this remedy praiſed beyond meaſure, by people who ſaid they had experienced its good effects. An Iroqueſe Indian told me, that a decoction of thuya leaves was uſed as a remedy for the cough. In the neighbourhood of Saratoga, they uſe this decoction in the intermitting fevers.

The thuya tree keeps its leaves, and is green all winter. Its ſeeds are ripe towards the end of September, old ſtyle. The fourth of October of this year, 1749, ſome of the cones, eſpecially thoſe which ſtood much expoſed to the heat of the ſun, had already dropt their ſeeds, and all the other cones were opening in order to ſhed them. This tree has, in common with many other American trees, the quality of growing

* Of theſe rings or circles, it is well known all trees get but one every year, ſo that they ſerve to aſcertain the age of the tree, and the quickneſs or ſlowneſs of its growth. F.

† The bark is not included, when I ſpeak of the diameters of theſe trees.

‡ Polypodium fronde pinnata, pinnis alternis ad baſin ſuperne appendiculatis.

plentiful in marſhes and thick woods, which may be with certainty called its native places. However, there is ſcare a ſingle thuya tree in thoſe places which bears ſeeds; if, on the other hand, a tree accidentally ſtands on the outſide of a wood, on the ſea ſhore, or in a field, where the air can freely come at it, it is always full of ſeeds. I have found this to be the caſe with the thuya, on innumerable occaſions. It is the ſame likewiſe with the ſugar-maple, the maple which is good for healing ſcorched wounds, the white fir-tree, the pine called Peruſſe, the mulberry and ſeveral others.

Auguſt 17th. This day I went to ſee the nunnery of the Urſulines, which is diſpoſed nearly in the ſame way as the two other nunneries. It lies in the town, and has a very fine church. The nuns are renowned for their piety, and they go leſs abroad than any others. The men are likewiſe not allowed to go into this monaſtery, except by the ſpecial licence of the biſhop. At the deſire of the Marquis de la Galliſſonniere the biſhop granted me leave to viſit this monaſtery together with the royal phyſician M. Gaulthier. On our arrival we were received by the abbeſs, who was attended by a great number of nuns, for the moſt part old ones. We ſaw the church; and, it being Sunday, we found ſome nuns on every ſide of it kneeling by themſelves, and ſaying prayers. As ſoon as we came into the church, the abbeſs and the nuns with her dropt on their knees, and ſo did M. Gaulthier and myſelf. We then went to an apartment or ſmall chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, at the entrance of which, they all fell on their knees again. We aftewards ſaw the kitchen, the dining hall, and the apartment they work in, which is large and fine. They do all ſorts of neat work there, gild pictures, make artificial flowers, &c. The dining hall is diſpoſed in the ſame manner as in the other two monaſteries. Under the tables are ſmall drawers for each nun to keep her napkin, knife and fork, and other things in. Their cells are ſmall, and each nun has one to herſelf. The walls are not painted; a little bed, a table with a drawer, and a crucifix, and pictures of ſaints on it, and a chair, conſtitute the whole furniture of a cell. We were then led into a room full of young ladies about twelve years old and below that age, ſent thither by their parents to be inſtructed in reading, and in matters of religion. They are allowed to go to viſit their relations once a day, but muſt not ſtay away long. When they have learnt reading, and have received inſtructions in religion, they return to their parents again. Near the monaſtery is a fine garden, which is ſurrounded with a high wall. It belongs to this inſtitution, and is ſtocked with all ſorts of kitchen-herbs and fruit-trees. When the nuns are at work, or during dinner, every thing is ſilent in the rooms, unleſs ſome one of them reads to the others; but after dinner, they have leave to take a walk for an hour or two in the garden, or to divert themſelves within-doors. After we had ſeen every thing remarkable here, we took our leave, and departed.

About a quarter of a Swediſh mile to the weſt of Quebec, is a well of mineral waters, which carries a deal of iron ochre with it, and has a pretty ſtrong taſte. M. Gaulthier ſaid, that he had preſcribed it with ſucceſs in coſtive caſes, and the like diſeaſes.

I have been aſſured, that there are no ſnakes in the woods and fields round Quebec, whoſe bite is poiſonous; ſo that one can ſafely walk in the graſs. I have never found any that endeavoured to bite, and all were very fearful. In the ſouth parts of Canada, it is not adviſeable to be off one's guard.

A very ſmall ſpecies of black ants * live in ant-hills, in high grounds, in woods; they look exactly like our Swediſh ants, but are much leſs.

* Formica nigra. Linn.

Auguſt

Auguſt 21ſt. To-day there were ſome people of three Indian nations in this country with the governor-general, viz. Hurons, Mickmacks, and Anies * ; the laſt of which are a nation of Iroqueſe, and allies of the Engliſh, and were taken priſoners in the laſt war.

The Hurons are ſome of the ſame Indians with thoſe who live at Lorette, and have received the Chriſtian religion. They are tall, robuſt people, well ſhaped, and of a copper-colour. They have ſhort black hair, which is ſhaved on the forehead, from one ear to the other. None of them wear hats or caps. Some have ear-rings, others not. Many of them have the face painted all over with vermillion; others have only ſtrokes of it on the forehead, and near the ears; and ſome paint their hair with vermillion. Red is the colour they chiefly make uſe of in painting themſelves; but I have likewiſe ſeen ſome, who had daubed their face with a black colour. Many of them have figures in the face, and on the whole body, which are ſtained into the ſkin, ſo as to be indelible. The manner of making them ſhall be deſcribed in the ſequel. Theſe figures are commonly black; ſome have a ſnake painted in each cheek, ſome have ſeveral croſſes, ſome an arrow, others the ſun, or any thing elſe their imagination leads them to. They have ſuch figures likewiſe on the breaſt, thighs, and other parts of the body; but ſome have no figures at all. They wear a ſhirt, which is either white or checked, and a ſhaggy piece of cloth, which is either blue or white, with a blue or red ſtripe below. This they always carry over their ſhoulders, or let it hang down, in which caſe they wrap it round their middle. Round their neck, they have a ſtring of violet wampums, with little white wampums between them. Theſe wampums are ſmall, of the figure of oblong pearls, and made of the ſhells which the Engliſh call clams †. At the end of the wampum ſtrings, many of the Indians wear a large French ſilver coin, with the king's effigy, on their breaſts. Others have a large ſhell on the breaſt, of a fine white colour, which they value very high, and is very dear; others, again, have no ornament at all round the neck. They all have their breaſts uncovered. Before them hangs their tobacco-pouch, made of the ſkin of an animal, and the hairy ſide turned outwards. Their ſhoes are made of ſkins, and bear a great reſemblance to the ſhoes without heels, which the women in Finland make uſe of. Inſtead of ſtockings, they wrap the legs in pieces of blue cloth, as I have ſeen the Ruſſian boors do.

The Mickmacks are dreſſed like the Hurons, but diſtinguiſh themſelves by their long ſtrait hair, of a jetty-black colour. Almoſt all the Indians have black ſtrait hair; however, I have met with a few, whoſe hair was pretty much curled. But it is to be obſerved, that it is difficult to judge of the true complexion of the Canada Indians, their blood being mixed with the Europeans, either by the adopted priſoners of both ſexes, or by the Frenchmen, who travel in the country, and often contribute their ſhare towards the encreaſe of the Indian families, their women not being very ſhy. The Mickmacks are commonly not ſo tall as the Hurons. I have not ſeen any Indians whoſe hair was as long and ſtrait as theirs. Their language is different from that of the Hurons; therefore there is an interpreter here for them on purpoſe.

The Anies are the third kind of Indians which came hither. Fifty of them went out in the war, being allies of the Engliſh, in order to plunder in the neighbourhood of Montreal. But the French, being informed of their ſcheme, laid an ambuſh, and killed with the firſt diſcharge of their guns forty-four of them; ſo that only the four who were here to-day ſaved their lives, and two others, who were ill at this time. They are as tall as the Hurons, whoſe language they ſpeak. The Hurons ſeem to have a longer,

* Probably onidoes. † Venus mercenaria. Linn.

and the Anies a rounder face. The Anies have ſomething cruel in their looks; but their dreſs is the ſame as that of the other Indians. They wear an oblong piece of white tin between the hair which lies on the neck. One of thoſe I ſaw had taken a flower of the roſe mallow, out of a garden, where it was in full bloſſom at this time, and put it among the hair at the top of his head. Each of the Indians has a tobacco-pipe of grey lime-ſtone, which is blackened afterwards, and has a long tube of wood. There were no Indian women preſent at this interview. As ſoon as the governor-general came in, and was ſeated in order to ſpeak with them, the Mickmacks ſat down on the ground, like Laplanders, but the other Indians took chairs.

There is no printing-preſs in Canada, though there formerly was one; but all books are brought from France, and all the orders made in the country are written, which extends even to the paper-currency. They pretend that the preſs is not yet introduced here, leſt it ſhould be the means of propagating libels againſt the government, and religion. But the true reaſon ſeems to lie in the poorneſs of the country, as no printer could put off a ſufficient numbers of books for his ſubſiſtence; and another reaſon may be, that France may have the profit ariſing from the exportation of books hither.

The meals here are in many reſpects different from thoſe in the Engliſh provinces. This perhaps depends upon the difference of cuſtom, taſte, and religion, between the two nations. They eat three meals a day, viz. breakfaſt, dinner, and ſupper. They breakfaſt commonly between ſeven and eight. For the French here riſe very early, and the governor-general can be ſpoke to at ſeven o'clock, which is the time when he has his levee. Some of the men dip a piece of bread in brandy, and eat it; others take a dram of brandy, and eat a piece of bread after it. Chocolate is likewiſe very common for breakfaſt, and many of the ladies drink coffee. Some eat no breakfaſt at all. I have never ſeen tea made uſe of; perhaps becauſe they can get coffee and chocolate from the French provinces in South America; but muſt get tea from China, for which it is not worth their while to ſend the money out of their country. Dinner is pretty exactly at noon. People of quality have a great variety of diſhes, and the reſt follow their example, when they invite ſtrangers. The loaves are oval, and baked of wheat flour. For each perſon they put a plate, napkin, ſpoon, and fork. Sometimes they likewiſe give knives; but they are generally omitted, all the ladies and gentlemen being provided with their own knives. The ſpoons and forks are of ſilver, and the plates of Delft ware. The meal begins with a ſoup, with a good deal of bread in it. Then follow freſh meats of various kinds, boiled and roaſted, poultry, or game, fricaſſees, ragoos, &c. of ſeveral ſorts; together with different kinds of ſallads. They commonly drink red claret at dinner, mixed with water; and ſpruce beer is likewiſe much in uſe. The ladies drink water and ſometimes wine. After dinner the fruit and ſweet-meats are ſerved up, which are of many different kinds, viz. walnuts from France or Canada, either ripe or pickled; almonds, raiſins, haſelnuts, ſeveral kinds of berries, which are ripe in the ſummer ſeaſon, ſuch as currents, cran-berries, which are preſerved in treacle; many preſerves in ſugar, as ſtraw-berries, raſp-berries, black-berries, and moſs-berries. Cheeſe is likewiſe a part of the deſert, and ſo is milk, which they eat laſt of all with ſugar. Friday and Saturday they eat no fleſh, according to the Roman Catholic rites; but they well know how to guard againſt hunger. On thoſe days they boil all ſorts of kitchen-herbs, and fruit; fiſhes, eggs, and milk, prepared in various ways. They cut cucumbers into ſlices, and eat them with cream, which is a very good diſh. Sometimes they put whole cucumbers on the table, and every body that likes them takes one, peels, and ſlices it, and dips the ſlices into ſalt, eating them like raddiſhes. Melons abound here, and are always eaten with ſugar.

They

They never put any ſugar into wine or brandy, and upon the whole, they and the Engliſh do not uſe half ſo much ſugar, as we do in Sweden; though both nations have large ſugar plantations in their Weſt Indian poſſeſſions. They ſay no grace before, or after their meals, but only croſs themſelves, which is likewiſe omitted by ſome. Immediately after dinner, they drink a diſh of coffee, without cream. Supper is commonly at ſeven o'clock, or between ſeven and eight at night, and the diſhes the ſame as at dinner. Pudding and punch are not to be met with here, though the latter is well known.

Auguſt 23. In many places hereabouts they uſe their dogs to fetch water out of the river. I ſaw two great dogs to-day put before a little cart, one before the other. They had neat harneſs, like horſes, and bits in their mouths. In the cart was a barrel. The dogs are directed by a boy, who runs behind the cart, and as ſoon as they come to the river, they jump in of their own accord. When the barrel is filled, the dogs draw their burthen up the hill again, to the houſe they belong to. I have frequently ſeen dogs employed in this manner, during my ſtay at Quebec. Sometimes they put but one dog before the water carts, which are made ſmall on purpoſe. The dogs are not very great, hardly of the ſize of our common farmers dogs. The boys that attend them have great whips, with which they make them go on occaſionally. I have ſeen them fetch not only water, but likewiſe wood, and other things. In winter it is cuſtomary in Canada, for travellers to put dogs before little ſledges, made on purpoſe to hold their cloathes, proviſions, &c. Poor people commonly employ them on their winter journies, and go on foot themſelves. Almoſt all the wood, which the poorer people in this country fetch out of the woods in winter, is carried by dogs, which have therefore got the name of horſes of the poor people. They commonly place a pair of dogs before each load of wood. I have likewiſe ſeen ſome neat little ſledges, for ladies to ride in, in winter; they are drawn by a pair of dogs, and go faſter on a good road than one would think. A middle-ſized dog is ſufficient to draw a ſingle perſon, when the roads are good. I have been told by old people, that horſes were very ſcarce here in their youth, and almoſt all the land-carriage was then effected by dogs. Several Frenchmen, who have been among the Eſquimaux on Terra Labrador, have aſſured me, that they not only make uſe of dogs for drawing drays, with their proviſions, and other neceſſaries, but are likewiſe drawn by them themſelves, in little ſledges.

Auguſt 25th. The high hills to the weſt of the town abound with ſprings. Theſe hills conſiſt of the black lime-ſlate, before mentioned, and are pretty ſteep, ſo that it is difficult to get to the top. Their perpendicular height is about twenty or four-and-twenty yards. Their ſummits are deſtitute of trees, and covered with a thin cruſt of earth, lying on the lime-ſlates, and are employed for corn-fields, or paſtures. It ſeems inconceivable, therefore, from whence theſe naked hills could take ſo many running ſprings, which in ſome places guſh out of the hills, like torrents. Have theſe hills the quality of attracting the water out of the air in the day time, or at night? Or are the lime-ſlates more apt to it than others?

All the horſes in Canada are ſtrong, well made, ſwift, as tall as the horſes of our cavalry, and of a breed imported from France. The inhabitants have the cuſtom of docking the tails of their horſes, which is rather hard upon them here, as they cannot defend themſelves againſt the numerous ſwarms of gnats, gad-flies, and horſe-flies. They put the horſes one before the other in their carts, which has probably occaſioned the docking of their tails, as the horſes would hurt the eyes of thoſe behind them, by moving their tails backwards and forwards. The governor-general, and a few of the chief people in town, have coaches, the reſt make uſe of open horſe-chairs.

It

It is a general complaint, that the country people begin to keep too many horſes, by which means the cows are kept ſhort of food in winter.

The cows have likewiſe been imported from France, and are of the ſize of our common Swediſh cows. Every body agreed that the cattle, which were born of the original French breed, never grow up to the ſame ſize. This they aſcribe to the cold winters, during which they are obliged to put their cattle into ſtables, and give them but little food. Almoſt all the cows have horns, a few, however, I have ſeen without them. A cow without horns would be reckoned an unheard of curioſity in Penſylvania. The beef and veal at Quebec is reckoned fatter and more palatable than at Montreal. Some look upon the ſalty paſtures below Quebec as the cauſe of this difference. In Canada the oxen draw with the horns, but in the Engliſh colonies they draw with their withers, as horſes do. The cows vary in colour; however, moſt of them are either red or black.

Every countryman commonly keeps a few ſheep, which ſupply him with as much wool as he wants to clothe himſelf with. The better ſort of clothes are brought from France. The ſheep degenerate here, after they are brought from France, and their progeny ſtill more ſo. The want of food in winter is ſaid to cauſe this degeneration.

I have not ſeen any goats in Canada, and I have been aſſured that there are none. I have ſeen but very few in the Engliſh colonies, and only in their towns, where they are kept on account of ſome ſick people, who drink the milk by the advice of their phyſicians.

The harrows are triangular; two of the ſides are ſix feet, and the third four feet long. The teeth, and every other part of the harrows are of wood. The teeth are about five inches long, and about as much diſtant from each other.

The proſpect of the country about a quarter of a mile Swediſh, north of Quebec, on the weſt ſide of the river St. Lawrence, is very fine. The country is very ſteep towards the river, and grows higher as you go farther from the water. In many places it is naturally divided into terraces. From the heights, one can look a great way: Quebec appears very plain to the ſouth, and the river St. Lawrence to the eaſt, on which were veſſels ſailing up and down. To the weſt are the high mountains, which the hills of the river end with. All the country is laid out for corn-fields, meadows, and paſtures; moſt of the fields were ſown with wheat, many with white oats, and ſome with peaſe. Several fine houſes and farms are interſperſed all over the country, and none are ever together. The dwelling houſe is commonly built of black lime-ſlates, and generally white-waſhed on the outſide. Many rivulets and brooks roll down the high grounds, above which the great mountains lie, and which conſiſt entirely of the black lime-ſlates, that ſhiver in pieces in the open air. On the lime-ſlates lies a mould of two or three feet in depth. The ſoil in the corn-fields is always mixed with little pieces of the lime-ſlate. All the rivulets cut their beds deep into the ground; ſo that their ſhores are commonly of lime-ſlate. A dark grey lime-ſtone is ſometimes found among the ſtrata, which, when broke, ſmells like ſtink-ſtone.

They were now building ſeveral ſhips below Quebec, for the king's account. However, before my departure, an order arrived from France, prohibiting the further building of ſhips of war, except thoſe which were already on the ſtocks; becauſe they had found, that the ſhips built of American oak do not laſt ſo long as thoſe of European oak. Near Quebec is found very little oak, and what grows there is not fit for uſe, being very ſmall; therefore they are obliged to fetch their oak timber from thoſe parts of Canada which border upon New England. But all the North American oaks have

the quality of laſting longer, and withſtanding putrefaction better, the farther north they grow, and *vice verſa*. The timber from the confines of New England is brought in floats or rafts on the rivers near thoſe parts, and near the lake St. Pierre, which fall into the great river St. Lawrence. Some oak is likewiſe brought from the country between Montreal and Fort St. Frederick, or Fort Champlain; but it is not reckoned ſo good as the firſt, and the place it comes from is further diſtant.

Auguſt 26th. They ſhewed a green earth, which had been brought to the general, Marquis de la Galiſſonniere, from the upper parts of Canada. It was a clay, which cohered very faſt together, and was of a green colour throughout, like verdigreaſe *.

All the brooks in Canada contain crawfiſh, of the ſame kind with ours. The French are fond of eating them, and ſay they are vaſtly decreaſed in number ſince they have begun to catch them.

The common people in the country ſeem to be very poor. They have the neceſſaries of life, and but little elſe. They are content with meals of dry bread and water, bringing all other proviſions, ſuch as butter, cheeſe, fleſh, poultry, eggs, &c. to town, in order to get money for them, for which they buy clothes and brandy for themſelves, and dreſſes for their women. Notwithſtanding their poverty, they are always cheerful, and in high ſpirits.

Auguſt 29th. By the deſire of the governor-general, Marquis de la Jonquiere, and of Marquis de la Galiſſonniere, I ſet out with ſome French gentlemen to viſit the pretended ſilver-mine, or the lead-mine, near the bay St. Paul. I was glad to undertake this journey, as it gave me an opportunity of ſeeing a much greater part of the country than I ſhould otherwiſe have done. This morning therefore we ſet out on our tour in a boat, and went down the river St. Lawrence.

The proſpect near Quebec is very lively from the river. The town lies very high, and all the churches and other buildings appear very conſpicuous. The ſhips in the river below ornament the landſcape on that ſide. The powder magazine, which ſtands at the ſummit of the mountain on which the town is built, towers above all the other buildings.

The country we paſſed by afforded a no leſs charming ſight. The river St. Lawrence flows nearly from ſouth to north here; on both ſides of it are cultivated fields, but more on the weſt ſide than on the eaſt ſide. The hills on both ſhores are ſteep and high. A number of fine hills ſeparated from each other large fields, which looked quite white from the corn with which they are covered, and excellent woods of deciduous trees, made the country round us look very pleaſant. Now and then we ſaw a church of ſtone, and in ſeveral places brooks fell from the hills into the river. Where the brooks are conſiderable, there they have made ſaw-mills and water-mills.

After rowing for the ſpace of a French mile and a half, we came to the iſle of Orleans, which is a large iſland, near ſeven French miles and a half long, and almoſt two of thoſe miles broad, in the wideſt part. It lies in the middle of the river St. Lawrence, is very high, has ſteep and very woody ſhores. There are ſome places without trees, which have farm houſes below, quite cloſe to the ſhore. The iſle itſelf is well cultivated, and nothing but fine houſes of ſtone, large corn-fields, meadows, paſtures, woods of deciduous trees, and ſome churches built of ſtone, are to be ſeen on it.

* It was probably impregnated with particles of copper ore.

We

We went into that branch of the river which flows on the weſt ſide of the iſle of Orleans, it being the ſhorteſt. It is reckoned about a quarter of a French mile broad, but ſhips cannot take this road, on account of the ſand banks which lie here near the projecting points of land, and on account of the ſhallowneſs of the water, the rocks and ſtones at the bottom. The ſhores on both ſides ſtill kept the ſame appearance as before. On the weſt ſide, or on the continent, the hills near the river conſiſt throughout of black lime-ſlate, and the houſes of the peaſants are made of this kind of ſtone, white-waſhed on the outſide. Some few houſes are of different kinds of ſtone. The row of ten mountains, which is on the weſt ſide of the river, and runs nearly from ſouth to north, gradually comes nearer to the river: for at Quebec they are near two French miles diſtant from the ſhore; but nine French miles lower down the river they are almoſt cloſe to the ſhore. Theſe mountains are generally covered with woods, but in ſome places the woods have been deſtroyed by accidental fires. About eight French miles and a half from Quebec, on the weſt ſide of the river, is a church called St. Anne, cloſe to the ſhore. This church is remarkable, becauſe the ſhips from France and other parts, as ſoon as they are got ſo far up the river St. Lawrence, as to get ſight of it, give a general diſcharge of their artillery, as a ſign of joy, that they have paſſed all danger in the river, and have eſcaped all the ſands in it.

The water had a pale red colour, and was very dirty in thoſe parts of the river which we ſaw to-day, though it was every where computed above ſix fathoms deep. Somewhat below St. Anne, on the weſt ſide of the river St. Lawrence, another river, called le Grande Riviere, or the Great River, falls in it. Its water flows with ſuch violence, as to make its way almoſt into the middle of the branch of the river St. Lawrence, which runs between the continent and the iſle of Orleans.

About two o'clock in the afternoon the tide began to flow up the river, and the wind being likewiſe againſt us, we could not proceed any farther, till the tide began to ebb. We therefore took up our night's lodging in a great farm belonging to the prieſts in Quebec, near which is a fine church called St. Joachim, after a voyage of about eight French miles. We were exceeding well received here. The king has given all the country round about this place to the ſeminary, or the prieſts at Quebec, who have leaſed it to farmers who have built houſes on it. Here are two prieſts, and a number of young boys, whom they inſtruct in reading, writing, and Latin. Moſt of theſe boys are deſigned for prieſts: directly oppoſite to this farm, to the eaſtward, is the north-eaſt point, or the extremity of the iſle of Orleans.

All the gardens in Canada abound with red currant ſhrubs, which were at firſt brought over from Europe. They grow exceſſively well here, and the ſhrubs or buſhes are quite red, being covered all over with berries.

The wild vines * grow pretty plentifully in the woods. In all other parts of Canada they plant them in the gardens, near arbours and ſummer-houſes. The ſummer-houſes are made entirely of laths, over which the vines climb with their tendrils, and cover them entirely with their foliage, ſo as to ſhelter them entirely from the heat of the ſun. They are very refreſhing and cool in ſummer.

The ſtrong contrary winds obliged us to lie all night at St. Joachim.

Auguſt 30th. This morning we continued our journey in ſpite of the wind, which was very violent againſt us. The water in the river begins to get a brackiſh taſte, when the tide is higheſt, ſomewhat below St. Joachim; and the farther one goes down,

* Vitis labruſca & vulpina.

the

the more the ſaline taſte encreaſes. At firſt the weſtern ſhore of the river has fine, but low corn-fields, but ſoon after the high mountains run cloſe to the river ſide. Before they come to the river, the hilly ſhores conſiſt of black lime-ſlate; but as ſoon as the high mountains appear on the river ſide, the lime-ſlates diſappear. For the ſtone, of which the high mountains conſiſt, is a chalky rock-ſtone, mixed with glimmer and quartz *. The glimmer is black, the quartz partly violet, and partly grey. All the four conſtituent parts are ſo well mixed together, as not to be eaſily ſeparated by an inſtrument, though plainly diſtinguiſhable with the eye. During our journey to-day, the breadth of the river was generally three French miles. They ſhewed me the turnings the ſhips are obliged to ſail in, which ſeem to be very troubleſome, as they are obliged to bear away for either ſhore as occaſion requires, or as the rocks and ſands in the river oblige them to do.

For the diſtance of five French miles we had a very dangerous paſſage to go through; for the whole weſtern ſhore, along which we rowed, conſiſts of very high and ſteep mountains, where we could not have found a ſingle place to land with ſafety, during the ſpace of five miles, in caſe a high wind had ariſen. There are indeed two or three openings, or holes, in the mountains, into which one could have drawn the boat, in the greateſt danger. But they are ſo narrow, that in caſe the boat could not find them in the hurry, it would inevitably be daſhed againſt the rocks. Theſe high mountains are either quite bare, or covered with ſome ſmall firs ſtanding far aſunder. In ſome places there are great clefts going down the mountains, in which trees grow very cloſe together, and are taller than on the other parts of the mountain; ſo that thoſe places look like quick hedges, planted on the ſolid rock. Soon after we paſſed a ſmall church, and ſome farms round it. The place is called Petite Riviere, and they ſay its inhabitants are very poor, which ſeems very probable. They have no more land to cultivate than what lies between the mountains and the river, which in the wideſt part is not above three muſket-ſhot, and in moſt parts but one broad. About ſeventeen French miles from Quebec the water is ſo ſalty in the river that no one can drink it, our rowers therefore provided themſelves with a kettle full of freſh water this morning. About five o'clock in the evening we arrived at bay St. Paul, and took our lodgings with the prieſts, who have a fine large houſe here, and entertained us very hoſpitably.

Bay St. Paul is a ſmall pariſh, about eighteen French miles below Quebec, lying at ſome diſtance from the ſhore of a bay formed by the river, on a low plain. It is ſurrounded by high mountains on every ſide, one large gap excepted, which is over againſt the river All the farms are at ſome diſtance from each other. The church is reckoned one of the moſt ancient in Canada; which ſeems to be confirmed by its bad architecture, and want of ornaments; for the walls are formed of pieces of timber, erected at about two feet diſtance from each other, ſupporting the roof. Between theſe pieces of timber, they have made the walls of the church of lime-ſlate; the roof is flat; the church has no ſteeple, but a bell fixed above the roof, in the open air. Almoſt all the country in this neighbourhood belongs to the prieſts, who have leaſed it to the farmers. The inhabitants live chiefly upon agriculture, and making of tar, which laſt is ſold at Quebec.

This country being low, and ſituated upon a bay of the river, it may be conjectured, that this flat ground was formerly part of the bottom of the river, and formed itſelf either by a decreaſe of water in the river, or by an encreaſe of earth, which was carried

* Saxum micaceo quarzoſo calcarium.

upon it from the continent by the brooks, or thrown on it by ſtorms. A great part of the plants which are to be met with here are likewiſe marine; ſuch as glaſs-wort, ſea milk-wort, and ſea-ſide peaſe *. But when I have aſked the inhabitants, whether they find ſhells in the ground by digging for wells, they always anſwered in the negative. I received the ſame anſwer from thoſe who live in the low fields directly north of Quebec, and all agreed, that they never found any thing by digging, but different kinds of earth and ſand.

It is remarkable, that there is generally a different wind in the bay from that in the river, which ariſes from the high mountains, covered with tall woods, with which it is ſurrounded on every ſide but one. For example, when the wind comes from the river, it ſtrikes againſt one of the mountains at the entrance of the bay, it is reflected, and conſequently takes a direction quite different from what it had before.

I found ſand of three kinds upon the ſhore; one is a clear coarſe ſand, conſiſting of angulated grains of quartz, and is very common on the ſhore; the other is a fine black ſand, which I have likewiſe found in abundance on the ſhores of Lake Champlain †, and which is common all over Canada. Almoſt every grain of it is attracted by the magnet. Beſides this, there is a garnet-coloured ſand ‡, which is likewiſe very fine. This may owe its origin to the garnet-coloured grains of ſands which are to be found in all the ſtones and mountains here near the ſhore. The ſand may have ariſen from the crumbled pieces of ſome ſtones, or the ſtones may have been compoſed of it. I have found both this and the black ſand on the ſhores, in ſeveral parts of this journey; but the black ſand was always the moſt plentiful.

Auguſt 31ſt. All the high hills in the neighbourhood ſent up a ſmoke this morning, as from a charcoal-kiln.

Gnats are innumerable here; and as ſoon as one looks out of doors, they immediately attack him; and they are ſtill worſe in the woods. They are exactly the ſame gnats as our common Swediſh ones, being only ſomewhat leſs than the North American gnats all are. Near Fort St. Jean, I have likewiſe ſeen gnats which were the ſame with ours, but they were ſomewhat bigger, almoſt of the ſize of our crane-flies §. Thoſe which are here beyond meaſure blood-thirſty. However, I comforted myſelf, becauſe the time of their diſappearance was near at hand.

This afternoon we went ſtill lower down the river St. Lawrence, to a place, where, we were told, there were ſilver or lead mines. Somewhat below bay St. Paul, we paſſed a neck of land, which conſiſts entirely of a grey, pretty compact lime-ſtone, lying in dipping, and almoſt perpendicular ſtrata. It ſeems to be merely a variety of the black lime-ſlates. The ſtrata dip to the ſouth-eaſt, and baſſet out to the north-weſt. The thickneſs of each is from ten to fifteen inches. When the ſtone is broken, it has a ſtrong ſmell, like ſtink-ſtone. We kept, as before, to the weſtern ſhore of the river, which conſiſts of nothing but ſteep mountains and rocks. The river is not above three French miles broad here. Now and then we could ſee ſtripes in the rock, of a fine white, looſe, ſemiopaque ſpar. In ſome places of the river are pieces of rock as big as houſes, which had rolled from the mountains in ſpring. The places they formerly occupied are plainly to be ſeen.

By way of amuſement, I wrote down a few Algonkin words, which I learnt from a Jeſuit who has been a long time among the Algonkins. They call water, mukuman; the head, uſtigon; the heart, uta; the body, veetras; the foot, ukhita; a little boat, uſh;

* Salicornia, Glaux, Piſum maritimum.
‡ Alſo mentioned before.
† See a former paſſage.
§ Tipula hortorum. Linn.

uſh; a ſhip, nabikoan; fire, ſkute; hay, maſkoeſee; the hare, whabus; (they have a verb, which expreſſes the action of hunting hares, derived from the noun) the marten, whabiſtanis; the elk, mooſu * (but ſo that the final u is hardly pronounced); the rein-deer, atticku; the mouſe, mawitulſis. The Jeſuit who told me thoſe particulars, likewiſe informed me, that he had great reaſon to believe, that, if any Indians here owed their origin to Tataria, he thought the Algonkins certainly did; for their language is univerſally ſpoken in that part of North America which lies far to the weſt of Canada, towards Aſia. It is ſaid to be a very copious language; as for example, the verb to go upon the ice, is entirely different in the Algonkin from to go upon dry land, to go upon the mountains, &c.

Late at night we arrived at Terre d'Eboulement, which is twenty-two French miles from Quebec, and the laſt cultivated place on the weſtern ſhore of the river St. Lawrence. The country lower down is ſaid to be ſo mountainous that no body can live in it, there not being a ſingle ſpot of ground which could be tilled. A little church, belonging to this place, ſtands on the ſhore, near the water.

No walnut-trees grow near this village, nor are there any kinds of them further north of this place. At bay St. Paul there are two or three walnut-trees of that ſpecies which the Engliſh call butter-nut-trees; but they are looked upon as great rarities, and there are no others in the neighbourhood.

Oaks of all kinds will not grow near this place, nor lower down, or further north.

Wheat is the kind of corn which is ſown in the greateſt quantities here. The ſoil is pretty fertile, and they have ſometimes got twenty-four or twenty-ſix buſhels from one, though the harveſt is generally ten or twelve fold. The bread here is whiter than any where elſe in Canada.

They ſow plenty of oats, and it ſucceeds better than the wheat.

They ſow likewiſe a great quantity of peas, which yield a greater encreaſe than any corn; and there are examples of its producing an hundred fold.

Here are but few birds; and thoſe that paſs the ſummer here migrate in autumn; ſo that there are no other birds than ſnow-birds, red partridges, and ravens, in winter. Even crows do not venture to expoſe themſelves to the rigours of winter, but take flight in autumn.

The bull-frogs live in the pools of this neighbourhood. Fire-flies are likewiſe to be found here.

Inſtead of candles, they make uſe of lamps in country places, in which they burn train-oil of porpeſſes, which is the common oil here. Where they have none of it, they ſupply its place with train-oil of ſeals.

Sept. 1ſt. There was a woman with child in this village, who was now in the fifty-ninth year of her age. She had not had the catamenia during eighteen years. In the year 1748, ſhe got the ſmall-pox, and now ſhe was very big. She ſaid ſhe was very well, and could feel the motions of the fœtus. She looked very well, and had her huſband alive. This being an uncommon caſe, ſhe was brought to the royal phyſician, M. Gaulthier, who accompanied us on this journey.

* The famous mooſe-deer is accordingly nothing but an elk; for no one can deny the derivation of mooſe-deer form mooſu. Conſidering eſpecially, that before the Iroqueſe or Five Nations grew to that power, which they at preſent have all over North America, the Algonkins were then the leading nation among the Indians, and their language was of courſe then a moſt univerſal language over the greater part of North America; and though they have been very nearly deſtroyed by the Iroqueſe, their language is ſtill more univerſal in Canada than any of the reſt. F.

At half an hour after ſeven this morning we went down the river. The country near Terre d'Eboulement is high, and conſiſts of hills of a looſe mould, which lie in three or four rows above each other, and are all well cultivated, and moſtly turned into corn-fields; though there are likewiſe meadows and paſtures.

The great earthquake which happened in Canada, in February 1663, and which is mentioned by Charlevoix *, has done conſiderable damage to this place. Many hills tumbled down; and a great part of the corn-fields on the loweſt hills were deſtroyed. They ſhewed me ſeveral little iſlands, which aroſe in the river on this occaſion.

There are pieces of black lime-ſlate ſcattered on thoſe hills, which conſiſt of mould. For the ſpace of eight French miles along the ſide of the river there is not a piece of lime-ſlate to be ſeen; but inſtead of it, there are high grey mountains, conſiſting of a rock-ſtone, which contains a purple and a chryſtaline quartz, mixed with lime-ſtone, and black glimmer. The roots of theſe mountains go into the water. We now begin to ſee the lime-ſlates again.

Here are a number of terns †, which fly about, and make a noiſe along the ſhore.

The river is her computed at about four French miles broad.

On the ſides of the river, about two French miles inland, there are ſuch terraces of earth as at Terra d'Eboulement; but ſoon after they are ſucceeded by high diſagreeable mountains.

Several brooks fall into the river here, over the ſteep ſhores, with a great noiſe. The ſhores are ſometimes ſeveral yards high, and conſiſts either of earth, or of rock-ſtone.

One of theſe brooks, which flows over a hill of lime-ſtone, contains a mineral water. It has a ſtrong ſmell of ſulphur, is very clear, and does not change its colour when mixed with gall-apples. If it is poured into a ſilver cup, it looks as if the cup was gilt; and the water leaves a ſediment of a crimſon colour at the bottom. The ſtones and pieces of wood, which lie in the water, are covered with a ſlime, which is a pale grey at the top, and black at the bottom of the ſtone. This ſlime has not much pungency, but taſtes like oil of tobacco. My hands had a ſulphureous ſmell all day, becauſe I had handled ſome of the ſlimy ſtones.

The black lime-ſlate now abounds again, near the level of the water. It lies in ſtrata, which are placed almoſt perpendicularly near each other, inclining a little towards W. S. W. Each ſtratum is between ten and fifteen inches thick. Moſt of them are ſhivered into thin leaves at the top, towards the day; but in the inſide, whither neither ſun, nor air and water can penetrate, they are cloſe and compact. Some of theſe ſtones are not quite black, but have a greyiſh caſt.

About noon we arrived at Cape aux Oyes, or Geeſe Cape, which has probably got its name from the number of wild geeſe which the French found near it, on their firſt arrival in Canada. At preſent we ſaw neither geeſe, nor any kind of birds here, a ſingle raven excepted. Here we were to examine the renowned metallic veins in the mountain; but found nothing more than ſmall veins of a fine white ſpar, containing a few ſpecks of lead ore. Cap aux Oyes is computed twenty-two, or twenty-five French miles diſtant from Quebec. I was moſt pleaſed by finding, that moſt of the plants are the ſame as grow in Sweden; a proof of which I ſhall produce in the ſequel.

The ſand-reed ‡ grows in abundance in the ſand, and prevents its being blown about by the wind.

* See his Hiſtoire de la Nouvelle France, tom. ii. p. m. 125. † Sterna hirundo, Linn.
‡ Arundo arenaria, Linn.

The

The ſea-lime graſs * likewiſe abounds on the ſhores. Both it and the preceding plant are called ſeigle de mer † by the French. I have been aſſured that theſe plants grow in great plenty in Newfoundland, and on other North American ſhores; the places covered with them looking, at a diſtance, like corn-fields; which might explain the paſſage in our northern accounts, of the excellent wine-land ‡, which mentions, that they had found whole fields of wheat growing wild.

The ſea-ſide plantain § is very frequent on the ſhore. The French boil its leaves in a broth on their ſea-voyages, or eat them as a ſallad. It may likewiſe be pickled like ſamphire.

The bear-berries ‖ grow in great abundance here. The Indians, French, Engliſh, and Dutch, in thoſe parts of North America, which I have ſeen, call them Sagackhomi, and mix the leaves with tobacco for their uſe.

Gale, or ſweet willow ¶, is likewiſe abundant here. The French call it laurier, and ſome poivrier. They put the leaves into their broth, to give it a pleaſant taſte.

The ſea-rocket ** is, likewiſe, not uncommon. Its root is pounded, mixed with flour, and eaten here, when there is a ſcarcity of bread.

The ſorb-tree, or mountain-aſh, the cranberry-buſh, the juniper-tree, the ſea-ſide peaſe, the Linnæa, and many other Swediſh plants, are likewiſe to be met with here.

We returned to bay St. Paul to-day. A grey ſeal ſwam behind the boat for ſome time, but was not near enough to be ſhot at.

Sept. 2d. This morning we went to ſee the ſilver or lead veins. They lie a little on the ſouth-ſide of the mills, belonging to the prieſts. The mountain in which the veins lie has the ſame conſtituent parts as the other high grey rocks in this place, viz. a rock-ſtone compoſed of a whitiſh or pale grey lime-ſtone, a purple or almoſt garnet-coloured quartz, and a black glimmer. The lime-ſtone is in greater quantities here than the other parts; and is ſo fine as to be hardly viſible. It effervеſces very ſtrongly with aqua fortis. The purple or garnet-coloured quartz is next in quantity; lies ſcattered in exceeding ſmall grains, and ſtrikes fire when ſtruck with a ſteel. The little black particles of glimmer follow next; and laſt of all, the tranſparent cryſtalline ſpeckles of quartz. There are ſome ſmall grains of ſpar in the lime-ſtone. All the different kinds of ſtone are very well mixed together, except that the glimmer now and then forms little veins and lines. The ſtone is very hard; but when expoſed to ſunſhine and the open air, it changes ſo much as to look quite rotten, and becomes friable; and in that caſe, its conſtituent particles grow quite undiſtinguiſhable. The mountain is quite full of perpendicular clifts, in which the veins of lead-ore run from E. S. E. to W. N. W. It ſeems the mountain had formerly got cracks here, which were afterwards filled up with a kind of ſtone, in which the lead-ore was generated. That ſtone which contains the lead-ore is a ſoft, white, often ſemidiaphanous ſpar, which works very eaſily. In it there are ſometimes ſtripes of a ſnowy white lime-ſtone, and almoſt always veins of a green kind of ſtone like quartz. This ſpar has many cracks, and divides into ſuch pieces as quartz; but is much ſofter, never ſtrikes fire with ſteel,

* Elymus arenarius, Linn. † Sea rye.

‡ Vinland det goda, or the good wine-land, is the name which the old Scandinavian navigators gave to America, which they diſcovered long before Columbus. See Torfæi Hiſtoria Vinlandiæ antiquæ ſ partis Americæ ſeptentrionolis. Hafniæ 1715, 4to. and Mr. George Weſtmann's, A. M. Diſſertation on that ſubject. Abo. 1747. F.

§ Plantago maritima, Linn.

‖ Arbutus uva urſi, Linn.

¶ Myrica gale, Linn.

** Bunias cakile, Linn.

does

does not efferveſce with acids, and is not ſmooth to the touch. It ſeems to be a ſpecies of Mr. Profeſſor Wallerius's vitreſcent ſpar*. There are ſometimes ſmall pieces of a greyiſh quartz in this ſpar, which emit ſtrong ſparks of fire, when ſtruck with a ſteel. In theſe kinds of ſtone the lead-ore is lodged. It commonly lies in little lumps of the ſize of peas; but ſometimes in ſpecks of an inch ſquare, or bigger. The ore is very clear, and lies in little cubes †. It is generally very poor, a few places excepted. The veins of ſoft ſpar, and other kinds of ſtone, are very narrow, and commonly from ten to fifteen inches broad. In a few places they are twenty inches broad; and in one ſingle place twenty-two and a half. The brook which interſects the mountain towards the mills, runs down ſo deep into the mountain, that the diſtance from the ſummit of the hill, to the bottom of the brook, is near twelve yards. Here I examined the veins, and found that they always keep the ſame breadth, not encreaſing near the bottom of the brook; and likewiſe, that they are no richer below, than at the top. From hence it may be eaſily concluded, that it is not worth while ſinking mines here. Of theſe veins there are three or four in this neighbourhood, at ſome diſtance from each other, but all of the ſame quality. The veins are almoſt perpendicular, ſometimes deviating a little. When pieces of the green ſtone before-mentioned lie in the water, a great deal of the adherent white ſpar and lime-ſtone is conſumed; but the green ſtone remains untouched. That part of the veins which is turned towards the air is always very rough, becauſe the ſun, air, and rain, have mouldered a great part of the ſpar and lime-ſtone; but the green ſtone has reſiſted their attacks. They ſometimes find deep holes in theſe veins, filled with mountain cryſtals. The greateſt quantity of lead or ſilver ore is to be found next to the rock, or even on the ſides of vein. There are now and then little grains of pyrites in the ſpar, which have a fine gold colour. The green ſtone when pounded, and put on a red-hot ſhovel, burns with a blue flame. Some ſay, they can then obſerve a ſulphureous ſmell, which I could never perceive, though my ſenſe of ſmelling is very perfect. When this green ſtone is grown quite red-hot, it looſes its green colour, and acquires a whitiſh one, but will not efferveſce with aqua fortis.

The ſulphureous ſprings (if I may ſo call them) are at the foot of the mountain, which contains the ſilver, or lead ore. Several ſprings join here, and form a little brook. The water in thoſe brooks is covered with a white membrane, and leaves a white, mealy matter on the trees, and other bodies in its way; this matter has a ſtrong ſulphureous ſmell. Trees covered with this mealy matter, when dried and ſet on fire, burn with a blue flame, and emit a ſmell of ſulphur. The water does not change by being mixed with gall-apples, nor does it change blue paper into a different colour, which is put into it. It makes no good lather with ſoap. Silver is tarniſhed, and turns black, if kept in this water for a little while. The blade of a knife was turned quite black, after it had lain about three hours in it. It has a diſagreeable ſmell, which, they ſay, it ſpreads ſtill more in rainy weather. A number of graſshoppers were fallen into it at preſent. The inhabitants uſed this water, as a remedy againſt the itch.

In the afternoon we ſent to ſee another vein, which had been ſpoken of as ſilver-ore. It lies about a quarter of a mile to the north-eaſt of bay St. Paul, near a point of land called Cap au Corbeau, cloſe to the ſhore of the river St. Lawrence. The mountain in which theſe veins lie, conſiſt of a pale red vitreſcent ſpar, a black glimmer, a pale lime-ſtone, purple or garnet-coloured grains of quartz, and ſome tranſparent quartz. Sometimes the reddiſh vitreſcent ſpar is the moſt abundant, and lies in long ſtripes of ſmall hard grains. Sometimes the fine black glimmer abounds more than the remaining

* See Wallerius's Mineralogy, Germ. ed. p. 87. Forſt. Introd. to Mineralogy, p. 13.

† It is a cubic lead-ore, or lead-glance. Forſter's Introd. to Mineralogy, p. 51.

conſtituent parts; and theſe two laſt kinds of ſtone generally run in alternate ſtripes. The white lime-ſtone which conſiſts of almoſt inviſible particles, is mixed in among them. The garnet-coloured quartz grains appear here and there, and ſometimes form whole ſtripes. They are as big as pin's heads, round, ſhining, and ſtrike fire with ſteel. All theſe ſtones are very hard, and the mountains near the ſea conſiſt entirely of them. They ſometimes lie in almoſt perpendicular ſtrata, of ten or fifteen inches thickneſs. The ſtrata, however, point with their upper ends to the north-weſt, and go upwards from the river, as if the water, which is cloſe to the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the mountains, had forced the ſtrata to lean on that ſide. Theſe mountains contain very narrow veins of a white, and ſometimes of a greeniſh, fine, ſemidiaphanous, ſoft ſpar, which crumbles eaſily into grains. In this ſpar they very frequently find ſpecks, which look like a calamine blind *. Now and then, and but very ſeldom, there is a grain of lead-ore. The mountains near the ſhore conſiſt ſometimes of a black fine-grained horn-ſtone, and a ferruginous lime-ſtone. The horn-ſtone in that caſe is always in three or four times as great a quantity as the lime-ſtone.

In this neighbourhood there is likewiſe a ſulphureous ſpring, having exactly the ſame qualities as that which I have before deſcribed. The broad-leaved reed mace † grows in the very ſpring, and ſucceeds extremely well. A mountain-aſh ſtood near it, whoſe berries were of a pale yellow fading colour, whereas on all other mountain-aſhes they have a deep red colour.

They make great quantities of tar at bay St. Paul. We now paſſed near a place in which they burn tar, during ſummer. It is exactly the ſame with ours in Eaſt Bothnia, only ſomewhat leſs; though I have been told, that there are ſometimes very great manufactures of it here. The tar is made ſolely of the pin rouge ‡, or red pine. All other firs, of which here are ſeveral kinds, are not fit for this purpoſe, becauſe they do not give tar enough to repay the trouble the people are at. They make uſe of the roots alone, which are quite full of reſin, and which they dig out of the ground; and of about two yards of the ſtem, juſt above the root, laying aſide all the reſt. They have not yet learnt the art of drawing the reſin to one ſide of the tree, by peeling off the bark; at leaſt they never take this method. The tar-barrels are about half the ſize of ours. A ton holds forty-ſix pots, and ſells at preſent for twenty-five francs at Quebec. The tar is reckoned pretty good.

The ſand on the ſhore of the river St. Lawrence conſiſts in ſome places of a kind of pearl-ſand. The grains are of quartz, ſmall and ſemidiaphanous. In ſome places, it conſiſts of little particles of glimmer; and there are likewiſe ſpots, covered with the garnet-coloured ſand, which I have before deſcribed, and which abounds in Canada.

Sept. 4th. The mountains hereabouts were covered with a very thick fog to-day, reſembling the ſmoak of a charcoal-kiln. Many of theſe mountains are very high. During my ſtay in Canada, I aſked many people, who have travelled much in North America, whether they ever met with mountains ſo high, that the ſnow never melts on them in winter; to which they always anſwered in the negative. They ſay that the ſnow ſometimes ſtays on the higheſt, viz. on ſome of thoſe between Canada and the Engliſh colonies, during a great part of the ſummer; but that it melts as ſoon as the great heat begins.

* Forſter's Introd. to Mineralogy. p. 50. Zincum ſterilum, Linn. Syſt. Nat. iii. p. 126. ed. xii.

† Typha latifolia, Linn.

‡ Pinus foliis geminis longis; ramis triplici faſciculo foliorum terminatis, conis ovatis lævibus. Flor. Canad.

Every

Every countryman ſows as much flax as he wants for his own uſe. They had already taken it up ſome time ago, and ſpread it on the fields, meadows, and paſtures, in order to bleach it. It was very ſhort this year in Canada.

They find iron-ore in ſeveral places hereabouts. Almoſt a Swediſh mile from bay St. Paul, up in the country, there is a whole mountain full of iron-ore. The country round it is covered with a thick foreſt, and has many rivulets of different ſizes, which ſeem to make the erection of iron-works very eaſy here. But the government having as yet ſuffered very much by the iron-works at Trois Rivieres, nobody ventures to propoſe any thing further in that way.

Sept. 5th. Early this morning we ſet out on our return to Quebec. We continued our journey at noon, notwithſtanding the heavy rain and thunder incommoded us. At that time we were juſt at Petite Riviere, and the tide beginning to ebb, it was impoſſible for us to come up againſt it; therefore we lay by here, and went on ſhore.

Petite Riviere is a little village on the weſtern ſide of the river St. Lawrence, and lies on a little rivulet, from whence it takes its name. The houſes are built of ſtone, and are diſperſed over the country. Here is likewiſe a fine little church of ſtone. To the weſt of the village are ſome very high mountains, which cauſe the ſun to ſet three or four hours ſooner here than ordinary. The river St. Lawrence annually cuts off a piece of land, on the eaſt ſide of the village, ſo that the inhabitants fear they will in a ſhort time loſe all the land they poſſeſs here, which at moſt is but a muſket ſhot broad. All the houſes here are very full of children.

The lime-ſlates on the hills are of two kinds. One is a black one, which I have often mentioned, and on which the town of Quebec is built. The other is generally black, and ſometimes dark grey, and ſeems to be a ſpecies of the former. It is called pierre à chaux here. It is chiefly diſtinguiſhed from the former, by being cut very eaſily, giving a very white lime when burnt, and not eaſily mouldering into ſhivers in the air. The walls of the houſes here are entirely made of this ſlate; and likewiſe the chimnies, thoſe places excepted which are expoſed to the greateſt fire, where they place pieces of grey rock-ſtone, mixed with a deal of glimmer. The mountains near Petite Riviere conſiſt merely of a grey rock-ſtone, which is entirely the ſame with that which I deſcribed near the lead-mines of bay St. Paul. The foot of theſe mountains conſiſts of one of the lime-ſlate kinds. A great part of the Canada mountains of grey rock-ſtone ſtand on a kind of ſlate, in the ſame manner as the grey rocks of Weſt Gothland in Sweden.

Sept. 6th. They catch eels and porpeſſes here, at a certain ſeaſon of the year, viz. at the end of September, and during the whole month of October. The eels come up the river at that time, and are caught in the manner I have before deſcribed. They are followed by the porpeſſes, which feed upon them. The greater the quantity of eels is, the greater is likewiſe the number of porpeſſes, which are caught in the following manner: when the tide ebbs in the river, the porpeſſes commonly go down along the ſides of the river, catching the eels which they find there. The inhabitants of this place therefore ſtick little twigs, or branches with leaves, into the river, in a curve line or arch, the ends of which look towards the ſhore, but ſtand at ſome diſtance from it, leaving a paſſage there. The branches ſtand about two feet diſtant from each other. When the porpeſſes come amongſt them, and perceive the ruſtling the water makes with the leaves, they dare not venture to proceed, fearing leſt there ſhould be a ſnare, or trap, and endeavour to go back. Meanwhile the water has receded ſo much, that in going back they light upon one of the ends of the arch, whoſe moving leaves frighten them again. In this confuſion they ſwim backwards and forwards, till the water is entirely

entirely ebbed off, and they lie on the bottom, where the inhabitants kill them. They give a great quantity of train-oil.

Near the ſhore, is a grey clay, full of ferruginous cracks, and pierced by worms. The holes are ſmall, perpendicular, and big enough to admit a middling pin. Their ſides are likewiſe ferruginous, and half-petrified; and where the clay has been waſhed away by the water, the reſt looks like ochre-coloured ſtumps of tobacco-pipe tubes.

At noon we left Petite Riviere, and continued our journey towards St. Joachim.

Between Petite Riviere, which lies in a little bay, and St. Joachim, the weſtern ſhore of the river St. Lawrence conſiſts of prominent mountains, between which there are ſeveral ſmall bays. They have found, by long experience, that there is always a wind on theſe mountains, even when it is calm at Petite Riviere. And when the wind is pretty high at the laſt-mentioned place, it is not adviſeable to go to Quebec in a boat, the wind and waves, in that caſe, being very high near theſe mountains. We had at preſent an opportunity of experiencing it. In the creeks between the mountains, the water was almoſt quite ſmooth; but on our coming near one of the points formed by the high mountains, the waves encreaſed, and the wind was ſo high, that two people were forced to take care of the helm, and the maſt broke ſeveral times. The waves are likewiſe greatly encreaſed by the ſtrong current near thoſe points or capes.

Sept. 7th. A little before noon, we continued our voyage from St. Joachim.

They employ tree-muſhrooms very frequently inſtead of tinder. Thoſe which are taken from the ſugar-maple are reckoned the beſt; thoſe of the red maple are next in goodneſs; and next to them, thoſe of the ſugar-birch. For want of theſe, they likewiſe make uſe of thoſe which grow on the aſp-tree or tremble.

There are no other ever-green trees in this part of Canada than the thuya, the yew, and ſome of the fir kind.

The thuya is eſteemed for reſiſting putrefaction much longer than any other wood; and next in goodneſs to it is the pine, called peruſſe here.

They make cheeſe in ſeveral places hereabouts. That of the iſle of Orleans is, however, reckoned the beſt. This kind is ſmall, thin, and round; and four of them weigh about a French pound. Twelve of them ſell for thirty ſols. A pound of ſalt butter coſts ten ſols at Quebec, and of freſh butter fifteen ſols. Formerly, they could get a pound of butter for four ſols here.

The corn-fields towards the river are ſloping; they are ſuffered to lie fallow and to be ſown alternately. The ſown ones looked yellow at this diſtance, and the fallow ones green. The weeds are left on the latter all ſummer, for the cattle to feed upon.

The aſh wood furniſhes the beſt hoops for tuns here; and for want of it, they take the thuya, little birch-trees, wild cherry-trees, and others.

The hills near the river, on the weſtern ſide, oppoſite the iſle of Orleans, are very high and pretty ſteep. They conſiſt, in moſt part, of black lime-ſlate. There are likewiſe ſome ſpots which conſiſt of a rock-ſtone, which, at firſt ſight, looks like a ſand-ſtone, and is compoſed of grey quartz, a reddiſh lime-ſtone, a little grey lime-ſtone, and ſome pale grey grains of ſand. Theſe parts of the ſtone are ſmall and pretty equally mixed with each other. The ſtone looks red, with a greyiſh caſt, and is very hard. It lies in ſtrata, one above another. The thickneſs of each ſtratum is about five inches. It is remarkable, that there are both elevated and hollow impreſſions of pectinites on the ſurface, where one likewiſe meets with the petrified ſhells themſelves; but on breaking the ſtone, it does not even contain the leaſt veſtige of an impreſſion or petrified

petrified ſhell. All the impreſſions are ſmall, about the length and breadth of an inch. The particulars of quartz in the ſtone ſtrike fire with ſteel, and the particulars of lime-ſtone effervesce ſtrongly with aquafortis. The upper and lower ſurfaces of the ſtrata conſiſt of lime-ſtone, and the inner parts of quartz. They break great quantities of this ſtone in order to build houſes of it, pave floors with it, and make ſtair-caſes of it. Great quantities of it are ſent to Quebec. It is remarkable, that there are petrifactions in this ſtone, but never any in the black lime-ſlates.

The women dye their woollen yarn yellow with ſeeds of gale *, which is called poivrier here, and grows abundant in wet places.

This evening, M. Gaulthier and I went to ſee the water-fall at Montmorenci. The country near the river is high and level, and laid out into meadows. Above them the high and ſteep hills begin, which are covered with a cruſt of mould, and turned into corn-fields. In ſome very ſteep places, and near the rivulets, the hills conſiſt of mere black lime-ſlate, which is often crumbled into ſmall pieces, like earth. All the fields below the hills are full of ſuch pieces of lime-ſlate. In ſome more elevated places, the earth conſiſts of a pale red colour; and the lime-ſlates are likewiſe reddiſh.

The water-fall near Montmorenci is one of the higheſt I ever ſaw. It is in a river whoſe breadth is not very conſiderable, and falls over the ſteep ſide of a hill, conſiſting entirely of black lime-ſlate. The fall is now at the bottom of a little creek of the river. Both ſides of the creek conſiſt merely of black lime-ſlate, which is very much cracked and tumbled down. The hill of lime-ſlate under the water-fall is quite perpendicular, and one cannot look at it without aſtoniſhment. The rain of the preceding days had encreaſed the water in the river, which gave the fall a grander appearance. The breadth of the fall is not above ten or twelve yards. Its perpendicular height Mr. Gaulthier and I gueſſed to be between a hundred and ten, and a hundred and twenty feet; and on our return to Quebec, we found our gueſs confirmed by ſeveral gentlemen, who had actually meaſured the fall, and found it to be nearly as we had conjectured. The people who live in the neighbourhood exaggerate in their accounts of it, abſolutely declaring that it is three hundred feet high. Father Charlevoix † is too ſparing, in giving it only forty feet in height. At the bottom of the fall there is always a thick fog of vapours ſpreading about the water, being reſolved into them by its violent fall. This fog occaſions almoſt perpetual rain here, which is more or leſs heavy, in proportion to its diſtance from the fall. Mr. Gaulthier and myſelf, together with the man who ſhewed us the way, were willing to come nearer to the falling water, in order to examine more accurately how it came down from ſuch a height, and how the ſtone behind the water looked. But, being about twelve yards off the fall, a ſudden guſt of wind blew a thick fog upon us, which, in leſs than a minute, had wet us as thoroughly as if we had walked for half an hour in a heavy ſhower. We therefore hurried away as faſt as we could. The noiſe of the fall is ſometimes heard at Quebec, which is two French miles off to the ſouthward; and this is a ſign of a north-eaſt wind. At other times, it can be well heard in the villages, a good way lower to the north; and it is then reckoned an undoubted ſign of a ſouth-weſt wind, or of rain. The black lime-ſlate on the ſides of the fall lies in dipping, and almoſt perpendicular ſtrata. In theſe lime-ſlate ſtrata are the following kinds of ſtone to be met with.

Fibrous gypſum ‡. This lies in very thin leaves between the cracks of the lime-ſlate.

* Myrica gale. Linn.

† See his Hiſtoire de la Nouv. France, tom. v. p. m. 100.

‡ Gypſum amiantiforme, Waller. Min. Germ. ed. p. 74. Fibrous or radiated gypſum, Forſt. Introd. to Mineralogy, p. 16.

Its

Engraved by George Cooke.

Fall of Montmorenci.

London: Published by Longman, Hurst Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, Sept.1, 1821.

Its colour is a ſnowy white. I have found it in ſeveral parts of Canada, in the ſame black lime-ſtone.

Pierre à calumet. This is the French name of a ſtone diſpoſed in ſtrata between the lime-ſlate, and of which they make almoſt all the tobacco-pipe heads in the country. The thickneſs of the ſtrata is different. I have ſeen pieces near fifteen inches thick; but they are commonly between four and five inches thick. When the ſtone is long expoſed to the open air or heat of the ſun, it gets a yellow colour; but in the inſide it is grey. It is a lime-ſtone of ſuch a compactneſs, that its particles are not diſtinguiſhable by the naked eye. It is pretty ſoft, and will bear cutting with a knife. From this quality, the people likewiſe judge of the goodneſs of the ſtone for tobacco-pipe heads; for the hard pieces of it are not ſo fit for uſe as the ſofter ones. I have ſeen ſome of theſe ſtones ſhivering into thin leaves on the outſide, where they were expoſed to the ſun. All the tobacco-pipe heads, which the common people in Canada make uſe of, are made of this ſtone, and are ornamented in different ways. A great part of the gentry likewiſe make uſe of them, eſpecially when they are on a journey. The Indians have employed this ſtone for the ſame purpoſes for ſeveral ages paſt, and have taught it the Europeans. The heads of the tobacco-pipes are naturally of a pale grey colour; but they are blackened whilſt they are quite new, to make them look better. They cover the head all over with greaſe, and hold it over a burning candle, or any other fire, by which means it gets a good black colour, which is encreaſed by frequent uſe. The tubes of the pipes are always made of wood *.

There are no coals near this fall, or in the ſteep hills cloſe to it. However, the people in the neighbouring village ſhewed me a piece of coal, which, they ſaid, they had found on one of the hills about the fall.

We arrived at Quebec very late at night.

Sept. 8. Intermitting fevers of all kinds are very rare at Quebec, as Mr. Gaulthier affirms. On the contrary, they are very common near Fort St. Frederick, and near Fort Detroit, which is a French colony, between Lake Erie and Lake Huron, in forty-three degrees north latitude.

Some of the people of quality make uſe of ice-cellars, to keep beer cool in, during ſummer, and to keep freſh fleſh, which would not keep long in the great heat. Theſe ice-cellars are commonly built of ſtone, under the houſe. The walls of it are covered with boards, becauſe the ice is more eaſily conſumed by ſtones. In winter they fill it with ſnow, which is beat down with the feet, and covered with water. They then open the cellar holes and the door, to admit the cold. It is cuſtomary in ſummer to put a piece of ice into the water or wine which is to be drank.

All the ſalt which is made uſe of here is imported from France. They can make good ſalt here of the ſea water; but France keeping the ſalt trade entirely to itſelf, they do not go on with it here.

The Eſquimaux are a particular kind of American ſavages, who live only near the water, and never far in the country, on Terra Labrador, between the moſt outward point of the mouth of the river St. Lawrence and Hudſon's bay. I have never had an opportunity of ſeeing one of them. I have ſpoken with many Frenchmen who have ſeen

* All over Poland, Ruſſia, Turkey, and Tartary, they ſmoke out of pipes made of a kind of ſtone-marle, to which they fix long wooden tubes; for which latter purpoſe, they commonly employ the young ſhoots of the various kinds of ſpiræa, which have a kind of pith eaſily to be thruſt out. The ſtone-marle is called generally ſea-ſcum, being pretty ſoft; and by the Tartars, in Crimea, it is called keffekil. And as it cuts ſo eaſily, various figures are curiouſly carved in it, when it is worked into pipe heads, which often are mounted with ſilver. F.

them, and had them on board their own veſſels. I ſhall here give a brief hiſtory of them, according to their unanimous accounts.

The Eſquimaux are entirely different from the Indians of North America, in regard to their complexion and their language. They are almoſt as white as Europeans, and have little eyes: the men have likewiſe beards. The Indians, on the contrary, are copper-coloured, and the men have no beards. The Eſquimaux language is ſaid to contain ſome European words *. Their houſes are either caverns or clefts in the mountains, or huts of turf above ground. They never ſow or plant vegetables, living chiefly on various kinds of whales, on ſeals †, and walruſſes ‡. Sometimes they likewiſe catch land animals, on which they feed. They eat moſt of their meat quite raw. Their drink is water; and people have likewiſe ſeen them drinking the ſea-water, which was like brine.

Their ſhoes, ſtockings, breeches, and jackets, are made of ſeal-ſkins well prepared, and ſewed together with nerves of whales, which may be twiſted like threads, and are very tough. Their cloaths, the hairy ſide of which is turned outwards, are ſewed together ſo well, that they can go up to their ſhoulders in the water without wetting their under cloaths. Under their upper cloaths, they wear ſhirts and waiſtcoats made of ſeals ſkins, prepared ſo well as to be quite ſoft. I ſaw one of their women's dreſſes; a cap, a waiſtcoat, and coat, made all of one piece of ſeal's ſkin well prepared, ſoft to the touch, and the hair on the outſide. There is a long train behind at their coats, which ſcarce reach them to the middle of the thigh before; under it they wear breeches and boots, all of one piece. The ſhirt I ſaw was likewiſe made of a very ſoft ſeal's ſkin. The Eſquimaux women are ſaid to be handſomer than any of the American Indian women, and their huſbands are accordingly more jealous in proportion.

I have likewiſe ſeen an Eſquimaux boat. The outſide of it conſiſts entirely of ſkins, the hair of which has been taken off; and the ſides of the ſkins on which they were inſerted are turned outwards, and feel as ſmooth as vellum. The boat was near fourteen feet long, but very narrow, and very ſharp-pointed at the extremities. In the inſide of the boat they place two or three thin boards, which give a kind of form to the boat. It is quite covered with ſkins at the top, excepting, near one end, a hole big enough for a ſingle perſon to ſit and row in, and keep his thighs and legs under the deck. The figure of the hole reſembles a ſemi-circle, the baſe or diameter of which is turned towards the larger end of the boat. The hole is ſurrounded with wood, on which a ſoft folded ſkin is faſtened with ſtraps at its upper end. When the Eſquimaux makes uſe of his boat, he puts his legs and thighs under the deck, ſits down at the bottom of the boat, draws the ſkin before-mentioned round his body, and faſtens it well with the ſtraps; the waves may then beat over his boat with conſiderable violence, and not a ſingle drop comes into it; the cloaths of the Eſquimaux keep the wet from him. He has an oar in his hand, which has a paddle at each end; it ſerves him for rowing with, and keeping the boat in equilibrium during a ſtorm. The paddles of the

* The Moravian brethren in Greenland, coming once over with ſome Greenlanders to Terra Labrador, the Eſquimaux ran away at their appearance; but they ordered one of their Greenlanders to call them back in his language. The Eſquimaux hearing his voice, and underſtanding the language, immediately ſtopped, came back, and were glad to find a countryman, and wherever they went among the other Eſquimaux, they gave out that one of their brethren was returned. This proves the Eſquimaux to be of a tribe different from any European nation, as the Greenland language has no ſimilarity with any language in Europe. F.

† Phoca vitulina. Linn.

‡ Trichechus roſmarus. Linn.

oar are very narrow. The boat will contain but a ſingle perſon. Eſquimaux have often been found ſafe in their boats many miles from land, in violent ſtorms, where ſhips found it difficult to ſave themſelves. Their boats float on the waves like bladders, and they row them with incredible velocity. I am told they have boats of different ſhapes. They have likewiſe larger boats of wood, covered with leather, in which ſeveral people may ſit, and in which their women commonly go to ſea.

Bows and arrows, javelins and harpoons, are their arms. With the laſt they kill whales, and other large marine animals. The points of their arrows and harpoons are ſometimes made of iron, ſometimes of bone, and ſometimes of the teeth of the walruſs. Their quivers are made of ſeals ſkins. The needles with which they ſow their cloaths are likewiſe made of iron, or of bone. All their iron they get, by ſome means or other, from the Europeans.

They ſometimes go on board the European ſhips, in order to exchange ſome of their goods for knives and other iron. But it is not adviſeable for Europeans to go on ſhore, unleſs they be numerous; for the Eſquimaux are falſe and treacherous, and cannot ſuffer ſtrangers amongſt them. If they find themſelves too weak, they run away at the approach of ſtrangers; but if they think they are an over-match for them, they kill all that come in their way, without leaving a ſingle one alive. The Europeans therefore, do not venture to let a greater number of Eſquimaux come on board their ſhips than they can eaſily maſter. If they are ſhip-wrecked on the Eſquimaux coaſts, they may as well be drowned in the ſea as come ſafe to the ſhore: this many Europeans have experienced. The European boats and ſhips which the Eſquimaux get into their power, are immediately cut in pieces, and robbed of all nails and other iron, which they work into knives, needles, arrow-heads, &c. They make uſe of fire for no other purpoſes but working of iron, and preparing the ſkins of animals. Their meat is eaten all raw. When they come on board an European ſhip, and are offered ſome of the ſailors meat, they never will taſte of it till they have ſeen ſome Europeans eat it. Though nothing pleaſed other ſavage nations ſo much as brandy, yet many Frenchmen have aſſured me, that they never could prevail on the Eſquimaux to take a dram of it. Their miſtruſt of other nations is the cauſe of it; for they undoubtedly imagine that they are going to poiſon them, or do them ſome hurt; and I am not certain whether they do not judge right. They have no ear-rings, and do not paint the face like the American Indians. For many centuries paſt they have had dogs whoſe ears are erected, and never hang down. They make uſe of them for hunting, and inſtead of horſes in winter, for drawing their goods on the ice. They themſelves ſometimes ride in ſledges drawn by dogs. They have no other domeſtic animal. There are indeed plenty of rein-deer in their country; but it is not known that either the Eſquimaux, or any of the Indians in America, have ever tamed them. The French in Canada, who are in a manner the neighbours of the Eſquimaux, have taken a deal of pains to carry on ſome kind of trade with them, and to endeavour to engage them to a more friendly intercourſe with other nations. For that purpoſe they took ſome Eſquimaux children, taught them to read, and educated them in the beſt manner poſſible. The intention of the French was, to ſend theſe children to the Eſquimaux again, that they might inform them of the kind treatment the French had given them, and thereby incline them to conceive a better opinion of the French. But unhappily all the children died of the ſmall-pox, and the ſcheme was dropt. Many perſons in Canada doubted whether the ſcheme would have ſucceeded, though the children had been kept alive. For they ſay, there was formerly an Eſquimaux taken by the French and brought to Canada, where he ſtaid a good while, and was treated with great civility.

civility. He learnt French pretty well, and ſeemed to reliſh the French way of living very well. When he was ſent back to his countrymen, he was not able to make the leaſt impreſſion on them, in favour of the French; but was killed by his neareſt relations, as half a Frenchman and foreigner. This inhuman proceeding of the Eſquimaux againſt all ſtrangers, is the reaſon why none of the Indians of North America ever give quarter to the Eſquimaux if they meet with them, but kill them on the ſpot; though they frequently pardon their other enemies, and incorporate the priſoners into their nation.

For the uſe of thoſe who are fond of comparing the languages of ſeveral nations, I have here inſerted a few Eſquimaux words, communicated to me by the Jeſuit Saint Pie. One, kombuc; two, tigal; three, ké; four, miſſilagat; water, ſillalokto; rain, killaluck; heaven, taktuck, or nabugakſhe; the ſun, ſhikonak, or ſakaknuk; the moon, takock; an egg, manneguk; the boat, kagack; the oar, pacotick; the knife, ſhavié; a dog, mekké, or timilok; the bow, petikſick; an arrow, katſo; the head, niakock; the ear, tchiu; the eye, killik, or ſhik; the hair, nutſhad; a tooth, ukak; the foot, itikat. Some think that they are nearly the ſame nation with the Greenlanders, or Skralingers; and pretend that there is a great affinity in the language *.

Plumb-trees of different ſorts brought over from France, ſucceed very well here. The preſent year they did not begin to flower till this month. Some of them looked very well; and I am told the winter does not hurt them.

Sept. 11th. The Marquis de la Galiſſonniere is one of the three noblemen, who, above all others, have gained high eſteem with the French admiralty in the laſt war. They are the Marquiſſes de la Galiſſonniere, de la Jonquiere, and de l'Etendue. The firſt of theſe was of a low ſtature, and ſomewhat hump-backed. He has a ſurpriſing knowledge in all branches of ſcience, and eſpecially in natural hiſtory; in which he is ſo well verſed, that when he began to ſpeak with me about it, I imagined I ſaw our great Linnæus under a new form. When he ſpoke of the uſe of natural hiſtory, of the method of learning, and employing it to raiſe the ſtate of a country, I was aſtoniſhed to ſee him take his reaſons from politics, as well as natural philoſophy, mathematics, and other ſciences. I own, that my converſation with this nobleman was very inſtructive to me; and I always drew a deal of uſeful knowledge from it. He told me ſeveral ways of employing natural hiſtory to the purpoſes of politics, and to make a country powerful, in order to depreſs its envious neighbours. Never has natural hiſtory had a greater promoter in this country; and it is very doubtful whether it will ever have his equal here. As ſoon as he got the place of governor-general, he began to take thoſe meaſures for getting information in natural hiſtory, which I have mentioned before. When he ſaw people who had for ſome time been in a ſettled place of the country, eſpecially in the more remote parts, or had travelled in thoſe parts, he always queſtioned them about the trees, plants, earths, ſtones, ores, animals, &c. of the place. He likewiſe enquired what uſe the inhabitants made of theſe things; in what ſtate their huſbandry was; what lakes, rivers, and paſſages there are; and a number of other particulars. Thoſe who ſeemed to have clearer notions than the reſt, were obliged to give him circumſtantial deſcriptions of what they had ſeen. He

* The above account of the Eſquimaux may be compared with Henry Ellis's Account of a Voyage to Hudſon's Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California, &c., and the account of a Voyage for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage by Hudſon's Streights, by the Clerk of the California. Two Vols. 8vo. And laſtly, with Crantz's Hiſtory of Greenland. Two. Vols. 8vo. F.

himſelf

himſelf wrote down all the accounts he had received; and by this great application, ſo uncommon among perſons of his rank, he ſoon acquired a knowledge of the moſt diſtant parts of America. The prieſts, commandants of forts, and of ſeveral diſtant places, are often ſurpriſed by his queſtions, and wonder at his knowledge, when they come to Quebec to pay their viſits to him; for he often tells them, that near ſuch a mountain, or on ſuch a ſhore, &c. where they often went a hunting, there are ſome particular plants, trees, earths, ores, &c. for he had got a knowledge of thoſe things before. From hence it happened, that ſome of the inhabitants believed he had a preternatural knowledge of things, as he was able to mention all the curioſities of places, ſometimes near two hundred Swediſh miles from Quebec, though he never was there himſelf. Never was there a better ſtateſman than he; and nobody can take better meaſures, and chooſe more proper means for improving a country, and increaſing its welfare. Canada was hardly acquainted with the treaſure it poſſeſſed in the perſon of this nobleman, when it loſt him again; the king wanted his ſervices at home, and could not leave him ſo far off. He was going to France with a collection of natural curioſities; and a quantity of young trees and plants, in boxes full of earth.

The black lime-ſlate has been repeatedly mentioned during the courſe of my journey. I will here give a more minute detail of it. The mountain on which Quebec is built, and the hills along the river St. Lawrence, conſiſt of it for ſome miles together, on both ſides of Quebec. About a yard from the ſurface, this ſtone is quite compact, and without any cracks; ſo that one cannot perceive that it is a ſlate, its particles being imperceptible. It lies in ſtrata, which vary from three or four inches, to twenty thick, and upwards. In the mountains on which Quebec is built, the ſtrata do not lie horizontal, but dipping, ſo as to be nearly perpendicular; the upper ends pointing north-weſt, and the lower ones ſouth-eaſt. From hence it is, the corners of theſe ſtrata always ſtrike out at the ſurface into the ſtreets, and cut the ſhoes in pieces. I have likewiſe ſeen ſome ſtrata, inclining to the northward, but nearly perpendicular as the former. Horizontal ſtrata, or nearly ſuch, have occurred to me too. The ſtrata are divided by narrow cracks, which are commonly filled with fibrous white gypſum, which can ſometimes be got looſe with a knife, if the layer or ſtratum of ſlate above it is broken in pieces; and in that caſe it has the appearance of a thin white leaf. The large cracks are almoſt filled up with tranſparent quartz cryſtals, of different ſizes. One part of the mountain contains vaſt quantities of theſe cryſtals, from which the corner of the mountain which lies to the S. S. E. of the palace, has got the name of Pointe de Diamante, or Diamond Point. The ſmall cracks which divide the ſtone, go generally at right angles; the diſtances between them are not always equal. The outſide of the ſtratum, or that which is turned towards the other ſtratum, is frequently covered with a fine, black, ſhining membrane, which looks like a kind of a pyrous horn-ſtone. In it there is ſometimes a yellow pyrites, always lying in ſmall grains. I never found petrifactions or impreſſions, or other kinds of ſtone in it, beſides thoſe I have juſt mentioned. Almoſt all the public and private buildings at Quebec conſiſt of this lime-ſlate; and likewiſe the walls round the town, and round the monaſteries and gardens. It is eaſily broken, and cut to the ſize wanted. But it has the property of ſplitting into thin ſhivers, parallel to the ſurface of the ſtratum from whence they are taken, after lying during one or more years in the air, and expoſed to the ſun. However, this quality does no damage to the walls in which they are placed; for the ſtones being laid on purpoſe into ſuch a poſition that the cracks always run horizontally, the upper ſtones preſs ſo much upon the lower ones, that they can only get cracks out-

wardly, and ſhiver only on the outſide, without going further inwards. The ſhivers always grow thinner, as the houſes grow older.

In order to give my readers ſome idea of the climate of Quebec, and of the different changes of heat and cold, at the ſeveral ſeaſons of the year, I will here inſert ſome particulars extracted from the meteorological obſervations, of the royal phyſician, Mr. Gaulthier: he gave me a copy of thoſe which he had made from October 1744, to the end of September 1746. The thermometrical obſervations I will omit, becauſe I do not think them accurate; for as Mr. Gaulthier made uſe of de la Hire's thermometer, the degrees of cold cannot be exactly determined, the quickſilver being depreſſed into the globe at the bottom, as ſoon as the cold begins to be conſiderable. The obſervations are made throughout the year, between ſeven and eight in the morning, and two and three in the afternoon. He has ſeldom made any obſervations in the afternoon. His thermometer was likewiſe inaccurate, by being placed in a bad ſituation.

The year 1745. Jan. The 29th of this month the river St. Lawrence was covered over with ice, near Quebec. In the obſervations of other years, it is obſerved, that the river is ſometimes covered with ice in the beginning of January, or the end of December.

Feb. Nothing remarkable happened during the courſe of this month.

March. They ſay this has been the mildeſt winter they ever felt; even the eldeſt perſons could not remember one ſo mild. The ſnow was only two feet deep, and the ice in the river, oppoſite Quebec, had the ſame thickneſs. On the twenty-firſt there was a thunder-ſtorm, which fell upon a ſoldier, and hurt him very much. On the 19th and 20th, they began to make inciſions into the ſugar-maple, and to prepare ſugar from its juice.

April. During this month they continued to extract the juice of the ſugar-maple, for making ſugar. On the 7th the gardeners began to make hot-beds. On the 20th the ice in the river broke looſe near Quebec, and went down; which rarely happens ſo ſoon; for the river St. Lawrence is ſometimes covered with ice oppoſite Quebec, on the 10th of May. On the 22d, and 23d, there fell a quantity of ſnow. On the 25th they began to ſow near St. Joachim. The ſame day they ſaw ſome ſwallows. The 29th they ſowed corn all over the country. Ever ſince the 23d the river had been clear at Quebec.

May. The third of this month the cold was ſo great in the morning, that Celſius's or the Swediſh thermometer, was four degrees below the freezing point; however, it did not hurt the corn. On the 16th all the ſummer-corn was ſown. On the 5th the ſanguinaria, narciſſus, and violet, began to blow. The 17th the wild cherry-trees, raſberry-buſhes, apple-trees, and lime-trees, began to expand their leaves. The ſtraw-berries were in flower about that time. The 29th the wild cherry-trees were in bloſſom. On the 26th part of the French apple-trees, cherry-trees, and plum-trees, opened their flowers.

June. The 5th of this month all the trees had got leaves. The apple-trees were in full flower. Ripe ſtraw-berries were to be had on the 22d. Here it is noted, that the weather was very fine for the growth of vegetables.

July. The corn began to ſhoot into ears on the 12th, and had ears every where on the 21ſt. (It is to be obſerved, that they ſow nothing but ſummer-corn here) Soon after the corn began to flower. Hay-making began the 22d. All this month the weather was excellent.

Aug. On the 12th there were ripe pears and melons at Montreal. On the 20th the corn was ripe round Montreal, and the harveſt was begun there. On the 22d the harveſt

harveſt began at Quebec. On the 30th and 31ſt there was a very ſmall hoar-froſt on the ground.

Sept. The harveſt of all kinds of corn ended on the 24th and 25th. Melons, water-melons, cucumbers, and fine plums, were very plentiful during the courſe of this month. Apples and pears were likewiſe ripe, which is not always the caſe. On the laſt days of this month they began to plough the land. The following is one of the obſervations of this month: "The old people in this country ſay, that the corn was formerly never ripe till the 15th or 16th of September, and ſometimes on the 12th; but no ſooner. They likewiſe aſſert, that it never was perfectly ripe. But ſince the woods have been ſufficiently cleared, the beams of the ſun have had more room to operate, and the corn ripens ſooner than before *." It is further remarked, that the hot ſummers are always very fruitful in Canada, and that moſt of the corn has hardly ever arrived at perfect maturity.

Oct. During this month the fields were ploughed, and the weather was very fine all the time. There was a little froſt for ſeveral nights, and on the 28th it ſnowed. Towards the end of this month the trees began to ſhed their leaves.

Nov. They continued to plough till the 10th of this month, when the trees had ſhed all their leaves. Till the 18th the cattle went out of doors, a few days excepted, when bad weather had kept them at home. On the 16th there was ſome thunder and lightning. There was not yet any ice in the river St. Lawrence on the 24th.

Dec. During this month it is obſerved, that the autumn has been much milder than uſual. On the 1ſt a ſhip could ſtill ſet ſail for France; but on the 16th the river St. Lawrence was covered with ice on the ſides, but open in the middle. In the river Charles the ice was thick enough for horſes with heavy loads to paſs over it. On the 26th the ice in the river St. Lawrence was waſhed away by a heavy rain; but on the 28th part of that river was again covered with ice.

The next obſervations ſhew, that the winter has likewiſe been one of the mildeſt. I now reſume the account of my own journey.

* It is not only the clearing of woods, but cultivation, and population, that alter the climate of a country, and make it mild. The Romans looked upon the winters of Germany and England as very ſevere, but happily both countries have at preſent a much more mild climate than formerly, owing to the three above-mentioned reaſons. Near Peterſburg, under ſixty degrees north latitude, the river Neva was covered with ice 1765, in the beginning of December and cleared of it April the 11th 1766. At Tſaritſin, which is under forty-eight degrees forty minutes north latitude, the river Volga was covered with ice the 26th of November 1765, and the ice broke in the river April the 27th 1766, (all old ſtile). Is it not almoſt incredible, that in a place very near twelve degrees more to the ſouth, the effects of cold ſhould be felt longer, and more ſeverely, than in the more northern climate? And though the neighbourhood of Peterſburg has a great many woods, the cold was, however, leſs ſevere, and laſting; Tſaritſin, on the contrary, has no woods for many hundred miles in its neighbourhood, if we except ſome few trees and buſhes along the Volga, and its iſles, and the low land along it. Wherever the eye looks to the eaſt, there are vaſt plains without woods, for many hundred miles. The clearing a country of woods, cannot therefore alone contribute ſo much to make the climate milder. But cultivation does more. On a ploughed field the ſnow will always ſooner melt, than on a field covered with graſs. The inflammable warm particles brought into the field, by the various kinds of manure, contribute much to ſoften the rigours of the climate; but the exhalations of thouſands of men and cattle, in a populous country, the burning of ſo many combuſtibles, and the diſperſion of ſo many cauſtic particles, through the whole atmoſphere; theſe are things which contribute ſo much towards ſoftening the rigours of a climate. In a hundred ſquare miles near Tſaritſin, there is not ſo much cultivated land as there is within ten near Peterſburg; it is in proportion to the number of the inhabitants of both places, and this makes the chief difference of the climate. There is ſtill another conſideration, Peterſburg lies near the ſea, and Tſaritſin in an inland country; and generally ſpeaking, countries near the ſea have been obſerved to enjoy a milder climate. Theſe few remarks will be, I believe, ſufficient to enable every body to judge of the changes of the climate in various countries, which, no doubt, grow warmer and more temperate, as cultivation and population increaſe. F.

This evening I left Quebec with a fair wind. The governor-general of Canada, the marquis de la Jonquiere, ordered one of the King's boats, and ſeven men, to bring me to Montreal. The middle of the boat was covered with blue cloth, under which we were ſecured from the rain. This journey I made at the expence of the French King. We went three French miles to-day.

Sept. 12. We continued our journey during all this day.

The ſmall kind of maize, which ripens in three months time, was ripe about this time, and the people drew it out of the ground, and hung it up to dry.

The weather about this time was like the beginning of our Auguſt, old ſtile. Therefore it ſeems autumn commences a whole month later in Canada, than in the midſt of Sweden.

Near each farm there is a kitchen-garden, in which onions are moſt abundant; becauſe the French farmers eat their dinners of them with bread, on Fridays and Saturdays, or faſting days. However, I cannot ſay, the French are ſtrict obſervers of faſting; for ſeveral of my rowers ate fleſh to-day, though it was Friday. The common people in Canada may be ſmelled when one paſſes by them, on account of their frequent uſe of onions. Pumpions are likewiſe abundant in the farmers gardens. They dreſs them in ſeveral ways, but the moſt common is to cut them through the middle, and place the inſide of the hearth, towards the fire, till it is quite roaſted. The pulp is then cut out of the peel, and eaten; people above the vulgar put ſugar to it. Carrots, ſallad, French beans, cucumbers, and currant ſhrubs, are planted in every farmer's little kitchen-garden.

Every farmer plants a quantity of tobacco near his houſe, in proportion to the ſize of his family. It is likewiſe very neceſſary that they ſhould plant tobacco, becauſe it is ſo univerſally ſmoaked by the common people. Boys of ten or twelve years of age run about with the pipe in their mouths, as well as the old people. Perſons above the vulgar do not refuſe to ſmoak a pipe now and then. In the northern parts of Canada, they generally ſmoak tobacco by itſelf; but further upwards, and about Montreal, they take the inner bark of the red Cornelian cherry *, cruſh it, and mix it with the tobacco, to make it weaker. People of both ſexes, and of all ranks, uſe ſnuff very much. Almoſt all the tobacco which is conſumed here is the produce of the country, and ſome people prefer it even to Virginian tobacco: but thoſe who pretend to be connoiſſeurs, reckon the laſt kind better than the other.

Though many nations imitate the French cuſtoms; yet I obſerved, on the contrary, that the French in Canada, in many reſpects, follow the cuſtoms of the Indians, with whom they converſe every day. They make uſe of the tobacco-pipes, ſhoes, garters, and girdles, of the Indians. They follow the Indian way of making war with exactneſs; they mix the ſame things with tobacco; they make uſe of the Indian bark-boats, and row them in the Indian way; they wrap ſquare pieces of cloth round their feet inſtead of Sockings, and have adopted many other Indian faſhions. When one comes into the houſe of a Canada peaſant, or farmer, he gets up, takes his hat off to the ſtranger, deſires him to ſit down, puts his hat on, and ſits down again. The gentlemen and ladies, as well as the pooreſt peaſants and their wives, are called monſieur and madame. The peaſants, and eſpecially their wives, wear ſhoes, which conſiſt of a piece of wood hollowed out, and are made almoſt as ſlippers. Their boys, and the old peaſants themſelves, wear their hair behind in a cue; and moſt of them wear red woollen caps at home, and ſometimes on their journies.

* Cornus ſanguinea. Linn.

The

The farmers prepare moſt of their diſhes of milk. Butter is but ſeldom ſeen, and what they have is made of ſour cream, and therefore not ſo good as Engliſh butter. Many of the French are very fond of milk, which they eat chiefly on faſting days. However, they have not ſo many methods of preparing it as we have in Sweden. The common way was to boil it, and put bits of bread, and a good deal of ſugar, into it. The French here eat near as much fleſh as the Engliſh, on thoſe days when their religion allows it; for excepting the ſoup, the ſallads, and the deſert, all their other diſhes conſiſt of fleſh variouſly prepared.

At night we lay at a farm-houſe, near a river called Petite Riviere, which falls here into the river St. Lawrence. This place is reckoned ſixteen French miles from Quebec, and ten from Trois Rivieres. The tide is ſtill conſiderable here. Here is the laſt place where the hills, along the river, conſiſt of black lime-ſlate; further on they are compoſed merely of earth.

Fire-flies flew about the woods at night, though not in great numbers; the French call them mouches à feu.

The houſes in this neighbourhood are all made of wood; the rooms are pretty large. The inner roof reſts on two, three, or four large thick ſpars, according to the ſize of the room. The chinks are filled with clay inſtead of moſs. The windows are made entirely of paper. The chimney is erected in the middle of the room; that part of the room which is oppoſite the fire, is the kitchen; that which is behind the chimney, ſerves the people to ſleep, and receive ſtrangers in. Sometimes there is an iron ſtove behind the chimney.

Sept. 13th. Near Champlain, which is a place about five French miles from Trois Rivieres, the ſteep hills near the river conſiſt of a yellow, and ſometimes ochre-coloured ſandy earth, in which a number of ſmall ſprings ariſe. The water in them is generally filled with yellow ochre, which is a ſign that theſe dry ſandy fields contain a great quantity of the ſame iron ore which is dug at Trois Rivieres. It is not conceivable from whence that number of ſmall rivulets takes their riſe, the ground above being flat, and exceeding dry in ſummer. The lands near the river are cultivated for about an Engliſh mile into the country; but behind them there are thick foreſts, and low grounds. The woods, which collect a quantity of moiſture, and prevent the evaporation of the water, force it to make its way under ground to the river. The ſhores of the river are here covered with a great deal of black iron-ſand.

Towards evening we arrived at Trois Rivieres, where we ſtaid no longer than was neceſſary to deliver the letters, which we brought with us from Quebec. After that we went a French mile higher up, before we took our night's lodging.

This afternoon we ſaw three remarkable old people. One was an old Jeſuit, called father Joſeph Aubery, who had been a miſſionary to the converted Indians of St. François. This ſummer he ended the fiftieth year of his miſſion. He therefore returned to Quebec, to renew his vows there; and he ſeemed to be healthy, and in good ſpirits. The other two people were our landlord and his wife; and he was above eighty years of age, and ſhe was not much younger. They had now been fifty-one years married. The year before, at the end of the fiftieth year of their marriage, they went to church together, and offered up thanks to God Almighty for the great grace he gave them. They were yet quite well, content, merry, and talkative. The old man ſaid, that he was at Quebec when the Engliſh beſieged it, in the year 1690, and that the biſhop went up and down the ſtreets, dreſſed in his pontifical robes, and a ſword in his hand, in order to recruit the ſpirits of the ſoldiers.

This old man ſaid, that he thought the winters were formerly much colder than they are now. There fell likewiſe a greater quantity of ſnow when he was young. He could remember the time when pumpions, cucumbers, &c. were killed by the froſt about midſummer, and he aſſured me, that the ſummers were warmer now than they uſed to be formerly. About thirty and ſome odd years ago, there was ſuch a ſevere winter in Canada, that the froſt killed many birds; but the old man could not remember the particular year. Every body allowed, that the ſummers in 1748 and 1749 had been warmer in Canada than they have been many years ago.

The ſoil is reckoned pretty fertile; and wheat yields nine or ten grains from one. But when this old man was a boy, and the country was new and rich every where, they could get twenty or four-and-twenty grains from one. They ſow but little rye here; nor do they ſow much barley, except for the uſe of cattle. They complain, however, that when they have a bad crop they are obliged to bake bread of barley.

Sept. 14th. This morning we got up early, and purſued our journey. After we had gone about two French miles, we got into lake St. Pierre, which we croſſed. Many plants, which are common in our Swediſh lakes, ſwim at the top of this water. This lake is ſaid to be covered every winter with ſuch ſtrong ice, that a hundred loaded horſes could go over it together with ſafety.

A craw-fiſh, or river lobſter, ſomewhat like a crab, but quite minute, about two geometrical lines long, and broad in proportion, was frequently drawn up by us with the aquatic weeds. Its colour is a pale greeniſh white.

The cordated pontederia * grows plentiful on the ſides of a long and narrow canal of water, in the places frequented by our water-lillies †. A great number of hogs wade far into this kind of ſtrait, and ſometimes duck the greateſt part of their bodies under water, in order to get at the roots, which they are very fond of.

As ſoon as we were got through lake St. Pierre, the face of the country was entirely changed, and became as agreeable as could be wiſhed. The iſles, and the land on both ſides of us, looked like the prettieſt pleaſure-gardens; and this continued till near Montreal.

Near every farm on the river-ſide there are ſome boats, hollowed out of the trunks of ſingle trees, but commonly neat and well made, having the proper ſhape of boats. In one place I ſaw a boat made of the bark of trees.

Sept. 15th. We continued our journey early this morning. On account of the ſtrength of the river, which came down againſt us, we were ſometimes obliged to let the rowers go on ſhore, and draw the boat.

At four o'clock in the evening we arrived at Montreal; and our voyage was reckoned a happy one, becauſe the violence of the river flowing againſt us all the way, and the changeableneſs of the winds, commonly protract it to fourteen days.

Sept. 19th. Several people here in town have got the French vines, and planted them in their gardens. They have two kinds of grapes, one of a pale green, or almoſt white; the other, of a reddiſh brown colour. From the white ones they ſay white wine is made; and from the red ones, red wine. The cold in winter obliges them to put dung round the roots of the vines, without which they would be killed by the froſt. The grapes began to be ripe in theſe days; the white ones are a little ſooner ripe than the red ones. They make no wine of them here, becauſe it is not worth while; but they are ſerved up at deſſerts. They ſay theſe grapes do not grow ſo big here as in France.

* Pontederia cordata. Linn.

† Nymphæa.

Water

Water-melons * are cultivated in great plenty in the Engliſh and French American colonies; and there is hardly a peaſant here, who has not a field planted with them. They are chiefly cultivated in the neighbourhood of towns; and they are very rare in the north part of Canada. The Indians plant great quantities of water-melons at preſent; but whether they have done it of old is not eaſily determined; for an old Onidoe Indian (of the ſix Iroqueſe nations) aſſured me, that the Indians did not know water-melons before the Europeans came into the country, and communicated them to the Indians. The French, on the other hand, have aſſured me, that the Illinois Indians have had abundance of this fruit, when the French firſt came to them; and that they declare, they had planted them ſince times immemorial. However, I do not remember having read that the Europeans, who firſt came to North America, mention the water-melons, in ſpeaking of the diſhes of the Indians at that time. How great the ſummer heat is in thoſe parts of America which I have paſſed through, can eaſily be conceived, when one conſiders, that in all thoſe places, they never ſow water-melons in hot-beds, but in the open fields in ſpring, without ſo much as covering them, and they ripen in time. Here are two ſpecies of them, viz. one with a red pulp, and one with a white one. The firſt is more common to the ſouthward, with the Illinois, and in the Engliſh colonies; the laſt is more abundant in Canada. The ſeeds are ſown in ſpring, after the cold is entirely gone off, in a good rich ground, at ſome diſtance from each other; becauſe their ſtalks ſpread far, and require much room, if they ſhall be very fruitful. They were now ripe at Montreal; but in the Engliſh colonies they ripen in July and Auguſt. They commonly require leſs time to ripen in than the common melons. Thoſe in the Engliſh colonies are commonly ſweeter and more agreeable than the Canada ones. Does the greater heat contribute any thing towards making them more palatable? Thoſe in the province of New York are, however, reckoned the beſt.

The water-melons are very juicy; and the juice is mixed with a cooling pulp, which is very good in the hot ſummer-ſeaſon. Nobody in Canada, in Albany, and in other parts of New York, could produce an example that the eating of water-melons in great quantities had hurt any body; and there are examples even of ſick perſons eating them without any danger. Further to the ſouth, the frequent uſe of them, it is thought, brings on intermitting fevers, and other bad diſtempers, eſpecially in ſuch people as are leſs uſed to them. Many Frenchmen aſſured me, that when people born in Canada came to the Illinois, and eat ſeveral times of the water-melons of that part, they immediately got a fever; and therefore the Illinois adviſe the French not to eat of a fruit ſo dangerous to them. They themſelves are ſubject to be attacked by fevers, if they cool their ſtomachs too often with water-melons. In Canada they keep them in a room, which is a little heated; by which means they will keep freſh two months after they are ripe; but care muſt be taken, that the froſt ſpoil them not. In the Engliſh plantations they likewiſe keep them freſh in dry cellars, during part of the winter. They aſſured me that they keep better when they are carefully broke off from the ſtalk, and afterwards burnt with a red-hot iron, in the place where the ſtalk was faſtened. In this manner they may be eaten at Chriſtmas, and after. In Penſylvania, where they have a dry ſandy earth, they make a hole in the ground, put the water-melons carefully into it with their ſtalks, by which means they keep very freſh during a great part of the winter. Few people, however, take this trouble with the water-

* Cucurbita citrullus. Linn.

melons,

melons, becauſe they being very cooling, and the winter being very cold too, it ſeems, to be leſs neceſſary to keep them for eating in that ſeaſon, which is already very cold. They are of opinion in theſe parts, that cucumbers cool more than water-melons. The latter are very ſtrongly diuretic. The Iroqueſe call them onoheſerakatee.

Gourds of ſeveral kinds, oblong, round, flat or compreſſed, crook-necked, ſmall, &c. are planted in all the Engliſh and French colonies. In Canada, they fill the chief part of the farmers' kitchen-gardens, though the onions came very near up with them. Each farmer in the Engliſh plantations, has a large field planted with gourds, and the Germans, Swedes, Dutch, and other Europeans, ſettled in their colonies, plant them. Gourds are a conſiderable part of the Indian food; however, they plant more ſquaſhes than common gourds. They declare, that they have had gourds long before the Europeans diſcovered America; which ſeems to be confirmed by the accounts of the firſt Europeans that came into theſe parts, who mentioned gourds as common food among the Indians. The French here call them citrouilles, and the Engliſh in the colonies, pumpkins. They are planted in ſpring, when they have nothing to fear from the froſt, in an encloſed field, and a good rich ſoil. They are likewiſe frequently put into old hot-beds. In Canada, they ripen towards the beginning of September, but further ſouthward they are ripe at the end of July. As ſoon as the cold weather commences, they take off all the pumpions that remain on the ſtalk, whether ripe or not, and ſpread them on the floor, in a part of the houſe, where the unripe ones grow perfectly ripe, if they are not laid one upon the other. This is done round Montreal in the middle of September; but in Penſylvania, I have ſeen ſome in the fields on the 19th of October. They keep freſh for ſeveral months, and even throughout the winter, if they be well ſecured in dry cellars (for in damp ones they rot very ſoon) where the cold cannot come in, or, which is ſtill better, in dry rooms which are heated now and then, to prevent the cold from damaging the fruit.

Pumpions are prepared for eating in various ways. The Indians boil them whole, or roaſt them in aſhes, and eat them then, or go to ſell them thus prepared in the towns; and they have, indeed, a very fine flavour, when roaſted. The French and Engliſh ſlice them, and put the ſlices before the fire to roaſt; when they are roaſted, they generally put ſugar on the pulp. Another way of roaſting them, is to cut them through the middle, take out all the ſeeds, put the halves together again, and roaſt them in an oven. When they are quite roaſted, ſome butter is put in, whilſt they are warm, which being imbibed into the pulp, renders it very palatable. They often boil pumpions in water, and afterwards eat them, either alone or with fleſh. Some make a thin kind of pottage of them, by boiling them in water, and afterwards macerating the pulp. This is again boiled with a little of the water, and a good deal of milk, and ſtirred about whilſt it is boiling. Sometimes the pulp is ſtamped and kneaded into dough, with maize flour or other flour; of this they make cakes. Some make puddings and tarts of gourds. The Indians, in order to preſerve the pumpions for a very long time, cut them in long ſlices, which they faſten or twiſt together, and dry them either by the ſun, or by the fire in a room. When they are thus dried, they will keep for years together, and when boiled they taſte very well. The Indians prepare them thus at home and on their journies, and from them the Europeans have adopted this method. Sometimes they do not take the time to boil it, but eat it dry with hung-beef, or other fleſh; and I own they are eatable in that ſtate, and very welcome to a hungry ſtomach. They ſometimes preſerve them in the following manner at Montreal. They cut a pumpion in four pieces, peel them, and take the ſeeds out of them. The pulp is put

in a pot with boiling water, in which it muſt boil from four to ſix minutes. It is then put into a cullender, and left in it till the next day, that the water may run off. When it is mixed with cloves, cinnamon, and ſome lemon peel, preſerved in ſyrup, and there muſt be an equal quantity of ſyrup and of the pulp. After which it is boiled together, till the ſyrup is entirely imbibed, and the white colour of the pulp is quite loſt.

Sept. 20th. The corn of this year's harveſt in Canada, was reckoned the fineſt they had ever had. In the province of New York, on the contrary, the crop was very poor. The autumn was very fine this year in Canada.

Sept. 22d. The French in Canada carry on a great trade with the Indians; and though it was formerly the only trade of this extenſive country, yet its inhabitants were conſiderably enriched by it. At preſent, they have beſides the Indian goods, ſeveral other articles which are exported from hence. The Indians in this neighbourhood, who go hunting in winter like the other Indian nations, commonly bring their furs and ſkins to ſale in the neighbouring French towns; however, this is not ſufficient. The Indians who live at a greater diſtance, never come to Canada at all; and, leſt they ſhould bring their goods to the Engliſh, as the Engliſh go to them, the French are obliged to undertake journies, and purchaſe the Indian goods in the country of the Indians. This trade is chiefly carried on at Montreal, and a great number of young and old men every year undertake long and troubleſome voyages for that purpoſe, carrying with them ſuch goods as they know the Indians like, and are in want of. It is not neceſſary to take money on ſuch a journey, as the Indians do not value it; and indeed I think the French, who go on theſe journies, ſcarce ever take a ſol or penny with them.

I will now enumerate the chief goods which the French carry with them for this trade, and which have a good run among the Indians.

Muſkets, powder, ſhot, and balls. The Europeans have taught the Indians in their neighbourhood the uſe of fire-arms, and they have laid aſide their bows and arrows, which were formerly their only arms, and make uſe of muſkets. If the Europeans ſhould now refuſe to ſupply the Indians with muſkets, they would be ſtarved to death; as almoſt all their food conſiſts of the fleſh of the animals, which they hunt; or they would be irritated to ſuch a degree as to attack the Europeans. The Indians have hitherto never tried to make muſkets or ſimilar fire-arms; and their great indolence does not even allow them to mend thoſe muſkets which they have got. They leave this entirely to the Europeans. As the Europeans came into North America, they were very careful not to give the Indians any fire-arms. But in the wars between the French and Engliſh, each party gave their Indian allies fire-arms, in order to weaken the force of the enemy. The French lay the blame upon the Dutch ſettlers in Albany, ſaying, that they began, in 1642, to give their Indians fire-arms, and taught them the uſe of them, in order to weaken the French. The inhabitants of Albany, on the contrary, aſſert, that the French firſt introduced this cuſtom, as they would have been too weak to reſiſt the combined force of the Dutch and Engliſh in the colonies. Be this as it will, it is certain that the Indians buy muſkets from the Europeans, and know at preſent better how to make uſe of them, than ſome of their teachers. It is likewiſe certain, that the Europeans gain conſiderably by their trade in muſkets and ammunition.

Pieces of white cloth, or of a coarſe uncut cloth. The Indians conſtantly wear ſuch pieces of cloth, wrapping them round their bodies. Sometimes they hang them over their ſhoulders; in warm weather, they faſten them round the middle; and in cold

cold weather, they put them over the head. Both their men and women wear theſe pieces of cloth, which have commonly ſeveral blue or red ſtripes on the edge.

Blue or red cloth. Of this the Indian women make their petticoats, which reach only to their knees. They generally chuſe the blue colour.

Shirts and ſhifts of linen. As ſoon as an Indian fellow, or one of their women, have put on a ſhirt, they never waſh it, or ſtrip it off, till it is entirely torn in pieces.

Pieces of cloth. Which they wrap round their legs inſtead of ſtockings, like the Ruſſians.

Hatchets, knives, ſciſſars, needles, and a ſteel to ſtrike fire with. Theſe inſtruments are now common among the Indians. They all take theſe inſtruments from the Europeans, and reckon the hatchets and knives much better than thoſe which they formerly made of ſtones and bones. The ſtone hatchets of the ancient Indians are very rare in Canada.

Kettles of copper or braſs, ſometimes tinned in the inſide. In theſe the Indians now boil all their meat, and they have a very great run with them. They formerly made uſe of earthen or wooden pots, into which they poured water or whatever elſe they wanted to boil, and threw in red hot ſtones to make it boil. They do not want iron boilers, becauſe they cannot be eaſily carried on their continual journies, and would not bear ſuch falls and knocks as their kettles are ſubject to.

Ear-rings of different ſizes, commonly of braſs, and ſometimes of tin. They are worn by both men and women, though the uſe of them is not general.

Vermillion. With this they paint their face, ſhirt, and ſeveral parts of the body. They formerly made uſe of a reddiſh earth, which is to be found in the country; but as the Europeans brought them vermillion, they thought nothing was comparable to it in colour. Many perſons have told me, that they had heard their fathers mention, that the firſt Frenchmen who came over here got a great heap of furs from the Indians, for three times as much cinnabar as would lie on the tip of a knife.

Verdigreaſe, to paint their faces green. For the black colour, they make uſe of the ſoot at the bottom of their kettles, and daub their whole face with it.

Looking-glaſſes. The Indians are very much pleaſed with them, and make uſe of them chiefly when they want to paint themſelves. The men conſtantly carry their looking-glaſſes with them on all their journies, but the women do not. The men, upon the whole, are more fond of dreſſing than the women.

Burning glaſſes. Theſe are excellent pieces of furniture in the opinion of the Indians; becauſe they ſerve to light the pipe without any trouble, which an indolent Indian is very fond of.

Tobacco is bought by the northern Indians, in whoſe country it will not grow. The ſouthern Indians always plant as much of it as they want for their own conſumption. Tobacco has a great run amongſt the northern Indians, and it has been obſerved, that the further they live to the northward, the more they ſmoke of tobacco.

Wampum, or, as they are here called, porcelanes. They are made of a particular kind of ſhells, and turned into little ſhort cylindrical beads, and ſerve the Indians for money and ornament.

Glaſs beads, of a ſmall ſize, and white or other colours. The Indian women know how to faſten them in their ribbands, pouches, and cloths.

Braſs and ſteel wire, for ſeveral kinds of work.

Brandy, which the Indians value above all other goods that can be brought them; nor have they any thing, though ever ſo dear to them, which they would not give away

for this liquor. But, on account of the many irregularities which are cauſed by the uſe of brandy, the ſale of it has been prohibited under ſevere penalties; however, they do not always pay an implicit obedience to this order.

Theſe are the chief goods which the French carry to the Indians, and they have a good run among them.

The goods which they bring back from the Indians, conſiſt entirely in furs. The French get them in exchange for their goods, together with all the neceſſary proviſions they want on the journey. The furs are of two kinds; the beſt are the northern ones, and the worſt ſort thoſe from the ſouth.

In the northern parts of America there are chiefly the following ſkins of animals: bears, beavers, elks *, rein-deer †, wolf-lynxes ‡, and martens. They ſometimes get martens' ſkins from the ſouth, but they are red, and good for little. Pichou du Nord is perhaps the animal which the Engliſh, near Hudſon's bay, call the wolverene. To the northern furs belong the bears, which are but few, and foxes, which are not very numerous, and generally black; and ſeveral other ſkins.

The ſkins of the ſouthern parts are chiefly taken from the following animals: wild cattle, ſtags, roebucks, otters, Pichoux du Sud, of which P. Charlevoix makes mention §, and are probably a ſpecies of cat-lynx, or perhaps a kind of panther; foxes of various kinds, raccoons, cat-lynxes, and ſeveral others.

It is inconceivable what hardſhips the people in Canada muſt undergo on their journeys. Sometimes they muſt carry their goods a great way by land; frequently they are abuſed by the Indians, and ſometimes they are killed by them. They often ſuffer hunger, thirſt, heat, and cold, are bit by gnats, and expoſed to the bites of poiſonous ſnakes, and other dangerous animals and inſects. Theſe deſtroy a great part of the youth in Canada, and prevent the people from growing old. By this means, however, they become ſuch brave ſoldiers, and ſo inured to fatigue, that none of them fear danger or hardſhips. Many of them ſettle among the Indians far from Canada, marry Indian women, and never come back again.

The prices of the ſkins in Canada, in the year 1749, were communicated to me by M. de Couagne, a merchant at Montreal, with whom I lodged. They were as follow:

Great and middle ſized bear ſkins, coſt five livres.
Skins of young bears, fifty ſols.
——— lynxes, twenty-five ſols.
——— Pichoux du Sud, thirty-five ſols.
——— foxes from the ſouthern parts, thirty-five ſols.
——— otters, five livres.
——— raccoons, five livres.
——— martens, forty-five ſols.
——— wolf-lynxes ‖, four livres.
——— wolves, forty ſols.
——— Carcajoux, an animal which I do not know, five livres.
——— Viſons, a kind of martens, which live in the water, twenty-five ſols.
Raw ſkins of elks ¶, ten livres.
——————— ſtags **.
Bad ſkins of elks and ſtags ††, three livres.

* Originacs. † Cariboux. ‡ Loup cerviers.
§ In his Hiſt. de la Nouv. France, tom. v. p. 158. ‖ Loups cerviers.
¶ Originacs verts. ** Cerfs verts. †† Originacs et cerfs paſſés.

Skins of roebucks, twenty-five, or thirty ſols.
——— red foxes, three livres.
——— beavers, three livres.

I will now inſert a liſt of all the different kinds of ſkins, which are to be got in Canada, and which are ſent from thence to Europe. I got it from one of the greateſt merchants in Montreal. They are as follow:

Prepared roebuck ſkins, *chevreuils paſſés.*
Unprepared ditto, *chevreuils verts.*
Tanned ditto, *chevreuils tanés.*
Bears, *ours.*
Young bears, *ourſons.*
Otters, *loutres.*
Pecans.
Cats, *chats.*
Wolves, *loup de bois.*
Lynxes, *loups cerviers.*
North Pichoux, *pichoux du nord.*
South Pichoux, *pichoux du ſud.*
Red foxes, *renards rouges.*
Croſs foxes, *renards croiſés.*
Black foxes, *renards noirs.*
Grey foxes, *renards argentés.*
Southern, or Virginian foxes, *renards du ſud où de Virginie.*
White foxes, from Tadouſſac, *renards blancs de Tadouſſac.*
Martens, *martres.*
Viſons, or *foutreaux.*
Black ſquirrels, *ecureuils noirs.*
Raw ſtags ſkins, *cerfs verts.*
Prepared ditto, *cerfs paſſés.*
Raw elks ſkins, *originacs verts.*
Prepared ditto, *originax paſſés.*
Rein-deer ſkins, *cariboux.*
Raw hind ſkins, *biches verts.*
Prepared ditto, *biches paſſées.*
Carcajous.
Muſk rats, *rats muſques.*
Fat winter beavers, *caſtors gras d'hiver.*
Ditto ſummer beavers, *caſtors gras d été.*
Dry winter beavers, *caſtors ſecs d'hiver.*
Ditto ſummer beavers, *caſtors ſecs d'été.*
Old winter beavers, *caſtors vieux d'hiver.*
Ditto ſummer beavers, *caſtors vieux d'été.*

To-day, I got a piece of native copper from the Upper Lake. They find it there almoſt quite pure; ſo that it does not want melting over again, but is immediately fit for working. Father Charlevoix * ſpeaks of it in his hiſtory of New France. One of the Jeſuits at Montreal, who had been at the place where this metal is got, told me,

* See his Hiſt. de. la Nouv. Fr. tom. vi. p. 415.

that

that it is generally found near the mouths of rivers, and that there are pieces of native copper too heavy for a ſingle man to lift up. The Indians there ſay, that they formerly found a piece of about ſeven feet long, and near four feet thick, all of pure copper. As it is always found in the ground near the mouths of rivers, it is probable that the ice or water carried it down from a mountain; but, notwithſtanding the careful ſearch that has been made, no place has been found where the metal lies in any great quantity together.

The head or ſuperior of the prieſts of Montreal, gave me a piece of lead-ore to-day. He ſaid it was taken from a place only a few French miles from Montreal, and it conſiſted of pretty compact, ſhining cubes of lead-ore. I was told by ſeveral perſons here, that furthermore ſouthward in the country, there is a place where they find a great quantity of this lead-ore in the ground. The Indians near it, melt it, and make balls and ſhot of it. I got ſome pieces of it likewiſe, conſiſting of a ſhining cubic lead-ore, with narrow ſtripes between it, and of a white hard earth or clay, which effervesces with aqua-fortis.

I likewiſe received a reddiſh brown earth to-day, found near the Lac de Deux Montagnes, or Lake of Two Mountains, a few French miles from Montreal. It may be eaſily crumbled into duſt between the fingers. It is very heavy, and more ſo than the earth of that kind generally is. Outwardly, it has a kind of gloſſy appearance, and, when it is handled by the fingers for ſome time, they are quite as it were ſilvered over. It is therefore probable, a kind of lead-earth, or an earth mixed with iron-glimmer.

The ladies in Canada are generally of two kinds: ſome come over from France, and the reſt natives. The former poſſeſs the politeneſs peculiar to the French nation; the latter may be divided into thoſe of Quebec and Montreal. The firſt of theſe are equal to the French ladies in good breeding, having the advantage of frequently converſing with the French gentlemen and ladies, who come every ſummer with the king's ſhips, and ſtay ſeveral weeks at Quebec, but ſeldom go to Montreal. The ladies of this laſt place are accuſed by the French of partaking too much of the pride of the Indians, and of being much wanted in French good breeding. What I have mentioned above of their dreſſing their head too aſſiduouſly, is the caſe with all the ladies throughout Canada. On thoſe days when they pay or receive viſits, they dreſs ſo gaily, that one is almoſt induced to think their parents poſſeſſed the greateſt dignities in the ſtate. The Frenchmen, who conſidered things in their true light, complained very much that a great part of the ladies in Canada had got into the pernicious cuſtom of taking too much care of their dreſs, and ſquandering all their fortunes, and more, upon it, inſtead of ſparing ſomething for future times. They are no leſs attentive to have the neweſt faſhions; and they laugh at each other, when they are not dreſſed to each other's fancy. But what they get as new faſhions, are grown old, and laid aſide in France; for the ſhips coming but once every year from thence, the people in Canada conſider that as the new faſhion for the whole year, which the people on board brought with them, or which they impoſed upon them as new. The ladies in Canada, and eſpecially at Montreal, are very ready to laugh at any blunders ſtrangers make in ſpeaking. In Canada nobody ever hears the French language ſpoken by any but Frenchmen; for ſtrangers ſeldom come thither, and the Indians are naturally too proud to learn French, but oblige the French to learn their language. From hence it naturally follows, that the nice Canada ladies cannot hear any thing uncommon without laughing at it. One of the firſt queſtions they propoſe to a ſtranger is, whether he is married? The next, how he likes the ladies in the country; and whether he thinks them handſomer than

thoſe of his own country; and the third, whether he will take one home with him? There is ſome difference between the ladies of Quebec, and thoſe of Montreal; thoſe of the laſt place ſeemed to be generally handſomer than thoſe of the former. Their behaviour likewiſe ſeemed to me to be ſomewhat too free at Quebec, and of a more becoming modeſty at Montreal. The ladies at Quebec, eſpecially the unmarried ones, are not very induſtrious. A girl of eighteen is reckoned very poorly off, if ſhe cannot enumerate at leaſt twenty lovers. Theſe young ladies, eſpecially thoſe of a higher rank, get up at ſeven, and dreſs till nine, drinking their coffee at the ſame time. When they are dreſſed, they place themſelves near a window that opens into the ſtreet, take up ſome needle-work, and ſew a ſtitch now and then; but turn their eyes into the ſtreet moſt of the time. When a young fellow comes in, whether they are acquainted with him or not, they immediately lay aſide their work, ſit down by him, and begin to chat, laugh, joke, and invent double-entendres; and this is reckoned being very witty *. In this manner they frequently paſs the whole day, leaving their mothers to do all the buſineſs in the houſe. In Montreal, the girls are not quite ſo volatile, but more induſtrious. They are always at their needle-work, or doing ſome neceſſary buſineſs in the houſe. They are likewiſe cheerful and content; and nobody can ſay that they want either wit or charms. Their fault is that they think too well of themſelves. However, the daughters of people of all ranks, without exception, go to market, and carry home what they have bought. They riſe as ſoon, and go to bed as late as any of the people in the houſe. I have been aſſured, that, in general, their fortunes are not conſiderable; which are rendered ſtill more ſcarce by the number of children, and the ſmall revenues in a houſe. The girls at Montreal are very much diſpleaſed that thoſe at Quebec get huſbands ſooner than they. The reaſon of this is, that many young gentlemen that come over from France with the ſhips, are captivated by the ladies at Quebec, and marry them; but as theſe gentlemen ſeldom go up to Montreal, the girls there are not often ſo happy as thoſe of the former place.

Sept. 23d. This morning I went to Saut au Recollet, a place three French miles northward of Montreal, to deſcribe the plants and minerals there, and chiefly to collect ſeeds of various plants. Near the town there are farms on both ſides of the road; but as one advances farther on, the country grows woody, and varies in regard to height. It is generally very ſtrong; and there are both pieces of rock-ſtone and a kind of grey lime-ſtone. The roads are bad and almoſt impaſſable for chaiſes. A little before I arrived at Saut au Recollet, the woods end, and the country is turned into corn-fields, meadows, and paſtures.

About a French mile from the town are two lime-kilns on the road. They are built of a grey lime-ſtone, burnt hard, and of pieces of rock-ſtone, towards the fire. The height of the kiln from top to bottom is ſeven yards.

The lime-ſtone which they burn here, is of two kinds. One is quite black, and ſo compact, that its conſtituent particles cannot be diſtinguiſhed, ſome diſperſed grains of white and pale grey ſpar excepted. Now and then there are thin cracks in it filled with a white ſmall-grained ſpar.

I have never ſeen any petrifactions in this ſtone, though I looked very carefully for them. This ſtone is common on the iſle of Montreal, about ten or twenty inches below the upper ſoil. It lies in ſtrata of five or ten inches thickneſs. This ſtone is ſaid to give the beſt lime; for, though it is not ſo white as that of the following grey lime-

* Avoir beaucoup d'eſprit.

ſtone, yet it makes better mortar, and almoſt turns into ſtone, growing harder and more compact every day. There are examples, that when they have been about to repair a houſe made partly of this mortar, the other ſtones of which the houſe conſiſts, ſooner broke in pieces than the mortar itſelf.

The other kind is a grey, and ſometimes a dark grey lime-ſtone, conſiſting of a cumpact calcareous ſtone, mixed with grains of ſpar, of the ſame colour. It is full of petrified ſtriated ſhells or pectinites. The greateſt part of theſe petrifactions are, however, only impreſſions of the hollow ſide of the ſhells. Now and then I found likewiſe petrified pieces of the ſhell itſelf, though I could never find the ſame ſhells in their natural ſtate on the ſhores; and it ſeems inconceivable how ſuch a quantity of impreſſions could come together, as I ſhall preſently mention.

I have had great pieces of this lime-ſtone, conſiſting of little elſe than pectinites, lying cloſe to one another. This lime-ſtone is found on ſeveral parts of the iſle, where it lies in horizontal ſtrata of the thickneſs of five or ten inches. This ſtone yields a great quantity of white lime, but it is not ſo good as the former, becauſe it grows damp in wet weather.

Fir-wood is reckoned the beſt for the lime-kilns and the thuya wood next to it. The wood of the ſugar-maple, and other trees of a ſimilar nature, are not fit for it, becauſe they leave a great quantity of coals.

Grey pieces of rock-ſtone are to be ſeen in the woods and fields hereabouts.

The leaves of ſeveral trees and plants began now to get a pale hue; eſpecially thoſe of the red maple, the ſmooth ſumach *, the polygonum ſagittatum, Linn. and ſeveral of the ferns.

A great croſs is erected on the road, and the boy who ſhewed me the wood, told me that a perſon was buried there, who had wrought great miracles.

At noon I arrived at Saut au Recollet, which is a little place ſituated on a branch of the river St. Lawrence, which flows with a violent current between the iſles of Montreal and Jeſus. It has got its name from an accident which happened to a Recollet friar, called Nicholas Veil, in the year 1625. He went into a boat with a converted Indian, and ſome Indians of the nation of Hurons, in order to go to Quebec; but, on going over this place in the river, the boat overſet, and both the friar and his proſelyte were drowned. The Indians (who have been ſuſpected of occaſioning the overſetting of the boat) ſwam to the ſhore, ſaved what they could of the friar's effects, and kept them.

The country hereabouts is full of ſtones, and they have but lately began to cultivate it; for all the old people could remember the places covered with tall woods, which are now turned into corn-fields, meadows, and paſtures. The prieſts ſay, that this place was formerly inhabited by ſome converted Hurons. Theſe Indians lived on a high mountain, at a little diſtance from Montreal, when the French firſt arrived here, and the latter perſuaded them to ſell that land. They did ſo, and ſettled here at Saut au Recollet, and the church which ſtill remains here was built for them, and they have attended divine ſervice in it for many years. As the French began to increaſe on the iſle of Montreal, they wiſhed to have it entirely to themſelves, and perſuaded the Indians again to ſell them this ſpot, and go to another. The French have ſince prevailed upon the Indians (whom they did not like to have amongſt them, becauſe of their drunkenneſs, and rambling idle life) to leave this place again, and go to ſettle at the Lake des Deux Montagnes, where they are at preſent, and have a fine church of ſtone. Their church at Saut au Recollet is of wood, looks very old and ruinous, though

* Rhus glabrum. Linn.

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its inſide is pretty good, and is made uſe of by the Frenchmen in this place. They have already brought a quantity of ſtones hither, and intend building a new church very ſoon.

Though there had been no rain for ſome days paſt, yet the moiſture in the air was ſo great, that as I ſpread ſome papers on the ground this afternoon, in a ſhady place, intending to put the ſeeds I collected into them, they were ſo wet in a few minutes time, as to be rendered quite uſeleſs. The whole ſky was very clear and bright, and the heat as intolerable as in the middle of July.

One half of the corn-fields are left fallow alternately. The fallow-grounds are never ploughed in ſummer; ſo the cattle can feed upon the weeds that grow on them. All the corn made uſe of here is ſummer corn, as I have before obſerved. Some plough the fallow grounds late in autumn; others defer that buſineſs till ſpring; but the firſt way is ſaid to give a much better crop. Wheat, barley, rye, and oats, are harrowed, but peaſe are ploughed under ground. They ſow commonly about the 15th of April, and begin with the peaſe. Among the many kinds of peaſe which are to be got here, they prefer the green ones to all others for ſowing. They require a high, dry, poor ground, mixed with coarſe ſand. The harveſt time commences about the end, and ſometimes in the middle of Auguſt. Wheat returns generally fifteen, and ſometimes twenty fold; oats from fifteen to thirty fold. The crop of peaſe is ſometimes forty fold, but at other times only ten fold; for they are very different. The plough and harrow are the only inſtruments of huſbandry they have, and thoſe none of the beſt ſort neither. The manure is carried upon the fallow grounds in ſpring. The ſoil conſiſts of a grey ſtony earth, mixed with clay and ſand. They ſow no more barley than is neceſſary for the cattle; for they make no malt here. They ſow a good deal of oats, but merely for the horſes, and other cattle. Nobody knows here how to make uſe of the leaves of deciduous trees as a food for the cattle, though the foreſts are furniſhed with no other than trees of that kind, and though the people are commonly forced to feed their cattle at home during five months.

I have already repeatedly mentioned, that almoſt all the wheat which is ſown in Canada is ſummer wheat, that is ſuch as is ſown in ſpring. Near Quebec it ſometimes happens, when the ſummer is leſs warm, or the ſpring later than common, that a great part of the wheat does not ripen perfectly before the cold commences. I have been aſſured that ſome people, who live on the Iſle de Jeſus, ſow wheat in autumn, which is better, finer, and gives a more plentiful crop than the ſummer wheat; but it does not ripen above a week before the other wheat.

Sept. 25th. In ſeveral places hereabouts, they encloſe the field with a ſtone fence, inſtead of wooden pales. The plenty of ſtones which are to be got here render the harbour very trifling.

Here are abundance of beech-trees in the woods, and they now had ripe ſeeds. The people in Canada collect them in autumn, dry them, and keep them till winter, when they eat them inſtead of walnuts and hazel-nuts; and I am told they taſte very well.

There is a ſalt ſpring, as the prieſt of this place informed me, ſeven French miles from hence, near the river D'Aſſomption; of which during the war, they have made a fine white ſalt. The water is ſaid to be very briny.

Some kinds of fruit-trees ſucceed very well near Montreal, and I had here an opportunity of ſeeing ſome very fine pears and apples of various ſorts. Near Quebec the pear-trees will not ſucceed, becauſe the winter is too ſevere for them; and ſometimes they are killed by the froſt in the neighbourhood of Montreal. Plum-trees of ſeveral

ſorts were firſt brought over from France, ſucceed very well, and withſtand the rigours of winter. Three ſorts of America walnut-trees grow in the woods; but the walnut-trees brought over from France die almoſt every year down to the very root, bringing forth new ſhoots in ſpring. Peach-trees cannot well agree with this climate; a few bear the cold, but, for greater ſafety, they are obliged to put ſtraw round them. Cheſnut-trees, mulberry-trees, and the like, have never yet been planted in Canada.

The whole cultivated part of Canada has been given away by the King to the clergy, and ſome noblemen; but all the uncultivated parts belong to him, as likewiſe the place on which Quebec and Trois Rivieres are built. The ground on which the town of Montreal is built, together with the whole iſle of that name, belongs to the prieſts of the order of St. Sulpicius, who live at Montreal. They have given the land in tenure to farmers and others who were willing to ſettle on it. The firſt ſettlers paid a trifling rent for their land; for frequently the whole leaſe for a piece of ground, three arpens broad, and thirty long, conſiſt in a couple of chickens; and ſome pay twenty, thirty, or forty ſols, for a piece of land of the ſame ſize. But thoſe who came latter, muſt pay near two ecus (crowns) for ſuch a piece of land, and thus the land-rent is very unequal throughout the country. The revenues of the biſhop of Canada do not ariſe from any landed property. The churches are built at the expence of the congregations. The inhabitants of Canada do not yet pay any taxes to the King; and he has no other revenues from it, than thoſe which ariſe from the cuſtom-houſe.

The prieſts of Montreal have a mill here, where they take the fourth part of all that is ground. However, the miller receives a third part of this ſhare. In other places he gets the half of it. The prieſts ſometimes leaſe the mill for a certain ſum. Beſides them nobody is allowed to erect a mill on the iſle of Montreal, they having reſerved that right to themſelves. In the agreement drawn up between the prieſts and the inhabitants of the iſle, the latter are obliged to get all their corn ground in the mills of the former.

They boil a good deal of ſugar in Canada of the juice running out of the inciſions in the ſugar-maple, the red maple, and the ſugar-birch; but that of the firſt tree is moſt commonly made uſe of. The way of preparing it has been more minutely deſcribed by me in the Memoirs of the Royal Swediſh Academy of Sciences *.

Sept. 26th. Early this morning I returned to Montreal. Every thing began now to look like autumn. The leaves of the trees were pale or reddiſh, and moſt of the plants had loſt their flowers. Thoſe which ſtill preſerved them were the following †.

Several ſorts of aſters, both blue and white.
Golden rods of various kinds.
Common milfoil.
Common ſelf-heal.
The criſped thiſtle.
The biennial oenothera.
The rough-leaved ſun-flower, with trifoliated leaves.
The Canada violet,
A ſpecies of gentian.
Wild vines are abundant in the woods hereabouts, climbing up very high trees.

* See the volume for 1751.

† Aſteres. Solidagines. Achillea millefolium. Prunella vulgaris. Carduus criſpus. Oenothera biennis. Rudbeckia irriloba. Viola Canadenſis. Gentiana Saponaria.

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I have made enquiry among the French, who travel far into the country, concerning the food of the Indians. Thoſe who live far north, I am told, cannot plant any thing, on account of the great degree of cold. They have, therefore, no bread, and do not live on vegetables; fleſh and fiſh is their only food, and chiefly the fleſh of beavers, bears, rein-deer, elks, hares, and ſeveral kinds of birds. Thoſe Indians who live far ſouthward eat the following things. Of vegetables they plant maize, wild kidney-beans * of ſeveral kinds, pumpions of different ſorts, ſquaſhes, a kind of gourds, water-melons, and melons †. They likewiſe eat various fruits which grow in their woods. Fiſh and fleſh make a very great part of their food; and they chiefly like the fleſh of wild cattle, roe-bucks, ſtags, bears, beavers, and ſome other quadrupeds. Among their dainty diſhes, they reckon the water tare-graſs ‡, which the French call Folle Avoine, and which grows in plenty in their lakes, in ſtagnant waters, and ſometimes in rivers which flow ſlowly. They gather its ſeeds in October, and prepare them in different ways, and chiefly as groats, which take almoſt as well as rice. They make likewiſe many a delicious meal of the ſeveral kinds of walnuts, cheſnuts, mulberries, acimine §, chinquapins ‖, hazel-nuts, peaches, wild prunes, grapes, whortle-berries of ſeveral ſorts, various kinds of medlars, black-berries, and other fruit and roots. But the ſpecies of corn, ſo common in what is called the Old World, were entirely unknown here before the arrival of the Europeans; nor do the Indians at preſent ever attempt to cultivate them, though they ſee the uſe which the Europeans make of the culture of them, and though they are fond of eating the diſhes which are prepared of them.

Sept. 27. Beavers are abundant all over North America, and they are one of the chief articles of the trade in Canada. The Indians live upon their fleſh during a great part of the year. It is certain that theſe animals multiply very faſt; but it is no leſs ſo, that vaſt numbers of them are annually killed, and that the Indians are obliged at preſent to undertake diſtant journeys, in order to catch or ſhoot them. Their decreaſing in number is very eaſily accounted for; becauſe the Indians, before the arrival of the Europeans, only caught as many as they found neceſſary to clothe themſelves with, there being then no trade with the ſkins. At preſent a number of ſhips go annually to Europe, laden chiefly with beavers ſkins; the Engliſh and French endeavour to outdo each other, by paying the Indians well for them, and this encourages the latter to extirpate theſe animals. Many people in Canada told me, that when they were young, all the rivers in the neighbourhood of Montreal, the river St. Lawrence not excepted, were full of beavers and their dykes; but at preſent they are extirpated in that quarter.

Beaver-fleſh is eaten not only by the Indians, but likewiſe by the Europeans, and eſpecially the French, on their faſting days; for His Holineſs, in his ſyſtem, has ranged the beaver among the fiſh. The fleſh is reckoned beſt, if the beaver has lived upon vegetables, ſuch as the aſp, and the beaver-tree ¶; but when he has eaten fiſh, it does not taſte well. To-day I taſted this fleſh boiled, for the firſt time; and though every body preſent, beſides myſelf, thought it a delicious diſh, yet I could not agree with them. I think it is eatable, but has nothing delicious. It looks black when boiled, and has a peculiar taſte. In order to prepare it well, it muſt be boiled in ſeveral waters from morning till noon, that it may looſe the bad taſte it has. The tail is likewiſe eaten, after it has been boiled in the ſame manner, and roaſted afterwards; but it conſiſts of fat only, though they would not call it ſo; and cannot be ſwallowed by one who is

* Phaſeoli. † Cucumis melo. Linn. ‡ Zizania aquatica. Linn.
§ Annona muricata. Linn. ‖ Fagus pumila. Linn. ¶ Magnolia glauca. Linn.

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not uſed to eat it. Sometimes, though but ſeldom, they catch beavers with white hair.

Wine is almoſt the only liquor which people above the vulgar are uſed to drink. They make a kind of ſpruce-beer of the top of the white-fir *, which they drink in ſummer; but the uſe of it is not general; and it is ſeldom drank by people of quality. Thus great ſums go annually out of the country for wine; as they have no vines here of which they could make a liquor that is fit to be drank. The common people drink water; for it is not yet cuſtomary here to brew beer of malt; and there are no orchards large enough to ſupply the people with apples for making cyder. Some of the people of rank, who poſſeſs large orchards, ſometimes, out of curioſity, get a ſmall quantity of cyder made. The great people here, who are uſed from their youth to drink nothing but wine, are greatly at a loſs in time of war; when all the ſhips which brought wine are intercepted by the Engliſh privateers. Towards the end of the laſt war, they gave two hundred and fifty francs, and even one hundred ecus, for a barrique, or hogſhead, of wine.

A middling horſe now coſts forty francs † and upwards; a good horſe is valued at an hundred francs, or more. A cow is ſold for fifty francs; but people can remember the time when they were ſold for ten ecus ‡. A ſheep coſts five or ſix livres at preſent; but laſt year, when every thing was dear, it coſt eight or ten francs. A hog of one year old, and two hundred, or an hundred and fifty pounds weight, is ſold at fifteen francs. M. Couâgne, the merchant, told me, that he had ſeen a hog of four hundred weight among the Indians. A chicken is ſold for ten or twelve ſols §; and a turkey for twenty ſols. A minot‖ of wheat ſold for an ecu laſt year; but at preſent it coſt forty ſols. Maize is always of the ſame price with wheat, becauſe here is but little of it; and it is all made uſe of by thoſe who go to trade with the Indians. A minot of oats coſts ſometimes from fifteen to twenty ſols; but of late years it has been ſold for twenty-ſix, or thirty ſols. Peaſe bear always the ſame price with wheat. A pound of butter coſts commonly about eight or ten ſols; but laſt year it roſe up to ſixteen ſols. A dozen of eggs uſed to coſt but three ſols; however, now are ſold for five. They make no cheeſe at Montreal; nor is there any to be had, except what is got from abroad. A water-melon generally coſts five or ſix ſols; but, if of a large ſize, from fifteen to twenty.

There are as yet no manufactures eſtabliſhed in Canada; probably, becauſe France will not loſe the advantage of ſelling off its own goods here. However, both the inhabitants of Canada, and the Indians, are very ill off for want of them, in times of war.

Thoſe perſons who want to be married, muſt have the conſent of their parents: however, the judge may give them leave to marry, if the parents oppoſe their union without any valid reaſon. Likewiſe, if the man be thirty years of age, and the woman twenty-ſix, they may marry, without farther waiting for their parents conſent.

Sept. 29th. This afternoon I went out of town, to the ſouth-weſt part of the iſle, in order to view the country, and the œconomy of the people, and to collect ſeveral ſeeds. Juſt before the town are ſome fine fields, which were formerly cultivated, but now ſerve as paſtures. To the north-weſt appears the high mountain which lies weſt-

* Apinette blanche. The way of brewing this beer is deſcribed at large in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, for the year 1751, p. 190.

† Franc is the ſame as livre; and twenty-two livres make a pound ſterling.

‡ An ecu is three francs. § Twenty ſols make one livre.

‖ A French meaſure, about the ſame as two buſhels in England.

ward of Montreal, and is very fertile, and covered with fields and gardens from the bottom to the ſummit. On the ſouth-eaſt ſide is the river St. Lawrence, which is very broad here; and on its ſides are extenſive corn-fields and meadows, and fine houſes of ſtone, which look white at a diſtance. At a great diſtance ſouth-eaſtward, appear the two high mountains near Fort Chamblais, and ſome others near Lake Champlain, raiſing their tops above the woods. All the fields hereabouts are filled with ſtones of different ſizes; and among them there is frequently ſeen a black lime-ſtone. About a French mile from the town, the high road goes along the river, which is on the left hand; and on the right hand all the country is cultivated and inhabited. The farm-houſes are three, four, or five arpents diſtant from each other. The hills near the river are generally high and pretty ſteep; they conſiſt of earth; and the fields below them are filled with pieces of rock-ſtone, and of black lime-ſlate. About two French miles from Montreal, the river runs very rapidly, and is full of ſtones; in ſome places there are ſome waves. However, thoſe who go in boats into the ſouthern parts of Canada, are obliged to work through ſuch places.

Wild-geeſe and ducks began to migrate in great flocks to the ſouthern countries.

October 2d. The two preceding days, and this, I employed chiefly in collecting ſeeds.

The laſt night's froſt had cauſed a great alteration in ſeveral trees. Walnut-trees of all ſorts ſhed their leaves in plenty now. The flowers of a kind of nettle * were all entirely killed by the froſt. The leaves of the American lime-tree were likewiſe damaged. In the kitchen-gardens the leaves of the melons were all killed by the froſt; however, the beech, oak, and birch, did not ſeem to have ſuffered at all. The fields were all covered with a hoar-froſt. The ice in the pools of water was a geometrical line and a half in thickneſs.

The biennial oenothera † grows in abundance on open woody hills, and fallow fields. An old Frenchman, who accompanied me as I was collecting its ſeeds, could not ſufficiently praiſe its property of healing wounds. The leaves of the plant muſt be cruſhed, and then laid on the wound.

Sœurs de Congregation are a kind of religious women, different from nuns. They do not live in a convent, but have houſes both in the town and country. They go where they pleaſe, and are even allowed to marry, if an opportunity offers; but this, I am told, happens very ſeldom. In many places in the country, there are two or more of them: they have their houſe commonly near a church, and generally the parſonage-houſe is on the other ſide of the church. Their buſineſs is to inſtruct young girls in the Chriſtian religion, to teach them reading, writing, needle-work, and other female accompliſhments. People of fortune board their daughters with them for ſome time. They have their boarding, lodging, beds, inſtruction, and whatever elſe they want, upon very reaſonable terms. The houſe where the whole community of theſe ladies live, and from whence they are ſent out into the country, is at Montreal. A lady that wants to become incorporated among them, muſt pay a conſiderable ſum of money towards the common ſtock; and ſome people reckon it to be four thouſand livres. If a perſon be once received, ſhe is ſure of a ſubſiſtence during her life-time.

La Chine is a fine village, three French miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Montreal, but on the ſame iſle, cloſe to the river St. Lawrence. The farm-houſes lie along the river ſide, about four or five arpents from each other. Here is a fine church of ſtone, with a

* Urtica divaricata. Linn. † Oenothera biennis. Linn.

ſmall

ſmall ſteeple; and the whole place has a very agreeble ſituation. Its name is ſaid to have had the following origin. As the unfortunate M. Salée was here, who was afterwards murdered by his own countrymen further up in the country, he was very intent upon diſcovering a ſhorter road to China, by means of the river St. Lawrence. He talked of nothing at that time but his new ſhort way to China; but as his project of undertaking this journey, in order to make this diſcovery, was ſtopped by an accident which happened to him here, and he did not that time come any nearer China, this place got its name, as it were, by way of joke.

This evening I returned to Montreal.

Oct. 5th. The governor-general at Quebec is, as I have already mentioned before, the chief commander in Canada. Next to him is the intendant at Quebec; then follows the governor of Montreal, and after him the governor of Trois Rivieres. The intendant has the greateſt power next to the governor-general; he pays all the money of government, and is preſident of the board of finances, and of the court of juſtice in this country. He is, however, under the governor-general, for if he refuſes to do any thing to which he ſeems obliged by his office, the governor-general can give him orders to do it, which he muſt obey. He is allowed, however, to appeal to the government in France. In each of the capital towns, the governor is the higheſt perſon, then the lieutenant-general, next to him a major, and after him the captains. The governor-general gives the firſt orders in all matters of conſequence. When he comes to Trois Rivieres and Montreal, the power of the governor ceaſes, becauſe he always commands where he is. The governor-general commonly goes to Montreal once every year, and moſtly in winter; and during his abſence from Quebec, the lieutenant-general commands there. When the governor-general dies, or go to France, before a new one is come in his ſtead, the governor of Montreal goes to Quebec, to command in the mean while, leaving the major to command at Montreal.

One or two of the king's ſhips are annually ſent from France to Canada, carrying recruits to ſupply the places of thoſe ſoldiers, who either died in the ſervice, or have got leave to ſettle in the country, and turn farmers, or to return to France. Almoſt every year they ſend a hundred, or a hundred and fifty people over in this manner. With theſe people they likewiſe ſend over a great number of perſons who have been found guilty of ſmuggling in France. They were formerly condemned to the gallies, but at preſent they ſend them to the colonies, where they are free as ſoon as they arrive, and can chooſe what manner of life they pleaſe, but are never allowed to go out of the country without the king's ſpecial licence. The king's ſhips likewiſe bring a great quantity of merchandizes which the king has bought, in order to be diſtributed among the Indians on certain occaſions. The inhabitants of Canada pay very little to the king. In the year 1748, a beginning was however made by laying a duty of three per cent. on all French goods imported by the merchants of Canada. A regulation was likewiſe made at that time, that all the furs and ſkins exported to France from hence, ſhould pay a certain duty; but what is carried to the colonies pays nothing. The merchants of all parts of France and its colonies, are allowed to ſend ſhips with goods to this place; and the Quebec merchants are at liberty likewiſe to ſend their goods to any place in France, and its colonies. But the merchants at Quebec have but few ſhips, becauſe the ſailors wages are very high. The towns in France which chiefly trade with Canada, are Rochelle and Bourdeaux; next to them are Marſeilles, Nantes, Havre de Grace, St. Malo, and others. The king's ſhips which bring goods to this country, come either from Breſt or from Rochefort. The merchants at Quebec ſend flour, wheat, peaſe, wooden utenſils, &c. on their own bottoms, to the

French poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies. The walls round Montreal were built in 1738, at the king's expence, on condition the inhabitants ſhould, little by little, pay off the coſt to the king. The town at preſent pays annually ſix thouſand livres for them to government, of which two thouſand are given by the ſeminary of prieſts. At Quebec the walls have likewiſe been built at the king's expence, but he did not re-demand the expence of the inhabitants, becauſe they had already the duty upon goods to pay as above mentioned. The beaver-trade belongs ſolely to the Indian company in France, and nobody is allowed to carry it on here, beſides the people appointed by that company. Every other fur trade is open to every body. There are ſeveral places among the Indians far in the country, where the French have ſtores of their goods; and theſe places they call les poſtes. The king has no other fortreſſes in Canada than Quebec, Fort Chamblais, Fort St. Jean, Fort St. Frederick, or Crownpoint, Montreal, Frontenac, and Niagara. All other places belong to private perſons. The king keeps the Niagara trade all to himſelf. Every one who intends to go to trade with the Indians muſt have a licence from the governor-general, for which he muſt pay a ſum according as the place he is going to is more or leſs advantageous for trade. A merchant who ſends out a boat laden with all ſorts of goods, and four or five perſons with it, is obliged to give five or ſix hundred livres for the permiſſion; and there are places for which they give a thouſand livres. Sometimes one cannot buy the licence to go to a certain trading place, becauſe the governor-general has granted, or intends to grant it to ſome acquaintance or relation of his. The money ariſing from the granting of licences belongs to the governor-general.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

THE MIDDLE SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA,

In the Years 1759 and 1760;

WITH OBSERVATIONS UPON THE STATE OF THE COLONIES.

BY THE REV. ANDREW BURNABY, D.D.

Archdeacon of Leiceſter and Vicar of Greenwich. *

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE two former Editions of theſe Travels were publiſhed, one immediately after the other, at a moment, when events of the greateſt magnitude, and importance to this country, were depending; and when the minds of men were extremely agitated and alarmed for the fate of the Britiſh Empire. A rupture between Great Britain and her American Colonies was ſeriouſly apprehended: and as men foreſaw, or at leaſt fancied they foreſaw, very calamitous conſequences ariſing from ſo diſaſtrous an event, it was generally wiſhed that the evil might, if poſſible, be prevented; and a reconciliation happily effected, before matters were carried to extremity. The author, flattered by his friends, and perhaps a little alſo by vanity, preſumed to hope, that the publication of his tour through the Middle Settlements in North America might, in ſome degree, conduce to this deſirable end: and as the meaſures to be adopted by Government were at that time under the deliberation of Parliament, it was thought expedient to ſubmit it to the public, before any reſolutions were formed that might eventually be deciſive of the fate of the Britiſh Empire. There was not time, therefore, to publiſh the work in ſo full and correct a manner, as the materials in the author's poſſeſſion would otherwiſe have enabled him to do. He confined himſelf to general, and what he judged leading, circumſtances; and poſtponed the inſertion of others to more favourable and tranquil times. The two former editions, however, being now entirely out of print, he deems it expedient to publiſh a third edition, reviſed, corrected, and greatly enlarged by the inſertion of new matter; particularly by ſeveral ſtatiſtical tables referring to the commerce of America; and ſome authentic memoirs of Thomas late Lord Fairfax, and of the ſeveral branches of that noble houſe now domiciliated in Virginia; both of which have been derived from the beſt and moſt unqueſtionable authority.—The work for theſe reaſons, and from its being almoſt the only account of the Middle Settlements, during the period of their happieſt and moſt flouriſhing ſtate, may poſſibly, notwithſtanding the ſeparation that has ſince taken place, be ſtill intereſting; at leaſt to individuals: and the author offers the preſent edition to the public, with the ſame aſſurance as he did the former ones; viz. that he believes the contents to be

* Edition 3. London, 1798, 4to.

ſtrictly

ſtrictly and literally true. If, however, ſome ſlight errors may accidentally and undeſignedly have been committed, and any one will have the goodneſs to point them out, the author will think himſelf highly obliged by the information, and will avail himſelf of the firſt opportunity to acknowledge and correct them.

The aſtoniſhing events that have taken place ſince the publication of the two former editions, will probably expoſe the author's opinion concerning the termination and final iſſue of the American conteſt to animadverſion: but in vindication of himſelf, he muſt be permitted to obſerve,—

That it was not within the ſphere of calculation to ſuppoſe,

1ſt. That the Britiſh miniſtry would perſiſt in requiring unconditional ſubmiſſion from the colonies, till it was too late to recede; and the opportunity was loſt, and for ever gone by:

2dly. That when coercive meaſures had been reſolved upon, they would have been inforced in ſo ruinous and ſo ineffectual a manner:

3dly. That, during the war, any member in oppoſition would have declared publicly, that he correſponded with, and wiſhed ſucceſs to, the Americans, then in arms againſt the king:

Still leſs was it within the ſphere of calculation to ſuppoſe,

That France, though it might be expected that ſhe would ſo far interfere in the conteſt as to endeavour to diſtreſs and embarraſs this country, would ſend troops to America, to the irreparable ruin of her own finances, in order to make the Americans free and independent ſtates.

Leaſt of all was it within the ſphere of calculation to ſuppoſe,

That Spain would join in a plan inevitably leading, though by ſlow and imperceptible ſteps, to the final loſs of all her rich poſſeſſions in South America.

There were indeed enlightened minds both in France and in Spain, who foreſaw what has ſince happened, and who deprecated any interference in the diſpute, and recommended the obſervance of a ſtrict neutrality: And the unfortunate Lewis the ſixteenth himſelf is ſaid to have ſhewn the greateſt repugnance to the treaty with the Americans; and to have declared in the bitterneſs of ſorrow, when he ſigned it, that he had ſigned the warrant for his own ruin and deſtruction.

In Auguſt 1792, the author was at Cologne; and there accidentally falling in with the Duke of Bourbon, and ſeveral French noblemen of his ſuite, the converſation naturally turned upon the ſituation and affairs of France; and the author expreſſing his ſurpriſe at the impolicy of the French miniſtry in engaging ſo deeply in the American war, and deducing from thence the preſent miſeries of France, one of the courtiers with great emotion exclaimed,—"Ah monſieur, c'eſt bien vrai; nous avons mal calculè!"—But the die is caſt, and it is too late to moralize.

The reader will doubtleſs be ſurpriſed, when the author declares, that he has not altered his ſentiments ſince the year 1775, in regard to the American war and its conſequences. He ſtill thinks, that the ſeparation might, in the firſt inſtance, have been prevented: that coercive meaſures, when reſolved upon, might have been inforced, comparatively ſpeaking, without bloodſhed; and with great probability of ſucceſs: that the preſent union of the American ſtates will not be permanent or laſt for any conſiderable length of time: that that extenſive country muſt neceſſarily be divided into ſeparate ſtates and kingdoms: and that America will never, at leaſt for many ages, become formidable to Europe; or acquire, what has been ſo frequently predicted, univerſal empire. The author thinks he could aſſign plauſible reaſons at leaſt for theſe various opinions; but it is better that they ſhould be conſigned to oblivion. The wiſe Diſpoſer of events has decreed, that America ſhall be independent of Great Britain: that ſhe is

ſo, may ultimately perhaps be advantageous to both countries; at leaſt it will be owing to exceſs of folly if it be highly diſadvantageous to either. Let us ſupplicate Heaven to unite them in permanent friendſhip and affection; and to preſerve inviolate that alliance, that harmony and connexion, which religion, moral habits, language, intereſt, origin, and innumerable other conſiderations, can never ceaſe to point out and recommend to them.

INTRODUCTION.

A FEW days before I embarked for America, being in a coffee-houſe with ſome friends, and diſcourſing of things relative to that country, an elderly gentleman advancing towards the box where we were ſitting, addreſſed himſelf to me in the following manner: "Sir," ſaid he, "you are young, and juſt entering into the world; I am old, and upon the point of leaving it: allow me therefore to give you one piece of advice, which is the reſult of experience; and which may poſſibly, ſome time or other, be of uſe to you. You are going to a country where every thing will appear new and wonderful to you; but it will appear ſo only for a while; for the novelty of it will daily wear off; and in time it will grow quite familiar to you. Let me, therefore, recommend to you to note in your pocket-book every circumſtance that may make an impreſſion upon you; for be aſſured, ſir, though it may afterward appear familiar and unintereſting to yourſelf, it will not appear ſo to your friends, who have never viſited that country, for they will be entertained by it."

The following obſervations were the reſult of this advice: they were written upon the ſeveral ſpots to which they refer; and were intended for no other purpoſe, than that of ſerving as memorandums. They appeared, by the time I returned to Europe, according to the gentleman's prediction, ſo very familiar to me, that I ſcarcely thought them deſerving of the peruſal of my friends. Some of theſe, however, were ſo obliging as to beſtow upon them that trouble; and it is by their advice, and the conſideration of the preſent critical ſituation of affairs, that I now ſubmit them to the judgment of the public.—Whatever may be their merit, which I fear is but ſmall, I can aſſure the reader of one thing, I believe they are generally true. They are the fruit of the moſt impartial inquiries, and beſt intelligence, that I was able to procure in the different colonies which I viſited. If I have been led into any error, or have miſrepreſented any thing, it has been undeſignedly: a ſpirit of party is univerſally prevalent in America, and it is not always an eaſy matter to arrive at the knowledge of truth: but I believe, in general, I have been pretty ſucceſsful. I converſed indiſcriminately with perſons of all parties; and endeavoured, by allowing for prejudices and collating their different accounts, to get at the true one. If I have any doubt myſelf about any particular part of the following obſervations (and it is one in which I wiſh I may be found to have been miſinformed) it is that which relates to the character of the Rhode Iſlanders. I was exceedingly ill at that place, and had not the ſame opportunity of procuring information as elſewhere. I converſed with but few gentlemen, and they were principally of one party; but they were gentlemen of ſuch univerſal good character, that I could not but rely in ſome meaſure on the accounts with which they favoured me. Some allowance, however, I did make for prejudice; and I am deſirous that the reader ſhould make a ſtill larger one; indeed, I ſhould be happy to ſtand corrected in regard to what I have ſaid of that people, as no one can have leſs pleaſure in ſpeaking unfavourably of mankind than myſelf.

I have

I have ſtudiouſly avoided all technical or ſcientific terms; ſuch to the informed reader are unneceſſary, to the uninformed one they are unintelligible and perplexing: in relations of this kind, they have always an appearance of affectation and pedantry.

For the moſt valuable part of the following collection, I mean the Diary * of the Weather, I am entirely indebted to my eſteemed friend, Francis Fauquier, Eſq. ſon of the late worthy lieutenant-governor of Virginia; who very obligingly tranſmitted it to me from Williamſburg, while I reſided, as chaplain to the Britiſh factory, at Leghorn; and has allowed me to make the uſe of it which I have here done.

The preſent unhappy differences ſubſiſting amongſt us, with regard to America, will, I am ſenſible, expoſe the publication of this account to much cenſure and criticiſm; but I can truly aver, that I have been led to it by no party motive whatſoever. My firſt attachment, as it is natural, is to my native country; my next is to America; and ſuch is my affection for both, that I hope nothing will ever happen to diſſolve that union, which is neceſſary to their common happineſs. Let every Engliſhman and American, but for a moment or two, ſubſtitute themſelves in each other's place, and, I think, a mode of reconciliation will ſoon take effect. — Every American will then perceive the reaſonableneſs of acknowledging the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature; and every Engliſhman, perhaps, the hardſhip of being taxed where there is no repreſentation, or aſſent.

There is ſcarcely any ſuch thing, I believe, as a perfect government; and ſoleciſms are to be found in all. The preſent diſputes are ſeemingly the reſult of one. — Nothing can be more undeniable than the ſupemacy of parliament over the moſt diſtant branches of the Britiſh empire: for although the King being eſteemed, in the eye of the law, the original proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom; all lands, upon defect of heirs to ſucceed to an inheritance, eſcheat to the King; and all new diſcovered lands veſt in him: yet in neither caſe can he exempt them from the juriſdiction of the legiſlature of the kingdom.

He may grant them, under leaſes or charters, to individuals or companies; with liberty of making rules and regulations for the internal government and improvement of them; but ſuch regulations muſt ever be conſiſtent with the laws of the kingdom, and ſubject to their controul.

On the other hand, I am extremely dubious, whether it be conſiſtent with the general principles of liberty (with thoſe of the Britiſh conſtitution I think it is not) to tax where there is no repreſentation: the arguments hitherto adduced from Mancheſter and Birmingham, and other great towns, not having repreſentatives, are foreign to the ſubject; at leaſt they are by no means equal to it; — for every inhabitant, poſſeſſed of forty ſhillings freehold, has a vote in the election of members for the county: but it is not the perſons, but the property of men that is taxed, and there is not a foot of property in this kingdom, that is not repreſented.

It appears then, that certain principles exiſt in the Britiſh conſtitution, which militate with each other; the reaſon of their doing ſo is evident; it was never ſuppoſed that they would extend beyond the limits of Great Britain, or affect ſo diſtant a country as America. It is much to be wiſhed, therefore, that ſome expedient could be thought of to reconcile them.

The conduct of the ſeveral adminiſtrations, that have had the direction of the affairs of this kingdom, has been reciprocally arraigned; but, I think, without reaſon; for,

* See Appendix, No. 5. [Orig. Edit.]

all things conſidered, an impartial and diſpaſſionate mind will find many excuſes to alledge in juſtification of each. — The feweſt, I am afraid, are to be pleaded in favour of the Americans; for they ſettled in America under charters, which expreſsly reſerved to the Britiſh parliament the authority, whether conſiſtent or not conſiſtent, now aſſerted. Although, therefore, they had a right to make humble repreſentations to His Majeſty in parliament, and to ſhew the impropriety and inconvenience of enforcing ſuch principles, yet they had certainly no right to oppoſe them.

Expedients may ſtill be found, it is to be hoped, however, to conciliate the preſent unhappy differences, and reſtore harmony again between Great Britain and her colonies; but whatever meaſures may be adopted by parliament, it is the duty and intereſt of America to ſubmit. — But it is impertinent to enter any farther into the diſcuſſion of a ſubject, which is at this time under the deliberation of the ſupreme council of the nation. I will therefore conclude with a ſincere prayer, that whatever meaſures may be adopted, they may be different in their iſſue from what the fears of men generally lead them to preconceive; and that, if they be coercive ones, they may be enforced, which, I am perſuaded, is practicable, without the effuſion of blood: if lenient ones, which are preferable, and which I think equally practicable, conceded without any loſs or diminution of the dignity or intereſt of this kingdom.

Greenwich,
Jan. 23. 1775.

BURNABY's TRAVELS.

ON Friday the 27th of April 1759, I embarked, in company with ſeveral North American gentlemen, on board the Diſpatch, Captain Necks, for Virginia; and the next day we ſet ſail from Spithead, under convoy of His Majeſty's ſhip the Lynn, Captain Sterling, commander, with thirty-three ſail of trading veſſels. We came to an anchor in the evening in Yarmouth Road, and the next day ſailed with a freſh eaſterly wind through the Needles.

April 30. We paſſed by the Lizard, and in the evening diſcovered a ſail, which proved to be an Engliſh ſloop laden with corn. She had been taken by a French privateer, and was ſteering for France: there were three Frenchmen and one Engliſhman on board. The commodore ſent ſome hands to her, with orders to carry her to Penzance.

May 1. Thick, hazy weather with a fair wind. A large ſhip paſſed through the fleet about four o'clock in the afternoon: and in the evening another veſſel bore down upon the ſternmoſt ſhips, and ſpoke with them.

May 2. Fair, pleaſant weather. The next day we found by our reckoning that we had made a hundred leagues from the Land's End.

May 4. Strong, violent gales at north-and-by-weſt. In the evening the Molly, Captain Chew, had her main-top-maſt carried away, and hoiſted a ſignal of diſtreſs.

May 5. From this time to the 14th, nothing remarkable happened: the wind was ſeldom fair; but the weather being moderate, we made frequent viſits, and paſſed our time very agreeably.

May 14. Captain Necks fell ill of a fever, and continued indiſpoſed ſeveral days: he began to mend about the 17th.

May 19. In the afternoon, a ſudden and violent ſquall from the north-weſt obliged us to lye-to under our reefed main-ſail: it continued to increaſe, and blew a ſtorm for about thirty-ſix hours, when it began to moderate.

May 21. We made ſail in the afternoon, with four ſhips in company; and the next day in the evening were joined by eighteen more. From that time to the 28th, nothing remarkable happened: we had generally pleaſant weather, but adverſe winds. We frequently viſited; and were much entertained with ſeeing grampuſes, turtles, bonetas, porpoiſes, flying and other fiſh, common in the Atlantic.

May 28. We diſcovered a large ſail: ſhe directed her courſe towards the eaſt. We ſuppoſed her to be an Engliſh man of war going expreſs. She carried three top-gallant ſails.

May 31. We ſpoke with a ſloop bound from Antigua to London. She acquainted the commodore with the agreeable news of His Majeſty's forces at Guadaloupe having reduced that whole iſland under ſubjection to the Britiſh government. The wind ſtill continued unfavourable.

June 5. We ſpoke with a ſnow from Carolina, which informed the commodore, that a French frigate was cruizing off the Capes of Virginia. From that time to the 11th, we had nothing remarkable. The wind was generally from weſt to north-weſt, and there were frequent ſqualls with lightning. We ſaw ſeveral bonetas, grampuſes, albicores, and fiſh of different kinds.

June 11. The water appeared diſcoloured; and we concluded that we were upon the Banks of Newfoundland: we caſt the lead, but found no ground. The weather was thick and hazy. Nothing remarkable happened from this time to the 3d of July: we had pleaſant weather, though now and then ſqualls with lightning. We fell in with ſeveral currents and had variable winds.

July 3. We had fine weather, with a gentle breeze at north-weſt. We were now, according to the commodore's reckoning, (which we afterward found to be true) about ſixty leagues from land. The air was richly ſcented with the fragrance of the pine-trees.

July 4. We ſaw a great many ſloops, from whence we imagined that we were near the coaſt. The wind was at eaſt-by-north.

July 5. About ſix in the morning we caught ſome green fiſh: upon this we ſounded, and found eighteen fathom water. At ten we diſcovered land, which proved to be Cape Charles; and about three hours afterward ſailed through the capes into Cheſapeak Bay. The commodore took his leave to go upon a cruiſe; and at eight in the evening we came to an anchor in York river, after a tedious and diſagreeable voyage of almoſt ten weeks.

The next morning, having hired a chaiſe at York, a ſmall inconſiderable town, I went to Williamſburg, about twelve miles diſtant. The road is exceedingly pleaſant, through ſome of the fineſt tobacco plantations * in North America, with a beautiful view of the river and woods of great extent.

Williamſburg

* The tobacco growing upon York river, is eſteemed ſuperior to any other in North America; particularly that which is raiſed upon the plantations belonging to Colonel Edward Diggs, which is ſaid to have a flavour excelling all others. Of the growth of one plantation, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, the tobacco is in ſuch higheſt imation, that Colonel Diggs puts upon every hogſhead in which it is packed, the initials of his name; and it is from thence called the E. D. tobacco, and ſells for a proportionably higher price.

Some

Williamſburg is the capital of Virginia: it is ſituated between two creeks; one falling into James, the other into York river; and is built nearly due eaſt and weſt. The diſtance of each landing-place is ſomething more than a mile from the town; which, with the diſadvantage of not being able to bring up large veſſels, is the reaſon of its not having increaſed ſo faſt as might have been expected. It conſiſts of about two hundred houſes, does not contain more than one thouſand ſouls, whites and negroes; and is far from being a place of any conſequence. It is regularly laid out in parallel ſtreets, interſected by others at right angles; has a handſome ſquare in the center, through which runs the principal ſtreet, one of the moſt ſpacious in North America, three quarters of a mile in length, and above a hundred feet wide. At the oppoſite ends of this ſtreet are two public buildings, the college and the capitol; and although the houſes are of wood, covered with ſhingles *, and but indifferently built, the whole makes a handſome appearance. There are few public edifices that deſerve to be taken notice of; thoſe, which I have mentioned, are the principal; and they are far from being magnificent. The governor's palace is tolerably good, one of the beſt upon the continent; but the church, the priſon, and the other buildings, are all of them extremely indifferent. The ſtreets are not paved, and are conſequently very duſty, the ſoil hereabout conſiſting chiefly of ſand: however, the ſituation of Williamſburg has one advantage, which few or no places in theſe lower parts have; that of being free from muſquitoes. Upon the whole, it is an agreeable reſidence; there are ten or twelve gentlemen's families conſtantly reſiding in it, beſides merchants and tradeſmen; and at the times of the aſſemblies, and general courts, it is crowded with the gentry of the country: on thoſe occaſions there are balls and other amuſements; but as ſoon as the buſineſs is finiſhed, they return to their plantations; and the town is in a manner deſerted †.

The ſituation of Virginia (according to Evans's map) is between the 36th and 40th degree of north latitude, and about 76 degrees weſt longitude from London ‡. It is bounded on the north by the river Potowmac, on the eaſt by the Atlantic Ocean, by Carolina on the ſouth, and, to include only what is inhabited, by the great Alleghenny on the weſt.

Some time ago, Colonel Diggs having a tract of land, ſeemingly of the ſame quality, and under the ſame expoſure and aſpect as the plantation producing the E. D. tobacco, from which it was ſeparated only by a ſmall rill of water, he directed it to be planted; and as the produce was apparently ſimilar in quality, colour, flavour, and every other particular, he thought himſelf warranted to delineate E. D. upon the hogſheads in which it was packed. Accordingly, it was ſent to market with this recommendatory mark or token. But ſome time after, he received a letter from his factor or merchant in London, informing him that his inſpector or agent had been guilty of ſome great overſight or error, as the tobacco contained in certain caſks, which he ſpecified, though marked with E. D., was of a different and very inferior quality to that commodity; and that if the ſame fault ſhould be again committed, it would ruin the reputation and ſale of the E. D. tobacco. It is to be obſerved, that the ſoil or mould had been carefully analiſed and examined previous to its being planted; and that not the ſmalleſt difference could be perceived between that of the old and new plantation. The experiment, it will eaſily be believed, was not repeated.

* Theſe are formed in the ſhape of tiles, and are generally made of white cedar or of cypreſs.

† Since the revolution, the ſeat of government has been removed to Richmond, a town ſituated juſt below the falls of James river.

‡ Mr. Ebeling, of Hamburgh, in a note to the German tranſlation of this work, ſays, "Virginia is ſituated between 37 and 40 degrees of north latitude, and extends from 77 to 81 degrees weſt longitude from London;" but I believe he is miſtaken, for the lateſt and beſt maps generally agree with Mr. Evans in regard to the ſituation he has given to this country; at leaſt, they approximate nearer to the account here given than to that of Mr. Ebeling.

The climate is extremely fine, though ſubject to violent heats in the ſummer: Farenheit's thermometer being generally for three months from 85 to 95 degrees high. The other ſeaſons, however, make ample amends for this inconvenience: for the autumns and ſprings are delightful; and the winters are ſo mild and ſerene (though there are now and then exceſſively cold days) as ſcarcely to require a fire. The only complaint that a perſon can reaſonably make, is, of the very ſudden changes to which the weather is liable; for this being entirely regulated by the winds, is exceedingly variable. Southerly winds are productive of heat, northerly of cold, and eaſterly of rain; whence it is no uncommon thing for the thermometer to fall many degrees in a very few hours; and, after a warm day, to have ſuch ſevere cold, as to freeze over a river a mile broad in one night's time *. In ſummer there are frequent and violent guſts, with thunder and lightning; but as the country is very thinly inhabited, and moſt of the gentry have electrical rods to their houſes, they are not attended with many fatal accidents. Now and then, indeed, ſome of the negroes loſe their lives; and it is not uncommon in the woods, to ſee trees torn and riven to pieces by their fury and violence. A remarkable circumſtance happened ſome years ago at York, which is well atteſted: a perſon ſtanding at his door during a thunder guſt, was unfortunately killed; there was an intermediate tree at ſome diſtance, which was ſtruck at the ſame time; and when they came to examine the body, they found the tree delineated upon it in miniature. Part of the body was livid, but that which was covered by the tree was of its natural colour †.

I believe no country has more certainly proved the efficacy of electrical rods, than this: before the diſcovery of them, theſe guſts were frequently productive of melancholy conſequences; but now it is rare to hear of ſuch inſtances. It is obſervable that no houſe was ever ſtruck, where they were fixed; and although it has frequently happened that the rods themſelves have been melted, or broken to pieces, and the houſes ſcorched or diſcoloured along the ſides of them, which manifeſted that they had received the ſtroke, but that the quantity of lightning was too great to be carried off by the conductor, yet never has any misfortune happened; ſuch a direction having been given to the lightning, as to prevent any danger or ill conſequence. Theſe circumſtances, one would imagine, ſhould induce every perſon to get over thoſe prejudices which many have entertained; and to conſider the neglect, rather than the uſe, of them as criminal, ſince they ſeem to be means put into our hands by Providence, for our ſafety and protection.

The ſoil of Virginia is in general good. There are barrens where the lands produce nothing but pine-trees; but taking the whole tract together, it is certainly fertile. The low grounds upon the rivers and creeks are exceedingly rich, being loam intermingled with ſand: and the higher you go up into the country, towards the mountains, the value of the land increaſes; for it grows more ſtrong, and conſiſts of a deeper clay.

Virginia, in its natural ſtate, produces great quantities of fruits and medicinal plants, with trees and flowers of infinitely various kinds. Tobacco and Indian corn are the original produce of the country; likewiſe the pigeon-berry, and rattle-ſnake-root ſo

* On the 19th of December, 1759, being upon a viſit to Colonel Waſhington, at Mount-Vernon, upon the river Potowmac, where the river is two miles broad, I was greatly ſurpriſed to find it entirely frozen over in the ſpace of one night, when the preceding day had been mild and temperate.

† I have related this circumſtance upon the authority of the honourable John Blair, Preſident of the Council of Virginia, who mentioned it as a well-known fact: but it appears ſo improbable and unphiloſophical, that I do not pledge myſelf for the truth of it.

eſteemed

eſteemed in all ulcerous and pleuritical complaints: grapes, ſtrawberries, hiccory nuts, mulberries, cheſnuts, and ſeveral other fruits, grow wild and ſpontaneouſly.

Beſides trees and flowers of an ordinary nature, the woods produce myrtles, cedars, cypreſſes, ſugar-trees, firs of different ſorts, and no leſs than ſeven or eight kinds of oak; they are likewiſe adorned and beautified with red-flowering maples, ſaſſafras-trees, dog-woods, acacias, red-buds, ſcarlet-flowering cheſnuts, fringe-trees, flowering poplars, umbrellas, magnolias, yellow jaſamines, chamœdaphnes, pacoons, atamuſco-lilies, May-apples, and innumerable other ſorts; ſo that one may reaſonably aſſert that no country ever appeared with greater elegance or beauty.

Not to notice too the almoſt numberleſs creeks and rivulets which every where abound, it is watered by four large rivers of ſuch ſafe navigation, and ſuch noble and majeſtic appearance, as cannot be exceeded, perhaps, in the whole known world.

James river, which was formerly called Powhatan, from its having been the ſeat of that emperor, is ſeven miles broad at the mouth, navigable to the falls (above 150 miles) for veſſels of large burden, and thence to the mountains for ſmall craft and canoes.

The falls are in length about ſix or ſeven miles: they conſiſt of innumerable breaks of water, owing to the obſtruction of the current by an infinite number of rocks, which are ſcattered over the bed of the river; and form a moſt pictureſque and beautiful caſcade.

The honourable Colonel Byrd has a ſmall place called Belvedere, upon a hill at the lower end of theſe falls, as romantic and elegant as any thing I have ever ſeen. It is ſituated very high, and commands a fine proſpect of the river, which is half a mile broad, forming cataracts in the manner above deſcribed; there are ſeveral little iſlands ſcattered careleſsly about, very rocky, and covered with trees; and two or three villages * in view at a ſmall diſtance. Over all theſe you diſcover a prodigious extent of wilderneſs, and the river winding majeſtically along through the midſt of it.

York river, for about forty miles, to a place called Weſt Point, is confined in one channel about two miles broad: it flows in a very direct courſe, making but one angle, and that an inconſiderable one, during the whole way. At Weſt Point it forks, and divides itſelf into two branches; the ſouthward called Pamunky; the northward Mattapony: each of theſe branches, including the windings and meanders of the river, is navigable ſeventy or eighty miles, and a conſiderable way of this ſpace for large ſhips.

The Rappahannoc is navigable to the falls, which are a mile above Fredericſburg, and about 110 from the bay. Veſſels of large burden may come up to this place; and ſmall craft and canoes may be carried up much higher.

The Potowmac is one of the fineſt rivers in North America: it is † ten miles broad at the mouth, navigable above 200 miles, to Alexandria, for men of war; and, allowing for a few carrying places, for canoes above 200 farther, to the very branches of the Ohio. Colonel Bouquet, a Swiſs gentleman in the Royal Americans, came down this autumn from Fort Cumberland ‡ to Shenando with very little difficulty;

* Amongſt the reſt, Richmond, the preſent ſeat of government.

† The Potowmac, according to Mr. Jefferſon, is only ſeven and a half miles broad at its mouth, and perhaps his account may be founded upon better authority than my own. I had no opportunity of aſcertaining the fact, and the ſtatement which I have made reſts entirely upon the credibility of thoſe Virginian gentlemen, who favoured me with the information, and who, I am perſuaded, did not intentionally miſlead me; though it is poſſible they might be miſtaken.

‡ The diſtance from Fort Cumberland to Shenando is above 100 miles; from Shenando to the great falls about 60; and from the great falls to Alexandria about 17 or 18.

whence

whence to the great falls, I have been told, a navigation might eaſily be effected: ſo that this river ſeems to promiſe to be of as great conſequence as any in North America.

In all theſe rivers the tide flows as far as the falls, and at Alexandria it riſes between two and three feet. They diſcharge themſelves into Cheſapeak Bay, one of the fineſt in the world, which runs a great way up the country into Maryland; is from ten to twenty miles broad; navigable near a hundred leagues for veſſels of almoſt any burden; and receives into its boſom at leaſt twenty great rivers.

Theſe waters are ſtored with incredible quantities of fiſh, ſuch as ſheeps-heads, rock-fiſh, drums, white pearch, herrings, oyſters, crabs, and ſeveral other ſorts. Sturgeon and ſhad are in ſuch prodigious numbers, that one day, within the ſpace of two miles only, ſome gentlemen in canoes, caught above 600 of the former with hooks, which they let down to the bottom, and drew up at a venture when they perceived them to rub againſt a fiſh; and of the latter above 5,000 have been caught at one ſingle haul of the ſeine.

In the mountains there are very rich veins of ore; ſome mines having been already opened which turn to great account; particularly Spotſwood's iron mines upon the Rappahannoc, out of which they ſmelt annually above ſix hundred ton: and one of copper upon the Roanoke, belonging to Colonel Chiſwell. This laſt mentioned gentleman is alſo going to try for lead upon ſome hunting grounds belonging to the Indians, towards New River, and the Green Briar; where, it is ſaid, there is fine ore, and in great plenty, lying above ground. Some coal mines have alſo been opened upon James river near the falls, which are likely to anſwer very well.

The foreſts abound with plenty of game of various kinds; hares, turkies, pheaſants, woodcocks, and partridges, are in the greateſt abundance. In the marſhes are found ſoruſes, a particular ſpecies of bird, more exquiſitely delicious than the ortolan; ſnipes alſo, and ducks of various kinds. The American ſhell-drake and blue-wing exceed all of the duck kind whatſoever; and theſe are in prodigious numbers. In the woods there are variety of birds remarkable both for ſinging and for beauty; of which are the mocking-bird, the red-bird or nightingale, the blue-bird, the yellow-bird, the humming-bird *, the Baltimore bird, the ſummer-duck, the turtle, and ſeveral other ſorts.

Inſects and reptiles are almoſt innumerable. The variety of butterflies is not greater than is that of the rich and vivid colours with which each particular ſpecies is diſtinguiſhed and beautified; and ſuch is the number and appearance of the fire-flies, that on a ſummer's evening the whole air ſeems to glow and to be enlightened by them. Several ſnakes of this country are harmleſs and beautiful; ſuch as the black ſnake, the wampum-ſnake, the bead-ſnake, the garter-ſnake, and ſome others; but the rattle-ſnake and vipers are exceedingly venomous and deadly. There are two curious ſpecies of frogs here: one is called the bull-frog, which is prodigiouſly large, and makes ſo loud a noiſe, that it may be heard at a great diſtance; the other is a ſmall green frog, which ſits upon the boughs of trees, and is found in almoſt every garden.

* The humming-bird is the ſmalleſt and moſt beautiful of all the feathered race: its colours are green, crimſon, and gold: it lives chiefly by ſuction upon the ſweets and eſſences of flowers; and nothing can be more curious than to obſerve numbers of them in gardens, where there are honey-ſuckles or trumpet-flowers, flying from flower to flower, putting their ſlender bills into every one, and ſucking out the ſweeteſt juices. The motion of their wings is incredibly ſwift, and produces a humming noiſe, not unlike that of a large humble bee. They are frequently kept in cages, but ſeldom live longer than two months. The food which is given them, is either honey or ſugar, mixed with water. Repeated attempts have been made to ſend them alive to England, but always without ſucceſs.

Of quadrupeds there are are various kinds; ſquirrels of four or five different ſpecies *; opoſſums, racoons, foxes, beavers, and deer; and in the deſerts and uninhabited parts, wolves, bears, panthers, elks or mooſe deer, buffaloes, mountain cats, and various other ſorts. Such are in general the natural productions of this country.

Viewed and conſidered as a ſettlement, Virginia is far from being arrived at that perfection of which it is capable. Not a tenth of the land is yet cultivated: and that which is cultivated, is far from being ſo in the moſt advantageous manner. It produces, however, conſiderable quantities of grain and cattle, and fruit of many kinds. The Virginian pork is ſaid to be ſuperior in flavour to any in the world; but the ſheep and horned cattle being ſmall and lean, the meat of them is inferior to that of Great Britain, or indeed, of moſt parts of Europe. The horſes are fleet and beautiful; and the gentlemen of Virginia, who are exceedingly fond of horſe-racing, have ſpared no expence or trouble to improve the breed of them by importing great numbers from England.

The fruits introduced here from Europe ſucceed extremely well; particularly peaches, which have a very fine flavour, and grow in ſuch plenty as to ſerve to feed the hogs in the autumn of the year. Their bloſſoms in the ſpring make a beautiful appearance throughout the country.

Virginia is divided into fifty-two counties, and ſeventy-ſeven pariſhes, and by act of aſſembly there ought to be forty-four towns †; but one half of theſe have not more than five houſes; and the other half are little better than inconſiderable villages. This is owing to the cheapneſs of land, and the commodiouſneſs of navigation: for every perſon may with eaſe procure a ſmall plantation, can ſhip his tobacco at his own door, and live independent. When the colony ſhall come to be more thickly ſeated, and land grow dear, people will be obliged to follow trades and manufactures, which will neceſſarily make towns and large cities; but this ſeems remote, and not likely to happen for ſome centuries.

The inhabitants are ſuppoſed to be in number between two and three hundred thouſand. There are a hundred and five thouſand tytheables, under which denomination are included all white males from ſixteen to ſixty; and all negroes whatſoever within the ſame age. The former are obliged to ſerve in the militia, and amount to forty thouſand.

The trade of this colony is large and extenſive. Tobacco is the principal article of it. Of this they export annually between fifty and ſixty thouſand hogſheads, each hogſhead weighing eight hundred or a thouſand weight: ſome years they export much more ‡. They ſhip alſo for the Madeiras, the Streights, and the Weſt-Indies, ſeveral articles, ſuch as grain, pork, lumber, and cyder: to Great Britain, bar-iron, indigo, and a ſmall quantity of ginſeng, though of an inferior quality; and they clear out one year with another about ton of ſhipping.

* Of the ſeveral ſpecies of ſquirrels, the ground and flying-ſquirrels are much the ſmalleſt and moſt beautiful. The former are of a duſky orange hue, ſtreaked with black; the latter grey or aſh-coloured, and elegantly formed. Theſe have a ſpreading or fan-tail, and two membranes adhering to their ſides; which, when they ſpring or leap from a tree, they expand, and are thereby enabled to fly through a conſiderable ſpace. The former are of a very wild nature; but theſe may be eaſily, and are frequently tamed.—There is a ſpecies of pole-cat in this part of America, which is commonly called a ſkunk. This animal, when purſued, or aſſailed by its enemy, ejects its urine; which emits ſuch a fetid and inſupportable ſtench, as almoſt to ſtifle and ſuffocate whatever is within the reach of it.

† Theſe numbers have been ſince greatly increaſed.

‡ In the year 1758, it is ſaid that ſeventy thouſand hogſheads were exported.

Their

Their manufactures are very inconſiderable. They make a kind of cotton-cloth, with which they clothe themſelves in common, and call after the name of their country; and ſome inconſiderable quantities of linen, hoſe, and other trifling articles; but nothing to deſerve attention.

The government is a royal one: the legiſlature conſiſting of a governor appointed by the king; a council of twelve perſons, under the ſame nomination; and a houſe of burgeſſes, or repreſentatives, of a hundred and eight or ten members, elected by the people; two for each county, and one for each of the following places, viz. the College of William and Mary, James-town, Norfolk-borough, and Williamſburg. Each branch has a negative. All laws, in order to be permanent, muſt have the King's approbation; nor may any be enacted, which are repugnant to the laws of Great Britain.

The courts of judicature are either county, or general courts. The county courts are held monthly in each county, at a place aſſigned for that purpoſe, by the juſtices thereof; four of them making a quorum. They are appointed by the governor, and take cognizance of all cauſes at common law, or in chancery, within their reſpective counties, except criminal ones, puniſhable with loſs of life, or member. This power they are not permitted to exerciſe except over negroes and ſlaves, and then not without a ſpecial commiſſion from the governor for each particular purpoſe *. The general court is held twice a year at Williamſburg. It conſiſts of the governor and council, any five of which make a court. They hear and determine all cauſes whatſoever, eccleſiaſtical or civil, and ſit four-and-twenty days: the firſt five of theſe are for hearing and determining ſuits in chancery, appeals from the decrees of the county or inferior courts in chancery; and writs of ſuperſedeas to ſuch decrees. The other days are for trying ſuits or proſecutions in behalf of the King; and all other matters depending in the ſaid court: appeals are allowed to the King in council, in caſes of 500l. ſterling value. The governor has a power of pardoning criminals in all caſes, except of treaſon or murder: and then he can only reprieve till he knows the King's pleaſure.

The eſtabliſhed religion is that of the church of England; and there are very few Diſſenters of any denomination in this province. There are at preſent between ſixty and ſeventy clergymen: men in general of ſober and exemplary lives. They have each a glebe of two or three hundred acres of land, a houſe, and a ſalary eſtabliſhed by law of 16,000 weight of tobacco, with an allowance of 1,700 more for ſhrinkage. This is delivered to them in hogſheads ready packed for exportation, at the moſt convenient warehouſe. The preſentation of livings is in the hands of the veſtry; which is a ſtanding body of twelve members, inveſted with the ſole power of raiſing levies, ſettling the repairs of the church, and regulating other parochial buſineſs. They were originally elected by the people of the ſeveral pariſhes; but now fill up

* How neceſſary it may be that they ſhould have ſuch a power, even in this caſe, I will not pretend to ſay; but the law which transfers it to them ſeems ſo inconſiſtent with the natural rights of mankind, that I cannot but in pity to humanity recite it.

"Every ſlave committing any offence, by law puniſhable by death, or loſs of member, ſhall be committed to the county gaol, and the ſheriff of the county ſhall forthwith certify ſuch commitment, with the cauſe thereof to the governor, or commander in chief, who may iſſue a commiſſion of oyer and terminer to ſuch perſons as he ſhall think fit, which perſons, forthwith after the receipt of ſuch commiſſion, ſhall cauſe the offender to be publicly arraigned and tried at the court-houſe of the ſaid county, and take for evidence the confeſſion of the offender, the oath of one or more credible witneſſes, or ſuch teſtimony of negroes, mulattoes, or Indians, bond or free, with pregnant circumſtances as to them ſhall ſeem convincing, *without the ſolemnity of a jury*, and the offender being found guilty, ſhall paſs ſuch judgment upon him or her as the law directs for the like crimes, and on ſuch judgment award execution."

Mercer's Abridgment of the Virginian Laws, p. 342.

vacancies

vacancies themſelves. If the veſtry does not preſent to a living in leſs than twelve months, it lapſes to the governor. The dioceſan is the biſhop of London; who has a power of appointing a commiſſary to preſide over, and convene the clergy on particular occaſions; and to cenſure, or even ſuſpend them, in caſes of neglect or immorality. His ſalary is 100l. ſterling per annum; and he is generally of the council, which is of equal emolument to him *.

An unhappy diſagreement has lately ariſen between the clergy and the laity, which, it is to be feared, may be of ſerious conſequence. The cauſe of it was this. Tobacco being extremely ſcarce from a general failure of the crop, the aſſembly paſſed an act to oblige the clergy and all public officers to receive their ſtipends in money inſtead of tobacco. This the clergy remonſtrated againſt, alledging the hardſhip of being obliged to take a ſmall price for their tobacco, when it bore an extravagant one; ſeeing they never had any kind of compenſation allowed, when it was ſo plentiful as to be almoſt a drug. They ſent over an agent to England, and the law was repealed. This greatly exaſperated the people; and ſuch is their mutual animoſity at this time, that I fear it will not eaſily ſubſide, or be forgotten.

With regard to the law in queſtion, it was certainly a very hard one; and I doubt whether, upon principles of free government, it can be juſtified; or whether the aſſembly can legally interpoſe any farther, than in caſes of neceſſity, to oblige the clergy to receive their ſalaries in money inſtead of tobacco, at the current price of tobacco. They may, I am perſuaded, in caſes of exigency, always make, and might then have made, ſuch a law, without any conſiderable detriment to the colony; for ſuppoſing the price of tobacco to be what it was at that time, about fifty ſhillings currency per hundred, what would the whole ſum be, were the clergy to be paid ad valorem? Not 20,000l. ſterling. There are in Virginia, as I obſerved before, about ſixty-five clergymen: each of theſe is allowed 16,000 weight of tobacco; which, at the rate of fifty ſhillings currency per hundred, amounts to 400l.; 400l. multiplied by 65, is equal to 26,000; which, allowing 40 per cent. diſcount, the difference of exchange is about 18,571l. ſterling. Now what is this ſum to ſuch a colony as Virginia? But to this it will be ſaid, perhaps, why ſhould the clergy be gainers in a time of public diſtreſs, when every one elſe is a ſufferer? The clergy will doubtleſs reply, and why ſhould the clergy be the only ſufferers in plentiful ſeaſons, when all but themſelves are gainers? However, as on the one hand I diſapprove of the proceedings of the aſſembly in this affair; ſo, on the other, I cannot approve of the ſteps which were taken by the clergy: that violence of temper; that diſreſpectful behaviour towards the governor; that unworthy treatment of their commiſſary; and, to mention nothing elſe, that confuſion of proceeding in the convention, of which ſome, though not the majority, as has been invidiouſly repreſented, were guilty; theſe things were ſurely unbecoming the ſacred character they are inveſted with; and the moderation of thoſe perſons, who ought in all things to imitate the conduct of their divine Maſter. If, inſtead of flying out in invectives againſt the legiſlature; of accuſing the governor of having given up the cauſe of religion by paſſing the bill; when, in fact, had he rejected it, he would never have been able to have got any ſupplies during the courſe of the war, though ever ſo much wanted; if, inſtead of charging the commiſſary with want of zeal for having exhorted them to moderate meaſures, they had followed the prudent counſels

* The commiſſary is commonly preſident of the college, and has the Pariſh of Williamſburg, or ſome other lucrative pariſh, which render him about 350l. a year: ſo that his annual income is between 500 and 600l.

of that excellent man, and had acted with more temper and moderation, they might, I am perſuaded, in a very ſhort time, have obtained any redreſs they could reaſonably have deſired. The people in general were extremely well affected towards the clergy, and had expreſſed their regard for them in ſeveral inſtances; they were ſenſible, moreover, that their ſalaries were too ſcanty to ſupport them with dignity, and there had been ſome talk about raiſing them: had the clergy therefore, before they applied to England, only offered a memorial to the aſſembly, ſetting forth that they thought the act extremely hard upon them, as their ſalaries were ſmall; and that they hoped the aſſembly would take their caſe into conſideration, and enable them to live with that decency which became their character; I am perſuaded, from the knowledge which I have of the people in general, and from repeated converſations with ſeveral members of the aſſembly, that they might have obtained almoſt any thing they could have wiſhed; if not, they undoubtedly would have had reaſon to appeal. But, inſtead of this, without applying to the aſſembly for relief, after the act was paſſed, (for before, indeed, ſome of them did apply to the ſpeaker in private) they flew out into the moſt violent invectives, immediately ſent over an agent to England, and appealed to His Majeſty in council. The reſult has been already related.

The progreſs of arts and ſciences in this colony has been very inconſiderable: the college of William and Mary is the only public place of education, and this has by no means anſwered the deſign of its inſtitution. It has a foundation for a preſident and ſix profeſſors. The buſineſs of the preſident is to ſuperintend the whole, and to read four theological lectures annually. He has a handſome houſe to live in, and 200l. ſterling per annum. The profeſſor of the Indian ſchool has 60l. ſterling, and a houſe alſo; his buſineſs is to inſtruct the Indians in reading, writing, and the principles of the Chriſtian religion: this pious inſtitution was ſet on foot and promoted by the excellent Mr. Boyle. The profeſſor of humanity has the care of inſtructing the ſtudents in claſſical learning: he has an uſher or aſſiſtant under him. The four other profeſſors teach moral philoſophy, metaphyſics, mathematics, and divinity. Each of the profeſſors has apartments in the college, and a ſalary of about eighty pounds per annum *. The preſent chancellor of the college is the biſhop of London.

From what has been ſaid of this colony, it will not be difficult to form an idea of the character † of its inhabitants. The climate and external appearance of the country conſpire to make them indolent, eaſy, and good-natured; extremely fond of ſociety, and much given to convivial pleaſures. In conſequence of this, they ſeldom ſhow any ſpirit of enterprize, or expoſe themſelves willingly to fatigue. Their authority over their ſlaves renders them vain and imperious, and entire ſtrangers to that elegance of ſentiment, which is ſo peculiarly characteriſtic of refined and poliſhed nations. Their ignorance of mankind and of learning, expoſes them to many errors and prejudices, eſpecially in regard to Indians and negroes, whom they ſcarcely conſider as of the

* They have ſince been raiſed, I believe, to 100l.

† General characters are always liable to many exceptions. In Virginia, I have had the pleaſure to know ſeveral gentlemen adorned with many virtues and accompliſhments, to whom the following deſcription is by no means applicable. Amongſt others, I cannot reſiſt the inclination of mentioning George Wyth Eſquire, who, to a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, which was taught him by his mother in the back woods, and of the ancient, particularly the Platonic philoſophy, had joined ſuch a profound reverence for the Supreme Being, ſuch reſpect for the divine laws, ſuch philanthrophy for mankind, ſuch ſimplicity of manners, and ſuch inflexible rectitude and integrity of principle, as would have dignified a Roman ſenator, even in the moſt virtuous times of the republic.—This gentleman is, I believe, ſtill living.

human ſpecies; ſo that it is almoſt impoſſible, in caſes of violence, or even murder, committed upon thoſe unhappy people by any of the planters, to have the delinquents brought to juſtice: for either the grand jury refuſe to find the bill, or the petit jury bring in their verdict, not guilty *.

The diſplay of a character thus conſtituted, will naturally be in acts of extravagance, oſtentation, and a diſregard of œconomy; it is not extraordinary, therefore, that the Virginians out-run their incomes; and that having involved themſelves in difficulties, they are frequently tempted to raiſe money by bills of exchange, which they know will be returned proteſted, with ten per cent. intereſt †.

The public or political character of the Virginians correſponds with their private one: they are haughty and jealous of their liberties, impatient of reſtraint, and can ſcarcely bear the thought of being controuled by any ſuperior power. Many of them conſider the colonies as independent ſtates, not connected with Great Britain, otherwiſe than by having the ſame common King, and being bound to her by natural affection. There are but few of them that have a turn for buſineſs, and even thoſe are by no means expert at it. I have known them, upon a very urgent occaſion, vote the relief of a garriſon, without once conſidering whether the thing was practicable, when it was moſt evidently and demonſtrably otherwiſe ‡. In matters of commerce they are igno-

* There are two laws in this colony, which make it almoſt impoſſible to convict a planter or white man of the death of a negroe or Indian. By the firſt it is enacted, that "if any ſlave ſhall die by reaſon of any ſtroke or blow, given in correction by his or her owner, or by reaſon of any accidental blow whatſoever, given by ſuch owner; no perſon concerned in ſuch correction, or accidental homicide, ſhall undergo any proſecution or puniſhment for the ſame; unleſs, upon examination before the county court, it ſhall be proved by the oath of one lawful and credible witneſs, at leaſt, that ſuch ſlave was killed wilfully, maliciouſly, and deſignedly; nor ſhall any perſon indicted for the murder of a ſlave, and upon trial found guilty only of manſlaughter, incur any forfeiture or puniſhment for ſuch offence or misfortune." See Mercer's Abridgment, p. 345. By the ſecond, "No negroe, mulatto, or Indian, can be admitted into any court, or before any magiſtrate, to be ſworn as a witneſs, or give evidence in any cauſe whatſoever, except upon the trial of a ſlave for a capital offence." Mercer's Abridgment, p. 419.

† By an act of aſſembly, if any bill of exchange is drawn for the payment of any ſum of money, and ſuch bill is proteſted for non-acceptance or non-payment, it carries intereſt from the date thereof, after the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, until the money be fully ſatisfied and paid.

A very curious anecdote relative to this law was mentioned to me at Williamſburg, of which I am perſuaded the reader will excuſe the relation.—An uſurer, not ſatisfied with 5l. per cent. legal intereſt, refuſed to advance a ſum of money to a gentleman, unleſs, by way of ſecurity, he would give him a bill of exchange that ſhould be returned proteſted, by which he would be entitled to 10 per cent. The gentleman, who had immediate occaſion for money, drew a bill upon a capital merchant in London, with whom he had never had any tranſaction, or carried on the leaſt correſpondence. The merchant, on the receipt of the bill, obſerving the name of the drawer, very readily honoured it, knowing the gentleman to be a perſon of great property, and concluding that he meant to enter into correſpondence with him. The uſurer upon this became entitled to only 5l. per cent. He was exceedingly enraged, therefore, at being, as he ſuppoſed, thus tricked: and complained very heavily to the gentleman of his having given him a good bill inſtead of a bad one.

‡ The garriſon here alluded to, was that of Fort Loudoun, in the Cherokee country, conſiſting of a lieutenant, and about fifty men. This unfortunate party being beſieged by the Cherokee Indians, and reduced to the laſt extremity, ſent off runners to the governors of Virginia and Carolina, imploring immediate ſuccour; adding, that it was impoſſible for them to hold out above twenty days longer. The aſſembly of Virginia, commiſerating their unhappy ſituation, very readily voted a conſiderable ſum for their relief. With this, troops were to be levied; were to rendezvous upon the frontiers 200 miles diſtant from Williamſburg; were afterward to proceed to the fort 200 miles farther through a wilderneſs, where there was no road, no magazines, no poſts, either to ſhelter the ſick, or cover a retreat in caſe of any diſaſter; ſo that the unfortunate garriſon might as effectually have been ſuccoured from the moon. The author taking notice of theſe difficulties to one of the members, he frankly replied, "Faith, it is true: but we have had an opportunity at leaſt of ſhowing our loyalty." In a few days after arrived the melancholy news, that this unfortunate party was entirely cut off.

rant of the neceſſary principles that muſt prevail between a colony and the mother country; they think it a hardſhip not to have an unlimited trade to every part of the world. They conſider the duties upon their ſtaple as injurious only to themſelves; and it is utterly impoſſible to perſuade them that they affect the conſumer alſo. However, to do them juſtice, the ſame ſpirit of generoſity prevails here which does in their private character; they never refuſe any neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of government when called upon, and are a generous and loyal people.

The women are, generally ſpeaking, handſome, though not to be compared with our fair country-women in England. They have but few advantages, and conſequently are ſeldom accompliſhed; this makes them reſerved, and unequal to any intereſting or refined converſation. They are immoderately fond of dancing, and indeed it is almoſt the only amuſement they partake of: but even in this they diſcover want of taſte and elegance, and ſeldom appear with that gracefulneſs and eaſe, which theſe movements are calculated to diſplay. Towards the cloſe of an evening, when the company are pretty well tired with country dances, it is uſual to dance jiggs; a practice, originally borrowed, I am informed, from the negroes*. Theſe dances are without method or regularity: a gentleman and lady ſtand up, and dance about the room, one of them retiring, the other purſuing, then perhaps meeting, in an irregular fantaſtical manner. After ſome time, another lady gets up, and then the firſt lady muſt ſit down, ſhe being, as they term it, cut out: the ſecond lady acts the ſame part which the firſt did, till ſomebody cuts her out. The gentlemen perform in the ſame manner. The Virginian ladies, excepting theſe amuſements, and now and then going upon a party of pleaſure into the woods to partake of a Barbacue †, chiefly ſpend their time in ſewing and taking care of their families: they ſeldom read, or endeavour to improve their minds; however, they are in general good houſewives; and though they have not, I think, quite ſo much tenderneſs and ſenſibility as the Engliſh ladies, yet they make as good wives, and as good mothers, as any in the world.

It is hard to determine, whether this colony can be called flouriſhing, or not: becauſe, though it produces great quantities of tobacco and grain, yet there ſeem to be very few improvements carrying on in it. Great part of Virginia is a wilderneſs, and as many of the gentlemen are in poſſeſſion of immenſe tracts of land, it is likely to continue ſo. A ſpirit of enterprize is by no means the turn of the colony, and therefore few attempts have been made to force a trade; which I think might eaſily be done, both to the Weſt Indies and the Ohio. They have every thing neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking, viz. lumber, proviſions, grain, and every other commodity, which the other colonies, that ſubſiſt and grow rich by theſe means, make uſe of for exports; but, inſtead of this, they have only a trifling communication with the Weſt Indies; and as to the Ohio, they have ſuffered themſelves, notwithſtanding the ſuperior advantages they might enjoy from having a water carriage almoſt to the Yoghiogheny, to

* The author has ſince had an opportunity of obſerving ſomething ſimilar in Italy. The treſcone of the Tuſcans is very like the jiggs of the Virginians.

† Monſ. de Willd, in his French tranſlation of theſe travels, makes the following obſervation upon the word Barbacue.

"Cet amuſement barbare conſiſte a fouetter les porcs juſqu' a la mort, pour en rendre la chair plus delicate. Je ne ſache pas que les cannibales même le pratiquent."

In juſtice to the inhabitants of Virginia, I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that ſuch a cruel and inhuman act was never, to my knowledge at leaſt, practiſed in that country. A Barbacue is nothing more than a porket, killed in the uſual way, ſtuffed with ſpices and other rich ingredients, and baſted with Madeira wine. It is eſteemed a very great delicacy; and is, I believe, a coſtly diſh.

neglect this valuable branch of commerce; while the induſtrious Penſylvanians ſeize every opportunity, and ſtruggle with innumerable difficulties, to ſecure it to themſelves. The Virginians are content if they can but live but from day to day; they confine themſelves almoſt entirely to the cultivation of tobacco; and if they have but enough of this to pay their merchants in London, and to provide for their pleaſures, they are ſatisfied, and deſire nothing more. Some few, indeed, have been rather more enterpriſing, and have endeavoured to improve their eſtates by raiſing indigo, and other ſchemes: but whether it has been owing to the climate, to their inexperience in theſe matters, or their want of perſeverance, I am unable to determine, but their ſucceſs has not anſwered their expectations.

The taxes of this colony are conſiderable, and the public debt amounts to at leaſt 400,000l. currency; this they have been driven into by the war, having ſeldom had leſs than a thouſand or fifteen hundred provincial troops in pay, excluſive of the expences of ſome forts. The ways and means employed for raiſing the money have been generally the ſame; they have firſt made an emiſſion of ſo much paper currency as the exigency required, and then laid a tax for ſinking it. This tax has been commonly upon lands and negroes, two ſhillings for every titheable; and a ſhilling or eighteenpence upon every hundred acres of land. This mode of taxation has occaſioned ſome diviſions in the houſe, for the owners of large tracts being unable, perhaps, to cultivate a tenth part of their poſſeſſions, and every man's real income ariſing from the number of his negroes, have thought it very hard to pay a tax for what they pretend is of no value to them; but much better arguments may undoubtedly be urged in ſupport of the tax than againſt it.

The taxes for the preſent debt are laid till the year ſixty-nine, when the whole, if they add nothing more to it, will be diſcharged. The uſe of paper currency in this colony has entirely baniſhed from it gold and ſilver. Indeed the introduction of it was certain in time to produce this effect; but leſt it ſhould not, the Virginians fell into a meaſure, which completed it at once: for by an act of aſſembly they fixed the exchange between currency and ſterling debts at five and twenty per cent. not conſidering that the real value of their currency could only be regulated by itſelf. The conſequence was, that when from frequent emiſſions, the difference of exchange between bills upon merchants in London and currency, was 40 per cent. the difference between currency and ſpecie * was only five and twenty. So that the monied men collected all the ſpecie they could, ſent it to Philadelphia, where it paſſed for its real value, purchaſed bills of exchange with it there, and ſold them again in Virginia with fifteen per cent. profit: and this they continued to do till there was not a piſtole or a dollar remaining.

During my ſtay in Virginia, I made ſeveral excurſions into different parts of the country: one in particular to the great Falls of Potowmac; of which, as I expected to be highly entertained, I kept a journal.

I departed from Williamſburg, Oct. 1. 1759, in company with another gentleman †; and we travelled that day about forty miles, to a plantation ‡ in King William

* Fixing the difference between currency and ſterling debts, was, in reality, fixing it between currency and ſpecie.

† Col. Bernard Moore.

‡ Belonging to Col. Symes. This gentleman's lady, a very beautiful woman, was ſaid to have juſt attained her 21ſt year. She was at that time the mother of ſeven children, all living. The women in general, in this country, arrive at maturity very early. Some are marriageable at eleven, many at thirteen, and the generality at fourteen or fifteen years of age.

county;

county; beautifully ſituated upon a high hill, on the north ſide of Pamunky river. A little below this place ſtands the Pamunky Indian town; where at preſent are the few remains of that large tribe; the reſt having dwindled away through intemperance and diſeaſe. They live in little wigwams or cabins upon the river; and have a very fine tract of land of about 2000 acres, which they are reſtrained from alienating by act of aſſembly. Their employment is chiefly hunting or fiſhing, for the neighbouring gentry. They commonly dreſs like the Virginians, and I have ſometimes miſtaken them for the lower ſort of that people. The night I ſpent here, they went out into an adjoining marſh to catch Soruſes; and one of them, as I was informed in the morning, caught near a hundred dozen. The manner of taking theſe birds is remarkable. The Sorus is not known to be in Virginia, except for about ſix weeks from the latter end of September: at that time they are found in the marſhes in prodigious numbers, feeding upon the wild oats. At firſt they are exceedingly lean, but in a ſhort time grow ſo fat, as to be unable to fly: in this ſtate they lie upon the reeds, and the Indians go out in canoes and knock them on the head with their paddles. They are rather bigger than a lark, and are delicious eating. During the time of their continuing in ſeaſon, you meet with them at the tables of moſt of the planters, breakfaſt, dinner, and ſupper *.

Oct. 2. We went to another plantation about twenty-four miles diſtant, belonging to a private gentleman †, upon Mattapony river. We ſtaid there all that and the next day on account of rain.

Oct. 4. We travelled twenty-five miles to another gentleman's ‡ houſe; and from thence, the day following, about twenty-five miles farther, to a town called Fredericſburg.

Fredericſburg is ſituated about a mile below the Falls of Rappahannoc: it is regularly laid out, as moſt of the towns in Virginia are, in parallel ſtreets. Part of it is built upon an eminence, and commands a delightful proſpect; the reſt upon the edge of the water for the convenience of warehouſes. The town was begun about thirty-two years ago, for the ſake of carrying on a trade with the back-ſettlers; and is at preſent by far the moſt flouriſhing one in theſe parts.

We left Fredericſburg the 6th inſtant, and went to ſee the Falls. At this place is a ſmall mercantile town called Falmouth, whoſe inhabitants are endeavouring to rival the Fredericſburghers in their trade. It is built upon the north ſide of the river, and conſiſts of eighteen or twenty houſes.

The Falls of Rappahannoc are ſimilar to thoſe of James river, except that they are not upon ſo large a ſcale. The whole range ſcarcely exceeds half a mile, and the breadth not a hundred yards. At the time of our going to ſee them, there was a freſh in the river, which added very much to their beauty. The centre of view was an iſland of about an hundred acres covered with trees; this divided the river into two branches, in each of which, at regular diſtances of fifteen or twenty yards, was a chain of ſix or ſeven falls, one above another, the leaſt of them a foot perpendicular. The margin was beautifully variegated with rocks and trees, and the whole formed a pleaſing romantic ſcene.

* In ſeveral parts of Virginia the antient cuſtom of eating meat at breakfaſt ſtill continues. At the top of the table, where the lady of the houſe preſides, there is conſtantly tea and coffee; but the reſt of the table is garniſhed with roaſted fowls, ham, veniſon, game, and other dainties. Even at Williamſburg, it is the cuſtom to have a plate of cold ham upon the table; and there is ſcarcely a Virginian lady who breakfaſts without it.

† Major Henry Gaines. ‡ Col. Bailors.

At

At this place we met with a perſon who informed us of his having been a few days before, a ſpectator of that extraordinary phenomenon in nature, the faſcinating power of the rattle ſnake. He obſerved one lying coiled near a tree, looking directly at a bird which had ſettled there. The bird was under great agitation, uttered the moſt doleful cries, hopped from ſpray to ſpray, and at length flew directly down to the ſnake, which opened its mouth and ſwallowed it.

From hence we aſcended up the river, about fifteen miles, to Spotſwood's iron-mines; and in our way had a fine view of the Apalachian mountains, or Blue Ridge, at the diſtance of ſeventy miles. At this place I was much affected by the following incident:—A gentleman in our company, which was now increaſed, had a ſmall negro boy with him, about fourteen years of age, that had lived with him in a remote part of the country ſome time as a ſervant; an old woman who was working in the mines, and who proved to be the boy's grandmother, accidentally caſt her eyes on him; ſhe viewed him with great attention for ſome time; then ſcreamed out, ſaying that it was her child, and flung herſelf down upon the ground. She lay there ſome ſeconds; roſe up, looked on him again in an extaſy of joy, and fell upon his neck and kiſſed him. After this, ſhe retired a few paces, examined him afreſh with fixed attention, and immediately ſeemed to loſe herſelf in thoughtful and profound melancholy. The boy all this while ſtood ſilent and motionleſs; reclining his head on one ſide, pale and affected beyond deſcription: it would not have been in the power of painting to exhibit a finer picture of diſtreſs.

We returned from this place the next day to Fredericſburg; and ferrying over the Rappahannoc into the Northern Neck, travelled about ſeventeen miles to a gentleman's houſe in Stafford county: in the morning we proceeded through Dumfries, and over Occoquan river to Colcheſter, about twenty-one miles.

Theſe are two ſmall towns lately built for the ſake of the back trade; the former * on the Quantico, the other upon Occoquan river, both of which fall into the Potowmac. About two miles above Colcheſter there is an iron furnace, a forge, two ſaw-mills, and a bolting-mill: at our return we had an opportunity of viſiting them: they have every convenience of wood and water, that can be wiſhed for. The ore wrought here is brought from Maryland; not that there is any doubt of there being plenty enough in the adjacent hills; but the inhabitants are diſcouraged from trying for it by the proprietor's (viz. Lord Fairfax) having reſerved to himſelf a third of all ore that may be diſcovered in the Northern Neck †.

From

* In the preceding editions of this book, Dumfries is mentioned as ſituated upon Acquia Creek; but this is certainly erroneous, for all the maps deſcribe it as ſituated upon the Quantico. The error probably aroſe from the author's having paſſed the Acquia, the Quantico and the Occoquan, rivers in the ſame day; and his want of perfect and collect recollection, when he wrote his journal in the evening.

† An occurrence happened to me in the courſe of this day's travelling, which, though it made a conſiderable impreſſion upon me at the time, I ſhould not have thought of ſufficient moment to be recorded, had not the intellectual powers of the African Negroes been frequently, of late, made the ſubject of converſation, both by the friends and the oppoſers of the emancipation of that unhappy race. In paſſing either Acquia, Quantico, or Occoquan rivers, I do not recollect which, I was rowed by an old grey-headed Negro; who ſeemed quite exhauſted and worn down by age and infirmity. I inquired into his ſituation, and received for anſwer, that he had been a ſlave from his youth, and had continued to work for his maſter till age had rendered him unfit for ſervice; that his maſter had then kindly given him a ſmall piece of ground, and the profits of the ferry, which were indeed very inconſiderable, for his maintenance: and that with theſe means of ſubſiſtence he awaited the hour when it might pleaſe God to call him to another life.

I obſerved

From Colcheſter we went about twelve miles farther to Mount Vernon. This place is the property of Colonel Waſhington, and truly deſerving of its owner*. The houſe is moſt beautifully ſituated upon a high hill on the banks of the Potowmac; and commands a noble proſpect of water, of cliffs, of woods, and plantations. The river is nearly two miles broad, though two hundred from the mouth; and divides the dominions of Virginia from Maryland †. We reſted here one day, and proceeded up the river about twenty-ſix miles, to take a view of the great falls. Theſe are formed in ſome reſpect like thoſe of the Rappahannoc; but are infinitely more noble. The channel of the river is contracted by hills; and is as narrow, I was told, as at Fort Cumberland, which is an hundred and fifty miles higher up. It is clogged moreover with innumerable rocks; ſo that the water for a mile or two flows with accelerated velocity. At length coming to a ledge of rocks, which runs diametrically acroſs the river, it divides into two ſpouts, each about eight yards wide, and ruſhes down a precipice with incredible rapidity. The ſpout on the Virginian ſide makes three falls, one above another; the firſt about ten feet, the next fifteen, and the laſt twenty-four or twenty-five feet perpendicular: the water is of a vaſt bulk, and almoſt intire. The ſpout on the Maryland ſide is nearly equal in height and quantity, but a great deal more broken. Theſe two ſpouts, after running in ſeparate channels for a ſhort ſpace, at length unite in one about thirty yards wide; and as we judged from the ſmoothneſs of the ſurface and our unſucceſsful endeavours to fathom it, of prodigious depth. The rocks on each ſide are at leaſt ninety or a hundred feet high; and yet, in great freſhes, the water overflows the tops of them, as appeared by ſeveral large and intire trees, which had lodged there.

In the evening we returned down the river about ſixteen miles to Alexandria, or Bel-haven, a ſmall trading place in one of the fineſt ſituations imaginable. The Potow-

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I obſerved, that he muſt naturally wiſh for that hour, as it would releaſe him from his preſent ſufferings. His anſwer was, no; for he was afraid to die. On my queſtioning him, why he was afraid to die: whether he had any thing upon his conſcience that gave him uneaſineſs; or whether he had not been honeſt and faithful to his maſter? He anſwered, yes; I have always done my duty to the beſt of my power: but yet I am afraid to die: and was not our Saviour himſelf afraid to die? The anſwer was ſo unexpected, and ſo far beyond what I ſuppoſed to be the intellectual capacity of the poor Negro, that it ſunk deep into my mind, and I was loſt for a moment in ſilence.

* I cannot omit this opportunity of bearing teſtimony to the gallant and public ſpirit of this gentleman. Nov. 1, 1753. Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie having informed the aſſembly of Virginia, that the French had erected a fort upon the Ohio, it was reſolved to ſend ſomebody to M. St. Pierre, the commander, to claim that country as belonging to His Britannic Majeſty, and to order him to withdraw. Mr. Waſhington, a young gentleman of fortune juſt arrived at age, offered his ſervice on this important occaſion. The diſtance was more than 400 miles, 200 of which lay through a trackleſs deſart, inhabited by cruel and mercileſs ſavages, and the ſeaſon was uncommonly ſevere. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, Mr. Waſhington, attended by one companion only, ſet out upon this dangerous enterprize; travelled from Wincheſter on foot, carrying his proviſions on his back, executed his commiſſion, and after incredible hardſhips, and many providential eſcapes, returned ſafe to Williamſburg, and gave an account of his negociation to the aſſembly, the 14th day of February following.

† A very curious ſight is frequently exhibited upon this and the other great rivers in Virginia, which for its novelty is exceedingly diverting to ſtrangers. During the ſpring and ſummer months the fiſhing hawk is often ſeen hovering over the rivers, or reſting on the wing without the leaſt viſible change of place for ſome minutes, then ſuddenly darting down and plunging into the water, from whence it ſeldom riſes again without a rock-fiſh, or ſome other conſiderable fiſh in its talons. It immediately ſhakes off the water like a miſt, and makes the beſt of its way towards the woods. The bald-eagle, which is generally upon the watch, inſtantly purſues, and if it can overtake, endeavours to ſoar above it. The hawk growing ſolicitous for its own ſafety drops the fiſh, and the bald-eagle immediately ſtoops, and ſeldom fails to catch it in its pounces before it reaches the water.

mac

Engraved from a Large Print by Permission of M.r Nightingale.

Great Falls of the Potomac

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mac aove and below the town, is not more than a mile broad, but it here op es into a large circular bay, of at leaſt twice that diameter.

The town is built upon an arc of this bay; at one extremity of which is a wharf, at the other a dock for building ſhips; with water ſufficiently deep to launch a veſſel of any rate or magnitude.

The next day we returned to Colonel Waſhington's, and in a few days afterward to Williamſburg.

The time of my reſidence in this colony was ten months, and I received ſo many inſtances of friendſhip and good-nature, that not to acknowledge them would be an act of ingratitude. It would not be eaſy to mention particular inſtances, without being guilty of injuſtice by omitting others: but, in general, I can truly affirm, that I took leave of this hoſpitable people with regret, and ſhall ever remember them with gratitude and affection.

May 26, 1760. Having procured three horſes, for myſelf, ſervant, and baggage, I departed from Williamſburg, and travelled that night to Eltham *; twenty-five miles.

May 27. I ferried over Pamunky river at Danſies, and went to Todds ordinary upon Mattopony, or the northern branch of York river; thirty-two miles.

May 28. I went to a plantation in Caroline county †; twenty-ſeven miles.

May 29. To Fredericſburg; twenty-five miles.

As I was travelling this day, I obſerved a large black ſnake, about ſix feet long, lying croſs the ſtump of a tree by the road ſide. I touched it with my ſwitch ſeveral times before it ſtirred; at laſt it darted with incredible ſwiftneſs into the woods. On looking into the hole where it had fixed its head, I obſerved a ſmall bead-ſnake about two feet long; beautifully variegated with red, black, and orange colour, which the black ſnake was watching to prey upon. I took and laid it, half ſtupified, in the ſun to revive. After I had proceeded about a quarter of a mile, it occurred to me that it would be a great curioſity if I could carry it to England, I therefore ſent my ſervant back with orders to fetch it; but, at his return, he acquainted me that it was not to be found, and that the black ſnake was in the ſame poſition wherein I had firſt diſcovered it. I mention this as an inſtance of the intrepid nature of the black ſnake, which though not venomous, will attack and devour the rattleſnake; and, in ſome caſes, it is aſſerted, even dare to aſſault a man.

May 30. I left Fredericſburg, and having ferried over the Rappahannoc at the Falls, travelled that night to Neville's ordinary, about thirty-four miles.

May 31. I paſſed over the Pignut and Blue Ridges; and, croſſing the Shenando, arrived, after a long day's journey of about fifty miles, at Winchester ‡.

The Pignut Ridge is a continuation of the ſouth-weſt mountains. It is now here very high; and at the gap where I paſſed, the aſcent is ſo extremely eaſy, owing to the winding of the road between the mountains, that I was ſcarcely ſenſible of it.

The tract of country lying between this ridge and the coaſt, is ſuppoſed, and with ſome appearance of probability, to have been gained from the ocean. The ſituation is extremely low, and the ground every where broken into ſmall hills, nearly of the ſame elevation, with deep intermediate gullies, as if it were the effect of ſome ſudden

* The plantation of Colonel Baſſett.

† Belonging to Colonel Bailor, mentioned above.

‡ Greenway Court, the ſeat of the venerable Lord Fairfax, is ſituated a few miles on the left of the road, about half way between the Apalachian mountains and Winchester. His Lordſhip being abſent, I was prevented from paying my reſpects to him.

retiring of the waters. The ſoil is principally of ſand, and there are few if any pebbles, within a hundred miles of the ſhore; for which reaſon the Virginians n theſe parts never ſhoe their horſes. Incredible quantities of what are called ſcallop-ſhells, are found alſo near the ſurface of the ground; and many of the hills are entirely formed of them. Theſe phenomena, with others leſs obvious to common obſervation, ſeem to indicate, that the Atlantic, either gradually or by ſome ſudden revolution in nature, has retired and loſt a conſiderable part of that dominion which formerly belonged to it.

The Blue Ridge is much higher than the Pignut: though even theſe mountains are not to be compared with the Alleghenny. To the ſouthward, I was told, they are more lofty; and but little, if at all, inferior to them. The Paſs, at Aſhby's Gap, from the foot of the mountain on the eaſtern ſide to the Shenando, which runs at the foot on the weſtern, is about four miles. The aſcent is no where very ſteep; though the mountains are, upon the whole, I think, higher than any I have ever ſeen in England. When I got to the top, I was inexpreſſibly delighted with the ſcene which opened before me. Immediately under the mountain, which was covered with chamœdaphnes in full bloom, was a moſt beautiful river: beyond this an extenſive plain, diverſified with every pleaſing object that nature can exhibit; and, at the diſtance of fifty miles, another ridge of ſtill more lofty mountains, called the Great, or North Ridge *, which incloſed and terminated the whole.

The river Shenando riſes a great way to the ſouthward from under this Great North Ridge. It runs through Auguſta county, and falls into the Potowmac ſomewhere in Frederic. At the place where I ferried over, it is only about a hundred yards wide; and indeed it is no where, I believe, very broad. It is exceedingly romantic and beautiful, forming great variety of falls, and is ſo tranſparent, that you may ſee the ſmalleſt pebble at the depth of eight or ten feet. There is plenty of trout and other fiſh in it; but it is not navigable, except for rafts. In ſudden freſhes it riſes above forty or fifty feet. The low grounds upon the banks of this river are very rich and fertile; they are chiefly ſettled by Germans, who gain a comfortable livelihood by raiſing ſtock for the troops, and ſending butter down into the lower parts of the country. I could not but reflect with pleaſure on the ſituation of theſe people; and think if there is ſuch a thing as happineſs in this life, that they enjoy it. Far from the buſtle of the world, they live in the moſt delightful climate, and richeſt ſoil imaginable; they are every where ſurrounded with beautiful proſpects and ſylvan ſcenes; lofty mountains, tranſparent ſtreams, falls of water, rich vallies, and majeſtic woods; the whole interſperſed with an infinite variety of flowering ſhrubs, conſtitute the landſcape ſurrounding them: they are ſubject to few diſeaſes; are generally robuſt; and live in perfect liberty: they are ignorant of want, and acquainted with but few vices. Their inexperience of the elegancies of life precludes any regret that they poſſeſs not the means of enjoying them: but they poſſeſs what many princes would give half their dominions for, health, content, and tranquillity of mind.

Wincheſter is a ſmall town of about two hundred houſes. It is the place of general rendezvous of the Virginian troops, which is the reaſon of its late rapid increaſe, and preſent flouriſhing condition. The country about it, before the reduction of Fort du Queſne, was greatly expoſed to the ravages of the Indians, who daily committed moſt horrid cruelties: even the town would have been in danger, had not Colonel Waſhington, in order to cover and protect it, erected a fort upon an eminence at one end of it, which

* All theſe ridges conſiſt of ſingle mountains joined together, and run parallel to each other.

proved

proved of the utmoſt utility; for although the Indians were frequently in ſight of the town, they never dared to approach within reach of the fort. It is a regular ſquare fortification, with four baſtions, mounting twenty-four cannon; the length of each curtain, if I am not miſtaken, is about eighty yards. Within, there are barracks for 450 men. The materials of which it is conſtructed, are logs filled up with earth: the ſoldiers attempted to ſurround it with a dry ditch; but the rock was ſo extremely hard and impenetrable that they were obliged to deſiſt. It is ſtill unfiniſhed; and, I fear, going to ruin; for the aſſembly, who ſeldom look a great way before them, after having ſpent about 9000l. currency upon it, cannot be prevailed upon to give another thouſand towards finiſhing it, becauſe we are in poſſeſſion of Pitſburg; and, as they ſuppoſe, quite ſecure on this account; yet it is certain, that, in caſe of another Indian war on this ſide, which is by no means improbable, conſidering our general treatment of that people, it would be of the utmoſt advantage and ſecurity.

There is a peculiarity in the water at Wincheſter, owing, I was told, to the ſoil's being of a limy quality, which is frequently productive of ſevere gripings, eſpecially in ſtrangers; but it is generally ſuppoſed, on the other hand, to be ſpecific againſt ſome other diſeaſes *.

During my ſtay at this place, I was almoſt induced to make a tour for a fortnight to the ſouthward, in Auguſta county, for the ſake of ſeeing ſome natural curioſities; which, the officers aſſured me, were extremely well worth viſiting: but as the Cherokees had been ſcalping in thoſe parts only a few days before; and as I feared, at the ſame time, that it would detain me too long, and that I ſhould loſe my paſſage to England, I judged it prudent to decline it.

The curioſities they mentioned to me were chiefly theſe:

1. About forty miles weſtward of Auguſta court-houſe, a beautiful caſcade, burſting out of the ſide of a rock, and, after running ſome diſtance through a meadow, ruſhing down a precipice 150 feet perpendicular.

2. To the ſouthward of this about twenty miles, two curious hot ſprings, one taſting like alum, the other like the waſhings of a gun.

3. A moſt extraordinary cave.

4. A medicinal ſpring, ſpecific in venereal caſes. A ſoldier in the Virginian regiment, whoſe caſe was thought deſperate, by drinking and bathing in theſe waters, was, after a few days, entirely cured. This fact was aſſerted very ſtrongly by ſome officers, who had been poſted there: but Colonel Waſhington, of whom I inquired more particularly concerning it, informed me that he had never heard of it; that he was not indeed at the place where it is ſaid to have happened, but that having had the command of the regiment at that time, he ſhould probably have been informed of it. What credit therefore is to be given to it the reader muſt judge for himſelf.

5. Sixty miles ſouthward of Auguſta court-houſe, a natural arch, or bridge, joining two high mountains, with a conſiderable river running underneath.

6. A river called Loſt river, from its ſinking under a mountain, and never appearing again.

7. A ſpring of a ſulphureous nature, an infallible cure for particular cutaneous diſorders.

8. Sixteen miles north-eaſt of Wincheſter, a natural cave or well, into which, at times, a perſon may go down to the depth of 100 or 150 yards; and at other times,

* Profeſſor Haller, in his notes to the German tranſlation of this book, ſuppoſes that the water at Wincheſter may be impregnated with vitriolic magneſia, ſal amarum.

the water riſes up to the top, and overflows plentifully. This is called the ebbing and flowing well, and is ſituated in a plain flat country, not contiguous to any mountain or running water.

9. A few miles from hence, ſix or ſeven curious caves communicating with each other.

A day or two before I left Wincheſter, I diſcovered that I had been robbed by my ſervant: he confeſſed the fact, and pleaded ſo little in juſtification of himſelf, that I was obliged to diſmiſs him. This diſtreſſed me very much, for it was impoſſible to hire a ſervant in theſe parts, or even any one to go over the mountains with me into the lower ſettlements. However, by the politeneſs of the commander of the place, the honourable Colonel Byard, and of another gentleman* of my acquaintance, I got over theſe difficulties; for the former, while I continued at Wincheſter, accommodated me with his own apartments in the fort, ordering his ſervants to attend and wait upon me; and the latter ſent a negro boy with me as far as Colonel Waſhington's, eighty miles diſtant from this place. On the 4th of June, therefore, I was enabled to leave Wincheſter, and I travelled that night about eighteen miles, to Sniker's† ferry upon the Shenando.

The next morning I repaſſed the Blue Ridge at Williams's Gap, and proceeded on my journey about forty miles. I this day fell into converſation with a planter, who overtook me on the road, concerning the rattleſnake, of which there are infinite numbers in theſe parts; and he told me, that one day going to a mill at ſome diſtance, he provoked one to ſuch a degree as to make it ſtrike a ſmall vine which grew cloſe by, and that the vine preſently drooped and died‡.

My accommodations this evening were extremely bad; I had been wet to the ſkin in the afternoon; and at the miſerable plantation in which I had taken ſhelter I could get no fire; nothing to eat or drink but pure water; and not even a blanket to cover me. I threw myſelf down upon my mattraſs, but ſuffered ſo much from cold, and was ſo infeſted with inſects and vermin, that I could not cloſe my eyes. I roſe early in the morning, therefore, and proceeded upon my journey, being diſtant from Colonel Waſhington's not more than thirty miles. It was late, however, before I arrived there, for it rained extremely hard, and a man who undertook to ſhew me the neareſt way, led me among precipices and rocks, and we were loſt for above two hours. It was not indeed, without ſome compenſation; for he brought me through as beautiful and pictureſque a ſcene as eye ever beheld. It was a delightful valley, about two miles in length, and a quarter of one in breadth, between high and craggy mountains, covered with chamœdaphnes§ or wild ivy, in full flower. Through the middle of the valley

* Colonel Churchhill. † Called in Fry and Jefferſon's map, Williams's Ferry.

‡ Several perſons to whom I have mentioned this fact have ſeemed to doubt of the probability of it. But were it not true, a queſtion will naturally ariſe, how an idea of that nature ſhould occur to an ignorant planter, living remote from all cultivated ſociety; and, more particularly, how he ſhould happen to fix upon that tree; which, ſuppoſing the thing poſſible, is the moſt likely to have been affected in the manner deſcribed.

§ The chamœdaphne is the moſt beautiful of all flowering ſhrubs: Cateſby in his Natural Hiſtory of Carolina ſpeaks of it in the following manner: "The flowers grow in bunches on the tops of the branches, to footſtalks of three inches long; they are white, ſtained with purpliſh red; conſiſting of one leaf in form of a cup, divided at the verge into five ſections. In the middle is a ſtilus, and ten ſtamina, which, when the flower firſt opens, appear lying cloſe to the ſides of the cup, at equal diſtances; their apices being lodged in ten little hollow cells, which being prominent on the outſide, appear as ſo many little tubercles.—As all plants have their peculiar beauties, it is difficult to aſſign to any one an elegance excelling all others; yet conſidering the curious ſtructure of the flower, and beautiful appearance of this whole plant, I know of no ſhrub that has a better claim to it." Cateſby, Vol. II. p. 98.

glided

glided a rivulet about eight yards wide, extremely lucid, and breaking into innumerable cafcades; and in different parts of it ſtood ſmall clumps of evergreens; ſuch as myrtles, cedars, pines, and various other ſorts. Upon the whole, not Tempe itſelf could have diſplayed greater beauty or a more delightful ſcene.

At Colonel Waſhington's I diſpoſed of my horſes, and, having borrowed his curricle and ſervant, I took leave of Mount Vernon the 11th of June.

I croſſed over the Potowmac into Maryland at Clifton's Ferry, where the river is ſomething more than a mile broad; and proceeded on my journey to Marlborough, eighteen miles. I here met with a ſtrolling company of players, under the direction of one Douglas. I went to ſee their theatre, which was a neat convenient tobacco-houſe, well fitted up for the purpoſe. From hence in the afternoon I proceeded to Queen Ann, nine miles; and in the evening nine miles farther, over the Patuxen to London-town Ferry; I ſtaid here all night, and early in the morning ferrying over South River, three quarters of a mile in breadth, I arrived at Annapolis, four miles diſtant, about nine in the morning.

Annapolis is the capital of Maryland; it is a ſmall neat town, conſiſting of about a hundred and fifty houſes, ſituated on a peninſula upon Severn river. The peninſula is formed by the river, and two ſmall creeks; and although the river is not above a mile broad; yet as it falls into Cheſapeak bay a little below, there is from this town the fineſt water-proſpect imaginable. The bay is twelve miles over, and beyond it you may diſcern the eaſtern ſhore; ſo that the ſcene is diverſified with fields, woods, and water. The tide riſes here about two feet, and the water is ſalt, though the diſtance of the capes is more than 200 miles. The town is not laid out regularly, but is tolerably well built, and has ſeveral good brick houſes. None of the ſtreets are paved, and the few public buildings here are not worth mentioning. The church is a very poor one, the ſtadt-houſe but indifferent, and the governor's palace is not finiſhed. This laſt mentioned building was begun a few years ago; it is ſituated very finely upon an eminence, and commands a beautiful view of the town and environs. It has four large rooms on the lower floor, beſides a magnificent ſaloon, a ſtair-caſe, and a veſtibule. On each ſide of the entrance are four windows, and nine upon the firſt ſtory; the offices are under ground. It was to have had a fine portico the whole range of the building; but unluckily the governor and aſſembly diſagreeing about ways and means, the execution of the deſign was ſuſpended; and only the ſhell of the houſe has been finiſhed, which is now going to ruin. The houſe which the preſent governor inhabits, is hired by the province at 80l. currency per annum.

There is very little trade carried on from this place, and the chief of the inhabitants are ſtorekeepers or public officers. They build two or three ſhips annually, but ſeldom more. There are no fortifications, except a miſerable battery of fifteen ſix-pounders.

Maryland is ſituated between the 38th and 40th degree of north latitude, and the 75th and 80th of weſt longitude from London. It is bounded on the eaſt by the Atlantic ocean, and the three lower counties of Delaware; on the ſouth and weſt by Virginia; and by Penſylvania on the north. The climate, ſoil, and natural productions of it are nearly the ſame as thoſe of Virginia. It is watered by many fine rivers, and almoſt innumerable creeks; but it is far from being well cultivated, and is capable of much improvement. It is divided into fourteen counties, and between forty and fifty pariſhes; and there are ſeveral little towns in it which are neatly built.—The inhabitants, excluſive of ſlaves, are ſuppoſed to be about ninety thouſand: of which the militia, including all white males between ſixteen and ſixty, amounts to eighteen. The ſlaves are about thirty-two thouſand.—The ſtaple of the country is tobacco; and, communibus

munibus annis they export near 30,000 hogſheads: laſt year their exports amounted to 50,000.—Their manufactures are very trifling.—The government is a proprietary one; and conſiſts of the proprietor (viz. lord Baltimore); his governor; the council, compoſed of twelve perſons nominated by himſelf; and a houſe of repreſentatives, elected by the people; four for each county, and two for Annapolis. The power of the proprietor is next to regal; of the other parts of the legiſlature, much the ſame as in Virginia. The lower houſe has been at variance ſome years with the council and governor, concerning ways and means; chiefly in regard to taxing the merchants book-debts: which has been the reaſon of their having done nothing for the defence of the colonies during the war. The houſe has conſtantly voted troops, but as conſtantly laid the ſame tax for the maintenance of them: the council therefore has always rejected the bill; alledging the inconvenience of ſuch a tax, as it would neceſſarily be a reſtraint upon trade; and ruin many of the merchants credit.—The proprietor has a negative * upon every bill, excluſive of his governor.

There are ſeveral courts of judicature in this province; but the principal are either thoſe which are held quarterly in each county by the juſtices thereof, like thoſe in Virginia; or the provincial ones, which are held twice annually at Annapolis by judges appointed for that purpoſe †. The court of chancery conſiſts of the governor and council; and the dernier reſort is to His Majeſty in council at home.

The eſtabliſhed religion is that of the church of England: but there are as many Roman Catholics as Proteſtants. The clergy are liberally provided for; they have not, as in Virginia, a fixed quantity of tobacco; but ſo much per head, viz. 30 lb. weight for every tytheable in their reſpective pariſhes: and ſome of them make more than 300l. ſterling per annum. They are preſented to their livings by the governor; and are under the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of London; but being at a great diſtance from England, and having no commiſſary to ſuperintend their affairs, they lie under many diſadvantages. Aſſeſſments are made, I was told, by the county-courts; the veſtry, which conſiſts of twelve members diſtinct from the churchwardens, have little or no authority ‡.

In each county throughout this province, there is a public free-ſchool, for reading, writing, and accounts; but no college or academy; and the education of youth is but little attended to.

The character of the inhabitants is much the ſame as that of the Virginians; and the ſtate of the two colonies nearly alike. Tobacco, to ſpeak in general, is the chief thing attended to in both. There have been ſome attempts to make wine; and it is certain, that the country is capable of producing almoſt any ſort of grapes. Colonel Taſco, a gentleman of diſtinction in theſe parts, attempted to make Burgundy, and ſucceeded tolerably well for the firſt trial. I drank ſome of the wine at the table of Mr. Hamilton, the governor of Pennſylvania, and thought it not bad. But whether, as this gentleman is now deceaſed, any other perſon will have ſpirit to proſecute his plan, I much doubt. The currency here is paper-money, and the difference of exchange about fifty per cent. The duty upon negroes is only forty ſhillings currency per head at their importation; whereas in Virginia it is ten pounds.

* This power is doubted, though it has never yet been conteſted.

† Beſides theſe courts, there was formerly a general court of aſſize held throughout the province, either once or twice a year, but this has been laid aſide.

‡ The whole veſtry, as in Virginia, conſiſts of twelve members; but they go off by rotation two every year; and there is annually a freſh election. They have the power of appointing inſpectors, &c.

June

June 13. I hired a ſchooner of about ten ton, and embarked for the head of the bay, diſtant twenty-three leagues; we made ſail with a freſh breeze, and after a pleaſant paſſage of ſixteen hours, in one of the moſt delightful days imaginable, arrived at Frederick Town upon Saſſafras river, about twelve in the evening. I never in my life ſpent a day more agreeably, or with higher entertainment. The ſhores on each ſide of the bay, and the many little iſlands interſperſed in it, afford very beautiful proſpects; we were entertained at the ſame time by innumerable porpoiſes playing about the bow of the ſhip; and naturally fell into a train of the moſt pleaſing reflections, on obſerving the mouths of the many noble rivers as we paſſed along. On the weſtern ſhore, beſides thoſe great rivers of Virginia, which I have already deſcribed, there are ten or eleven others, large and capacious, ſome of them navigable a conſiderable way up into the country *. "The Patuxen, which we have left behind us, ſaid the maſter of the ſchooner, as we were ſailing over this beautiful bay, is navigable near fifty miles for veſſels of three hundred ton burthen. Yonder, he added, are South, Severn, and Magotty rivers, navigable about ten miles. A little farther is the Patapſico, a large and noble river; where I have gone up fifteen miles. Back, Middle, Gunpowder, and Buſh rivers admit only ſloops and ſchooners, and theſe only for ſix or ſeven miles. The Suſquehannah, though ſo majeſtic, and ſuperior in appearance, has only a ſhort, and that a bad navigation; but it riſes an immenſe way off in unknown and inhoſpitable regions, is exceedingly large and beautiful, and affords great variety of fiſh. The next, or North river, is navigable about ten miles. On the eaſtern ſhore, he concluded, are Elk, Bahama, Saſſafras, Cheſter, Wye, Miles, Great Choptank, Little Choptank, Nanticote, Manokin, and Pocomoke rivers, all of them navigable, more or leſs, for ſeveral miles †."—Such was our converſation and entertainment during this delightful voyage.

Frederic Town is a ſmall village on the weſtern ſide of Saſſafras river, built for the accommodation of ſtrangers and travellers; on the eaſtern ſide, exactly oppoſite to it, is another ſmall village (George Town), erected for the ſame purpoſe.—Having hired an Italian chaiſe, with a ſervant and horſe to attend me as far as Philadelphia, I left Frederic Town the next day, and went to Newcaſtle, thirty two miles.

Newcaſtle is ſituated upon Delaware river, about forty miles above the Bay, and a hundred from the Capes. It is the capital of the three lower counties, but a place of very little conſideration; there are ſcarcely more than a hundred houſes in it, and no public buildings that deſerve to be taken notice of. The church, preſbyterian and quakers meeting-houſes, court-houſe, and market-houſe, are almoſt equally bad, and undeſerving of attention.

The province, of which this is the capital, and which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Three Lower Counties of Newcaſtle, Suſſex, and Kent, belonged formerly to the Dutch; but was ratified to the crown of England by the treaty of Breda; it was afterwards ſold by the Duke of York to the proprietor of Penſylvania, and has continued a ſeparate government, though nearly under the ſame regulations with that province, ever ſince. The ſame governor preſides over both; but the aſſembly, and courts of judicature are different: different as to their conſtituent members, for in form they are nearly alike. The aſſembly conſiſts of eighteen perſons, elected annually by the

* By ſome error or overſight the names of ſeveral rivers here mentioned, though particularly ſpecified in the original manuſcript, were omitted in the firſt and ſecond editions of this work. They are now inſerted, and the account is correct.

† He ſaid from eighteen to fifty miles.

people;

people; ſix for each county: this, with the governor, forms the legiſlature of the province. There is a militia, in which all perſons, from eighteen to fifty, are obliged to be enrolled; and the county of Newcaſtle alone furniſhes more than ſeven hundred.

The next day I ſet out for Philadelphia, diſtant about thirty-ſix miles, and arrived there in the evening. The country all the way bore a different aſpect from any thing I had hitherto ſeen in America. It was much better cultivated, and beautifully laid out into fields of clover, grain, and flax. I paſſed by a very pretty village called Wilmington, and rode through two others, viz. Cheſter and Derby. The Delaware river is in ſight great part of the way, and is three miles broad; upon the whole nothing could be more pleaſing than the ride which I had this day. I ferried over the Schuilkill, about three miles below Philadelphia; from whence to the city the whole country is covered with villas, gardens, and luxuriant orchards.

Philadelphia, if we conſider that not eighty years ago the place where it now ſtands was a wild and uncultivated deſert, inhabited by nothing but ravenous beaſts, and a ſavage people, muſt certainly be the object of every one's wonder and admiration. It is ſituated upon a tongue of land, a few miles above the confluence of the Delaware Schuilkill; and contains about 3000 houſes, and 18 or 20,000 inhabitants. It is built north and ſouth upon the banks of the Delaware; and is nearly two miles in length, and three quarters of one in breadth. The ſtreets are laid out with great regularity in parallel lines, interſected by others at right angles, and are handſomely built: on each ſide there is a pavement of broad ſtones for foot paſſengers; and in moſt of them a cauſeway in the middle for carriages. Upon dark nights it is well lighted, and watched by a patrole: there are many fair houſes, and public edifices in it. The ſtadt-houſe is a large, handſome, though heavy building; in this are held the councils, the aſſemblies, and ſupreme courts; there are apartments in it alſo for the accommodation of Indian chiefs or ſachems; likewiſe two libraries; one belonging to the province, the other to a ſociety, which was incorporated about ten years ago, and conſiſts of ſixty members. Each member upon admiſſion, ſubſcribed forty ſhillings; and afterward annually ten. They can alienate their ſhares, by will or deed, to any perſon approved by the ſociety. They have a ſmall collection of medals and medallions, and a few other curioſities, ſuch as the ſkin of a rattleſnake killed at Surinam, twelve feet long; and ſeveral northern Indian habits made of furs and ſkins. At a ſmall diſtance from the ſtadt-houſe, there is another fine library, conſiſting of a very valuable and choſen collection of books left by a Mr. Logan; they are chiefly in the learned languages. Near this there is alſo a noble hoſpital for lunatics and other ſick perſons. Beſides theſe buildings, there are ſpacious barracks for 17 or 1800 men; a good aſſembly-room belonging to the ſociety of freemaſons; and eight or ten places of religious worſhip; viz. two churches, three quakers meeting-houſes, two preſbyterian ditto, one Lutheran church, one Dutch Calviniſt ditto, one Swediſh ditto, one Romiſh chapel, one Anabaptiſt meeting-houſe, one Moravian ditto: there is alſo an academy or college, originally built for a tabernacle for Mr. Whitefield. At the ſouth end of the town, upon the river, there is a battery mounting thirty guns, but it is in a ſtate of decay. It was deſigned to be a check upon privateers. Theſe, with a few alms-houſes, and a ſchool-houſe belonging to the quakers, are the chief public buildings in Philadelphia. The city is in a very flouriſhing ſtate, and inhabited by merchants, artiſts, tradeſmen, and perſons of all occupations. There is a public market held twice a week, upon Wedneſday and Saturday, almoſt equal to that of Leadenhall, and a tolerable one every day beſides.

The ſtreets are crowded with people, and the river with veſſels. Houſes are ſo dear, that they will let for 100l. currency per annum; and lots, not above thirty feet in breadth, and a hundred in length, in advantageous ſituations, will ſell for 1000l. ſterling. There are ſeveral docks upon the river, and about twenty-five veſſels are built there annually. I counted upon the ſtocks at one time no leſs than ſeventeen, many of them three-maſted veſſels.

Can the mind have a greater pleaſure than in contemplating the riſe and progreſs of cities and kingdoms? Than in perceiving a rich and opulent ſtate ariſing out of a ſmall ſettlement or colony? This pleaſure every one muſt feel who conſiders Penſylvania.—This wonderful province is ſituated between the 40th and 43d degree of north latitude, and about 76 degrees weſt longitude from London, in a healthy and delightful climate, amidſt all the advantages that nature can beſtow. The ſoil is extremely ſtrong and fertile, and produces ſpontaneouſly an infinite variety of trees, flowers, fruits, and plants of different ſorts. The mountains are enriched with ore, and the rivers with fiſh: ſome of theſe are ſo ſtately as not to be beheld without admiration: the Delaware is navigable for large veſſels as far as the falls, 180 miles diſtant from the ſea, and 120 from the bay. At the mouth it is more than three miles broad, and above one at Philadelphia. The navigation is obſtructed in the winter, for about ſix weeks, by the ſeverity of the froſt; but, at other times, it is bold and open. The Schuilkill, though not navigable for any great ſpace, is exceedingly romantic, and affords the moſt delightful retirements.

Cultivation (comparatively ſpeaking) is carried to a high degree of perfection; and Penſylvania produces not only great plenty, but alſo great variety of grain; it yields likewiſe flax-ſeed, hemp, cattle of different kinds, and various other articles *.

It is divided into eight counties, and contains many large and populous towns: Carliſle, Lancaſter, and German-town, conſiſt each of near five hundred houſes; there are ſeveral others which have from one to two hundred.

The number of inhabitants is ſuppoſed to be between four and five hundred thouſand †, a fifth of which are Quakers: there are very few negroes or ſlaves.

The trade of Penſylvania is ſurpriſingly extenſive, carried on to Great Britain, the Weſt Indies, every part of North America, the Madeiras, Liſbon, Cadiz, Holland, Africa, the Spaniſh main, and ſeveral other places; excluſive of what is illicitly carried on to Cape François, and Monte Chriſto. Their exports are proviſions of all kinds, lumber, hemp, flax, flax-ſeed, iron, furs, and deer-ſkins. Their imports, Engliſh manufactures, with the ſuperfluities and luxuries of life. By their flag-of-truce trade, they alſo get ſugar, which they refine and ſend to Europe.

Their manufactures are very conſiderable. The German-town thread ſtockings are in high eſtimation; and the year before laſt, I have been credibly informed, there

* In the ſouthern colonies cultivation is in a very low ſtate. The common proceſs of it is, firſt to cut off the trees two or three feet above ground, in order to let in the ſun and air, leaving the ſtumps to decay and rot, which they do in a few years. After this they dig and plant, and continue to work the ſame field, year after year, without ever manuring it, till it is quite ſpent. They then enter upon a freſh piece of ground, allowing this a reſpite of about twenty years to recover itſelf; during which time it becomes beautifully covered with Virginian pines: the ſeeds of that tree, which are exceedingly ſmall, and, when the cones open, are wafted through the air in great abundance, ſowing themſelves in every vacant ſpot of neglected ground.

† Doubts have ſince ariſen, whether the number, at the time here mentioned, amounted to more than 350,000.—See Morſe's American geography.

were manufactured in that town alone above 60,000 dozen pair. Their common retail price is a dollar per pair.

The Iriſh ſettlers make very good linens: ſome woollens have alſo been fabricated, but not, I believe, to any amount. There are ſeveral other manufactures, viz. of beaver hats, which are ſuperior in goodneſs to any in Europe, of cordage, linſeed-oil, ſtarch, myrtle-wax and ſpermaceti candles, ſoap, earthen ware, and other commodities.

The government of this province is a proprietary one. The legiſlature is lodged in the hands of a governor appointed (with the King's approbation) by the proprietor; and a houſe of repreſentatives, elected by the people, conſiſting of thirty-ſeven members. Theſe are of various religious perſuaſions, for by the charter of privileges, which Mr. Penn granted to the ſettlers in Penſylvania, no perſon who believed in God could be moleſted in his calling or profeſſion; and any one who believed in Jeſus Chriſt might enjoy the firſt poſt under the government. The crown has reſerved to itſelf a power of repealing any law which may interfere with the prerogative, or be contrary to the laws of Great Britain.

The judicature conſiſts of different courts. The juſtices of the peace, who, together with the other judges, are of the governor's appointment, hold quarterly ſeſſions conformable to the laws of England; and, when theſe are finiſhed, continue to ſit in quality of judges of common pleas, by a ſpecial commiſſion. The ſupreme court conſiſts of a chief juſtice, and two aſſiſtant judges: they have the united authority of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Court of Exchequer. They not only receive appeals, but all cauſes once commenced in the inferior courts, after the firſt writ, may be moved thither by a habeas corpus, certiorari, writ of error, &c. The judges of the ſupreme court have alſo a ſtanding and diſtinct commiſſion to hold, as ſhall ſeem needful, courts of oyer and terminer, and general gaol-deliveries throughout the province; but this power they ſeldom, I believe, exerciſe. The ſupreme courts are held twice a year at Philadelphia. There is no Court of Chancery; but the want of it is ſupplied, in ſome meaſure, by the other courts. There is a particular officer called the regiſter-general, appointed by the governor, whoſe authority extends over the whole province, where he has ſeveral deputies. He grants letters of adminiſtration, and probates of wills. In caſes of diſpute, or caveat entered, he may call in, as aſſiſtants, two juſtices of the peace. The governor can pardon in all caſes, except of treaſon or murder, and then can reprieve till he knows the King's pleaſure.

There is here, as in moſt of the other colonies, a Court of Vice Admiralty, held by commiſſion from the Admiralty in England, for the trial of captures, and of piracies, and other miſdemeanors committed upon the high ſeas, but there lies an appeal from it, I believe, to the Court of Delegates in England.

As to religion, there is none properly eſtabliſhed; but Proteſtants of all denominations, Papiſts, Jews, and all other ſects whatſoever, are univerſally tolerated. There are twelve clergymen of the church of England, who are ſent by the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel, and are allowed annually 50l. each, beſides what they get from ſubſcriptions and ſurplice fees. Some few of theſe are itinerant miſſionaries, and have no fixed reſidence, but travel from place to place, as occaſion requires, upon the frontiers. They are under the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of London.

Arts and ſciences are yet in their infancy. There are ſome few perſons who have diſcovered a taſte for muſic and painting *, and philoſophy ſeems not only to have made

* Mr. Benjamin Weſt, preſident of the Royal Academy, was, I believe, a native of Penſylvania, if not of Philadelphia.

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a conſiderable progreſs already, but to be daily gaining ground. The library ſociety is an excellent inſtitution for propagating a taſte for literature; and the college well calculated to form and cultivate it. This laſt inſtitution is erected upon an admirable plan, and is by far the beſt ſchool for learning throughout America. It has been chiefly raiſed by contributions; and its preſent fund is about 10,000l. Penſylvanian money. An account of it may be ſeen in Dr. Smith's (the preſident's) Diſcourſes. The Quakers alſo have an academy for inſtructing their youth in claſſical learning, and practical mathematics: there are three teachers, and about ſeventy boys in it. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral ſchools in the province for the Dutch and other foreign children; and a conſiderable one is going to be erected at German-town.

The Penſylvanians, as to character, are a frugal and induſtrious people; not remarkably courteous and hoſpitable to ſtrangers, unleſs particularly recommended to them; but rather, like the denizens of moſt commercial cities, the reverſe. They are great republicans, and have fallen into the ſame errors in their ideas of independency as moſt of the other colonies have. They are by far the moſt enterpriſing people upon the continent. As they conſiſt of ſeveral nations, and talk ſeveral languages, they are aliens in ſome reſpect to Great Britain; nor can it be expected that they ſhould have the ſame filial attachment to her which her own immediate offſpring have. However, they are quiet, and concern themſelves but little, except about getting money. The women are exceedingly handſome and polite: they are naturally ſprightly and fond of pleaſure; and, upon the whole, are much more agreeable and accompliſhed than the men. Since their intercourſe with the Engliſh officers, they are greatly improved; and, without flattery, many of them would not make bad figures even in the firſt aſſemblies in Europe. Their amuſements are chiefly dancing in the winter, and in the ſummer, forming parties of pleaſure upon the Schuilkill, and in the country. There is a ſociety of ſixteen ladies, and as many gentlemen, called the fiſhing company, who meet once a fortnight upon the Schuilkill. They have a very pleaſant room erected in a romantic ſituation upon the banks of that river, where they generally dine and drink tea. There are ſeveral pretty walks about it, and ſome wild and rugged rocks, which, together with the water and fine groves that adorn the banks, form a moſt beautiful and pictureſque ſcene. There are boats and fiſhing tackle of all ſorts, and the company divert themſelves with walking, fiſhing, going up the water, dancing, ſinging, converſing, or juſt as they pleaſe. The ladies wear an uniform, and appear with great eaſe and advantage from the neatneſs and ſimplicity of it. The firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed people of the colony are of this ſociety; and it is very advantageous to a ſtranger to be introduced to it, as he hereby gets acquainted with the beſt and moſt reſpectable company in Philadelphia. In the winter, when there is ſnow upon the ground, it is uſual to make what they call ſleighing parties, or to go upon it in ſledges, but as this is a practice well known in Europe, it is needleſs to deſcribe it.

The preſent ſtate of Penſylvania is undoubtedly very flouriſhing. The country is well cultivated, and there are not leſs than 9000 waggons employed in it, in different ſervices. Till this war they were exempt from taxes, and it was not without difficulty that the Quakers were prevailed upon to grant any ſupplies for the defence of the frontiers, though expoſed to the moſt horrid cruelties: it was not from principle, ſay their enemies, that they refuſed it, but from intereſt; for as they were the firſt ſettlers, they chiefly occupy the interior and lower parts of the province, and are not expoſed to incurſions. At length, however, compelled by clamour and public diſcontent, they

were obliged to pafs a fupply bill for 100,000l. to raife five-and-twenty hundred men, and thefe they have kept up ever fince: they afterward paffed a militia bill, but it was fuch a one as anfwered no good purpofe. The Quakers have much the greateft influence in the affembly, and are fupported there by the Dutch and Germans, who are as adverfe to taxes as themfelves. Their power, however, at prefent feems rather on the decline, which is the reafon, as the oppofite party pretend, that they ftir up on all occafions as much confufion as poffible, from that trite maxim in politics, *divide et impera*. They have quarrelled with the proprietors upon feveral occafions, whether altogether juftly or not, I will not pretend to fay; it is certain, however, that the determinations at home have been fometimes in their favour. The late fubjects of their difputes have been chiefly thefe:

Firft, Whether the proprietary lands ought to be taxed? This has been determined at home in the affirmative.

Secondly, Whether the proprietor ought to have any choice or approbation of the affeffors?

Thirdly, Whether he ought to give his governor inftructions? And,

Laftly, Whether the judges of his appointment ought to be during pleafure, or *quamdiu fe bene gefferint?* Thefe three laft are ftill undecided.

Upon the whole, though this province is exceedingly flourifhing, yet there are certainly great abufes in it; and fuch as, if not fpeedily rectified, will be productive of bad confequences.

The difference of exchange between bills and the currency of Penfylvania is about 75 per cent.

An occurrence happened to me at Philadelphia, which, though in itfelf of a trifling nature, I cannot but take notice of, as a fingular inftance of the ftrong poffeffion which an idea will fometimes take of the mind, fo as totally to derange it. A lady from Rhode Ifland, who lodged in the fame houfe with myfelf, had an unfortunate brother in the infirmary, a lunatic. He was fuppofed to be nearly well, and was permitted occafionally to fee company. A few days before I was to leave Philadelphia, this lady invited me to accompany her in one of her vifits to him; adding, that on her inadvertently mentioning to him fome circumftances relating to me, he had expreffed a moft earneft defire to fee me. I ftrongly objected to the propofal, urging the impropriety of introducing a ftranger, or, indeed, company of any fort, to a perfon in that unhappy fituation, as it might poffibly agitate his mind, and retard his recovery. I adviſed her therefore not to take any further notice of it; hoping he might forget, or not mention it any more. The next day fhe renewed her application; adding, that her brother was exceedingly difappointed; and entreated me to attend her, in fo preffing a manner, that I could not with civility refufe it. On entering the cell, a beam of fatisfaction feemed to dart from his eye, not eafy to be expreffed or conceived. I took him by the hand; and, feating myfelf oppofite the bed to which he was chained, immediately took the lead in converfation, talking of indifferent matters, fuch as I thought could not poffibly tend to intereft or difturb his mind. I had not proceeded far when he fuddenly interrupted me; and propofed a queftion, which at once convinced me that he was in a very unfit ftate to fee company. I immediately therefore rofe up; and making an excufe that my engagements that day would not admit of my entering into fo curious a fubject, defired him to referve it for fome future converfation. He feemed greatly difconcerted; but being near the door, which ftood open, I took my leave and retired. The next morning I left Philadelphia; nor did I think any more

of

of this occurrence till I arrived at Rhode Iſland; where I was informed that the chief, if not ſole, inſtances of inſanity ſhewn by this unhappy young man, were ſome attempts which he had made to kill a clergyman of the church of England. That he had been educated to be a teacher amongſt the congregationaliſts, but had taken it into his head, that he could never gain heaven, or be happy, but by committing ſo heroic and meritorious an action. The very evening of his confinement he was prevented from fulfilling his purpoſe, in the inſtant when he was raiſing up his hand to plunge a knife into the back of a clergyman, who was reading the funeral ſervice, in the preſence of a large congregation. What his intentions were in regard to myſelf, I cannot pretend to ſay: he offered me no violence; but thoſe at Rhode Iſland of his acquaintance, to whom I related this tranſaction, were fully perſuaded that he was far from being cured of his diſtemper *.

I left Philadelphia the 6th of July, and travelled in the ſtage as far as Shemineyferry, about ſeventeen miles; where I was overtaken by a gentleman and ſome ladies of my acquaintance, who were going a few miles farther upon a party of pleaſure. They were ſo obliging as to make room for me in one of their chaiſes, and we proceeded and dined together at Briſtol, a ſmall town upon the Delaware, oppoſite Burlington: in the afternoon we went ten miles higher up the river, and ferried over to Trenton, ſituated in the Jerſeys. This is built on the eaſt ſide of the Delaware, and contains about a hundred houſes. It has nothing remarkable; there is a church, a Quaker's, and Preſbyterian meeting-houſe, and barracks for three hundred men. From hence we went to Sir John Sinclair's, at the falls of Delaware, about a mile above Trenton, a pleaſant rural retirement; where we ſpent a moſt agreeable evening. In the morning, the company returned to Philadelphia; and, having hired a chaiſe, I proceeded to Prince-town, twelve miles diſtant.

At this place there is a handſome ſchool and college for the education of Diſſenters; erected upon the plan of thoſe in Scotland. There are about twenty boys in the grammar-ſchool, and ſixty in the college: at preſent there are only two profeſſors, beſides the provoſt; but they intend, as their fund increaſes, which is yet very ſmall, and does not exceed 2000l. currency, to add to this number. The building is extremely convenient, airy, and ſpacious; and has a chapel and other proper offices. Two ſtudents are in each ſet of apartments, which conſiſts of a large bed-room with a fire-place, and two ſtudies. There is a ſmall collection of books, a few inſtruments,

* Since my return to Europe, I have been informed of an inſtance ſimilar to this, which happened at Florence. A gentleman had taken it into his head that a very large diamond lay buried under a mountain which ſtood upon his eſtate, and was near ruining himſelf and his family by digging for it. His friends, by ſome contrivance or other, got him away to Florence, and placed him under the care of the late celebrated Dr. Cocchi. He there appeared perfectly compoſed, talked very rationally, and, having been well educated, afforded great entertainment to the doctor and his friends, who converſed with him. One day as they were ſitting together, he mentioned to the doctor, that it was very hard he ſhould be deprived of his liberty, when he was perfectly well; and that it was only a ſcheme of his relations to keep him in confinement, in order that they might enjoy his eſtate. The doctor, who had perceived no marks of infanity, began to be ſtaggered; and promiſed, in caſe he ſhould ſee no reaſon to alter his ſentiments, to ſign a certificate of his being well on ſuch a day, in order to its being ſent to England, that he might have his releaſe. The day arrived, and the doctor was preparing to perform his promiſe; but whether by deſign, on perceiving ſomething particular in the looks of his patient, or by accident, I could not learn, he ſaid to the gentleman; "Now, Sir, I beg from this time that you will think no more of this fooliſh affair of the mountain and diamond." "Not think of the diamond!" ſaid the madman; "it is for this reaſon that I want my liberty: I know exactly the ſpot where it lies; and I will have it in my poſſeſſion before I am a year older."

This ſtory was related to me in Tuſcany, and I had no reaſon to queſtion the truth of it.

and

and ſome natural curioſities. The expence to a ſtudent for room-rent, commons, and tutorage, amounts to 25l. currency per year. The provoſt has a ſalary of 200l. currency, and the profeſſors 50l. each. The name of the college is Naſſau-Hall. — From hence, in the afternoon, I proceeded to Brunſwick, eighteen miles farther, a ſmall town of about a hundred houſes, ſituated upon Raritan river; where there are alſo very neat barracks for 300 men, a church, and a Preſbyterian meeting-houſe. It is celebrated for the number of its beauties; and, indeed, at this place and Philadelphia were the handſomeſt women that I ſaw in America. At a ſmall diſtance from the town is a copper-mine belonging to a Mr. French, (I was told) a pretty good one. The next day I rode up the river, about nine miles to the Raritan hills, to ſee a ſmall caſcade, which falls about fifteen or twenty feet, very romanticly, from between two rocks. The country I paſſed through is exceedingly rich and beautiful; and the banks of the river are covered with gentlemen's houſes. At one of theſe I had an opportunity of ſeeing ſome good portraits of Vandyke, and ſeveral other ſmall Dutch paintings.

On Monday the 7th, I proceeded to Perth-Amboy, twelve miles, the capital of the Eaſt Jerſeys, which is pleaſantly ſituated upon a neck of land, included between the Raritan and Amboy rivers and a large open bay. This is generally the place of the governor's reſidence; and alternately, here and at Burlington, the capital of the Weſt Jerſeys, are held the aſſemblies, and other public meetings: it contains about a hundred houſes, and has a very fine barracks for three hundred men. In the afternoon I travelled ſixteen miles farther to Elizabeth-town, leaving Woodbridge, a ſmall village where there is a printing-office, a little on my right hand. Elizabeth-town is built upon a ſmall creek or river that falls into Newark-bay, and contains between two and three hundred houſes. It has a court-houſe, a church, and a meeting-houſe; and barracks alſo like thoſe abovementioned.

The next morning I rode out, in order to viſit Paſaic Falls, diſtant about twenty-three miles, and had a very agreeable tour. After riding ſix miles, I came to a town called Newark, built in an irregular ſcattered manner, after the faſhion of ſome of our villages in England, near two miles in length. It has a church erected in the Gothic taſte with a ſpire, the firſt I had ſeen in America; and ſome other inconſiderable public buildings. Immediately on my leaving this place, I came upon the banks of Second, or Paſaic river, along which I travelled ſeventeen or eighteen miles to the Falls, through a rich country, interſperſed with fine fields and gentlemen's ſeats.

The Falls are very extraordinary, different from any I had hitherto met with in America. The river is about forty yards broad, and runs with a very ſwift current, till coming to a deep chaſm or cleft which croſſes the channel, it falls above ſeventy feet perpendicular in one intire ſheet. One end of the cleft is cloſed up, and the water ruſhes out at the other with incredible rapidity, in an acute angle to its former direction, and is received into a large baſon. Hence it takes a winding courſe through the rocks, and ſpreads again into a very conſiderable channel. The cleft is from four to twelve feet broad. The ſpray formed two beautiful (viz. the primary and ſecondary) rainbows, and helped to make as fine a ſcene as imagination could conceive. This extraordinary phenomenon is ſuppoſed to have been produced by an earthquake. The fate of two Indians is delivered down by tradition, who, venturing too near the Falls in a canoe, were carried down the precipice, and daſhed to pieces. Thirty or forty yards above the great Fall, is another, a moſt beautiful one, gliding over ſome ledges of rocks, each two or three feet perpendicular, which heightens the ſcene very much.

View of Pasaic Falls from the East.

London: Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, July 1, 1815.

View of Pasaic Falls, from the South.

London Published by Longman Hurst Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, July 1, 1811.

From hence I returned, and in my way croſſed over the river to Colonel John Schuyler's copper-mines, where there is a very rich vein of ore, and a fire-engine erected upon common principles.

After this I went down two miles farther to the park and gardens of this gentleman's brother, Colonel Peter Schuyler. In the gardens is a very large collection of citrons, oranges, limes, lemons, balſams of Peru, aloes, pomegranates, and other tropical plants; and in the park I ſaw ſeveral American and Engliſh deer, and three or four elks or mooſe-deer. I arrived at Elizabeth-town in the evening, not a little entertained with my expedition, but exceedingly fatigued with the violent heat of the weather, and the many muſquitoes that had infeſted me.

Before I take leave of the Jerſeys, it is neceſſary I ſhould give ſome account of this province. New Jerſey is ſituated between the 39th and 42d degree of north latitude, and about ſeventy-five degrees weſt longitude: it is bounded on the eaſt by the Atlantic, on the weſt oy Penſylvania, or to ſpeak more properly the Delaware; on the ſouth by Delaware-bay; and on the north by Hudſon's river and the province of New York. The climate is nearly the ſame as that of Penſylvania; and the ſoil, which is a kind of red ſlate, is ſo exceedingly rich, that in a ſhort time after it has been turned up and expoſed to the air and moiſture, it is converted into a ſpecies of marle *.

New Jerſey has very great natural advantages of hills, valleys, rivers, and large bays. The Delaware is on one ſide, and Hudſon's river on the other; beſides which it has the Raritan, Paſaic, and Amboy rivers; and Newark and New York bays. It produces vaſt quantities of grain, beſides hemp, flax, hay, Indian corn, and other articles. It is divided into eleven counties, and has ſeveral ſmall towns, though not one of conſideration. The number of its inhabitants is ſuppoſed to be 70,000: of which, all males between ſixteen and ſixty, negroes excepted, are obliged to ſerve in the militia. There is no foreign trade carried on from this province; for the inhabitants ſell their produce to the merchants of Philadelphia and New York, and take in return European goods and other neceſſaries of life. They have ſome trifling manufactures of their own, but nothing that deſerves mentioning.

The government conſiſts of a governor, twelve counſellors, and a houſe of repreſentatives of about twenty-ſix members, the two former nominated by the King, the latter elected by the the people. Each branch has a negative: they meet at Amboy and at Burlington alternately. The governor's ſalary, with perquiſites, is about 800 or 1000l. ſterling a-year: he is not allowed a houſe to reſide in, but is obliged to hire one at his own expence. There are ſeveral courts of judicature here, much like thoſe of the other provinces. The juſtices hold quarterly ſeſſions for petty larcenies, and trifling cauſes; and the ſupreme judge, with two aſſiſtant juſtices, holds, once a year, a general aſſize, throughout the province, of oyer and terminer, and common pleas. He holds alſo annually four ſupreme courts, alternately at Amboy and Burlington, of King's bench, common pleas, and exchequer. The offices of chancellor and vice-admiral, are executed by the governor; and the dernier reſort is to His Majeſty in council.

There is properly no eſtabliſhed religion in this province, and the inhabitants are of various perſuaſions: the ſociety ſends ſix miſſionaries, who are generally well re-

* Since my return from America, I have met with a gentleman (Edward Wortley Montagu, Eſquire) who had viſited the Holy Land. He deſcribed the ſoil of that country to be ſimilar in almoſt every circumſtance to this of the Jerſeys. He ſaid it appeared to be of a red ſlaty ſubſtance, ſterile, and incapable of producing any thing worth the cultivation; but that being broken up and expoſed to the air, it became exceedingly mellow, and was fertile in the higheſt degree.

ceived;

ceived; and the church gains ground daily. Their ſalaries are about the ſame as in Penſylvania.

Arts and ſciences are here, as in the other parts of America, juſt dawning. The college will in time, without doubt, be of conſiderable advantage, but being yet in its infancy, it has not had an opportunity of operating, or effecting any viſible improvement.

The New Jerſey men, as to character, are like moſt country gentlemen; good-natured, hoſpitable, and of a more liberal turn than their neighbours the Penſylvanians. They live altogether upon their eſtates, and are literally gentlemen farmers. The country in its preſent ſtate can ſcarcely be called flouriſhing; for although it is extremely well cultivated, thickly ſeated, and the garden of North America, yet, having no foreign trade, it is deprived of thoſe riches and advantages, which it would otherwiſe ſoon acquire. There have been ſome attempts to remedy this defect; but whether from the difficulty of diverting a thing out of a channel in which it has long flowed, or from want of propriety or perſeverance in the meaſures, I am unable to ſay; but the truth is, they have not ſucceeded. Upon the whole, however, this province may be called a rich one: during the preſent war it has raiſed conſiderable ſupplies, having ſeldom had leſs than 1000 men in pay, with a leader (Colonel Schuyler) at their head, who has done honour to his country by his patriotic and public ſpirit. The paper currency of this colony is at about 70 per cent. diſcount, but in very good repute; and preferred by the Penſylvanians and New Yorkers, to that of their own provinces.

On Wedneſday the 9th of July, I croſſed over to Staten Iſland, in the province of New York; and travelled upon it about nine miles to the point which is oppoſite New York city.

In my way I had an opportunity of ſeeing the method of making wampum. This, the reader probably knows is the current money amonſt the Indians. It is made of the clam-ſhell; a ſhell, conſiſting within of two colours, purple and white; and in form not unlike a thick oyſter-ſhell. The proceſs of manufacturing it is very ſimple. It is firſt clipped to a proper ſize, which is that of a ſmall oblong parallelopiped, then drilled, and afterward ground to a round ſmooth ſurface, and poliſhed. The purple wampum is much more valuable than the white; a very ſmall part of the ſhell being of that colour.

At the point I embarked for New York; and after a pleaſant paſſage over the bay, which is three leagues wide, and various delightful proſpects of rivers, iſlands, fields, hills, woods, the Narrows, New York city, veſſels ſailing too and fro, and innumerable porpoiſes playing upon the ſurface of the water, in an evening ſo ſerene that the hemiſphere was not ruffled by a ſingle cloud, arrived there about the ſetting of the ſun.

This city is ſituated upon the point of a ſmall iſland, lying open to the bay on one ſide, and on the others included between the north and eaſt rivers; and commands a fine proſpect of water, the Jerſeys, Long Iſland, Staten Iſland, and ſeveral others, which lie ſcattered in the bay. It contains between two and three thouſand houſes, and 16 or 17,000 inhabitants, is tolerably well built, and has ſeveral good houſes. The ſtreets are paved, and very clean, but in general narrow: there are two or three, indeed, which are ſpacious and airy, particularly the Broad-Way. The houſes in this ſtreet have moſt of them a row of trees before them; which form an agreeable ſhade, and produce a pretty effect. The whole length of the town is ſomething more than a mile; the breadth of it about half an one. The ſituation is, I believe, eſteemed healthy;

but it is ſubject to one great inconvenience, which is the want of freſh water; ſo that the inhabitants are obliged to have it brought from ſprings at ſome diſtance out of town. There are ſeveral public buildings, though but few that deſerve attention. The college, when finiſhed, will be exceedingly handſome: it is to be built on three ſides of a quadrangle, fronting Hudſon's or North river, and will be the moſt beautifully ſituated of any college, I believe, in the world. At preſent only one wing is finiſhed, which is of ſtone, and conſiſts of twenty-four ſets of apartments; each having a large ſitting-room, with a ſtudy, and bed-chamber. They are obliged to make uſe of ſome of theſe apartments for a maſter's lodge, library, chapel, hall, &c. but as ſoon as the whole ſhall be completed, there will be proper apartments for each of theſe offices. The name of it is King's College.

There are two churches in New York, the old or Trinity Church, and the new one, or St. George's Chapel; both of them large buildings, the former in the Gothic taſte, with a ſpire, the other upon the model of ſome of the new churches in London. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral other places of religious worſhip; namely, two Low Dutch Calviniſt churches, one High Dutch ditto, one French ditto, one German Lutheran church, one preſbyterian meeting-houſe, one quakers ditto, one anabaptiſts ditto, one Moravian ditto, and a Jews ſynagogue. There is alſo a very handſome charity-ſchool for ſixty poor boys and girls, a good work-houſe, barracks for a regiment of ſoldiers, and one of the fineſt priſons I have ever ſeen. The court or ſtadt-houſe makes no great figure, but it is to be repaired and beautified. There is a quadrangular fort, capable of mounting ſixty cannon, though at preſent there are, I believe, only thirty-two. Within this is the governor's palace, and underneath it a battery capable of mounting ninety-four guns, and barracks for a company or two of ſoldiers. Upon one of the iſlands in the bay is an hoſpital for ſick and wounded ſeamen; and, upon another, a peſt-houſe. Theſe are the moſt noted public buildings in and about the city.

The province of New York is ſituated between the 40th and 45th degree of north latitude, and about 75 degrees weſt longitude. It lies in a fine climate, and enjoys a very wholeſome air. The ſoil of moſt parts of it is extremely good, particularly of Long Iſland: and it has the advantages of a fine harbour, and fine rivers. The bay has a communication with Newark bay, the Sound, Amboy river, and ſeveral others: it receives alſo Hudſon's or North river, one of the largeſt in North America, it being navigable for ſloops as far as Albany, above 150 miles: whence, by the Mohock, and other rivers, running through the country of the Six Nations, there is a communication, (excepting a few ſhort carrying places,) with lake Ontario; and another with the river St. Laurence, through the Lakes George, Champlain, and the river Sorel; ſo that this river ſeems to merit the greateſt attention. Theſe waters afford various kinds of fiſh, black-fiſh, ſea-baſs, ſheeps-heads, rock-fiſh, lobſters, and ſeveral others, all excellent in their kind. The province in its cultivated ſtate affords grain of all ſorts, cattle, hogs, and great variety of Engliſh fruits, particularly the New-town pippin. It is divided into ten counties, and has ſome few towns, but none of any ſize, except Albany and Schenectady, the former of which is a very conſiderable place. The number of inhabitants amounts to nearly 100,000; 15 or 20,000 of which are ſuppoſed to be capable of bearing arms, and of ſerving in the militia; but I believe this number is exaggerated, as a conſiderable part of the 100,000 are negroes, which are imported more frequently into this province than into Penſylvania. The people carry on an extenſive trade, and there are ſaid to be cleared out annually from New York, tons of ſhipping. They export chiefly grain, flour, pork, ſkins, furs, pig-iron, lumber,

lumber, and ſtaves. Their manufactures, indeed, are not extenſive, nor by any means to be compared with thoſe of Penſylvania; they make a ſmall quantity of cloth, ſome linen, hats, ſhoes, and other articles for wearing apparel. They make glaſs alſo, and wampum; refine ſugars, which they import from the Weſt Indies; and diſtil conſiderable quantities of rum. They alſo, as well as the Penſylvanians, till both were reſtrained by act of parliament, had erected ſeveral ſlitting mills, to make nails, &c. But this is now prohibited, and they are exceedingly diſſatisfied at it. They have ſeveral other branches of manufactures, but, in general, ſo inconſiderable, that I ſhall not take notice of them: one thing it may be neceſſary to mention, I mean the article of ſhip-building; about which, in different parts of the province, they employ many hands.

The government of this colony is lodged in the hands of a governor appointed by the crown; a council conſiſting of twelve members, named by the ſame authority; and a houſe of twenty-ſeven repreſentatives, elected by the people; four for the city and county of New York; two for the city and county of Albany; two for each of the other eight counties; one for the borough of Weſt Cheſter; one for the townſhip of Schenectady; and one for each of the three manors of Renſlaerwyck, Livingſton, and Courtland. The legiſlative power is entirely lodged in their hands, each branch having a negative; except that, as in the other colonies, all laws muſt have the King's approbation, and not interfere with, or be repugnant to, the laws of Great Britain.

The courts of judicature are ſimilar, I believe, in every reſpect, to thoſe in the Jerſeys.

The eſtabliſhed religion is that of the church of England, there being ſix churches in this province with ſtipends (to the value of about 50l. currency) annexed to each by law. The clergy are twelve in number, who, excluſive of what they acquire by the eſtabliſhment above-mentioned, or by contributions, receive, as miſſionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel, 50l. ſterling each. Beſides the religion of the church of England, there is a variety of others: diſſenters of all denominations, particularly preſbyterians, abound in great numbers, and there are ſome few Roman Catholics.

Arts and ſciences have made no greater progreſs here than in the other colonies; but as a ſubſcription library has been lately opened, and every one ſeems zealous to promote learning, it may be hoped they will hereafter advance faſter than they have done hitherto. The college is eſtabliſhed upon the ſame plan as that in the Jerſeys, except that this at New York profeſſes the principles of the church of England. At preſent the ſtate of it is far from being flouriſhing, or ſo good as might be wiſhed. Its fund does not exceed 10,000l. currency, and there is a great ſcarcity of profeſſors. A commencement was held, nevertheleſs, this ſummer, and ſeven gentlemen took degrees. There are in it at this time about twenty-five ſtudents. The preſident, Dr. Johnſon, is a very worthy and learned man, but rather too far advanced in life to have the direction of ſo new an inſtitution. The late Dr. Briſtow left to this college a fine library, of which they are in daily expectation.

The inhabitants of New York, in their character, very much reſemble the Penſylvanians: more than half of them are Dutch, and almoſt all traders: they are, therefore, habitually frugal, induſtrious, and parſimonious. Being, however, of different nations, different languages, and different religions, it is almoſt impoſſible to give them any preciſe or determinate character. The women are handſome and agreeable; though rather more reſerved than the Philadelphian ladies. Their amuſements are

much the ſame as in Penſylvania; viz. balls, and ſleighing expeditions in the winter; and, in the ſummer, going in parties upon the water, and fiſhing; or making excurſions into the country. There are ſeveral houſes pleaſantly ſituated upon Eaſt river, near New York, where it is common to have turtle-feaſts: theſe happen once or twice in a week. Thirty or forty gentlemen and ladies meet and dine together, drink tea in the afternoon, fiſh and amuſe themſelves till evening, and then return home in Italian chaiſes, (the faſhionable carriage in this and moſt parts of America, Virginia excepted, where they chiefly make uſe of coaches, and theſe commonly drawn by ſix horſes,) a gentleman and lady in each chaiſe. In the way there is a bridge, about three miles diſtant from New York, which you always paſs over as you return, called the Kiſſing-bridge; where it is a part of the etiquette to ſalute the lady who has put herſelf under your protection.

The preſent ſtate of this province is flouriſhing: it has an extenſive trade to many parts of the world, particularly to the Weſt Indies; and has acquired great riches by the commerce which it has carried on, under flags of truce, to Cape François, and Monte-Chriſto. The troops, by having made it the place of their general rendezvous, have alſo enriched it very much. However, it is burthened with taxes, and the preſent public debt amounts to more than 300,000l. currency. The taxes are laid upon eſtates real and perſonal; and there are duties upon negroes, and other importations. The provincial troops are about 2,600 men. The difference of exchange between currency and bills, is from 70 to 80 per cent.

Before I left New York, I took a ride upon Long Iſland, the richeſt ſpot, in the opinion of the New Yorkers, of all America; and where they generally have their villas, or country houſes. It is undeniably beautiful, and ſome parts of it are remarkably fertile, but not equal, I think, to the Jerſeys. The length of it is ſomething more than 100 miles, and the breadth 25. About 15 or 16 miles from the weſt end of it, there opens a large plain between 20 and 30 miles long, and four or five broad. There is not a tree growing upon it, and it is aſſerted that there never were any. Strangers are always carried to ſee this place, as a great curioſity, and the only one of the kind in North America.

Tueſday the 5th of Auguſt, being indiſpoſed, and unable to travel any farther by land, I embarked on board a brigantine for Rhode Iſland. We made ſail up the Sound with a fair wind, and after two hours, paſſed through Hell-gate. It is impoſſible to go through this place without recalling to mind the deſcription of Scylla and Charybdis. The breadth of the Sound is here half a mile, but the channel is very narrow, not exceeding eighty yards: the water runs with great rapidity, and in different currents, only one of which will carry a veſſel through with ſafety; for, on one ſide, there is a ſhoal of rocks juſt peeping above the water; and, on the other, a dreadful vortex produced by a rock lying about nine feet under the ſurface: if therefore you get into any but the right current, you are either daſhed upon the ſhoal, or elſe ſucked into the eddy, whirled round with incredible rapidity, and at length ſwallowed up in the vortex. There are exceeding good pilots to navigate veſſels through this place, notwithſtanding which, they are frequently loſt. The proper time of paſſing it is at high water. We had pleaſant weather during the paſſage, which is about ſeventy leagues, with beautiful views of Long Iſland and Connecticut; and arrived in the harbour at Newport the 7th of Auguſt.

This town is ſituated upon a ſmall iſland, about twelve miles in length, and five or ſix in breadth, called Rhode Iſland, whence the province takes its name. It is the

capital city, and contains 800, or 1000 houſes, chiefly built of wood; and 6 or 7000 inhabitants. There are few buildings in it worth notice. The court-houſe is indeed handſome, and of brick; and there is a public library, built in the form of a Grecian temple, and by no means inelegant. It is of the Doric order, and has a portico in front with four pillars, ſupporting a pediment; but the whole is ſpoilt by two ſmall wings, which are annexed to it. The foundation of a very pretty building is laid for the uſe of the free-maſons, to ſerve alſo occaſionally for an aſſembly-room; and there is going to be erected a market-houſe, upon a very elegant deſign. The places of public worſhip, except the Jews ſynagogue, are all of wood; and not one of them is worth looking at. They conſiſt chiefly of a church, two preſbyterian meeting-houſes, one quakers ditto, three anabaptiſts ditto, one Moravian ditto, and the ſynagogue above-mentioned. This building was deſigned, as indeed were ſeveral of the others, by a Mr. Harriſon, an ingenious Engliſh gentleman who lives here. It will be extremely elegant within when completed: but the outſide is totally ſpoilt by a ſchool, which the Jews would have annexed to it for the education of their children.—Upon a ſmall iſland, before the town, is part of a fine fortification, deſigned to conſiſt of a pentagon fort, and an upper and lower battery. Only two of the curtains, and a ravelin, are yet finiſhed; and it is doubted whether the whole will ever be completed. There are now mounted upon it 26 cannon; but the works, when complete, will require above 150.—At the entrance of the harbour there is likewiſe an exceeding good light-houſe.—Theſe are the chief public buildings.

Three miles from the town is an indifferent wooden houſe, built by Dean Berkley, when he was in theſe parts: the ſituation is low, but commands a fine view of the ocean, and of ſome wild rugged rocks that are on the left hand of it. They relate here ſeveral ſtories of the dean's wild and chimerical notions; which, as they are characteriſtic of that extraordinary man, deſerve to be taken notice of: one in particular I muſt beg the reader's indulgence to allow me to repeat to him. The dean had formed the plan of building a town upon the rocks which I have juſt now taken notice of, and of cutting a road through a ſandy beach which lies a little below it, in order that ſhips might come up and be ſheltered in bad weather. He was ſo full of this project, as one day to ſay to one Smibert, a deſigner, whom he had brought over with him from Europe, on the latter's aſking ſome ludicrous queſtion concerning the future importance of the place: "Truly, you have very little foreſight, for in fifty years time every foot of land in this place will be as valuable as the land in Cheapſide." The dean's houſe, notwithſtanding his prediction, is at preſent nothing better than a farm-houſe, and his library is converted into the dairy: when he left America, he gave it to the college at Newhaven in Connecticut, who have let it to a farmer on a long leaſe: his books he divided between this college and that in Maſſachuſets. The dean is ſaid to have written in this place The Minute Philoſopher.

The province of Rhode Iſland is ſituated between the 41ſt and 42d degree of north latitude; and about 72 or 73 degrees weſt longitude; in the moſt healthy climate of North America. The winters are ſevere, though not equally ſo with thoſe of the other provinces; but the ſummers are delightful, eſpecially in the iſland; the violent and exceſſive heats, to which America is in general ſubject, being allayed by the cool and temperate breezes that come from the ſea. The ſoil is tolerably good, though rather too ſtony; its natural produce is maize or Indian corn, with a variety of ſhrubs and trees. It produces in particular the button-tree; the ſpruce-pine, of the young twigs of which is made excellent beer; and the pſeudo-acacia, or locuſt-tree; but none of

thoſe

thoſe fine flowering trees, which are ſuch an ornament to the woods in Carolina and Virginia. It enjoys many advantages, has ſeveral large rivers, and one of the fineſt harbours in the world. Fiſh are in the greateſt plenty and perfection, particularly the tataag or black-fiſh, lobſters, and ſea baſs. In its cultivated ſtate, it produces very little, except ſheep and horned cattle; the whole province being laid out into paſture or grazing ground. The horſes are bony and ſtrong, and the oxen much the largeſt in America; ſeveral of them weighing from 16 to 1800 weight. The butter and cheeſe are excellent.

The province of Rhode Iſland is divided into counties and townſhips; of the former there are four or five, but they are exceedingly ſmall; of the latter between twenty and thirty; the towns themſelves are inconſiderable villages: however, they ſend members to the aſſembly, in the whole about ſeventy. The number of inhabitants, with Negroes, and Indians, of which in this province there are ſeveral hundreds, amounts to 35,000. As the province affords but few commodities for exportation; horſes, proviſions, and an inconſiderable quantity of grain, with ſpermaceti candles, being the chief articles; they are obliged to Connecticut, and the neighbouring colonies, for moſt of their traffic; and by their means they carry on an extenſive trade. Their mode of commerce is this; they trade to Great Britain, Holland, Africa, the Weſt Indies, and the neighbouring colonies; from each of which places they import the following articles: from Great Britain, dry goods; from Holland, money; from Africa, ſlaves; from the Weſt Indies, ſugars, coffee, and molaſſes; and from the neighbouring colonies, lumber and proviſions: and with what they purchaſe in one place they make their returns in another. Thus with the money they get in Holland, they pay their merchants in London; the ſugars they procure in the Weſt Indies, they carry to Holland; the ſlaves they fetch from Africa they ſend to the Weſt Indies, together with lumber and proviſions, which they get from the neighbouring colonies: the rum that they diſtil they export to Africa; and with the dry goods, which they purchaſe in London, they traffick in the neighbouring colonies. By this kind of circular commerce they ſubſiſt and grow rich. They have beſides theſe ſome other inconſiderable branches of trade, but nothing worth mentioning. They have very few manufactures; they diſtil rum and make ſpermaceti candles; but in the article of dry goods, they are far behind the people of New York and Penſylvania.

The government of this province is intirely democratical; every officer, except the collector of the cuſtoms, being appointed, I believe, either immediately by the people, or by the general aſſembly. The people chuſe annually a governor, lieutenant-governor, and ten aſſiſtants, which conſtitute an upper-houſe. The repreſentatives, or lower-houſe, are elected every half year. Theſe jointly have the appointment of all other public officers, (except the recorder, treaſurer, and attorney-general, which are appointed likewiſe annually by the people) both military and civil; are inveſted with the powers of legiſlation, of regulating the militia, and of performing all other acts of government. The governor has no negative, but votes with the aſſiſtants, and in caſe of an equality has a caſting voice. The aſſembly, or two houſes united, are obliged to ſit immediately after each election; at Newport in the ſummer, and in the winter alternately at Providence and South Kingſton in Narraganſet: they adjourn themſelves, but may be called together, notwithſtanding ſuch adjournment, upon any urgent occaſion by the governor. No aſſiſtant, or repreſentative, is allowed any ſalary or pay for his attendance or ſervice.

There

There are ſeveral courts of judicature. The aſſembly nominates annually ſo many juſtices for each townſhip, as are deemed neceſſary. Theſe have power to join people in matrimony, and to exerciſe other acts of authority uſually granted to this order of magiſtrates. Any two of them may hear cauſes concerning ſmall debts and treſpaſſes; and three may try criminals for thefts, not exceeding ten pounds currency. Appeals in civil cauſes are allowed to the inferior courts of common-pleas; in criminal ones to the ſeſſions of the peace; and in theſe the determinations are final.—The ſeſſions are held in each county twice every year by five or more juſtices; they adjudge all matters relating to the preſervation of the peace, and the puniſhment of criminals, except in caſes of death. Appeals are allowed from this court, in all cauſes that have originated in it, to the ſuperior one.—The inferior courts of common-pleas ſit twice every year in each county, and are held by three or more juſtices. They take cognizance of all civil cauſes whatſoever, triable at common law; and if any one thinks himſelf aggrieved here, he may appeal to the ſuperior one; which is held alſo annually twice in each county, by three judges, and which exerciſes all the authority of a court of king's bench, common-pleas, and exchequer. The dernier reſort is to the King in council, but this only in caſes of 300l. value, new tenor. The people have the power of pardoning criminals, except in caſes of piracy, murder, or high treaſon; and then it is doubted whether they can even reprieve.

There is no eſtabliſhed form of religion here; but church of England men, independents, quakers, anabaptiſts, Moravians, Jews, and all other ſects whatſoever, have liberty to exerciſe their ſeveral profeſſions. The ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel ſends only four miſſionaries.

Arts and ſciences are almoſt unknown, except to ſome few individuals; and there are no public ſeminaries of learning; nor do the Rhode Iſlanders in general ſeem to regret the want of them. The inſtitution of a library ſociety, which has lately taken place, may poſſibly in time produce a change in theſe matters.

The character of the Rhode Iſlanders is by no means engaging, or amiable: a circumſtance principally owing to their form of government. Their men in power, from the higheſt to the loweſt, are dependent upon the people, and frequently act without that ſtrict regard to probity and honour, which ought invariably to influence and direct mankind. The private people are cunning, deceitful, and ſelfiſh: they live almoſt entirely by unfair and illicit trading. Their magiſtrates are partial and corrupt: and it is folly to expect juſtice in their courts of judicature; for he, who has the greateſt influence, is generally found to have the faireſt cauſe *. Were the governor to interpoſe his authority, were he to refuſe to grant flags of truce †, or not to wink at abuſes;

* The form of their judical oath, or affirmation (ſays Douglas, in his ſummary), does not invoke the judgments of the omniſcient God, who ſees in ſecret, but only upon peril of the penalty of perjury.—This does not ſeem (adds the ſame author in a note) to be a ſacred or ſolemn oath, and may be illuſtrated by the ſtory of two profligate thieves; one of them had ſtolen ſomething, and told his friend of it: well, ſays his friend, but did any body ſee you? No: then, ſays his friend, it is yours as much as if you had bought it with your money. Vol. ii. p. 95.

† It was uſual during the late war for ſeveral governors in North America, on receiving a pecuniary conſideration, to grant to the merchants flags of truce; by which they were licenſed to go to the French Weſt Indian iſlands, in order to exchange priſoners. The real ſcope and deſign of the voyage was, to carry on a prohibited trade with the French, and to ſupply them with ſtores and proviſions. Two or three priſoners were ſufficient to cover the deſign; and in order to have a ſtore in readineſs, they ſeldom carried more. By this abuſe both governors and merchants acquired great riches. Very plauſible arguments indeed might be adduced againſt prohibiting, or even reſtraining a commerce of that nature: but as the wiſdom of government

abuſes; he would at the expiration of the year be excluded from his office, the only thing perhaps which he has to ſubſiſt upon. Were the judges to act with impartiality, and to decide a cauſe to the prejudice or diſadvantage of any great or popular leader, they would probably never be re-elected; indeed, they are incapable in general of determining the merits of a ſuit, for they are exceedingly illiterate, and, where they have nothing to make them partial, are managed almoſt intirely by the lawyers. In ſhort, to give an idea of the wretched ſtate of this colony, it has happened more than once, that a perſon has had ſufficient influence to procure a freſh emiſſion of paper-money, ſolely to defraud his creditors: for having perhaps borrowed a conſiderable ſum of money, when the difference of exchange has been 1200 per cent. he has afterward, under ſanction of the law, repaid only the ſame nominal ſum in new currency, when the difference has amounted perhaps to 2500 per cent.—Such alas! is the ſituation and character of this colony. It is needleſs, after this, to obſerve that it is in a very declining ſtate; for it is impoſſible that it ſhould proſper under ſuch abuſes. Its Weſt Indian trade has diminiſhed; owing indeed, in ſome meaſure, to the other colonies having entered more largely into this lucrative branch of commerce: it has loſt during the war, by the enemy, above 150 veſſels: its own privateers, and it has generally had a great many, have had very ill ſucceſs: having kept up a regiment of provincial troops, it has alſo been loaded with taxes, and many of the people have been oppreſſed by the mode of collecting them: for, the aſſembly having determined the quota of each townſhip, the inhabitants have been aſſeſſed by the town-council *, conſiſting of the aſſiſtants reſiding there, the juſtices of the town, and a few freeholders elected annually by the freemen; and theſe have been generally partial in their aſſeſſments, as muſt neceſſarily happen under a combination of ſuch circumſtances.—After having ſaid ſo much to the diſadvantage of this colony, I ſhould be guilty of injuſtice and ingratitude, were I not to declare that there are many worthy gentlemen in it, who ſee the misfortunes of their country, and lament them; who are ſenſible that they ariſe from the wretched nature of the government, and wiſh to have it altered; who are courteous and polite; kind and hoſpitable to ſtrangers; and capable of great acts of generoſity and goodneſs, as I myſelf experienced during a very ſevere fit of ſickneſs which I lay under at this place. — The paper-money here is as bad as it is poſſible to be; the difference of exchange being at leaſt 2500 per cent.

The 4th of September I took leave of Newport, and having croſſed over the river at Briſtol-ferry, where it is about a mile broad, and two other inconſiderable ferries, I arrived in the evening at Providence. This is the chief town of what was formerly called Providence Plantation in Narraganſet, and is at preſent the ſecond conſiderable town in the province of Rhode Iſland. It is ſituated upon a pretty large river, and is diſtant from Newport about thirty miles. In the morning I ſet out for Boſton, and

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ment did think fit, and probably with better reaſon, to forbid it; nothing could excuſe the corrupt and mercenary ſpirit of thoſe governors, who preſumed to connive at and encourage it.—The honourable Francis Fauquier, lieutenant-governer of Virginia, who, amongſt ſome few others, never could be prevailed upon to countenance it, refuſed at one time an offer of near 2001. for the grant of a permit to make a ſingle voyage.

* Each townſhip is managed by a town-council, conſiſting of the aſſiſtants who reſide in the town, the juſtices of the town, and ſix freeholders choſen annually by the freemen of the town; the major part of them is a quorum, with full power to manage the affairs and intereſt of the town to which they reſpectively belong, to grant licences to public houſes: and are a probate office for proving wills, and granting adminiſtration, with appeal to governor and council, as ſupreme ordinary. Douglas's Summary, Vol. ii. p. 85.

arrived

arrived there about ſun-ſet, after a journey of five and forty miles. The country, which I travelled over, is chiefly grazing ground, laid out into neat incloſures, ſurrounded with ſtone walls, and rows of pſeudo acacia or locuſt-trees, which are ſaid with their leaves to manure and fertilize the land. I paſſed over a beautiful fall of water in Pantucket river, upon a bridge, which is built directly over it. The fall is about twenty feet high, through ſeveral chaſms in a rock, which runs diametrically croſs it, and ſerves as a dam to hold up the water. There are two or three mills, which have been erected for the advantage of having the different ſpouts or ſtreams of water conducted to their reſpective wheels. Theſe have taken very much from the beauty of the ſcene; which would otherwiſe be tranſcendently elegant; for the fall, though not large or upon a great ſcale, is by far the moſt romantic and pictureſque of any that I met with in my tour.

During the courſe of my ride from Newport, I obſerved prodigious flights of wild pigeons: they directed their courſe to the ſouthward, and the hemiſphere was never intirely free from them. They are birds of paſſage, of beautiful plumage, and are excellent eating. The accounts given of their numbers are almoſt incredible; yet they are ſo well atteſted, and the opportunities of proving the truth of them are ſo frequent, as not to admit of their being called in queſtion. Towards evening they generally ſettle upon trees, and ſit one upon another in ſuch crowds, as ſometimes to break down the largeſt branches. The inhabitants, at ſuch times, go out with long poles, and knock numbers of them on the head upon the rooſt; for they are either ſo fatigued by their flight, or terrified by the obſcurity of the night, that they will not move, or take wing, without ſome great and uncommon noiſe to alarm them. I met with ſcarcely any other food at the ordinaries where I put up: and during their flight, the common people ſubſiſt almoſt wholly upon them.

Boſton, the metropolis of Maſſachuſets-Bay, in New England, is one of the largeſt and moſt flouriſhing towns in North America. It is ſituated upon a peninſula, or rather an iſland joined to the continent by an iſthmus or narrow neck of land half a mile in length, at the bottom of a ſpacious and noble harbour, defended from the ſea by a number of ſmall iſlands. The length of it is nearly two miles, and the breadth of it half a one; and it is ſuppoſed to contain 3000 houſes, and 18 or 20,000 inhabitants. At the entrance of the harbour ſtands a very good light-houſe; and upon an iſland, about a league from the town, a conſiderable caſtle, mounting near 150 cannon: there are ſeveral good batteries about it, and one in particular very ſtrong, built by Mr. Shirley. There are alſo two batteries in the town, for 16 or 20 guns each; but they are not, I believe, of any force. The buildings in Boſton are in general good; the ſtreets are open and ſpacious, and well paved; and the whole has much the air of ſome of our beſt county towns in England.—The country round about it is exceedingly delightful; and from a hill, which ſtands cloſe to the town, where there is a beacon to alarm the neighbourhood in caſe of any ſurprize, is one of the fineſt proſpects, the moſt beautifully variegated, and richly grouped, of any without exception that I have ever ſeen.

The chief public buildings are, three churches; thirteen or fourteen meeting-houſes; the governor's palace; the court-houſe, or exchange; Faneuils-hall; a linen-manufacturing-houſe; a work-houſe; a bridewell; a public granary; and a very fine wharf, at leaſt half a mile long, undertaken at the expence of a number of private gentlemen, for the advantage of unloading and loading veſſels. Moſt of theſe buildings are handſome: the church, called King's Chapel, is exceedingly elegant; and fitted up in the Corinthian taſte. There is alſo an elegant private concert-room, highly finiſhed in the Ionic

manner.—I had reaſon to think the ſituation of Boſton unhealthy, at leaſt in this ſeaſon of the year; as there were frequent funerals every night during my ſtay there.

The ſituation of the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, including the diſtrict of Plymouth *, is between the 41ſt and 43d degree of north latitude, and about 72 degrees weſt longitude. The climate, ſoil, natural produce, and improved ſtate of it, are much the ſame as of Rhode Iſland. It is divided into counties and townſhips †; and each townſhip, if it contains forty freeholders ‡, has a right to ſend a member to the aſſembly §, the preſent number of repreſentatives amounts to between 130 and 140; of which Boſton ſends four.

The number of ſouls in this province is ſuppoſed to amount to 200,000; and 40,000 of them to be capable of bearing arms. They carry on a conſiderable traffic, chiefly in the manner of the Rhode Iſlanders; but have ſome material articles for exportation, which the Rhode Iſlanders have not, except in a very trifling degree; theſe are ſalt-fiſh and veſſels. Of the latter they build annually a great number, and ſend them, laden with cargoes of the former, to Great Britain, where they ſell them. They clear out from Boſton, Salem, Marblehead, and the different ports in this province, yearly, about ton of ſhipping. Excluſive of theſe articles, their manufactures are not large; thoſe of ſpirits, fiſh-oil, and iron, are, I believe, the moſt conſiderable. They fabricate beaver-hats, which they ſell for a moidore a-piece; and ſome years ago they erected a manufactory, with a deſign to encourage the Iriſh ſettlers to make linens; but at the breaking out of the war the price of labour was enhanced ſo much that it was impoſſible to carry it on. Like the reſt of the colonies they alſo endeavour to make woollens; but they have not yet been able to bring them to any degree of perfection; indeed, it is an article in which I think they will not eaſily ſucceed; for the American wool is not only coarſe, but in compariſon of the Engliſh, exceedingly ſhort. Upon the beſt inquiry I could make, I was not able to diſcover that any one had ever ſeen a ſtaple of American wool longer than ſeven inches; whereas in the counties of Lincoln and Leiceſter, they are frequently twenty-two ‖ inches long. In the ſouthern colonies, at leaſt in thoſe parts where I travelled, there is ſcarcely any herbage ¶; and whether it is owing to this, or to the exceſſive heats, I am ignorant, the wool is ſhort and hairy. The northern colonies have indeed greater plenty of herbage, but are for ſome months covered with ſnow; and without a degree of attention and care in houſing the ſheep, and guarding them againſt accidents, and wild beaſts, which would not eaſily be compenſated, it would be very difficult to increaſe their numbers to any great amount. The Americans ſeem very conſcious of this fact, and notwithſtanding a very

* Sagadahoc and the Main, very large territories, lying north of New Hampſhire, belong alſo to the province of Maſſachuſets Bay; they were annexed to it by the new charter of 1691. The Main forms one county called the county of York, and ſends three members to the council; Sagadahoc, which is annexed to it, ſends one.

† Townſhips are generally ſix miles ſquare, and divided into ſixty-three equal lots, viz. one lot for the firſt ſettled miniſter as inheritance, one lot for the miniſtry as glebe-lands, one lot for the benefit of a ſchool; the other ſixty lots to ſixty perſons or families, who, within five years from the grant, are to erect a dwelling-houſe, and clear ſeven acres of land, fit for mowing or ploughing, &c.

‡ By the charter, every freeholder ſhould poſſeſs 40s. freehold, or 5ol. perſonal eſtate; but I believe this article has not been ſtrictly adhered to.

§ Every town, containing forty freeholders, has a "right" to ſend a member to the aſſembly, but is not abſolutely "obliged" to do ſo, unleſs it contains eighty freeholders.

‖ The common average length, I am told, is about ſixteen inches.

¶ I ſpeak of the country in general; in particular ſpots, as at Greenway Court, the herbage is very fine and luxuriant.

ſevere prohibition, contrive to procure from England every year a conſiderable number of rams, in order to improve and multiply the breed. What the lands beyond the Alleghenny and upon the banks of the Ohio may be, I do not know; they are ſaid to be very rich: but the climate, I believe, is not leſs ſevere; and I think, upon collating different accounts, that the ſeverity of heat and cold is not much abated by cultivation. The air becomes drier and more wholeſome, in proportion as the woods are cut down, and the ground is cleared and cultivated; but the cold is not leſs piercing, nor the ſnow leſs frequent. I think therefore upon the whole, that America, though it may with particular care and attention, produce ſmall quantities of tolerably good wool, will yet never be able to produce it in ſuch plenty and of ſuch a quality as to ſerve for the neceſſary conſumption of its inhabitants.

The government of this province is lodged in the hands of a governor or lieutenant-governor, appointed by the king; a counſel of twenty-eight perſons choſen annually, with the governor's approbation, by the general aſſembly *; and a houſe of repreſentatives † annually elected by the freeholders. The governor commiſſions all the militia, and other military officers; and, with conſent of the council, alſo nominates and appoints all civil officers, except thoſe that are concerned in the revenue. He calls and adjourns the aſſembly, and has in every reſpect a very extenſive authority. His ſalary, with perquiſites, amounts to about 1,300l. ſterling per year. The governor and council together have the probate of wills, and the power of granting adminiſtrations and divorces.

There are ſeveral courts of judicature. All actions under twenty ſhillings ſterling are cognizable by a juſtice of peace, from whoſe determination there lies an appeal to the inferior county-court of common-pleas; and from hence to the ſuperior provincial court in its circuits, which is alſo a court of oyer and terminer in criminal affairs, and is held by a chief juſtice and ſome aſſiſtant judges. In this court, if the determination is not ſatisfactory, a rehearing of the cauſe may be had with a different jury ‡; and even, by petition to the general aſſembly, a ſecond rehearing: the dernier reſort is to His Majeſty's council, but this is only in caſes of 300l. ſterling value; and the appeal muſt be made within fourteen days after judgment.

The eſtabliſhed religion here, as in all the other provinces of New England, is that of the congregationaliſts; a religion different in ſome trifling articles, though none very material, from the Preſbyterian. There are, beſides theſe however, great numbers of people of different perſuaſions, particularly of the religion of the church of England, which ſeems to gain ground, and to become more faſhionable every day. A church has been lately erected at Cambridge, within ſight of the college, which has greatly alarmed the congregationaliſts, who conſider it as the moſt fatal ſtroke that could poſſibly have been levelled at their religion. The building is elegant, and the miniſter of it (the reverend Mr. Apthorpe,) is a young man of ſhining parts, great learning, and pure and engaging manners ‖.

* They are choſen by the new repreſentatives, and the laſt year's counſellors; ſo that each counſellor has a vote in his own re-election. The governor has a negative to every counſellor's election, without being obliged to aſſign a reaſon.

† Each repreſentative muſt be reſident in the townſhip for which he is elected; he muſt alſo have a plurality of votes reſpecting the number of voters, and not in compariſon only of the other candidates; he is paid for his attendance and ſervices, and ſubject to a fine if he neglects them.

‡ Juries are, I believe, appointed partly by lot, and partly by rotation.

‖ This gentleman, I have heard, afterward met with ſo much oppoſition and perſecution from the congregationaliſts, that he was obliged to reſign his cure, to quit the colony, and has ſince lived in England upon a living, (I believe in Surry,) which was given him by the late Archbiſhop Secker.

Arts

Arts and ſciences ſeem to have made a greater progreſs here than in any other part of America. Harvard college has been founded above a hundred years; and although it is not upon a perfect plan, yet it has produced a very good effect. The arts are undeniably forwarder in Maſſachuſets Bay, than either in Penſylvania or New York. The public buildings are more elegant; and there is a more general turn for muſic, painting, and the belles lettres.

The character of the inhabitants of this province is much improved, in compariſon of what it was; but puritaniſm and a ſpirit of perſecution is not yet totally extinguiſhed. The gentry of both ſexes are hoſpitable and good-natured; there is an air of civility in their behaviour, but it is conſtrained by formality and preciſeneſs. Even the women, though eaſineſs of carriage is peculiarly characteriſtic of their nature, appear here with more ſtiffneſs and reſerve than in the other colonies. They are formed with ſymmetry, are handſome, and have fair and delicate complexions; but are ſaid univerſally, and even proverbially, to have very indifferent teeth.

The lower claſs of the people are more in the extreme of this character; and which is conſtantly mentioned as ſingularly peculiar to them, are impertinently curious and inquiſitive. I was told of a gentleman of Philadelphia, who, in travelling through the provinces of New England, having met with many impertinences from this extraordinary turn of character, at length fell upon an expedient almoſt as extraordinary, to get rid of them. He had obſerved, when he went into an ordinary *, that every individual of the family had a queſtion or two to propoſe to him, relative to his hiſtory, and that, till each was ſatisfied, and they had conferred and compared together their information, there was no poſſibility of procuring any refreſhment. He therefore the moment he went into any of theſe places, inquired for the maſter, the miſtreſs, the ſons, the daughters, the men-ſervants and the maid-ſervants; and having aſſembled them all together, he began in this manner: "Worthy people, I am B. F †. of Philadelphia, by trade a ———, and a bachelor; I have ſome relations at Boſton, to whom I am going to make a viſit; my ſtay will be ſhort, and I ſhall then return and follow my buſineſs, as a prudent man ought to do. This is all I know of myſelf, and all I can poſſibly inform you of; I beg therefore that you will have pity upon me and my horſe, and give us both ſome refreſhment."

Singular ſituations and manners will be productive of ſingular cuſtoms, but frequently ſuch as upon ſlight examination may appear to be the effects of mere groſſneſs of character, will, upon deeper reſearch, be found to proceed from ſimplicity and innocence. A very extraordinary method of courtſhip, which is ſometimes practiſed amongſt the lower people of this province, and is called tarrying, has given occaſion to this reflection. When a man is enamoured of a young woman, and wiſhes to marry her, he propoſes the affair to her parents, (without whoſe conſent no marriage in this colony can take place); if they have no objection, they allow him to tarry with her one night, in order to make his court to her. At their uſual time the old couple retire to bed, leaving the young ones to ſettle matters as they can; who, after having ſate up as long as they think proper, get into bed together alſo, but without pulling off their under garments, in order to prevent ſcandal. If the parties agree, it is all very well; the banns are publiſhed, and they are married without delay. If not they part, and poſſibly never ſee each other again; unleſs, which is an accident that ſeldom happens, the forſaken fair-one prove pregnant, and then the man is obliged to marry her, under pain of excommunication ‡.

The

* Inns are ſo called in America. † Benjamin Franklin.

‡ A gentleman ſome time ago travelling upon the frontiers of Virginia, where there are few ſettlements, was obliged to take up his quarters one evening at a miſerable plantation, where, excluſive of a negro or

The province of Maſſachuſets Bay, has been for ſome years paſt, I believe, rather on the decline. Its inhabitants have loſt ſeveral branches of trade, which they are not likely to recover again. They formerly ſupplied not only Connecticut, but other parts of the continent, with dry goods, and received ſpecie in return; but ſince the introduction of paper currency they have been deprived of great part of this commerce. Their ſhip trade is conſiderably decreaſed, owing to their not having been ſo careful in the conſtruction of veſſels as formerly; their fiſheries too have not been equally ſucceſsful: they have had alſo a conſiderable number of provincial troops † in pay during the courſe of the preſent war, and have been burthened with heavy taxes. Theſe have been laid upon eſtates real and perſonal. Some merchants in Boſton, I have been credibly informed, have paid near 400l. ſterling annually. — Aſſeſſments are made by particular officers, who, with the ſelect men, conſtables, overſeers, and ſeveral others, are elected annually by the freemen, for the direction and management of each particular townſhip.

There is leſs paper money in this colony than in any other of America; the current coin is chiefly gold and ſilver; and Boſton is the only place, I believe, where there ever was a mint to coin money.

I was told of a very impolitic law in force in this province, which forbids any maſter or commander of a veſſel, to bring ſtrangers into the colony, without giving ſecurity that they ſhall not become chargeable to it.

However, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, Maſſachuſets Bay is a rich, populous, and well-cultivated province.

I cannot take leave of it without relating a very extraordinary ſtory, communicated to me by perſons of undoubted credit, as it further tends to illuſtrate the character and manners of its inhabitants.

Some years ago, a commander of one of His Majeſty's ſhips of war being ſtationed at this place, had orders to cruiſe from time to time, in order to protect our trade and diſtreſs the enemy. It happened unluckily that he returned from one of his cruiſes on a Sunday; and as he had left his lady at Boſton, the moment ſhe heard of the ſhip's arrival, ſhe haſtened down to the water's ſide, in order to receive him. The captain on landing, embraced her with tenderneſs and affection; this, as there were ſeveral ſpectators by, gave great offence, and was conſidered as an act of indecency, and a flagrant profanation of the Sabbath. The next day, therefore, he was ſummoned before the magiſtrates, who with many ſevere rebukes and pious exhortations, ordered him to be publickly whipped. The captain ſtifled his indignation and reſentment as much as poſſible, and as the puniſhment, from the frequency of it, was not attended with any great degree of ignominy or diſgrace, he mixed with the beſt company, was well received by them, and they were apparently good friends. At length the time of the ſtation expired, and he was recalled; he went, therefore, with ſeeming concern

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two, the family conſiſted of a man and his wife, and one daughter about ſixteen years of age. Being fatigued, he preſently deſired them to ſhew him where he was to ſleep; accordingly they pointed to a bed in a corner of the room where they were ſitting. The gentleman was a little embarraſſed, but being exceſſively weary, he retired, half undreſſed himſelf, and got into bed. After ſome time the old gentlewoman came to bed to him, after her the old gentleman, and laſt of all the young lady. This, in a country excluded from all civilized ſociety, could only proceed from ſimplicity and innocence; and indeed it is a general and true obſervation that forms and obſervances become neceſſary, and are attended to, in proportion as manners become corrupt, and it is found expedient to guard againſt vice, and that deſign and duplicity of character, which, from the nature of things, will ever prevail in large and cultivated ſocieties.

† Between ſix and ſeven thouſand, I believe.

to

to take leave of his worthy friends, and that they might ſpend one more happy day together before their final ſeparation, he invited the principal magiſtrates and ſelect men to dine with him on board his ſhip, on the day of his departure. They accepted the invitation, and nothing could be more joyous and convivial than the entertainment which he gave them. At length the fatal moment arrived that was to ſeparate them; the anchor was apeak, the ſails were unfurled, and nothing was wanting but the ſignal to get under way *. The captain, after taking an affectionate leave of his worthy friends, accompanied them upon deck, where the boatſwain and crew were in readineſs to receive them. He there thanked them afreſh for the civilities they had ſhown him, of which he ſaid, he ſhould retain an eternal remembrance, and to which he wiſhed it had been in his power to have made a more adequate return. One point of civility only remained to be adjuſted between them, which, as it was in his power, ſo he meant moſt fully to recompenſe to them. He then reminded them of what had paſſed, and ordering the crew to pinion them, had them brought one by one to the gang-way, where the boatſwain ſtripped off their ſhirts, and with a cat-of-nine-tails laid on the back of each forty ſtripes ſave one. They were then, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the crew, ſhoved into their boats; and the captain immediately getting under way, ſailed for England †.

The 12th of October I embarked on board His Majeſty's ſhip the Wincheſter, of fifty guns, Captain Hale commander, for the river Piſcataqua, in New Hampſhire; and we came to an anchor there the next day, after a pleaſant paſſage.

The capital of this province is Portſmouth, which is ſituated upon the river; it is an inconſiderable place, and chiefly built of wood. Very little can be ſaid of the province of New Hampſhire, materially different from what has been ſaid of Maſſachuſets Bay. — The climate, produce, trade, government, religion, and manners of it are much the ſame. — There are ſuppoſed to be about 40,000 inhabitants, 8,000 militia, and 6 or 700 provincial troops. — There are only two miſſionaries of the church of England, and one of theſe has lately applied to be removed to Rhode Iſland. — The chief articles for exportation are fiſh, cattle, ſhips, of which they annually build near 200, and maſts for the royal navy. Theſe are made of the white pine, and are, I believe, the fineſt in the world, many of them being forty yards long, and as many inches in diameter. They never cut them down but in times of deep ſnow, as it would be impoſſible in any other ſeaſon to get them down to the river. When the trees are fallen, they yoke ſeventy or eighty pair of oxen, and drag them along the ſnow. It is exceedingly difficult to put them firſt into motion, which they call raiſing them; and when they have once affected this, they never ſtop upon any account whatſoever till they arrive at the water's ſide. Frequently ſome of the oxen are taken ill, upon which they immediately cut them out of the gears, and are ſometimes obliged, I was told, to deſtroy five or ſix pair of them. — The foreſts where theſe maſts grow are reſerved to the crown, which appoints a ſurveyor of them, who is commonly the governor of this province. This is not the only expedient employed by government for the preſervation of ſuch trees as may be of uſe for the royal navy; for there is an act of parliament, I believe, which prohibits under pain of certain fines and penalties, the

* This is uſually written "under weigh:" but I am extremely doubtful of the propriety of the phraſe.

† This ſtory has lately appeared in one of the Engliſh Newſpapers, told with much humour, and with ſome difference reſpecting the occaſion and mode of the captain's puniſhment. The author cannot take upon himſelf to ſay which account may be moſt exact, but he has choſen to abide by that which he heard at Boſton. They either of them ſerve to characterize the people, and to anſwer the author's purpoſe in relating it.

cutting down or deſtroying of any white pine-tree of ſpecified dimenſions, not growing within the boundaries of any townſhip, without His Majeſty's licence, in any of the provinces of New England, New York, or New Jerſey; a reſtriction abſolutely neceſſary, whether conſidered as ſecuring a proviſion for the navy, or as a check upon that very deſtructive practice taken from the Indians, of fire-hunting. It uſed to be the cuſtom for large companies to go into the woods in the winter, and to ſet fire to the bruſh and underwood in a circle of ſeveral miles. This circle gradually contracting itſelf, the deer, and other wild animals incloſed, naturally retired from the flames, till at length they got herded together in a very ſmall compaſs. Then blinded and ſuffocated by the ſmoke, and ſcorched by the fire, which every moment came nearer to them, they forced their way, under the greateſt trepidation and diſmay, through the flames; and were no ſooner got into the open day-light again, than they were ſhot by the hunters, who ſtood without, and were in readineſs to fire upon them. — The trees included within the circle, although not abſolutely burnt down, were ſo dried and injured, that they never vegetated any more; and as the fire did not only contract itſelf inwardly, but dilated alſo outwardly, and ſometimes continued burning for ſeveral weeks, till rain, or ſome accidental circumſtance put it out; it is incredible what injury and devaſtation it occaſioned in the woods. — I was once a ſpectator of a ſimilar fire in Virginia, which had happened through accident. Nothing could be more awful and tremendous than the ſight. It was of great extent, and burned ſeveral weeks before the inhabitants could ſubdue it. They effected it at laſt by cutting away the underwood, in wide and long avenues, to leeward of the fire, by which it was deprived of the means of communicating or ſpreading any farther. — In Virginia (and I believe the other colonies), there is an expreſs act of aſſembly, paſſed in the 12th year of his late Majeſty, to forbid this practice.

The province of New Hampſhire, I was informed at Portſmouth, has grown rich during the war, by the loſs of its own veſſels, they having been commonly inſured above value.

The currency here is extremely bad, not better than that in Rhode Iſland.

Having travelled over ſo large a tract of this vaſt continent, before I bid a final farewell to it, I muſt beg the reader's indulgence, while I ſtop for a moment, and as it were from the top of a high eminence, take one general retroſpective look at the whole. An Idea, ſtrange as it is viſionary, has entered into the minds of the generality of mankind, that empire is travelling weſtward; and every one is looking forward with eager and impatient expectation to that deſtined moment, when America is to give law to the reſt of the world. But if ever an idea was illuſory and fallacious, I am fully perſuaded that this will be ſo.

America is formed for happineſs, but not for empire: in a courſe of 1,200 miles I did not ſee a ſingle object that ſolicited charity, but I ſaw inſuperable cauſes of weakneſs, which will neceſſarily prevent its being a potent ſtate.

Our colonies may be diſtinguiſhed into the ſouthern and northern, ſeparated from each other by the Suſquehannah and that imaginary line which divides Maryland from Penſylvania.

The ſouthern colonies have ſo many inherent cauſes of weakneſs that they never can poſſeſs any real ſtrength. The climate operates very powerfully upon them, and renders them indolent, inactive, and unenterpriſing; this is viſible in every line of their character. I myſelf have been a ſpectator, and it is not an uncommon ſight of a man in the vigour of life, lying upon a couch, and a female ſlave ſtanding over him, wafting off the flies, and fanning him, while he took his repoſe.

The ſouthern colonies (Maryland, which is the ſmalleſt and moſt inconſiderable, alone excepted) will never be thickly ſeated: for as they are not confined within determinate limits, but extend to the weſtward indefinitely; men, ſooner than apply to laborious occupations, occupations militating with their diſpoſitions, and generally conſidered too as the inheritance and badge of ſlavery, will gradually retire weſtward, and ſettle upon freſh lands, which are ſaid alſo to be more fertile; where, by the ſervitude of a negro or two, they may enjoy all the ſatisfaction of an eaſy and indolent independency: hence the lands upon the coaſt will of courſe remain thin of inhabitants.

The mode of cultivation by ſlavery is another inſurmountable cauſe of weakneſs. The number of negroes in the ſouthern colonies is upon the whole nearly equal, if not ſuperior, to that of the white men; and they propagate and increaſe even faſter.—Their condition is truly pitiable; their labour exceſſively hard, their diet poor and ſcanty, their treatment cruel and oppreſſive: they cannot therefore but be a ſubject of terror to thoſe who ſo inhumanly tyrannize over them.

The Indians near the frontiers are a ſtill farther formidable cauſe of ſubjection. The ſouthern Indians are numerous, and are governed by a ſounder policy than formerly: experience has taught them wiſdom. They never make war with the coloniſts without carrying terror and devaſtation along with them. They ſometimes break up intire counties together.—Such is the ſtate of the ſouthern colonies.

The northern colonies are of ſtronger ſtamina, but they have other difficulties and diſadvantages to ſtruggle with, not let arduous, or more eaſy to be ſurmounted than what have been already mentioned. Their limits being defined, they will undoubtedly become exceedingly populous: for though men will readily retire back towards the frontiers of their own colony, yet they will not ſo eaſily be induced to ſettle beyond them, where different laws and polities prevail; and where, in ſhort, they are a different people: but in proportion to want of territory, if we conſider the propoſition in a general and abſtract light, will be want of power: but the northern colonies have ſtill more poſitive and real diſadvantages to contend with. They are compoſed of people of different nations, different manners, different religions, and different languages. They have a mutual jealouſy of each other, fomented by conſiderations of intereſt, power, and aſcendency. Religious zeal too, like a ſmothered fire, is ſecretly burning in the hearts of the different ſectaries that inhabit them, and were it not reſtrained by laws and ſuperior authority, would ſoon burſt out into a flame of univerſal perſecution. Even the peaceable quakers ſtruggle hard for pre-eminence, and evince in a very ſtriking manner that the paſſions of mankind are much ſtronger than any principles of religion.

The colonies, therefore, ſeparately conſidered, are internally weak; but it may be ſuppoſed that by an union or coalition they would become ſtrong and formidable: but an union ſeems almoſt impoſſible: one founded in dominion or power is morally ſo: for, were not England to interfere, the colonies themſelves ſo well underſtand the policy of preſerving a balance, that, I think, they would not be idle ſpectators, were any one of them to endeavour to ſubjugate its next neighbour. Indeed, it appears to me a very doubtful point, even ſuppoſing all the colonies of America to be united under one head, whether it would be poſſible to keep in due order and government ſo wide and extended an empire; the difficulties of communication, of intercourſe, of correſpondence, and all other circumſtances conſidered.

A voluntary aſſociation or coalition, at leaſt a permanent one, is almoſt as difficult to be ſuppoſed: for fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in

in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealouſy and emulation which they poſſeſs in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Penſylvania and New York have an inexhauſtible ſource of animoſity, in their jealouſy for the trade of the Jerſeys. Maſſachuſets Bay and Rhode Iſland are not leſs intereſted in that of Connecticut. The Weſt Indies are a common ſubject of emulation to them all. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony are a conſtant ſource of litigation. In ſhort, ſuch is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of intereſt, of the different colonies, that I think, if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind, were they left to themſelves, there would ſoon be a civil war, from one end of the continent to the other; while the Indians and negroes would, with better reaſon, impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them all together.

After all, however, ſuppoſing what I firmly believe will never take place, a permanent union or alliance of all the colonies, yet it could not be effectual, or productive of the event ſuppoſed; for ſuch is the extent of coaſt ſettled by the American colonies, that it can never be defended but by a maratime power. America muſt firſt be miſtreſs of the ſea before ſhe can be independent or miſtreſs of herſelf. Suppoſe the colonies ever ſo populous; ſuppoſe them capable of maintaining 100,000 men conſtantly in arms, (a ſuppoſition in the higheſt degree extravagant), yet half a dozen frigates would, with eaſe, ravage and lay waſte the whole country from end to end, without a poſſibility of their being able to prevent it; the country is ſo interſected by rivers, rivers of ſuch magnitude as to render it impoſſible to build bridges over them, that all communication is in a manner cut off. An army under ſuch circumſtances could never act to any purpoſe or effect; its operations would be totally fruſtrated.

Further, a great part of the opulence and power of America depends upon her fiſheries, and her commerce with the Weſt Indies; ſhe cannot ſubſiſt without them; but theſe would be intirely at the mercy of that power, which might have the ſovereignty of the ſeas. I conclude therefore, that England, ſo long as ſhe maintains her ſuperiority in that reſpect, will alſo poſſeſs a ſuperiority in America; but the moment ſhe loſes the empire of the one, ſhe will be deprived of the ſovereignty of the other: for were that empire to be held by France, Holland, or any other power, America, will, in all probability, be annexed to it.—New eſtabliſhments formed in the interior parts of America, will not come under this predicament; I ſhould therefore think it the beſt policy to enlarge the preſent colonies, but not to eſtabliſh freſh ones; for to ſuppoſe interior colonies to be of uſe to the mother country, by being a check upon thoſe already ſettled, is to ſuppoſe what is contrary to experience, and the nature of things, viz. that men removed beyond the reach of power will be ſubordinate to it.

October 20. I embarked again on board the Wincheſter, for England; and arrived in Plymouth Sound the 21ſt of November, after a rough and tempeſtuous voyage.

Drawn by A. de Humboldt.

E. Cooke, sc.

Peak of Orizaba, from the Forest of Xalapa.

TRAVELS TO GUAXACA*,

CAPITAL OF THE PROVINCE OF THE SAME NAME, IN THE KINGDOM OF MEXICO.

BY M. NICOLAS JOSEPH THIERY DE MENONVILLE.

Avocat de Parliament, and Botaniſt to the King.

AFTER communicating to the miniſter of His Majeſty at the head of the naval department the plan I had laid of naturalizing the nopal and cochineal inſect in the French colonies, and receiving with his approbation of my deſign the means requiſite for inſuring its ſucceſs, I made all diligence to put this plan in practice.

In this view I embarked for Port-au-Prince, and arrived there after a paſſage, equally tedious and fatiguing, of ſixty-ſix days. Tired and diſguſted with the ſea I determined on enjoying eaſe for the ſpace of a month or two on ſhore, a relaxation for which length of time appeared to me neceſſary towards my becoming acquainted with the mode to be adopted for penetrating into the interior of the Spaniſh territory bordering on that belonging to France, whence I expected to find a more ready conveyance to Vera Cruz, or to Honduras. Already had I formed ſchemes for proceeding to Santo Domingo, or, at any rate, for ſeeking at the Cape an opportunity of reaching Havannah by the veſſels of the Aſſiento company, which paſs between that place and the Cape in the traffic for ſlaves; but I could not diſguiſe from myſelf that either of theſe two plans was attended with inconvenience.

In the firſt place, I might experience a tedious delay by waiting at the Cape till a veſſel ſhould ſail for the Havannah. On the other hand, a journey to Santo Domingo would preſent many difficulties to an individual unacquainted either with the roads or the uſages of the inhabitants, and naturally alarmed by the accounts he received of the little intercourſe ſubſiſting between the coloniſts of the two nations.

I was ſtill wavering in opinion reſpecting the moſt prudent plan to adopt, when, by one of thoſe fortunate events which, occaſionally, in my travels, I was ſo happy to experience, I was relieved from all perplexity.

I learned that a merchant of Port-au-Prince was about to diſpatch a brigantine to Havannah for the purpoſe of recovering the cargo of a veſſel which had been wrecked in its vicinage.

Inſtantly, altogether mindleſs of the comforts I began to enjoy in a country which I had ſo ardently deſired to ſee; diſregarding the want even which I phyſically experienced of ſome repoſe, I reſolved to avail myſelf of this opportunity. Repairing,

* The ſame with Oaxaca, pronounced 'Hooah'-haca.

 therefore,

therefore, to the intendant * of the colony, I obtained from him a paſſport in which was deſignated botaniſt and phyſician. This latter title, to which I had juſt pretenſions, poſſeſſing a diploma for the practice of phyſic, I conceived would enable me to travel with additional pleaſantneſs, and render me leſs ſuſpected than I might otherwiſe be in my incurſion into New Spain. To conclude, I received, in lieu of ſix thouſand livres promiſed me by the miniſter of the navy, no more than four thouſand, a circumſtance occaſioned by the deficiency of money in the treaſury.

However ſmall this ſum I refrained from all contention in the matter. I was indeed far more fearful of not undertaking the voyage than of the want of comforts to which I might be expoſed; nay, after a nice computation of the amount I might need, I decided on carrying with me no more than two thouſand livres; nor let my deciſion be charged with ariſing from a ſordid parſimony, it was not for my individual benefit I thus made a retrenchment from the expence incident on an undertaking of ſuch importance, and reſolved on ſubmitting to every ſacrifice to enſure its completion: no; by thus acting I preſerved a reſource in caſe of the failure of my firſt attempts. Eventually I might meet with oppoſition to my views at the Havannah, and waſte there much time and money; in which caſe I ſhould have means left for trying other expedients, ſeeing that Porto Bello, Carthagena, and St. Thomas de Honduras, were ſo many other roads I might attempt with proſpect of ſucceſs. Indeed, I computed on no other heavy expences than thoſe which the different charges for paſſage would occaſion, as I made up my mind beforehand to ſubſiſt on bread and water on my journey, ſupported by the pleaſing reflection that ſhould I meet with ſhipwreck I yet had two planks remaining, one in the hands of a truſty friend, and the other in the royal treaſury.

My preparations were ſimply and ſpeedily effected: a few clothes, ſome fruit and other refreſhments, but eſpecially a number of phials, flaſks, caſes, and boxes of all ſizes, comprized the whole of my little cargo.

I embarked † on the 21ſt January 1777, on board the brigantine Dauphin, pierced for ſixteen guns, and an excellent ſailer. At ten P. M. we weighed anchor, and by eight the next morning, under favour of a breeze from the eaſt, were a-breaſt of the Point of Gonave.

We ſteered on different tacks the whole of the 22d, in the channel of Gonave; by eight P. M. we were under Mount Louis, and attempted to double the point of Saint Mark; the wind blew from the N. E., and enabled us to effect this object in courſe of the night, which was remarkably fine: a meteor, reſembling an arrow of fire, ſhot horizontally from eaſt to weſt through the atmoſphere, at an elevation of eight hundred toiſes ‡, its courſe marked by a broad train of light.

By morning on the 23d we had paſſed Point St. Mark, and diſtinguiſhed the bay of Gonaves, and the table of St. Nicholas Mole; at noon we perceived from one point Gonave, Point Mayzi in the iſland of Cuba, and the crazy Cape (Cap a Fou) of St. Nicholas Mole. The ſhores of Cuba on this eaſtern ſide ſeemed to me of equal elevation with thoſe of Santa Domingo.

The 24th, at ten in the morning, I obſerved two very light and broken clouds, reſembling reeds, ſpreading through the ſpace of a league, and croſſing each other at obtuſe angles, whence I conjectured that in the upper regions of air two different

* M. de Vaivne, now (at the publication of the book) intendant-general of the colonies.

† Notwithſtanding this journal of the voyage from Santo Domingo preſents little that is intereſting, it has, for the benefit of ſeamen, been thought right to give it inſertion.

‡ About 5000 feet.

currents

currents exiſted, one of which, by obtaining predominance over the other, would neceſſarily cauſe the wind to change which at that period filled our ſails. This day we coaſted along the whole of the ſouth-eaſtern ſhores of the iſland Cuba, in length at leaſt thirty leagues. The lands in this part are ſo high that during almoſt the whole day the clouds floated below the ſummit of the mountains. The coaſt, very lofty towards the eaſt, becomes inſenſibly leſs ſteep as you proceed ſouth-weſt, until at length it ſinks into a low ſhore. At Cape Cruz the country has a barren appearance; the mountains are ſteep and craggy, with many black rocks which project conſiderably, and there is no appearance either of cultivation or inhabitants: we were but four leagues off this coaſt, and diſtinguiſhed at the time that of Jamaica. When the moon roſe we noticed a repetition of the phenomenon of the croſſing clouds.

On the 25th a moderate wind, aſſiſted by the currents, carried us out of ſight of the ſhores of Cuba. We caught a ſeine, two feet long, weighing ſix pounds, and beautifully marked with blackiſh vertical ſtripes. At eight P. M. the wind freſhened to that degree we were obliged to lower our main top-gallants, take in our ſweeps, and reef our top-ſails: the ſea ran high and the veſſel pitched terribly; fortunately the moon, now at her full, afforded us a welcome light.

The wind during the 26th ſtill continued violent, with a heavy ſea, but this gradually became more calm as the wind, which was from the north-eaſt, abated of its force. The wind continued on our quarter during the remainder of the day, ſo that we made nine knots an hour. At noon we diſcovered the iſland of Caymans, very low, almoſt covered by the ſea, and apparently four leagues diſtant; we were now on the parallel of the Jardin de la Reyna, expecting on the morrow to ſee the Iſland de Pozos (of Wells). At eight we caught a caranque, a kind of perch.

The evening was ſerene, the wind abaft from the weſt. At eight o'clock more than five hundred porpoiſes were ſeen frolicking before us in the water; of theſe one was taken five feet long; this, which was a female, I diſſected, and deſcribed. At three P. M. on the 27th, we perceived El Jardin de la Reyna, low iſlands adjacent to that of Pines: we therefore had made a progreſs of ſixty leagues from yeſterday.

The whole night we had fair weather with a good breeze; but as all the currents off this coaſt run towards the ſhore, we were under neceſſity of ſteering ſouth-weſt till day-break, with little ſail out.

On the 28th we again ſteered north-weſt. By eight in the morning we made the Iſle of Pines; this is a very long iſland: on it are three mountains, and a flat country covered with lofty trees, and ſeemingly adapted to cultivation. At three P. M. we diſtinguiſhed the Eaſtern Cape, preceded by a chain of mountains, ſome of them ſeparate from the others. This cape conſiſts of low lands, which ſtretch into the ſea the diſtance of ſix leagues. We made off here ten knots an hour, with a briſk gale from the N.N.E. In the evening we diſtinguiſhed Cape Saint Antonio, but as there are breakers four leagues out at ſea, we dared not venture to double it during the night; we therefore ſteered with little ſail till eleven at night, making frequent tacks; but the man at the helm being overcome with ſleep, by two A. M., we found ourſelves ſteering for land a league only a-head; immediately we changed our tack, and backed ſails; at five A. M. we reſumed our courſe, and doubled the cape at a league diſtant. The low lands of this cape appear fertile, being covered with large and beautiful trees. At eleven o'clock we were near the ſhallows, on which we perceived the veſſel whoſe cargo we came to demand. Theſe ſhallows abound in little iſlets, and extend from ſeven to eight leagues out to ſea, in a direction north and ſouth. The water above them is of an emerald green, brilliant and pellucid when looked at in a glaſs; the

colour of the ſurrounding ſea is a deep blue. The greateſt depth of water in this bank does not exceed eight feet; ſo that not the ſmalleſt craft dare venture to croſs it at right angles. When upon the ſkirts of this ſhallow we ſaw diſtinctly the bottom veined black and white, though there was fifteen fathoms water. We immediately veered about and ſteered N. W. and ſaw a French veſſel imitate us. We were obliged all night long to ſteer upon different tacks, firſt N. W. and then S. W., the wind being adverſe.

The 30th the wind blew ſtill from the ſame point, with leſs or greater violence: whether the men at the helm had ſteered falſe during the night, or whether the ſhip had deflected from her courſe owing to the currents, we found ourſelves three leagues to leeward of our reckoning; indeed, we again diſtinguiſhed the veſſel belonging to the owner of our ſhip near the ſhore, bearing S. E., and by it a boat leaving a cove in its vicinage.

The 31ſt we found ourſelves fifteen leagues above the ſhoal; in fact, after tacking, by four P. M., we again had ſight of Cape Saint Antonio, four leagues below us. In the evening a mizzling ſhower obſcured objects from our view, but after the rain the wind veered to the north, when we ſteered eaſtward.

The 1ſt of February in the morning, the wind blowing from the ſouth-eaſt, we directed our courſe northward: during the whole night we ran along the coaſt, ſteering E. N. E., but out of ſight of land. The winds were this day ſo adverſe that ſpite of our reckoning we were much embarraſſed to know where we were, but ſuppoſed ourſelves near to land, and being unwilling to continue out of ſight of it, we ſteered S. E. under eaſy ſail throughout the night.

On the 2d at day-break, we made land three leagues diſtant, but were unconſcious what part. By noon, however, we clearly diſtinguiſhed a ſorry hamlet, compoſed of a few ſtraw-houſes, which we aſcertained to be Batcyaouda. We now continued our courſe with all ſails ſet, and under main and mizen top-gallants; nevertheleſs, we were unable to fetch the Havannah, though we had a highly picturesque proſpect in our run of twelve leagues along the coaſt, of very lofty mountains, with ſudden and pleaſing intervals; the mountains, from the effect of ſhade, occaſionally appearing perpendicular. At length night came on, when we found ourſelves oppoſite a very large mountain. Here we backed ſails. This whole coaſt, bounded by ſhoals, the whole diſtance from Cape Saint Antonio, appears to be very unhealthy.

We remained oppoſite this mountain the whole night, for fear of paſſing the Havannah, the preciſe ſite of which was unknown to us, in order not to near the land too cloſe, taking care to keep conſtantly ſounding. The wind, on this occaſion, which was very violent, and the ſtrength of the currents, gave us conſtant trouble, and much fatigued our crew.

On the 3d at dawn of day, we had deflected nearly ten leagues towards the E. S. E. and were oppoſite Marian's Table, a remarkable object, the form of which is deſcribed in the journal of a previous voyage. This table is the annunciator of the Havannah, which is ſituate three leagues beyond, and is readily diſtinguiſhed by two hills, near to each other, in the ſhape of the female breaſt. We now unfurled all ſails, and by nine in the morning diſtinguiſhed the city.

As ſoon as within ſight of it, we hoiſted the French flag; an inſtant after we ſaw three flags raiſed as ſignals on a baſtion of fort Moro. The view of the city, the Havannah, occaſioned in me a ſingular emotion. The cities of our colonies reſemble nothing better than an aſſemblage of fiſhermen's huts conſtructed in lines; but the fortreſſes of the Havannah, its numerous domes, its lofty ſteeples, the red tops of

Engraved by George Cooke.

Harbour and City of the Havana

taken from Jesu del Monte

London: Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, Oct. 1821.

its houſes, its high and white buildings, all give it the appearance of an European town, and powerfully awakened in me the recollection of my darling country.

From the rampart we were directed, through a ſpeaking trumpet, to caſt anchor; but the noiſe of the waves breaking againſt the rocks, the whiſtling of the wind, and the clamour of the crew, combined to prevent our comprehending exactly what was preſcribed, and conſequently our obedience of the preſcription; nay, allowing that the injunctions had been fairly underſtood, as we could not conceive the neceſſity of them, they yet would have been diſregarded; hence, partly from chance, partly from deſign, availing ourſelves of the wind and tide, which carried us forward through the narrow ſtrait almoſt in ſpite of exertion, we ſteered under full ſail into the mouth of the port; thus, by one of thoſe adventurous darings, which are common perhaps to Frenchmen alone, we cut ſhort many ceremonies. It is indeed true, had the commander of the fort been a man more inclined to form and ſeverity than the one who fortunately for us was in ſtation, we ſhould not have acted thus, without imminent riſk of a few ungrateful ſalutes from twenty-four pounders.

The whole city aſſembled to enjoy the ſpectacle of a foreign ſhip entering the port without firſt caſting anchor. The captain, who afterwards carried me to Vera Cruz, was among the number: he told me that our temerity occaſioned him the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, and that ours was the only veſſel which had ever made ſo bold an attempt without having cauſe for repentance.

Be this as it may, beyond the Moro fort we were met by the barge of the captain of the port, making towards us with great ſpeed, and which completed our pilotage to an anchoring: by him we were conducted into the baſin, and placed in front of the government-houſe, under the cannon of the captain of the port.

We had ſcarcely caſt anchor before we were ſurrounded by a number of boats, in which were many idlers, and inquiſitive individuals, who immediately boarded us; four officers of the cuſtoms came in the number, who were ſucceeded by a major of the navy, with four ſoldiers from the ſhip of the admiral of the port, a veſſel of ſixty-four guns; finally, the aide-major of the place, with a ſerjeant and four fuſileers ſeconded theſe; our brigantine was crowded, and reſembled a prize; the officers of the contadors, and thoſe belonging to the navy and the land ſervice, ſeparately interrogated us, and received our declarations in writing of the motives of our voyage. For my part, I ſtated that I was a botaniſt, and came with intention of herboriſing. In reply to the conſequent queſtion, if we had not plants in our own country? I acknowledged that we were not deficient in that reſpect, but that thoſe of the Havannah had the credit of poſſeſſing ſuperior virtues. This, like all thoſe repreſentations which flatter Spaniſh vanity, attracted towards me a degree of conſideration which was the more augmented, when by a viſo of my paſſport, they noticed I was a regular phyſician: at this inſtant alſo a paſſenger ſecretly, and in confidence, imparted to ſome of the Spaniards that I was not only a phyſician, but one alſo of great eminence, who, however, wiſhed to hide my abilities, fearful if they ſhould become public, that I might be impelled to exerciſe them in the city: this communication much encreaſed the reſpect ſhewn to me from ſeveral quarters.

While at anchor we had notice given that we could not be permitted to land, and two guards belonging to the contador were left on board until orders ſhould be received from the governor, who was abſent, and not expected to return before a week ſhould paſs; learning this, we reſolved on addreſſing a memorial to him, but were void of expectation of any anſwer before the lapſe of two days; we were conſequently obliged to arm ourſelves with patience.

One

One of our paſſengers having ventured to land, and proceeded ſo far as to paſs for the captain of the ſhip, was detected in his impoſture, and ſent back under a guard of four muſqueteers.

This act of imprudence was nigh being of ſerious injury to us: it cauſed us to be looked upon with ſuſpicion, and we in conſequence were very narrowly watched; for three ſucceſſive nights I obſerved their boats, which relieved one the other every hour, and were conſtantly rowed round our ſhip, ſounding with graplings to determine whether or no any thing had been caſt overboard; in the day-time alſo nothing was allowed to leave the ſhip without being firſt ſubject to the niceſt ſcrutiny.

So little congenial with my feelings was this mode of life, that it cauſed me to look upon our ſhip as a priſon: the fancy had a powerful effect on me; and whether to this, whether to the thick and heavy air we breathed in the port, encloſed as it is by hills on every ſide, the complaint was to be aſcribed, I felt a violent head-ach, and breathed with great difficulty; ſucceeded to theſe ſymptoms a fever, with prognoſtics of a ſerious diſorder. I immediately had recource to a ſtrict diet, and pectoral and refreſhing potations; and the very day wrote to M. Dorrira, the intendant of the port, to the Marquis de la Tour, the governor, and to Don Juan Davant, the King's lieutenant, expoſing in my letters that my profeſſion was one which could give no room for ſuſpicion, and my ſtate of health ſuch as rendered confinement on board the ſhip not only very irkſome, but even dangerous; I repreſented to them, moreover, the perſuaſion I felt, from the high opinion held of them by the public in general, that, under the circumſtances I detailed, they would offer no objection to my requeſt to be allowed to go on ſhore.

By eight o'clock in the morning next day I diſpatched my letters, and as early as nine I received a moſt obliging and favorable anſwer from the intendant; but already the King's lieutenant, apprehenſive for my health, the injury I ſuſtained, which had been confirmed to him, ſent the aide-major of the place on board, to bring me on ſhore, and offer me the houſe of one of his friends for my reſidence until I ſhould recover.

I immediately left the ſhip, leaving my effects on board, fearful of the arrival of ſome counter-order, and afterwards paid a viſit to the two gentlemen mentioned, for the purpoſe of returning them my thanks. In M. Dorrira, formerly conſul at Bourdeaux, I noticed a highly prepoſſeſſing phyſiognomy, a ſerious, but at the ſame time mild deportment, accompanied by much affability, every appearance of a worthy character, and, finally, ſomewhat of French in his manners. He is a knight of the order of St. Charles; and, reſpecting his deſerts, his integrity, and benevolence, there exiſts but one and that a highly flattering opinion. Don Juan Davant is one of thoſe veteran and gallant military characters whom experience has rendered conſummate in his duty, full of frankneſs, and poſſeſſed of that noble-mindedneſs which is almoſt ever the concomitant of real bravery: he is brigadier of the armies, and general inſpector of the colony.

Both theſe gentlemen received me in the moſt handſome manner, begging my pardon even for their ignorance of my indiſpoſition: they proffered their ſervices to me in every reſpect, and to confirm definitively the order for my landing, which hitherto had been but proviſional.

I held a long diſcourſe with the intendant on ſubjects regarding natural hiſtory, commerce, and manufactures; on his part he related to me, with much gratification to himſelf, the fact of certain bees which had accidentally been tranſported to the Havannah from Florida, having multiplied to ſuch a degree as to produce a very important branch of commerce and taxation, and this in the very limited ſpace of ſix years.

For

For the King's lieutenant he made many enquiries reſpecting the population of our colony in St. Domingo; its actual ſtrength in European ſoldiers, colonial troops, and militia: he frankly expoſed to me thoſe of the iſland of Cuba; and teſtified a full confidence in the perpetuation of the alliance ſubſiſting between France and Spain.

He was ſo obliging to admit my requeſt of being allowed to pay my reſpects to him, as alſo was the intendant: he even ſolicited me to make my viſits frequent, an invitation of which I availed myſelf with much ſatisfaction during my ſtay.

On leaving them I took a lodging in an inn in the great ſquare, where then the palace of government was building, and where already the office of accounts (contadoria) had been completed.

The land air, liberty, the grateful reception I experienced, theſe combined had a very ſalutary influence on my health, which was almoſt inſtantly evinced: three days were ſufficient to effect my perfect reſtoration.

I then had opportunity of ſurveying the whole of the town and its environs, and began to augur favourably of my travels.

On the return of the governor I haſtened to pay my reſpects to him. The intendant had already acquainted him with my landing: he received me with kindneſs, and granted me permiſſion to herboriſe within the precincts of the city; but while the appeal of humanity to his finer feelings enacted a grant of wider extenſion, the imperious obligation of the law forbade the allowance; he even in expreſs terms prohibited my advancing farther inland than ten leagues from the city. I returned him thanks in the moſt cordial manner for the licence I received, and not only, at my requeſt, obtained leave to pay my reſpects to him; but, after taking coffee, was politely invited to dine with him the ſucceeding day. I found him ſurrounded by many perſons of rank, as well military as others, to whom he introduced me, and eſpecially Don Luis Huet, director-general of the engineers and of fortifications, whom he informed me was of French extraction. On my praiſing a very beautiful ſquirrel from Mexico, of which, as well as of a parrot, I begged his permiſſion to take a likeneſs, he inſiſted on my accepting both the one and the other; but this exceſs of liberality I declined. Shortly after he made me withdraw into his cabinet to converſe reſpecting France: his queſtions, as well as his eaſy and noble manners, ſtamped him diſtinctly a finiſhed courtier: our converſation afterwards turned upon the arts. On this occaſion he led me to an alley he had planted with trees, and which I had previouſly ſeen: I frankly imparted my diſapprobation of the manner in which the ground was laid out; and after giving my reaſons why, in ſuch a burning climate, it ought rather to be covered with turf, he felt conviction. The ſtage formed the next ſubject of our diſcourſe: he ſhewed me the deſign for the curtain of the opera-houſe he had built, and on the boards of which he had ſucceeded in cauſing the Didone of Metaſtaſio to be repreſented: the deſign was a delicately flattering compliment paid the governor by the inhabitants, and one that, for an American city, might juſtly be conſidered of lively invention; but the execution of the draught by no means correſponded. Phœbus was repreſented in the chariot of day, leaving the palace of the hours, and illuminating with his beams the city of the Havannah, perſonified under the figure of a female, ſeated at the foot of a tree, near the margin of the ſea, and fronting the Moro caſtle: ſhe was crowned with towers and battlements, and reſted her right hand on a ſhield diſplaying the arms of the city, while with the other ſhe wantoned with genii. The fault in the execution chiefly conſiſted in the forced compliment intended for the marquis, and the conſequent inappropriate repreſentation of "the gorgeous palace of the ſun." Here, the name of the governor being de la Tour, the ſun was repreſented iſſuing from a very ſmall tower, the gate of

which, disproportionately small, resembled more that of a dungeon than a portal for the passage of the radiant car of the sun, and its four impetuous coursers. I pointed out this defect to the governor, observing at the time that seemingly the painter was ignorant of the metamorphoses of Ovid, and the pompous description of the palace of the sun, in that work beginning *Regia solis erat*. He sought excuse for the painter, and recommended me to go to the opera; at length I left him, greatly pleased with my reception, and perfectly easy respecting my sojourn at Havannah.

The following day I visited the opera: the interior constructed on the plan of that at Naples, is truly handsome, and possesses an airiness and elegance peculiar to itself, arising from the circumstance of the boxes being separated from each other only by delicate balustrades very wide apart: through every part of the house sound is conveyed distinctly; and from every quarter there is a perfect view of the stage; add to these, the pit has the advantage, uncommon in France, of seats for the spectators. The opera was performed in a manner, in my opinion, superior to any I had ever seen before. Æneas was represented by an Italian virtuoso, of exquisite voice, a most elegant figure, and noble countenance, and, with these prepossessions in his favor, who thoroughly comprehended his part, and acted in the first style: a Castilian was the Dido of the piece, her confident a mulatress, and Yarbe was given by a Spaniard: these three actors, a circumstance certainly not very common, alike sang with taste and precision, and admirably played alike the different characters. This was the first opera at which I had been present, where in lieu of the repeated thumps of a clumsy and noisy truncheon, the time was led by a violin of extraordinary power and precision, played by the secretary of the governor, which inspired the whole of the performers with an accuracy, a truth of expression, that rendered the harmony complete: through the whole piece I found no room for the slightest blame, except on the introduction of a solo, intended no doubt to display the superior abilities of an exquisite violin, and which perfectly effected this end, but which at the same time interrupted the concatination of the piece, and necessarily caused a diminution of interest in it among the audience.

However pleased with the opera, with their *comedia* I was far from satisfied; so many things in it occurred opposite to the taste and rules by which we are guided in France, that I saw nothing but ridiculous defects, of which these are some specimens: the name of God, of Jesus, of the Virgin, and of various saints occur in almost every phrase: the actors generally, but especially the women, never make their appearance without a rosary of beads; in every scene a duel is introduced; do two lovers meet, the scabbard must of consequence be emptied, and between two parentheses you read (*Saca la Spada*); all pieces, whether comic or tragic, are not only *comedias*, but *comedias famosas*, however wretched the piece, however despicable the author: to complete the picture, the titles of their pieces are ridiculously silly, as an instance, *La cabellera de Absalon*, The long hair of Absalom.

The *comedia* which succeeded the opera, was of a singular description: a single actor kills a dozen men, women, and children, without the slightest resistance on their parts, and ranges them in a row as he stabs them; the work complete, he calmly wipes his dagger on the upper leather of his shoe; this scene, so strange is the depravity of Spanish taste, was regarded as very fine. For my part, as it was carnival time, I imagined that this was an emblematic representation of the horrors attendant on drunkenness; but enquiring of one near me, I learnt I was mistaken: still, notwithstanding what I have observed, I have since discovered in their works of this kind abundance of wit, and many passages remarkable for their spirituality, delicacy, and gallant bearing. The author most admired at present is Calderon de la Barca.

The

The following day I again paid a viſit to the governor, and ſpoke to him of what I had ſeen, when the account I rendered appeared to give him great ſatisfaction.

I preſented to him, as I had previouſly to the intendant, a ſmall packet of ſeeds for the kitchen garden, and flower-ſeeds: theſe he divided, giving part to Don Luis Huet, who dined with him that day; and, as I afterwards underſtood he was a planter, I begged his acceptance of another packet: he expreſſed with great civility the inclination he felt to form an acquaintance with me; in conſequence, I invited him to my apartments, and a few days after he came in his carriage to take me to his country-houſe: here I found his lady, a Genoeſe of noble birth and extraordinary merit, one of his daughters, and an officer of the artillery. After breakfaſt, we went into the garden and ſewed all the ſeeds which I had preſented to him: our paſtime was truly a feſtival, enlivened by gaiety, wit, well merited compliments, and the moſt pleaſing converſation, in which due regard was maintained to decorum; in ſhort, ſo agreeably ſped the moments that we paſt through four hours of toil and ſcarcely thought them one. After our gardening was finiſhed, a very delicate dinner was ſerved up in the French ſtile: cards were then introduced; and when we had taken a walk through the plantation, we returned to town.

This villa is ſituate under the cannon of Fort Principe, which was planned by Don Luis Huet himſelf; and the works of which he pointed out to me with as much confidence as if we had been for years acquainted: the ſoil is ſtony and dry; ſtill manive, called by the Spaniards *yacca*, is cultivated here; and ſuch is the induſtry of the proprietor of the ground, that its produce yields an annual revenue of three thouſand piaſters.

Don Luis Huet is a man in high eſteem for ability in his profeſſion, as well as for his partiality to literature. With the confidence of the court he enjoys the reſpect of the people; and his rank of colonel, places him in a condition to look forward to a ſtill more diſtinguiſhed appointment.

His houſe was that where I moſt frequently viſited at the Havannah. Occaſionally I went to pay my reſpects to the governor, the intendant, and the King's lieutenant: the reſt of my time was employed in botanical excurſions round the town, in ſtudying the Spaniſh language, and pondering on the moſt material, the chief object of my travels.

Still I muſt confeſs time flew with leaden wings during my ſtay at the Havannah, a ſtay of more than ſix weeks.

The promiſe of the exterior of the city of the Havannah is belied by its internal appearance, which has little in it pleaſing; its length is about a mile and a half (1240 toiſes); its breadth three quarters of a mile (600 toiſes); its ſite is on a rock on the ſea ſide, and its form a ſemicircle, or rather ſemiellipſis, the greater diameter being along the ſhore; the houſes are all of them built of ſtone, from one to three ſtories high; it contains four very extenſive ſquares, which however are only half finiſhed, poſſeſs little ſymmetry, and are covered every where with rubbiſh; the ſtreets are regular and ſtraight, but narrow, with a foot-pavement on each ſide, and an unpaved road in the midſt, in which two carriages can ſcarcely paſs abreaſt; as the city is on a dead level, the water frequently ſtagnates on the rock, in which deep ruts have on progreſs of time been formed by the wheels of carriages; a plan has been propoſed for repairing the road, paving it, and giving it a ſlope; but the mode of paving projected, a ſpecimen of which I ſaw in ſome of the ſtreets near the government-houſe, is too ſingular to paſs unmentioned. The material employed is blocks of iron wood, ten inches ſquare, connected with other blocks longitudinally laid like a

floor; the ſolidity of this pavement is ſuch, that notwithſtanding the roads thus made have been travelled over for two years by a vaſt number of carriages, no trace on the wood of any wheel is ſeen, nor have the blocks in any part been diſturbed from their original poſition. Should the plan be carried into effect, and the whole city be thus paved, it will diſplay a very curious and ſpecial ſingularity. Towards the land ſide the Havannah is not ſtrong, as it is defended merely by a ſimple curtain, flanked by baſtions, and almoſt in every part without a ditch, owing to the immenſe labour requiſite to excavate the rock; it is however now ſecured from any attack on this ſide by the Fort del Principe, built eight hundred toiſes (nearly one mile) in advance, on an eminence which ſtretches to the town: on the ſide next the fort it is inacceſſible. The port, one of the moſt beautiful and ſpacious in the world, is a baſon nearly circular, which receives ſeveral ſmall rivers; it runs a league in depth from the neck to the extremity; the entrance is protected on the town ſide by a fort, oppoſite to the wall and ſides of three baſtions, which, placed one above the other in tiers, command the anchorage in the road; on each of the flanks of theſe baſtions there are commonly mounted eighteen twenty-four pounders: on the ſide fronting the country, a wall built on a rock, till the arrival of the Engliſh before it, conſidered impregnable, defends the entrance of the port; the Cavana, another fortreſs newly conſtructed above the wall, commands both the port and city, and its fire croſſes that of Fort del Principe; finally, two other ſmall forts at the bottom of the port, two tiers of guns on low batteries beneath the wall, the Cavana along the ſhore, and a battery level with the water, render this city extremely formidable: it is ſuppoſed that its different defences mount altogether eight hundred pieces of cannon, chiefly twenty-four pounders. Never will it be attempted on the part of any nation to force the gut, for ſuch an attempt would be madneſs: two Engliſh frigates which ventured the hazardous enterprize during the ſiege of the place, were in conſequence ſunk: nothing more beautiful than the appearance of the forts can poſſibly be imagined, their conſtruction being on the moſt profuſely expenſive ſcale. The only recommendation of the houſes of the town is a certain air of grandeur, large gates and courts, wide windows projecting two feet over the ſtreet, ſupported on pilaſters, heavy balconies of wood covered with tiles on the upper ſtories, paliſſades of wood coarſely faſtened, and of enormous ſize, all theſe give ſomewhat heavy, ſombre, and repulſive to the look of the houſes; internally they have commonly a vaſt court ſurrounded by Gothic arcades, large, and in the Mooriſh ſtyle; the gallery formed by theſe, communicates with large but ill-diſpoſed apartments badly furniſhed the doors and windows of them reſembling thoſe of a fort or dungeon, as much by the thickneſs of the portals as by their Gothic ſtructure. In the veſtibule, or in the chief apartment of the houſe, it is common to have the arms of the family blazoned in manner of trophies, an uſage derived from the time of chivalry, which if occaſionally it be but vain parade yet again oftentimes ſerves to excite true bravery and a ſpirit capable of any daring enterprize. The houſes of the lower orders have rarely any flat ceilings, and all, even thoſe belonging to people in eaſy circumſtances, inſtead of being favoured with wood, or ſquares of tile or ſtone, have merely an earthen floor, which by its preſerving humidity, I found of injurious effects to health. With the wealthy, the furniture of the rooms is of wood partly gilt, curtains of crimſon damaſk with gold fringe, and ſome japanned works, paintings, and glaſs luſtres. The beds are very ſimple, and no pier-glaſſes or other mirrors are ſeen, no inlaid work of wood for floors, and neither carpets or tapeſtry, in ſhort nothing correſponding with the ſumptuouſity or elegance of French apartments. The Spaniard is as modeſt in his dwelling as he is ſober in his mode of living; the Engliſh have taught him the

method

method of cooking certain diſhes, and the uſe of different pieces of furniture; of the talents of the diſciple, a judgment may readily be formed by reflection on who were his maſters.

The men wear coats of the French faſhion, but the cut of the body is ſo ſhort, that the pockets are nearly under the arm; above this coat, generally of cotton or taffity, a cloak is worn of buradilli or camblet; thoſe who ſeek to render themſelves conſpicuous, wear a blue or ſcarlet cloak, embroidered or trimmed with gold; this is a ſumptuoſity, however, not within the compaſs of every one, as ſuch a cloak coſts five hundred piaſters; ſtill thoſe of the height of faſhion decline wearing it, preferring the French dreſs. The hair, which is rarely ſeen powdered or frizzled, is enveloped in a net, and covered with a broad brimmed hat. Such is the dreſs of the men.

The women ſeldom wear gowns, but almoſt always are dreſſed in a corſet and petticoat, with an apron of gauze or muſlin, and a few ribbands; they wear no powder, nor is their hair frizzled, but braided and turned up, or worn in chignon under their cap; to this is added, attached above the hair, a ſprig of rue or abſynthum. Their ornaments conſiſt of croſſes, rings, gold necklaces, and large bracelets of maſſive gold, that weigh a quarter of a pound. Happy ſhe who wears a bracelet on her left wriſt! but how much happier if one on each! She amuſes herſelf conſtantly in faſtening and detaching them, as well as in pulling off and drawing on her glove, and all for the purpoſe of attracting attention to her beautiful and well turned arm. French women paint: for the Spaniſh ladies they have a black patch of a round or oval form at each temple; theſe at night are removed, and white patches are ſubſtituted (which pretty well reſemble a plaiſter); in the morning, they wear inſtead the leaf of an orange tree.

Few handſome women, and ſtill fewer who had pretenſions to elegance, were ſeen by me at the Havannah; they never go abroad, but in the morning to maſs, and the evening for a ride, hence they are not to be ſeen either in the ſtreets, ſhops, or any public room. Conſtantly ſhut up in their own apartments, the pleaſure of enjoying an airing out of the city is the only enticement can induce them to leave them. This indeed is their favourite pleaſure, nor is it coſtly; four hundred piaſters for a coachman, a hundred and fifty for a mule, five hundred for a chaiſe, in all about a thouſand piaſters pay every expence; hence the city ſwarms with carriages. Even the meaneſt clerk drives his chaiſe; and it is as common to preſent one to a miſtreſs, as in France a box of ſweetmeats.

It muſt further be obſerved, that in no part of the world is money ſo plenteous as at the Havannah. It circulates in taligas, reſembling thoſe bags of a hundred piſtoles in courſe at Paris; and the counters of the officers of revenue are covered with piles of reals of plate, which they exchange for hard dollars with ſingular diſpatch.

The markets are plenteouſly ſupplied with every kind of proviſion, but eſpecially vegetables, which are quite as good as in France; fiſh and turtle are extremely cheap; beef ſells at a real the four pounds; excellent mountain and tent wine at two rials the bottle; indeed, no town in America is better furniſhed with means of good living, or at a more reaſonable rate. This advantage is to be attributed in great meaſure to the diviſion of the real into quartillos of tin, for nothing is more favorable to œconomy than ſmall coin.

The trade of Havannah and Mexico is in the hands of the Catalans, whoſe commonly active, laborious, enterpriſing and perſevering diſpoſition, have acquired for many of them conſiderable fortunes; they are in conſequence an object of envy to Spaniards at large,

large, who ſeek to diſguiſe this feeling under the veil of contempt, an aſſumed ſentiment as little commendable as that which is the real one. For one Caſtilian engaged in trade there are thirty Catalans. Intoxicated with ſucceſs, however, they prayed for excluſive privileges, a kind of monopoly but too common in Spain. They had propoſed, as ſpeculators, to ſupply the colony altogether with wines from Malaga and Alicant at a real the bottle, whereas the actual price is two reals; but their petition was rejected; as it was accompanied by a requeſt of being the only ones allowed to introduce and ſell the commodity.

The articles of trade are iron, linen, iron ware, ſilks, clocks and watches, wines and ſpices.

At the Havannah, as in Mexico, little other is ſeen than Brittany linen, the coarſeſt of which ſells at a dollar the vara *. The iron ware is all of it imported from Germany; the clocks and watches from England; the ſmall quantity of Indianas and Perſianas conſumed, which are not from the fabrics of Mexico, are derived from France. The Genoeſe, for whom the Spaniards evince great partiality, furniſh them with all ſilk articles for veils, caſſocks, black hoods worn by the women on going to church, mantles for prieſts, &c. Their iron is partly drawn from Sweden, partly from old Spain. Spain likewiſe ſends hither oil, wine, and paper of deteſtable quality. What is highly ſingular, neither at Havannah nor at Vera Cruz can blue paper be procured: I wanted ſome quires to dry my herbs between, but was only able to procure a few ſheets in which certain goods had been inveloped, and which, notwithſtanding, I was charged for at a very extravagant rate.

Neither at the Havannah nor in any part of America is ſuch a thing known as a public promenade planted with trees. M. le Marquis de la Tour attempted to form one round the ramparts, but it did not ſucceed, and nothing but the walk remains unſheltered; another, attempted at an earlier period, and planted with orange trees, is likewiſe gone to ruin.

The Havannah contains about twenty-five thouſand inhabitants. The whole population of the iſland, including negroes and mulattoes, does not exceed a hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand ſouls, according to the ſtatement in poſſeſſion of the governor which I ſaw; and from a French engineer from Vera Cruz, who had lived a length of time at Mexico, I learnt that all this vaſt empire of Spain, in America, contains no more than a million inhabitants.

At the time I was there the Havannah contained no more than three thouſand regular troops, there was, however, in addition to theſe, a body of militia, excellently diſciplined, conſiſting of ſixteen hundred men.

Not a ſingle church did I obſerve worthy an account of its architecture to be noticed; all of them are long buildings, dark as dungeons, ornamented on the right and left with innumerable chapels, with frontiſpieces compoſed of a medley of orders of architecture, wretchedly encumbered with uſeleſs trappings, and ſtill more wretchedly diſfigured by the utter abſence of all proportion; though profuſely covered with gildings, theſe were at the ſame time claſſed, if the term be applicable, in the moſt revolting and ſuperſtitious confuſion: not one of theſe chapels but will have coſt upwards of ten thouſand piaſters, and in every church are at leaſt thirty or forty. At this time the church of the Jeſuits, deſigned for a cathedral, is nearly complete; on ſurveying it you would imagine before you a ſtructure of the ninth century.

Each of the thirty churches contained within the city, has ſeven or eight brotherhoods, who are conſtantly making proceſſions out of number, but theſe moſt eſpecially at the

* A meaſure ſomewhat leſs than a yard Engliſh.

period of carnival. At this time, (the ceremonies on which occaſion I had before noticed in France and St. Domingo,) at this time, I ſay, there could not have been here leſs than three thouſand proceſſions: nothing could be ſeen but proceſſions, and no other talk or noiſe was heard but of which theſe were the cauſe or theme. They were everlaſting, from morning to night, general proceſſions, and proceſſions of individuals, of pariſhes, communities, and of every brotherhood: the members of theſe patroled the ſtreets with lanterns, deafening the ear with the diſcordant notes of hoarſe baſſoons, and twanging guitars, and driving the god of ſleep from every eyelid as long as they laſted; finally, were proceſſions of every father of a family, followed by his wife, his children, and domeſtics, who, chaplet in hand, repaired to their particular chapels.

Every houſe has its chapel, at which each month a particular feſtival is celebrated.

The feſtival of the dedication of the different churches, and ſtill more particularly that of their ſeveral patrons, are grand celebrations: the evening before by nine o'clock the ſteeple is illuminated, and a grand concert is given, to which it is uſual to liſten from the roofs of the neighbouring houſes. The ſucceeding day this ſame ſteeple exhibits a variety of ſtreamers of different colours; the body of the church is filled with tapers to ſuch extreme as not badly to repreſent a fiery furnace, through the aiſles of which bad muſic is badly heard, but in which alſo ſplendid offerings are made.

The biſhopric of the Havannah reputedly produces forty thouſand piaſters. Don Fulano Echavaria, who is the preſent incumbent, is apparently high in favor at court. He cauſed an order to be publiſhed which bore for title "Eneuentra il execrable crimen de los contrabandiſtas," againſt the execrable crime of ſmuggling. I could not refrain aſking a prieſt of my acquaintance, who happened to be his ſecretary, if ſuch an offence was entitled execrable what epithet was in reſerve for the crime of treaſon? but my queſtion remained unſolved.

Nothing can be conceived more rigid than the ordinances againſt, nor more harſh than the puniſhments for ſmuggling, ſince the very firſt delinquency detected renders both body and goods of the culprit liable to confiſcation. Notwithſtanding this, nothing is more common than contraband traffic: all alike purſue it: burghers, prieſts and ſoldiers. Does a veſſel arrive? it inſtantly ſwarms with faces utterly unknown, and whoſe only buſineſs is to inform you, that ſuch and ſuch articles are prohibited, and officiouſly and out of pure good will to render you the ſervice of conveying ſurreptiouſly on ſhore your boxes of gold lace or other unlicenſed articles of import; nor preſume to ſhew or entertain the leaſt miſtruſt: an infidelity in inſtances of this kind is a matter unheard of, ſo readily are all in league to evade a law ſo barbarous and unjuſt.

Falſe coining is puniſhed by the ſtake.

In ſhort, every thing is either farmed or otherwiſe monopoliſed, which multiplies not only the temptation but the neceſſity of ſmuggling.

The baker of Havannah is obliged to buy a licenſe to proſecute his trade, for which he pays a hundred piaſters to government.

Paper, gunpowder, wine, tobacco, all are farmed throughout the whole of Mexico, and what is ſtill more ſingular, ſtill more odious, the tobacco and cacao grown in one province are prohibited articles in another. On the miſerable, and, verily, moſt miſerable, ſhores of Yucatan, I have ſeen the trade for boats, cables, cordage, and even hammocks excluſively engroſſed by farmers under the government.

Thus it is, by erroneous calculations, that the Spaniſh government annihilates the commerce, the population, and comforts of its ſubjects; hence flow diſcouragement, inactivity

activity and wretchedneſs, the infallible precurſors of weakneſs, uncleanlineſs, diſorders, and death.

To theſe cauſes, no doubt can be entertained, is the endemial leproſy of Carthagena, mentioned by the Abbé Raynal, to be aſcribed. Already has it ſpread to the Havannah, where a leper-ſpital has been conſtructed for the reception of a hundred and fifty patients: in this very ſpital are at the ſame time admitted ſuch as are afflicted with venereal complaints. I made a viſit to it in company with a phyſician of the country, but confeſs the ſight filled me with horror, and that I had need of great exertion, and the preſervative of a flaſk of ſtrong vinegar, with which I took care to be provided, to qualify me to ſupport the diſguſt by which my ſenſes were aſſailed. The management of the hoſpital is but indifferent, for, though ſurrounded with walls, the doors are conſtantly kept open in the day time, and the ſick are perpetually going in and out, without any reſtriction even from their traverſing the whole of the city.

Though France can boaſt of but little commerce with the Havannah, it is much to be apprehended that this frightful malady may eventually be introduced into her colonies; to effect this but little intercourſe is required, and communication to a certain extent is continuous. I could not look on a negreſs whom I ſaw at Port au Prince, and who was completely covered with an elephantiaſis, without ſhuddering at once with pity and horror: I ſaw the poor wretch, abandoned by her owners, begging through the ſtreets and markets, where thouſands of ſlaves were liable to receive the infection; and cannot refrain from obſerving, that much greater attention than is, ought to be paid to the prevention of thoſe terrible conſequences, to which this and ſimilar occurrences might lead.

For want of wells, all the houſes at the Havannah have ciſterns. Two of the ſquares are adorned with fountains which ſtream forth water conducted by ſubterranean channels from a ſmall river, the courſe of which is defended by the Fort del Principe, ſo that an enemy would be unable to cut off this ſupply from the city, in caſe of a ſiege, without firſt taking the citadel.

The air of the city is generally pure and healthy; the winds from the north, which prevail throughout half the year on the coaſt, cool the atmoſphere to that degree that I always felt cold at night, and even in the morning, until by ten the ſun's warmth diſperſed it, raiſing the thermometer of Bourbon, to five or ſix degrees above the freezing point.

Already had ſix months elapſed ſince my arrival at the Havannah, during which I had inceſſantly been tormented with the deſire of completing my enterprize: the time appeared to me in conſequence intolerably tedious. I delayed thus long the proſecution of my plan merely to prevent my becoming ſuſpected by a people naturally jealous and miſtruſtful, and whoſe eyes were conſtantly upon me: the better to lull ſuſpicion reſpecting the real object of my reſearches, I conſtantly affected the heedleſſneſs of a man intent on harborizing; but, at length, weary of the ſtate of incertitude in which I lived, and yielding to the impulſe which directed me to Vera Cruz, I began to think ſeriouſly of the means of reaching that city.

I thought it prudent ſtill to uſe ſtratagem, and pretending to be actuated by that volatility and inconſtancy of diſpoſition, oftentimes with ſo little propriety aſcribed to Frenchmen, and which occaſionally is ſo favourable a cover to deep deſigns, I feigned to be overcome with ennui from my long ſtay at the Havannah, and the too narrow limits preſcribed me as a botaniſt. I readily obtained belief, and met with commiſeration; and by this trick partly, and partly by a fortunate occurrence of which I availed myſelf, I ſucceeded to the height of my wiſhes.

One day Don Manuel Feliz Ruick, the factor of the Aſſiento company, at whoſe houſe I had twice before been to obtain change for ſome joes *, enquired if the report he had heard was true of my being a pupil of Mr. Juſſieu. On my ſatisfying him in the affirmative, he informed me that he himſelf had been ſecretary to Don Antonio Uloa, one of the literary characters diſpatched by the King of Spain, in company with our academicians to Peru; that he had been very intimate with him; and on account of his intelligence and ſocial virtues, that he had a more tender regard for him than any man alive. This ſubject of our converſation gave room for my obſerving, that I alſo ſhould have been delighted with an opportunity of viſiting Peru; but that, as my time was limited, and my means deficient for this purpoſe, I ſhould feel much pleaſure if any chance ſhould enable me to traverſe Mexico. Don Ruick inſtantly tendered me his ſervice towards procuring me the facility of making this journey; he was already highly intereſted in my favor from my intimacy with Mr. Juſſieu, promiſed me letters for Don Antonio Uloa, at that time general of the fleet at Vera Cruz, and generouſly proffered to become my ſurety in a bond of a hundred thouſand dollars.

This, certainly, was a very lucky incident, and a handſome progreſs towards the effectuation of my deſigns; but this was not all; I yet feared leſt the governor ſhould object to grant me a paſſport, notwithſtanding he had promiſed he would upon the inclination I expreſſed of ſeeing a country, in the praiſe of which he was no leſs laviſh than the reſt of his countrymen, prone to think well of their poſſeſſions. I perhaps miſtruſted him unjuſtly, but certainly not without ſome grounds for my fear; as, amid the careſſes and kindneſs I experienced from Don Lues Huit and his lady, I was able to trace a fund of curioſity, and was ſubject to queſtions, natural enough in themſelves, and eſpecially ſo coming from a woman.

I communicated my doubts to Don Ruick, which he eaſily diſperſed, and even promiſed to ſpeak on the ſubject the ſucceeding day, to the Marquis de la Tour.

I now made preparation for my departure, without communicating my intentions to any one breathing, not even my hoſt: the packet for Vera Cruz was to ſail in three days time, and ſhort as the notice, I reſolved not to miſs the opportunity before me.

The next day was Sunday, a day on which the governor holds a levee at his palace. The ſuperior officers, on this occaſion, the municipal officers of police and finance, repair to the palace between the hours of ten and eleven. The governor grants them audience, and receives their reſpects in the government hall: it may ſafely be ſaid that if this cuſtom eſtabliſhes, and reminds the courtiers of ſubordination, it leſſens the humiliation which the high ſpirited man, loſt in the crowd, muſt feel at being obliged to render homage to individuals undeſerving either of affection or eſteem; for this levee alſo furniſhes an occaſion for ſoliciting and obtaining trifling favours, and for expediting affairs of little moment which would only tend to perplex or clog thoſe particular audiences held for matters of graver import.

This was the firſt time of my being preſent at a ſimilar audience, and the object of my attending it was to ſolicit my paſſport; but finding here Don Manuel Ruick, who repeated the promiſe he had made me of ſpeaking himſelf on the ſubject to the Marquis de la Tour, I judged it expedient to leave the management of my ſolicitation with him, and withdrew, well ſatisfied with the proſpects before me.

In the afternoon the militia cavalry was to be reviewed: I ſaw the Marquis in company with Don Luis Huet, and both bent to me with great civility; this appeared to me of

* A Portugueſe coin value 35s. 2d. the price of Engliſh ſtandard gold being 37s. 10½d. the ounce troy. TRANS.

good

good omen, and I haſtened to the government houſe. As I aſcended the ſteps I met Don Luis who was leaving the hall, and who enquired if I repaired thither in view of aſking any favor; I anſwered in the affirmative, informing him of as much as was proper of my deſign: upon this he proffered to accompany me to ſecond my requeſt, at the ſame time adding, he thought his interpoſition would not be needed: in conſequence I thanked him for his politeneſs, and took my leave of him.

I waited but little ere the governor approached towards me with that benignant look his features commonly wore, and enquired what my wiſhes? I took the liberty of reminding him of the promiſe he had made of granting me a paſſport for Mexico; and ſtated I had come for the purpoſe of obtaining it. He gave it me at the inſtant, and without making it dear, as is but too common with his equals, by thouſands of difficulties and delays; he merely told me he was fearful I might not eventually meet with that gracious reception from the viceroy of Mexico which he himſelf deſired; concluding with wiſhing me ſucceſs on my voyage. I thanked him for his kindneſs, and after paying my reſpects withdrew. This excellent man remained a long time in the veſtibule to ſee me depart; and when on the laſt ſtair of the flight of ſteps I turned again to make my laſt ſalutation, I had the ſatisfaction to ſee him return it, teſtifying by his features and geſture the intereſt he took in my welfare. Men in place! how eaſy is it for you to engender love and veneration! whence can you ever chooſe to be diſtant, harſh, and rude?

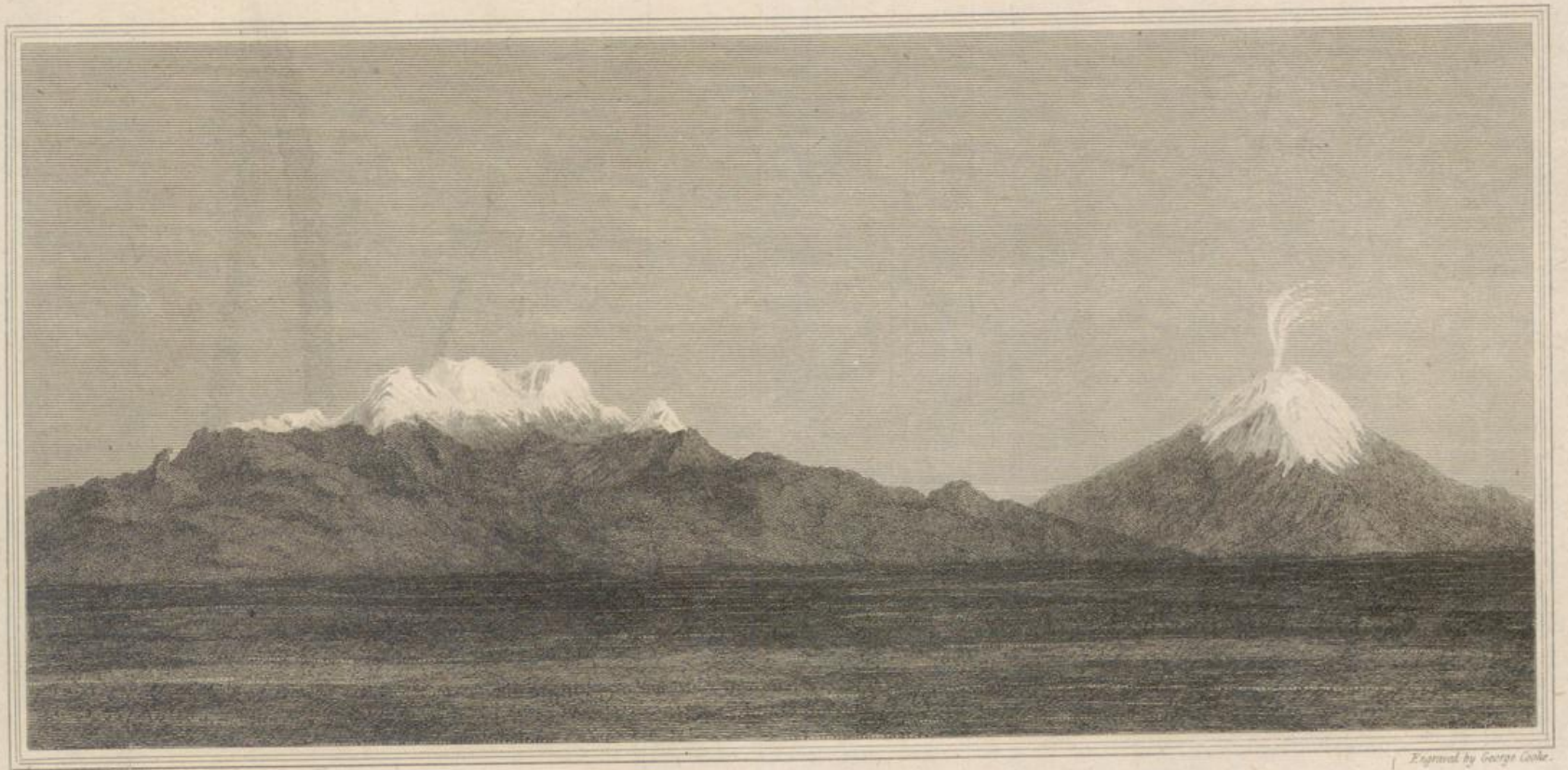
In poſſeſſion of my paſſport the livelineſs of my joy was proportioned to the inquietude I had felt reſpecting the poſſibility of my procuring it; folded in my pocket I kept it as the deareſt treaſure, and woe to him ſhould dare to raviſh it from my poſſeſſion! That it might be perfectly ſecure I flew to place it in ſafety; I haſtened light as air to Don Ruick, who gave me his letters for Don Antonio Uloa; I embraced him while I aſſured him of my devotion and gratitude, and returned to my hoſt to ſup with a feeling of contentment which defies expreſſion. Then only did I ſpeak of my departure: though apparently grieved to loſe me, as he reckoned upon my longer ſtay, mine hoſt yet condeſcended to ſhare the joy I expreſſed, and gave me letters for a merchant at Vera Cruz, and a ſettler at Theulchiſtan, on the road to Mexico.

I had now to treat for my paſſage: the maſter of the packet would take no leſs than a hundred hard dollars; the demand was exorbitant, but it was vain to reaſon, his avarice was inflexible: to all my arguments he oppoſed a truly Spaniſh phlegm and gravity, and coolly pocketed my money without once taking his cigar from his mouth. We were to have ſailed the following day, but his departure was procraſtinated three days longer, during which I made my farewell viſits.

At length, on the 11th March 1777, we went on board, and weighed anchor at eight in the morning, ſaluting the city and the ſeven citadels with one gun.

What then, and at all times ſeemed to me incredible, was the ſmall number of veſſels in this famous port; during the ſix weeks of my ſtay I noticed no more than fifteen of from eighty to two hundred tons, including the packet from Vera Cruz, and in this laſt port, though I remained there afterwards ten weeks, I ſaw no greater number.

With what pleaſure, as I left the port, did I contemplate thoſe tiers of batteries, the citadels and forts which line the approaches to the Havannah, and the innumerable mouths of thundering cannon with which they are furniſhed! On my arrival I fancied them all directed againſt me, all pointed towards the prevention of my ſcheme of obtaining the cochineal inſect: how much then muſt I not have felt elated! how grateful the ſelf-applauſe I enjoyed, at having had the temerity of braving, and the great good fortune



Drawn by A. de Humboldt.

Engraved by George Cooke.

Volcanoes of Puebla, as seen from the City of Mexico.

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fortune of avoiding their terribly menacing rows! No; when the Engliſh captured this important place, they experienced no higher ſatisfaction at their ſucceſs. Like them, I thought I held the key of Mexico: all future obſtacles vaniſhed from my ſight, and already I poſſeſſed in idea the precious treaſure which I ſought.

The veſſel on board of which I ſailed was a brig of ſixty feet keel, called the Vera Cruz Packet: it carried four carronades, two cannon, and a crew of nine perſons: we had ſcarcely left the fort before a twelve-oared cutter, rowing towards us, hailed us on the part of the governor: what was my conſternation! I inſtantly imagined that, repenting of having ſuffered my departure, the marquis had ſent orders for my being relanded: this apprehenſion threw a deadly pale over my countenance, and occaſioned ſuch a trembling in my frame that, had I been obſerved, I ſhould neceſſarily have been taken for a criminal. *Dei, deæque! quam male eſt extra legem viventibus, quidquid meruerunt ſemper expectant.* I was however quit from the panic I experienced: the miſſion of the cutter was merely to deliver letters on the part of the governor for Vera Cruz.

The ſky was ſerene, a favouring wind rippled the eaſy ſea, and the veſſel was an excellent ſailer: we kept in with the coaſt, ſteering as cloſe to the weſt as poſſible, and at day-fall were already eighteen leagues from the city.

The wind encreaſed during the night, and veered from S. W. to E. S. E.: we loſt ſight of land, and by noon on the 12th March were parallel with the ſhoals which bound Cape Sant Antonio. From the period of our departure we had conſtantly run ſix knots an hour with all ſails ſet. In the afternoon the ſea which had been very rough became more calm, and its ſurface was entirely covered by thoſe moluſcæ, called by ſailors, (galeres); we ſaw ſeveral large trunks of trees which had floated down the Miſſiſſippi into the Gulf of Mexico, and which by the currents of the Bahama ſtreights had been ſped hither. I had before remarked others ſimilar on the coaſt of Cuba, where they had been caſt by a tremendous ſtorm from the north: among theſe was one which exceeded a hundred and twenty feet in length, and of a diameter ſo conſiderable that, although on ſhore, I was unable to aſcend it otherwiſe than by the branchy end. I conjectured from the nature of the knots on the tree that it belonged to the family of pines of the larch kind: from time immemorial the whole coaſt of Vera Cruz has been covered with them; and ſome are ſo completely buried in the ſand, which encreaſes in this port daily, that nothing now but the roots are ſeen. Theſe trees are dangerous, no doubt, to approach in the night, but they ſerve as reſting places to an infinite number of aquatic fowl, who find rich paſture in the ſea, inſects which engender on them, and the ſhell fiſh, which, as to rocks, faſten on the trunks, roots, and branches.

At ſix in the evening we had a dead calm. The whole night long we ſailed with the wind ſlack but abaft. At five in the morning of the 13th we were again becalmed, but a wind aroſe with the ſun on that as well as on the ſucceeding day; though, throughout both, notwithſtanding we had the wind abaft, and the line ſhewed a run of ten knots an hour, we did not advance an inch: the ſea, through which we cut at a great rate, foamed and broke hard againſt the ribs of our ſhip, like where the wheel of a mill is violently acted upon by a rapid torrent: the veſſel bore on the ſame tack, riding very heavily, but with great celerity. We ſtill on the 14th continued oppoſite to the ſame mountains of Cuba we had ſeen the night of our departure: in ſhort, we actually had no change of poſition, a conſequence when the violence of the current is adverſe, and equivalent to the impetus of the wind. Nothing can be conceived more vexatious and tireſome than ſuch a predicament; fortunately we had good hammocks,

and an excellent table: the ſtricteſt diſcipline and moſt profound ſilence reigned on board, and the captain, a prime ſailor, was at the ſame time, though rather taciturn, extremely obliging. He aſſured us that for eleven years that he had frequented theſe ſeas, he never before experienced currents ſo powerful: he added, moreover, that the worſt months for navigating the gulph are September, October, November, and December, on account of the prevalence of north winds; that in June calms are frequent; and that the months of June, July, and Auguſt, the rainy ſeaſon, are ſubject to ſtorms and hurricanes: from theſe obſervations I determined on returning, if poſſible, in January, but at any rate, and at furtheſt, by Auguſt or September.

At length, on the 15th in the morning, after having doubled the ſhoals during the night, we loſt ſight of land, and by reckoning had alſo doubled Cape Sant Antonio. At noon the wind had much encreaſed: we furled our ſtay ſails and top gallants, and directed our courſe ſouth-weſt.

From this time we conſtantly had the wind either abaft or on the beam, that is to ſay, eaſt or ſouth-eaſt. On this day I ſaw Venus, the ſun being at that time five degrees above the horizon. The 16th we were on the bank of Yucatan, in the Gulf of Mexico: on ſounding we met with fine white ſand mixed with ſhells, in twenty-three fathoms water: in the gulf the winds were eaſt and ſouth-eaſt: from ten in the morning they inſenſibly turned to the weſtward, and after four P. M. revolved from weſt to eaſt. Our line ſhewed the run ſix knots; and as we were only a hundred leagues from Vera Cruz, we hoped, if the wind ſhould continue favourable, to reach it in four days. In the three days preceding we had ſeen a number of fiſh of the phocas tribe, and three or four hundred porpoiſes and ſmall phocas ſported and rolled about our ſhip, occaſionally preceding it, and ſeemingly endeavouring the one to outſtrip the other in velocity of ſwimming, now ſpringing to the height of a fathom above the ſurface, and falling with a daſhing noiſe, now advancing in pairs by the ſide of the ſhip, and apparently careſſing each other, while at a diſtance their dams were ſeen, half as large again as their offſpring, ſeemingly pointing out to them the courſe they ought to take. How far more pleaſing ſure the innocent enjoyment of ſuch a ſcene than amuſing oneſelf, as is cuſtomary, in purſuing, harpooning, and deſtroying theſe intereſting animals! Fortunately for them our ſailors had not leiſure for ſuch an amuſement; and, ſeparately from this circumſtance, they lived too well to ſeek for better fare.

At four P. M. we again heaved the lead, and found thirty fathoms on a bottom of remarkably white ſand.

The 17th, with ſimilar ground, we had but twenty fathoms. From midnight till noon the wind had ſlacked, and we made only three knots, but on its veering to the north after mid-day it freſhened ſo as to double our ſpeed. The ſky, covered with clouds at ſun-riſe, became again ſerene. We diſtinguiſhed certain white birds, the ſize of a duck, with the end of their wings fringed with black: I likewiſewiſe remarked a pelican, or frigate-bird, with a complete tail: all this announced to us the neighbourhood of land.

During the whole night of the 18th the wind blew ſtrong: on ſounding, the lead ſhewed firſt twenty-two, then twenty fathoms, with fine blue ſand mingled with ſhells. We ſaw a vaſt number of porpoiſes at ten A. M. At noon the wind, which had been ſouth, changed to ſouth-weſt, and ſunk into a calm: we availed ourſelves of this to throw out lines to the bottom of the ſea: theſe lines have each a hook attached to them with about an ounce of bacon, and are precipitated by means of two ſhot of a pound weight: this little exerciſe is diverting and profitable: in an hour's time we had caught two hundred weight of excellent fiſh: they were of three ſpecies, but all of the

perch kind: one denominated the negro, another a beautiful red ſardine, the third with long pectoral fins.

At four a wind ſprung up from the north, and blew from that quarter the whole night through, but afterwards reverted to the ſouth-eaſt: we made ſix knots an hour.

On the 19th we had forty-five fathoms water; from this we conjectured we were but eighty leagues from Vera Cruz, and that in three days time we might anchor before the town: this was the *ne plus ultra* of our wiſhes, but they were not ſo ſoon to be gratified.

In the evening we were becalmed: the ſun on ſetting was dimmed by a vapour which, though it did not eclipſe its light, diminiſhed the vivacity of its rays: the ſky, as well as the horizon, wore a gloom prognoſticating ſomewhat ſad and mournful: from ſeven till eleven the wind was north, and our courſe four knots: by two in the morning it encreaſed to a gale: the ſea ran frightfully high: we took in all ſails, chained up the rudder, and left the ſhip to the mercy of the waves: a thouſand times did they deluge the deck of our fragile veſſel, which now rode on their backs, and now was enveloped by their overtopping ſpray.

The whole of the 20th the weather was horrid: never in Europe had I experienced the like. In theſe ſeas the winds from the north blow with violence for the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, after which they abate for thirty more, and ceaſe for three days: they are piercingly cold and very frequent, ſo much ſo, that it is rare a fortnight paſſes in theſe regions during the winter without their being felt.

On the 21ſt the wind was leſs violent, and veered to the north-weſt, the morning miſty: at noon it blew north-eaſt, and for three hours it continued to rain: in the ſpace of eight-and-forty hours we had not advanced twenty leagues, and we yet had fifty to paſs, which we no longer expected to make in leſs than three more days.

The night of the 22d was rather a bad one: the wind was inceſſantly changing from ſouth-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, and, as well as the miſt with which we were eight different times enveloped, was every now and then ſucceeded by a dead calm: the rolling of the ſhip throughout the day was dreadfully fatiguing. In the morning a poor little bird of the ſize of a wren, but the colour of a green finch, came and rooſted on the veſſel: it endeavoured, ſkimming on the ſurface of the ſea, to fly againſt the wind, but, conſtantly overpowered, returned to us again; others made their appearance, one of which was taken, the reſidue were driven out to ſea by the violence of the hurricane. At one o'clock a butterfly paid us a viſit, and was greeted as an infallible index of our nearing the land, a truſt to which we gave ourſelves up with pleaſing reliance.

At night the unchequered ſky was ſpread before us in all its magnificence: a dead calm prevailed, and the rolling of the veſſel affected us exceedingly.

At length, on the 23d, we had ſight of land: the captain at firſt had doubts, but theſe were ſoon diſmiſſed: it bore ſouth, and we found ourſelves twenty leagues to leeward of Old Vera Cruz. We ſhould by this time have been at the mouth of the port had my advice been taken, which was, on the 22d, to ſail direct before the wind from the north: what induced me to give this counſel to the captain was a knowledge that in the Gulf of Mexico the north wind is but of three days duration; now as that was then the third, and the regular winds blow from the ſouth-eaſt, by ſteering from north to ſouth at the riſk of over-reaching New Vera Cruz on the 23d, the ſouth wind, which prevails throughout the whole day, would have been favourable to our encreaſing our latitude, and recovering the loſt way; inſtead of which, by being now to

leeward of the port, we had to beat up againſt the wind, and could ſcarcely hope to reach the port even on the ſucceeding day.

We ſteered within ſeven points of the wind, and made but ſlender progreſs. The lands of the coaſt we ſaw are more lofty than thoſe of Santo Domingo: they ran weſt and north: at night we were but ten leagues off, and the ſight of them diffuſed joy and ſatisfaction through every breaſt, but, the wind continuing as little favourable as ever, when within two leagues of land we tacked, and ran all night through to ſea. The ſhore we by this means avoided is that of Las Terras Liones, which ſtretches to the mountains of Alvarado, from the midſt of which, of a ſugar-loaf form, riſes the volcano Oriſſava, which we diſtinguiſhed the day before, though diſtant five-and-forty leagues, the country had a beautiful appearance, but, for the ſpace of forty-five leagues, that is to ſay, as far as to Old Vera Cruz, it is, notwithſtanding, unpeopled.

The 24th, in the morning, we had made about a league of progreſs: by noon the wind again came to the eaſt, nearly large, and inſpirited us with expectation of entering Vera Cruz on the ſucceeding day: at four it freſhened from the north-eaſt: at ſix abated: by eight we diſtinguiſhed the reefs in the vicinage of the port: we fired a gun, and immediately after diſtinguiſhed a light, which we conjectured to be from the caſtle of Saint John de Uloa, and we anſwered it by a light at our main-top-gallant, and fired a ſecond gun: we then perceived a ſecond light, preſumed from the ſhip of the admiral of the port. I thought it adviſable another gun ſhould be fired, but was fearful of communicating my opinion to the captain, mindful how little attention had been paid to my former obſervation: no doubt had a third gun been fired the major of the fleet, who in a galley with thirty men on board had left the port in ſearch of us, would not have miſſed his way.

We however made ſome way, but with little ſail ſet, and conſtantly ſounding: the fathoms indicate the paſſage into the port, for the reefs by which it is bounded render it very difficult of acceſs.

At ten at night we were boarded by two boats, each with thirty men on board, furniſhed with cables for mooring us, and with anchors and grapplings in caſe of need: they enquired after the major of the port, whom they expected to find with us, as he had ſailed before them.

They towed us along by dint of oars, favoured by a light wind: we threaded the tortuous labyrinth of the entrance, through which at length, by midnight, we reached the port.

We anchored under the cannon of the ſhip belonging to the captain of the port; itſelf at anchor a half cable's length from the caſtle. All night long it rained; and we were exceedingly incommoded by the hot and moiſt atmoſphere of this climate, as alſo by the vapours from land.

At five in the morning I was preparing to land, when the major of the fleet joined us: this gentleman was Don Pedro de Verthuizen, with whom it will be ſeen I afterwards was on terms of cloſeſt intimacy: at this inſtant I paid but little attention to him; for, judging after the French manner, I eſteemed him from the old coat he wore, covered by a ruſty ſurtout, to be no better than a ſerjeant of marines: he requeſted my paſſport, which I gave him, and he kept, and I obtained permiſſion to go on ſhore.

Uneaſy in extreme reſpecting the reception I ſhould meet with here, I put my baggage into the boat, and traverſed the port: on landing at a jetty about ten fathoms broad, and a hundred in length, which terminates at one of the gates of the city, I found

found there a numerous guard, contadors, officers of the port, and a multitude of curious idlers. It was requiſite my trunks ſhould be opened, but they were very looſely examined; as ſoon, however, as they came to my books they refuſed to let them paſs before a permit for that purpoſe ſhould be obtained from the vicar-general of the inquiſition: I haſtened to him, and found him a little old man with the air of a perfect ſaint, mounted on a chair near a table, and reciting his breviary. He held out to me his hand to kiſs; for my part, but little accuſtomed to a ceremony of this kind, and not aware at the inſtant of his intention, I ſhook it in a cordial manner. He requeſted of me a catalogue of my books: I anſwered, that they merely conſiſted of works relative to phyſic and natural hiſtory, ſuitable to a medical man and a botaniſt, and were ſo few in number that I had made out no catalogue of them: he was ſatisfied with my anſwer, and the bare mention of the names of the authors, and immediately gave me a licence for their entry.

Inſtantly the gates were opened to me, I waited on Don Thomas Taxueria, for whom my hoſt at the Havannah, Don Bernardin Liagotera, had given me letters: the merchant of Vera Cruz appeared to feel perplexed at this recommendation, and informed me that he had no other knowledge of Liagotera than what was derived from certain commercial intercourſe; and I ſet him much at his eaſe by informing him that, for the preſent, all that I expected from him was the kindneſs of indicating to me ſome good inn. He pointed out to me one oppoſite to the gate of Mexico, which I afterwards learnt was the beſt in the town; but, after this remark, what will be thought of the reſt when I make known that the only furniture of my apartment conſiſted of a table four feet by three, and that two benches ſix feet by three, formed the only bed, worthy, indeed, of a Spaniſh gentleman. As for mattreſſes, chairs, looking-glaſſes, &c. all theſe no doubt are regarded either as ſuperfluities, or conveniences of too extravagant a nature.

As ſoon as I had ſafely depoſited my effects in this charming apartment, I repaired to the general of the fleet, Don Antonio Uloa: at his gate I found a guard of ten men: his ſecretary introduced me into a large hall with furniture of very ancient date, and announcing me as a gentleman who brought letters from Don Manuel Feliz Ruick, a little man, at moſt but four feet ten inches high, ſpeedily made his appearance, dreſſed in an old jacket of nankeen, with ſilver buttons, grey-headed, and his hair without either powder or pomatum, tied and hanging over his ſhoulders; his countenance was bad, but his looks extremely mild and affable, and his eyes lively: a little diamond croſs, ſuſpended from a button-hole, beſpoke a man of rank. Such was Don Antonio Uloa: I ſaluted him as I preſented my letters: theſe explained the object of my journey, and intreated his aſſiſtance to obtain a paſſport for me to Mexico: he read them attentively; promiſed immediately to write on my behalf to the viceroy, and adviſed me to write at the ſame time myſelf. He invited me to be a frequent viſitor at his houſe and table, admoniſhing that dinner was regularly ſerved at half paſt one, and inſiſted on my dining with him that very day to begin; finally, he cauſed me to be preſented to the governor by the major of the fleet, whom I recognized for the ſame perſonage who had demanded my paſſport.

On repairing to the governor's, Major Don Pedro de Verthuizen was ſo kind as to tell me my acquaintance would be very agreeable to him: to this compliment I made a ſuitable reply, and I had full occaſion to prove it perfectly ſincere.

Don Fernan Palacio, governor of Vera Cruz, was a very different character to the general of the fleet: his ſour looks, his rough tone of voice, and rude ſpeech, prediſpoſed one againſt him at once. He readily granted me permiſſion to reſide at Vera Cruz,

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and botanize in his government; but refuſed to return my paſſport, which the general recommended me to aſk for; and at my departure pretended even it was miſlaid. I afterwards learnt that he aſſumed the governor of the Havannah had no privilege to grant ſimilar paſſports, and intended to avail himſelf of mine, to his diſcredit, for which purpoſe he was ſo obſtinate in refuſing it me.

I left him much chagrined at the reception I met with: it however occaſioned me the leſs ſurpriſe on learning, as I did afterwards, that he was on unfriendly terms with Don Uloa.

The next day the general did me the honour of introducing me to Dona Fulana de Boutilloz, the lady of the late intendant. She was a woman of fifty, who had been a perfect beauty, and ſtill retained traces of her former charms: her lively and natural flow of wit, and her noble and open character, endeared her to every one. The recommendation of the general was undoubtedly of uſe, for that very day ſhe offered me repeatedly her ſervice. *La caſa es a uſted*, my houſe is yours, ſhe ſeveral times obſerved, and that in a manner ſo cordial as perſuaded me of her ſincerity. She afterwards preſented me to her daughters, and informed me that the youngeſt was on the point of marriage with M. de Verthuizen: in ſhort, ſhe inſiſted upon my becoming as one of the family. At the inſtant her ſon made his appearance Don Juan de Boutilloz, a captain of the regiment of the crown. Soon as ſhe ſaw him, "Hither, my ſon," ſhe exclaimed, beckoning him, "here is a gentleman from your own country." This young man, in fact, had been educated in France, and had all the amenity peculiar to our youth. Such qualifications endeared him but more to his mother, who was as partial to the activity, politeneſs, and tolerant principles of the French, as diſguſted with the idleneſs, want of nicety in dreſs, and the fanaticiſm of the Spaniard.

Young Boutilloz was ſoon on terms of cloſeſt intimacy with me: he acted as interpreter between me and all the family, and eſpecially the ladies his ſiſters, who were conſtantly exacting French ſongs from me. I tranſlated for them the romance of Berquin, at which they were ſoftened even to tears; and I made hence the concluſion that this little piece is truly as excellent as individually it appeared to myſelf, obſerving the effect it had on ſenſible minds, though foreigners.

Some days after, at the ſame houſe, I met with M. de Ferſen, ſon of the lieutenant-general of that name: he advanced towards and embraced me, enquiring news from Paris, where he was born: he added that, being apprized of the arrival of a Frenchman in the country, he had for three days wandered in ſearch of me, with all the anxiouſneſs natural to a fellow countryman. When we left the houſe, the lady of it was ſo obliging to ſtate, as M. de Ferſen kiſſed her hand, that as we were both Frenchmen we ought not to be ſeparate, and that it was a province he ought to fill, the bringing me with him, and rendering me partaker of thoſe moments of recreation he occaſionally paſſed at her houſe.

This amiable youth led me to his houſe, where I found M. Duparquet, a gentleman from Dauphiny, as well as himſelf a captain in the Corps de Genie. They made me ſtay dinner; and here I was not a little ſurpriſed at finding our beverage cooled with ice, nor leſs at learning that this enjoyment, ample compenſation for a thouſand privations experienced here, is obtained for a trifle at Vera Cruz: daily eight mules, relieved at regular ſtages, arrive at this city laden with frozen ſnow from the mountain Oriſſava, diſtant about forty leagues. By this plan a pound of ice is obtained for a real of plate, and ice creams a l'anana, or a la ſapotilla, four times as large as in Paris thoſe charged fourteen ſous, may be had for an equal ſum.

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The dinners given by the lady of the intendant were ſerved up equally well in town as in the country, and what tended to render them the more grateful to me, the cookery and ſtyle were French.

In parties, formed by the individuals noticed, I ſpent my leiſure hours; but my botanical excurſions were not forgotten: they occupied daily the interval between four and ten in the morning.

In the earlieſt of my walks I found the convolvolus jalappa of Linné. I gathered as many ſeeds of it as I was able, pulled up ſeveral roots, and had them verified by the druggiſts of Vera Cruz, who, without knowing whence they came, pronounced them the real jalap: their opinion, as it conformed with the deſcription of Miller, convinced me of this plant being the true jalap of Mexico. I preſented ſeeds of it to the general, and with them a root weighing five-and-twenty pounds: he cauſed it to be planted in a box, for the purpoſe of tranſporting it to Europe, and enquired if it was common in the environs of Vera Cruz: nothing however could equal his ſurprize, when I informed him that, if he was anxious for ſuch a meaſure, I could engage to freight the veſſel with it, that bore his flag from the excluſive produce of the vicinage. Such is the idleneſs, the ignorance of this people, that they give three reals * a pound for this root at Jalappa †, while they might have it for a quartetto at Vera Cruz, if they would but take the pains to collect it.

A diſcovery like this rendered me famous throughout the city: I was looked upon as a moſt extraordinary character in thus being able to diſcover a treaſure in the very cuſtody of thoſe who were ignorant of its value. The eſteem this gave me was grateful; and the good diſpoſition of the people generally towards me, which my diſcovery occaſioned, I endeavoured to maintain and augment, not only by the earneſtneſs of my ſtudy of nature, which was no irkſome taſk, but alſo by a ſpecies of quackery, which I reckoned ſerviceable towards concealing my definitive projects. Whether in the fields or in the ſtreets I conſtantly had plants in my hand, and either employed myſelf in obſerving them through a magnifying glaſs, or in diſſecting them with niceſt care. My room was overſpread with papers, covered with plants, and my tables with phials and boxes containing ſeeds.

This policy indeed was requiſite to form an excuſe for my cuſtoms, and the walks I undertook, which elſe had been looked upon as purely vulgar; for the pride and vanity of the Spaniards was not a little ſhocked at ſeeing me journeying on foot every morning the diſtance of four or five leagues, loaded with a port-folio, and attended merely by a ſingle negro, who carried my books, a hatchet, a mattock, and my breakfaſt.

I ſucceeded even beyond my wiſhes in conciliating the admiration of every rank, and was known by no other denomination than the French phyſician. The ſailors and ſoldiers laid in wait for me to aſk advice for their complaints; at firſt, with the beſt intentions, I preſcribed remedies; but when this became irkſome to me, from their repetition and intemperance, I got rid of them by charging the cauſe to themſelves. The conſtant diſorders to which theſe folks are ſubject are a permanent ſpaſm, occaſioned and maintained by the practice of ſmoking tobacco, and the brandy and rum which they take without moderation: in conſequence, I proſcribed the uſe of theſe

* From 18d. to 19d. ſterling.

† A town twelve leagues from Vera Cruz, at the back of a mountain, and handſomely built: here that famous fair is held ordinarily of four months duration, at which the interchange of the produce of Europe and America takes place.

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articles, and forbade the applicants coming again to me for advice until after an abſtinence of three days: the preſcription ſpeedily diſguſted them, and they came to me no more; ſtill I conſtantly ſaw and noticed them pointing me out to their companions, with ſigns of great reſpect. A number of other perſons, tradeſpeople and individuals, of whom I had no knowledge, followed my ſteps with their eyes, and exclaimed with a kind of wonder, "Do but ſee that Frenchman, why he is going to Medelina on foot!" Unhappy people, ſo corrupted by eaſe and idleneſs were they, that theſe excurſions, delightful to me, appeared to them inſupportable; nay, to ſuch a pitch is their inertneſs carried, that their meaneſt ſervants cannot go a quarter of a league without requiring a horſe, nor enter a wood, till caſed in leather to preſerve their ſkin from muſquitos.

La Medelina is a hamlet ſix leagues from Vera Cruz, whither it is common to reſort in order to bathe in the river of that name. The ſpot itſelf has nothing to recommend it but its happy ſite, which draws thither many of the inhabitants of Vera Cruz. The bathing ſeaſon begins in May; for the houſes they are but wretched huts, almoſt loſt in the aſpiring graſs; and for refreſhments, ſcarcely is there a fowl or an egg to be had for money. Here, however, I paſt two days in the moſt agreeable manner, in company with the general of the fleet and the family of the intendant's lady.

But it is time now I ſhould give ſome idea of Vera Cruz.

This city ſtands in the Gulf of Mexico, on the margin of the ſea, in a ſandy and barren plain. Not the ſlighteſt culture embelliſhes its neighbourhood: on the ſouth infectious exhalations from ſtagnant marſhes contribute to render it exceedingly unhealthy. On the north, where, from the arid ſand, ſalt in cryſtals may conſtantly be collected, is the road to Mexico, which for ſeven or eight leagues runs parallel to the ſea. On the weſt downs of ſand, ejected by the waves, obſtruct the view of all but the loftieſt trees.

In proportion as this ſand, heaped up by winds from the eaſt and north, becomes dry, it is again diſperſed by the ſame winds, and thrown forward, either into the town, ſo as to cover all the houſes, or farther inland: to this circumſtance are to be attributed the downs by which it is ſurrounded. Whirlwinds, by raiſing this ſand, occaſionally obſtruct the ſight, and render breathing difficult.

Beyond this ſandy plain and the mountains by which it is encloſed, are woods full of wild beaſts, and meadows covered with flocks.

Vera Cruz is built in a ſemi-oval form: its largeſt diameter along the ſea-ſhore meaſures from ſix to ſeven hundred fathoms. It is ſurrounded merely by a wall or parapet ſix feet high by three broad, ſurrounded by a paliſade of iron-wood in bad condition. This wall, at intervals, is flanked by ſix indifferent baſtions, or ſquare towers, twelve feet high by twenty each ſide, ſome of them terraſſed, but the reſt empty; the wall has neither ditch, counterſcarp, nor any outward work. On the ſea-ſhore, on the ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt of the town, are two redoubts, or rather terraſſed baſtions, more regular than the others, with a cavalier, and a battery of cannon: the entrance into the port is commanded by theſe baſtions.

The whole of the houſes are of ſtone. The lime which mixed with ſand forms the cement, is obtained from madrepores, drawn up from the bottom of the ſea; as for the ſtone for the houſes, it is brought from Campechy. M. L'Abbé Raynal, led into error no doubt by the information he received reſpecting this city, deſcribes it as being built of wood, but I have the evidence of my ſenſes for the contrary, and the engineers, to whom I ſhewed the paſſage in his philoſophical hiſtory, aſſured me that the whole place did not contain a ſingle wooden houſe: it cannot even be affirmed that ſuch ever

was the nature of its ſtructure, as I have ſeen at leaſt twenty houſes, mayoraſgas*, which have laid in ruins for fifty years, the whole of the walls of which were of maſon's works; I however imagine that perſons have been induced to commit an error thus groſs in their deſcription from noticing the heavy and maſſive balconies of wood which entirely ſurround the houſes as at the Havannah, and which principally exciting and engroſſing their attention, will have cauſed them to make the ſtatement they have done.

The houſes are neither built with greater regularity nor are they more elegant than thoſe of the Havannah, but the ſtreets are wider and leſs cloſe: they are ſtraight, perfectly well paved with pebble, level, and well kept, which contributes to their neatneſs, and gives them the better appearance.

The only remarkable buildings are the churches; like thoſe of the Havannah, they are rich in ſilver plate, as are the houſes in porcelaine, and other furniture from China: in this conſiſts the whole of the luxury of the inhabitants, for they are ſo temperate that chocolate and ſweetmeats conſtitute almoſt the whole of their food.

Vera Cruz has three gates, that of La Medelina, that of Oriſſava, and that of Mexico.

Its only inhabitants are a ſlender garriſon, the agents of government, ſailors, and a certain number of merchants, or rather factors, for the vanilla, aniſeed, and cochineal, which could not be exported by the galeons, the chief commerce for European goods being tranſacted at Jalapa, iron only excepted; which is taken from Vera Cruz. This collective population may amount to from ſix to ſeven thouſand perſons, among whom if the governor be excepted, the adminiſtrators and the officers belonging to the land or ſea ſervice, there are very few you can viſit on ſocial terms.

The men are, generally ſpeaking, lofty minded and proud; either from this being the ſpecific character of their nation, or owing to their exceſſive wealth in a country where gold ſtamps ſo much value on its poſſeſſor†. They comprehend trade very well, but here, as elſewhere, their natural indolence, and their rooted habits, and ſuperſtition, render them irremediably averſe from labour. Inceſſantly are they ſeen with their chaplets and relics on their arms and round their neck: their houſes are filled with ſtatues, and paintings of ſaints; and their life is a ſeries of devotional practices.

The women live recluſe in their apartments above ſtairs, to avoid being ſeen by ſtrangers; though it is by no means difficult to perceive that, but for the reſtrictions impoſed on them by their huſbands, they would be far more eaſy of acceſs. Whenever they go abroad it is conſtantly in a carriage, as I have before noticed is the caſe at the Havannah; and as for thoſe who have no carriage they are wrapped up in a large cloak of ſilk, which covers them from head to heel, and has merely a ſmall opening on the right to enable them to ſee their road. Within doors they wear over the ſhift nothing but a ſmall ſilk corſet, laced with a gold or ſilver cord: the whole art of dreſſing their hair is confined to braiding it, turning it up, and faſtening it on the top of the head. Still, though ſo ſimple their dreſs, they wear a gold necklace, bracelets at the wriſt of the ſame metal, and at their ears pendants of emeralds of greateſt value, ſo true is the obſervation, that faſhion and a taſte for luxury is preſcribed by no rule! Generally ſpeaking, the fair in this city are not handſome; for however rich their dreſs they ſhew a deficiency of grace and fancy, and, under an apparent reſerve, are ſtrongly inclined to laſciviouſneſs.

The only amuſements are the negeria, a ſort of coffee-houſe, whither the genteeler ſort repair to take ice-creams, and ſome imitations of bull-fights for the vulgar; unleſs

* Noble eſtates which devolve in the male line *ad perpetuitatem*.

† At Vera Cruz are ſeven or eight houſes of commerce, in every one of which might be found a million of peſos-fuertes (225,000l.)

indeed under this denomination be comprized the proceſſions and flagellations of the holy week, a period at which I arrived at Vera Cruz.

Twenty times during this week was I called to my window by the clinking of chains. What a ſhocking ſpectacle preſented itſelf! now a penitent in a woman's dreſs, in a petticoat and body of linen cloth of a ſlate colour, with arms extended and faſtened tightly in an horizontal poſition, his back and ſhoulders ſupporting ſeven old ſwords ſuch as are uſed for ſigns by our armourers, and whoſe points collected in a ſtuffed pad preſſed on the os coccis, his legs loaded with chains and iron weights, and in this garb marching ſlowly along through the city, and paying his devotional viſits to every church.

An inſtant after this miſerable object was ſucceeded by another maſk, likewiſe in a woman's dreſs, but in white muſlin and naked to the waiſt, a handkerchief covering the boſom, the legs loaded with chains, but the hands left at liberty. This penitent in the left hand held a crucifix, and in the right a rough whip with which at every hundred ſteps he lacerated his ſhoulders and reins till ſtreams of blood ran from the wounds, and crimſoned the petticoat he wore.

In the ſpace of a week I reckoned not leſs than eighty maſks of this deſcription.

The proceſſions preſent nothing more attractive: every chapel has its patron ſaint modelled in wax, of the natural ſize, but of frightful aſpect, which is carried on a litter by eight men who are relieved at intervals: all are dreſſed in women's apparel, the petticoat, the corſet, and the maſk of all are ſimilar; that is to ſay, of linen cloth of a bluiſh ſlate colour. They hold thoſe exhibitions in ſuch eſteem that penitents are to be ſeen thus accoutred all day long, nay, even from the evening before, the next and the following day.

Among theſe proceſſions is one which, on account of the object of it, is deſerving of mention: it was inſtituted on occaſion of a fund of ſix thouſand piaſters, eſtabliſhed to portion off annually four poor marriageable girls; but by an abuſe too common, the lot now falls, by means of connivance, very often on thoſe in eaſy circumſtances, and at times on children of ſeven or eight years of age; and while the object of the inſtitutors of this benevolent charity was the ſolace of miſery, and the inculcation into theſe future mothers of children, of a ſpirit of religion and a modeſt deportment, the intent of the ceremony appears rather to be the inſtilling into their minds a taſte for expence and a love of frivolity. The choſen parties are conducted to church in ſuperb carriages covered with cloth of gold or ſilver, trimmed with magnificent lace, and adorned with the richeſt pearls and diamonds, which opulent ladies take pride in lending for the occaſion. A ſquire, or a kind of ſponſor, one of the moſt reſpectable perſons in the city, gives the female his hand, and leads her, as in triumph, in the proceſſion which follows the nuptial bleſſing. During my ſtay I twice witneſſed this celebration; but out of the eight elected I certainly would have refuſed to have taken ſeven for ſervants.

Fronting Vera Cruz, at the diſtance of four hundred fathoms, is an iſlet on which the caſtle of St. John de Uloa is built, the fire of the batteries of which cover and defend the town: this fort, long after its firſt erection, was ſtrengthened by more regular fortifications: it is a parallelogram, compoſed of four large baſtions and three demi-lanes, with ditches, counterſcarp, covered way, paliſſades and glacis from the ſouth-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, where the iſlet is daily encreaſing, owing to the accumulation of ſand, ſhells, and madrepores: on the ſouth the port forms a ſufficient foſſé, as the ſhip of the captain of the port is anchored at half-cable length from the rampart, which has an elevation of from thirty-five to forty feet. Nevertheleſs, to prevent a landing, and the approach of boats

boats under cover of the cannon, the whole of the curtain, which is bare, as well as of the flanks of the two baſtions bearing on the port, are fraized with ſtakes of a remarkably hard wood, as black as ebony, which ſharpened, and riſing a foot and a half out of the water, hinder any veſſel approaching within muſquet ſhot.

Here are three-hundred pieces of cannon carrying balls of from twelve to thirty-ſix pounds. Still the place is not impregnable, ſpite of the reefs which bound it on one ſide, and the fort by which on the other it is defended; and in this opinion I was confirmed by the caſual glance of a French engineer with whom I converſed on the ſubject; for while he ſupported the contrary, he caſt his eyes towards the ſouth-eaſt, where in fact is a landing-place of much leſs length from the fort than the principal one, and off which veſſels aſſailing would not ſo long be expoſed to the fire of the batteries which crown the fort from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt, and might even anchor under the curtain, a veſtige of ancient fortifications raiſed very high, the fire from which would hence be of no avail.

A ſquare tower ſixty feet high above the rampart, or the baſtion of the ſouth-eaſt ſide, commands the city, the port, the whole road, and the entire vicinage, and ſerves for exhibiting ſignals, which are repeated by the ſhip of the captain of the port. I aſcended this: on the firſt ſtory is a terrace, on which is a battery of four braſs twenty-four pounders, with a corps de garde of ten men. On the laſt ſtory is a centinel who is relieved every half hour, and gives advice of all he obſerves; and from his account it is, verified by the corporal of the guard, that the ſignals are made. At the time I was there there was but one battalion in garriſon, with one company of artillery, and about a thouſand convicts employed on public works.

The port of Vera Cruz is cloſed by this caſtle and the iſlet on which it ſtands. From forty to ſixty ſhips of war and a hundred merchant ſhips may anchor here in from four to ten fathoms. The reefs which ſurround it as far as the Iſland of Sacrifices, towards the ſouth-eaſt and the north-eaſt, break the waves, and render it ſecure againſt winds blowing from the intervening points; but to winds from the north-eaſt to the weſt-north-weſt the port is expoſed, and the north wind, which blows with great violence, frequently drives ſhips from their moorings and caſts them on ſhore. To this road however, it is, the only one in the gulph of Mexico, that all ſhips laden with goods for Mexico repair, and hence alſo is remitted to Europe the precious metals and merchandize rendered in exchange by theſe extenſive countries.

Seen from the caſtle the city preſents a very handſome appearance. On the ſouth it has a natural meadow, which forms an agreeable promenade except in the rainy ſeaſon, when it is overflowed by a rivulet which forms a marſh at about a mile from the town, and furniſhes the city with water; as, however, the rivulet is not the produce of a ſpring, but ariſes from filtrations from the neighbouring downs which collect and form a marſhy pond, the water is neither freſh nor palatable, whence that is preferred by the inhabitants during the rainy ſeaſon which is kept in ciſterns in the caſtle; but in dry weather, when the water is filtered through a greater depth of ſand, and conſequently more purified, it is conducted to the city by means of a ſtone aqueduct.

Though this rivulet can boaſt but little depth of water it nevertheleſs nouriſhes caymans (alligators) from ſeven to eight feet long. I have myſelf frequently traced their footſteps, and even ſeen them plunge into the pool; but they are by no means dangerous.

Vera Cruz has but one ſuburb, which is very ſmall, and lies ſouth-eaſt of the town. It contains two chapels, a bowling-green, and ſome few gardens; but theſe are in bad cultivation, and without any ornaments. The lemon, the palm-cabbage, and a few cocoa-

trees are all the productive ones that are ſeen: a bombax or cotton-tree with red flowers, the azaderach or bead-tree, and piſtachio trees (plumaria) with red, white and yellow bloſſoms, are the only trees pleaſing to the eye: hence the city is rendered ſo dull, and ſterile of aſpect, that but for the meadow on the ſouth which ſerves as a reſort for carriages, and the verdure of which recreates the eye, Vera Cruz would be one of the moſt tireſome reſidences in the univerſe. Fortunately nature, ſo niggard of her boons in the vegetable kingdom, has compenſated in the animal by a large diſplay of bounty. The city and ſurrounding country ſwarm with birds, whoſe various plumage and enlivening ſong, at once delight the eye and charm the ear. The ſtreets of Vera Cruz abound in innumerable flocks of magpies of three different ſpecies, all of them of a jet black: the ſmalleſt is of the ſame ſize, as lively, and as numerous as our ſparrows, but leſs noiſy, and leſs troubleſome; the ſecond, of the ſize and colour of our blackbird, reſembles it ſo much as often to deceive one as to its ſpecies; the third, called in our colonies bout de tobae, is a kind of parrot. Theſe three ſpecies of birds are remarkably tame, and highly entertaining by their different antics: they never attack the ſeeds of plants, but prey on inſects and the dung of mules, horſes, &c. Larger than theſe three ſpecies ſucceeds the vultur aurea, ſo well deſcribed by Mr. Jaquin: the name of this animal would induce a ſuppoſition of its being formidable; it is however one of the leaſt daring and moſt ſtupid of all the birds of prey, and never pounces on any thing alive: it is of the ſize of a turkey-polt, and much reſembles it by its brown colour, and bare head, covered with a carunculated ſkin, and it has juſt ſufficient courage to ſteal and fly away with pieces of meat from kitchens; for this purpoſe it lays in ambuſh until nobody is at hand, when it ſcuds ſwift and lightly in at the door or window, ſnatching up whatever chances to be in its way, and flies out at the oppoſite openings. Its moſt aſſured reliance is however on the ſewers, the ſlaughter-houſes, and the chance of the country; occaſionally it is ſeen partaking with dogs, when theſe happen not to be very hungry, the carcaſe of a mule. The tropillot (thus the Indians denominate our vulture) is inceſſantly eating, and when at length full, ſleeps by the carrion, nor leaves it till it picks the very bones. I have on a morning ſeen a dead mule lying in the road, and at night noticed only the ſkeleton remaining, though on the ſand where it laid, I could not diſcern the minuteſt trace of the footſtep of a dog; the carcaſe conſequently muſt have been devoured by vultures: this bird is ſo little timid that it will ſcarcely trouble itſelf to remove from the way of a paſſenger, but, at the the ſame time, it is ſo fearful when caught, that it inſtantly diſgorges the contents of its craw, which forms a reſource for its enemy the frigate-bird, a ſpecies of pelican.

The tropillot is eaſily taken, riſes but to a ſmall height from the ground, and the ſcent of a piece of meat takes from it all inclination to fly away: if, then, this bird be purſued, all it relies on for eſcape is its legs, when it is eaſily run down: the cooks and children then amuſe themſelves with it, and after faſtening tight round its wing a little bell, a bladder, or a ribbon, releaſe it again; for the Spaniards, more humane than Frenchmen, take no pleaſure in deſtroying life. We know very well that, inſtead of the flocks which now enliven the air, if Vera Cruz were peopled by the former nation, not a bird in time would be ſeen. *El tomar ſol*, enjoyment of ſunſhine, ſo much the delight of Spaniards, appears to be not leſs grateful to theſe birds. To witneſs the ſeeming pleaſure they receive from the preſence of the god of day, they ſhould be ſeen at ſunriſe, as, at the ſummit of a tree, or the top of a ſteeple, they ſimultaneouſly, or in ſucceſſion, extend their wings, and keep in this attitude to receive on every part its warming rays, and again when they riſe in air at noon, and ſkim over the town in ſwarms, which almoſt obſcure the ſky.

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On the margin of the ſea, ſkimming inceſſantly over the waves and the ſhore, is ſeen a ſpecies of larus or gull, which has the gait and flight of a ſnipe, but which is ſcarcely half its ſize, and of a greyiſh blue plumage. Does a *temporal* make its appearance, or a ſhark ſeek its prey in the port, inſtantly ſwarms of little fiſh, ſmaller than our gudgeons, throw themſelves out of the water on to the ſands; then does this little gull, after a moſt amuſing ſpectacle, as it pounces down with the rapidity of lightning from the regions of air, riſes again, and repeats this evolution inceſſantly for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour: I once had the curioſity to reckon the deſcents of one of theſe little birds: in the lapſe of ſeven minutes, I counted eighty: it is indeed true that its extreme impatience oftentimes cauſes the loſs of its prey, but nothing can be conceived more admirable than its excellent management and dexterity in ſeizing the fiſh at the ſurface of the water without even moiſtening its wing.

The buoys in the ſea, and the bowſprits of the veſſels in the port, are covered with onocrotali, (the tantalus of Linné, the tree-pelican of America), the pelican with a large craw, denominated by Linné the true pelican, boobies, and ducks of every ſpecies.

On ſhore the rivulets and marſhes are inhabited by ſwarms of ſpoon-bills, four ſpecies of ſtorks, as many of divers and coots, and ſnipes more than twice the ſize of thoſe which are ſeen in Europe.

The meadows are covered with beautiful ſtarlings of a black colour, with the ſhoulders and half the wing a blood red.

On the buſhes and hedges the male and female cirris or heron, appear to form three ſpecies, equally rare in their kind: the male from the ſplendid hues of its plumage, and the female from the blue mantle which forms its ſummer garb, and which in winter changes to grey. Here too is ſeen the cardinal of as bright and ſhining a red as that of Louiſiana, its ſong, not ſo varied nor ſo melodious as that of the nightingale, is yet as powerful and as bold. Here a lark, of the ſize and colour of the wit-wall or golden thruſh, but more handſomely feathered, and of ſweeter ſong than our European lark; the ramphaſtas, toucan or American gooſe, whoſe beak marked with yellow and black, is longer than its body from head to tail: honey-ſuckers or humming birds, (trochili) of all colours and of various ſize: one ſpecies of them which ſoars aloft in air, ſinging like the riſing lark, has its head and belly, which it proudly diſplays, of a ſcarlet colour; in another ſpecies it is of the moſt ſplendid azure.

In the woods are found a kind of partridge as large as, and of plumage much reſembling that of our guinea fowl; another ſpecies no larger than quails; craces or hocos of two ſpecies with crops and creſts of the colour of wax, as large as turkeys, and truly a royal diſh; green perroquets, no larger than ſparrows; aras or araracoyas; Amazonian perroquets of a green and yellow hue; four kinds of turtle-doves, in which claſs is that ſpecies denominated ortolans by the coloniſts of Sant Domingo.

Vaſt numbers of bulls and cows, almoſt in a wild ſtate, rove through the foreſts; a ſpecies of rabbit makes theſe likewiſe its haunt; it is ſmaller, but in far greater plenty, than with us. Bucks and does, more than two feet high, are here ſo common that veniſon is ſold in the markets at only three reals the pound. Tortoiſes are very numerous; land-crabs too, as large as a man's head, which leave the foreſts for the town, penetrate into the houſes, and climb into the granaries; another ſpecies is met with ſo audacious that when ſurpriſed, inſtead of attempting to eſcape, raiſed on two claws, it defends itſelf with the others. A kind of ſquirrel much larger than ours, and perfectly of an aſh colour, is another inhabitant of the ſylvan kingdom, with ignans

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or lizards, which grow to the prodigious ſize of two feet in length, by ten inches in breadth, and furniſh an exquiſite diſh for thoſe not affected with venereal complaints.

Finally, the ſea ſwarms with fiſh of moſt delicious flavour, which are ſold almoſt for nothing in the markets.

Such are the riches I remarked in this country, where my ſtay was limited to but one ſeaſon, and where on this account, and owing to the important object of my miſſion, I was enabled to purſue my remarks to no greater length; ſuch are the objects it preſents, ſo worthy of the curioſity of a naturaliſt, and ſo well calculated to render intereſting a ſojourn at Vera Cruz.

Though the general aſſured me that the country produced rattleſnakes, I met with none, whether my deviations were along the marſhes ſides, or whether I ſtrolled through the woods; but every where was I peſtered with gnats (maringovins) muſquitos, and chicos or karapattas: had I ever the misfortune to bruſh with my cloaths the branch of a tree, or any herbage, I was inſtantly covered with theſe inſects: the dreſs of the centaur Neſſus, that ſo fatal preſent of Dejanira to Alcides, had not a prompter or more tormenting effect than the intolerable itching occaſioned by the bite of this laſt tribe of inſects: they penetrate in an inſtant through wool and ſilk, and the Spaniards, in order to preſerve themſelves from the torture they occaſion, are conſtantly accuſtomed to clothe themſelves in pantaloons of Oriſſava leather, and boots, and never venture through woods, except where they croſs the roads they have to paſs. What however is extraordinary, this ſpecies of tinea or wood-louſe (the karapatta) is only found in the neighbourhood of the ſea, the interior of the country, ten leagues inland, being free from its tormenting perſecution. Theſe inſects at firſt occaſioned me dreadful ſufferings. Three or four times on my botanical excurſions, was I obliged to pull off my breeches and boots, and ſcrape them off me with a knife; on reaching my lodgings, I was uſed to ſtrip in haſte and throw all my dreſs into water, and found full employment during a couple of hours, in waſhing myſelf, and ſeparating with a pen-knife theſe tiniæ from my ſkin; theſe are truly the dragon, multiplied to infinity, which guards the fruit of the Heſperides.

I had now been ſix weeks at Vera Cruz, nor would my ſtay have ſeemed long to me, but for the anxious, the impatient deſire I nouriſhed in the inmoſt receſſes of the heart, of penetrating deeper into the country, and attaining the end of all my ſecret prayers.

Not all of this delay however was thriftleſs; as a furtherance of my deſigns, I liſtened to all I heard; and put opportune queſtions occaſionally, as if on a matter of indifference, and merely for the ſatisfaction of an idle curioſity; and by ſuch means ſucceeded, without the leaſt indiſcretion, in forming conception of the meaſures by which my enterprize might be carried into effect.

One day while converſing with M. de Ferſen on the ſubject of the riches of our colonies, and the commerce they induced, he enquired of me if we cultivated cochineal? I anſwered in a careleſs manner "yes, certainly." "What," replied he with aſtoniſhment, mingled with vexation ſtrongly depicted in his countenance, "do the French then mean to deprive us of this branch of commerce hitherto excluſively our own?" "Why not," rejoined I, ſmiling, and rallying him: "do you then fancy yourſelf privileged wholly to monopolize this excellent boon of nature?" "In what part of St. Domingo then is cochineal cultivated?" enquired he. "At Fond des Negres," I boldly anſwered, for having already deviated from fact, I thought it improper to draw back, and was at the time far from being aware of ſpeaking the real truth;

and that the white or Sylveſter-cochineal did indeed exiſt at the time at Mole St. Nicholas; but I wiſhed to prepare reſources againſt ſurpriſe and miſtruſt, in caſe of being in the end detected in bringing away the inſects.

At another time the major of the fleet, who had repeatedly promiſed to ſhew me cochineal in the vicinage of Vera Cruz, took me an airing with him along the meadow, and proud of his rare knowlege, pointed out to me on a cactus called by the Spaniards tunas, for the cochineal inſect, a ſort of caterpillar enveloped in white cotton, which turned out to be merely the worm of the phalena or moth which preys on that precious inſect, and from which I had ſo much difficulty in cleanſing my nopals; I poſitively denied that it was the cochineal, and this miſtake of my preceptor led me into a direct error, I mean to ſay, a perſuaſion, oppoſite to the fact, that the inſect did not exiſt in the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz, a wrong perſuaſion which prevented my purſuing my ſearch for it any further here.

The major undoubtedly related to Don Uloa what occurred during our ride; for the next day, while at dinner with that general, he enquired if I had not ſeen cochineal the day before; I was apprehenſive that this queſtion was meant as a ſnare, and this the rather as I fancied he was obſerving me as he looked in the glaſs before which, with his back towards me, he was adjuſting part of his dreſs; and aſſuredly, if ſuch had been the caſe, he muſt have ſeen my confuſion; I endeavoured however, as well as I could to compoſe my countenance, and anſwered, that what I had ſeen was not cochineal but a worm; that worms were without feet, and that the one which had been ſhewn to me was long and cylindrical, whereas, either the cochineal muſt have legs and a body of hemiſpherical figure, or the works of Linné, and of Pedro Gaza and Hernandez, both Spaniſh naturaliſts, who had thus deſcribed the inſect, deſerved to be given to the flames.

I had ſcarcely eſcaped from the peril I have related, before I had to encounter another: in the courſe of dinner the general of the fleet offered to procure for me from the governor of Mexico the appointment of botaniſt on board the fleet then equipping at Acupulco for the purpoſe of making diſcoveries north-weſt of California, and to inſure me a ſalary of two thouſand dollars a year, with beſides a thouſand in hand for my equipment: he dwelt ſtrongly on this propoſition, and offered to preſent me himſelf to the viceroy of Mexico, to whoſe court he was about to repair. By accepting this offer I muſt neceſſarily belong to the ſovereign of Spain as a botaniſt; but I did not ſuffer myſelf to be perſuaded by the great advantages held out to me, from ſerving my country; the hope of rendering it a ſervice weighed with me more than the ſeductive offers of Don Uloa. I, however, returned him unfeigned thanks, and excuſed myſelf without evincing any diſdain of the propoſal; he again preſſed for my acquieſcence, when I replied that, having ſuſtained no wrong, having no cauſe of complaint againſt the country to which I had the honour to belong, I could not eſteem myſelf juſtified in abandoning it; and that, being a ſubject of the King of France, it was not allowable on my part, at leaſt without his permiſſion, to diſpoſe of my ſervices to any other prince; I added moreover, that being unprepared for any ſuch expedition, I could not reſolve on creating in my whole family, and eſpecially in a father who felt for me the tendereſt ſolicitude, that uneaſineſs which would follow the ignorance of what had become of me, and where I was; at laſt, as his ſolicitations were ſtill continued with much earneſtneſs, I waved the converſation, and began ſome other topic.

We ſpoke of the Paraguay tea; from the deſcription of it given to me, I was unable to comprehend farther than that it was the leaf of ſome tree. I aſked the governor in a joking manner, whether the conſumption being ſo very conſiderable, there was no

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tax on it when ſold; and he anſwered, laughingly, that it really was in contemplation. After which, ſolicitous of turning the converſation on cochineal, he added that it was about to be farmed in Mexico. The very mention of cochineal ſtartled me, but I was upon my guard.

I am unaware whether my refuſal had or not engendered any ill will towards me in the general; but ſome days after he affected to ſpeak of botany in a very ſlight manner: he could not conceive, he ſaid, how any one could take the trouble of making collections of plants; that, for his part, had he the fineſt herbal in the world, he ſhould think it of no other value than to light fires with. Hurt at an attack ſo rude, I looked at him with attention, and warmly anſwered, that for my part I was ſo unfortunate as to be ignorant of mathematics, of aſtronomy, and navigation, but that, if perchance a book treating of thoſe ſubjects fell into my hands, far from committing it to the flames, I ſhould carefully preſerve it for my children, or for ſome other perſon who might better than myſelf be capable of appreciating its value: I could not obſerve that Don Uloa felt any ways offended at the firmneſs of my remark; nay, I have generally noticed that the Spaniards, though naturally lofty and proud, deſpiſe thoſe who have not the hardihood of thinking or expreſſing themſelves with becoming boldneſs and dignity. Still had I to aſcribe to this converſation the afflicting conſequence, that, though he never gave me occaſion for complaint, the general never after ſeemed to entertain the ſame eſteem for, nor confide in me to the extent I wiſhed, and that, for the future, I ſhould have to place little reliance on his intereſt.

I felt the uneaſineſs this aſſurance occaſioned me, materially increaſed upon reflecting on the obſervation of the captain of the quarter-deck, who one day dining with the general, in a naif manner, confeſſed, that when a lieutenant, he had been appointed in conjunction with one of his comrades, to accompany the Abbé de la Chappe on his journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico, apparently as a mark of diſtinction, but in reality for the purpoſe of watching his movements, and preventing his viſiting the works of the fortreſs of Piroté in the vicinage of Jalappa, which were then under hand: I drew, as a concluſion from this, with greater reaſon as I had come to the country without a paſſport from the court, that I alſo was beleaguered with ſpies; theſe I reckoned could be no other than my officers of the corps de genie, and under this impreſſion, it was not without much diſquiet I obſerved their noticing every thing, and ferriting every corner of my apartment: however, reflecting that I had had the prudence of concealing my plan from every body, and thatno papers I had could betray me, I became leſs alarmed; I even paſſed my time very pleaſantly with my fancied ſpies, viſited them very frequently, and profeſſed great attachment to, and confidence in them.

They told me much reſpecting the Abbé Chappe-de-Haute-Roche; they themſelves had made correſponding and ſimultaneous obſervations in the province of Sonora, at the time of the expedition againſt the ſavages, while the Abbé was obſerving the tranſit of Venus over the diſk of the ſun.

The arrival of learned men in this dull country is ſo remarkable that it is traditionally preſerved in the memory of every body, and forms an epoch as noted as the appearance of the celeſtial bodies they come hither to obſerve. A Peruvian marquis whom I met with at the Havannah, never ſwore by other name than de la Condamine; he was indeed generally well beloved, and his departure was ſeen with ſentiments of regret by all the Peruvians; this by Don Uloa was not however attributed to any honorable deſert in him; he told me that he was a jocoſe character, much addicted to pleaſantry in his converſation, and complimentary, even to adulation, towards the

Peruvians, whoſe friendſhip and affection he was ſolicitous of captivating; that at bottom he was a ſhallow brained fellow, full of preſumption, and ready to ſacrifice every thing to the acquirement of fame; he added, that he had the meanneſs to obtain a claſſical deſcription from Mr. Juſſieu of Quinquina, and robbed him thus unfairly of the honour due to him of its diſcovery.

I availed myſelf of the opportunity a converſation on this head afforded, to learn the truth of the relation given by M. de la Condamine, of the murder of Segniergues, reſpecting which I had always had my doubts; I conſequently put many queſtions on the ſubject to Don Uloa, the reſult of which was as follows: Segniergues fell in love with a tradesman's daughter, who was under promiſe of marriage to an Alcalde of the place: he met a return, and even more than a return to his paſſion; but, ſatiety cooling his warmth, he fancied he could not ſhew his gratitude towards the lady in a better manner than by endeavouring to renew the engagement between her and the Alcalde. Now in matters of this nature, the Spaniards are to the full as delicate as the French. The Alcalde turned a deaf ear to all ſuggeſtions on that head, and Segniergues threatened compulſory meaſures; *inde iræ*. As ill luck would have it, Segniergues went to a bull fight, and was ſeated in his miſtreſs's box, at the inſtant the ſpectacle was beginning, and the Alcalde was iſſuing his orders for all the maſks to leave the arena. The father of his dulcinea, obſtinately determining to remain, was greeted with a threſhing, and the daughter, in the box where ſhe was ſeated, recognizing him by his cries, wrung her hands in greateſt trepidation and alarm. "My God! my God! ſhe ſcreamed out, it is my father they are beating!" At theſe words, another Don Quixotte, Segniergues jumps into the arena out of the box, and, ſword in hand, cutting and puſhing, attempts to force a paſſage through the poſſe of officers; the number of alquazils increaſes, and the mob fly to their aſſiſtance; diſorder and tumult are at their height; and though the Alcalde iſſues no other order than for the arreſt of Segniergues, he gets killed in the fray. In this event there is nothing but what is perfectly natural, and what might be expected from the petulance common to Frenchmen, and the arrogance of a young ſurgeon, who, intoxicated by a fortunate opening, ſucceeded by the moſt happy ſucceſs, imagined in himſelf a right to do as he pleaſed with the Peruvians, and injure them in their very home-ſteds. D. Uloa further aſſured me, that no one but M. de la Condamine would have inſtituted the proceſs which followed. He likewiſe related to me the adventure of the night, paſſed in Pichincha, by M. de la Condamine, who, out of bravado, had ſeparated from his party, and loſt his way, and how he jeered him upon it in the morning, on his reaching the rendezvous, drenched with wet, benumbed with cold, and dying with hunger: "What a fine night this, eh, M. de la Condamine, ſaid he, what a precious page for your journal!"

On another occaſion the converſation turned on the Ducheſs of Pompadour, with whom he had acquaintance when in France. From the affectionate manner in which he ſpoke of her, I gueſſed he was indebted to her interference for his advancement at the Spaniſh court.

What however to me was far more intereſting than all, was his account of the affair of New Orleans. Though he might appear to me inclined to relate facts in a manner widely different from that uſed by certain enthuſiaſts, the unaffected manner in which he deſcribed the rude treatment he had to endure, the little animation or vivacity he mingled in his recital, perſuaded me that the revolution was no other than, as he aſſured me, the effect of miſconduct and imprudence; and that it was kindled and blown into a flame by the cupidity of the chief admin ſtrators of the affairs of the colony. The revenge taken by the Spaniſh court was not merely a conſequence of the

the repreſentations of Don Uloa; it was a merited puniſhment of what was conſidered an act of rebellion, and ſuch as in any other nation would probably have been extended to a far greater number of delinquents. The general agreed that the vexation of the people, at ſeeing themſelves turned over like inanimate beings, or animals ſold in a market, to another maſter in Lewis XV. was not without foundation: "But then," he obſerved, "as governor, what had I to do with this vexation; how could I remedy it; or how even the King of Spain himſelf, ſufficiently chagrined at being obliged to be content with ſo ſmall a compenſation? Circumſtances," added he, "alone were to blame, and the hard neceſſity to which, and to the inſiſtance of a powerful monarch, he was obliged to ſubmit; while for the new government it has not after all been either injurious or ſevere to thoſe by whom it was oppoſed." I have heard much fault found with Don Uloa; but all the ſubjects of complaint that were alledged againſt him were charges of familiarity unworthy of his rank, and a ſhabby meanneſs in his domeſtic concerns. He has never given room for any one accuſing him of injuſtice or cruelty; he was in fact the log of fable, his exceſſive patience made him be deſpiſed and diſmiſſed. O'Reilly, who ſucceeded him, was the ſtork.

However much amuſed by theſe narratives of the general, I never loſt ſight of the object I had in view. I frequently viſited Don Athenas and Don Lobo, two Spaniſh merchants; but ſaw them thus often merely for putting myſelf in the way of hearing matters relating to my plan.

One day while in company with my French engineer, at the houſe of the latter merchant, I ſaw him examining certain packages of vanilla. I enquired, as if caſually, from what quarter it was obtained, and learnt that it came from Guadalaxara, ſixty leagues diſtant, or from Guaxaca, the diſtance of which latter place was a hundred leagues from Vera Cruz; alſo that it was cultivated by the Indians. They next talked about cochineal: I did not, as may well be conceived, begin this ſubject, but I profited by what I heard. I learnt that the cochineal from Guaxaca was preferable, and yielded a more beautiful colour than that from Flaſcala, or Guadalaxara, which made me reſolve on chooſing Guaxaca for the ſpot I ſhould repair to. I had moreover two other reaſons equally weighty for this deciſion: the firſt, the better opportunity I ſhould have of obtaining the moſt perfect information reſpecting the cochineal, in a country where it is largely cultivated; the ſecond, the circumſtance of this road being leſs frequented than that leading to Mexico by Flaſcala and Guadalaxara, and this circumſtance affording me a greater facility in avoiding highwaymen, and inquiſitive eyes. It is a certain matter, in fact, that, reſolved as I was on the journey, though I ſhould not even obtain my paſſport, and in ſpite of all the viceroys in the world, I ran much leſs riſk of diſcovery on the road to Guaxaca, on which I ſhould not be ſuſpected, than on that of Mexico, the only city worth ſeeing, that only for which I had fought a paſsport, and on which I ſhould be ſought after on the firſt notice of my departure.

Thus, with a reſolution, if I ſhould obtain a paſſport for Mexico, to uſe it merely for Guaxaca, the route to which I had adroitly learnt from a Frenchman who had been in the ſervice of the late viceroy, I waited with impatience an anſwer to the three memoirs which in ſucceſſion I had addreſſed to the viceroy of Mexico, to obtain the ſo much wiſhed for paſſport*, and ceaſed to frequent the houſe of Don Uloa, except to enquire reſpecting it.

* Even Spaniards themſelves, from whatſoever part of the world they arrive at Vera Cruz, are not allowed to leave it without a paſſport from the viceroy.

At

At length, on Wedneſday, the 30th May, he in a very cool manner before dinner announced, that he had received an anſwer from Don Bukarelly *, in which he plainly ſignified it was not in his power, as I was a foreigner, to admit of my entering *et famoſo reyno*, except by ſpecial order from the court of Spain. This news affected me far more in reality than I choſe to ſhew, and I made a very bad dinner, though without attending to what I did I devoured a great deal. The general did not fail to enquire what I meant to do. I pretended to be ſatisfied, and to be determined to demand the neceſſary paſſports through the court of France, and wait for them at Vera Cruz, or in caſe of my being ſent out of the country, to go myſelf in ſearch of them; but I had already made up my mind in caſe of ſuch an event occurring as had happened. As Don Uloa had a quarrel with the governor, I naturally concluded that the latter would have no knowledge of the objection raiſed by the viceroy, and decided on requeſting of him a diſtinct paſſport for Oriſſava, which was within his juriſdiction, and about forty leagues from Vera Cruz. By means of this paſſport, to the licence in which I meant to give the trifling extenſion of ſixty leagues, I hoped to reach Guaxaca, but hardly to itſelf did my ſoul unburthen this deſign, and with much more reaſon was it then reſerved from others.

I went in conſequence to Mr. Ferſen, and, concealing from him the refuſal I had experienced, intimated how impatient I was to reach Mexico, what vexation ſo much tardineſs occaſioned me, and how happy it would make me if even I merely obtained permiſſion to herborize on the volcanic mountain of Oriſſava: he ſtopped me upon this, and proffered, in the handſomeſt manner, himſelf to ſolicit the governor for the favour I ſought. I flew into his arms, embraced him in the moſt affectionate manner, and that very evening, as a token of my grateful feelings, ſent him certain books which he had manifeſted a deſire to poſſeſs.

I ſaw him the next day; he had dined with the governor, and obtained the paſſport. On Saturday he brought it me in good order: I concealed from him in a great degree the tranſport I felt, leſt he ſhould recognize the great importance I attached to this paper, and be anxious to ſearch into its motive.

The next day (Sunday) I paſſed in preparations for my journey, and dined with the general, that he might have no ſuſpicion of my project.

Monday I was to have hired horſes in order to ſet off the next morning. The morning of this day, this fatal Monday, I roſe in raptures of traitorous joy, and gayer than ever before; I repaired to the dwelling of Mr. Ferſen for letters of recommendation to Oriſſava, breakfaſted with him, and returned home to complete the packing of my things.

Of a ſudden I perceived a man in a blue coat with a red cockade, enter my apartment: he was quite out of breath, and looked wild, ſiniſter, and angry; as ſoon as he was able to ſpeak, he announced himſelf as the ſecretary of the governor, and ordered me, in Spaniſh, in the name of the King, to give up the paſſport which the governor had entruſted to Mr. Ferſen. Theſe words, which I but too well comprehended, affected me as would have done an electric ſhock. I alternately became pale and red, and feigned, in order to have time for recollecting myſelf, that I could not underſtand what he ſaid; but he ſo often and ſo diſtinctly repeated to me, *el papel que el ſenor gobernador entregó al ſenor D. Franciſco de Ferſen*, that I thought it vain any longer to

* However ungrateful to me the name of this nobleman, I here give it for reaſons which it may not be difficult to comprehend: he was called El Excellentiſſimo Senor, y Beato Fraile, Don Antonio Bukarelly y Urſua Teniente General de Los Reinos de Nueba Eſpana.

turn a deaf ear: then all at once, with another turn of features, and aſſuming a gay and gracious air, as if I began to comprehend him, I ſaid I was incapable of making any improper uſe of a kindneſs I might receive from the governor, and delivered up the *papel* ſo much ſighed for by me, begging him at the ſame time to preſent my reſpects with my thanks.

I wiſhed, as he ſeemed much fatigued, to induce the ſecretary to reſt himſelf; but he begged to be excuſed, aſſuring me that he had expreſs orders to make no ſtoppage any where until he had brought back my paſſport, and not to appear before his maſter unleſs he took it with him.

I readily conceived from theſe words that ſome alarming ſtorm was burſting over my head; but ſtill, uſing diſſimulation, I aſked him, apparently with the utmoſt indifference, what poſſibly could be the motives of ſo ſudden a change in the ſentiments of the governor? He anſwered, that the poſt that day had brought certain orders from the viceroy concerning me, in virtue of which he verbally notified that I was forbidden, in the King's name, to leave the diſtrict of the city of Vera Cruz.

I haſtened to Mr. Ferſen with ſuch impatience that I almoſt flew. I ſaw, I heard nothing, and was unable, but haſtily, and in half-ejaculated words, to relate to him my diſaſtrous adventure, conjuring him at the ſame time to conduct me to the governor, in order to have this matter elucidated. We repaired to the palace, and found there the governor; for his part, perfectly ſatisfied with recovering his *papel*, and making no computation beyond, he received me very politely, but at the ſame time repeated to me the forbiddance before announced by his ſecretary, of exceeding the limits of the juriſdiction of the city; an injunction, he ſaid, which by order of his ſuperiors, he was bound to communicate. M. de Ferſen joked with him, obſerving that, if I had taken his advice, he would have found the bird flown; but afterwards, in a more ſerious tone, he enquired what poſſibly could have originated ſo rigid an injunction. In anſwer, Don Palacio exhibited to us the letter of the viceroy, written after a deliberation of the audiencia real of Mexico, and the concluſum of the procurator-general, grounded among other matters on the apprehenſion of opening to ſtrangers the ſecrets of the rich culture of the country. Here my heart panted ſo violently that I no longer heard any thing but the order for my leaving the country, (an order quite the reverſe of that I ſolicited) beginning: *pero de regreſar in ſu tierra.* On this the governor, who read the whole with much emphaſis, laid ſtill greater ſtreſs, reading it even thrice over, and ſhewing me the letter where it was written: in fine, he was expreſsly enjoined to be himſelf preſent at my going on board, to draw up a declaration to that effect, and certify the ſame to the viceroy. He then, ſpeaking for himſelf, deſired I would inform him when I meant to depart, and what ſhip I meant to ſail in. This I promiſed; after which he took leave of me, making a thouſand excuſes and profeſſions, and even going the length of calling me *hijo mio*, or ſon; but I was not his dupe.

On leaving the palace I took a haſty leave of Mr. Ferſen in the ſtreet, and repaired to my lodging, deadly ſick at heart: I walked backwards and forwards, now threw myſelf on a ſeat, and now into my cot, ſwinging it from one ſide to the other with ſuch violence as to riſk breaking my head againſt the cieling; not the leaſt ray of comfort beamed on my mind; in vain did I exclaim to myſelf aloud, if poſſible, that I might liſten and become leſs diſtracted. In vain did I exclaim, Be calm, thou mad man! poor intemperate fool, take pity on thy intellects! Art thou not yet at Vera Cruz? haſt thou not reached this diſtance on thy road? and doſt thou not ſtill remain? Oh! yes, retorted anguiſh, but thou art ordered hence, thou muſt go, and empty-handed

handed go thy ways! Thy plan of four years ſtanding, even in the very port, now falls to wreck; four years are loſt of the profeſſion thyſelf ſelectedſt; that hope of fortune vaniſhes! ſo fondly pictured in thy mind; the advances made by thy family, the bounty of thy ſovereign are vain, and fooliſhly gone; thou faileſt in an affair undertaken in contradiction to the advice of thy father, thy friends, and every one; an affair which for four years has ſubjected thee to nothing but alarms, chagrin, mortification, toil, and dangers of every deſcription; and what a bleſſed profit haſt thou gained! Thou haſt raſhly pledged thyſelf to the miniſter, and what account haſt thou to render? Shame, humiliation, ridicule, contempt, will be thy lot on every ſide thou turneſt; and worſt of all, thy object will remain uneffected: the Spaniards excluſively poſſeſs their cochineal! Thinkeſt thou of this, and doſt not die of anguiſh? What then, is grief ſo little to be feared; is it ſo powerleſs of ſuffocation?

I paſſed the whole morning a prey to ſuch tormenting reflections, and under the greateſt agitation, ſwallowing three quarts of lemonade, but without the leaſt appetite for food; no, the ſmalleſt morſel would certainly have choked me.

At length, tired and overcome by the weight of ſo much affliction, my mind made a laſt effort for relief; by dint of perpetual repetition, — thou art ſtill at Vera Cruz — the fundamental point of a deſperate project preſented itſelf to my ideas; I calculated, that as no appointed time was fixed for my departure, and as there was no ſhip in the port which would ſail for three weeks to come, I might in a fortnight's time complete a ſtolen journey. Thou abſolutely muſt, ſaid I to myſelf, penetrate into the interior, though deſtitute of paſſport, muſt bear away the fleece for which thou haſt ſailed, deſpite of all the dragons in the way. Inflamed by this idea, the very apprehenſion of being unable to realiſe it threw me into a cold ſweat.

Gelano le vene, bollon i Spiriti.

But this beam of light diſperſed the former gloom, and brought with it a portion of tranquillity. I now thought of nothing but developing my plan, and digeſting its detail. I walked out in the evening to take an airing, and went to the Nieveria, where I treated my engineers. They complimented me on forgetting ſo ſoon the vexation to which I had in the morning been ſubject. I ſuffered them to remain in their error, and returned home, where, without taking any ſupper, I paſſed the night in reviewing the plan I had projected in my mind; in retrenching, adding, and changing its minutiæ, and in calculating on probabilities and accidents. At length I fell aſleep ,and, refreſhed after three hours, found my ſpirits leſs heated, and my head more clear: at day-break, however, I reflected with ſome ſurprize that there was no room left for any alteration in the plan projected the night before, a circumſtance ariſing from my peculiar and conſtrained poſition: *Malum eſt conſilium quod mutari nequit*, ſays Tacitus; this I repeated to myſelf but in vain. I could find no plan better than the whole I had in mind, and no choice left but either to put it in execution, or return unſucceſsful: the latter to me was more dreadful than death itſelf, and this at once juſtified in the eye of reaſon the evident raſhneſs of the attempt.

I roſe in the morning rather leſs content than on the morning before, but ſufficiently ſo to look on the maximum of danger I riſked with a diſpaſſionate eye; I found the worſt that could happen to me, in caſe of arreſt, would be to be ſent back, tied hand and foot, to Vera Cruz, and there to be impriſoned in the fort, or on board the ſhip of the general of the port, until my embarkation; in ſhort, merely a failure, that probably might not take place, in my object, which would be the caſe however at certainty if I did not attempt the journey.

Every

Every thing tended to ſtrengthen me in my laſt reſolves, though I reflected upon many obſtacles I ſhould have to encounter.

In the firſt place, nothing leſs than a miracle, on a road over which ſo many pikemen were diſperſed for the purpoſe of arreſting deſerters and ſtrangers, could guard me from being aſked by ſome one or other of them for my paſſport.

In the ſecond place, my dreſs was not that of a Spaniard, and this inconvenience neither time nor my means allowed of my remedying; this circumſtance ſhewed me a foreigner, and expoſed me the more to the looks of curioſity.

Thirdly, an appendage to the laſt noticed predicament, I ſpoke the Spaniſh language very indifferently.

In the fourth place, I was almoſt entirely ignorant of the road, and it was only by the mereſt chance and niceſt management I was enabled to learn by what gate I had to leave the town.

Finally, it was neceſſary I ſhould ſet out on foot, in a climate where I ſhould have much to encounter from the ſeaſon of the year, and the ſands through which I had to travel. I muſt alſo go unprovided with linen, proviſion, change of dreſs, and books, and without inſtruments to reap the poſſible reſult of my excurſion, in encreaſing our knowledge of natural hiſtory.

The plan I framed for remedying theſe inconveniencies was as follows: I ſhall travel on foot, ſaid I to myſelf, as a botanical phyſician reſident at Vera Cruz, in ſearch of ſimples; I ſhall aſſume the appearance of taking a walk rather than being on a journey, ſhall lodge only in the pooreſt huts of the Indians, and in places away from the high road, pretending to have loſt my way; I ſhall avoid all towns, hamlets, and villages, where poſſible, and where not, paſs through them by night; I ſhall declare myſelf a Catalan from the frontiers of France, which will explain the reaſon of my ſpeaking French well, and the Spaniſh but indifferently; I ſhall always go neatly dreſt, wear ſome trinkets, affect a good-humoured and free diſpoſition, and pay liberally for all I take. With all theſe precautions I muſt indeed be unlucky if I ſhould be taken for a foreigner or a deſerter.

In fine, after ſome little proviſion againſt the moſt urgent wants, for example, a broad brimmed hat, a net for the hair, a roſary, an indiſpenſable article, &c.; and after ſetting aſide about three hundred gourds in quadruples, I fixed upon the Friday night following for my departure.

In the mean time I viſited my friends and acquaintance, whom I apprized in a looſe manner that I meant to paſs the remainder of my ſtay with Madame de Boutilloz, at Medelina.

On the Friday I dined with the general, to whom I related the trick I had played the governor. It ſeemed to pleaſe him greatly; and he aſſured me, if I had ſuddenly made my departure after obtaining the paſſport, no notice had been taken of the matter.

The remainder of the day I paſſed with the engineers; and returned home to reflect a few moments on my undertaking.

It was about nine o'clock when, after carefully locking up all my effects, I departed, as if merely to take a walk.

I ſoon reached the rampart, ſcaled it, and bade adieu to the city.

For a long time I travelled briſkly along through the ſands, under favour of the light afforded by the ſtars; but a violent wind effacing all traces of the road, and the ſky being overclouded, I found myſelf wandering I knew not whither, at the diſtance of more than a league from the town: undecided, I went firſt one way then another,

to the crowing of cocks, and obſerved the riſing of ſmoke, but all in vain. Though I had twenty times before travelled over theſe ſpots, night, by enveloping all objects with the ſame ſhadowy veil, disfigured the rallying points which otherwiſe might have ſtruck my memory. I climbed large mounts of ſand, ſome firm, and others moveable, until I was utterly exhauſted. At length anxiety, combined with fatigue, made me determine on re-entering the city; but now was the embarraſſment to find it, for I no longer diſtinguiſhed its fires: at length I ſaw one at the diſtance of three hundred toiſes, I ran thither, it was the cabin of a free negro whom I had ſeen before in my neighbourhood. I told him I had loſt my way in returning from Medelina; he directed me on the right road, and I was exceedingly ſurprized at finding myſelf a quarter of a league ſouth of the city, while I imagined myſelf in the weſt. I immediately ſcaled the rampart, and returned to my home, terribly fatigued, and ſtill more vexed at my bad beginning.

However, after changing my linen, I threw myſelf into my hammock, and enjoyed a ſleep as ſweet as it was neceſſary. The next day, at three in the morning, I left home a ſecond time, and again ſcaled the ramparts, this time with ſome riſk of breaking my neck; — behold now Don Quixotte in the country.

I uſed every precaution not to miſs the road; but directing my ſteps too much towards the north, I again ſtrayed from my way, and was loſt nearly an hour in the ſands; however, recognizing in the heavens the ear of corn of the conſtellation Virgo, and Mars, and Saturn, which were already in the eaſt, I directed my ſteps weſtward till day-break: at four I over-heard the country people going to market, and, guided by their voice, kept on a parallel with the road, but about a hundred fathoms diſtant, to avoid being ſeen. At length, by dawn of day, the road taking through a foreſt, I was obliged to enter it, but I took the precaution to ſlacken my pace as often as I diſtinguiſhed any Indians, negroes, or Spaniards; after they had paſſed I made up for loſt time. At five o'clock I had cleared the foreſt, and was two leagues and a half from Vera Cruz: here the road divided, and occaſioned a new embarraſſment. Perceiving a muleteer with a train of a hundred and twenty mules advancing, I put queſtions to him with caution, and learnt that he came from Guaxaca, by the road of Monte Calabaça, which he pointed out to me, obſerving at the ſame time, that he paſſed it the day before. After this, Very good, ſaid I to myſelf, to-night I ſhall ſleep at Calabaça; and ſauntering leiſurely along till he was out of ſight, proceeded on my way; but when no longer viſible to the muleteer, I got on at ſuch a rate that by eleven o'clock I had travelled nine German leagues. I drank a glaſs of brandy and ate a biſcuit in a tavern by the road ſide near the foreſt: this ſatisfied me till nine o'clock, when I was parched with thirſt. I was walking in a level ſavannah thinly ſtrewed with copſes of mimoſa cornigera, bombax, ceiba, and wild fig-trees; ſave where theſe made their caſual appearance the earth was bare; for we were now at the cloſe of winter, that is to ſay, of the dry heats, which parch all the herbage; and the cottagers had ſet fire to the dry graſs, to admit of the young blades puſhing after the rain. It was to me a ſpectacle truly pleaſing to behold, already, from the plain where I ſtood, the mountains Alvorado on the ſouth, thoſe of Oriſſava on the weſt, and the Sierra Leona on the north-weſt, forming a natural rampart extending the ſpace of a hundred and fifty leagues, and which mountains I truſted ſoon to ſurmount; but in the mean time I was dying with heat and thirſt. I met two muleteers, conducting two hundred and fifty mules: I entreated them to ſell me ſome water: they anſwered they were not water-ſellers, but at the ſame time one of them unfaſtened from the pummel of his ſaddle, a bottle full and preſented it to me. When I had drunk after this faſhion much

at

at my eaſe, I pulled out my purſe; but, ſticking the ſpurs into their mules, the muleteers merely called out, *Va uſted con Dios*, God be with you.

I continued my way: by eleven I found myſelf as thirſty as ever: I fancied I diſtinguiſhed a hut; it turned out however to be only one of thoſe Mexican ornaments, of which on my road I met with ſeveral, formed of earth in a pyramidal ſhape, from thirty-five to forty feet high, on a baſe of twenty, and bearing a perfect reſemblance to our ice-houſes. I looked round in vain on every ſide, no habitation was viſible nearer than ſix leagues towards the north; I could not travel thus far out of my road. I felt no fatigue, the road was good, but I was dying with thirſt. I imagined I had made a charming diſcovery on diſtinguiſhing in a thicket a kind of ſphirical cucumber; it is but inſipid, ſaid I to myſelf, but it is aqueous and refreſhing. I ran to the ſpot, gathered, and even bit one. The electric ſhock is not more ſudden of effect: I thought myſelf poiſoned; in this dry and ſpungy fruit I found a hot and corroſive bitterneſs, which increaſed my thirſt in the proportion as ſulphur and bitumen would the flames of a burning pyre. Fooliſh botaniſt, then ſaid I to myſelf, did you then imagine that all coloquintidas muſt neceſſarily be ſmall? This will teach you more carefully to ſtudy the different ſpecies. The ſize of the fruit, equal to that of our melons, and its round figure completely deluded me; I therefore ſought ſome other aſſuager of thirſt. I ſaw ſome fruit of a certain cactus, called by the Spaniards tunas; it is a ſpecies of opuntia found in St. Domingo, with red fruit. I took two or three of theſe figs, peeled and ate them. Theſe greatly leſſened my thirſt, when I plucked others, and devoured near thirty; but failing poſſibly of peeling them with due care, their burning cottony covering occaſioned my tongue and lips to ſwell immediately, and I found myſelf on the point of ſuffocation. I ſtill continued my journey, and met with no one. At times the leaves of trees agitated by zephyrs, ſtruck the ear in the manner of diſtant waterfalls, or ſome murmuring brook: while liſtening to this pleaſing promiſe the winds ſtilled into calm; I no longer heard any thing, and almoſt reſigned myſelf to deſpair.

In the mean time, the god of day, already four-and-twenty degrees above the horizon, darted his unſheltered beams upon me, a thouſand times reflected by the burning plain beneath. I had merely a very light ſea breeze at my back; before an immenſe plain eighty leagues deep, preſented to my view at the extremity nothing but lofty mountains: it ſeemed as if all nature conſpired againſt me. I thought at one inſtant I plainly diſtinguiſhed the roof of a hut. I quickened my ſteps, but after going three quarters of a league in the direction I ſaw it, I found myſelf in a little thicket, where, no longer perceiving the object, I fancied myſelf miſtaken, and for once loſt all patience. I halted, and looking carefully round a bombax, to ſee if there were neither a ſerpent nor muſquitos to dread, I laid down under its ſhade, and ſlept nearly two hours. The ſun had now paſſed its meridian, I roſe, and ſad enough, continued my journey; but oh! unlooked-for happineſs, I had ſcarcely proceeded a quarter of a league before I diſtinctly ſaw the houſe I thought I had ſeen before. It was ſtill about ſix hundred yards from me on the ſummit of a hillock, near the river Jamapa; to reach it took but an inſtant, and enchanted with the ſight of that beautiful river, I would fain have leapt into its waves. I entered the cabin about three in the afternoon. The hoſt was a ſhepherd: him I conjured, as well as the hoſteſs, *por amor de Dios* to give me drink and food: this they did with all diligence. I drank ſucceſſively a quart of water, two quarts of milk, and as many of lemonade, and devoured the wing and thigh of a turkey, with three freſh-laid eggs, before I anſwered the leaſt queſtion. The ſhepherd aſked me if I was a Spaniard (Caſtillano). I anſwered, I was a phyſician of Catalonia. I judged as much, ſaid he, from your gait; you Europeans take longer ſtrides than we Creols. Thus

Thus do thoſe who are moſt nearly connected with nature obſerve her with keeneſt eye. As the ſhepherd ſeemed to me rather curious and diſcerning, I paid him, and complaining of a dreadful head-ach, threw myſelf on a hurdle made of branches, where I fell aſleep. Four reals which I gave my hoſt earned me at leaſt four thouſand benedictions.

I ſlept ſo tranquilly that I did not wake until three the next morning. The morning broke on the world here only at four, ſtill I did not fail purſuing my journey, without taking leave of my hoſts, for fear of awakening them.

I deſcended the hill and reached the ſide of the river: at firſt I was under ſome embarraſſment reſpecting the means of croſſing it; but recollecting that it is but a branch of the ſame river which flows by Medelina, and that it is not deep, I was on the point of undreſſing myſelf to wade over, when about twenty fathoms higher up I diſtinguiſhed a flat-bottomed canoe: I jumped into it, and ſeizing a boat-hook, puſhed over in an inſtant to the other ſide: in no part did I find more than three feet water, though the river was two hundred yards broad. By jumping on ſhore I awakened a dog, which began to bark, and ſoon after I noticed a negro looking at me over a hedge. I aſked him what was the fare of the ferry? A real was his reply. Then give it me, ſaid I, jokingly, for having done your work for you: he at this was content to receive nothing, though I left him his fare.

At this ſpot I avoided the firſt danger I had to encounter. The right paſſage, as I learnt on my return, is lower down, and there a corps de garde is ſtationed, and a picquet of pikemen: my ignorance of the right road thus freed me from many interrogatories.

After paſſing this river I had no other to croſs for ſixteen leagues. I tripped along lightly by narrow but good and eaſy paths: for the ſpace of ſix leagues I ſaw not a ſingle human being, and ſhould willingly have fancied myſelf for an inſtant the only one in nature, but for an immenſe number of rabbits, far from wild, that gambolled in my pathway. Few deſerts are ſeen equally beautiful: more than half the ground conſiſts of an excellent ſtaple of loamy earth, yellow, or black, and well adapted to cultivation, the remainder of Savannahs. At ſix in the morning I heard turkeys on my right, which made me imagine myſelf near ſome dwelling. About ſeven, I ſaw a dozen of them ſpring forth from ſome withered herbage before me, and fly away with a terrible noiſe: their flight was ſo rapid, and ſo long continued, that I was ſatisfied of their being wild turkeys. A quarter of an hour after, two others ran from the ground about a hundred ſteps from me, and afterwards, three more from my left; circumſtances which convinced me of their being an Indian production, or at leaſt of their having become naturalized in the country, and ſhook off the domeſtic yoke.

By nine in the morning I found myſelf within reach of what is called a rancho, (a ſort of canteen.) Here I found an old, curious, and impudent negreſs, but neither bread, nor meat, nor eggs, nor brandy: I was fain to be content with a diſh of hard beans, badly ſtewed, and a morſel of bread I had brought with me from Vera Cruz. Happy precaution! I made myſelf ſome punch with taffia, and afterwards took three hours reſt on a frame of bamboos in ſhape of a bedſtead.

At one in the afternoon I continued my journey. The ſky was overclouded, and a briſk wind blew. In the morning I had croſſed five arroyos, or torrent-beds, and in the afternoon paſſed again twelve others. Nothing can be conceived more fatiguing and unpleaſant than theſe paſſes, owing to the trunks of trees, blocks of ſtone, and monſtrous pebbles, with which they are ſtrewed. I was indeed in a ſlight degree indemnified by the variety of the plants I found in them. I ſaw a mimoſa perfectly

ſimilar in leaf and port to the pomegranate-tree, yucas ſixty feet high, ferns of very ſingular kinds, an arum with an upright but low ſtem, and a palmated-pinnatifide leaf, a plant of great beauty, but ſo large that a root would weigh ten pounds; polyanthi, amaryllides, &c. I found among theſe torrent-beds likewiſe ſeveral wild horſes, but very rarely any water.

At length I reached mount Calabaça by five in the evening, much fatigued. The apprehenſion of loſing my way, and of not readily finding any other reſting-place, made me determine on halting here. I expected to have found it a village: it was but a rancho or meſs-rooms, round which horſes, horned and other cattle, were reared, and nothing but maize was ſown, which ſerves for food as well to the cattle as their guardians. Theſe ranchos are compoſed of three or four wretched huts: the demeſne dependent on them is ſometimes from ten to twenty-five ſquare leagues, in which were about a hundred horſes, three or four hundred ſheep, and a few hundred cows: this rancho was extenſive, the farmer, a Spaniard, or at leaſt of mixed breed, was about ſixty years of age, of handſome figure, civil, but grave, and of rather, as he ſeemed to me, a harſh character. I accoſted him, and entreated ſhelter: he granted my requeſt, admoniſhing me beforehand that he kept no inn, and had neither bread, nor meat, nor wine, nor brandy, but to what he had I was heartily welcome. I begged of him half a dozen eggs, which I ate with tordillas. Theſe tordillas are cakes made of maize, firſt boiled in water, into which a handful of lime is caſt to ſoften the exterior ſkin: the ſkin is afterwards waſhed off, and the peeled maize is cruſted with a cylindrical ſtone, by rolling it over a flat one eighteen inches long by ten broad: after this firſt proceſs, it is kneaded with the hand, and rounded and flattened to the thickneſs of about four lines: it is then baked on a ſtone or iron plate, heated for the purpoſe, and turned, that both ſides may be properly baked: in two minutes the cake is made. It is always an inſipid food, but very ſtomachic, never cauſes indigeſtion, and at no time occaſioned me any inconvenience. In a family conſiſting of two women and five or ſix men, the former are conſtantly employed, morning and night, in preparing tordillas: five or ſix are requiſite for one perſon at each meal, and they are conſtantly eaten new.

My hoſt, who appeared to me to be an old ſoldier, and who, as I afterwards learnt, was really one of thoſe pikemen whom I ſo much dreaded, ſeemed a wily old fox, at leaſt by the queſtions he put to me; but as I had undoubtedly every reſemblance of a phyſician, he could but give me credit for my tale. Notwithſtanding this he pertinaciouſly refuſed me a horſe for the next day, for I thought myſelf now far enough from Vera Cruz to venture this indulgence: I was however forced to forego it. I offered to pay him for his ſupper, but he refuſed to take any recompence. Upon this I gave four reals to his wife or miſtreſs; for though he had a number of children I could not learn from him whether or no he was married. My liberality earned me for the night the enjoyment of an old cloak, which had once been blue, but which from ſervice had become grey. In this I wrapped myſelf, and laid me down on a mat on the floor of a neighbouring penthouſe: but for this kindneſs I riſked to have died of cold, for ſcarcely had I left the door of the hut before one of thoſe dreadful ſtorms of rain fell which are termed at St. Domingo avelaſſes, and of which the drops are as large, and fall with as loud a ſound as the moſt formidable hail-ſtones of Europe. The noiſe they made was frightful: the rain driven by the wind penetrated the branches and leaves which covered the penthouſe, and ran through as from ſo many ſpouts: in an inſtant the whole of the interior was drenched: one would have thought a water-ſpout had burſt over the place. The weather cauſed me the moſt mournful reflections. In a country interſected by torrents and rivers, if this ſtorm ſhould only be the precurſor

of others, how ſhould I be able to travel, eſpecially on my return with the booty I hoped to gain? Could even the beſt horſe in the world carry me ſafe among the rocks and trees which are almoſt always brought down the ravines after ſuch ſtorms? Theſe reflections were very far from comfortable; but having planned every thing for the beſt, I had no other reliance than on Providence: with this concluſion I covered my head with the cloak, and enjoyed a profound ſleep till four the next morning.

The melancholy ideas which had afflicted me the evening before vaniſhed with the ſhades of night: a clear and ſerene ſky, a cool morning, the proſpect of the mountains of Oriſſava, from which I was now but twenty leagues diſtant: their branch, which advanced forward about eight leagues like a ſteep and inacceſſible rampart along the whole contour of the plain, delighted me, and inſtilled freſh courage in my breaſt. From Vera Cruz I conſtantly advanced ſouth-weſt: here the mountains in front of the plain, having no opening on the weſt, the road bends ſeveral points towards the ſouth.

It is worthy of remark, that throughout this vaſt plain the courſe of the torrents and rivers is from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, and that their beds, though in a country ſo flat as to ſeem a level, have conſiderable depth: this ſingularity ariſes no doubt from their deſcending uniformly from the mountains of Oriſſava, and from the immenſe volumes of water proceeding from the melted ſnow, and the hot ſprings of theſe mountains having, by their weight and impulſe, gradually excavated the country to a vaſt diſtance, and thus, in the lapſe of time, worked a ſlope for themſelves, which they do not ſeem to have poſſeſſed at an earlier period.

Though the rain was dreadfully violent during the night, ſuch was the parched ſtate of theſe ſandy cantons, that the ground was moiſtened ſcarcely two inches below the ſurface. On this day's journey I found oaks with ovate leaves ſlightly dentated; a white amaryllis, which I brought back with me; a polyanthus, whoſe raſped root is uſed by the Indians in lieu of ſoap; three large flocks of ſheep; twenty coveys of partridges, not ſo large as quails, and rabbits out of number: I had to paſs, moreover, no leſs than ſixteen arroyos. The ſoil appeared to me generally more fertile and of better ſtaple than that obſerved the day before; ſtill is it not the leſs uncultivated, and without inhabitants.

By eleven in the morning I had travelled eight leagues without eating, and without drinking any thing but a little lemonade, which I procured of two Indians who were building a hut, and who were the only rational beings I met with. I now found myſelf at the foot of the firſt chain of mountains, but the ſteep and almoſt perpendicular declivity before me, the projecting rocks of which were diſcernable through the hanging woods, formed only a portion of the obſtacles which nature, not ſatisfied with this bulwark, has oppoſed to the entrance into Mexico. In advance of theſe ſteeps, and at the very foot of them, ſhe has formed an enormous foſſe, at the bottom of which runs a river ten fathoms broad, of ſuch rapid, ſuch violent current that it has dug itſelf a bed, through ten ſtrata of different kinds of ſtone, of eighty feet deep; over this bed it winds its courſe like a ſerpent amid the ſands, almoſt without a murmur, but foaming, and with the rapidity of lightening: on throwing a pebble into the river, I judged the depth of it to be fifteen feet: when from a wretched bridge made of half rotten bavens, by which this river is croſſed, one looks down on the torrent below, the head turns dizzy. At the extremity of this bridge is a rock which commands and covers it in ſuch manner that ten men might keep as many regiments in check: in the rock an angular and zig-zag paſſage is cut, through which the road lies, and in which no

more than two perſons can march a-breaſt; add to this, a few pieces of artillery placed on the ſummit could thence deſtroy an entire army venturing to force a paſſage.

Half a league lower down is another river, which empties itſelf into this, called the Rio de la Punta, or of the Point: this is not ſo deeply incaſed as the one it joins. I found at the end of the bridge by which it is paſſed a Spaniard who received toll; as he had neither bread nor wine, I reſolved on proceeding to dine at San Lorenzo, though the diſtance was full three leagues. The toll-gatherer warned me, *de las aguas*, (the coming rain,) I heeded him not, but had cauſe to repent: a heavy ſhower quickly brought me back, and ſubjected me to his jeers. On its ceaſing I reſumed my road, and ſoon reached ſome ſugar grounds, which ſeemed to me forſaken, notwithſtanding the buildings were capacious, the plantations very extenſive, and the canes fifteen feet high. At length I came to a ravine, the bed of a torrent, a hundred and fifty fathoms broad, and forty feet deep. I fancied before me the enormous ſkeleton of ſome extinct river, if ſuch an expreſſion be permitted, the only one I could fancy adequate to depicting the gigantic ideas enforced on my imagination by the ſingular ſpectacle of the rocks, the immenſe trunks of trees, the enormous ſtones of all colours, rounded by long and violent friction, which were piled on each other in confuſion in the chaſm. What a horrid ſpectacle, but yet how magnificent, how terrible! All theſe maſſes, now motionleſs, and ſurrounded by deepeſt ſilence, had erſt been driven with reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, had experienced, amid the noiſe of horrid craſh and daſhing foam, an active change of ſtation: how mightily powerful then muſt have been the vaſt and inconceivable volume of water, that thus could have made the ſport of weights and bulks like theſe! Scarcely, though the bed was dry, was I enabled to paſs theſe obſtructions to my way. Picture to yourſelf, reader, this chaſm, winding, vaſt, and deep, encloſed on either ſide by a foreſt of trees, equally lofty, ſtill, and ſombre, and aſk, what painter could venture the diſplay of ſcenes ſo wild and monſtrous? O Vernet! 'tis thou alone perhaps wouldſt not in vain have dared.

Here it was I ſaw many pairs of thoſe beautiful parrots of the Brazils, with pointed tails, called araracaunas; of the Amazons, with green plumage, mixed with the yellow of the jonquil, and of the ſize of the Guinea parrot; and a bird of prey, black and white, with red feathers round the beak, the ſize of our buzzard.

A moſt excellent ſtaple, in addition, preſented me on every ſide a vegetation equally abundant and varied; but, alas! it was impoſſible for me to load myſelf with ſuch a maſs of treaſure; I therefore made the beſt of my way, with my eyes caſt down, and ſolicitous almoſt of avoiding the ſight of objects I could not chooſe but ſigh for.

At length I arrived, exceſſively fatigued, at San Lorenzo. The inn here is for a Spaniſh inn a charming one, and to me was truly ſo. The miſtreſs was civil, and I was ſerved with diligence. I had four freſh eggs, a chicken, and ſome excellent bread, together with ſome tent wine. Immediately after I departed, reſolved on reaching Villa Cordova that day, but ſcarcely had I left the church-yard, where I had been to examine at leiſure its plumeriæ, (frangipaniers) with purple coloured, roſy, and yellow flowers, and thirty feet high, before the rain again began to fall. I took ſhelter under an Indian hut, when at the inſtant a negro paſſed me with three horſes, the ſame I had before ſeen at La Punta: I did not venture to accoſt the negro before the Spaniard, but with Indians I was rendered bold by neceſſity. I aſked him to let me one of his horſes, and he agreed to conduct me as far as to his village, two leagues beyond, but the name of which I forget. I jumped on horſeback, upon this, without either boots, ſpur, or cloak: the negro, in order to ſhelter me from the rain, contrived to cover my

head with a mat, which hung down before and behind like a Dalmatian mantle: never was Robinſon Cruſoe more groteſquely apparelled.

We had got, at a pretty briſk pace, a league on our way, when my guide pointed out to me the garita, or guard-houſe of the cuſtom officers, by the ſide of the road. I trembled on remembrance that I had no paſſport: the guards had the right to ſtop me, but we were now too near to ſeek to avoid them; I therefore conceived I could do no better than pretend to be aſleep on my horſe, and even half dead, in caſe they ſhould attempt to force me to alight or ſpeak. How over-charitable my opinion of Spaniſh centries to nouriſh ſuch diſquiet! The rain prevented theſe vigilant gentry from leaving their ſhelter, and even, no doubt, from ſeeing us; and we reached the village by night, without any accident. In the ſhop of a grocer I met with bread, wine, eggs, and chocolate, and went to reſt, after agreeing with the negro to conduct me in the morning to the city of Cordova for thirteen reals.

I ſlept badly: at two in the morning I ran to the hut of my negro to awaken him, and haſten our departure; but in vain, we were not able to ſet off before four.

We entered the gorge of the firſt chain of mountains through an immenſe foreſt. It ſeems the Spaniards, at one epoch, deemed this paſſage of importance; for at every league we diſcerned the ruins of forts, redoubts, intrenchments, and other fortifications, more or leſs dilapidated, by which the gorge had once been defended. This gorge is about a hundred fathoms in breadth. Between San Lorenzo and the city of Cordova I reckoned ſeven of theſe forts, all of them built of ſtone, but not any of them in an integral ſtate: in lieu of theſe it is, and near them, that ſome guard-houſes, called by the Spaniards garitas, have been conſtructed. Never did I look upon theſe guard-houſes againſt ſmuggling in ſuch an odious light, or as ſuch a ſhocking proof of the arbitrarineſs of power as in the New World. In a country where with difficulty the moſt abſolute neceſſaries of life can be obtained, is it tolerable, that by the exertion of atrocious barbarity, an indigenous plant, which nature ſtrews beneath the very footſteps of the inhabitants for their comfort, ſhould become ſo far a ſcourge to them, that they are not at liberty, without the livelieſt dread, to ſtupify themſelves by its narcotic quality, and ſteep in oblivion the memory of their ſufferings!

The ſoil we travelled over conſiſted of a deep and inexhauſtible red earth, ſingularly fertile. I ſaw again another ſugar plantation, and canes of monſtrous ſize, beyond immenſe fields of tobacco: thus the moſt productive ground in nature is in the hands of a lazy people, who merely cultivate a plant which can give no nouriſhment to its cultivator.

Four leagues brought us to the Villa de Cordova. Domes, towers, numerous ſteeples, announced a large city, and gave me great apprehenſion. A freſh garita at the gates of the city! Might there not be ſome information given reſpecting me? Might not a troop of pikemen be waiting to put me into irons? Alone, on foot, I might have avoided the town, as I intended; but to act thus in the face of an enemy, to implant ſuſpicion in the mind of my guide, or even to make him a confident, him, an African, an individual of a nation the moſt perfidious, one of the ſubjects of the King of Spain, the moſt devoted to his ſervice. This could never enter my head: to ſend him back was by no means a ſafer plan; on the contrary, I treated him with great kindneſs. I therefore reſolutely entered the city, but I deemed it right to play the ſame part I had done at the laſt village. How little I knew of the Spaniards! they are by no means ſo vigilant or active: they never enquired for my portmanteau, nor ſubjected me to the leaſt ſcrutiny.

I alighted

I alighted at an inn in the ſuburbs, where I fell ſuddenly ill. I laid me down to reſt, and had a ſoup made ready for me. I ſlept till two o'clock, and aroſe radically cured. After eating an indifferent ſoup, made with excellent mutton, I paid my reckoning, and enquiring for the reſidence of the Alcade-Mayor, I pretended to direct my ſteps towards it, and traverſed the whole length of the city without meeting any other than Indians or Negroes.

The city of Cordova may be a thouſand fathoms ſquare. Although an ancient town, the iſlets are ſtill, at leaſt the greater part of them, gardens excepted, in the centre of the city, where is a large ſquare, equal in ſize to the place Vendoſme, at Paris, with three ſides of Gothic or Mooriſh arcades, ornamented with a taſty fountain, which jets forth a prodigious volume of exquiſite water: the fourth ſide is occupied by the great church: the ſtreets are paved, broad, and rectileniar: three-fourths of the houſes are of ſtone, but the inhabitants are poor. Whenever nature is peculiarly bounteous to man, there is man conſtantly leaſt attentive to nature: accuſtomed to her boons, he contracts a liſtleſs lazy habit, which prevents him from laying up ſtore againſt her viciſſitudes. The city is built on a raiſed plain, formed by a long hill, between two valleys, each of them bounded by lofty mountains, which form the paſs into Mexico. The opening between the mountains may be about a league wide, but no where is ſuch rich and beauteous vegetation apparent; no where a field for culture which would be ſo luxuriantly repaid as on this long plain. The ſoil here is a red loam, from ten to fifteen feet deep. In the gardens, cherry-trees, apples, peaches, and apricots, are intermingled with ſapotiliers and orange trees, thus combining the fruits of both hemiſpheres. In the hedges are elders and aſh trees, with a ſort of arboreſcent tegetes or convolvolus, the ſeed of which I could not procure; and a ſecond kind of this plant with bell ſhaped flowers, which, eight inches in length by a breadth of three, are pendent, the margin terminating in long laciniæ.

The quantity of rain that fell at noon was conſiderable, and the road was very ſlippery; ſtill, in order to avoid all interrogations, I determined on ſetting off: the moſt difficult point was to find the road to Oriſſava, ſeven leagues diſtant: I followed one at all riſk till I reached the extremity of the ſuburbs, where I met ſome Indians who put me in the right way, from which I had deviated about a hundred ſteps.

After an hour's travelling it began again to rain. At this inſtant I met a train of more than two hundred mules: their loading had been depoſited under tents, and as for the mules themſelves they remained quietly feeding in the high road, which is conſtantly a ſpace two hundred yards broad, covered with turf of perpetual growth, but without any ruts, or tracks of carriages, as there are none uſed in the whole diſtance between Vera Cruz and Tecuacan. I was obliged to enter an Indian cabin, where I drank a glaſs of pine apple water, a beverage, if well made, equally pleaſant with lemonade: for this I paid a real, and the rain ceaſing, reſumed my journey.

Two leagues thence I deſcended a deep ravine, in which I perceived a very ſolid ſtone building, without any roof, and long deſerted; but whether it had been a citadel, a temple, or a private houſe, I was unable to aſcertain, owing to the trees and herbage with which it was covered, and which concealed the plan of it. I merely remarked that the walls, ſtill twenty feet high, were three feet in thickneſs: the windows reſembled thoſe of our ancient churches; but of what utility a church in this poſition, where not the ſmalleſt veſtige of a village could be ſeen? It is therefore more probable, it was originally ſome fort intended to defend a bridge, over a ſmall but very rapid river, which runs by its walls: ſtill, for this purpoſe the ſite could not have been worſe choſen, for by aſcending or deſcending the river, the fort would have eaſily been avoided;

avoided; and it is, moreover, commanded by the ſummit of the hill, on the ſlope of which it is conſtructed.

A few paces diſtant are ſeven or eight huts, near another river, which like this has its courſe from the north-weſt: in the ravine in which it run were ſome elders and aſh trees of ſingular beauty. A league beyond, on the left, and at a hundred paces from the high road, I ſaw four Mexican monuments, forming a quadrangle: each conſiſted of a pyramid about twelve yards high, with a baſe of twenty. The ſoil here was excellent, yet, notwithſtanding, deſtitute of cultivation, if a little tobacco be excepted. As for the paſtures they were ſo exuberantly clothed, that on a plot of about a ſquare league, I counted no leſs than eleven flocks of ſheep, each conſiſting of ſix hundred.

Night was now drawing on, when fortunately I met an Indian, whoſe directions preſerved me in the right road to Oriſſava.

Thanks to the rain and the ſhades of night, I was not ſtopt either at the garita of the city, or at another which I paſſed on an eminence near the ravine.

I was much fatigued with a march of eight leagues, through the rain, and over a bad road. I entered three inns in ſucceſſion, but could meet with refuge in neither, their hoſts objecting to receive me, and recommending me as a ſtranger to the *caſa reale*, a kind of hoſpital for travellers, the name of which, however reſpectable, was repugnant to my feelings; ſo much does ignorance at times give formidable ſhape to names! At length I entered a fourth inn, called *la caſa grande:* the front of it was a grocer's ſhop: within was a vaſt court, ſurrounded by arcades, which ſerved as a corridor from top to bottom, and four ſides of building; the *caſero* introduced me at firſt into a room, beſtrewed with the dung of the poultry which rooſted in it. I looked at him indignantly, with my ſtick raiſed * and ready to ſtrike him, in caſe of his not ſhewing me ſome other apartment. Though leſs filthy, the chamber he gave me was nowiſe better furniſhed: a bed-frame of bambo, a table, a wretched ſeat, with one of its legs rotten, a door-way ſimilar to that of a citadel, and the ruſty hinges of which would not admit its cloſing; ſuch was the lodging I had to ſhare with a poſſe of flapping bats: for ſupper I had four eggs, a diſh of ſtewed beans, two Spaniſh radiſhes, and half a dozen lettice leaves; as for bread and wine I was obliged to ſeek them myſelf at the ſhop. Such an expenditure made me be conſidered of conſequence, and for two reals I obtained a mattraſs: my ſupper coſt me four.

At dawn next day, I pondered on the means of learning diſtinctly the route and diſtance to Guaxaca. After long meditation I entered a convent of Carmelites, where I begged to ſpeak with the prior: I was no doubt thought to aſſume above my ſphere in ſuch a requeſt, and the ſub-prior came to me. Judging from his round and jolly countenance, I deemed him a perſon in whom I might confide. I therefore told him, as in ſecret, that being a phyſician and botaniſt, my occupation was the ſtudy of natural hiſtory and plants; that for three years I had been on my travels in view of perfecting myſelf in this branch of ſcience; that during a tempeſt I had made a vow to go on foot to Nſra. Snra. de la Soledad, in Guaxaca, which till now I had faithfully executed, but that, feeling myſelf exhauſted with fatigue, and preſſed for time in order to return for embarkation, I was ſolicitous of learning whether ſuch a favorable interpretation of my vow could be admitted, as would allow my completing the reſidue of my pilgrimage on foot, in preſenting, as was but reaſonable, for the indulgence of deviating from the letter of my vow, certain pious offerings and alms. After a learned diſcuſſion on this

* It is fit I ſhould remark that no reſpectable tradeſman, nor any one in eaſy circumſtances, vouchſafes to keep an inn; inns are conſequently let at ſo much per day to a caſero; a deſcription of men regarded in a meaner light than our footmen, and who may be roughly treated with impunity.

point

point, my Carmelite was of opinion that I certainly might, by means of prayers and alms, acquit myſelf towards our Lady of the Solitude: taking him at his word, I drew from my purſe four medios d'oro *, and begged of him to take upon himſelf the offering I wiſhed to make: this he refuſed, affirming the ſum to be thrice too large. In vain did I inſiſt: I could not prevail on him to accept any thing, which not a little diſconcerted me, as I hoped by dint of bribery to obtain from him the information which I needed; nevertheleſs I did not loſe all hope from the civility he ſhewed me: he even preſented me to four other fathers, ſhewed me the houſe, the garden, and was in raptures at the deſcription I afforded him of different plants, of which the community was wholly ignorant. At length I was on the point of loſing my ſub-prior, when I bethought of inquiring whether there was not a convent of Carmelites at Guaxaca, and how far that city might be diſtant: this time my good monk fell into the ſnare. Anxious to appear well informed on what I enquired, he afforded me an itinerary ſo minutely detailed, league by league, and village after village, that the general of an army might have truſted to it for the plan of a march, as I had full means afterwards of aſcertaining.

Highly charmed, after a route of forty leagues, in which I had, as it were, been obliged to feel my way, at meeting with a perfect and unſuſpected guide, I was preparing to take my leave, when the brethren obligingly preſſed me to take a ſurvey of the upper apartments of their houſe; hence it was that I could but admire the delightful ſituation of Oriſſava. This city is about three thouſand yards long, by a thouſand in breadth; the ſtreets, ſpacious, clean, and well paved. Excellent water, pure as cryſtal, is found in every quarter, but the cool proceeding thence gives ſuch a ſpur to vegetation, that, ſpite of every precaution, the pavement is overſpread with herbage, nay, even the houſes though of ſtone are covered with moſs, evergreens, and ferns of every ſpecies: its population is 3000 whites and 1500 negroes or Indians: its manufactures conſiſt of ſome tanneries and coarſe cloths. This is the entrepôt for the traffic between Vera Cruz and the cold countries: here the caravans of mules are wont to reſt and ſojourn a while; and here the clerks of different houſes fix their prices on the articles brought from the interior and from Europe. The city ſtands in a valley a league wide. The country about enjoys the advantage of yielding the fruits of Europe by the ſide of thoſe of America. The air is mild yet lively, and the temperature enchanting. At nine in the morning, the thermometer of Bourbon denotes 12° above the freezing point. The city is ſurrounded by inſulated mountains, which leave between them ſo many little gorges or openings: the ſummits of theſe mountains preſent the effect of a paliſade of pyramids covered with foreſts of the livelieſt verdure, delighting while they eaſe the eye: their angular points reſemble ſo many pines, while above them, proudly eminent, riſes the volcano of Oriſſava, clad in perpetual ſnow, and preſenting at once, in conjunction with the minor mountains, the ſingular contraſt of boreal winter with the ſummer's grateful garb. Let the reader figure to himſelf an immenſe ſugar-loaf, its apex obliquely truncated towards the city, and evincing a proof that, when it burnt, the ignited eruption rolled towards the plain of Vera Cruz, and he will have the image of the volcano of Oriſſava. The fact of the eruption of the lava in the direction aſſumed, is confirmed by the pumices found by me on the very margin of the Gulf of Mexico, in the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz, a fact the more ſurpriſing when it is conſidered the diſtance is not leſs than five and thirty leagues from the city of Oriſſava, a city which aſſuredly was not founded previous to the extinction of the

* Sterling 7l. 12s.

volcano,

volcano, which ſeems even now to threaten the city. When in the morning the plain was ſtill enveloped with the darkneſs of night, I ſaw, and with ſentiments of admiration and delight, the towering ſummit of this lofty mountain, ſhining like ſilver, but ſilver gilt with the ſaffron beam of day.

The convent of the Carmelites built with a magnificence, truly barbarous, poſſeſſes in its maſſive ſtructure ſomewhat noble and ſtriking: internally it is lively, very clean, and kept in excellent order. Paintings, in the moſt extravagant ſtile, are laviſhed on every part, but their bright colouring pleaſes the eye: the church, as uſual, is gilt in ridiculous profuſion; but in the ſanctuary, worthy of remark, is a very extraordinary picture, repreſenting the Aſſumption of the Virgin: Mary is ſeen, ſtill proſtrate, but in a ſuperb chariot with ſix wheels: two biſhops dreſt in copes and mitres, hold the naves of the wheels in one hand, and a flambeau in the other: ſix others are mounted behind on the footman's ſtand: the trainers are twelve cherubims with blue wings, and in Roman dreſſes, a helmet on the head with feathers, and their hair floating in the manner of dancers in a ſerious opera, and they are harneſſed to the car, with traces like our cannoneers, to the gun. Elias on the box, with a lily in his hand held like a whip, acts as coachman; and his diſciple Elijah, on horſeback, as poſtillion.

After having thus ſurveyed the whole of the convent of the Carmelites, I departed loaded with civility; when in the middle of the ſtreet, a new incident, which I had not foreſeen, diſturbed me an inſtant: I knew every ſtage on my road by heart, and all but the moſt eſſential matter, the gate by which I had to leave the city: I ventured to enquire, and a rogue of a ſhopkeeper directed me oppoſite to the right, I had in conſequence to retrace my ſteps, and on return, met my gentleman, who merely laughed at me, but a frowning brow and an angry look I darted upon him, changed his countenance, and made him pale as death. I at length paſſed the right gate into the road, over a bridge that croſſed a ſmall river, which bathes the exterior of the city: a very large ſtreet, which ſerves as a ſuburb, led me to the barrier at the foot of another bridge. This paſs was guarded by cuſtoms officers; one of them enquired whither I was going: I told him to collect plants; and that I lodged at the Carmelite convent, from which I was ſhortly about to go to Vera Cruz. In turn, I put many queſtions to him; and the fellow conceived himſelf highly honoured at having in his power to give information to a foreign phyſician ſo learned as myſelf. The chief of the officers then took me aſide, into a room well furniſhed with ſpears, piſtols, and ſwords; and now, thought I to myſelf, you are caged; I was however quit for a moment's dread, and a ſight but little agreeable indeed, though without danger: the ſpectacle diſplayed, was the conſequence of a malady ſaid to have originated in the country where I was, and with which our chief was dreadfully affected: I preſcribed to him a mode of treatment; after which, dying with impatience to reſume my journey, I left him, in ſpite of all his offers of ſervice, and his invitation to take chocolate.

I left Oriſſava ſatisfied with having ſome claim of ſervice from a man whom I ſhould elſe have reaſon to fear on my return. I marched on in high ſpirits, and mended my pace in view of gaining the mountain before me, and even of climbing it, if poſſible, to enjoy the beautiful proſpect I promiſed myſelf from its ſummit; but when I had travelled about four leagues, I found myſelf tired, and in need of nouriſhment.

I reſolved on entering an Indian cottage on the road, where I was well received, and treated with bread and eggs, all that can well be expected from this wretched claſs of men: but what ſtruck and charmed me far beyond my meal, was the perfect beauty of the miſtreſs of the cottage: I looked for faultineſs in her, but, almoſt naked as ſhe was, having nothing on but a furbelowed muſlin petticoat, trimmed with a roſe-

coloured cord, and a ſhift which left her ſhoulders bare, the niceſt ſcrutiny diſcovered no defect, her whole figure emulating in ſymmetry the regularity of her features. I told her ſhe was very handſome: it ſeemed to pleaſe her and two old women who were preſent; the one her mother, and the other her aunt, laughed heartily on the occaſion. I put many queſtions to her; and learnt ſhe was married and had children; theſe circumſtances but rendered her the more intereſting, and her charms had even a diſorderly effect on my ſenſes. I ventured to draw forth a piece of gold; but recollecting myſelf: wretch! ſaid I, what wouldſt thou? Is ſuch the object of thy toil? In a foreign country, friendleſs, and without ſupport, environed by myriads of dangers ſtill ever ſpringing beneath your feet, wouldſt thou loſe thyſelf? wouldſt yield to the enervations of voluptuouſneſs? Madman away! With theſe ſelf-reproofs I left the cottage without ſpeaking a word, or daring to take another glance, and dragged myſelf, ſighing along. When I had journeyed half a league, I found myſelf better: a thouſand different ideas came to my aſſiſtance and conſolation, and I found myſelf quite refreſhed, proving what is ſaid by La Bruyere, that "nothing more enlivens the ſpirits than the reflection of avoiding a folly."

Deſpight of the bad roads, I journeyed on a league and a half, and found myſelf oppoſite to Aquulſingo, where the dedication of a belfry was celebrating: I did not chooſe to ſtop, for I could have halted only at the Caſa Reale, and I had imbibed ſuch a dread of lodgings of this kind, that I had no inclination for experiment.

I muſt obſerve that, in every village, the Caſa Reale is the court in which the Alcalde ſits, and juſtice is adminiſtered: when not appropriated to this auguſt purpoſe, the Caſa Reale is only a wretched caravanſerai, or rather penthouſe, in which travellers obtain ſhelter gratis. Commonly the whole furniture conſiſts of two or three frames of bamboo for beds, a table, a ſeat, and a hemiſphere of *creſcentia* or veſſel, which ſerves at once for pail, for piſs-pot, and to drink from. An Indian is kept in guard of theſe precious articles, and to wait on travellers, that is to ſay, to fetch them whatever eatable can be found in the village for their money: this guardian is denominated a *caſero*, he is alſo a cook; but his whole knowledge of cookery is confined to boiling an egg hard, and burning a chicken.

I travelled on, and came to about fifty Indian huts built on the road ſide: wavering in opinion whether or no I ſhould ſtop here, or attempt to climb the mountain at the riſk of being caught in the rain, I remained ſome time irreſolute; at length fatigue, the dread of loſing my way, and the more weighty dread of being thoroughly ſoaked, determined me, though it was yet broad day-light, to enter the laſt of the Indian huts which I ſaw on the road: it was built like the cabins of the charcoal-makers in the woods of France, but ſo low as prevented one ſtanding upright.

I found here a female Indian and a little girl, buſily employed in making tordilyas: they received me without ceremony, but yet with reſpect. They did not comprehend a ſingle word of Spaniſh, nor I the leaſt of the Mexican tongue, ſo that our converſation was neceſſarily by ſigns. The mother preſented me a tordilya, which I took and ate, but with no appetite, giving her in return a real. I preſented the little girl a packet of pins, which ſhe accepted, and found mighty curious: immediately another tordilya was ſerved up, covered with an egg and *chili*: the latter diſh I found excellent, and paid for with another real. I ſaw they were preparing me ſtill others, but I made them ſigns to deſiſt.

Tordilyas have before been noticed: they form the chief food of the Indians. As for *chili* it is a Mexican ſauce made of pimento and tomatas, or love-apples, pounded together in a mortar, and mixed with ſalt and water: it is the common ſauce, and

indifferently for bread, meat, and fiſh, and is the moſt delicate ragout known to theſe worthy people. Thoſe who are in eaſy circumſtances, always keep it by them to eat their tordilyas with, which are without it inſipid. The Indian when he has no tomatas, knowing without doubt the affinity between them and nightſhade and *phyſalis*, or the winter-cherry, ſubſtitutes *alkekengi*, or the winter-cherry, as I frequently remarked on my way, a circumſtance which put me on my guard in eating this ſauce.

Night coming on, the father of the family arrived with five children, the oldeſt about fifteen: three others, one of which at the breaſt, had remained at home; thus in all eight children, the father, mother, and myſelf, were collected under a little roof of ſhingle in a hut, but fifteen feet ſquare. The poor Indian, tired with labour, and half ſtarved, preſented a mild and benignant phyſiognomy: he ſhewed me ſome little attention, but overflowing with affection, he ſmothered his children with kiſſes, while the tendereſt love beamed in his looks, which were conſtantly directed to his wife, ſave when from courteſy they were turned to me. He ſpoke a few words of Spaniſh, but our converſation was little. A profound ſilence reigned during the whole repaſt ſerved up, conſiſting of tordilyas and chili: it was the ſtillneſs of delight, interrupted at intervals by the tones of a language ſweet and ſhort, and by ſounds which reſembled the melodious notes of the bullfinch; thus joy, tenderneſs, and repoſe awaited the worthy Indian, as compenſations for his daily toil. He gained by his work but two reals, I gave him in addition two, but profit ſeemed to intereſt him little. Avarice finds rarely entrance in the heart of the child of nature, awake to the feelings of a huſband and a father!

I laid down to reſt, my heart full of this ſcene, and adverting in thought to that at my dinner, ſuch, ſaid I, ſuch are the hearts in which you would have plunged ten thouſand daggers by the ſeduction of a wife, the joy and only ſolace of her partner.

To theſe reflections a thouſand inſects joined their troubleſome hum to drive away repoſe. I laid ſtretched on two bad ſheep-ſkins, but the night was cold, and I had no covering, the rain even penetrated our ſlender roof. As therefore I could not ſleep, I roſe and left theſe good people in ſilence, but deeply affected with what I had obſerved.

The evening before I noticed near their houſe a bath of rather a curious conſtruction: it was a little houſe eight feet long and ſix broad, with walls two feet in height: its roof, ſhaped like ours, covered with ridge tiles, overtopped a wall built of brick, and reſembling that of an oven: the floor alſo was paved with brick: it was raiſed near a fountain or rivulet, and beneath its level. Within the building a fire is kindled, as in an oven to heat it: the fire is afterwards withdrawn, and the ſtreamlet ſuffered to enter. After a few minutes the invalid, about to avail himſelf of the bath, is placed in it, feet downwards, with no means of breathing, but by the door which is about eighteen inches ſquare; this remedy is rarely uſed, and only in deſperate caſes, as I was enabled to gather from the broken ſentences and geſtures of the Indian: of ſtoves ſimilar to this I met with ſeveral on my way.

I have obſerved that on quittiug the plain, the road lays through a gorge which begins at La Punta. This gorge is bounded on the ſouth-weſt by Aquulſingo, and ſuddenly by an appendage of the volcano of Oriſſava, which forms, as it were, a kernel, or tenant, that unites the frame of the two ranges of mountains which form the gorge in which the cities of Cordova and Oriſſava are ſituate. This kernel or tenant it was neceſſary I ſhould paſs to enter into Tecuacan. I had obſerved it attentively the day before, and noticed the road traced on its reverſe. However high and ſteep the mountain, this road, which is very well planned, and paved even in certain parts, would be

far leſs laborious to traverſe, were due care taken to repair the injuries to which it is ſubject from ſprings precipitated from the top of the rocks in a thouſand ſingularly curious caſcades; and from the torrents which, during heavy rains, bear every thing before them.

I was on this road by two in the morning. The atmoſphere was replete with moiſture, owing to the night dew and a thick fog which covered the mountain: the cold in conſequence was ſo benumbing that I could ſcarcely move my fingers. I aſcended rapidly, and by day-break was on the ridge of the mountain. I ſaw there a number of oaks, ſimilar to thoſe of the plain, the ſavin ſhrubs*, and arbuſtæ, which I took for myrtles, but which the obſcurity prevented my aſcertaining. I was pleaſing myſelf with the magnificent proſpect I ſhould enjoy; the eaſe with which I ſhould contemplate the volcano, and the birds-eye view I ſhould have of the gorge I had quitted, and the plain I had to enter on the riſing of day, as I aſcended the mountain, but my expectations were fruſtrated by the fog, which did not diſperſe the whole day long.

I ſaw on my way two dealers in poultry; and farther on, two caravans of mules feeding around their encampment.

Scarcely had I gained the ſummit before I had to deſcend, for the creſt of the mountain is barely ten fathoms broad. I now tripped lightly down, ſatisfied within myſelf I had nothing further to apprehend, and as much at my eaſe as if a thouſand leagues from thoſe whom my fears repreſented in purſuit of me.

I fancied myſelf in quite another country; and in fact nature preſented a volume perfectly new to my delighted eyes, and treated them with a moſt ſuperb diſplay of plants of various genera.

Here the *geranium* †, there a ſpecies of *heliotrope* ‡, of a very curious ſpecies, no ſeeds of which unfortunately were ripe: beyond theſe *miſletoes* ‖, *tradas cautias* §, of very ſingular kinds; a ſpecies of medlar, *yucas* ¶ thirty feet high, and finally, at the bottom of the mountain, magueys, a plant which became the moſt predominant.

The gorge I traverſed now preſented a road of beautiful turf, and now a ſoft and even ſand.

At ſeven in the morning I diſcovered a village, the huts and houſes of which divided from each other by long intervals, gave me an idea of what the Spaniards call a *pueblo*, it was *clapuleo*, divided into a rectory and curacy, and about a league in length.

This ſpot may be reckoned the vineyard of the country; but what a vineyard!

A valley extending three leagues by half a league in breadth, is encloſed by mountains covered with ſome *cacti*, but chiefly with the *agave Americana* or aloes. This plant, which is indigenous, in addition, is here cultivated and multiplied *ad infinitum* by the Indians. Its leaves, three or four feet in length by a foot and a half broad, ſerve the inhabitants in lieu of tiles; and ſome cottages I have ſeen were very ſkilfully covered with them. The plant yields a beverage eſteemed by this people delicious, but of which the mere appearance was ſufficient to excite diſguſt in me: it is of a whitiſh colour, thick, conſtantly turbid, and unſuſceptible of clarification. The following is the manner in which it is extracted. Previous to the aloes ſhooting forth its ſpear, the Indian, after cutting away ſome of the leaves in order to form a paſſage, on arriving at the heart of the plant, tap it to the pith in nearly the ſame manner as an artichoke,

* Dioecia monadelphica. † Monadelphia decandria. ‡ Pentandria monogynia.
‖ Dioecia tetrandria. § Hexandria monogynia. ¶ The ſame claſs, a ſpecies of aloes.

he

he removes the crown of upper leaves, encloſed the one within the other, and after hollowing in the ſtem of the plant a cavity capable of containing two or three quarts, he places the crown on again, and leaves it. In the courſe of that day and the following night the ſap of the plant tranſudes from every part of the young leaves cut off with the crown, and falls into the well below; this the next day great care is taken in emptying, and this proceſs is repeated until the plant becomes exhauſted, when it periſhes: it is then hewn down, and renewed by the pipings it generally bears.

This ſpecies of aloes is ſometimes ſo large as to meaſure fifteen feet in diameter: it throws out its leaves like the ſpears of chevaux de friz, but of far more ſolid ſtructure: it occupies all the backs of the hills of Clapuleo, a talky and ſtony ſoil: the bottom is ſown with barley and other corn. The morne of Port-au-Prince grows many of this ſpecies of aloes.

This forms one of the chief objects of culture at Clapuleo, which furniſhes the conſumption of a circuit of eighteen leagues radius. There are Indians who have conſtantly forty of theſe wells, which I could ſafely wager they empty every day. I am ignorant at what price this beverage is ſold, but it is in great requeſt, and I have ſeen it on its way in ſkins to every quarter round about.

I had travelled ſix long leagues without eating, after a very indifferent night, and but a bad ſupper the evening before. It was nowiſe aſtoniſhing therefore that I felt hungry: I enquired of the firſt Indian I met where the tienda was (the eating-houſe); but neither he, nor ſeveral others I met with in ſucceſſion, underſtood me: at laſt I ventured to enter a hut, where I found two women and a young man: I made ſigns to them by pointing to ſome eggs, that I wanted food: they brought me half a dozen, which I cauſed to be roaſted in their ſhell, and devoured, with four tordilyas. I afterwards for beverage made a kind of lemonade, and might have been content with this meal, but ſeeing my ſly Indian had a fowl in the pot over the fire, well ſeaſoned, I without ceremony aſked him for a part: he gave me firſt one wing, then another, and afterwards a leg. Theſe I ate entirely, to the great aſtoniſhment of the bye-ſtanders, who thought me, no doubt, but ill qualified in purſe for ſuch an appetite. To diſmiſs their ſuſpicions I took four reals from my purſe, which they received with pleaſure, and would have had me take the remainder of the fowl, but this I refuſed, as I did alſo a beverage made from the maguey, and called by them pulqué, as the whitiſh, troubled, and dirty appearance of it, inſpired me with diſguſt. I afterwards laid me down for an hour to reſt in this little hut, conſtructed in the ſame manner as the huts of our ſoldiers, and but ten feet long, but ſo clean, with every thing in ſo much order, that nothing can be imagined more ſo. Theſe good people were ſimplicity perſonified. Their language, different from that of the Indians of Aquulſingo, is ſingular, and little but clucking. The only ſounds diſtinguiſhable are a multitude of lya's, or l mouille's, and mute e's. The man who comprehended and ſpoke a few Spaniſh words, enquired of me how far it was from there to Caſtile? I anſwered, two thouſand leagues, but here I ſpoke beyond his underſtanding. He readily conceived the numbers ten, twenty, nay a hundred, but beyond this number his ideas did not extend. He admired the knot of my cane and its handle, my watch and ſnuff-box, obſerving them with the moſt innocent curioſity, but without deſire or anxiety to poſſeſs them.

At nine in the morning, finding myſelf ſufficiently refreſhed, I left my kind hoſts. A cooling breeze, a cloudy ſky, every thing promiſed me a pleaſant journey, and I determined on ſleeping beyond Tecuacan.

Scarcely

Scarcely had I gone a hundred ſteps before I was accoſted by an Indian, who enquired of me whither I was going? I anſwered to Guaxaca: upon this he offered me horſes, but as he had a beggarly and ideotiſh appearance, I paid no attention to what he ſaid. He continued obſtinately to follow me, and ſtopping me at the end of a ſtreet, he ſhewed me a horſe held by a young man. His purſuing me engendered ſuſpicion: I took him for a thief, or at beſt, a ſpy; and treated him in ſuch manner as induced him to go his ways. I have ſince learnt that my ſuſpicions of him were groundleſs, and that he was only one of thoſe people called topiths, whoſe office it is to ſeek horſes for travellers, and ſerve them as guides. Still, I was not ſorry on learning this, that I had not taken advantage of his proffer, for he would moſt aſſuredly have conducted me on horſeback, in broad day, through the ſtreets of Tecuacan; a riſk would have made me die ten thouſand deaths with fear.

On leaving the pueblo, I ſaw a number of pretty rabbits, by no means wild, ſeveral birds of charming plumage, and the arbol Peruano, which yields a ſpecies of pepper.

After three leagues through beautiful vallies, in which the harveſt had been reaped ſome days before, and where already the huſbandman was employed in ſowing again, I diſcovered from an eminence the plain of Tecuacan. Hitherto I had only travelled through the gorge leading to it: the ſcene which afterwards ſtruck me was ſingularly delightful, but the pleaſure it occaſioned was leſſened by the revival of my curſed fears, at the ſight of a country ſo well peopled, and the reflection that I muſt neceſſarily travel through ſo large a city as Tecuacan, which I painted to myſelf ſwarming with corps de gardes, alcaldes, and alguazils of every deſcription.

As it was too early to wait till night-fall, I bethought myſelf of the expedient of rounding the town, without entering it; in conſequence, I continued my way at a quick rate, but not ſo quick as to be blind to the beautiful proſpects around.

From the extremity of the gorge I had juſt traverſed, on reaching the ſlope of the hill, is ſeen the vaſt and ſuperb plain of Tecuacan. Its breadth is ſix leagues, and it extends in a ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt direction ſome twenty leagues beyond Jalappa, between two chains of mountains, which bound it eaſt and weſt, and ſeparate the province of Tecuacan from that of Mexico Proper. The river of Tecuacan, and generally ſpeaking, all the waters run in the ſame direction for the ſpace of fifteen leagues towards the ſouth. The eye embraces with delight in a country covered with eternal verdure, interſected by innumerable rivers, and chequered with five or ſix cities, and villages, and pueblos, and habitations, without number.

This fine country, however minutely examined, does not appear to be naturally ſo fertile as a view of its whole announces. The plain, properly ſo called, is indeed very productive, and yields every grain peculiar to Europe; but the ſoil is of a greyiſh colour, abounds in clay, and requires, in order to render it fit for ſowing, a long continued inundation; and when the growing crops appear to ſuffer from drought, it is again watered, by means of ſluices contrived at its different falls with much ingenuity and care, in the banks of the river of Tecuacan: this is one of the beſt managed regulations I had hitherto obſerved in the whole country, and doubtleſs the population were taught in its inſtitution by neceſſity, for the only compoſt neceſſary for the ſoil is water; and here it is diſtributed to all the different farms, in the ſame manner as it is to the ſugar plantations of Santo Domingo. The lands are tilled with the plough, and they yield two crops annually, the one in May, the other in September. Corn does not riſe to the ſame height as in the Beauce in France, but the ſtraw ſtands thick, and the ear is well filled. It is trampled on by ten or a ſcore horſes, on an area in front of the barns,

barns, to get out the grain, and the ſtraw ſells at a very high rate. By the home ſtalls the lands appeared to be divided into large eſtates; but as there are no ſlaves in this country, and as the ſmall number of negroes here are free, and commonly hire themſelves out at four piaſtres per month, every proceſs of cultivation neceſſitates the employment, on the part of the proprietor, of other hands in addition to thoſe regularly kept in his ſervice: to obtain theſe he is obliged to preſent a requeſt to the alcalde, mayor, who aſſigns him the requiſite number of Indian labourers, at two reals per head per day. The alcalde of the pueblos conducts them every morning by eight o'clock to the rendezvous, always about two hundred yards out of the village, where the bailiffs of the farms meet them, and point out their work, which continues until ſun-ſet. Theſe bailiffs remain conſtantly on horſeback all day long, expoſed to the heat of the ſun, for the purpoſe of overlooking their labourers.

The upper part of the plain, which comprehends the midway up the mountains ſides, is ſuſceptible of no ſpecies of culture, owing to the impoſſibility of furniſhing water, as much as from the nature of the ſoil, which conſiſts of little more than an inch of vegetable earth on a bottom of talc. Here nothing grows in fact but mimoſæ, cacti, and certain ſhrubs which, ſeen at a diſtance, induce a conception of the ſoil poſſeſſing a degree of fertility.

The ſummit of the mountains is covered with many kinds of trees, oaks, pines, &c. But whichever way the eye is turned it conſtantly embraces a view of diſruptions, eraſions, and chaſms among the mountains, viſibly occaſioned by violent convulſions; for the ground there ſeems not to be a depoſit of waters, but entirely free from ſuch accumulations. Among the innumerable ſpecies of cacti that I diſtinguiſhed was eſpecially the cactus nobilis, icoſandria monogynia, Linn., mantiſſa: it does not riſe more than a foot from the ground, and may be ten inches in diameter. I remarked twenty other ſpecies, which I have no where ſeen deſcribed, and which, unfortunately, I had no time to form a deſcription of. In order to have brought with me all I found worthy of the ſchool of botany, I ſhould have needed an additional cart at every twenty leagues. I therefore continued my journey, ſighing to leave behind me ſo vaſt a heap of treaſures.

After croſſing a diviſion of the river, I arrived at the ſuburbs of Tecuacan. I ſaw a trellis covered with grapes, yet green: what would I not have given for ripe ones!

There I left the high road for the plain. The corn had been juſt reaped, and I noticed that abundance was left behind, yet green and growing, which proved to me that it does not ripen evenly, an obſervation which I made every where along the road.

I thus avoided the city, as far as the real bed of the river which runs through it. At this part it is ſix yards broad, and about three feet deep. In order to paſs it, I was obliged to undreſs, but at the inſtant I was about to enter it, ſo prodigious a number of turtles, which I had not obſerved, plunged into it, that I was extremely frightened: on ſeeing them my apprehenſions were diſmiſſed: theſe turtles are no larger than the palm of the hand, of an oval ſhape, of a dirty mud colour, not ſtriated, plated, nor flated, or in any degree reſembling others, but even backed like land-turtles or tortoiſes; the ſternum, which is all of a piece, is joined by an oſſification, and level with the back, except the openings for the paws, the head, and the tail of the animal: the ſize appears to be regularly as I have ſtated, for though the number I ſaw was conſiderable, there was no difference.

Unfortunately I drank of the water of this river, I ſay unfortunately, for all the night and all the following day my lips felt as if ulcerated. I attributed this inconvenience

venience to a raſh proceeding from my drinking of it when warm, and after being weakened by fatigue; but on my return, the ſame accident happening, and not to me alone, but to ſeveral others, I learnt that ſuch is the common effect of its waters, which are briny, but which I had not before obſerved, on account of my eagerneſs and thirſt.

I entered the extremity of a ſuburb, bought ſome bread there, and drank a glaſs of wine: this refreſhed me; and of refreſhment I had urgent need.

It was now but three in the afternoon, and I had already travelled twelve leagues; but deſirous of not entering the city, I reſolved to puſh on to San Franciſco, ſtill five leagues further.

I then journeyed E. S. E.; and the ſun enlightening from behind me the beautiful plain I had in front, my proſpect was exceedingly varied and enlivened.

The high road in which I travelled is twenty yards broad, and bordered with hedges of ciſalpine and mimoſa. On every ſide I diſtinguiſhed nothing but ſpacious dwellings, lands well cultivated, or covered with crops, which were being gathered: ſuch an afternoon would to me have been moſt delightful, had I not been ſo perfectly tired.

After three hours walk I reſolved on reſting, but ſcarcely had I ſtretched myſelf on the turf, before I felt my tendons ſtiffen, and my muſcles ſwell: I roſe haſtily, in order not to catch cold. The ſun was on the point of ſetting; the ſummit of the mountains on my left was beginning to be covered with clouds, whence lightenings flaſhed, and the noiſe of thunder proceeded. I feared being caught in the rain, and to avoid it, determined on halting at the very firſt inn. I enquired of a labouring negro where I ſhould meet with one. He anſwered, that there was one at San Franciſco, about two leagues farther, but that I might meet with ſhelter at a farm (la hacienda) of Don Joachim, the herald (armorial) of Caſtile, which he pointed out to me the diſtance of a quarter of a league from where I ſtood. I was fearful of ſtraying from the high road, during the night, from which I had already deviated, and above all, I dreaded the rain. I therefore followed the advice of the negro, and repaired to the farm-yard. The houſe was well built. I found in the yard a bailiff employed in cauſing the corn to be gathered in, which had been trodden from the ſheafs, and be fanned in the barn. Miſtaking him for the owner, I explained to him my embarraſſment, and claimed his hoſpitality, offering at the ſame time to pay for what I might have. He received me with politeneſs, and informed me he was not the maſter; but if I could wait till he had completed the buſineſs which engroſſed his attention, he would have the pleaſure of introducing me to him. I conſented to wait his leiſure, and entered the barn, where I ſtretched myſelf on ſome truſſes of ſtraw: there I gave myſelf up to the reflections ſuggeſted by circumſtances. Here, ſaid I, is corn, truſſes of ſtraw, a barn; here is the ſame mode of culture as in France; but what a difference does locality make in ſentiments! There, with what pleaſure ſhould I contemplate their labours, always mingled with innocent paſtimes; there, with ſecurity, might I give myſelf up to the contemplation of nature: ſhould I change my ſite, it would ever be at pleaſure, and with certainty, at a trifle of expence, of ſatisfying all my wants; here, in the ſame manner as a malefactor, a ſmuggler, it is requiſite I ſhould wear diſguiſe; that I ſhould diſſimulate in order to procure for my fellow-citizens the enjoyment of a benefit which nature herſelf deſigned no leſs for them than this jealous nation, from whom it muſt be ſtolen; I find myſelf at length obliged to beg for ſhelter and ſubſiſtence; to be indebted to men who, not knowing me, perhaps may treat me with contumely!

Theſe ideas, undoubtedly a preſage of what was about to happen, were interrupted by the arrival of the bailiff: he conducted me inſtantly into the hall of the houſe,

which, properly ſpeaking, was no other than a penthouſe, while he went to ſpeak to his maſter.

I ſaw myſelf immediately ſurrounded by a crowd of negroes and Indian ſervants, ſome in livery, others in cloaks; I felt cold, approached a ſtove where chocolate was boiling, and ſeated myſelf on the ground, my back to the fire, and wholly indifferent to the ſtupid admiration, and the brutal laughs of the ſervants' hall.

At length, after half an hour had paſſed, the bailiff made his appearance; he brought the anſwer of his patron, who was willing to allow me ſhelter, but excuſed himſelf from ſeeing me: indignant at ſuch behaviour, I immediately decided on my reply: I told the bailiff that I thanked his patron; but not being of a quality to bear with indignity, nor accuſtomed to ſuch uncivil treatment, I would neither ſleep under his roof, nor owe the ſlendereſt obligation to a man whoſe vanity felt a ſhock at receiving me in perſon; and raiſing my voice at the inſtant, and pulling from my pocket a purſe of gold, I took out a piaſtre, and ſhewing it to the ſervants, exclaimed, "Who will earn this, by ſhewing me the way to San Franciſco?" Twenty voices anſwered, "I:"—and I was only embarraſſed reſpecting choice. I fixed on a ſtrong and hearty negro, of good phyſiognomy, and took my leave of the bailiff, whom I left confuſed at the inſult I had received; it ſeemed to me even that this imitation of Spaniſh pride was not dipleaſing to the whole troop of ſervants; and that one and all they blamed the conduct of their maſter.

It will readily be gathered, that my offended pride cauſed me to make this haſty determination, and I muſt confeſs that this weighed ſtrong with me; but at the ſame time, it occurred to me that a man who could act in this ignominious manner might be capable of ſtill greater baſeneſs and perfidy; hence in my reſolve a portion of prudence was mingled.

When I left this unwelcome abode I breathed with greater freedom, and, as if I had juſt eſcaped from ſome impending danger; and whether the reſult of my indignation, whether of the reſt I had taken, I felt myſelf reanimated, and in a ſhort time reached San Franciſco, but not without a lowering atmoſphere which threatened rain.

Then I entered the dwelling of a tradeſman, as indifferent and eaſy as moſt of his countrymen. I found in the houſe nothing to eat ſave eggs and peas, but at the ſame time ſome tolerable wine, and above all valuable, two mattreſſes, of which I availed myſelf with the more willingneſs, from its being the firſt time ſince my departure that I had found ſo comfortable a lodging. I undreſſed myſelf, and after well barricading the doors of my room, ſlept peaceably.

The next day I left my hoſt at four in the morning, after paying him ſix reals, with which he appeared ſatisfied: he informed me that at Sant Antonio, two leagues further, I ſhould find horſes, and inſtructed me how to procure them.

I travelled along, ſprightly as the lark, the morning cool and refreſhing, and the road good as on the preceding day. Before I arrived at Sant Antonio I had to traverſe the river Tecuacan, which at this ſpot is ninety yards broad, its bed twelve yards deep; it was now, however, nearly dry, owing to the drainage of the ſluices for watering the fields. I conjectured, from the enormous depth of the bed of this river throughout a ſpace of five leagues from Tecuacan, that its ſwells muſt be frightful, and attributed them to the torrents of the mountains of the north-eaſt, in which precipices are frequent; whereas in thoſe of the north-eaſt there are none to be ſeen; thus affording a concluſive proof that the heavieſt rains throughout the gorge are brought by winds from the weſt.

By then I reached San Antonio, it was ſix in the morning. This is a vaſt *ptueblo* of Indians, extending from one ſide of the river, the ſpace of a league, to the firſt riſe of

hills which precede the mountains; there is but little land in culture; the objects attended to are pimento, French beans, &c. The ſtreets are large, and covered with a mimoſa, exceedingly gummy, and of which the bark, of whatever age the tree, is conſtantly of a bright green. I forwarded ſome ſeeds of it to the King's garden. I took my dinner at the houſe of the Spaniard who keeps the ſhop (at the ſame time the inn) of the hamlet: he was a good kind of man; he ſent for topiths for me for horſes: there was but one mule to be had, and while it was got ready, I viſited the church in the neighbourhood. It was adorned as much as poſſible after the Spaniſh manner; but before all the ſaints I noticed bouques, formed of liliacrous flowers, white and ſcarlet, in very pleaſing cluſters. I requeſted the veſtry-keeper in vain to furniſh me with ſome of its bulbs; he could not comprehend what I aſked of him; and I had no leiſure to extend my reſearches the length of ſeeking for the roots of them. What, however, afforded me the moſt delight, becauſe it depicted naturally the ſimple manners of the inhabitants, was the ſight of two candelabras of a ſingular deſcription, one on each ſide of the chief altar: theſe were ſo many plantain-trees, which in the ſhade of the church had riſen to the height of thirty feet, and nearly touched the roof: and why, thought I, ſhould theſe ſimple, theſe natural gifts of heaven, ſeem a leſs ſuitable decoration to the temples of the Eternal, than thoſe vaſes of gold and ſilver, diſplayed with ſuch oſtentation on his altars? Muſt not the ſight of theſe plantains, ſo valuable in their productions to man, impreſs more feelingly than thoſe rich metals the benevolence and power of the Creator of all?

On leaving the church I beſtrode my mule, which was an excellent one; and five hours brought me to San Sebaſtiano, ſeven leagues from Sant Antonio: the hire was ſeven reals for the maſter, and two for the topith, or guide, who ran before me.

However great the heat, I yet could not refrain from alighting three or four times, to collect ſome pieces of a talc, ſo beautiful, and ſo brilliant, as at firſt to be miſtaken for native ſilver, or at leaſt the moſt ſplendid mother of pearl.

The whole country was richly cultivated in corn; the plants I ſaw, as throughout the whole of the plain, are very various; the borders of ſtreams yield a ſpecies of bignonia *, with yellow flowers, and leaves reſembling thoſe of the aſh, bearing a ſimilitude to the bignonia ſtans, except in being merely a ſhrub, whereas the other is a tree which riſes to the height of from ſixty to one hundred feet. The hedges are covered with the paſſi-flora fœtida † (paſſion flower), the fruit of which, ſmall as cherries, are of the ſame colour; finally, in theſe trees, which bearing plums of a yellow colour, and tolerably pleaſant, mimic in appearance ſo well the pear-tree, that one might with eaſe be deceived; but above all are remarkable the erect cacti, every where ſeen half way up the hill, of prodigious ſize, and a great ornament to the landſcape; cerei ‡, of eight or ten different ſpecies, their common height from thirty to forty feet on a trunk or ſtem riſing from fifteen to ſixteen feet, and five or ſix in circumference. From this trunk iſſue vertical branches, which give origin to other ſimilar, the one ſupporting the other, and dividing like the branches of a chandelier, in ſuch manner that the collective ſtock ſometimes occupies a circular ſpace in the air of from forty to fifty feet in diameter, and repreſents a kind of chandelier of a ſea-green colour, and of ſingular beauty: all the branches, as well as the main ſtem, are furniſhed, at about ten or fifteen thumbs breadth apart, with a faſcicule, covering the ſpace of an inch, and compriſing about eight or ten thorns, ſtronger and thicker than the largeſt needles; the fruit, ſimilar to that of the opuntia, or prickly pear, is like that defended externally

* Didyamia angioſpermia. † Gynandria pentandria ‡ Icoſandria monogynia.

with

with thorns; in order to eat of it (for its taſte is pleaſant) it is neceſſary to wait till it opens, and the pulp, of a crimſon colour, falls; the Indians then extract the pulp with a ſpoon faſtened to a long pole, if the birds ſhould not be beforehand with them. A vaſt number of birds build their neſts among the branches, after the manner of our magpies. Nothing is more dangerous than the fall of the leaves of theſe trees: theſe leaves are beams twenty feet long by one broad, covered with thorns, and would infallibly kill the unfortunate traveller who ſhould happen to be beneath them: but as they never fall, except on occaſion of violent ſtorms, or when rotten, it is eaſy to be prepared. This ſingular tree is more common than any other in this gorge, throughout a ſpace of thirty leagues.

The pitahiaha, one of the ſpecies of cerei, is commonly of minor ſize; its fruit is not covered with thorns, but ſcales, which are the leaves of the cup of the flower; it is truly a delicious fruit, and of vaſt variety of flavour: it is acidulous, and has a fragrant taſte like raſpberries, which gives it a great ſuperiority over the other ſpecies that have no poignancy; within it is of a purple colour, without brown, and its ſize is that of a ſmall hen's egg. In order to gather it, the Indians make uſe of a long perch, to the end of which is faſtened a baſket of twiſted branches, of an oval ſhape, open at the ſides, cloſed only at the bottom, and the top covered with two croſs-bars; they elevate the perch, and entangle the fruit in the bars, when the ſlighteſt motion diſengages it from the tree, it falls into the baſket, and is emptied into another; this, indeed, is the only method that can be adopted to obtain the fruit, for neither man nor beaſt can climb the tree.

Throughout the whole country the Indian lives on the fruit of this tree; even the young branches, when yet but half a foot long, and while the thorns are yet ſoft, are cooked. He makes ragouts of the buds and of the flowers before they are open; for the ſeeds, which are black, and covered with a hard ſkin, he dries them, lays them in ſtore, and pounds them to make him bread. At Guaxaca, I ſaw in the market leaves of a kind of opuntia, which, long, narrow, and ſlender, are boiled and eaten like aſparagus, with butter, oil, or lard. Thus the prudent and frugal inhabitant of theſe parts complying, without murmur or difficulty, with the laws of nature, draws from the native productions his means of ſubſiſtence; while the capricious European, not ſatisfied with the precious boons of Ceres and Pomona, or the animals which he has ſucceeded in naturalizing in the country, is yet anxious, at an enormous expence, for thoſe fruits and viands with which nature here refuſes to pamper his inſatiable and gluttonous appetite.

The pueblo of San Sebaſtiano is pleaſantly ſituate; it is in particular thickly planted with trees, and in the midſt is a public ſquare, and a caſa reale. For the firſt time I ventured to alight at this formidable hotel, which had been repreſented to me in ſuch an unfavourable light. I called immediately for horſes. The alcalde, who was an Indian, happened to be intoxicated; the caſero, more ſober, ſhewed me a ſchedule in the houſe, on which the charge of travelling on every road was noted as eſtabliſhed by royal authority: it is commonly a ſkilling (un eſcalin) a league for each beaſt of burthen; to the topith one, two, and ſometimes three ſkillings are given. The roads here are excellent, and connect the neighbouring cities and hamlets.

I met here neither with wine nor bread: fortunately I had brought ſome bread with me from Sant Antonio, which I ate with ſome eggs, but for drink I was fain to content myſelf with water. In getting ſupplied with horſes I had no ſuch difficulty, for the providers of them went to loggerheads for who ſhould furniſh me.

I now ſet out, mounted on a moſt excellent horſe. On leaving this place, the beautiful valley of Tecuacan begins to become narrow, and is no more than a league broad; cultivation is alſo more ſpare, the track of fertile land being of leſs extent; little is ſeen but ſmall hills of talky ſoil huddled together, clogging the gorge, through which ſtill runs the river of Tecuacan, receiving another ſtream about a league beyond: its banks are moſtly ſowed with corn or maize as far as Los Cues, after which its banks are barren declivities: however, before I reached this village, I ſaw a ſugar plantation, the ſecond only I had ſeen in culture in all my journey.

Here I diſtinguiſhed canes of monſtrous ſize and height, a mill of wretched ſtructure, moulds a foot in height, and loaves of coarſe ſugar, juſt taken from the pans; in fine, a few negroes, who appeared to work very leiſurely. Sugar-works muſt neceſſarily be very expenſive in this country; as for hard and laborious works, negroes are indiſpenſible, and as the price of a negro here is from five to ſix hundred piaſters. Indians who can be hired only for a month or forty days, ſufficient time for other objects of culture, would not be adaptable to this, as owing to the continual change, they would not have time to learn their buſineſs; and as, moreover, they could not very often be obtained at thoſe moments when the ſugar-works moſt urgently require their aſſiſtance.

I arrived at Los Cues about ſeven in the evening: the neceſſity I was under of perpetually aſcending and deſcending the hills I have mentioned, rendered the way tedious, and made reſt deſirable.

The village of Los Cues, ſeated on a ſteep rock, and covered with a mount, which was repreſented to me to have been at ſome period a fortreſs belonging to the Indians, ſeemed a paſs which might with eaſe be fortified. All that would be requiſite for this purpoſe would be to place a battery on the mount, to command the river and road. I aſcended this mount to ſee if I could trace any veſtige of a wall, but the only thing I noticed was the remains of an Indian dwelling.

On going to the caſa reale, I overtook a Spaniard of good appearance, who was travelling with two horſes: after exchange of ſalutation, he offered me ſome pitahiahas, which I ate with much gratification. We converſed together for ſome time; he informed me there were robbers towards Atletta, whither I was going, but that ſome of them had been taken. I learnt from him alſo, that the topiths were by birth the alguazils of the villages, and authorized to arreſt all thieves; that this, however, they rarely effected, being great cowards, except when backed by Spaniards.

At Los Cues again I was obliged to have recourſe to my ſtock of bread, and to be ſatisfied with water. There is not in the village a ſingle inn, or rather, it contains nothing to be had, except the fruit of certain trees with which it is ſhaded. This ſhade, combined with the cool of a rivulet, which trickles through the town, gives it a pleaſing appearance, that, without theſe recommendations, it would fail to poſſeſs.

Here alſo I was obliged to paſs the night, on a ſofa of bamboos; but notwithſtanding the hardneſs of my pallet, my ſlumber was ſound.

At three in the morning I awakened my topith, and ſet off for Aquiotepec, after giving my horſe a bundle of facates. This caution often ſeemed to me neceſſary, either on account of the avarice of the owners, or the knavery of their ſervants.

On the road, at the creſt of a hill which commanded the highway we travelled, I perceived ſome men, who ſeemed as if concealing themſelves behind buſhes. The relation I had of the exiſtence of robbers in this part now occurred to me, and I made preparation to defend myſelf with my knife, the only weapon I had; but on nearing the ſpot,

ſpot, we ſaw the ſuppoſed thieves were only a poor Indian and his ſon, with poles and baſkets, gathering pitahiahas.

As we ſet off early we reached Aquiotepec by ten o'clock. At three leagues on this ſide of it, the gorge of Tecuacan is but a hundred toiſes broad; at the village itſelf it diminiſhes to the breadth of the Rio Grande, the name of the river of Tecuacan, which previouſly has received the contribution of another; at this place it has a rapid courſe over very bulky round pebbles, which render it highly difficult for a horſe to paſs when there is any water in the river, as the horſe, unable to fix his feet with any ſecurity, riſks being carried away with the current: we were to the girths in water, but arrived at the oppoſite bank without any accident.

Aquiotepec, built on the back of the north-eaſtern mountain, is a pretty conſiderable hamlet, ſurrounded by a number of cocoa-trees, ſironelliers, zapotes, &c. A copious rivulet waſhes all its ſtreets, and diffuſes a delightful cool to the mild and tranquil inhabitants; for here, as in every other part on my journey, mildneſs and tranquillity are the characteriſtics of the Indians.

Generally they are ſtout and well made; the women are tolerably fair, and have pleaſing, nay moſtly handſome features. I did not ſee a ſingle individual either diſtorted in perſon, or marked with the ſmall pox. They do not ſeem deſtitute of induſtry, but they neither poſſeſs the liberty nor means of putting their talents to uſe: ſtill the Spaniſh mob (for perſons of any knowledge are far from entertaining ſuch an opinion) imagine they poſſeſs wealth, and conceal their treaſures, and in conſequence of this rooted and popular belief, they are ſubject to continual vexations, notwithſtanding the poſitive edicts in their favour iſſued by the Sovereign; but again, how ſillily ſtupid is the obſtinate perſiſtance of the people, in maintaining ſo wild a fancy! When a perſon has gold, will he not purchaſe with it the firſt objects of neceſſity? will he not ſeek for more to multiply his means of enjoyment, and to poſſeſs ſome property which he may tranſmit to his children? Such is the conſtant bias of the human mind: cupidity indeed may induce a miſer, who prefers to the pleaſure of enjoying and diffuſing the means of happineſs the baſe and diſgraceful employ of hoarding; cupidity, I ſay, may induce ſuch a being to hide his wealth, and he may ſucceed in concealing it from every eye; but to ſuppoſe a whole people would ſubject themſelves to a thouſand privations while in poſſeſſion of treaſures which would afford them every enjoyment; that they ſhould yet roll in wealth where not the ſlighteſt trace of it is viſible, and where ſo many watchful eyes intereſted in detecting ſuch a fact have never been ſucceſsful, however well they might be diſpoſed to deceive their cruel oppreſſors, this is a charge againſt them which never can be admitted.

By what happened to me at Aquiotepec, a judgment may be formed of the extreme poverty of the inhabitants of that pueblo: on my arrival I aſked for horſes, which were immediately brought; but when about to pay in advance, as is uſual, I found I had no ſilver: upon this I preſented a *medio d'oro*, but neither the maſter of the horſes, nor any one in the village, could give me change for it. Much embarraſſed, I repaired to the alcalde (a very civil Indian, as all are to whom the Spaniards entruſt this charge), and entreated him to give me ſmall coin for my gold, which I ſhewed him; but he proteſted *por dios*, *por la madre de Dios*, *por todos los Santos*, that he could not, he even proſtrated himſelf at my feet, and implored me to believe him: his aſtoniſhment, and that exhibited by his whole family, at the ſight of the medio d'oro, convinced me ſtill more than his words. Will Spaniards preſume to ſay all this was a farce? For my part I cannot think ſo, and I teſtified my opinion by raiſing the good Indian from the ground; I begged of him, moreover, ſeeing how impoſſible it was I could manage otherwiſe

wiſe for want of money, to order the topith to conduct me to Quicattan, where undoubtedly I ſhould obtain change, and would pay him. He agreed in the reaſonableneſs of my requeſt; and as the fundamental laws of the country expreſsly enjoin him to give all aid and protection to travellers, he accompanied me to the caſa reale, and in a dignified tone, of which I did not imagine him capable, ordered the topith to proceed with me to Quicattan.

I departed therefore at eleven in the morning, after taking ſome refreſhments: it was neceſſary in order to paſs the mountain, at the foot of which Aquiotepec is ſituate, to aſcend by a path only two feet broad, cut in the ſide of the rock. Let the reader figure to himſelf two hundred ſteps of this tremendous ſtaircaſe, from each of which a precipice was viſible below, ſix hundred yards deep, in which with horrid craſh Rio Grande forced its way, and then conceive the dread which froze my faculties; I trembled in every limb, my head turned dizzy, and I was obliged to alight, and lead my horſe behind me; I held him by the bridle, but without looking back, and conſtantly ready, in caſe of the leaſt falſe ſtep, to leave my hold, and let him drink alone of the water of that ſtream, which would for him have been the river of oblivion. Oftentimes at a ſlippery ſpot, there was merely the branch of a tree, laid on inſecure ſtones, to hinder the paſſenger from rolling into this frightful abyſs; beyond, it was requiſite to make a turn in a very narrow paſſage, where the body of a horſe could only paſs by twiſting; I know not how the poor animal contrived, though one might freely venture a wager he had done ſo a hundred times.

By three o'clock I found myſelf on the creſt of this mountain; ſpite of its elevation, as nothing is great but by compariſon, it ſeemed but a hillock by ſide of thoſe mountains I ſaw on my left: we travelled on this creſt the ſpace of three hours. I found here ſome new ſpecies of cactus with flat and rampant leaves, and an aloe with crenelled leaves, dentated at the edges with thorns.

The neighbouring mountains, however lofty, preſented to our obſervation ſeveral villages; one of them termed San Juan del Ré; but which was not the village of that name we ſought.

I was now enabled to enjoy at leiſure one of the moſt beautiful proſpects in nature; behind me, ſtill were diſtinctly viſible the environs of Tecuacan; in front the two prominences of La Corta, a mountain ſix leagues from Guaxaca; Rio Grande ran on my right between frightful ſteeps; finally, on the left, an immenſe country conſiſting of hills and gorges covered with wood, extended between me and the mountains on which San Joan del Ré was ſituate, and terminated with an inſenſible ſlope towards Tecuacan.

I began to be fatigued and weary of ſo long a route, when an opening ſhewed me the end of my toils, at leaſt for this day. This was Quicattan, which we diſcovered two leagues before us, in a tolerably handſome gorge; we deſcended into it by a road ſomewhat leſs bad than that of the aſcent; but the aſpect it preſented was not leſs horrible: it was a perpendicular chaſm of eight hundred yards, by a breadth of thrice that number, ſeemingly occaſioned by a mountain which had been ſwallowed up in this ſpot, and the fragments and ruins of which ſtrewed around Quicattan formed ſo many eminences.

Combined with this ſcene of horror was yet ſomewhat pleaſing; on the ſalient ſtones of the ſciſſure of the mountain, up roſe the cereus Peruvianus, which formed a very grateful decoration.

But how much was the pleaſure of beholding Quicattan interrupted by the appearance of a *garita*, which ſeemed to forbid my entrance! How to paſs without being ſtopt, interrogated, and delayed by theſe wretched guards! Theſe were the continually renaſcent

ſubject of my fears; to ſleep on my horſe, to counterfeit ſickneſs, theſe were ſlender ſtratagems now worn thread bare, and which I felt no inclination to repeat: I choſe a plan more ſimple, founded on the little conſideration theſe kind of people had inſpired me with, as deſpicable here as elſewhere. On getting near them, I deſcended my horſe in a bold and determined manner, and my gold cane hanging at my button hole, and my diamond ring on my finger, entered the garita without ceremony, and pulling out ſome gold before the tobacco guards, related to them the embarraſſment I was under for want of change. I mingled the ſtatement with a thouſand incidents relating to my dread of thieves, and the unevenneſs of the road; finiſhing with begging change for ſome medio d'oros, or doublons. Such prattle no doubt made them ſo ſilent; they never put a ſingle queſtion to me: on the contrary I met with civility from them, approaching even to meanneſs, and they gave me change for as much as I wanted. I then thanked and left them, inviting the chief of the guard, in a manner a ſuperior accoſts one beneath him, to pay me a viſit at the caſa reale.

Quicattan, the capital of an ancient kingdom, is ſtill a pretty large town, containing about two hundred families. It is planted with trees of every kind, beneath which many fountains of freſh water, ſpread health and coolneſs. I made the tour of the town: its population appeared to me conſiderable, for every where I ſaw men walking about, and women, ſeated in the current of the rills which flowed from the fountains, combing, waſhing, and ſoaping themſelves, for bathing is very uſual with the Spaniſh women here, eſpecially the head; after well waſhing the head, it is ſoaped with the powdered root of a polyanthus, which I brought back with me, and which is ſold in the country by the pint; with this ſubſtitute for ſoap, the ſhoulders and boſom are likewiſe waſhed. The ſight of the beautiful black hair of theſe women, hanging down the neck and ſhoulders, extremely fair, was highly intereſting, nor did their ſimple dreſs delight me leſs; their long hair, divided into two treſſes, and interwove with a roſe coloured ribbon, falls down to the ground; a very white ſhift, a furbelowed muſlin petticoat, a ſcarf of gauze, or Alençon lace, ſometimes bordered with a fringe of gold or ſilver; this, with a little bouquet on the ſide of the head, compleats their neat coſtume, a coſtume, if ſeen, which would not be deſpiſed even by our niceſt coquettes.

In this part I remarked a degree of emulation in culture, which I noticed no where elſe: corn is ſown, and the trees are lopped and grafted. I remarked, in the hedge which ſurrounded a very pretty garden, a ſpecies of creſcentia didynum angioſperm, which would have delighted Linné, ſeeing he enquires if any new ſpecies exiſt; the leaves of this ſpecies are in bundles, of the ſame form and colour, though ſmaller than in the one noticed by the father of botany; but the fruit, which is but two inches in diameter, is ten inches long, angular and tuberculous like the cacao; the ſeeds of the ſhape of a heart, ſmothered in the pulp, are not larger than thoſe of the capſicum. The fruit is uſed in kitchens as a pot-herb, or in ragouts: I met with the ſame again in the markets at Campeechy.

I was ſolicitous of ſeeing the parſonage houſe and the church: the firſt was very commodious; its owner, the rector, received me at firſt with coolneſs, but on learning I was a botaniſt, he made amends by a profuſion of civilities, and conſulted me on ſome complaints under which he laboured. This clerical gentleman was of good appearance, with ruby countenance, which beſpoke good living.

The pariſh church is large, well lighted, and kept remarkably clean; it is true, on this occaſion it was put in order, as the feaſt of Pentecoſt was to be celebrated the next day. A matter that ſurpriſed me, was to ſee a ſchool-maſter there practiſing motets for the

the following day, and ſix choriſters repeating the muſick in very good time. To me the air was pleaſing, and not without taſte.

The belfry is not more ſingular; it is raiſed on a natural mound of earth, and conſiſts of four piles, eighteen feet high, faſtened and croſſed at top: from the croſs bars the bell is ſuſpended, weighing not leſs than ten thouſand weight. The roof of the belfry is of ſtraw thatch, like the roofs of our ice-houſes.

I returned to ſupper; and in the interval arrived the officer of the tobacco guard, from whom I learnt whatever I would by means of a few glaſſes of brandy. The rogue was perfectly well acquainted with the whole country from Panama to Acapulco, and from Carthagena to Vera Cruz: he talked fluently on politics, declaimed againſt the government; and in caſe of need, aſſuredly was open to ſeduction.

The caſero introduced to me likewiſe another traveller, in an honeſt Franciſcan friar, about to preach at Guatimala. I enquired if he was inclined to accompany me in the morning; and he conſented, provided I would wait until he had celebrated maſs: this being agreed upon, I retired to reſt, and he to ſupper.

The next day we ſet off at five in the morning, and arrived, after a ſmart ride of a league and a half, at the paſſage of Rio Grande. Rain had fallen in the mountains; another day's rain would have rendered the river impracticable. Here it is much wider than at Aquiotepec, its breadth not being leſs than four hundred yards, and the ſides conſequently much leſs precipitous. An Indian, beckoned to from the oppoſite ſide, came, and took the leading horſes by the bridle, and, perfectly naked, conducted us over the river; for our part, we were in the water up to the ſaddle bow, and he to the breaſt; and this took place ſo leiſurely that I had full opportunity of noticing all the danger. The current was ſo rapid, that it confounded me. I was obliged to ſteady myſelf by the pummel, my legs on the horſes rump, and my breaſt on its neck. The animal itſelf trembled, and advanced not a ſtep without firſt feeling his way, on account of the enormous rounded ſtones at the bottom. At length we got through, and my fellow traveller, breathleſs with fear, and not leſs pale than myſelf, remarked in good French, that if we had been drowned without having firſt gone to maſs, the people would not have failed to aſcribe our death to a failure of devotion. I laughed heartily at the fancy, and ſeeing whom I had to deal with by this ſally, I was no longer under any conſtraint with him: he was indeed one of the pleaſanteſt fellows, for a monk, I ever met with; and with this a man of ſenſe, one who had ſeen the world, lively, and inquiſitive as much as becomes a man; finally, he was highly engaging, obliging, and unceremonious.

We continually kept along the banks of the river till dinner time: it was covered with twenty ſpecies of water-fowl, both large and ſmall, eſpecially the crow, or gooſe, corvus aquaticus minor, Linn., which I much regretted not having time to examine.

We arrived at an early hour at Don Dominquillo, where, thanks to the good father, who took with him a well ſupplied larder, we made an excellent dinner.

Don Dominquillo is ſituate at the confluence of the Rio Grande, and the Rio de las Vueltas, or the Turns, ſo denominated from its frequent windings: it abounds in fruit trees, and is plentifully watered.

As we were ſaddling our horſes in order to depart, we heard a horn, and immediately after ſaw a Spaniard, dreſſed in blue turned up with red, with a large ſilver plate, in form of a ſhield, on his ſide, and a ſmall horn of the ſame metal depending from a cord which paſſed over the ſhoulder; he was a courier. As a ſpecimen of his diligence, he left Tecuacan the day before, and reckoned on reaching Guaxaca on the

morrow by ſix in the morning. I held diſcourſe with him for a few minutes: he ſeemed inquiſitive, but I readily concealed from him my deſigns: he took a different road to ours, over the mountains, in order to avoid croſſing the rivers, no doubt from apprehenſion of being ſtopt by their courſe.

As for us, we paſſed through the gorge in which flows the river de las Vueltas: this gorge is in places a hundred paces broad, at others ſcarcely a dozen yards: in order to go in a direct line through the windings of this gorge, it is neceſſary to croſs the river ſeventy times: my fellow travellers reckoned the number; the muleteer by means of ſmall pebbles, and the monk by the beads of his roſary, and their accounts tallied; for my part, after the twentieth time I was tired of counting, and was ſo much fatigued that I could willingly have halted midway in order to take a nap.

I found on the banks of the river a plant much reſembling cockle *, a tree covered with flowers, which I recognized immediately for the cuſtard-apple, or annona, but which in the country is commonly called the chirimoïa, which makes it almoſt certain that the famous chirimoïa of Mexico, ſo much extolled, is really nothing elſe than a reticulated annona. I moreover found here the Mexican ſolanum, arboreſcent, and with large lanceolate leaves, which I had before noticed in the King's garden, and a ſpecies of fruit-bearing aſclepias, with leaves like myrtle, a ſtraight ſtem, and yellow flowers of the ſhape and ſize of our ſmall yellow jeſſamine.

At length the gorge through which we were travelling, enlargening to a quarter of a league, we left the windings of the river, and arrived at Atletlauca, a pueblo ſituate in the gorge, and moſt deſirably on account of its excellent water. On the left of the mountains and on a glacis, the ſlope of which is towards the river, ſtand the church and the caſa reale.

I felt unpleaſantly from having my feet ſo frequently wetted, and retired to reſt without ſupper, in ſpite of the ſolicitations of my fellow traveller: tormented by the gnats, I roſe the next morning by three, and wakened everybody: it was ſo cold that we were obliged to make a fire: my thermometer ſtood at 9° above the freezing point, (48⅖° of Fahrenheit). We made a hearty breakfaſt from the ſtore of the good father, and when about to ſaddle my horſe, I was witneſs to a ſpectacle which frightened and ſurprized me exceedingly: the riding mule of the maſter of the houſe, faſtened to a poſt, had all night long been ſucked, ſome ſaid by a vampire (a ſpirit), but really by a living animal, a bat, which had bit it between the left ear and the mane, below the occiput, and had drawn from it more than four quarts of blood: the whole head and neck of the mule was covered with gore, as well as the poſt, againſt which it no doubt had rubbed, in order to diſengage itſelf from this cruel harpy. I was in complete aſtoniſhment at the ſight, but I learnt that ſuch events are common, and that when one bat has ſucceeded in thus opening the vein of a horſe or mule, all the reſt come and ſatiate themſelves from this ſource.

I gueſſed this place to be wretchedly poor, from the care I noticed with which ſome women were collecting a few grains of maize, from a ſpot where a caravan of mules had been recently fed. I learnt alſo that the maize which was the moſt eſteemed in the country, and moſt common, is long, flat, and quadrangular, and the ſtraw white.

At about four o'clock we departed, and, four leagues from Atletlauca, after having croſſed the river of Turns ſeven or eight times, we diſtinguiſhed Galiatitlan: charming hamlet! no, never ſhall I forget thee. I no longer wonder at the anxiety I felt that morning to ſet off, the impatience I experienced to arrive: theſe were, doubtleſs,

* Agroſtemma decandria pentagynia.

forebodings of my good fortune. Not mines nor metallic wealth doſt thou enjoy, perhaps, but for me, nothing that is curious; but thou firſt preſented me with the object of my prayers and reſearches: yes, thou art the moſt lovely of hamlets!

At Galiatitlan it was that, for the firſt time in my life, I ſaw the cochineal alive on the nopal by which it is nouriſhed: I even trembled with extaſy: the day before, my capuchin, who was very well acquainted with the country, on detailing its riches and cultivation, had mentioned to me cochineal. I merely expreſſed to him a deſire of having ſome in my poſſeſſion, that I might the better be enabled to deſcribe it; but when he told me it was likewiſe to be found at Los Cues, which I had paſſed through, I was vexed with myſelf exceedingly, at miſſing the opportunity I had had of finding it ſooner, and at leſs expence.

Still I had nothing wherewith to reproach myſelf, for how was I to have known there was cochineal at Los Cues? Under apprehenſion of diſcloſing my ſecret, I had impoſed on myſelf a reſtriction from even mentioning the word cochineal. In this village I met not with a ſingle Indian who underſtood Spaniſh; and the only Spaniard I encountered, though he did indeed ſpeak to me of cochineal, by no means even hinted at its being cultivated there; I never thought, therefore, of looking for it at that place, and chance alone could have thrown it in my way.

After all, I had no cauſe to repent my going ſo far in ſearch of it, as my extra journies afforded me the opportunity of ſeeing more of it, of ſpeaking of it more largely, of procuring excellent vanilla, and finally, of meeting with more ſafe means of tranſporting and preſerving all my treaſures.

To return to my dear cochineal. On arriving at Galiatitlan, I ſaw a garden full of nopals, and had no doubt I ſhould there find the precious inſect I was ſo deſirous to examine. I therefore leapt from my horſe, under pretence of altering my ſtirrup leathers, entered the grounds of the Indian proprietor, began a converſation with him, and enquired to what uſe he put thoſe plants? He anſwered, "to cultivate *la grana*." I ſeemed aſtoniſhed, and begged to ſee the cochineal; but my ſurprize was real when he brought it me, for inſtead of the red inſect I expected, there appeared one covered with a white powder. I was tormented with the doubts I entertained, and to reſolve them bethought me of cruſhing one on white paper; and what was the reſult? It yielded the truly royal purple hue. Intoxicated with joy and admiration, I haſtily left my Indian, throwing him two reals for his pains, and galloped at full ſpeed after my companion, who was waiting for me at a wretched ſugar-work, the canes about which, however, were ſuperb. At laſt, ſaid I to myſelf, I have ſeen this inſect, have held it in my hands, I ſhall undoubtedly meet with it again, as I am now in the country where it is cultivated: the Indians aſſuredly will ſell it me; and I thus ſhall be able to bear off my prize, the object and end of all my ardent wiſhes!

Still certain reflections mixed gall with my delight: I could not hide from myſelf the difficulty I ſhould have to bring to a ſafe haven an animal ſo light, ſo pliable, ſo eaſy to cruſh; an animal which, once ſeparated from the plant, could never ſettle on it again: the ſhocks of the horſe, a journey of a hundred leagues by land, could I hope with theſe to preſerve it? and the enormous plants on which I ſaw the inſect, was it poſſible for me to tranſport them? how was I to hide them? and what a caſe muſt it not require to contain a tree eight feet high, by a diameter of five or ſix.

Theſe mournful ideas occaſioned me a deep revery, which not all the gaiety of the capuchin could diſperſe. I excuſed myſelf, by pretending fatigue, and the vexation I endured from my horſe, the worſt, in real truth, I had hitherto croſſed.

To

To San Juan del Ré the diſtance was ſix leagues, with but one intervening mountain, called La Coſta. It is nearly a league perpendicular in height, and the road over it is almoſt as difficult as that of Aquiotepec; while to complete our trouble in paſſing it, we were beleaguered by two caravans of loaded mules: the road was ſo narrow, that we were obliged to alight from our horſes, and climb upon rocks, in order to leave room for them to paſs, and made way for five hundred animals following each other one by one: the ſound of the bells, and the whiſtling and ſmacking of whips of thirty muleteers, echoed by the ſurrounding mountains, occaſioned a ſtrange confuſion, a noiſe with which we were almoſt ſtupified.

However, after attaining a certain height, the road becomes wider and of more gentle aſcent. The ſoil conſiſts of vegetable earth, yielding in abundance excellent herbage, on which, at their halting, the mules are wont to paſture. This mountain, conſtantly enveloped in fog, is remarkable for its perpetual cool, and the deep ſhades; its pines, its oaks, and large timber of various kind, occaſion regret, that to remove them to the plains, ſhould be a work ſo difficult and expenſive.

The proſpect from the creſt of the mountain is wonderful: behind is ſeen Quicattan, and that mountain of Tecuacan, from which we had diſtinguiſhed the one on which we were, in part extended the magnificent plain of Guaxaca, and the valley, between two chains of mountains, which reaches to Guatimala, three hundred leagues diſtant. On the right and left, the eye embraces diſtinctly a ſcope of forty leagues of beautiful country; but in front it was that a real paradiſe was diſplayed. The views of Guaxaca in the diſtance, and of fifty villages or hamlets on this ſide of it, vying with each other in beauty and pleaſantneſs of ſite. The ſplendor of the ſtone with which they are built, their roofs of curved tiles as in Lorrain, the gardens and charming trees with which they are encompaſſed, had certainly a raviſhing effect.

The road preſented us with objects no leſs curious: I might have collected more than twenty herbaceous plants and ſhrubs of a curious and novel kind, but all my attention was attracted by a flower of a ſplendid blood-red colour: it was a lily of St. Jago, amaryllis formoſiſſima *; the whole neighbourhood was covered with it. I recollected having ſeen it in flower in the royal apartments at Verſailles; and I promiſed myſelf to pluck ſome bulbs of it on my return, for my friend Mr. Thouin, the head gardener of His Majeſty; he had made me a preſent of two, for the purpoſe of naturalizing them at Santo Domingo, but having left that iſland ſo ſoon after reaching it, I had entruſted them with an inhabitant of the colony, by whoſe negligence they periſhed: and here I cannot refrain from remarking how little curioſity, invention, or induſtry, except indeed in what regards the peculiar objects of culture, ſuch as coffee, ſugar, or indigo, is diſplayed by the inhabitants of Santo Domingo. His immediate culture alone engroſſes all his faculties; what is merely commodious or ornamental never enters his fancy: from ſuch a character is not to be expected any care for the naturalization of different fruits and flowers, or a ſolicitude of perfecting ſuch as have been tranſplanted there: why ſhould I? he queſtions; am I not ſufficiently occupied in making my fortune? I look, as the end of my labours, for enjoyment of life, and next year I ſhall ſet off. Even ten years after, the coloniſt is ſtill found on the iſland; and finally there he terminates his days.

We arrived at Sant Juan del Ré at noon. The lands ſown with corn through which we travelled, reminded me of Europe. The firſt thing that ſtruck me on entering the pueblo, was a plantation of nopals in moſt excellent order. I was dying with impa-

* Hexandria monogynia.

tience to enter it, but was obliged to accompany my party to the caſa reale: while, however, ſupper was being prepared, I ſlipt away. Thinking it the houſe of the rector of the village to whom the plantation of nopal was ſtated to belong, I entered that of a tall and ſtout negro, who was the alcalde of the place. After firſt compliments, I fixed my attention on a pewter baſon on the table, in which I ſaw a quantity of dry cochineal, mixed with dirt; reſpecting it, I put a thouſand queſtions to him, and ſtated how much I ſhould be gratified in ſeeing his plantation of nopals; my reque ſeemed to pleaſe him as much as my condeſcenſion; for this deſcription of people is in general treated by European Spaniards with the moſt profound contempt. He led me with readineſs to his garden, at the gate of which I ſaw a ſingular affixture; it was a leaf of the nopal nailed to the threſhold, on which, faſtened by as many pins, were ſtuck a number of caterpillars, and two or three ſpecies of coccinelli, one of which was the *coccinella cacti coccinelli feri*, *coleoptris atris duobus punctis luteis*, Lin. This, at firſt, I regarded as ſome amulet or charm, and of bad augury with reſpect to the religion of my African; but the lady of the alcalde, though as black as her huſband, undeceived me in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, by informing me that there were *los enemigos de la grana*, the enemies of the cochineal, which were thus immolated at every harveſt, and which were placed there in order that they might be univerſally known and devoted to general perſecution.

The plantation of nopals might have an extent equal to an acre and a half; it was neat, kept in good order, and the trees loaded with the laſt crop, which appeared to me a very abundant one. The nopals, all of them of the ſame age, were about four feet high, by as many broad; the order in which they were planted like as at Galiatitlan, was from eaſt to weſt. I fancied that I diſcovered the male inſect in a ſpecies of coccinellus, of a very lively red colour, but I have ſince been ſatisfied by experience, that I was in error. The proprietor informed me, that he collected from four to eight arobas of cochineal annually, and that its price on the ſpot was from eighteen to twenty-four reals the pound.

While in converſation with the alcalde, my travelling companion became impatient for his dinner, and ſent out in ſearch of me. I ate with a good appetite, imagining we ſhould make another ſtage after dinner, and reach Guaxaca that day, from which we were yet eight leagues diſtant; but the monk, who loved his eaſe, ſignified that he did not mean to proceed farther.

For my part, I reſolved on ſetting off immediately after dinner; and returning thanks to my monk as well as his major-domo, to whom I made a ſmall preſent, I jumped on my horſe, and already anticipated the ſound of the clack of the whip in the faux-bourgs of Guaxaca: how wide in my reckoning was I! The raſcally topith had furniſhed me with a mare in foal, which could not be made to exceed a walk. I was perfectly in a rage, but ſoon became calm from the reflections to which the incident gave riſe. I ſaw confirmed the old obſervation, that the depravity of man is in proportion to the extent of ſociety; in fact all the Indians I had ſeen in my way as far as Sant Juan del Re, were generally ſpeaking ſimple, mild, and ingenuous, becauſe at diſtance from great towns; but from this place to Guaxaca, they are ſly, ſubtle, and even knaviſh and idle: it may truly be ſaid, that the neighbourhood of European Spaniards has been a peſt, a plague equally unfortunate and prompt of diffuſion.

How different the conduct of the topiths who had been my conductors before this one! I had had tolerable good horſes, or at leaſt had not been led into error, but this ſcoundrel had had the impudence to extol the excellence of the mare I rode, though a truly good-for-nothing beaſt; but this was not all, tired at length with the obſtinacy

of the wretched animal, I enquired if there was no place where I might reſt? the topith anſwered no. I had heard of the band of thieves of Attetla, and now had ſtrong ſuſpicions, not only that my conductor was a rogue, but alſo that he might be one of the band.

Night was drawing on, I ſcarcely knew what plan to adopt, when fortunately I diſtinguiſhed a proceſſion, which ſatisfied me we were at but a ſhort diſtance from Attetla. I made all diligence to reach the rectory, alighted from my horſe, kiſſed the ſleeve of the rector's ſurplice, according to the cuſtom of the place, and enquired for the caſa reale: we entered by the lower part of the hamlet, he pointed out the caſa in the upper part, about a quarter of a league diſtant, whither I repaired: it is ſituate in an immenſe explanade, and forms part of a large pile of building, which ſeemed to me a farm-houſe: in front there is a large gallery paved, on the left a priſon, on the right a *tienda*, or ſhop kept by the lieutenant of the alcalde; on the north-eaſt the explanade is terminated by an immenſe building, which ſeemed a magnificent caſtle. I had the curioſity to viſit it, and found it to be a convent of Dominicans which had formerly belonged to the Jeſuits, but which their ſucceſſors had ſuffered to fall to decay. The architecture of it, half Roman, half Arabeſk, notwithſtanding the excellence of the maſonry, was, in my eyes, poor: I entered the hall in which the courts are held, the ornaments of which announced that the diſtrict of this *alcadia* is large.

While waiting the return of the lieutenant of the alcalde, in order to procure ſupper, ten or twelve men in cloaks paſſed in ſucceſſion before me, making low bows, and as if deſirous of accoſting me. Their little promiſing phyſiognomy was a ſufficient inducement with me to ſend them about their buſineſs; and I afterwards learnt that they were idle ſcoundrels, who lived (in the language of our excellent La Fontaine) merely by *franches-lippées*, or ſpunging: men fit for thoſe employments only which exact neither labour nor fidelity. I concluded, as muſt every one, that ſuch fellows are of no value, and that the ſooner the country ſhould be quit of them the better.

In the mean time the lieutenant of the alcalde returned: I paid him a viſit, and found him ſeated at his counter in the middle of the ſhop: he received me with the gravity of a monarch giving audience to ambaſſadors, and ſcarcely vouchſafed a look; but I had for my part too contemptible an opinion of the wretch to take any offence at my reception. All I wanted of him was ſomewhat for ſupper; he furniſhed me with bread, four eggs, and a gallon of wine; but ſhortly after I had occaſion for him, for perceiving that my knave of a topith gave my horſe nothing to eat, I requeſted the interference of the lieutenant of the alcalde, who attended to my requeſt, and even threatened to make him pay for its food himſelf.

After this I laid myſelf down to reſt on ſome very clean mats in the auditory, and ſlept with that tranquillity a many may do in a court of juſtice, who have nothing to dread from the laws.

The next morning I departed at day-break; the cold very ſharp: my mare, thanks to my pains, went ſomewhat better than ſhe had done the day before, but ſhe ſoon became tired, and at two leagues from Attetla, I was fain to ſend away my topith, not without a ſtrong inclination to give him a ſound threſhing: fortunately for him, pity interpoſed and pleaded his cauſe, ſo that he eſcaped puniſhment.

I continued my road on foot. The town was no more than a league and a half diſtant, the country along the road delightful. I fancied myſelf tranſported into our plains in Europe, and proceeded to Guaxaca between hedges filled with trees and plants unknown to me before: among theſe were a *juniperus ſabina** of twelve feet in dia-

* Dioetia manadelphia.

meter,

meter, *convolvuli*, *palos*, *cordovans*, &c. The ſuburbs of Guaxaca were thickly ſet with plantations of nopals, at which I glanced an eye occaſionally, but without exhibiting any ſymptoms of curioſity. Finally, I entered the town with the appearance of a perſon who had recently left it for a walk, and halted at an inn pointed out to me on my right, a hundred paces diſtant from Noſtra Sra de la Soledad, the term of my pilgrimage.

Nothing can be conceived more magnificent than the ſite of Guaxaca. From Sant Juan del Ré to this town, opens a plain two leagues in breadth, which extends the length of five or ſix to the environs of the town. On the loweſt part of the ſlope of a hill, which appends to the chain of mountains on the north-eaſt, ſtands Guaxaca, the capital of the province of the ſame name, at a diſtance of ſomewhat more than a league from the mountains. It fronts the opening of three plains, that of Sant Juan del Ré, that which leads to Guatimala on the ſouth-eaſt, and another on the ſouth-weſt, of which I forget the name. This poſition has rendered it a centre at which the firſt ſale takes place, of all the anniſeed, cochineal, and vanilla collected in the gorges between the high mountains, by which it is encompaſſed at diſtance of five, ſix, and ſevenleagues. It is amply furniſhed with cereal productions, and fruit of all kinds from the plain; the foot of the ſlope on which it is built, is bathed by a beautiful river; and well planned aqueducts ſupply it with abundance of water of the utmoſt excellence. The air, conſtantly refreſhed by eaſtern breezes in the morning, and at evening by others from the weſt, is pure and delightful, and of ſuch moderate temperature, that at eight in the morning in May, my thermometer denoted 16° above the freezing point, and at noon 22°*. From this happy circumſtance, notwithſtanding it is ſituate about the 20° of latitude, it enjoys an ever-blooming ſpring. Finally, magnificent and highly ornamented proſpects, excellence of ſoil, profuſion of fruits as well European as American, which ſucceed each other in unremitting continuance, would make an actual paradiſe of Guaxaca, were it only poſſeſſed by a more induſtrious and active race of men.

Its numerous ſteeples and elevated domes give this city, at a diſtance, an air of grandeur; and it may be truly affirmed, that its interior correſponds. It is ſixteen hundred fathoms long, by about a thouſand broad, and nearly quadrangular, if the ſuburbs be included, which are replete, as I have before remarked, with plantations of nopals and gardens. Its ſtreets are wide, ſtraight, well-paved and level. The houſes on each ſide are built with ſtone, two ſtories high. At the time I was there, a town-houſe was building on a plan which evinced ſome taſte, and will prove a great ornament to the great ſquare on which it is built: the ſtone is of a ſea-green colour. The ſame ſquare is adorned by the biſhop's palace and the church, which form two of its ſides, and both of which, after the manner of the Spaniards, are entirely ſurrounded by arcades, ſtrongly conſtructed, and of infinite utility in protecting paſſengers from the ſun and from rain; to conclude, all the churches, which are numerous and finely built, are neatly whitened without, and richly ornamented within.

The population of this city, including negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, amounts to ſix thouſand; it is the reſidence of a biſhop and a governor of the province, and is under the juriſdiction of the audencia of Guatimala, to the viceroy of which province the governor of Guaxaca is ſubordinate.

The inn to which I had been directed was ſo wretched and filthy that I could not reſt ſatisfied with making it my abode. I made haſte in dreſſing myſelf, depoſited in my room the packet of clothes which I had conſtantly carried with me, and which I

* 68° the morning, and 81½° of Farenheit at noon.

found,

found, however ſmall, yet cumberſome, and left the place, much embarraſſed at my appearance, and not knowing whither to go. Without a cloak I looked at once a foreigner; a net for my hair, and a broad-brimmed hat ſcarcely in any degree protected me from a crowd of inquiſitive eyes. To get rid of the curioſity of the people, I entered the firſt church I met with, and thus without ſuſpecting it, accompliſhed my vow; for it turned out to be that of Noſtra Sra de la Soledad. After admiring its treaſure, its gildings, the dome, in a bad taſte, but built of brick varniſhed externally with chequer-work, and a multitude of *ex votos*, equally ridiculous and fanatic, I left the church as little forwarded as, and in no better heart than when I entered. I wandered about at random in the ſtreets, when at laſt I noticed that I was followed by a man in a cloak, whom I had ſeen at the inn. He was loaded with roſaries and ſcapularies, and at firſt ſight might be miſtaken for a very devout zealot. When in the church he kneeled as I kneeled, roſe as I roſe, walked in my ſteps, and ſtopped when I halted. I was ſeized with fear. I imagined him to be a ſpy employed by the police, and fixed there purpoſely to watch my motions, or perhaps thoſe of all new comers. I reſolved on knowing the truth, and accoſted him, enquiring whether his roſaries were for ſale; he anſwered in the affirmative, but that he had another occupation, which was to learn where I ſhould paſs the day: where I pleaſe, was my inſtant anſwer, in a tone demonſtrating a greater fund of aſſurance than what I actually poſſeſſed: but why this queſtion? Becauſe, ſaid he, ſimpering, and in a myſterious manner, I ſhould feel myſelf ſo happy if it ſhould be in my power to procure any enjoyment to a ſtranger ſo kind and generous as you appear to be. At theſe words, which at once unmaſked his character, I breathed with greater freedom. I now perfectly comprehended that this gentleman was no other than what at court, where all things are painted in their faireſt colours, is termed the *prince's friend*. Gracious powers! ſaid I to myſelf, and is it in the very ſanctuary of the immaculate Virgin that vice preſumes under the veil of hypocriſy to exhibit her allurements? Turning then to the unknown; friend, ſaid I, you follow then a pretty and very obliging ſort of trade; but I have no need of you, and beware how you follow me any further.

After this incident, I penetrated into the city, where I met with ſome tolerably handſome coaches, and crowds of people. I was ſolicitous of ſeeing the cathedral. It was now the third feſtival of Whitſuntide, and high maſs was celebrating; the muſic was fine, grave, and majeſtic, the voices excellent, the cadences in good meaſure, and the numerous and ſolemn pauſes well calculated to inſpire devotion and reflecting thoughts: I was in a profound extacy, when at the elevation of the hoſt, a grey-headed prieſt, holding a ſilver croſs in one hand, like our choriſters in France, and in the other a wand of the ſame metal, like our porters, touched me gently with the latter, and requeſted me to take off the net from my hair, which hitherto I had conſtantly worn unnoticed in all the churches; I did immediately as I was deſired; and could but admire this regulation, though feeling hurt at the ſpecies of affront I had unwearily drawn upon me, I immediately left the church.

I had occaſion for ſome repairs to my watch, and after looking about, at length found a watch maker's. He was abſent, but his wife received me in ſuch a manner as almoſt to put me to the bluſh; ſhe was a woman of ſix and thirty, a brunette who had been handſome, and was ſtill tormented with that immoderate deſire of pleaſing, which ſome women loſe only with life itſelf. She made me a thouſand queſtions, and ſucceeded in learning I was a botaniſt. She concluded thence that I was a phyſician, and endeavoured to perſuade me to fix at Guaxaca, telling me, that notwithſtanding the extent of the city, there was not in it either a phyſician or ſurgeon, and that ſhe would

vouch that her huſband, who was a corregidor, ſhould forward me to the full of his ability; ſhe even in pretty diſtinct terms told me ſhe could herſelf be of ſervice to me; and I began to feel ſomewhat for the gratitude ſhe might expect, when fortunately her huſband entered: he was an excellent machiniſt, and drew extremely well, as he ſatisfied me by a multitude of works, which he diſplayed as well in relief as on paper, of his doing. He had moreover rather a curious garden, in which I gathered ſome ſeeds of mira-ſol, and ſage with corn-roſe flowers.

After leaving the corregidor, I obtained a direction to a trunk maker's. My plan required I ſhould be furniſhed with caſes or coffers eaſy of tranſport. The tradeſman to whom I was directed ſhewed me ſome of all ſizes. I choſe eight two feet long by fourteen inches broad, and of ſimilar depth. They were of a white and very light wood, dove-tailed, even bound at the corners, and with locks; they were moreover ſo ſolid and ſo well made, that better could not have been produced in any workſhop in Paris. The price alſo was reaſonable. They coſt me ſeventeen reals the pair, or about four ſhillings each; I aſked for no abatement, and my liberality purchaſed me the preſent of a baſket of apricots which had juſt been given to the trunk-maker, and which he obſerved me notice with longing eyes. This European fruit is ſo much degenerated from not having been grafted, that it is but little larger than the Montmorency cherry. It has notwithſtanding preſerved its original flavour.

I now perceived that I ſhould never have been able at Los Cues to have met with the ſame reſources as at Guaxaca; there indeed I might have obtained cochineal, but this was not ſufficient, the means of tranſporting it were alike neceſſary. I was conſequently very well ſatisfied with my bargain: I merely conditioned, over and above the purchaſe, to have partitions made in each of the boxes, and I brought away with me the keys.

Delighted at having thus aſſured in a degree ſucceſs to my undertaking, aſtoniſhed at finding myſelf ſo far advanced, and at having ſo readily overcome all the difficulties I had to fight againſt, I was ſcarcely able to bear my weight of joy, and imagined myſelf in a dream from which I dreaded to awake, but which every inſtant I found would be the caſe; the greater the facility I had hitherto met with, the more was I apprehenſive of the obſtacles which I painted to myſelf would attend the future. This mixture of ſatisfaction and inquietude occaſioned an oppreſſion on my mind, a melancholy which I was utterly unable to ſhake off.

In this ſtate I walked through the ſtreets without well knowing whither I went; at length I found myſelf in one of the ſuburbs called de las Bueltas or the Turnings, a name diſtinctive of the gardens of this country, where it is conſidered beauty to interſect them by walls and partitions, which occaſion ſo many windings and receſſes in the ſame incloſure. Among others were ſome plantations of nopals, the order of the rows in which I obſerved to be ſtill the ſame as I before had noticed, that is to ſay, from eaſt to weſt, but in almoſt all of which the crops had been recently gathered. In ſome plantations I ſaw men employed lopping off the branches, in others planting; at length I diſtinguiſhed one which appeared to me magnificent, and ſo thickly loaded with cochineal, that not a ſingle leaf could be taken from the nopal without cruſhing a thouſand of the inſects. In order to take a ſurvey at leiſure, I entered into a garden, parted from the plantation only by a hedge, under pretence of buying flowers. The firſt objects in this garden which excited my attention, was a violet coloured aſter, as large as thoſe grown with us, but produced on a ſhrub reſembling, by its pinnated leaves, our elder tree, and which had a very fine effect: what however engroſſed almoſt the whole of my attention and thoughts, was the beautiful plantation of nopals, and while the

the bouquet I had ordered was being gathered, I ſatiated my eyes with the ſpectacle before me. The nopals were thickly planted at about four feet diſtance, in lines ſix feet apart. I learnt that this nopal ground belonged to a negro who was not there at that time, I fed myſelf with hopes of buying of him both the nopal and ſome of the inſects.

After traverſing ſeveral other gardens, I returned to the city, and cauſed thoſe to be pointed out to me belonging to an apothecary whoſe name was Don Antonio Piſa, and which had been highly extolled by the gardeners I had ſpoken with. The proprietor, conceiving by my dreſs that I was a Frenchman, ſhewed me the utmoſt civility, and proffered me his ſervices: after which, informing him, that being a botaniſt I was anxious to ſee his garden, he cauſed his nephew to accompany me to it, politely excuſing himſelf from not being of the party, owing to his advanced age and infirmities.

This garden, interſected by five or ſix walls, which, no doubt, announced ſo many freſh acquiſitions, appeared to have been framed at great expence. A copious fountain, very pleaſingly ornamented, delivered its waters at the height of eight feet, into an antique vaſe, whence through four ſpouts, they deſcended into a ſpacious baſin, from which they were conducted into different reſervoirs. A number of indifferent pinks, a quantity of ſalvia othecas, a ſpecies of ſage, ſome agaves, mililot, blue everlaſtings, oxal * or ſorrel, pot-herbs, malvæ (mallows), apricots, grapes, and peaches; theſe formed the whole of the rarities I found in this garden, which moreover was kept in very indifferent order.

While I was there, I ſaw a female enter the garden, the lady of a corregidor, in a rich veil of black velvet trimmed with gold fringe. She came eſcorted by a very handſome man for the purpoſe of ſeeing, as I afterwards learnt, the face of a Frenchman. I paid my reſpects to her in the moſt polite manner, yet, hurt at thus becoming the object of general curioſity, and much vexed at my foreign appearance. After ſhe had retired, I went to return thanks to the apothecary, and ſpoke in high terms of his garden.

Much pleaſed with me, Don Antonio Piſa was ſolicitous I ſhould viſit another garden not leſs curious: I repaired thither, and did indeed find a garden which would have done honour to the marſhes of Paris, by the fine diſplay it afforded of cabbages, artichokes, raſpberries, apricots, and grapes. Water was every where diſtributed in little gutters along plots planted with parſley, turnips, radiſhes, and well hearted lettuce. Five or ſix workmen Indians, or of mixed breed, were at work here; here alſo I found the owner Don Gregorio Meuta, one of the corregidors of the city, a man about five and forty, of handſome countenance, and graceful deportment: he condeſcended to applaud my reſearches and curioſity, and pointed out to me every thing that was curious. What however appeared to me moſt worthy of remark, was a tree which at firſt ſight reſembled much a reine claude plum-tree, but which was no other than a *malpighia* which I had not hitherto ſeen. I begged the proprietor to allow me to gather ſome of the fruit in order to obtain the ſtones: the fruit it yields is as large as our white-heart cherries. I wiſhed to pay for what I gathered, but was not ſuffered; nor would even the Indian workmen who attended accept the two reals which I proffered them.

I again returned to my apothecary, and having given him a picture of the wretched inn at which I had taken up my abode, a picture which, from the difficulty I had to

* Decandria pentagynia.

expreſs myſelf in Spaniſh, made him laugh till the tears dropped, I beſought him to point out to me ſome one where I might get a decent meal; and this he promiſed to do. The converſation next turned on the different objects of culture in the country: he enquired if I was acquainted with them, to which I anſwered in the affirmative, with the exception of vanilla, which I was anxious of ſeeing in order to deſcribe it with the preciſion of a botaniſt. A prieſt, who happened to be preſent, interrupted me, to ſtate that he had ſome in a wood dependent on a farm belonging to him, about ſix leagues thence, and that, if I wiſhed it, he would ſend one of his Indians thither with me the next day as a guide: he even offered to obtain a horſe for me, and this with all that politeneſs and kind anticipation which we Frenchmen are wont to deem peculiar to ourſelves.

I then took my leave, exceedingly pleaſed with my day's work, and well convinced, that with a little hardihood and activity much may be effected.

I repaired to my new inn, recommended by Don Antonio Piſa, conducted by a ſervant of that gentleman: it was kept by a Frenchman, who had been cook to the late governor. I accoſted my countryman with a ſenſation of pleaſure, and with that confidence which might eaſily be conceived by any one who for the inſtant would place himſelf in my ſituation. I did not even take into account the difference of our ſtations in life, nor had I any reaſon to repent my condeſcenſion, for he was really, and not merely in appearance, a very good kind of man. I could perceive he was rich, though he complained of his bad fortune, and plainly ſaw that this was only the better to hide his proſperity, and not excite envy, in a people always jealous of our induſtry and ſucceſs, and at the ſame time, poſſibly, that he might the better be enabled to leave the country, at a favourable opportunity.

I begged of him to give me a good ſupper, aſſuring him that it would be the firſt ſince my leaving France: he promiſed he would, and kept his word, for I had one truly worthy of a governor's table; and afterwards was enabled to take a delicious night's reſt, undreſſed, and between ſheets, on a tolerably good bed, an enjoyment I had not experienced for a length of time.

The plan I had arranged, to purchaſe ſome nopals and cochineal on the ſucceeding day, occaſioned me to wake very early in the morning: I was up therefore by three o'clock, and taking with me two Indian ſervants belonging to the inn, each with a large baſket and towels, I repaired to the plantation of nopals I had ſeen the day before.

I left the ſervants at the gate on entering, and myſelf took charge of their baſkets. The negro owner was ſcarcely awake. He came towards me with a ſimple, modeſt, and civil air, quite different from what is uſual among people of his ſtamp in the kingdom of Mexico. I informed him that being a phyſician, I wanted, for the purpoſe of making an ointment for the gout, a few leaves of the nopal, with the cochineal upon them, which I begged him to ſell me, as the caſe was urgent; telling him I was willing to pay for them whatever he might require: he permitted me to take as much as I pleaſed. I did not require twice bidding, but immediately ſelected eight of the handſomeſt branches, each two feet long, and conſiſting of ſeven or eight leaves in length, but ſo perfectly covered with cochineals, as to be quite white with them. I cut them off myſelf, placed them in the beſt poſſible manner in the boxes, and covered them with the towels. I then enquired what they were worth. He proteſted they were well worth two reals: I readily believed him: I, who would not have held them dear at as many quadruples; but, that I might not render him aware of how good a bargain I reckoned upon having made, I merely gave him a dollar, telling him I had no change, and begging him to keep the remainder to drink my health with. The good old negro

rubbed his eyes, fancying himſelf ſtill aſleep; and while he overwhelmed me with gratitude, I called in my Indians, loaded them with the two baſkets, and made off with the rapidity of lightning.

My heart beat in a manner that beggars deſcription: it ſeemed to me as if I was bearing away the golden fleece, but, at the ſame time, as if the furious dragon, placed over it as a guard, was following cloſe at my heels; all the way along I kept humming the famous line, *At length I have it in my power*, and ſhould willingly have ſung it aloud, but for fear of being overheard. I arrived at my inn out of breath, and ſlipped in unperceived, and without having met with a ſingle perſon in the ſtreets. The dawn was opening, but nobody yet had riſen in the houſe. I ſhut myſelf up in my room, and then packed my dear nopals, with inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, and in the tendereſt manner imaginable, in two of my ſmall boxes, taking the precaution to lay them two at top, and two at bottom, ſeparating them by the partition, and ſticks of a dry and pliant wood.

Thus, by five in the morning, I found myſelf in poſſeſſion of a fine cargo of cochineal, which not a ſoul had either ſeen me purchaſe or pack. The negro who ſold it me was a ſimple, good kind of man, and the Indians, whom I liberally rewarded, enjoining them at the ſame time to ſecrecy, with reſpect to where they had been with me in the morning, were themſelves ignorant of what the precious load they carried.

Tranquil on this head, I went to enjoy, beneath ſome orange-trees in the court, the pleaſure of my reflections, and the cool of morning, waiting the period of my hoſt riſing. Never had the ſky before appeared ſo beautiful, never the climate ſo pleaſing. The day before my imagination was filled with monſtrous chimæræ: this day every thing was of charming aſpect, and admitted of my giving the reins to fancy.

Whatever my future fortune may be, ſaid I to myſelf, I have now completed the end of my journey; I may now ſet off. Yes, even directly; but no; vanilla, which I had been told could be obtained no nearer than at a diſtance of twenty leagues hence, vanilla comes as it were of itſelf to invite my taking it: let us effect this ſecond conqueſt.

At length the people of the houſe rouſed from their ſlumbers. Breakfaſt was ſerved up, to which I did more juſtice than any one, and at which I noticed a ſingular fruit: it was an apple, the pulp of which was ſoft, and black as raiſin. The Spaniards call it ſapota negra: I opened ſeveral, and took out their kernels. As I meant to ſet out at noon in ſearch of vanilla, I ordered a good dinner to be provided for me at eleven o'clock.

I then ſent my compliments to the prieſt Don Joſe Ortiz, and reminded him of his promiſe, after which I dreſt myſelf, for the purpoſe of taking a ſurvey of the city.

My countryman, who was my guide, had the kindneſs to lend me a cloak: with this, my hair in a net, and my broad brimmed hat, I looked perfectly a Spaniard, and had no longer the vexation to endure of hearing conſtantly rung in my ears, *aqui ſta Franceſe*, there goes a Frenchman.

We made the whole tour of the city, and I meaſured its ſtreets: it appeared to me, on this occaſion, even more handſome than it had done the day before. The only thing which ſeemed wanting, and which, not only here, but throughout Spaniſh America, if Mexico be excepted, is every where a deſideratum, is an alley of trees, or a promenade: one indeed had been planned here below the aqueduct. There are even baſins of ſtone prepared for conducting water to it from a fountain; and this ſpot, its ſituation conſidered, would without doubt have been a moſt delightful one for a public walk, but the plantation was never carried into effect, and the whole plan dropt to the ground.

We viſited the market, one the beſt ſupplied of any I had ſeen ſince I left the Havannah. I found in it all kinds of fruit; but what moſt forcibly ſtruck me, was the ſight of raw cochineal expoſed for ſale: when I ſay raw, I mean undried, and with the inſects yet alive. The price of it was eight reals the pound. I at length returned home loaded with plants, leaves, and branches of all kinds; among the reſt with a ſpecies of palma Chriſti, or ricinus*, of an uncommon ſpecies, which I have ſince diſpatched for the King's garden.

After having packed my plants in my chamber, I went to a man who had been pointed out to me for one who let horſes, and without a ſyllable ſaid to my hoſt on the ſubject, who reckoned on having me as a gueſt at leaſt for a fortnight to come, I hired five horſes, at eight reals each, to carry me the next morning to Sant Juan del Ré.

At eleven o'clock I had another meal worthy of a governor's table, and ſerved with equal promptitude and elegance; but what again? Doubtleſs the reader, in peruſing this narrative, will take me for an abſolute glutton; but let him pauſe an inſtant. I was intoxicated with joy. I ſought for gratifications, as a compenſation for my labours, and poſſibly this was of a leſs dangerous nature than another, for there ſurely could be no harm in ſtrengthening my poor body, weakened by the faſts and bad fare it had endured, and rendering it capable of withſtanding the mortifications it had yet to undergo.

Don Ortiz had not forgot me: by noon his horſes were at my door. I immediately roſe from table, and leapt into the ſaddle, loading the muleteer, my guide, with a linen ſack, four feet high, which I had bought for the purpoſe in the morning. After this we ſet off at full ſpeed, each of us with a handkerchief round the head, covered by a large flapped hat, and the crown of this ſurmounted with a cone-ſhaped cap of cotton, to cauſe a divergency of the rays of the ſun, a precaution highly neceſſary.

We reached, without halting, a mountain four leagues from the city, which it took us a quarter of an hour to aſcend. After this we went down into a valley, in which the farm of Don Ortiz was ſituate. The produce of the valley nothing but wood and maize. We continued our journey two leagues farther, when we met ſome people belonging to the farm. I wiſhed to addreſs them, in order to know where we might find what we were in ſearch of, but the muleteer pretended to know vanilla very well; and boaſted that he could ſhew it me himſelf. We in conſequence alighted, and during half an hour ſought for it in vain among all the trees. I ſtill waited for my muleteer doctor to point it out to me, and, at laſt, whether from ignorance, whether from deſign, he ſhewed me inſtead of it an arum ſcandens, with palmated leaves, the ſtem of which, it muſt be confeſſed, pretty much reſembles that of the vanilla. I told him he was an aſs, and that inſtead of thus making me loſe my time, he would have done much better had he called for one of the Indians. It was, in fact, five o'clock, and I was under the greateſt anxiety leſt I ſhould be obliged to return without the vanilla, or have to ſleep at the farm, which would defer my intended departure on the next morning. I was almoſt mad with vexation.

At length an Indian, with a hoe in his hand, made his appearance. Brother, ſaid I, holding out a dollar, ſhew me ſome vanilla, and this is yours. He coolly bade me follow him; and advancing a few ſteps through the underwood into a thicket, in which were a number of trees, he immediately climbed up one, threw down to me two cods of vanilla, perfectly ripe, and pointed out to me a branch on which ſeveral others were hanging, yet green, together with two faded flowers, of which the nectarium ſtill

* Monoecia polyadelphia.

remained.

remained. I recognized it for an epidendrum. The form of the leaves, the ſtone, and the fruit, perfectly well deſcribed, the peculiar ſmell of the plant: every thing convinced me it was the real vanilla, in every thing correſponding with ſuch I had ſeen at the houſe of Don Athenas, at Vera Cruz. All the trees of this little copſe were covered with it. I ſaw a quantity of green fruit, but collected no more than ſix ſpecimens of theſe, and four large cods, which were ripe. I cauſed the Indian afterwards to part from the root ſome of the ſcions which had ſprung up. Theſe I tied well together, wrapping up the whole in the leaves of an arum, which at their baſe are three feet wide. After thus packing a faggot, which weighed upwards of thirty pounds, I placed it in my large ſack, which I faſtened on the rump of my horſe. I was ſo well ſatisfied with my Indian, that beſides the gourd I promiſed him, I gave him in addition two reals. For his part, unwilling to be outdone in generoſity, he ran to his hut, and brought me three other cods of vanilla.

Who now was more confuſed than my mulatto? for me, I was highly pleaſed with not having liſtened to him.

We again mounted our horſes, and we made ſuch good ſpeed, that by nine in the evening we reached Guaxaca.

I directed my guide to make my beſt reſpects to his maſter, and repeat how much I held myſelf obliged to him. I gave him, for the uſe of the horſes, ſix piaſtres, and two for his individual trouble, after which I again entered my inn, with the vanilla, without any one knowing what it was.

It was late, and I ſupped by myſelf. After ſupper, I deſired my landlord and countryman to make out his account, and announced my departure on the next morning. He ſeemed greatly ſurpriſed at my intention, but anſwered, that he had no demand to make; that he had entertained me with great pleaſure, as a countryman, but without any view of gain. I eaſily comprehended his drift, and, preſenting him three dollars, enquired if that was ſufficient. He ſtill aſſumed that he had received me as a friend, and that I might pay him nothing if I pleaſed. To this I drily anſwered, that he, being a Frenchman, was capable of diſcerning, by my exterior manners, that I was not a perſon to be treated gratuitouſly by him; and that, moreover, his ſituation in life obliged him to ſell his ſervices to every one. I thought it right with this to add three more dollars to thoſe I had before placed on the table, at the ſame time requeſting him to prepare me a few proviſions. When our hoſt noticed the tone I aſſumed, with a ſatisfied look he placed the ſix dollars in his pocket, and in very polite terms returned me thanks. Shortly after he ſent me what I had required.

I now ſhut myſelf up in my chamber, and paſſed a part of the night in examining and arranging all my plants in my boxes. Two of theſe were deſtined for the vanilla, which I marked, and mingled with a thouſand other plants, collected at hazard. As while doing this I frequently opened and ſhut the boxes, my hoſteſs, on hearing the noiſe, became exceedingly curious, and ſought to ſatisfy her inquiſitiveneſs, under pretence of making me a ſmall preſent of chocolate. She therefore knocked three or four times at the door of my room, but I conſtantly objected to opening it, ſo that at laſt ſhe was tired out, and decided on leaving the chocolate on a chair in the adjoining room.

I ſlept but a little time. By four in the morning my horſes being come, I awakened mine hoſt. His aſtoniſhment was at its height, for I had not apprized him of the meaſures I had taken. My caſes and baggage were all laid on my cattle in an inſtant. I mounted on one of the horſes, and obliged the topith to lead on the others before me at a good rate.

Day-light had not yet beamed on Guaxaca, when I ſet off. On account of my train I found the ſtreets exceedingly long, for I was anxious to avoid examination, and the excitement of curioſity; at length by day break I gained the open country. The morning was remarkably cool. I ſtruck my heels into the ſides of my horſe, and increaſed our pace. My horſes turned out to be excellent ones, and ſpeeded ſo well, that by half paſt ſeven we reached Atletta, whence, without halting for refreſhment, I proceeded onwards to Sant Juan del Ré, occaſionally alighting to gather plants.

On the road I met with a doctor, who, converſing on the objects of culture, informed me, that nopals had been tranſported into Caſtille, for the pnrpoſe of attempting the naturalization of the cochineal, but that the project failed, from which he drew the very wiſe concluſion, that it was impoſſible the culture of it ſhould ſucceed any where but in the kingdom of Mexico. This anecdote, whether fabulous or true, was calculated notwithſtanding, to give me at the time ſome uneaſineſs; but now, while writing this, that I am well aſſured of the fallacy of the aſſumption, I cannot but ſmile at the folly of thoſe people who make deductions, which they generalize from circumſtances true only in particular caſes.

By then I entered Sant Juan del Ré, it was eleven o'clock. I was in hopes of purchaſing here ſome cochineal, but the black alcalde not being at home, I determined to wait till his wife returned: ſhe came in a little time, and I immediately aſked her for four branches from her nopals; and without giving leiſure for reflection, ſhewed her a dollar, which perſuaded better than words: I at the ſame time enquired of her reſpecting a variety of matters, which I had either omitted to obtain information upon before, or which I thought might need compariſon with what I had learnt at Guaxaca, though chiefly reſpecting the mixture of the ſylveſtre or wood cochineal, with the black or fine. She illuſtrated the different points I queſtioned her upon, and to my ſatisfaction; and permitted me to ſelect four branches from the nopals, which I placed in a fifth box.

After taking a nap I ſet off preciſely at noon, and again aſcended the famous mountain La Coſta, frequently caſting back an anxious eye on the beautiful country I was about to leave. How numerous were the curious plants I beheld! How much did I regret my incapacity of carrying away ſpecimens of all! I did however alight to pull up ſome of the bulbs of the lily of St. Jago, or amaryllis fermoſiſſima. I collected ſix dozen of the roots, though with extraordinary difficulty, on account of their being a foot deep in the ground, and that, ſtiff and very hard as the ſoil was, I had nothing but a knife with which to remove it, while a vertical ſun darted its noon-tide rays on my back. I likewiſe found a violet with a bulbous root like that of the lily, of which I dug up a dozen roots: I gathered, moreover, a hundred oxales (ſorrels), with bulbous roots, foliis octonatis pellatis ozatis. I morever gathered ſome ſeeds of a thiſtle, large as our artichoke plants; ſome of the fruit of a ſort of medlar; ſome of the Sabina juniperus; and certain acorns large as our largeſt walnuts.

While thus endeavouring to diſſipate the tireſomeneſs incidental on a long journey, I perceived that my muleteer had turned out of the king's highway, which topiths are expreſsly forbidden to do; and I was violently enraged at his conduct, promiſing, within myſelf, at leaſt to withhold his trinkgilt, or drink money. However we began to deſcend by roads, very bad it is true, but which leſſened our way by a league. I then allowed that my guide was not ſo much in the wrong, and was pacified. At the bottom of the ſlope I found the beautiful ſage, with corn-roſe flowers, which I had ſeen at Guaxaca: from this I extracted ſeeds, as well as from another variety with blue and highly beautiful flowers.

While

While threading a narrow path cut out of the rock, I had a ſingular rencounter: it was of an Indian who was driving two hogs to Guaxaca. They were of monſtrous ſize; and I was obliged to ſtand aſide, in order to allow them to paſs; while, in conſequence, I was attentively looking at them, I obſerved, and not without a hearty laugh at the whim, that they had pumps, or rather boots on. What, ſaid I to myſelf, a hog in pumps, while the poor Indian that drives them is barefoot! The hogs had, really, on each of the joints of their parted hoof, a boot with a ſole of ſtrong leather; and the whole ſo neatly ſewed, and fitting with ſuch exactitude, that at firſt I thought them natural appendages belonging to the animal. It was in vain for me to puzzle my brain for the reaſon of ſuch a whim, and I was fain to apply for information to the Indian. For him, he ſeemed to pity my ignorance, aſtoniſhment, and laughter; and in a very phlegmatic manner anſwered, that it was to prevent their becoming foot-ſore. Reflection made the motive ſeem but reaſonable, for the animals were ſo fat, and are naturally ſo lazy, that if they had not been booted, having a journey to make of five and twenty leagues, and ſhould wound their feet, they would have fallen away, and even have remained on the road. When at dinner, at an after period, with the intendant of St. Domingo, on his aſking me reſpecting the roads in Mexico, I felt a ſtrong inclination of relating this fact, in order to qualify him to form himſelf an opinion; but as there was a large company at table, to whom I was unknown, I was fearful, on giving account of a circumſtance ſo ſingular, to paſs for an inventor of fables; I therefore merely anſwered his interrogation by telling him in general terms, that I found them very bad; and in good truth, though the road I was now travelling was that of Guatimala, and the only highway on which is tranſported the various produce of a valley, which extends four hundred and eighty leagues, I did not find thirty leagues of road on which a carriage could paſs.

After a long journey of ſixteen larger leagues, I again reviſited my charming hamlet of Galiatitlan. I ſaluted it on my arrival full of gratitude, for its having firſt preſented me with the delightful ſpectacle of a plantation of nopals. It was too late, and I was too much fatigued, to viſit the Indian into whoſe grounds I had entered on my way to Guaxaca; I therefore thought only of getting my ſupper, and retiring to reſt. I ſlept but little. I had judged it requiſite to give air to my plants; and for the purpoſe placed my boxes, opened, in the court of the caſa reale, and every half hour paid them a viſit. In the intervals between I took a walk in the church-yard, which was at no great diſtance. A beautiful moon light ſhewed me the way; and with pleaſure I collected the roots of amary uidas from the tomb. At this inſtant, calling to mind the Night Thoughts of Young, I ſaid to myſelf, Is it then really conſequent that reflexion on the immortality of the ſoul ſhould give riſe to melancholy, as the caſe with that gloomy doctor? By no means, but rather

> Let us, while through this vale we ſpeed,
> Cull every flowret in our way.

At two in the morning, I again cloſed my caſes, carried them in-doors, and laid down to ſleep till dawn.

As ſoon as I aroſe, I haſtened to the garden of my Indian. The cochineal harveſt had been gathered; and I merely took from him four plants of the nopal, which had already rooted, and for which I gave him ſix reals.

It is to be obſerved that I burthened myſelf with theſe nopals, and with four other plants which I collected at Sant Antonio de Los Cues, apparently from an exceſs of caution, and that I might not have any thing wherewith to blame myſelf: but how wiſe this caution will be ſeen; for of all the branches loaded with cochineal, which I had bought

bought at Guaxaca, and Sant Juan del Ré, and on which I placed my chief dependence, not one was preſerved to the end of my voyage, as I had the affliction of ſeeing them all rot one after the other, and of being obliged to throw them into the ſea while traverſing the gulf of Mexico. It was to thoſe plants on which I placed the leaſt reliance that I had to aſcribe the ultimate ſucceſs of my project, as theſe were the only ones which ſurvived the voyage, and which have multiplied.

The Indian who ſold me the nopal plants was the ſame who let me my horſes; and his ſon acted as my topith. This afforded me means to hold a very intereſting converſation, and acquire conſiderable information reſpecting that culture, to which he paid his chief attention. It was this man who preſented me with ſome of the fibrous net work of the cocoa, of which he informed me the neſt for the cochineal was made: it was from him alſo I underſtood, and at his plantation that I ſaw, that the mother cochineals for the ſucceeding harveſt are preſerved in open air and on the ſame plant, and not as averred by the Abbé Raynal, and that even in his laſt addition, on detached branches put under ſhelter in the houſe. I made, as very natural, remark on hearing this, that I ſhould have thought them liable to be deſtroyed by the rains; but this objection he ſet at reſt, by the anſwer he gave, which was, that in the ſtormy ſeaſon of the year, *Se tapan con petales*, they are ſheltered under leaves.

At the plantation of this Indian I likewiſe, as I had done before in ſome of the church-yards, collected ſome buds of a beautiful ſyringa aſperifoliis, but they periſhed.

When on point of departure with his ſon we perceived near a fountain his young ſiſter, who at that inſtant was fetching water. She was a lovely brunette, about nine or ten years of age, with blue eyes, and the moſt beautiful complexion. I had juſt before given her a real. She drew nigh her brother, and without uttering a ſyllable ſlipt it into his hand. My poor brother, ſhe no doubt reaſoned, is now about to travel on foot over ſix weary leagues of ground for merely a wretched real, and which even my father puts in his pocket, and has but four tordillas and ſome pimento for his dinner. Suppoſe I give him this real, he will be able to fare better, and better be able to endure the tedioufneſs of the way, and the burning heat of the ſun. Such in ſhort was the reflection I read in the expreſſive eyes, full of intereſt and compaſſion, of this amiable child, and in the look of gratitude the young lad directed at his ſiſter. I was deeply affected by this little incident. Come hither, my child, ſaid I. She came bluſhing and uneaſy about the motive of my calling her. I gave her another real, which I bade her keep for herſelf. The little maid laughed with joy, took the real, and turned her back on me, without the ſlighteſt thanks; but what thanks were neceſſary? Did ſhe not ſmile? Throughout the whole morning I amuſed myſelf with pleaſing reflections on fraternal love; and this incident confirmed me in the idea I had ever entertained, that a tender affection for their brothers is not uncommon with females; and that it could not have been ſcenes like this which originated the obſervation of *rara concordia fratrum*. Incidents like theſe it is which render one diſpoſed to love mankind; but how rare are they in large aſſociations of the ſpecies! and where did I meet with this? Was it not among the ſteepeſt mountains, in the moſt diſtant parts of America, amid people little removed from the wild ſtate of nature?

After proceeding three leagues on my way, I met a herd of ſwine, conſiſting of about ſixty, all of them in new boots. Now, indeed, ſaid I, accoſting the Indian who was driving them along, I plainly ſee that this is not a mere whim, but a faſhion, quite the faſhion of the country: in truth, now all that theſe gentry want, to draw down not only admiration, but even the envy of their drivers, would be to make an addition to their

dreſs

dreſs of a cloak, hat, and ruffles; but all I could ſay failed of exciting a ſmile, for the Indian was of a moſt grave and ſerious turn of mind.

When I arrived at Atletlanca, I was obliged to go to the rector to change ſome gold: he appeared to me to have great partiality for this ſhining metal, and to be ready, if needed, to give me ſilver for all I had. He ſhewed me the ſtuffed ſkins of two animals, which he called tigers but which were juſt as much the ſkins of tigers, as of Mexican bears; of this I am ſatisfied, as at an after period I bought ſome of both the one and the other, theſe much ſmaller: thoſe of the rector were ſix feet in length from head to tail, and two feet and a half in height; the head, face, hair, and teeth of them were ſimilar to thoſe of the cat; but the colour of the hair was that of the fawn, very bright, perfectly ſmooth, and without any longitudinal ſtripes, or ocellary * ſpots; theſe monſtrous animals, ſaid to be very ferocious and ſanguinary, had been killed within two leagues of the village: would I could have borne them away with me! the rector would aſſuredly have parted with them for gold.

On diſmiſſing my topith I gave him another real, as well becauſe he was the brother of the ſweet little Indian girl, as becauſe he had conducted himſelf with propriety, and that on ſuch occaſions I ſeldom reſtricted myſelf to abiding by the regular preſcriptions for drink money: theſe kind of people are commonly ſo wretched, and at the ſame time appeared to me ſo worthy, that I always conſidered a real or two extra not idly thrown away.

I again croſſed the numerous windings of the river de las Vueltas, and again with the like impatience and vexation, but at the ſame time with leſs inconvenience, on account of being better mounted. I was unable however to reach Don Dominquillo before night, where I again met with a jubilee and proceſſion, for it had been ordained I think that from Paris to Mexico had I gone I ſhould conſtantly ſee nothing elſe: this one I found intereſting; the muſic of the charming *Salve Maria*, which I took down in notes, is really excellent; it was ſung in chorus, the parts given in perfect uniſon, and was a piece of muſic altogether capable of pleaſing even the moſt delicate.

When Juſtice and Peace, tired of living with mortals, by whom they daily were inſulted, abandoned for ever their ungrateful hoſts; Fame ſays, they took refuge in heaven, from whence they came. The rumour here was wrong: after wandering over the different portions of the globe, conſtantly vagabonds, and conſtantly abuſed, theſe celeſtial beings withdrew to a corner of North America; yes, the village of Don Dominquillo. This little hamlet, ſimple in appearance, unadorned by the meritricious works of art, but rich, but charming from its ſite on the ſlope of a hill, at the confluence of the Rio Grande, and that of Las Vueltas, appeared to them worthy of their abode; and here I enjoyed the mild preſence of theſe amiable but ſlighted powers.

The circumſtance which called for this remark I ſhall relate: While I was at ſupper, I ſent for a topith, with whom I had entered into contract for furniſhing me with horſes for Quicatlan; the knave had the addreſs to cheat me of three piaſtres, without my noticing the fraud: his lively and ſeemingly ingenuous looks, and poſſibly the cares with which my head were filled, combined to lay me open to deception: the keeper of the caſa reale, however, perceived the fraud, and pointed it out to me, but the topith was already out of ſight with my money. In the mean time, after the proceſſion, while walking in the public ſquare, I ſaw two Indians carrying each of them a ſtaff ſix feet long, on which they ſupported both their hands. I paid at firſt but little

* Ocellaire, in the original, from ocelli, little eyes an Italian word.

attention to this incident, till at length I heard a cry repeated thrice in the Mexican language, and three whiſtles. In an inſtant, my rogue of a guide preſents himſelf, out of breath with running, and makes a number of low bows to the men with ſtaffs, the diſtinctive marks of their office: the one was the alcalde, the other his aſſeſſor. As I ſaw them advancing towards me, I met them half way: in my preſence, in a very deliberate manner, they interrogated the topith reſpecting the number of horſes I had requeſted, and the price he had aſked. He confeſſed the whole he had aſked, except two reals. They next enquired of me, how much I had paid. I told them the exact ſum. Turning next to the topith, they aſked him, if he had ſhewn me the table of fares; and, on his confeſſing that he had never even mentioned it to me, the alcalde very ſeverely, though at the ſame time without the leaſt ſymptom of paſſion, reprimanded him; firſt, for having exacted more than the ordonnance preſcribed; and ſecondly, for having ſtated the ſum he had received at two reals leſs than what it really was. While they were ſpeaking, I minutely obſerved, by help of the moon-light, the features of theſe ſimple officers: they exhibited not the leaſt ſymptom of rage or indignation, not even the leaſt emotion. Immutable as the law, they judged and decided by its rule, and never did ſenator, counſellor, or judge, with all their ſumptuous paraphernalia of office, in ſilk and ermined robes, in ſcarlet or in black, in coronets, caps, or periwigs, never, I ſay, did either look more auguſt or majeſtic than did, on this occaſion, theſe poor and tattered Indians.

After convicting the culprit, on his own confeſſion, they made him reſtore the whole ſum he had received; after which, entering my apartment, where was a light, they attempted to calculate what was juſtly his due, but, little uſed to handle money, they were unable to ſucceed, and I was obliged to take on myſelf this taſk; when, having ſhewn to their ſatisfaction, that I had given three dollars and two reals more than I ſhould have done to the topith, the alcalde reſtored them to me, and gave the remainder to the topith, enjoining him to have his horſes ready at the hour appointed. I was dumb with admiration. I thought myſelf in a dream; a judgment ſo unartificial, ſo ſpeedy, ſo perfectly equitable, was what I could not conceive: actuated by the enthuſiaſm by which I was filled, I gave the caſero, by whoſe inſtituting the proceſs I had enjoyed this intereſting ſpectacle, a dollar, and begged the alcalde to keep in his own hands the three dollars and two reals, for the purpoſe of diſtributing them among the poor of the hamlet. I would willingly have given, had I means, a thouſand piaſters, to have perpetuated the memory of this honourable act of juſtice; for it cannot be diſguiſed, that the beſt means of enforcing among mankind the practice of wiſdom and virtue is to honour and reward even the moſt inſignificant actions which denote its exiſtence: men always act from ſome intereſted motive; and what motive can be regarded as more valuable than that which has for its end the eſteem of one's fellow creatures and poſterity? Let us then but applaud good actions, and thoſe ſame applauſes will prove the ſeeds of others.

With theſe pleaſing fancies I retired to reſt, and ſweet was the ſlumber I enjoyed; but at two in the morning, ſolicitous of making a long day, I awoke my topith: the rogue was out of temper, which I noticed the moſt plainly at the paſſage of Rio Grande. In this river I ſaw an animal ſwimming, which I took to be either a crocodile or a cayman, though its muzzle did not yet ſeem to be ſo long as theirs. I enquired what animal it was, but inſtead of informing me, in order to prevent the gratification I might receive from ſatisfying my curioſity by a more minute examination, the malicious rogue picked up a ſtone, and threw it with ſuch nicety, that, though at eighty paces

diſtant, he ſtruck it on the head, which occaſioned it to dive under water, and it did not appear again. At dinner he met with his reward, as I neither gave him a meal, nor money to buy drink, as I was elſe accuſtomed to do.

I reached Quicatlan at nine, and after purchaſing a proviſion of bread, left that place at ten, paſſing, without ſtopping, by the guard-houſe: the chief of it, whoſe good-will I had inſured on paſſing before, whether on this account, whether owing to his being employed in counting the mules laden for Guaxaca, paid no attention to mine, but made a ſign to my topith to proceed without unloading his caſes: I ſqueezed his hand in token of gratitude, and clapped ſpurs into my horſe.

But little after noon, the ſun almoſt at its zenith, and vertical above me, I had to climb the terrible and fatiguing mountain Aquiotepec; I found it neceſſary, in order to bear up againſt the diſtreſs occaſioned by the toil, and the heat of the day, to ſeek revivification from advertence to my worthy and faithful friends in France; this was my ordinary practice; perpetually were they preſent to my imagination, and often did I hold converſe with them. Oh, could you only ſee me here, ſaid I, and with what formidable difficulties I have to contend, then, partners of my heart, then would you learn the coſt at which I ſeek to merit your eſteem.

At length I attained the ſummit of the mountain, by half paſt one, as I found by the clock then ſtriking at Quicatlan, the ſound of which I ſtill diſtinguiſhed, and by three had attained its foot, on the banks of the Rio Grande: here it was I firſt ſaw the ſylveſter cochineal on a thorny cactus, with leaves nearly round: I took away two articulations, which I preſerved for a long time at ſea, but which at laſt decayed.

I had laid in a ſtore of bread, but this was not enough. I recollected the bad fare I had to expect if I depended on the ſupply of the hamlet whither I was journeying: fortunately I ſaw an Indian who had juſt been fiſhing; in anſwer to my interrogatory, of what ſucceſs he had experienced, I learnt he had caught a trout; but this pretended trout turned out to be a ſpecies of mullet, which however was delicious.

While changing horſes at Aquiotepec, I gathered from the margin of a fountain a paneratium foliis lingalatis ſtrictiſſimis *, which I continue to cultivate at Port au Prince; but on this occaſion, my curioſity, or rather my imprudence (for I made uſe in raiſing the plant of my hands) was nigh coſting me dear; a ſerpent, four feet long, of a yellowiſh colour, iſſued from the ground I had juſt been diſturbing, but without doing me the leaſt injury, it glided under ſome other plants: this ſerpent was the firſt that I met with in my botanical collections in North America. Farther on, on croſſing the Rio Grande, I ſaw a liliaceous plant, leſs eminent, but which was ſimilar to that I had found on the brink of the fountain of Aquiotepec.

I did not reach Los Cues before half paſt nine at night; I was dying of hunger, and my fiſh was moſt welcome: it was ſo large even that I was enabled to ſpare a part for my topith, who had been able to procure nothing better throughout the whole hamlet than a couple of tordillas of blue maize, ſo much reſembling pieces of ſlate in their appearance, that I was obliged to bite them, in order to be convinced of the contrary: as ſauce for theſe he had ſome little chili.

The next day, Trinity Sunday, I propoſed, as it would be the laſt time I ſhould meet with plantations of nopals, to make ſome freſh purchaſes of nopal and cochineal: informed of the exiſtence of them at this place by my Franciſcan, on ſeeking I readily found them; nay, there was one cloſe even to the houſe at which I lodged: this, however, did not appear to have been ſown, ſo thinly was the cochineal ſpread over

* Hexandria monogynia.

the leaves. I then entered another, in which were many young plants that had taken root, and were loaded with fine cochineal. I was very ſolicitous of procuring ſome of theſe, but the owner was at maſs. In a third I met with ſome women, who conſented to ſell me eight branches richly loaded for ten reals: this was rather dear, eſpecially when compared with what my good negro of Guaxaca had aſked me; but on my expreſſing ſuch to be my opinion, they remarked to me, that there was upon them at leaſt twelve ounces of cochineal, and, on the other hand, theſe were what I wanted. I ſaw in addition, the plantation of a poor cultivator who was drying the ſeeds of the cactus, with which to make bread: the garden had not been planted more than fifteen months, and from him for ſix reals I bought as many ſmall rooted plants. He was willing even to have ſpared me a greater number, and at this rate even would gladly have parted with his whole garden; but I was now moſt amply ſupplied, and had great difficulty to ſtow my laſt purchaſe.

I however ſucceeded and ſet off with my caſes, mounted on an aſs, which tranſported me to Santo Antonio by noon, according to the eſtimation I made by a ſingular means. I noticed that the ears of my aſs, at every turn, whether eaſtward or weſtward, to the north or the ſouth, conſtantly both the one and the other threw their ſhadow on the earth, at an equal diſtance from the head and body, the ſhade of which latter was immediately under the belly of the animal: followed that the ſun muſt be at its zenith, and conſequently that the hour was noon. This meridian, ſo novel and ſo whimſical, made me laugh much, and for an inſtant conſigned to oblivion my cares and jading ride.

At San Sebaſtiano I ſwallowed two new-laid eggs, and immediately ſet off again with excellent horſes: the one I rode, however, was difficult to manage, and had no bridle, a circumſtance to which I failed to pay attention on ſetting off, or till I had left the village: every thing, however, went on well until I reached Santo Antonio: thrice had I alighted to collect ſeeds from plants, and thrice had I again quietly mounted; but the fourth time, the reſtive beaſt riſing on its hind legs, ſtruck at me on the ſtomach with the fore ones, and with ſuch force as to fell me to the ground; not content, he ſpurned again his hind legs at me, and gallopped away at full ſpeed. For an inſtant I thought all was over with me, and far as the little power of reflection allowed, which remained with me, I was anxious only for my dear cochineal. I dreaded leſt it would yet remain buried in Mexico, and be for ever loſt to my country: the thought went near to kill me; however, reſuming, after a few inſtants, the faculty of breathing, and my ſtomach by degrees recovering its tone, I gathered that I did not immediately need extreme unction. Collecting ſtrength, I roſe, though with great difficulty, and drew as a concluſion from the incident, that a botaniſt ſhould travel on foot.

I took no trouble about the horſe. It carried away not any of my property, and ſhould I have recovered, I ſhould not have mounted him again: ſo giving him heartily to the devil, I continued my journey on foot, at a very gentle pace, quit for a few grazes and a torn jacket.

In vain did I call after my topith, who travelled at a briſk rate before me; and when I arrived at San Franciſco, I found he had already been there an hour. I related to him what had happened, and was apprehenſive he might inſiſt on my paying for the runaway; but he was ſatisfied with merely aſking for a note, which might account for his not taking it back, which I gave him, ſtating the reſtiveneſs of the animal, and the want of a bridle, as the cauſe. I moreover preſented my guide with four reals for himſelf.

The

The next day I took care to be provided with gentler horſes, and more complete furniture, and by ten o'clock arrived in ſight of Tecuacan. In the courſe of my journey, I remarked a nicotiana (tobacco plant) with narrow and pointed leaves, which was conſpicuous as a weed among the corn of this beautiful plain.

I was anxious to paſs round Tecuacan, as I had done on my way coming; but with all my baggage this was not practicable, and the topith, in ſhort, flatly refuſed: it was neceſſary therefore I ſhould travel through it: the town appeared to me a deſert, and I compared it to thoſe enchanted cities the work of genii, when a magician of the moſt formidable kind, in my eyes, made his appearance before me, and drove awaythe pleaſing ideas of enchantment. This magician was no other than a ſtout, ſharking cuſtoms officer, mounted on an excellent horſe, his ſaddle bow beſet, both in front and behind, with piſtols. This redoubted champion advancing, ſummoned me, in the King's name, to return to the cuſtoms houſe. I anſwered to him, in a tone of voice which denoted vexation, that I certainly ſhould pay all the reſpect due to the King's orders; but that if he had had the leaſt notion of civility, he would not have ſuffered me to have rode through the whole of the town merely for the pleaſure of making me return. However high the tone I aſſumed, my heart was chilled with fear; the word cuſtoms houſe turned my brain, and I gave up all for loſt. I ſhall have, ſaid I, to open all my caſes, my pilferings will all be expoſed; there may be laws which prohibit the tranſport of cochineal on nopals; nay, this ought neceſſarily to form a part of the policy and ordonnances of this people, one ſo anxious to maintain the excluſive poſſeſſion of this commerce. Should this be the caſe, adieu to all my treaſures, all will be raviſhed from me, and confiſcated: what grief for me! what ſhame! curſed rencounter! unlucky travels!

I was in a dreadful ſtate, though it muſt be allowed, that at times danger affords reſources which are gathered merely from its preſence. On reaching the cuſtoms houſe, I inſtantly determined on my plan: compoſing my countenance, therefore, I entered with an eaſy air, and expreſſed much diſcontent at the trouble which had thus unneceſſarily been occaſioned me. I found two Spaniards in the office, one of whom, the director, leſſened my colour by the affable and prepoſſeſſing manner in which he received me. I told him that I was a botaniſt, that I had been employed in collecting medicinal plants throughout the whole province, with which my trunks were full, and that I had with me nothing elſe. I added, moreover, that I begged they would ſatisfy themſelves on this head, and proceed through the examination as ſpeedily as poſſible, as I was ſolicitous of reaching Vera Cruz for the purpoſe of going on ſhip board.

The director ſaid that this was enough, and entered into the moſt friendly converſation with me; however I notwithſtanding cauſed my boxes to be opened, although againſt his inclination, for the purpoſe of ſatisfying him, and out of bravado towards his deputy, who appeared to be inquiſitive and ſuſpicious. On looking over the caſes, in which, among a variety of herbs and roots, with which he was altogether unacquainted, was the vanilla which was equally unknown to him; he ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, and ſmiled. I opened others which contained cochineal, covered and mingled with other plants: *aqui ſta grana*,— this is cochineal, ſaid he, apparently with ſurprize, but at the ſame time, with an air of indifference which argued nothing diſpleaſing. In my notice of his obſervation, I ſeemed equally indifferent. He afterwards noticed the double bottoms, and fancied for an inſtant he had caught his bird, ſignifying as much by a glance, which at the ſame time ſeemed to hint that he could ſhut his eyes occaſionally to what he could not ſee without injuring; but, rendered bold by the aſſurance I had acquired, that no objection would be taken to my cochineal,

I raiſed

I raiſed the bottoms, partitions, and the pieces of wood, which ſeparated the plants, when my nopals were diſtinguiſhed among other plants, carefully folded in fine white paper. What are theſe nopals for, this cochineal? For an unguent. For what malady? The gout. Ah ah! do but ſee, exclaimed he then, laughed heartily as he pointed out among my collection the nuts of the moſt common fruits of the country, and ſeeds even of its moſt deſpiſed herbs.

The director now obliged me to ſhut all my caſes; before I did this, I picked up even the ſmalleſt leaves which had fallen, but with ſo much care, that they could entertain not the ſlighteſt doubt of my placing on them a value, far greater than on the cochineal: they could not indeed help admiring to ſee a Frenchman come from ſuch a diſtance to collect ſome of the meaneſt herbs of the country; and frankly confeſſed, that no Spaniard could be found poſſeſſed of equal reſolution. Walking in the court, I ſaw drying in the ſun the fruit of a certain cactus, not larger than currants: in turn, I enquired what uſe it was applied to? To making of tarts, was the anſwer. He invited me moreover to taſte them: I found them delicious, and preſerved ſome of the grains.

From all he had ſeen the director concluded within himſelf, that I was an eminent doctor, and in conſequence entreated me to viſit a friend of his who was ill: I told him, that unleſs His Majeſty himſelf required my aſſiſtance, I could on no account procraſtinate my ſtay: at the ſame time I enquired of him to whom I had to addreſs myſelf to obtain horſes: he informed me I muſt apply to the alcalde-mayor. This circumſtance diſpleaſed me. I apprehended a ſecond inquiſition, and could not hope perpetually to be favoured as I had hitherto been, by good fortune: however, no choice was left, nor could I draw back; I therefore paid him a viſit, and found him employed with a man dreſt in black, whom at firſt I miſtook for the alcade himſelf. It was not long however before I was undeceived; Don Marcos Chopin, Cavallero de Sant Jago, Gobernador de Tecuacan, alcalde-mayor informed me in perſon, that it was he to whom I had to addreſs myſelf; he converſed with me with an affability, a ſuavity of manners which could not be ſurpaſſed by the moſt amiable among our French gentry, and immediately directed an alquazil to go in ſearch of horſes for me. I entreated that they might be gentle, and with good bridles, as a cauſe of which injunction I related the adventure which had befallen me: he laughed heartily at my narrative; and obſerved that I muſt in this caſe have been but an indifferent horſeman. Pardon me, Senor, replied I, but my horſe was unuſually reſtive.

By accident a mirror happened to hang before me, and ſeeing myſelf in it, dirty and with my clothes torn, I could not but feel amazement and high gratification at the little difficulty I had hitherto met with. In France, taken for an highwayman, I ſhould have been ſtopped by the police: in Mexico I was not even aſked for my paſsport; I ſcarcely knew to what I had to aſcribe this diſtinction; poſſibly in a ſmall degree it is to be attributed to the inertia and negligence of the Spaniſh people, but at the ſame time much liberality and nobleneſs of mind are apparent in their cuſtom of not ſuffering themſelves to be influenced towards, nor their confidence diminiſhed in, a man and a traveller, becauſe of the garb he wears: their conduct moreover may be owing, and principally perhaps, to the officers of the interior relying on the governors of the frontier cities and towns for care that no one be admitted into the kingdom but Spaniards, or individuals furniſhed with regular paſſports.

However this may be, the alcalde-mayor behaved to me with the ſame politeneſs as if I had been dreſt in the niceſt manner; he even played me a little trick, which, no doubt, afforded him conſiderable amuſement, and which made me laugh myſelf: he ſent me to the farmer of the tobacco duty, whom he repreſented to me as being ill,

and

and at the ſame time a Frenchman, two motives for my rendering him whatever aſſiſtance my art was capable of. In vain did I decline going, on pretence that not pertaining to the college of phyſicians in New Spain, the conſequences of ſuch a procedure on my part might injure me; he inſiſted and proffered to take all reſponſibility on himſelf: but what was my aſtoniſhment, on complying with the wiſh of the governor, at finding my dear countryman plump as a partridge, and with a complexion ruddy as the morn? I was not able however to draw from him a ſingle word of French: and when I explained to him the nature of my viſit, he anſwered me coolly in Spaniſh, that the alcalde might keep his phyſic and phyſicians to himſelf; as for his part he was in want neither of the one nor the other. I was much pleaſed with having to render account to the governor of the ſucceſs of my miſſion: he received me with leſs kindneſs than on the former occaſion; but this was merely to hide the trick, he laughing all the while in his ſleeve: he thought me his dupe this: however I frankly forgave, on reflecting how much more ſo he was mine.

I afterwards went to his ſecretary to beg him to change me ſome gold, and this I perceived had a good effect; for in this, as in my dear country, gold is cloſely cheriſhed, and gives much conſequence to thoſe who are its maſters.

Soon as it was known I had gold, I was well enough dreſt, and the ſecretary received me in a manner no leſs courteous than the alcalde. I found him a man of ſenſe, and who diſtinguiſhed the value of ſtudy after the French manner: he enquired how many academies we had; and when I informed him that, beſides five or ſix in the capital, we had more than twenty in the provinces, he was wrapt in aſtoniſhment, and mute with wonder. Happy country! he exclaimed; thrice happy country! He was in the right. In what other country do the arts, does ſcience flouriſh in the ſame degree? Where elſe is truth and knowledge of every deſcription ſo fully placed within the reach of all! What reſources does Paris furniſh as well to the inquiſitive who merely ſkim the ſurface, as to the ſtudious who ſeek for perfect acquaintance with truth! Public and private libraries, academies, ſocieties of amateurs in which literature is cultivated, models, chefs d'œuvres of every kind, theſe are all found in the capital of France, and found but there alone. Does one wiſh to eſtimate the value of theſe? Let us caſt our eyes over the neighbouring nations; theſe, though competitors, are obliged to yield us the palm: and however diſpoſed to give their due to them on the ſcore of their individual merits, a Frenchman placed in any of them ſighs for his darling home.

From the ſecretary I went to the alquazil, who was to furniſh me with horſes; and not chooſing to leave the ſpot until I had ſeen them, I ſent word to the director who had invited me to dine with him, not to wait. I had a trifle ſerved up for me, which I ſwallowed with good appetite, but of which I ſhould have partaken with more zeſt in any other ſituation; the reaſon this: the alquazil chanced to be the jailor of the royal priſon, ſo that I actually took my meal between two wickets, ſurrounded by guards, in a place whoſe only decorations were bundles of keys, locks and chains; a place where I heard inceſſant moans and lamentations; and where all the time I ſtayed, I was witneſs to the tears of a multitude of poor Indians, who had flocked hither to comfort a father or a friend.

As ſoon as the horſes arrived, I made all haſte to the cuſtoms houſe to load my effects. The director reproached me, yet kindly, for not dining with him, and repeated his urgent entreaties, that I would call on his ſick friend: he is, added he, on your road at four leagues from here; and his name Don Joachim Armoral de Caſtilla: Great God! exclaimed I, what turn out of my way for the ſake of a man who treated me with

with ſuch indignity? Heaven forbid! Upon this I recounted the humiliating refuſal of this gentleman to ſee me, and the reſt of my adventure at his houſe. I however added, that, out of reſpect individually to the director himſelf, I would yet conſent to preſcribe for his complaint at Tecuacan, and wait for him there, provided the director would ſend for him: but, as for ever ſetting foot again on his threſhold, it was that to which I never could conſent. The director was confounded and mortified, and made me a hundred excuſes for the ſick man, concluding with abandoning his cauſe altogether, and perſiſting from further perſuaſion. Thus had I my turn; and without being actually a phyſician myſelf, phyſic was revenged for the ſlight it had received in my perſon. At length I departed, eſcorted by the guards belonging to the tobacco farm, as far as the ſuburbs, either to do me honour, or, which is moſt likely, to be ſure I took the road to Vera Cruz.

I now was happy as if I had eſcaped from the galleys, and breathed with freedom; but I alſo made ſuch uſe of my liberty, that I was ſoon at a diſtance, ſpite of the extreme heat of the day, reaching Chapulco by four in the afternoon. The great heat and extreme thirſt induced me again to drink of the water from the river Tecuacan, and my draught was followed by the ſame effect which I had experienced before. I enjoyed this day a ſight perfectly new to me, and exceedingly ſingular; it was a mountain of ſnow, ſituate within the Torrid Zone. Oriſſava, on my paſſing it this time, was perfectly free from clouds, and I had an unmoleſted view of its mighty maſs, though from a diſtance of ten leagues. Its form ſeen from this ſpot is that of a ſugar-loaf, and appears but a quarter of a league from Chapulco. It is inconceivable, notwithſtanding the extreme warmth of the atmoſphere where I was, what pleaſure I received from the ſight of this frozen mountain; it ſeemed even to cool and revive me: my very mouth, as is ſaid, watered at ſeeing it, and I felt almoſt perſuaded I could have ſwallowed the whole, if it were but within my graſp.

I preſented myſelf immediately before the alcalde, whoſe houſe, according to cuſtom, fronted the priſon. He cauſed his people to go in ſearch of horſes for me, and, as none were readily to be found, he was on the point of ordering men for tranſport of my luggage. Eight Indians, each laden with about two hundred weight, would have been equal to the taſk, and have carried it for the ſame price paid for beaſts of burthen. The idea appeared to me ſhocking; I intreated the alcalde therefore to have patience; I would in fact rather have halted a week than be witneſs of ſo ſad, ſo humiliating a ſpectacle, in my eſteem, for any human being. At length aſſes were obtained for carrying my boxes, and for myſelf a horſe, I paid as cuſtomary, before hand, and ordered all to be in readineſs to ſet off next morning by three.

After theſe precautions, I took a walk in the village, where I enjoyed a coolneſs as pleaſant as if in Europe. I entered the grounds of a worthy Indian: the garden was full of pear trees, and from theſe I gathered and ate about a dozen pears, ſmaller than and not equally good with the *rouſſelet*. In another garden I ſaw a ſpecies of cherries called *cappuline*, the ſtones of which I preſerved: in a third, I was ſhewn ſilk worms; and the good folks were aſtoniſhed to find that theſe inſects were known to me. After my walk, I returned to my inn, where I ſupped off a meagre fowl; and opening all my trunks to give air to the cochineals, I laid down to reſt; but on what do you imagine? A hundred times ſhall the reader gueſs, and yet be wide of the truth; it was on the old gate of a priſon. Theſe gates are made in the ſame manner as the gratings to the hold of a ſhip: and ſuch a gate or grating was the only bedſtead the *caſa reale* could boaſt. I might here be ſaid with reaſon to be fluttering about the

flame, and was full of cauſeleſs apprehenſion leſt I ſhould burn my wings; the thought reminded me of the verſe of Marini.

Corre la vaga, farfall' al chiaro lume.

Still, after chaſing from their uſurped territory the gloomy thoughts which haunted my brain, and committing myſelf to Providence, I ſunk into a ſlumber, and, bad as my bed, enjoyed refreſhing reſt.

I was wakened at the hour I appointed in the morning by the ſeverity of the cold. I determined on walking for a time to keep myſelf warm, but as day-light appeared, I beſtrode my Roſinante to reſt my legs. Oh, what a number of rare and curious plants did I again behold! *Sed omnes illactrymabiles urgentur longa nocte.* At the ſummit of the mountain I met with the three litters of a Spaniard of ſome rank. The two firſt were occupied by women and children, the third by himſelf alone: notwithſtanding the extreme acclivity of the mountain, he had aſcended it in this manner from the ſide whence he came.

This morning the mountain Oriſſava, being again enveloped in clouds, was not viſible.

I arrived at Aquulſingo at noon, and left it an hour afterwards, but at a ſlow rate. I was ſolicitous of not reaching Oriſſava before night, not only that I might eſcape ſearch, but to avoid being conſulted on their maladies by the guards; however, what is predeſtined muſt have its courſe.

I reached the town as I intended at night: the guard-houſe on the right was ſhut up, and I hoped to paſs without any miſchance: but there was another on the left which I had not remarked. My horſe was ſtopped by the bridle; a new alarm, though now not ſo lively as that I had experienced at Tecuacan. I had become better accuſtomed to ſuch events; I halted, and began with my cuſtomary peroration: Gentlemen, I am a botaniſt, I have nothing but herbs, nothing which is contraband. I was now interrupted by the chief of the guard, who claſped me in his arms, and exclaimed, Ah, Senor! and is it indeed you! you have long been gone, where do you come from? Angel ſure from heaven! you it was who ſnatched from the hands of death the chief of the other guard-houſe, for God's ſake deign to viſit my poor wife. It will readily be conjectured from this accoſt, that my boxes would need no ſearching, but in turn I muſt neceſſarily viſit the ſick perſon. She was a young woman, reduced by that dreadful diſorder which has been ſaid to derive its origin from America, to the very laſt extremity: this I did not conceal from her huſband and parents, at the ſame time declaring what the malady was; for it is ſo common in this country, that the mention of it never gives offence. I ordered ſome palliatives, and promiſed to return; after reaſoning in a manner which enchanted all who were preſent, I was led back to my horſe, paſſing, no doubt, for a moſt extraordinary perſonage. My vanity was not excited by this, for grief alone had poſſeſſion of my faculties, as I reflected on the dreadful effects of this formidable malady.

The next day I thought only of my departure, but being detained, owing to the negligence of the alguazil, I had occaſion to paſs by a ſhop where I ſaw ſome very handſome Aſiatic tygers' ſkins; I purchaſed four for houſings for horſes, which I meant to ſend to my father, and two ſmall ſkins of tyger cats, fit for making muffs for women, which I intended for my ſiſter; but being injured by mites, I was obliged to ſell both the one and the other, and was thus deprived of the pleaſure of preſenting to my dear parents theſe intended tributes of my gratitude and affection. I ſold them

at the rate of a piaſter a-piece at Port au Prince; and one with another they coſt me four reals.

From Oriſſava I proceeded to Villa de Cordova, which I reached by noon, after having had my trunks examined at the gate, but in a careleſs manner. I made a very indifferent dinner in a very indifferent inn; but I ſaw there a ſingular painting: it repreſented a Spaniſh youth at dinner at that inn, and behind him a young negro, who, with a loaded piſtol, was amuſing himſelf in ſhooting at a painting of Chriſt ſuſpended from the wall: but wonderful to behold! from the wound, ſo great a quantity of blood iſſued, as to fill a large tub. The whole of this happened in this very inn, at leaſt, if reliance could be placed on the aſſeverations of my hoſteſs, who affirmed it with the moſt ſolemn oaths. I did not take the trouble to contradict her, but coolly enquired what ſhe had done with ſuch a large quantity of blood? This ſhe could not anſwer.

I left her for the purpoſe of hiring horſes, and was able to obtain them upon no other condition than the promiſe of a piaſtre to the alguazil of the diſtrict: it was then ſo late that I could not arrive at San Severo before the cloſe of day. At this place I alighted at the grours, where I had lodged before on coming; my firſt care was to urge him to procure horſes for me, as owing to the darkneſs of the night, I could have no chance myſelf of ſucceſs, eſpecially conſidering the numerous windings of the pueblo, the houſes of which are as it were buried in thickets. I promiſed mine hoſt, if he would procure me them, a couple of dollars; but the idle ſcoundrel would not budge an inch, though to earn before he retired to reſt more money perhaps than he had gained in the whole preceding week.

Nothing could exceed the ignorance, the folly, and the pride of this fellow and his brothers. They laughed out like idiots at ſeeing me bring back nothing but plants, and at the fancy that for matters of ſuch little value I ſhould have daily expoſed myſelf to the riſk of periſhing of hunger and fatigue.

I was in conſequence obliged to go myſelf to the alcalde, groping my way through the buſhes. The alcalde was a negro whom I found in a ſick ſtate; I entreated his wife to intereſt herſelf in my behalf, and gave her ſix reals, with promiſe of an additional remuneration in caſe of ſucceſs; but whether owing to pride or idleneſs, when ſome hours after I returned, the alcalde informed me there were no horſes to be had. I was in a violent rage, and ſuſpected ſtrongly that the idle fellow had not even given himſelf the trouble to enquire: in order to convince myſelf therefore, I deſired the woman to return me the ſix reals I had given her, with which without any heſitation ſhe complied. This conduct I regarded as ſhewing much good faith and delicacy. Good faith, inaſmuch as it would not have been difficult for her to have maintained that ſhe had really endeavoured to get horſes; and delicacy, ſeeing ſhe might think ſhe had no right to keep a ſum of money which had been given her for a purpoſe ſhe had not effected.

At length I was obliged to return to my lame negro *: he conſented readily to take me to La Punta, but I wiſhed to go as far as Calabaca: he ſwore he would take me no farther than La Punta; and for my part, I ſwore to myſelf in ſilence that, if I could not find horſes at that place, I would make him go on to Calabaca.

We did not depart till day-break. The whole road in the gorge we traverſed from Oriſſava to this place is marked by a cut, a hundred and fifty fathoms broad, anciently interſected by ſmall forts, redoubts, and other ſtrong buildings, the veſtiges of which,

* This relates to ſome antecedent paſſage in the narrative, which is loſt.

in

in maſonry, are ſtill to be ſeen. This is one entrance into Mexico, which formerly was more frequented than is now the road which leads from Vera Cruz to Jalappa. At the ſquare where, near theſe ancient redoubts, the guard-houſes for tobacco are conſtructed, I was again viſited three times in the courſe of the morning, and was unmercifully obliged to open all my caſes; but I have no cauſe of complaint; for to this rigorous conduct it is that I was indebted for the preſervation of the major part of my cochineals.

On this occaſion it was that I perceived a ſpecies of moth, which having made itſelf a kind of neſt of their cottony down, committed a dreadful ravage among my inſects. I was ſhocked at the loſs I had ſuſtained, and halted to cleanſe my nopals from theſe murderers, an operation which coſt me upwards of an hour.

While thus occupied, one of the officers of the guard, who recognized the cochineal, advanced in a familiar manner, obſerving I muſt certainly be fond of travelling, ſince I could chooſe to go ſo far to obtain what might be had at Vera Cruz. I obſerved to him that the ſpecies was not the ſame, and that this alone was the only one proper to uſe in unguents for the gout. On his part, he inſiſted on the contrary, and aſſumed that with this matter he was much better acquainted than me: I on my part, was obſtinate, and maintained my opinion as long as I thought neceſſary to encourage his miſconception as to my real objects, and at laſt I gave up to him, promiſing to follow his advice; there was, no doubt, abundant field for laughter in the folly and impudence of this ignorant chap; but I had ſpecial reaſon for keeping my countenance, and merely ſtored on the occaſion this obſervation: that ignorance, ſilly pride, and ſelf-conceit, are conſtant companions.

I arrived at La Punta about ten o'clock. The Spaniards and Indians, all in their holiday cloaths, were flocking hither from every part of the country. It happened to be the feſtival of the Holy Sacrament; the moſt ſolemn of all in Spain. They were about to begin the proceſſion in the ſquare planted with *plumeria*, a ſpecies of jeſſamine, with flowers of a yellow, red, white, nay of almoſt all ſhades of colours. I repaired thither, and found there had been a gallery of verdure conſtructed by means of the leaves of plantains, through which the proceſſion advanced. I made one in it, and afterwards went to breakfaſt with my former hoſteſs.

At her houſe I found an Indian alcalde, whom I recognized by his black ſtaff, the diſtinguiſhing mark of his office. I begged of him to obtain horſes for me, but notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearch, there were none to be had. Why, ſaid he, do not the ſame horſes take you forward to Calabaca? Why did not the alcalde of San Severo, give ſuch orders to the negro who brought you hither? I had no time to anſwer; a ſcore of Indian voices remarked, *oh 'é ſu nacion:* Their inſinuation was, that the alcalde himſelf being a negro, favoured thoſe of his own country. After this, I was enabled to obtain a hearing. I repreſented that though I had offered ſix reals to the alcalde of San Severo, as an inducement for him to procure horſes for me as far as Calabaca, neither my money nor my entreaties were of any avail. At theſe words my Indian knits his brow, ſends for the topith, and commands him to carry me forward to Calabaca. The people applaud the determination, delighted at ſeeing a negro puniſhed. The black however does not ſo ſoon acknowledge defeat; he aſſerts that the alcalde has no juriſdiction over any but the inhabitants of his own diſtrict, and that, for his part, belonging to another, he was by no means under his controul. The countenance of the alcalde at this afforded an admirable ſight; his looks denoted paſſion, and could his eyes have darted lightning, they would have ſtruck the negro

to the earth. Come with me Senor, ſaid he, taking me by the hand, we ſhall ſee this ſcoundrel ſee (this *picaro*) whether or no my orders go for ought, while he is in my juriſdiction. He then led me to the houſe of the lieutenant of the alcalde-mayor, whither he ordered the negro to follow, and was accompanied by all the crowd. While the alcalde was making his report, I drew the rector aſide, and after making him my friend, by propoſing to him to give me change for ſome gold, of which he appeared to me very covetous, I entreated him to intereſt himſelf in the matter: this he promiſed me, and drawing the lieutenant on one ſide, he pointed out to him, with much energy, that the ordonnances of the King of Spain are preciſe, in directing officers to render aſſiſtance and ſervice to all travellers, and that there are no injunctions which ought to be more rigidly enforced. This remonſtrance had the deſired effect; the lieutenant enquired how many horſes I wanted, whither I was going, and what I offered? I ſaw the bent of theſe very judicious queſtions, and that my anſwer would ſhortly occaſion a deciſion. I therefore ſtated, that I wanted five horſes for Calabaca, ſeven leagues diſtant, and that I was willing to pay nine piaſters. My offer appeared ſo handſome, that it excited a general burſt of admiration. The audience raiſed their hands to heaven, looked at each other, and finiſhed by murmuring at the obſtinacy of the negro, who ſtill made objection to going farther. The alcalde, however, threatening to caſt him into priſon, and cauſe me to be forwarded by another topith, he at length agreed, and withdrew, purſued by the hootings and hiſſes of the Indians. This, however, was not all; the lieutenant cauſed him to be brought back, and requeſted me, in his preſence, if any injury or ill conduct was ſhewn towards me on the road, to adviſe him of it immediately. The recommendation was applauded, and drew forth freſh hootings of the inſolent topith. This ſcene convinced me of the truth of what I had read in the work of the Abbé Raynal, reſpecting the jealouſy and animoſity ſubſiſting between the Indians and negroes in this country.

I departed from La Punta at two in the afternoon, and had to travel ſeven tedious leagues by a very bad road. The unfortunate negro, deſirous of ſhortening the way, lengthened our journey ſtill one league more, for after reaching a ford, in a river which empties itſelf into the Rio de la Punta, he found it impaſſable, and we were conſequently obliged to return. Above the junction of the two rivers, I again noticed the frightful paſſage over the wretched bridge, and the tremendous foſſe in the rock through which this deep and rapid river glides, foaming in many a curve. After croſſing this bridge, we proceeded at full gallop over the ſavannahs of the plain on which we entered. I had ſome words with the negro; but as I aſſumed a commanding tone, he was ſoon calm, and in ſpite of all the torrent beds (arroyas), we reached Monte Calabaca by eight o'clock in the evening.

I loſt a milled quadruple from my purſe on this ſtage; it had, no doubt, got out of my purſe into the waiſtcoat pocket, and thence through ſome opening had fallen on the plain of ſand we had now entered upon. I regretted it, as it was loſt to every body. Alas! ſaid I to myſelf, were it not far better I had given it to the beautiful Indian of Oriſſava, or rather, to the kind and worthy family I had ſeen at Aquulſingo.

At the village of Calabaca I again beheld my old fox of a hoſt, much aſtoniſhed at ſeeing me, whom he had obſerved going on foot, return on horſeback, and with ſuch a train. I aſked for horſes, which at firſt he told me it was impoſſible to procure, that there were none, that none were at hand. He uſed many other contradictory and frivolous excuſes for not ſupplying me. The end of all this I ſaw plainly was only extortion, and at length I obtained what I wanted; though for ſix horſes to Vera Cruz,

a diſtance of eighteen leagues, he exacted no leſs than twenty dollars. The horſes indeed were excellent.

Before I left the place I caſt a glance about me. The whole landſcape was changed in the interval of a fortnight. The rains that had fallen, in lieu of barrenneſs and perfect nudity, had occaſioned the diſplay of the moſt charming and lively verdure. The whole green carpet before me, and every ſhrub, were enamelled with flowers, while innumerable birds gave, by their pleaſing notes, a charming animation to nature. I here purchaſed a neſt of ſix beautiful green parroquets, with blue wings, no larger than ſparrows. I brought them in ſafety to Vera Cruz, in a calabaſh ſuſpended from my ſaddle, but they periſhed at ſea.

We travelled the firſt ſtage at a briſk rate, and reached the miſerable rancho of the old and ugly negreſs, at which I had halted on leaving Vera Cruz. Fatigued, harraſſed, and half-dying with hunger, I entreated of her four eggs that I ſaw; but ſhe would ſpare me only two. She had brandy, but no wine, ſo that I made myſelf a kind of lemonade. This was all I could get for my ſorry dinner.

As an additional vexation, I was ſubjected to a thouſand ridiculous queſtions from this talkative and impertinent woman, and to raillery ſuch as were admiſſible only from an equal. I was nearly out of patience with her, but rightly reckoned that contempt was the only return due from me to ſuch a creature.

I took much pains, in courſe of my long excurſion, in examining the character of the Africans and Americans, and marked diſtinctions highly favourable to the latter, notwithſtanding their nearly ſimilar condition in life under the dominion of Spain.

The African conſtantly appeared to me to be proud, paſſionate, vindictive, and effeminate, baſe, and intolerably idle. The Mexican, on the contrary, is phlegmatic, mild, and ſubmiſſive, faithful and laborious. His humility is in no reſpect allied to meanneſs. The negro is humble from fear alone, the Indian from reflection, and oftentimes from attachment, for he is truly as partial to Spaniards as abhorrent of negroes. With the former he frequently intermarries, but never with the latter. The negroes are ſpies over the conduct of the Indians, and in their charges are almoſt always calumniators, either with a wiſh of flattering their maſters, or from jealouſy of their fellow-ſervants: ſimilar to thoſe dogs which guard the weak and timid flock, they avenge themſelves for the ſufferings they endure from their maſter on thoſe ſubject to their vengeance, and frequently tear them to pieces.

The Americans have that natural benignity of ſoul which makes them prepoſſeſſing in their manners, and hoſpitable to every one. I met on my way with a thouſand Indians: their ſalute was made when yet at a diſtance: their gratulation always uttered unaffectedly, at the very inſtant of our meeting; and how thankful ought I not to be for the conſtantly kind reception I experienced from them. For the negroes, ſcarcely would they deign to bow on my paſſing; and at the laſt place that I halted at, and elſewhere, how did I prove their want of complaiſance to travellers. The firſt in following their employments, ſtray ten and even fifteen leagues from their hamlets, and carry enormous loads; but never did I meet a ſingle negro on foot, or carrying the lighteſt burthen.

The dream of certain authors that the liberty of America will be the inſtitution of a negro, is ſurely chimerical. Liberty is indeed a bleſſing, by whatever hand beſtowed; but, that an African, a voluntary ſlave, a man of the moſt depraved nature, the ſcoff even of his equals, and thrown like the foam of the ſea on the ſhores of America, — that ſuch a vile, wicked, and cowardly people, ſhould appreciate juſtly the value of liberty,

liberty, and ſo far loſe their known illiberality as to ſhare its benefits with their maſters, is what cannot be expected. No; ſhould a revolution happen, I can far more readily believe it will proceed from a people, mild indeed, but endowed with ſenſe; a people who ſtill occupy the ſoil on which their anceſtors lived free, who ſtill hold this tradition, and whoſe temper, ſoured at laſt by the indignities to which they are ſubject, may break their yoke in pieces, and diſdain their forced ſubjection. The negro by no means poſſeſſes that energy of mind, nor that love for his country, which are the origin of great enterprizes; his heart, eſſentially corrupt, and daſtardized by intereſt and debauchery, is incapable of ſublime feeling, as his ſoul of grand conceptions. True bravery exiſts only in the worthy ſoul; and who can boaſt a more noble ſoul, one conſequently ſuſceptible of real courage, than the inhabitant of America; ſo little yet removed from the priſtine ſtate of nature? Let then the Indian unfold the banners of freedom. This proſpect moſt delights me. This is my view of futurity.

After theſe reflections, ſuggeſted to me by circumſtances, I reverted to thoſe which more immediately affected myſelf. I had ample room for congratulating myſelf at having reached the laſt day of a journey ſo intereſting, and at ſeeing it thus crowned with the moſt complete ſucceſs, deſpite of two viceroys, ſix governors, thirty alcaldes, and twelve hundred cuſtoms-guards; ſtill, in midſt of my ſelf-gratulation, two gnawing worms interrupted the perfectneſs of my happineſs, and conſtantly tormented me; in the firſt place, I was not yet clear of the perquiſitions of the governor of Vera Cruz, and I dreaded his reproaches, if he ſhould come to the knowledge that, in ſpite of his orders, I had exceeded the limits of the juriſdiction of the city he governed. I was preciſely in the condition of the truant, who ſneaks into his father's houſe after a holiday he has been making, while his parents thought him at ſchool.

On the other hand, whatever reliance I placed on Spaniſh dilatorineſs, I trembled leſt I ſhould not arrive before the departure of the two ſhips deſtined for the Havannah, in the forward part of June, and by which I reckoned upon returning. That I might ſo do, had been the motive for my haſtening my departure from Guaxaca, and making ſuch ſpeed on my way; and on this head I had verily no occaſion to reproach myſelf, for I had uſed the utmoſt diligence.

By four in the evening we arrived at Rio de Jamapa. Though this river was greatly ſwollen, we were aſſured it was paſſable. The Indian, my guide, went before; in a little time the water was up to our ſaddle-bows. Moſt luckily, I had conſtantly had my boxes packed very high, but for which all my treaſures had been loſt; for us ourſelves the riſk we ran was imminent. This was no longer the broad and tranquil ſtream but three feet deep which I had paſſed before in a boat, but a rapid river, whoſe impetuous current bore every thing before it, and which was more than ſix hundred yards over; beſides the oblique line which its rapidity forced us to take, we were moreover obliged to make an angle, in order to ford it, and reach the proper place of landing. I found all my exertion requiſite in keeping myſelf ſteady on my horſe, which trembled with dread beneath me, and all my courage not to be intimidated at the ſight of our danger. I found it utterly impoſſible to look at the current without being dizzy, ſo much ſo, indeed, as almoſt to loſe my ſeat. Our horſes, feeling their way at every ſtep, were twenty minutes in relieving us from the frightful fears we endured throughout this dangerous paſſage. It was certainly the moſt perilous ſituation I ever was placed in in my life, and were a million offered, I would not have ventured to return to the other ſide. On landing, I was pale and faint, and needed a draught

draught of brandy to bring me to myſelf. Three hundred paces from where we landed we ſaw a cabin at which we ſhould have made the ſhore but for the depth and extreme rapidity of the flood.

Night overtook us at two leagues from Vera Cruz. It was unfortunate for us not to be able to reach that city, but to attempt it would be running the riſk of loſing ourſelves in a country where the tracks made in the ſand one day are effaced by the winds on the next; moreover, our horſes were exceeingly tired; and after all we ſhould have found the gates of the city ſhut.

We were therefore forced to ſtop, and halted for the night by the ſide of a caravan, conſiſting of three hundred mules. I had before met with ſimilar caravans, and at firſt conceived, as may be gathered from my narrative, a very high opinion of the population and commerce of the country; but I have ſince, on weighing theſe circumſtances more maturely, been convinced of the contrary, and that, compared with the conſumption and commerce of the whole of Mexico, the number of mules is far from great. During my ſtay at Vera Cruz, I ſaw more than ten thouſand mules loaded there; but then it muſt be conſidered that the exportation and import of a country four times as large, though not a twentieth part ſo populous as France, is all carried on at this one port: that theſe animals convey the produce of the whole of the north of Mexico, Vera Cruz, Guaxaca, and Guatimala, a gorge between the mountains of more than five hundred leagues in length; and that the returns brought by them are either of great bulk, or very heavy, for example, wine, oil, iron, &c.; nor is this all,-though the common load of the Mexican mules is from five to ſix hundred weight, it is not the leſs true that thirty, or even forty of them, on account of the neceſſity of relays for ſhifting the loads, ſcarcely carry as much as one of our broad-wheel waggons, ſuch as are uſed between Nantz and Straſburg, and which carry twelve thouſand weight; after this computation, ſix of ſuch waggons in reality effect as much as two hundred mules, though they make a far leſs conſpicuous appearance: to theſe conſiderations, let there be added that theſe numerous caravans are only ſeen every other year when the galeons are off the coaſt, and then we ſhall be enabled to appreciate at their juſt value this pompous and impoſing diſplay of mules and muleteers.

We hoped to meet with ſome ſupply of food from theſe muleteers, for we were utterly deſtitute of proviſion, having reckoned for certain on reaching Vera Cruz. I therefore entreated them to ſell me ſome of their thin cakes of maize, but this they flatly refuſed; however, a few moments after, they brought me a diſh of beans, and ſome maize, prepared in a manner I had never ſeen before: they take the fineſt part of the flour of this grain, after ſifting it, which is formed into a puff paſte, and they afterwards bake it in the ſame manner as biſcuit. They thus make chippings of white bread, which are eaten in pieces, and are really both very good and wholeſome, but require long maſtication, as they are very dry and hard. The preſent of the muleteers I ſhared with my topith.

I opened all my caſes, in the ſame manner I had done the day before, to give air to my cochineals. After this I was anxious for reſt; but in vain did the cool of night combine with fatigue to cloſe my eyelids, a cloud of gnats hovering conſtantly about prevented the gentle influence of the poppies of Morpheus. How vexatious, how tormentingly vexatious the ſtruggle between exhauſted nature and the continual buz of myriads of winged adders, now alarmed with their hum, and as often with a ſting: a ſting, the pain of which, of long duration, and ſevere, ceaſes only to be ſucceeded by a terrible itching, which nothing alleviates, and which is only the more encreaſed by ſcratching, till bathed in blood; ſcratches, indeed, are often followed by danger-

ous ulcers. Ever ſummoned and ſtill ever driven away, my diſturbed ſlumbers were to me a real torture, and at the cloſe of night, I found myſelf ſtill more weary than if I had paſſed a whole week in the moſt exhauſting labour.

At length I ſaw on the horizon the brilliant ſtar of the ſhip Argos, and concluding thence it was two o'clock, we departed.

We arrived at Vera Cruz, at the gate of Oriſſava, before day-break. I was in a condition ſo little fit to be ſeen, that I thought it beſt to go and change my dreſs before I entered the city. Leaving, therefore, the Indian to take care of my trunks, I ſcaled the walls, entered my lodgings, where I found every thing as I had left it; dreſſed myſelf in a decent manner, and repaired to the gate of Oriſſava, which was then opening. I was a little ſurpriſed and ſomewhat terrified at not finding there my horſes; but I learnt that, there being no officers at that gate, they had been taken to that of Mexico. I ran through the town thither, and reached it at the inſtant of their making their approach. The guards wiſhed to ſend me to the cuſtoms houſe, which did not open before eight o'clock: I inſtantly felt all the inconvenience conſequent on traverſing the city, and expoſing my prize to the looks of every one, and ſhuddered at the thought: I therefore ſaw no better expedient of diſembarraſſing myſelf than tickling the natural vanity of the Spaniards. What, ſaid I to the chief clerk, do you then ſo ſoon forget the French phyſician? and is it poſſible you could wiſh to make him kick his heels in attendance like a footman, for the ſpace of four hours? Beſides, are you ſuch novices? Cannot you yourſelves make the requiſite examination? You cannot be ſuch geeſe but know your buſineſs, and how to act without advice. Do but look, what I bring is nothing but herbs, nothing but botanical collections; and as I ſpoke, I opened my boxes. They were not diſpoſed to take the trouble of examining more than two, and the only things to which my good folks took exception were the ſticks which ſupported my nopals: they fancied theſe muſt needs be ſome precious wood, and enquired its name of me. I found it no difficult matter to invent one, and I obtained my diſmiſſion. *Vay uſted con Dios*, Paſs in God's name, was all they ſaid. I did not require twice bidding, but ſoon reached my own home.

There was nobody yet up in the houſe, not a ſoul ſtirring in the ſtreet, and every thing was placed ſecure in my apartment without a ſingle perſon obſerving me.

I had now attained my wiſhes, and my ſatisfaction was extreme; my expedition was complete, and in the ſhort ſpace of twenty days, the half of one of which had been uſeleſsly ſpent. I had alſo ſtopped two days at Guaxaca; ſo that I had travelled in ſixteen days I had journeyed two hundred and forty leagues, of which forty on foot, over roads ſo bad as often to be almoſt impaſſable, under a burning ſun, in a wretched country, without reſources, and among people of whoſe language I was ignorant; in a country, in ſhort, where I was deſtitute of a protector, or any connections, and where every public officer from his ſtation ought to be inimical to me; to have effected, under ſuch circumſtances, ſo long and tireſome a journey, without illneſs, and without accident, was a matter ſo extraordinary, ſo lucky, that I ſcarcely was able to perſuade myſelf of its reality.

In order to ſecure my felicity, and more fully enjoy my thoughts, I reſolved on ſhutting myſelf up, and not going out the whole of the day.

After breakfaſt I ſent out for ſome mould, in which to plant my nopals, which I had taken out of the caſes, and expoſed to the air. I found they had ſuſtained ſome trivial injury from rubbing, but this was inconſequential; and all conſidered, I had no room to complain. I put the nopals into my bed-room, the moſt retired of my apartments; as for the vanilla and other plants, they were oſtentatiouſly expoſed in the hall, in order

order to attract the attention of thoſe individuals, from whom I muſt neceſſarily receive viſits.

However great my ſatisfaction (and when is it ever perfect ?) I could not diſguiſe from myſelf the reverſe of the picture. My return by ſea to St. Domingo was adventurous, but my chief embarraſſment was how to get my treaſure on board at Vera Cruz, *in conſpectu omnium*, in the face of all Iſrael; and then the ſecond gauntlet I had to run at the Havannah, where I preſumed I ſhould have to touch; for to how many accidents and inconveniences muſt I not be ſubject, if in the crowd of inquiſitive ſpectators I muſt encounter, there ſhould happen to be but one of them malevolent ?

I was moreover anxiouſly diſquieted about the means of fixing my plants on board ſhip in ſuch manner that they might be leaſt liable to harm; however, after forming one general plan, I afterwards made a point to diſmiſs the care of particulars till time ſhould require their adoption.

Following this rule, the firſt thing which claimed attention was my paſſage. Before my departure, I had been preſented to the Marquis of Hariſſon, then two months at Vera Cruz, who had arrived with a cargo of wines, and who, on going to the Havannah, was anxious to have a Frenchman for his companion: he had accepted of me, and we had agreed to treat for my paſſage in three weeks from the time of our converſation. I arrived in good time therefore, and propoſed viſiting him that very evening, for the purpoſe of learning what day he meant to ſail: at duſk therefore I went out, calling firſt on my friends the engineers, who I knew would not be at home, in order to gather from the ſervants how the land laid. Theſe good folks were delighted to ſee me; and by their attentions, I reaſonably judged that no change had taken place in their maſters with reſpect to me. They informed me, that I was ſtill conjectured to be at La Medelina, employed in botanizing and enjoying the baths. I next viſited the general of the fleet, under like certainty of not meeting with him; my ſurprize, on this occaſion, was of the moſt pleaſing kind, when I was informed by his major-domo, that Don Antonio Uloa was at Mexico. This incident was the more favourable, owing to the conſtant viſits I received from this inquiſitive gentleman, who would have examined every thing, and infallibly have diſcovered what I wiſhed to conceal. I have had confirmation of my being ſuppoſed at La Medelina. It was indeed known that I had brought back caſes with me full of plants; but if nothing further was ſuſpected, of what concern to me was this ?

I returned home to ſupper, therefore, perfectly tranquillized. I had here my mattreſſes, pillow, and white ſheets, which I found the more delightful from having long been ill-accuſtomed to a good lodging and comfortable repoſe. There is, in truth, nothing like privations to teach one the real value of comfort.

The next morning, after a refreſhing night's reſt, I roſe, and was dreſſing myſelf to call on Mr. Hariſſon, when Mr. Ferſen entered. So, ſo, my little libertine, ſaid he to me, you have not been all this time at Medelina, of that I may ſafely wager ? Confeſs now, ſaid he ſmiling, that I am not wrong in my conjectures. I wiſhed firſt to learn if the governor had mentioned me, and was informed that, in anſwer to interrogations twice made at his table, he had been told that I was ſtill at Medelina: upon hearing this, I made him partially acquainted with my journey, telling him that in my excurſions I had been inſenſibly attracted by my curioſity as far as the volcano of Oriſſava: he was all aſtoniſhment at my having been able to go ſo far in the time, and ſolicited a detail of my expedition. I found it no difficult matter to vamp up a ſtory with little embelliſhments, and ſuited to the ſpots I had ſeen, but of which I placed the ſcene between Vera Cruz and Oriſſava. I afterwards ſhewed him, with an

air of triumph, all my plants. Why what the deuce will you do with all theſe? ſaid he jeeringly. I let him enjoy his laugh; but I had my turn, for he, having entered my bed-room, ſaw my nopals there, and no more, for knowing nothing of the cochineal inſect, he paid them no attention; I therefore laughed in my ſleeve. Confeſs, however, added he, that you have had the ſight of a moſt beautiful country. Yes, retorted I, and alſo a moſt wretched one. With this he agreed; and on my noticing with aſtoniſhment the ſcarcity of cultivation and inhabitants I had remarked, he enhanced my wonder exceedingly by informing me that from Panama, on the ſouth-weſt, to California and Sonora, on the north-weſt, and from Carthagena to the Miſſiſſipi, embracing a ſurface of two millions of ſquare leagues, the enumeration of the inhabitants does not exceed a million, including not only all the Spaniards, but likewiſe Indians, mixed breeds, (*metis*) and negroes.

M. de Ferſen likewiſe informed me, that M. de Hariſſon would not ſail for a month to come, when he left me, inviting me to dine with him: I promiſed him I would; but in the interval I wiſhed to find out a carpenter, to order different caſes for my plants, and concert with him on the beſt mode of conſtructing them with ſecurity to bear the rolling of the ſhip. Having planned all this, I ordered ſixteen boxes of twenty inches long, ten broad, and ſix deep, for each of which I was to give him two reals. I likewiſe wanted two large cheſts to hold them, but for theſe he aſked me ninety-five livres of the money of our iſlands, for each. The groſsneſs of the ſum diſpleaſed me, and I thought no farther on the matter, till, in croſſing the market, I ſaw in a carrier's ſhop, two large trunks, which ſerved him for locking up his goods at night; theſe I purchaſed for eight dollars a-piece, and I found them larger than thoſe I had intended, made of good aſh plank, well bound with iron, and with good locks.

One eſſential matter thus complete, I began to think of my departure. I went to my cook's, and learnt there with inexpreſſible delight, that D. was about to ſail that very week for Guarico: (thus the Spaniards denominate Cape Francois). All that was wanting now was to agree with the captain; but this was what gave me ſome uneaſineſs, on account of the poſſibility of ſome inveteracy he might entertain againſt me, upon the following occaſion: at the hotel of Mexico, I had been a near neighbour of his, and he had oftentimes intruded upon me at thoſe moments which were the only ones I could dedicate to ſtudy; but what even more than this had made me averſe from him was his common practice of ſpeaking on religion and politics, of declaiming againſt the fanaticiſm of his countrymen, and extolling to the ſkies Voltaire and other authors, who have the moſt freely written on theſe ſubjects. This at the firſt only made me look on him as an eccentric character; but it afterwards originated a ſuſpicion of his being a ſpy, who only meant to pump my ſentiments: on this I cut him quite ſhort, by obſerving that it by no means ſuited his ſtation to meddle with affairs which naturally pertained to the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers, to whoſe imperative deciſions and ſuperior intelligence it were better he ſhould ſubmit.

I was fearful leſt when I needed him he might retain reſentment at my haſtineſs. I was at the time unacquainted with the circumſtance of his being on intimate terms with the lady of the late intendant, and that ſhe had inſpired him with that good-will towards me which I had ſo conſtantly experienced in herſelf: of the good effect of this I had ſoon the moſt ample proof.

On my very firſt enquiry if he would take me as a paſſenger on board his veſſel, he anſwered, without the leaſt heſitation, that he would with the greateſt pleaſure; and when, on my agreeing to accompany him, whatever courſe he might ſteer, I enquired

what I ſhould pay him for my paſſage? Nothing, ſir, was his reply. He afterwards aſked me, if I was aware of his actual deſtination? and on my informing him of my ſuſpicion of its being to Cape Francois, he acknowledged it was, and on this head enjoined ſecrecy; this I ſolemnly vowed, and again adverted to the price for my paſſage; but he would liſten to nothing on this head, and leaving me, begged me to have every thing ready by the next Wedneſday. His liberal demeanor affected me; yet, ſtill not having altogether diſmiſſed the prepoſſeſſion againſt him which had haunted my mind, I feared leſt the circumſtance of his giving me a free paſſage might engage him to treat me, or what was more conſequent with me, my plants, with leſs attention: in order therefore to come to a clearer underſtanding, and conclude our agreement, I conducted him to the ice-houſe, where I propoſed to treat him with creams, but this he would not ſuffer; in ſhort, all I could obtain from him was that I ſhould have allowance to put on board ſome refreſhments; in conſequence, I ſhipped in his veſſel ſixty bottles of wine, fifty fowls, &c. &c.; and as early as Tueſday embarked all my effects, my nopals only excepted.

While this was paſſing, my ſmall caſes were in hand: when completed, I found that eight of them readily entered, but exactly filled each of my large cheſts. I afterwards planted in each caſe four large plants of the nopal, covered with living cochineal, beſides twenty leaves or articulations of nopal, juſt taking root, which would form ſo many plants, without reckoning ſixteen large ones, part of which had begun to root; in all nearly three hundred plants; with theſe I mingled a number of other plants of wild cactus, from Vera Cruz; upon which, on my return from Guaxaca, I had ſeen and recognized the ſylveſter cochineal, without ſuffering myſelf to be deceived, as I had been before by the caterpillar of the deſtructive moth, which Don Uloa miſtook for the cochineal inſect itſelf. As for the plants of vanilla, I placed them, divided into pieces two or three feet long, in a dozen caſks and caſes, but ſo intermingled with twenty other kinds of plants, that none but a botaniſt could have diſtinguiſhed the valuable ones from thoſe which were not. I watered all my plants to complete ſaturation, in order that they might want no water for ſome time to come on board, and all being ready, I waited only the inſtant for ſailing, the moments to which period were as tedious to me, and counted with as much impatience, as the intervening time which divides an expecting lover from the miſtreſs on whom he doats.

I ſpent the interval of my ſtay in bidding adieu to all my acquaintance, but eſpecially Señora de Boutillos, who was returned from the country, for the celebration of the nuptials of her daughter and the general of the fleet. She, as well as her daughters, tendered their ſervices in the moſt obliging manner, and even teſtified regret at my departure. In return, I wiſhed them happineſs, and the proſperity of their family; nor ever were wiſhes more ſincere.

Meſſrs. Duparquet and M. Ferſen were not forgotten; I in like manner wiſhed them every bleſſing of life. They pitied me much for having gathered ſo little fruit from my expedition; I thanked them for their commiſeration, but was not ſo candid as to undeceive them.

What was moſt irkſome to me was taking leave of the governor. I however preſented myſelf before him, for the purpoſe of adviſing him of my departure; intelligence which occaſioned him as much pleaſure as I pretended regret, on announcing it to him. He at the ſame time enjoined me to acquaint him what hour I went on board, in order that he might be preſent at the entrance of the port, to take a depoſition on the occaſion, in company with his ſecretary. This I promiſed, but with ſettled

reſolution to the contrary, ſo abſurd did ſuch forms appear to me, and ſo humiliating for myſelf! At bottom, however, it was a ſubject for laughter; his preſence undoubtedly was for the purpoſe of aſcertaining that I bore off nothing with me, and already were all my effects on board.

I was ſolicitous of bearing away with me the letter of the viceroy of Mexico *. This was a curious piece, and had I obtained it, I ſhould have ſuſpended it from my nopals as a trophy. The governor had indeed promiſed to give it me; but, leaving him time for reflection, he perhaps conſidered that it would not much redound to the honour of his ſuperior, and in conſequence flatly refuſed it; on my laſt audience, I inſiſted upon it. You are very bold, ſaid he angrily; but did you offer me a hundred thouſand crowns, you ſhould not have it. His pretended anger had no effect on me; I told him therefore, that it was requiſite for me that I ſhould poſſeſs the means of ſatisfying my patron that I had not been at liberty to follow up my botanical reſearches in the kingdom of Mexico; ſtill however he remained obſtinate; he even went ſo far as to add that he would not give me the letter, though my patron were the King of France himſelf! The King of France, ſaid I, in a modeſt manner but ſtill with firmneſs, is as much the protector of his meaneſt ſubjects as the King of Spain can poſſibly be of his, however elevated. When a criminal is baniſhed, he receives the minutes of his trial; and ſhall I, who am free from crime, be treated leſs favourably? My boldneſs pleaſed him; he did not indeed give up the object itſelf which I ſolicited, but he became calmer, and conſented to notice in my paſſport the order of the viceroy.

He moreover withheld from me the paſſport for Vera Cruz, given me by the Marquis de la Tour, at the Havannah; and I even ſuſpected that this was done for the purpoſe of making it the baſe of a charge againſt that excellent man, which occaſioned me great uneaſineſs.

As for the letter of the viceroy, I, in good truth, cared little about it; at the ſame time it gave me pleaſure to have the governor fancy, as well as the reſt, that I left the country much vexed at not having penetrated the interior; as ſuch an opinion tended to remove any ſuſpicion which might be entertained of the value of what I bore away.

On my return to my lodgings, I wrote a letter to Don Antonio Uloa, at Mexico; it was in a complaining ſtyle. I obſerved, with reſpect to the refuſal of the viceroy, affecting a liberality, or rather, a ſort of rhodomontade, that however vexed I might feel on the occaſion, I ſhould never place this circumſtance, or any exertion of mine, in the way of thoſe Spaniards who might come to France for the ſtudy of the arts and ſciences; but, on the contrary, if it reſted with me, they ſhould experience even more indulgence than they had before been wont to enjoy, were it only to ſhew that a Frenchman has too lofty a ſpirit to attend to trivial injuries.

After this I ſettled all my bills: in order to diſcharge the whole of my debts, I found myſelf obliged not only to diſpoſe of every article of furniture I had bought at Vera Cruz, ſuch as my bed, chairs, tables, &c. but alſo of my watch and ring, after which, and all paid, I found myſelf with only two gourds (dollars) remaining, a ſum which I reckoned would about cover the charges for going on board. Had I ſought it, there is no doubt the purſe of ſome one or other of my friends at Vera Cruz,

* It will be recollected, our author addreſſed letters to the viceroy for permiſſion to travel in that kingdom: the anſwer, as is ſtated, was unfavourable; and the ſubſtance of the letter is given in the early part of the narrative. TRANS.

would

would have been open to me, but I thought ſuch a procedure beneath me, and adapted to create ſuſpicion of my individual character, and that even of the nation itſelf to which I belonged; I therefore preferred depriving myſelf of every thing, and thus avoided a poſſible obloquy.

I had yet a few days to ſtay, which I ſpent in viſiting and walking about: a ſingular proceſſion, to which the delay of my departure enabled me to be a witneſs, on the octave of Corpus Chriſti Day, was of too curious a deſcription to admit of my paſſing it over in ſilence.

At the head of this proceſſion were ſeen ſix gigantic figures, in paſteboard, twenty feet high, repreſenting a male and female Indian, a negro and negreſs, and a Spaniſh man and woman, carried by ſhoe-blacks, and dancing an allemande; theſe were ſucceeded by a ſtout fellow carrying a French figure made of ſtraw, with a diſtorted haunch, and all its limbs out of joint; this figure, which is fixed at the end of a pole, as on a pivot, is made to move its limbs like the paſteboard harlequins of children, and its ſomerſets and aukward motions are a ſubject of conſiderable merriment to the Spaniſh populace; follow this harlequinade ten other fellows in the guiſe of fiſh, with each a blown bladder with peas in it, faſtened to the end of a ſtick, and with this they ſtrike at random, right and left, whoever may be in their reach. Theſe porpoiſes are precurſers of a whale, framed on a large waggon, which is moved along by men beneath the exterior, repreſenting the whale: theſe men likewiſe occaſionally make the whale open and ſhut its mouth, as if about to devour the ſilly fools afraid of it; after theſe, the different brotherhoods and religious orders, each with the image of their founder, in ſilver, carried on a platform by ſix men, march in regular order: the reſidue of the proceſſion preſented nothing extraordinary.

I remarked another religious practice at Vera Cruz, which will not appear leſs ſingular: when the ſacrament of the wafer is carried to the ſick, it is taken in a coach, magnificently gilt, and adorned with plate glaſs in the ſame manner as the carriages of ſtate of ſovereign princes; it is drawn by mules, four a-breaſt, which go a foot pace; at each of the angles of the imperial is a lamp: the perſon who carries the wafer ſits at the extremity of the coach, in a ſpecies of niche, purpoſely made for him; oppoſite is a prieſt, his employment to drive away the flies, that the perſon who carries the ſacrament may not leave his hold of the pix which he carries in his two hands. The coachman wears a great coat of ſcarlet, with ſilver lace and ſilver buttons, like our vergers at Paris. At the doors are two grenadiers, and two miquelets, and behind, the coach is followed by double baſſes, baſoons, violins, guitars, and other inſtruments, eſcorted by a crowd of people: during the proceſſion, the great bell of the church is ſounded gently.

At laſt, Wedneſday arrived, the day on which I had to embark. I was not without ſome dread, and, in real truth, this appeared to me the deciſive day. At day-break I cauſed all my caſes of plants, as well as all my empty boxes, *ſeries longiſſima rerum*, to be carried from my lodgings, and every thing before ſix had reached the gate of the quay. I computed that at this hour the idle would be yet aſleep, that the ſoldiers and officers, tired with the night-guard, would be at reſt in their hammocks, and that all unoccupied and inquiſitive at the market: my conjectures were well founded, for if a few ſailors be excepted, three or four officers, and the guard, I met with very few in the ſtreets. I reached the port, followed by thirty porters, hired a boat, and returning to the quay, cauſed my caſes, filled with earth, to be placed on the ground before the ſearchers: thus far, all went on very well; but in a few minutes, ſoldiers, ſailors, and trades-people all ruſhed forwards to ſee the plants which the French botaniſt

botaniſt was bearing away. The officer of the guard complimented me on my reſearches and collection of herbs; the ſearchers admired them in ſtupid aſtoniſhment, but at the ſame time were ſo civil as not to ſound any of the caſes, though they might have done ſo without injuring any of my plants; and the head of the office, ſatisfied with my readineſs to ſuffer examination, told me I might paſs on. It is a certain matter, that I had it in my power to defraud the King of his dues, and might have carried away in gold to the amount of a million, or a dozen *talegas*; but I was ſo well known, that no one ſuſpected my being capable of ſuch baſeneſs. I, however, made haſte to get away with my things, leſt ſome one more enlightened ſhould play me, either unintentionally or from deſign, ſome ſcurvy trick or other. The whole of my goods being now in the boat, it put off, and I followed it, when I placed the caſes in the cheſts, which I locked, and cauſed to be ſecurely faſtened on the deck. I recommended the ſailors to be careful of them, and, as an entrance fee on coming on board, preſented them with a couple of gourds, which, for the purpoſe, I borrowed of the captain.

I returned now on ſhore to announce to the governor that I ſhould go on board at eight o'clock; I could not ſee him, but held my promiſe effected, and never ſet foot in his houſe again: we did not, however, ſail till ſeveral days after, which gave me much uneaſineſs; my plants, ſhut up as they were, neceſſarily ſuffering greatly. I had, indeed, at each ſide of the cheſts cauſed four holes to be made of four inches ſquare, that I might be provided againſt ſtormy weather, when I ſhould not be able to open the cheſts, and I went on board twice every day in order to give them air; ſtill, that I ſhould be obliged to be ſeparated from my dear plants, to ſleep away from them as I did for three nights, this occaſioned me indeſcribable torment, and never certainly could a miſer feel more pain from the fear of loſing his gold: the different trips on theſe three days coſt me three piaſters, which made the whole I was indebted to the captain, five; to acquit myſelf of this debt, I ſold ſome very beautiful ſleeve buttons, and this done, found myſelf poor as Bias.

At length, even Spaniſh dilatorineſs ſeemed near its end; the captain ſwore he would weigh anchor on Saturday.

That day I went on board, according to cuſtom, to give air to my plants at five o'clock in the morning. The captain's boat came on board, to direct the pilot to weigh anchor. Imagining now his promiſe would be fulfilled, I put on board the reſt of my things; but after waiting for the captain in vain till three in the afternoon, I gave up hopes of ſailing that day: this night, however, I ſlept on board.

On Sunday the neceſſity of attending maſs again delayed us. I went on ſhore, and took a laſt farewell of Mr. Ferſen. I brought back with me on board likewiſe five or ſix caſes of mould, in order to give more room to my jalap and vanilla plants.

8th June 1777. At length, by eleven o'clock, we quitted the port, ſaluting the caſtle and the captain of the port with one gun, and ſeven times exclaiming, *viva el Ré*, to which ſalute the captain's ſhip anſwered by one exclamation only. The weather was fine; we had a light breeze, and the log ſhewed five knots. When a league from the city, we perceived a boat making after us, which was ſoon alongſide. On firſt diſtinguiſhing it, I had again, as at the Havannah, the weakneſs to fancy that I was the object of its purſuit. I conceived, with ſome appearance of reaſon, that the governor, piqued at my having avoided the *procés verbal* which he meant to draw up on my departure, had ſent an order for me to be put again on ſhore. I was, however, ſoon undeceived, and ſaw that it came merely to bring a man on board who had failed of being ready at the time of the laſt boat putting off; but this gave me an oppor-

opportunity of learning a curious circumſtance, which was, that on the captain's waiting on the governor to receive his orders for Campeachy, the latter made inquiry if I was on board, and exacted a receipt from the captain for my body: he likewiſe enquired if I ſeemed very melancholy; to which queſtion the captain anſwered in the affirmative. It will be readily conjectured that this little narrative amuſed me greatly. The whole of the bay abounds in excellent fiſh.

9th June. The night has been dreadful; ſtorms of thunder and lightning and torrents of rain ſeemed to threaten a ſecond deluge; ſtill, we had little wind, and the ſhip rolled dreadfully.

In the morning, I had a very intereſting converſation with the captain of the ſhip, with whom it was now plain I ſhould have every reaſon to be ſatisfied.

As obſerving me giving air to my plants, I have found you out, ſaid he to me in a low tone of voice; you moſt aſſuredly are not about to tranſport this cochineal to your own country, but with a view of naturalizing it there? The liberality he had ſhewn towards me, the frank manner of his accoſt, determined me on confeſſing to him that which it was now of no ſervice to deny; nor had I any room to repent my confidence, but, on the contrary, by his aſſiſtance, perfectly cajoled the ſailors, who, as well as the captain, ſtood near me, and one of whom, more cunning than the reſt, had taken one of the inſects, and cruſhed it on a white deal board, and obſerving the purple hue it gave, cried out to his fellows, why, this is cochineal, and cochineal is contraband. To divert them from the idea they might elſe entertain on this ſubject, the captain and myſelf planned a ſhort ſcene, which played off ſeriouſly before them, eſtranged their fancies a hundred leagues from the track they were taking. One afternoon, the captain being on deck, with his officers and moſt of the ſeamen, aſked me in a grave and inquiſitive manner, what I meant to do with all thoſe plants? They are, ſaid I, in as candid and eaſy a manner as I was capable of aſſuming, they are intended for a preparation, a remedy. A remedy? for what complaint? For the gout? Indeed, and pray what is the proceſs of making it? Why, this; the nopals, cochineal, vanilla and jalap are pounded together in a ſilver mortar; the mixture is afterwards boiled; the expreſſed juice, in proportion of an ounce at a time, is adminiſtered to the patient internally, and of the mark a cataplaſm is formed which is applied to the feet. And are there no other ingredients in the preſcription? At this I ſeemed loth to tell the whole ſecret; I, however, acknowledged that the balm of Mecca was a component, incenſe, gold duſt, leaf ſilver, (and, in a half whiſper, but loud enough to be heard without difficulty) ſome bleſſed lint which had touched the relics of *Santo Torribio;* this, with a few Latin words I intermingled in my anſwers, rendered my receipt exceedingly reſpectable in the minds of my auditors. Never indeed was nonſenſe liſtened to with more attention, and the bamboozled ſailors as well were convinced of the purity of my intentions, as of the efficacioufneſs of the preſcription. I ſighed, however, as much as I laughed at this ridiculous impoſition; but it was indiſpenſible, that I might parry the denunciations which might have been made againſt me otherwiſe at Campeachy, by ſome one or other of the crew.

We were no more than twenty leagues from Vera Cruz. The wind at firſt very variable, afterwards ſtrong, and then again a dead calm. We diſtinguiſhed the Campeachy packet, which ſailed a little before us, at three leagues to leeward. In the evening we ſaw a ſhark.

10th June. The whole night through it rained, and the calm laſted till half paſt three P. M. I planted ſome vanilla, jalap, and nopals which I had remaining. Three leaves of my large nopals, loaded with cochineal, rotted, (a firſt cauſe of anguiſh); but I

was

was ſomewhat conſoled by having ſucceeded in ſettling the new-born cochineals upon other nopal leaves in a very healthy ſtate.

At half paſt three we had the wind abaft, making for the E. S. E. We were accompanied throughout the whole day by a ſhoal of bonitos, which played about our ſhip, and which, though againſt the wind, frequently ſwam round the veſſel: this circumſtance appears to me worthy of conſideration. I likewiſe ſaw a number of beautiful dorados. The ſky was clouded throughout the whole day, the temperature highly pleaſing.

11th June. The ſun again made its appearance with encreaſed ſplendour; there was no rain in the night; we made but little way, and by reckoning were only thirty-five leagues from the point of departure; from nine till three a dead calm, a clear ſky and high temperature; we were followed by the ſame eſcort of bonitos, and by a number of other ſmall fiſh, which had followed us from Vera Cruz; at three o'clock a wind from the north ſprang up, and we ran four knots. Additional loſſes gave new cauſe for regret: I was obliged, after collecting the cochineal, to throw five other leaves of my large nopals into the ſea. What a mournful proſpect for the future, provided, as it is threatened, we ſhould be two months out at ſea!

12th June. The north wind continued till three in the morning, when it veered to the ſouth-eaſt: the night fine and without rain. At eight the wind ſunk into a calm, but a very light breeze from the north ſprang up at ten.

13th June. The night beautiful, and the morning lovely: at eight a calm, a breeze at ten, rain at noon, ſucceeded by a calm till five. Again had ſight of the brigantine for Campeachy; it advanced no faſter than ourſelves. Rain and a ſtorm at eight in the evening.

14th June. The night tranquil, the wind changed from the north to the ſouth-eaſt; though it blew hard, it yet did not prevent our progreſs; the whole morning, ſqualls with rain. By reckoning, according to the pilot, we were fifteen leagues from ſoundings, and forty from Campeachy. I loſt the beautiful brood of Mexican parroquets which I brought with me, and three other leaves of my nopals. My cochineals exacted all my attention; it was their time of bringing forth; I had neſts to make for them; nor was this all; the hurricanes that blew, threatened to fill all my caſes with ſalt water, which is utterly deſtructive of theſe plants. I was obliged to ſtand centry over them on theſe critical occaſions, and cover them with thick matting, giving them air only by means of the ſmall ſide openings. Were it not for the extreme tedioufneſs of navigation in this gulf the voyage would have been pleaſant; but the winds which prevail at this ſeaſon in alternation with calms, being ſouth-ſouth-eaſt and north-north-eaſt, they blow to no port whatever in a direct line.

We enjoyed the ſight of an infinite number of dorados; the moſt beautiful fiſh that ſwims the ſea; ſtill, we had not a ſingle man on board who had any inclination to fiſh.

15th June. The whole of the following night we had a terrible hurricane, the rain fell in large drops, and with a noiſe like balls of lead. The wind blew furiouſly from the north-eaſt, till three in the morning, at five it got round to the ſouth-eaſt; neither on this nor on the preceding day was there intervention of calm. We had been upon ſoundings from ten in the morning, and might expect to arrive in five or ſix days at Campeachy. We ſaw a great number of birds. The colour of the ſea underwent a change, and was of a greeniſh blue.

16th June. It blew hard all night long, with ſqualls of rain, the morning grey, the remainder of the day remarkably fine. In ſpite of all my care, my caſes were waſhed

by a wave. The young cochineals did not ſucceed in faſtening on the cactus ſylveſtris of Vera Cruz, called tunas. Ten other of my opuntiæ had become rotten. Irremediable loſs!

The whole night through adverſe wind. Abundance of porpoiſes of enormous bulk.

17th June. Saw land on the ſouth, and hoped to arrive the next day at Campeachy; but the wind, which blew from ſhore, kept us at diſtance the whole day: the lands low, and nearly level with the ſea. A flock of boobies and frigate-birds. The colour of the ſea changed by ſtripes, according to the greater or leſs depth of water: at noon we had but nine fathoms: the ſky clouded.

The captain added this day to the fund of continually regenerating inquietude with which I was aſſailed: he apprized me that at Campeachy we ſhould have guards and ſoldiers put on board; and who knows how long we might lie off this place?

A hurricane ſtill more violent than that of the 15th, was experienced this night. The thunder roared in loudeſt peals. Inceſſant flaſhes of lightning furrowed the atmoſphere in every direction. Rain fell in torrents; and the whiſtling of the blaſt was even louder than the noiſe of the thunder and the waters. Dread and conſternation ſeized upon every one. We were obliged to take in every inch of canvaſs. Fortunately, my cheſts were well faſtened and covered, but for which precaution adieu to my nopals: they would have periſhed with my plans, and probably myſelf with them.

18th June. After the ſtorm the wind blew ſtrong from the ſouth. We muſt have been driven far indeed during the tempeſt, for we had from ſixteen to twenty-ſix fathoms water; whereas the day before, when we made land, we had but ſix fathoms water, and were only eight leagues from ſhore; for in this part the number of fathoms denote pretty nearly the number of leagues from land, the ſoundings leſſening in gradual proportion as the diſtance becomes leſs. We ſaw a ſhark and a number of birds.

19th June. The ſoundings various in proportion as the north carried us forward or the ſouth drove us from ſhore. It ſeemed as though we were under ſome enchantment, and as if this wretched country fled from our approach. In thirteen days we had not been able to go more than ninety leagues. This day we could not diſtinguiſh land, though the line gave but ſix fathoms in the evening, and though all night long we ſmelt the land and its flowers; but we had a dead calm. After the calm, a guſt of wind ſucceeding, we got into three fathoms water, and caſt one of our anchors. We had had no rain for four-and-twenty hours.

20th June. This day we ſaw land by five in the morning: it is more lofty eaſtward than towards the ſouth. At ſun-riſe we raiſed anchor in order to get nearer in to land, and at ſeven we diſtinguiſhed the town of Campeachy on the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt. It has no port, but merely a bad open road liable to every wind, and lying three leagues from the town, which cannot be approached nearer by any veſſel carrying more than ninety tons: at nine we anchored.

The Bylander of ninety tons, which brought us from Vera Cruz, was laden with maize, for which the captain expected to find a market, intending to replace it by a loading of dyeing-wood, which at Cape Francois would have paid him a conſiderable profit; but in order to ſucceed great ſkill and circumſpection were requiſite, as this was an act of ſmuggling, and as ſmuggling is puniſhable with ſlavery and confiſcation of property. The captain ſold his maize to great advantage, as it was ſcarce; but, no doubt intoxicated with ſucceſs, he idled away his time, and miſſed the opportunity of profiting to the full extent of his means.

For my part, the delay to which he ſubjected us, and the additional loſſes I every day ſuſtained among my nopals, not leſs than forty of which I was obliged to throw into the ſea, were ſources to me of extreme vexation.

I had moreover much room for complaint againſt the crew; and for the purpoſe of acquainting the captain with their conduct, I went on ſhore; and thus had an opportunity of viſiting the town.

San Franciſco de Campéché is a town of a ſquare form, each ſide meaſuring upwards of twelve hundred yards: it is perfectly well built of hewn ſtone, in the Spaniſh ſtyle, with rectilinear ſtreets, kept very clean, and of tolerable breadth. It is ſurrounded with curtains and baſtions, but is without ramparts or terraces. The walls are thirty feet high by from five to ſix in thickneſs, but have no foſſe. On the ſide towards the land an immenſe pueblo or ſuburb of Indians encloſes it, which much delighted me on account of the trees and thicket by which each houſe is ſurrounded. The ſuburbs may contain about a thouſand Indians: the population of the town, including the garriſon with the citizens, may be about three thouſand. Money at this place is ſo rare that nuts of cacao form the currency: for eight of theſe nuts you purchaſe an egg at the market, and you are boarded at the inn for two reals the day. Debauchery is here prevalent to the ſame extent as wretchedneſs, but its miniſters are ſuch as could pleaſe but ſailors alone, yet theſe ſo well that they reckon this a paradiſe. Such was the extremity of miſery throughout all Yucutan about ſix years back, that, according to the account, even of the Spaniards themſelves, there died from want no leſs than forty thouſand perſons. It is however doubtful, notwithſtanding the immenſe extent of this province, whether it ever contained ſo many inhabitants; but, on the contrary, ſhould it be true, ſhould any credit be due to the Spaniards when they give ſuch a ſhocking liſt of deaths, have we not to charge government with the moſt reprehenſible neglect? How can it have been careleſs to ſuch degree as to ſuffer this province to remain ſo deſtitute of proviſion, while with ſo much facility grain might have been ſupplied either from the Havannah, where all kinds of European corn abounds, and which is but two hundred leagues diſtant, or from Vera Cruz, but eighty leagues away, and where a ſimilar plenty reigns! This extenſive region has the more need of aſſiſtance from the frequency of dearth. The cauſe is to be attributed to the droughts ſo fatal to this country, the ſoil of which conſiſts merely of a ſlight quantity of vegetable earth on a rocky baſe; and ſo frequent, owing to the land lying low, and the want of mountains to break the clouds, which, in conſequence, except where the north winds encounter others from the ſouth, and occaſion them to break over the land, are conſtantly borne out to ſea. Should the months of May, June, and July, thoſe in which maize is ſown, unfortunately paſs without rain, all the hopes of the coloniſts are loſt, and they are left wholly deſtitute of reſource.

The only trade carried on at Campeachy is in ſtone ſent to Vera Cruz, and dye-woods, immenſe piles of which, cut for upwards of thirty years, are ſeen in different parts, which the Spaniards prefer ſeeing rot before their faces to ſelling to any interloper, though they cannot poſſibly export them themſelves. The whole time I was there, I ſaw but three brigantines loaded, and at no time perhaps is there a greater number here. The culture of cacao is not allowed in this country: I know not from what lamentable policy, for it would ſucceed admirably. Cacao, in conſequence, is ſo dear that the nuts or beans are uſed as money. The poor, who in conſequence of the dearneſs of chocolate are deprived of the enjoyment of that beverage, ſubſtitute for it the pips of the zapota marmue, whoſe fruit is large as an egg and bitter as coloquintida.

I tra-

I traverſed the whole of the gardens in Campeachy, and found not one that was curious. I culled here at hazard ſixteen plants of two ſpecies of cactus without thorns, which afterwards were of great uſe to me.

However, on the 6th July, the captain repaired on board with intention to put off to ſea, and within three days at fartheſt three barks were to bring us out to ſea the Campeachy wood we were to take on board.

Notwithſtanding all my pains I never was able to procure either branches, leaves, or ſeeds of this tree to ſatisfy myſelf whether or no it is different from that we poſſeſs in our own colonies. I paid a ſailor beforehand to procure me ſome, but they never came.

We were juſt on the point of weighing anchor, when the maſter of a boat which had brought us in a ſtock of wood for cooking, ſaw my nopals and cochineal, and told me that they were cultivated within ſix leagues of Campeachy. Though I have ſtrong doubt of the truth of this ſtatement, I nevertheleſs felt much vexed at not having had an opportunity of aſcertaining whether it was true or not, and in the former caſe of renewing my plants, and recruiting my inſects.

Whether in hopes of other little preſents in return, whether as a compenſation for the vexation I endured from his having made ſo long a ſtay, the captain gave me the handſomeſt parrot, not larger than a dove, that ever perhaps was ſeen: its beak yellow at the baſe, and black at the extremity, the whole of the body a bright green, the cheeks and the circle round the eyes of a blood red, the forehead, ſhoulders and thighs of the ſame colour, the upper part of the head crowned with yellow, the centre white, and the hinder part azure blue, the wings green, blue, flame-coloured, and purple, finally, the legs yellow, the eyes blue, but the iris yellow. The captain moreover preſented me with a cardinal, and three tigers' ſkins.

11th July. At length, after a uſeleſs ſtay of five days, we found we muſt give up all hopes of the dye-wood coming on board. The poor captain thus ſaw all his dreams of fortune vaniſh, and in addition loſt the twenty piaſtres he had paid down as earneſt of the bargain to the perſon who was to have procured him the wood: thus, either owing to negligence, or to want of management, the unlucky man loſt a profit of at leaſt three thouſand dollars, for the wood which at Campeachy fetches but three reals, at the Cape is worth three piaſtres. I was exceedingly hurt that he had not made a confident of me at an earlier period, as it ſtruck me I might not only have given him good advice but have obtained for him a hundred ton of wood.

We weighed anchor at ten in the morning, and with a wind from the ſouth-weſt advanced in a direction E.N.E. at about half a league an hour. At two o'clock the wind changed, and we ſteered W.S.W. We were fain to anchor at four in four and a half fathoms. The whole night through it blew hard with much thunder, but no rain.

12th July. After looking out for a wind, but in vain, throughout the whole of the night, it blew from the ſouth at three in the morning; we, in conſequence, quickly raiſed anchor, and made north-eaſt with a fine ſea and beautiful weather, which continued till half-paſt ten, when we were becalmed. After advancing, notwithſtanding, about half a league, by half-paſt one we had a breeze from the north-weſt, which was of much ſervice to us. The water now again changed colour, and from a blueiſh green became of an azure hue; but at four o'clock the wind rounding to the north-eaſt ſtopped our further advance, and we caſt anchor to avoid being thrown nearer the ſhore, but not till, as the day before, we were within ſight of land. At nine

o'clock, after many threats of rain, which however were followed by no effect, the wind veering again to the ſouth-weſt, we weighed anchor.

13th July. This day the wind ſunk into a calm at ten o'clock in the morning: during the time it laſted, which was two hours and a half, the Spaniards took it into their heads to fiſh. They caught in the time eighteen perch of a monſtrous ſize, the ſmalleſt of them weighing upwards of nine pounds, it is the perca philadelphica deſcribed by Linné. This fiſh is of exquiſite flavor, and is caught in depths of about five fathoms, with a hook two inches long, and as thick as a crow's quill. The bait is a piece of bacon, meat, or entrails of fowls: about a foot above the hook a ball of about a pound weight is ſuſpended to make the line ſink: the fiſherman has rarely time to throw out lures on the top of the water. About noon we had a breeze from the north-weſt, when we ſet ſail anew, and at three again came to an anchor. Such is the navigation common along this coaſt, which runs north and ſouth: the ſouth-eaſt drove us out to ſea in the night, and in the afternoon the north-eaſt again ſent us in ſhore. Theſe are the winds predominant in theſe latitudes; but the winds blow ſometimes ſouth or ſouth-weſt, and north or north-weſt, when a veſſel may make ſome way under favour of them. It is requiſite for two reaſons to keep at not more than from four to eight leagues from the coaſt; in the firſt place, becauſe, at a greater diſtance from ſhore, cayos (rocky ſhoals) and other ſand-banks occur, on which a veſſel might be driven by the north-eaſt wind; and ſecondly, becauſe in the open ſea winds being more uncommon, and always, as well as the currents, adverſe, a voyage would be of eternal duration: indeed no navigation in any part of the world is more difficult than that of the Gulf of Mexico. Should you leave ſoundings for the open ſea you are engaged in perpetual currents; ſhould you keep in ſoundings you have only light winds, and can make but four or five leagues in four-and-twenty hours. On proceeding, whether from the North or South Seas, towards Vera Cruz, or any other part of the Gulf of Mexico, it is not only neceſſary to reconnoitre the bank or ſoundings of Yucután but alſo that of Florida. The terms ſondas, or ſoundings, is applicable to the whole of the ſea, of little depth, which borders the Gulf of Mexico, from Cape Catoche as far as and even beyond Cape St. Auguſtin, to a diſtance from ſhore of from ſix to ſixty leagues, and in ſuch gradation with reſpect to depth, that from the deepeſt ſoundings, that is to ſay, in ſixty-eight fathoms, you may judge, proceeding in ſhore, how far you are from land, the depth diminiſhing a fathom at each league, ſo that at one league from ſhore there is ſeldom more than three, and ſometimes but one fathom water. To this notice reſpecting the Gulf of Mexico is to be added that the north is the predominant wind, and is felt here with more violence than in any part of America, and with ſuch in the months of October and November as to render theſe ſeas almoſt impaſſable.

13th July. The north wind very ſtrong. We were obliged to anchor till midnight.

14th July. At ten in the morning the land-breeze fell, the wind again blew from the north, and in the afternoon we ſteered E.S.E. at the rate of four knots an hour. The temperature of the atmoſphere on this ſea is moderate, for, notwithſtanding the ſky was clear and the ſun exhibited itſelf in all its ſplendour, my thermometer at noon did not riſe higher than 20° (77° of Fahrenheit). We were now about fifty leagues from Campeachy.

At five in the evening we came to our inn for the night, for ſomewhat ſimilar muſt our conſtant practice of caſting anchor every evening at the ſame hour be eſteemed.

We

We had, an hour before, ſeen a ſhip which was nearer in ſhore than ourſelves: we likewiſe ſaw another brigantine, which we imagined to be the Havannah packet: it ſailed with the wind abaft, and all its canvas out, but ſtill made leſs way than as though we had an adverſe wind. The whole day and night paſſed without rain, but the quantity of dew that fell was conſiderable.

At eleven at night the wind changing we weighed anchor, but made very little way, the breeze from the ſouth-eaſt being very light, and ſinking to a dead calm by ſeven in the morning, a calm which continued till the next day at ten, when the north again ſprang up.

15th July. This day the north-eaſt, at firſt feeble, encreaſed in ſtrength ſo as to advance us a league.

A new anchorage at five o'clock. We had no rain at ſea, though we diſtinguiſhed it falling on ſhore. We avoided a projecting bank, which makes the water appear of a yellowiſh green colour, three leagues from the ſhore; we likewiſe diſcerned the Havannah packet: it was the ſame which had ſailed five days before us from Vera Cruz, and was now on its return to the Havannah. The captain informed us, that the governor, the Marquis de la Tour, had been recalled: a new motive for ſelf-gratulation at having effected my object without delay; for could I flatter myſelf with ever meeting with in any other governor who might ſucceed him, ſo much kindneſs as I had met with from him? As this packet was deſtined to Campeachy our captain forwarded letters by it. At midnight we weighed anchor, the wind ſouth-weſt blew very feebly, and by eight o'clock ſunk into a calm.

16th July. At noon the north-eaſt admitted of our tacking and making a little way, but by three the wind encreaſing, we were threatened with a ſtorm. After a violent fall of rain we caſt anchor, and ſent a boat on ſhore oppoſite to a garitu, or centry-box, to take in twelve barrels of water and twenty-four fanegas of ſalt. I was ſolicitous of viſiting the ſalt-pans here, and of making a ſlight harveſt of the plants of the country, and of ſea ſhells, but the dread I had leſt any injury ſhould befall my inſects and plants during my abſence, prevented my indulging myſelf with this gratification; this was another ſacrifice I had to add to the number I had already made on their account. I had, however, on the other hand, the ſatisfaction of already being in ſome degree compenſated: my vanilla threw out ſome branches, my jalap and my nopals were budding: I had indeed loſt a great many, but the reſidue were in good condition, and I had well-founded hopes of the moſt complete ſucceſs.

17th July. We were detained all day by our pilot, who with four ſailors had gone on ſhore, and never returned. As he was an habitual drunkard, we conjectured that intoxication had been the cauſe of his delay. The breeze of morning had been feeble, calm ſucceeded as uſual, and at three o'clock rain, with but little wind. The brigantine, which kept us company, advanced only a league the whole day long.

After paſſing the day in greateſt anxiety of mind, I adviſed the captain in the evening to fire a gun. I was mad with vexation. A charming breeze blew from ſhore, and this night we might have advanced at leaſt ten leagues; unfortunately, the captain was by no means a good ſailor, and we had not ſufficient hands remaining on board to work the ſhip.

18th July. At length, in the morning, the boat returned with the ſailors. They had heard the report of the patereros, though a league and a half diſtant to windward of us. The pilot diſpatched them with the ſalt, but himſelf did not reckon upon getting on board before noon, as he was waiting for fowls, eggs, and ſwine, which the Indians were to bring him. The captain in a rage ſent the boat again on ſhore, with orders

orders for his coming inſtantly on board. He came by four o'clock, and we weighed anchor; but we had conſtant calms the whole day.

My pretty cardinal having got out of its cage, and fallen into the ſea, the captain, without my knowledge, promiſed a good ſwimmer on board a bottle of brandy if he recovered my bird. The ſailor jumped at the propoſal, and the proſpect of gain blinding him to the danger, he precipitated himſelf into the ſea from the cabin window, and after ſwimming about ten or twelve fathoms, recovered the little bird, held it in his mouth, and making for the rudder of the boat, ſeized on the ring of it, by which he held till a rope was thrown out to him, by means of which he got on board. I was uneaſy in extreme the whole time he was in the water, leſt ſome of the ſharks, which are ſo common in this ſea, alarmed by the noiſe he made on plunging in, ſhould make for the ſpot, and devour my bold adventurer; and I felt mortified that the captain, for a matter of ſuch little value, ſhould thus have expoſed the life of one of his crew: fortunately, he eſcaped, and beſides the bottle of brandy, he earned a handſome pulicat handkerchief, of which I made him a preſent.

We were at anchor, oppoſite to a garita, or watch-houſe, in three fathoms water.

Theſe watch-houſes are huts of wood, in form of ſquare towers, forty feet high, and raiſed at the diſtance of every four leagues along the coaſts of New Spain. In theſe centinels are ſtationed, whoſe duty it is to give advice of all veſſels they perceive; and theſe centinels, who are Indians, are relieved every four days.

It ſo fell out, that one of thoſe appointed on guard at one of theſe watch-houſes, being tired of his occupation, aſked our people to take him and his luggage on board with them, and they very imprudently conſented. I ſay imprudently, for it is expreſsly forbidden, under the moſt ſevere penalties, that any captain ſhould receive an Indian on board. I had the curioſity to examine the packet of this poor fellow: it contained proviſion for four days, and conſiſted of a dozen tordillas of eight ounces each, and about two pounds of the paſte of maize, coarſely ground, which, ſteeped in water, forms a beverage ſingularly pleaſing to the Indians. The man who came on board was ſtout and well made, twenty-one years of age, but had not a ſingle hair on his chin. He had been married two years, but expreſſed not the leaſt regret at leaving his wife. On my enquiring whether he had any children, he at firſt anſwered, no; but correcting himſelf, as if he juſt recollected the matter, he ſaid he had one pequenito, or very little baby; and as he ſaid this he knitted his brows, as if he wiſhed to expreſs that it was too ſmall to be worth mentioning. The fancy diverted us much.

19th July. We weighed anchor in the morning, and ſteered the whole day before the wind: a very light breeze from the ſouth-weſt. At ſeven we anchored, and raiſed anchor again at eight, the wind changing to the ſouth-eaſt: it was but a puff, which ſoon abated into a calm, and we anchored; but a breeze ſpringing up, we again heaved anchor, and kept under ſail the whole night through.

20th July. This day the north and ſouth winds enabled us to proceed at the rate of a league an hour. The ſky all the morning was overcaſt: at three the wind fell, and changed four times in leſs than half an hour: at length came on a dreadful ſtorm of rain. After much entreaty, I ſucceeded in inducing the collection of half-a-dozen barrels of rain water: thirty at leaſt, if care had been taken, might in the time have been filled. After the rain we ſteered eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, for our pilot pretending his object was to avoid the currents, would not keep off from ſhore: we therefore made frequent tacks, and remained a long time at anchor. In the evening we found ourſelves oppoſite to the Prio de Lagartos, or the River of Crocodiles, which announced

to us our having made eighteen leagues ſince the day before. This was indeed a good day's work, but we had yet forty leagues of ſhore to coaſt along.

At length we quitted theſe melancholy and tireſome ſhores for the open ſea, and depoſited all our anchors in the hold; but being immediately after overtaken by a calm, we let down a ſmall anchor. At eleven at night, the wind blowing again from the ſouth-eaſt, we made ſail anew: it freſhened ſoon to ſuch a degree, that from midnight to two o'clock we had advanced nearly twenty leagues, and the ſea had again reſumed an indigo blue colour: had the weather thus continued, we ſhould have required but four days to reach the Havannah. This was the firſt inſtance of fair weather we had had ſince our departure from Vera Cruz. The circumſtance delighted me ſo much as to ſerve as a counterbalance to the grief I experienced at the loſs of fifteen or ſixteen leaves of nopals, in the ſpace of three days. To leeward we deſcried a wretched little boat: ſoon we ſhould have to ſee a number of conſiderable ſhips. Seas of our fortunate colonies, how different your appearance from that of this melancholy gulph! Numerous and rich veſſels furrow your boſom in every direction, like our gay carriages on the magnificent roads of Paris, while the Gulph of Mexico is as bare of veſſels as the croſs-roads which lead to its inſulate and wretchedly poor habitations!

22d July. At three in the morning the wind had much ſlackened, though from the 20th we notwithſtanding reckoned our progreſs to be fifty leagues, and conſequently that we were beyond a ſhallow which extends the ſpace of two leagues, at the extremity of ſoundings, in the direction north and ſouth, and in latitude 23° north, longitude 286° 10′ from the meridian of Teneriffe. In our reckoning we had erred, for by two in the afternoon, a ſcream of horror from the deck called us to the fearful ſight of this bank, which, concealed under water, extends itſelf right and left, in branches, through a ſpace of a league in breadth, by three in length: inſtantly we changed our tack, and on ſounding had a bottom of reddiſh rock, in forty-five fathoms: the rock apparently fragments of coral, was blended with herbs. The ſhelf ſeemed of a reddiſh colour in every part, and gave a ruddy appearance to the water. Fortunate was it for us that we encountered this ſhelf in the day-time: had it been night, we ſhould have paſſed over it, and probably have periſhed; for though the ſea does not break on this bank, and though it appears to be covered by a depth of water, the actual ſoundings upon it, as well as the nature of the ſhelf, are altogether unknown. In remembrance of our having eſcaped this danger, we drank two bottles of excellent cyder, of which the captain made me a preſent, and which was equal to Champaigne, and found our ſpirits heightened by the libation.

23d July. We paſſed the night without any danger: the ſouth wind had blown, but the ſhip made no way. We caught a prodigious porpoiſe, eight feet long, by five and a half in diameter. Its tail was two feet broad. The fiſh caught was a female: in cutting up, no doubt, ſome of the lacteal ducts were ſeparated, as the animal yielded more than a quart of a very pure and remarkably white milk. One of the veſſels from which this milk flowed was in diameter of equal breadth with my little finger. The womb, in which I very diſtinctly ſaw the fallopian tubes, meaſured at the entrance of the vagina four inches and a half. The exterior orifice was very ſtrait, callous, wrinkled in folds, and of a ſubſtance and tiſſue ſo cloſe, that with difficulty could one introduce the little finger: nor did it appear ſuſceptible of farther expanſion. The diameter of the vagina, eaſy of dilation, was an inch and a half: at the extremity of the vagina from the interior was a ſpecies of valve, reſembling that of the ſucker of a pump, very much wrinkled, and highly capable of expanſion; and the internal capacity

capacity of the canal it formed, of inferior length to the vagina, appeared to be of ſimilar diameter, and equally fit for diſtenſion: at the end was another ſucker-like valve, which ſerved as a door to a ſecond ſimilar receptacle, of rather greater capacity than the former: finally, there was a third receptacle, cloſed by a ſimilar valve, with the extremity of which the two fallopian tubes communicated: theſe were of a ſpongy ſubſtance, and, internally, diſplayed an infinite multitude of veſſels, part of which ſeemed lacteal or lymphatic, others, conductors of blood, but folded one within the other, and croſſing each other, ſo that at the firſt glance they might be miſtaken for a maſs of little worms rolled up together. In the ſtomach of the animal were ſeveral ſmall fiſh, which had already attained that ſtate of digeſtion which made them look as if ſomewhat too much boiled. The ſhip was ſurrounded by a numerous troop of theſe animals, which, notwithſtanding their enormous ſize, ſeemed in the water no larger than carp of eight or ten pounds weight.

24th July. In the night we had a light wind, but the day a dead calm. At the riſing of the moon in the evening the wind again aroſe.

25th. At ten this morning we caught a ſhark: it happened to be the ſqualus tiburo of Linné.: it was five feet long, had a fin at the anus; five lineary ports in the neck, for the bronchiæ of the pulſe; a large head, and a broad neck: its teeth in the lower jaw triangular, of ſimilar breadth, but even ſharper than lancets, and about an inch in heighth, of theſe teeth the animal has three rows: the inmoſt row turns back on the gums: thoſe of the jaw are ſubulated like the teeth of pike, and, as the others, are an inch long. This animal is of hideous appearance in the water, and ſhines by day as well as by night: it was harpooned with a javelin a foot long, attached to a pole of ſix feet; however hard its ſkin, which reſiſts the point of a knife, it was not proof againſt this weapon; and the monſter made leſs reſiſtance in the water, and fought leſs on deck than did the porpoiſe we had before caught: it was ſurrounded as uſual by the pilot-fiſh, ſo called on account of its conſtantly advancing in front of the ſhark: this fiſh is a kind of perch, tranſverſely ſtriped with alternations of black and yellow. Part of the ſhark was cooked and placed on table, but I could not prevail on myſelf to touch it, notwithſtanding it is a favourite diſh with the people of Campeachy, a predilection which ſpeaks little for the delicacy of their taſte, as there is abundance of fiſh in their roadſted of exquiſite flavour. We afterwards caught another of ſuch monſtrous ſize that we needed tackle for lifting it on board: it was a female, but of a different ſpecies. This animal was ten feet four inches (French) in length, and from the back to the belly meaſured two feet and a half: the ſkin of the back was perfectly blue, of the belly white: it had the ſame proportions as, and reſembled the one before deſcribed, with the following exceptions: the teeth of the upper jaw were curved towards the throat, from the baſe: they were moreover ſharp, pointed, but rounded like barley, and jagged like the teeth of a ſaw. In the upper jaw it had but one row of teeth, but in the lower three: the head was not proportionately large, though ſomewhat of the ſame ſhape, being only more oblong, and ſomewhat leſs flattened than that of the male. The vagina was ſix inches in diameter, and was not callous and in folds, as I had obſerved in the dolphin. The rectum terminated with the vagina in one common orifice, which may be regarded as the anus. By the ſide of the matrix were two prominences which might be taken for teats, and of which the interior orifices terminated in the womb, but had no communicant ducts, whether glandular or lacteal: the vagina was ſix inches long: at the extremity it divided into two cavities, two feet and a half in length, by a breadth of a foot, but ſuſceptible of conſiderable diſtenſion: the orifice of either of theſe trunks was filled with a ſpermatic matter: the interior occupied by an extremely fine

fine and ſpongy membrane, attached throughout its whole length to the inward and upper part of the cavity, and full of an infinite number of cells, each containing an egg with its yolk, and an embrio, or fœtus, an inch and a half long: the yolk of the egg was like, but ſomewhat paler than that of a hen, but the mucilaginous part, inſtead of being white, was of a greeniſh yellow, reſembling bile. In order to extract an egg from one of the cells, it was neceſſary to break the cell: this cavity was aſſuredly an oviary; the ſubſtance of it was of a whitiſh colour, tranſparent, lymphatic, greaſy, and the membrane eaſy to break. Diſguſt prevented my counting the number of eggs, but in every oviary I certainly ſaw at leaſt a hundred. I took ſome of the fœti and preſerved them in rum. I am not certain whether or no amphibious animals have two vaginæ, but it appears very evident from diſſections that they have two oviaries. This ſhark was viviparous, as I believe are all. Some of the fœti, which I notice my having preſerved, I ſent to Mr. Daubenton.

At noon we had a heavy fall of rain, and for two hours ſucceſſive ſhowers: this, by occaſioning wind, enabled us to make a ſlight progreſs; but at five we were becalmed, and continued ſo until the moon roſe, when it began to blow pretty freſh.

26th July. The wind of the night was ſucceeded by ſlight ſqualls, by which we advanced about half a league an hour. Some ſhowers fell, but unattended by wind. The crew were uninterruptedly employed in manœuvring ſo as to catch the leaſt puff, but without ſucceſs. Did we ſtand on either tack, the ſails ſcarcely filled, and the ſhip barely obeyed the rudder. We fell in with two amazingly large pieces of floating timber, loaded with birds. The pilot ſtated us by reckoning to be five-and-twenty leagues from the Florida ſoundings. Our latitude was twenty-five degrees.

27th July. The morning a dead calm, provoking quietude, diſcouraging inertia! Why muſt I thus be ſtayed, exclaimed I repeatedly, when it would be ſo grateful to my heart to reach our deſtination? My cochineals brought forth now a ſecond time, and I had no more plants on which I could multiply them. One young leaf of a nopal, and one old one had juſt died; one half of another had been conſumed by a blatta lucifera, and I ſaw that I ran great hazard of loſing the new generation; however, I had the conſolation to ſee two plants of vanilla throw out other branches. A number of bonitos ſwam about our ſhip. The name applied to this ſpecies of coryphæna is derived from the Spaniſh buenito, the augmentative of *bueno* good, and ſignifies very good, or excellent. We likewiſe ſaw ſome dorados, another ſpecies of coryphæna, the equiſolis of Linné. One of theſe was caught by our men: from head to tail it meaſured four feet three inches, and at the ſtomach was a foot and a half in diameter. The ſea contains no fiſh more beautiful, nor indeed another that equals this in beauty. The body is of a golden yellow, reſplendent above a changeable green, marked with round ſpots, an inch in diameter, of an ultra-marine blue; the fins and tail are a brilliant green. In calm weather its ſhining colours render it diſtinguiſhable at the depth even of fifty feet.

28th July. We had ſome wind again at night, and the horizon was ſo much overclouded that we apprehended a terrible ſtorm. The wind we had, however, was adverſe, and all night long we had our head to the ſouth. In the morning we made a tack N.N.E., but were ſtopped by a calm. Ever ſince eight o'clock, I had obſerved in the north-north-eaſt diviſion of the ſky, a cloud ſhaped like a horſe's tail, ſpreading in the direction from N.N.E. to S.S.W., and which appeared to be the precurſor of calms, in the ſame manner as the procellaria, in my opinion, truly indicates wind.

29th July. By midnight the calm ceaſed, and we made about five leagues in nine hours; from nine to eleven again calm, then wind till one, when my horſe-tail cloud

appeared anew. We ſounded but found no bottom. The pilot, who fancied himſelf upon the Florida Soundings, was thus in error, and I the more vexed on reflecting that, although but ſixty leagues from the Havannah, we had ſcarcely effected half our voyage: what tireſome navigation!

30th July. At four in the evening of the 29th, a wind ſprang up, which, from its direction, we recognized for a briſk and regular gale: this continued till the morning of the 30th, when the wind from land ſucceeded. By obſervation we had now paſſed the Florida Soundings, and all night long were on the look out to avoid Las Tortugas, an aſſemblage of four or five ſmall iſlands on the border of the ſoundings of the peninſula of Florida. All this day the ſky was over-caſt, and we had ſeveral ſhowers of rain.

On viſiting my nopals I found three leaves dead: I cleaned all the others, and duſted them to remove the white powder with which they had become covered. I likewiſe exterminated all the ſylveſter cochineals, which had intermingled with the fine, and which had ſmothered a conſiderable number. Finding myſelf overſtocked with thoſe cacti of Vera Cruz, frightfully armed with thorns, I threw thirteen of them into the ſea; after which I dried the ſylveſter cochineals I had collected, in order to ſend them to my father, and to Meſſrs. Roſtagin and Juſſieu. While thus cleanſing my cheſts, or rather my gardens, I diſcovered three *chacherlas* and a *ſcolopendra morſitans;* fortunately theſe inſects are no devourers of cochineal, or otherwiſe adieu to my treaſures. The employ I undertook was for ſome time an amuſement to me, though fatiguing.

31ſt July. After luffing up the whole night long to avoid the ſhore, at day-break we diſcovered the coaſt of Cuba, and had advanced twenty leagues into the channel: the next day we ſhould diſtinguiſh the Havannah, and two days after be out of the Bahama channel; a proſpect which aſſured us a prompt return.

In the meantime our crew inſiſted on entering the Havannah, but the captain and myſelf could not conſent to this, without running the greateſt riſk, not only of our liberty, but even of our lives; we therefore determined on forcing obedience, and, in caſe of any obſtinate perſiſtance on the part of the ſhip's company, to put the moſt mutinous to death, at a preconcerted ſignal. However violent ſuch meaſures may appear, it muſt be conſidered that it could be of no conſequence to our crew what port they made, whereas it was important for us to avoid the Havannah.

Carried forward by the wind and current, by noon we were oppoſite to Bahia Konda, (Deep Bay); for two days we had had the moſt charming weather poſſible for our voyage, but we had ſtill four hundred leagues to ſail, and had not yet attained the end of our toils.

In fact the wind increaſed, and we had a terrible night. From the heavy ſhocks our ſmall veſſel received, I was fearful ſhe would founder. We lowered the ſweeps of the foreſail, and reefed the mainſail, ſpite of which the veſſel rolled ſo dreadfully that we were conſtrained to ſleep on the floor, an inconvenience, thanks to my apprenticeſhip to travels, which was to me no great hardſhip.

1ſt Auguſt. This morning, ſpite of contrary winds, the currents having impelled us all night long, we diſtinguiſhed the table-land of Mariana; and at four in the evening a freſh tack had carried us under the guns of the Moro caſtle. From a diſtance I diſtinguiſhed the country-houſe of Senor Huet, the neighbourhood, and the Fort del Principe, the works of which he had ſhewn me. The day was fine; but a violent wind from the north-north-eaſt, occaſioned us at ſix in the evening to reef again our ſails, which we had ſpread to the gale. An unlucky manœuvre was near being fatal to us. All was noiſe; and the men running about with precipitancy increaſed the evident alarm;

and for myſelf I experienced the greater dread from the conſideration of my being ſo rich, ſo truly rich; poſſeſſing what I had ſo much coveted: I had no ſuch fears on my voyage to Mexico.

2d Auguſt. The wind keeping at north-eaſt all the night through, we had made but little way by nine in the morning. This morning, the firſt time I had ever ſeen a ſtorm in the morning in America, I was witneſs to one moſt violent. The whole of the day, and all the ſucceeding night, was a period of toil and fatigue, owing to our perpetual tacks. At three o'clock we diſtinguiſhed the pine-tree of Matanza. The ſea ran dreadfully high; and we were the more loth to enter the mouth of the Bahama channel from our ſails and rigging being in the worſt poſſible condition: here was a freſh evidence of Spaniſh idleneſs. During the frequent calms we had experienced, nothing would have been more eaſy than to have taughtened the ſhrouds; and for want of this precaution, which I ſo ſtrongly but ineffectually recommended, we were obliged to lay to, and loſe much time.

3d Auguſt. After numerous tacks this day, the ſea conſtantly rough, we were fain at night to take ſhelter in the Bay of Matanza.

This bay is nearly a league over at its mouth, by a depth of two. Three rivers, or rather rivulets, empty themſelves into it. Towards evening we anchored about half-cable length from the ſhore. The fort a ſquare building, flanked by four baſtions, is about ſixty yards long. The curtain, which fronts the ſea, is defended by a crown work, which ſeemed in excellent condition: I entered it as a conqueror, and found no centinels either at the barrier of the covered way, or at the gates, ſo that without interruption I marched to the parade, where I found ſix ſoldiers playing at cards: theſe without leaving their game, or aſking me any queſtions, ſuffered me as quietly to depart as I had entered.

However well fortified this caſtle, it ſeems to me of no other utility than to prevent a landing, and hinder merchant ſhips or privateers from taking in water; for it could not certainly withſtand the fire of a ſixty-four gun ſhip.

Matanza, (the Place of Slaughter) which lies at the bottom of the bay, is an ill-built ſpot, in a low, marſhy, moiſt, and unhealthy poſition: it has no trade, nor any cultivation about it. The people who inhabit it preſent the moſt diſguſting ſpectacle, and render it the ſcene of the moſt abominable filth and frightful miſery: they are covered with crabs of a monſtrous ſize, which prey on them, and which, in turn, ſerve them for food. The village ſtands at the union of two ſmall ſtreams, which ſerve to float down timber, for the Havannah, from the interior of the country. A wretched redoubt of ſtone, denominated a caſtle, ſtands in front of the village, and defends the bottom of the bay.

We put into this miſerable place merely for the purpoſe of taughtening our ſhrouds, and taking in water; but the deſertion of a ſailor, and the drunkenneſs of the pilot, delayed us two days.

5th Auguſt. This day I bought, at Matanza, ſix cardinals, two ciris, two larks, and eight other very pretty birds, of the names of which I am ignorant: I brought thence, likewiſe, a number of leaves of a cactus, called in our colonies, *la raquette Eſpagnole*, and the value of which I intended to prove by my cochineals. Again had I the misfortune to ſee three leaves of my nopals rot: what loſſes! what regret at not having reached Santo Domingo!

6th and 7th Auguſt. At length we weighed anchor, and left the bay. On the 7th we were twenty leagues from Matanza. Our wretch of a pilot again ſteered a wrong courſe, owing to which we did not reach Los Martires before night, which we

ought to have made in the morning, in order to enter the mouth of the Bahama channel.

8th Auguſt. In conſequence of the error of the pilot we were obliged to luff up all night in a dreadful ſea; and it was not till the morning of the 8th, at five o'clock, we took a direct courſe N. E. with a wind from the S. E.

The currents had carried us on ſo far that by noon we were in latitude 26° 6′; thus, notwithſtanding the wind in courſe of the night, we had advanced forty-two leagues. The ſea ran high the whole day, but it became calmer in the evening. We had three ſeparate ſhowers.

This day we caught a booby, the plumage of which was brown without any ſpots, its beak blue, its eyes fiery, and capable of direction with eaſe towards the beak, which renders it of frightful aſpect: its legs and feet of a chamois colour After examination I gave it liberty.

9th Auguſt. Had the wind been favourable we might this day have got out of the channel, but blowing from the north-eaſt we were obliged to luff up through the night, ſteering on a north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt courſe, for fear of running on the ſhoals, right and left. The ſun roſe with a horizon covered with clouds, a prognoſtic, in theſe ſeas, of bad weather, which failed not in this inſtance: we had a dreadful ſea, the wind ſuffocating, the waves of monſtrous ſize daſhing againſt the ſhip; and the natural claſh occaſioned by the oppoſition of the wind and current, made a terrible noiſe. We conſtantly luffed up in the ſame direction, but ſtill advanced thirty-five leagues. Such indeed is the force of the current, that however high the ſea may run, it never breaks with that ſurge noticed in other ſeas, but each wave, impelled variouſly and in adverſe direction by the wind and current, and with equal power by each, riſes in a pyramidal form, and ſinks with a craſh on its baſe: it may hence readily be conjectured how great the labour and fatigue to which the ſhip and its crew in theſe parts are expoſed.

In order to form an opinion of the origin and effect of the famous current which carried us along, we muſt reflect that this channel is the vaſt outlet of the waters of the Gulphs of Honduras and Mexico, and the more ſouthern ſeas, as well as of the accumulations theſe gulfs receive from the rivers Amazon, Orinoco, Madelena, Miſſiſſippi, and an infinity of others of inferior volume. The waters of theſe ſeas and rivers, confined by the barrier formed by the archipelago of the Caribbee Iſlands eaſt and weſt, ruſh forward to the channel of Bahama, the deepeſt of all, no doubt, formed by the different iſlands, and thus find an exit into the north ſea. In a dead calm this current runs four knots an hour, with a contrary wind four and a half. The Trident, a Spaniſh ſhip of war, of ſixty guns, was on one occaſion adverſely carried from before the Havannah, notwithſtanding ſhe had the wind abaft, and all ſails ſet as far as off the coaſt of Carolina, without being able to ſtem the flood.

The ſea was ſo frightful during the night that we merely hoiſted the mainſail. The wind was eaſt, our direction north, and according to my computation, the current ran weſterly; this cauſed me to imagine that by drifting we ſhould run towards the coaſt: thrice did I feel an inclination to make the obſervation to the captain, and as often was I prevented from the fear of paſſing for an importunate and ridiculous interferer. It was not long however before I had to repent of my ſilly modeſty, for by two in the morning the captain, or rather terror perſonified, came to waken me: he was in tears, and in perfect deſpair. What is the matter, captain? *Malé ſumus, perditi ſumus*, we are all loſt! How ſo, what is the matter? *Hay fundo*, we have ſoundings! In fact the plummet had been thrown, and forty fathoms was the reſult, the wind as well as the current bearing

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on ſhore. Paciencia, paciencia, ſaid I. I went on deck, and now aſſuming more boldneſs and confidence, I adviſed our ſteering ſouth-weſt. The captain, the pilot, and mate, agreed with me in opinion: we tacked, and in leſs than two hours were out of ſoundings.

10th Auguſt. The ſun roſe, lowering with a ſadly portentous ſombrezo of thick black clouds. A number of gulls and other ſea-birds flew towards ſhore at the ſight. My birds picked up their food haſtily; and the ſong of my larks, infallible baſſandras, foreboded a perilous day, and in fact ſqualls and hurricanes ſucceeded one the other with the greateſt rapidity. I was fearful we ſhould not be able to take an obſervation; but fortunately a gleam of ſunſhine allowed us to aſcertain our latitude, which was 29°: thus, as I told the captain would be found the caſe, the veſſel, ſpite of oppoſite winds, had, by the mere force of the current, drifted more than twenty leagues, and carried us through the channel. Now was the time to ſteer for Europe, had we that courſe to take; but we were bound for St. Domingo, where, not only on my own account, but alſo on account of my inſects, which had light only once in four-and-twenty hours, I was ſo anxious to arrive.

11th Auguſt. The violence of the wind gradually abated, the ſea was pretty calm, the heavens ſerene, but the currents had borne us forty-four leagues to the north-north-eaſt. The wind veered towards the ſouth in ſuch manner as to premiſe we might be able to ſhape an eaſtward courſe, after which we ſhould only have to leſſen our latitude in order to reach St. Domingo, where with the wind abaft we might arrive in a week.

We found ourſelves this day in 31° 30′, on parallel with Charleſtown, Carolina. At four in the afternoon, caught a bird, called by the Spaniards tinoſa, the larus of Linné.

12th Auguſt. Calms prevailed till evening: the little wind occaſionally breathed was from the ſouth-weſt. We ſteered, S. E. by E. At three the wind freſhened in the ſame quarter, and we directed our courſe ſouth-eaſt.

13th and 14th Auguſt. The wind gradually increaſed on the 13th, ſo as to allow our making four knots an hour. On the 14th at noon we were becalmed, but a gentle gale ſprung up at four. Our latitude this laſt day was 31° 6′.

The whole of the 14th we ſpread all our canvas to catch the little wind that blew. Our ſailors again caught a tiburo. Their avidity for this wretched fiſh, characterizes, at once, their lazineſs and want of taſte: being eaſy to catch, they prefer it to the dorado, a fiſh exquiſitely delicate, but which would have required more pains to take. They devoured the whole of it in one day, notwithſtanding it weighed upwards of thirty pounds.

15th Auguſt. A light wind from the ſouth-weſt advanced us two or three leagues in courſe of the night, but was ſucceeded the whole of the following day by a dead calm; a cruel calm, which threatened the fruſtration of all my toilſome, tedious labours! Four more of my nopals I found this day had periſhed, one of them with three young leaves, and an ample progeny of young cochineal. What on this, as on ſimilar occaſions, ſurpriſed me greatly, my misfortunes proceeded conſtantly from the plants too weak to reſiſt the injuries of the ſea air and their confinement, and not from the inſects, as I the moſt expected, but which proved to be extremely patient, and aſtoniſhingly hardy: not one of them died; I had therefore conſiderable reaſon for ſelf-gratulation, on having collected three other ſpecies of cacti at Campeachy, all of which afforded nouriſhment to the cochineal, though more ſparingly and with leſs advantage than the nopal.

At

At ſun-ſet, the wind conſtantly feeble, after veering from the ſouth-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, ſunk into a calm.

16th Auguſt. The wind ſtill ſouth-eaſt: after luffing ſome time we ſteered nearly ſouth-weſt, advancing about half a league an hour. At eleven at night the wind freſhened.

17th Auguſt. Saw to leeward a frigate and another armed veſſel, in company with four ſhips under colours with red and white ſtripes, and a number of golettas. We hoiſted a red flag with a Burgundy croſs, and fired a gun: they made ſail for us; and the frigate, mounting thirty guns, and commanded by Captain Cherry from New York, placed us between him and his galley, in which were eight men, with four cannonades ready levelled, and with matches lighted. She hailed us in Engliſh: we were able to anſwer in Spaniſh only. She then ſailed round our ſtern to our ſtarboard ſide. The frigate put out her boat with an officer and ſix men on board; but the officer underſtanding no other than the Engliſh language, could but give us the longitude, which was 75° 17′ W. of Paris. We ſhewed him our paſſports from Vera Cruz, and our regiſter; and after ſignifying that we came from that port, we preſented him ſome proviſions, ſuch as potatoes, bananas, and calalon, with which he left us perfectly ſatisfied. What however is ſingular enough, we omitted to enquire the name of the commander of this ſmall ſquadron, and which party it eſpouſed, that of the Engliſh or the rebels: we were however led to conclude that it was the former, from his telling us his veſſel, formerly the Boſton, was now called the Daphne. The four veſſels under eſcort, all of them mounted royals: the firſt I had ever ſeen.

We continued our courſe N. E. The full moon, on riſing, brought us wind with ſhowers; and I conſtantly found that every change of the moon was accompanied by ſimilar variations.

18th Auguſt. The laſt obſervation was more clearly verified this day. At three in the morning we had a briſk wind and rain, and ſucceſſive ſhowers coming from every point of the compaſs. The whole of the morning we were croſſed by contrary winds, and obliged to tack every inſtant. At noon the wind increaſed, blowing firſt from the ſouth, and afterwards from the ſouth-weſt. A gloomy ſky now threatened a ſtorm: the wind ſtill increaſed, and ſome rain fell. We deemed it right to lower our ſtay-ſail and reef the main-ſail; but we loſt much precious time by our vain alarm, for the ſtorm blew over, and the night was fine. From noon we had advanced about a league and a half an hour; and caught a fiſh the *gaſteros-terus* of Linné.

19th Auguſt. A curſed calm from three in the morning till nine. At this hour, and till the next day, we had wind from the ſouth, and ſteered north-eaſt by eaſt, advancing but three knots an hour.

A colony of ſmall migratory fiſh followed us on the right and left of our rudder, conſiſting of perch, *gaſteros terus*, and pilot fiſh. Theſe ſhoals of inhabitants, from a different hemiſphere, which are occaſionally ſeen in different ſeas, reſemble ſo many wandering colonies ſeeking an aſylum. Do they encounter a ſhip, to them it ſeems a rock, a bank, an iſland, a ſhore: they conſtantly find food in its vicinage, and exertion in ſwimming, unneceſſary borne as they are in its wake. At length the veſſel arrives, and the colonies ſhift to their quarters.

20th Auguſt. The wind blowing N. E. by E. we ſteered S. W. by W.; it afterwards veered to the ſouth wavering. We made ſcarcely three knots an hour. This ſlow ſailing is little leſs vexatious than a calm, but more advantageous. We had to-day no rain; the pilot reckoned us in the longitude of the point of Mezy, in latitude three degrees

degrees twenty-one minutes *, ſo that we were yet two hundred-and-fifty leagues at leaſt, from our deſtination: the land we ſought for thus ſeeming to fly before us. Indeed it appeared to me, that the captain and pilot had acted very wrong in ſuffering us to be carried by the current from the Bahama channel, to ſo high a latitude as thirty-three degrees. I make no doubt that the elevation of our latitude above what we need have made it, was the cauſe of our being ſubject to all the calms and contrary winds we had experienced; as, if we had avoided the current, in latitude twenty-eight degrees, we ſhould have been ſecure of the trade winds much earlier, and at any rate, if we had coaſted by the Lucayos, ſhould have been certain of land breezes. The captain, in anſwer to my obſervation, pretended that on the day we were in latitude twenty-eight degrees the wind was unfavourable to our making eaſtward; but this lame excuſe was contradicted by my journal. The wind on that day was eaſt, and by ſteering ſouth, the compoſite action of the eaſt wind and the current, which ran to the north, would aſſuredly have borne us in a ſouth-eaſt direction.

This day I had to regret the loſs of other nopals; and I felt it the more bitterly from the circumſtance of the impoſſibility of fixing the inſects attached to the dead plants on any other, as will appear in the appendix, wherein I treat of the cochineal inſect.

I was perfectly in deſpair, and almoſt gave up the hope of being able to tranſport my little colony in health and ſafety to Santo Domingo, the cauſe of which I could only attribute to the length of our voyage and the want of friends, which had prevented my making more favourable arrangements.

21ſt Auguſt. This day the wind, which during the night had blown but gently N. E. by E., at ſix in the morning veering to the N. E., blew with greater force, and we advanced five or at leaſt four knots an hour, and found ourſelves in the longitude of Cape Nicholas Mole, latitude twenty-nine degrees forty-nine minutes north. The ſky was beautiful, a line of clouds branching in ſlips fine as the flax which is ſpun from the diſtaff, in the direction north and ſouth indicated, at length the ſpeedy preſence of the winds for which we ſighed. Should they continue favourable but only ſix days, they will carry us to Cape François.

I obſerved Mercury an hour before ſun-riſe, in the conſtellation Cancer.

22d Auguſt. While running N. N. E. †, at the rate of five or ſix knots an hour, the wind increaſed to ſuch a degree, that by five in the evening we were obliged to lower our tops and reef our main-ſail. At noon by obſervation, we were in latitude twenty-eight degrees forty-four minutes, and in the longitude of Tortuga. The ſun roſe through a red and lowering atmoſphere. At ſetting it was entirely obſcured by vapour, which covered the horizon in every direction.

At ten, notwithſtanding we had lowered our tops and top-gallants, we ſailed at the rate of five knots. The waves beat with a deep and hollow ſound againſt the ſides of the veſſel, and ſhook it by the violence of their percuſſion: twenty times did they break over the deck, and a violent rain falling at the ſame time, we were fain to cloſe the hatchways, and put up all our dead lights. I endeavoured to ſleep, but in vain, one could reſt no where. Every billow threw the ſhip on her beam-ends, and not any thing could be kept ſteady on the deck. The ſea ran dreadfully high: our fragile veſſel was now raiſed an hundred feet from the level, and now engulphed in a hollow abyſs, while the noiſe of the winds in the rigging was equal to the roaring of thunder.

* This is an error, it ſhould be 33°, 21′ as is ſeen by what follows. TRANS.

† It ſhould be, as the ſignal ſhews, S. S. W., that is the directly oppoſite rhumb. TRANS.

I wiſhed

I wiſhed much to contemplate this horrible ſcene, but there was no keeping the deck; and what, in fact, could be ſeen in a night as dark as Erebus? We diſtributed brandy to our men, who ſeemed in ſpirits, and ſang in midſt of the ſtorm *, while we were a prey to the moſt alarming apprehenſions. At firſt, I was inclined from this circumſtance to conclude that the danger was not imminent, but the ſolace of this fancy endured but for a moment. I reflected on the nature of theſe beings, ſo differently modified to us, and blamed my firſt concluſion.

23d Auguſt. Day beamed, yet brought us no alleviation, for the tempeſt raged with undiminiſhed violence. The impetuous winds howled in the ſhrouds, dark clouds overhanging obſcured the whole horizon, and the ſea ran mountain high. Our crew were harraſſed to death, the captain dejected, our rigging ſlack, and our ſails in ſhivers; every thing, in ſhort, made us dread exceedingly a night like that we paſt, while, ſpite of ſome reddened clouds in the weſt, towards ſix in the evening, which we were willing to hail as a preſage of a calm, or at leaſt an abatement of the tempeſt, the winds ſeemed to redouble their force, and a heavy ſtorm of rain continued till midnight.

24th Auguſt. This morning, though the ſea ſtill ran very high, the violence of the wind had ſomewhat abated: it blew now from the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt. On riſing I diſtinguiſhed a gleam of ſun-ſhine ſhooting through ſome light clouds; and as the day advanced the ſun ſhewed itſelf at intervals, and enabled us to take the latitude at noon, which we found to be twenty-ſix degrees twenty-eight minutes: our longitude was that of the Weſtern Cape of Maguana, ſo that, notwithſtanding the ſtorm, as I had premiſed, we had loſt nothing of our longitude, and on the other hand, had diminiſhed our latitude by nearly fifty leagues. We ſteered eaſt-north-eaſt †, certainly a bad courſe, for had we directed the veſſel to the ſouth, we ſhould in two days had Maguana under our lee, and in three days after might have made the Cape, from which we were only a hundred-and-twenty leagues diſtant.

Though I have made ſeven voyages at ſea, I never was witneſs to ſuch dreadful weather, unaccompanied with lightning and thunder. The ſtorm had driven from us moſt of the ſhoal of coloniſts which ſurrounded our rudder, for of all their number remained only two ſmall white pilot-fiſh, and two large black perch. My parrot, and indeed all my birds, foreboded the bad weather by their agitation, fluttering, and louder and hoarſer notes than uſual. I loſt none of them. My jalop ſuffered ſo much as to make me apprehenſive of its periſhing; but fortunately my inſects and nopals received leſs injury than I expected. My firſt object was the preſervation of the former, for I conjectured that I might meet with nopals in the King's garden.

25th Auguſt. The wind blowing eaſt-north-eaſt, we ſteered ſouth till noon, when it appeared by obſervation, we were in twenty-ſix degrees twenty-five minutes, and on the meridian of the Caicos. The winds variable and light throughout the day.

26th Auguſt. Calms and contrary winds again fettered us to theſe ſeas: it ſeemed as if we were never to be releaſed from our captivity, and as though the captain and pilot were in league to prolong it. The laſt fault they were guilty of was in not making way to leeward by a weſt-ſouth-weſt courſe: we ſhould, it is true, by this means have got lower down than Maguana, but by help of the ſouth-weſt winds,

* Ma *reſo eſperto* ſi poco teme
Che dorm' al ſuon' del mar che freme
O ſul' prora cantando va. METASTASIO.

† It ſhould be E. S. E. the current running S. W. TRANS.

which

which afterwards prevailed, we ſhould have recovered our latitude *, and have advanced eighty leagues on our way. It certainly was moſt vexatious to have been upwards of three months at ſea, and have run nearly two thouſand leagues, to fetch a place but five hundred leagues in a direct line from our point of departure.

At night however we had weſtwardly winds, but ſo feeble, as alſo on the two following days, that we ſcarcely proceeded at the rate of a league an hour. This however was a better fate than befell us on the 29th, when we had a dead calm.

27th Auguſt. At nine in the morning this day we fancied we diſcerned a ſhelf, a white band thirty toiſes long †, was ſeen nearly in the direction we were ſailing. Was this the trunk of ſome enormous tree, ſuch as is ſometimes ſeen in the Gulf of Mexico? Was it ſome veſſel which had capſiſed? Round it was ſeen a number of ſharks, and ſkimming about flocked a variety of ſea-fowl, whence I conjectured it to be the carcaſe of ſome vaſt monſter of the ſea. The captain, againſt my will, as I regretted the loſs of ſo much precious time, ſteered towards it, and approached it within the diſtance of thirty fathoms, but at a hundred we already diſtinguiſhed what it was by the putrid ſmell it exhaled. One ſingle piece of this leviathan appeared to be fifteen fathoms long, beſides which were ſeven or eight continuous but disjunct pieces of from two to three fathoms in length: the breadth of it was ſeven fathoms, and its thickneſs, beſides about three feet which floated out of the water, from ſix to ſeven fathoms. It had been rotting, no doubt, a conſiderable length of time, for it reſembled nothing but a hide blown out, miſhapen, and without trace of any form; the entrails, floating on the water like the filaments of molluſcæ, extended in network the ſpace of eighty feet: many ſeparate parts were ſeen about it at the diſtance of about twenty fathoms from the main piece: we clearly diſtinguiſhed the whole to be rotten fleſh notwithſtanding a greaſy froth of dazzling whiteneſs floated all around.‡ Some parts of the carcaſe were of a blackiſh hue, and gore like: the whole undulated irregularly with the water, whence I concluded that the bony frame was diſſolved, and that, of courſe, the monſter muſt have long been dead. But again, to what enormous animal could theſe vaſt relics have belonged? This it is the province of our illuſtrious Pliny * to decide, of him to whom is known the whole ſurpriſing volume of nature's grand productions.

This day the obſervation at noon gave for our latitude twenty-ſix degrees twenty-one minutes: our longitude was the meridian of Fort Dauphin.

30th Auguſt. Our latitude this day was twenty-five degrees twelve minutes north: our longitude that of the Caicos. At ſix in the evening, a gale ſprang up. During the calm, a flock of birds, frigates, gulls, lari, and boobies, availed themſelves of the purſuit, on the part of dorados and bonitos of the flying-fiſh, to make them in turn their prey. The ſea was beaten and covered for the ſpace of a league by the flying-fiſh, alternately in the air and the ſea, by the bonitos, who purſued them, and the winged tribes which caught theſe latter from the ſurface. Who has ever ſeen the king hunting in the plains of Choiſy, Mount Rouge, or St. Denis? Here game encloſed is driven from all quarters as into an encloſure: the hunt is a hunt no longer, but the field of ſport a ſlaughter-houſe: ſuch was the hunt of the doradoes and birds.

The aſpect of heaven was through the whole night frightful: here dingy clouds, there grey were furrowed by inceſſant flaſhes of vivid lightning: the wind ſouth-eaſt: our courſe ſouth-weſt by weſt

31ſt Auguſt. This day we were unable to take an obſervation: the ſky ſtill overcaſt, the wind leſs ſtrong, after paſſing to the ſouth again, veered to the eaſt. An unfor-

* It ſhould be longitude. TRANS. † 190 feet Engliſh. ‡ Buffon.

tunate ſwell from the north had prevented our enjoying reſt or comfort, whether by day or night, for four preceding days.

1ſt September. This day at noon we found ourſelves in latitude twenty-five degrees, twenty-four minutes. The wind, conſtantly eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, ſeemed regular, and continuous. We hoped to ſee Maria Juana, called otherwiſe Maguana; but not ſucceeding in our expectations, laid to, for fear of running on the ſhallows. Some few drops of rain fell this day.

2d September. This morning we proceeded on our courſe at five o'clock, and at ſix hoiſted our ſquare ſail, or ſail of fortune, ſteering weſt-ſouth-weſt to make the land. At length, at eight o'clock, we perceived to windward ſome extremely low lands, bounded by reefs, on which the ſurges breaking, roſe to upwards of twenty feet: this at leaſt we computed, as at four leagues off the breakers reſembled the latten ſails of fiſhermen. We thought theſe lands the Caicos, and flattered ourſelves with reaching the Cape next day: the land, however, turned out to be Moguana, as was verified, notwithſtanding the different opinion of the pilot and captain, our joint obſervations ſhewing the latitude twenty-two degrees, twenty minutes, the exact latitude of Moguana.

So many errors on the part of my conductors encouraged me to offer advice. I recommended the captain to run on oppoſite tacks, in order to double the Heneagas to windward, ſeeing we were ſteering direct upon them. He heeded me not, but laid to. What was the conſequence? At eight in the morning we ſaw Little Heneaga: it was miſtaken for the Caicos, and we did not change our courſe. At noon, land! land! was called out. Some ſaid it was Tortuga, ſome the Main: neither were in the right: it was Greater Heneaga, along which we were obliged to coaſt from eaſt to weſt the whole afternoon, in order to double it to leeward, with the diſadvantage of a wind in oppoſition to the currents.

In coaſting along Greater Heneaga, entirely ſurrounded by ſhoals, while from three to four leagues from ſhore, we ſaw bottom a-head: terror now was general, and the clamour uſual on ſimilar occaſions with Spaniards, ſerved only to increaſe the alarm. Scarcely had we time to tack about. This would indeed have been a wreck in port, and, thanks to the drunkenneſs and inexperience of our pilot, who, notwithſtanding, reckoned himſelf a very clever fellow, we were in this inſtance placed in greater danger than we had experienced before throughout the whole three months of our voyage.

4th September. The wind blowing ſtrong from the north-eaſt, we kept under ſail all night, and in the morning, by ten, got ſight of the head-lands of St. Domingo.

At noon I recognized Point Jean Rabel and Cape Fou to the ſouthward. I was exceedingly affected, for I had reckoned on reaching the Cape that day, which it now was impoſſible we ſhould do while the wind blew from the quarter it did. The vexation prevented my eating any dinner: the captain, noticing this, enquired the cauſe with much ſolicitude and kindneſs. I ſeized the opportunity preſented to me by this queſtion, to entreat him to land me at Saint Nicholas Mole, offering to pay all the charges of anchorage and port dues his compliance might occaſion: he was grieved even to tears at the thought. He ſaid, that the moment was at hand when we muſt ſeparate. What, obſerved I, did you then imagine we were never to part? Have we not through the whole courſe of life conſtantly before us examples of ſeparations in all men from every object of their fondeſt attachment, ſeparations which every one of them but precurſors of others? Do we not ſee that nothing is durable, nothing ſtable? Alas, my friend, this is an eſtabliſhed law to which of neceſſity we muſt ſubmit either with good-will or per force! You have been kind to me in extreme: the taſk your generous heart preſcribed has been moſt amply accompliſhed; would to

Heaven I were able to render you ſtill more eſſential ſervices; yes, my future taſk ſhall be to ſhew my gratitude by every poſſible means.

The captain liſtened to reaſon, and readily agreed to ſteer for the Mole, though ſtill in melancholy mood. Soon, however, the pleaſure of being on land earlier than he expected, and of not having to buffet with the waves for two or three days longer, which poſſibly it would take him to reach the Cape, in caſe the winds ſhould not become more favourable, unruffled his brow, and we entered the bay of the Mole, each alike gay and cheerful: as for me, I was ſo pleaſingly ſurprized to ſee myſelf on St. Domingo, that I rubbed my eyes, and dreaded to wake from a dream.

My firſt care was to wait upon M. de la Valtiere, the King's lieutenant, at Saint Nicholas Mole. I informed him who I was, and what the object of the voyage I had undertaken. He loaded me with kindneſs, ſought how to render me ſervice by every means, and puniſhed according to their merits ſome ſailors who had given me cauſe of complaint. I had here alſo the good fortune of forming an acquaintance with Meſſrs. Dunſteville and Dumanoir, of the engineer ſervice, who ſhewed me the greateſt civility.

I now wrote to the intendant of the colony, but burning with impatience to reach Port au Prince, without waiting his anſwer, I availed myſelf of the offer of M. de Vaſſal to repair thither, in a King's galley, which he commanded. We ſailed on the 17th September, and on the 25th arrived at Port au Prince.

The intendant gave me a moſt kind and gracious reception: he ordered payment of the two thouſand livres due to me, according to the direction of the miniſter; and moreover, gave me an appointment under himſelf, with a thouſand crowns a-year.

The pleaſure I felt at ſeeing my friends again, the fatigue I endured on my voyage, the change of air and diet, all combined, occaſioned me a ſickneſs of more than ſix weeks duration.

As ſoon as I recovered, I wrote to my parents and friends. I forwarded a relation of my voyage to the miniſter, and diſpatched the firſt ſpecimens of the plants I had brought from Mexico for the King's garden; but all theſe were loſt with Captain Gillet, on his return from the Cape, whither he had come in the Poſtillon of Rochelle, with the firſt intelligence of an embargo.

My Spaniſh captain, from whom I thoughtleſsly ſeparated myſelf at the Mole, while he was careening his boat, without taking leave, revenged himſelf of my incivility, in a manner highly honourable to himſelf, by ſending me back a bill for fifty-four dollars, which I ſent him before my departure, that is to ſay, fourteen to repay advances he had made me, and forty which I held it my duty to pay him for my paſſage. I much regretted and ſtill remember with the livelieſt affection, this excellent and obliging young man, whom I never can think of without inquietude, as ſince our parting I have not once heard from him, notwithſtanding his promiſe of correſponding with me. May I never hear but good news of this youth, to whom I was indebted for my return, however accompanied, as it happened to be, with tedious toil and danger!

I did not enjoy the ſweet ariſing from the ſucceſs of my expedition without ſome bitter mingled in the cup. I had effected a matter of public utility, and could but become a butt for the arrows of envy; ſtill the ſhaft which ſtruck the deepeſt, and cauſed the greateſt pain, was an inſinuation attributed to have been circulated by the Spaniſh captain, by a man ſo truly my friend, *that I had ſtolen my cochineal.*

It was however impoſſible that any ſuch like charge could have been made by the captain; for, ſeparate from his being moſt affectionately attached to me, I never had told him ſo; but, on the contrary, as was the truth, that I had bought them at four

different

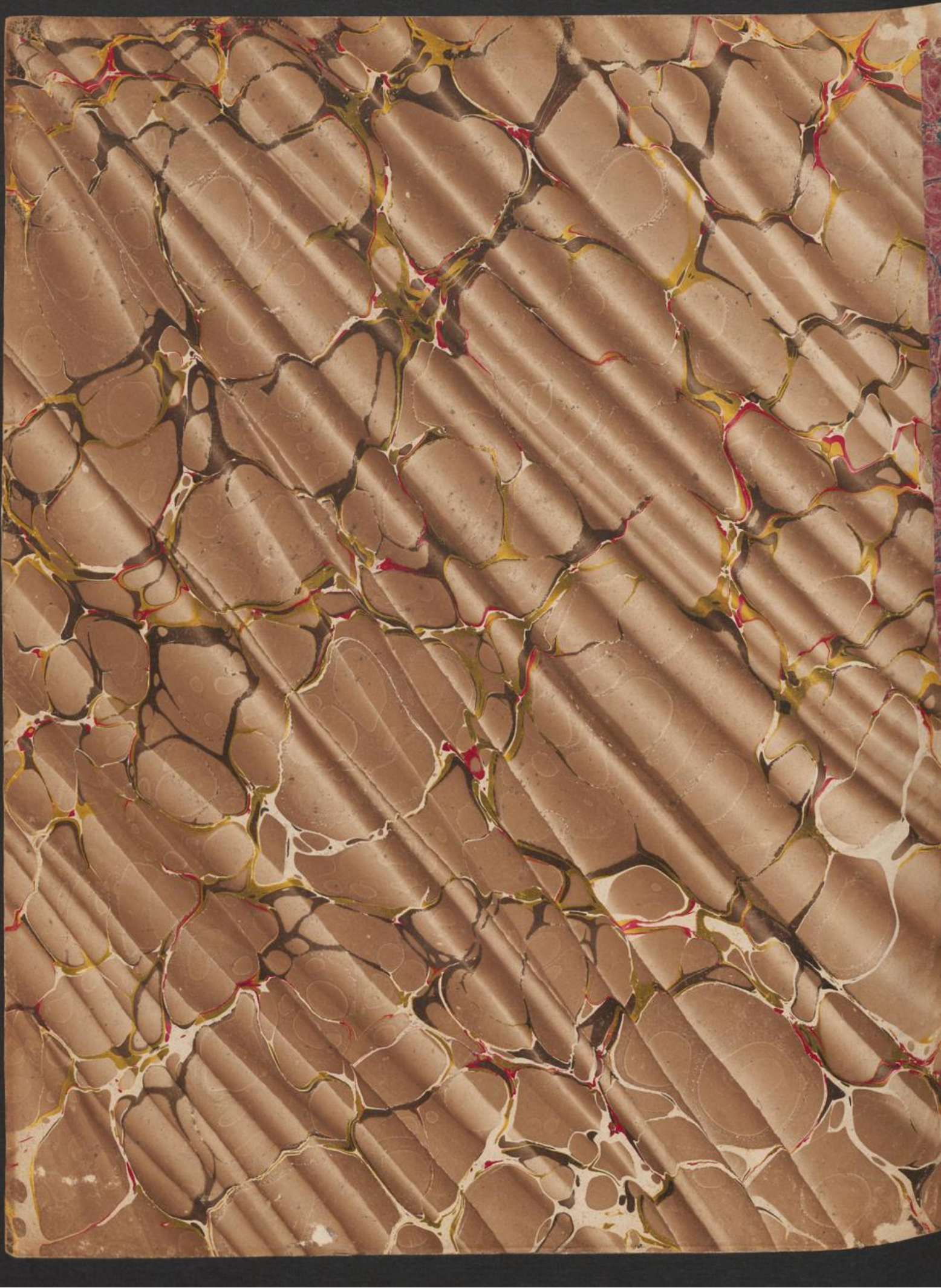
different places in Mexico; and I have such opinion of his honour, as to be secure he could as little be guilty of falsehood as of calumny. If it be said, however, that the captain might have committed such a double outrage, for his own defence, and in order to disculpate himself in the eyes of the Spanish nation, for being an accomplice in carrying off the prize, I must answer, that while at the Cape he could not have been in a predicament requiring such procedure; nor even if he were in his own county do I believe that any charge on such account could be alledged against him, since, however severe the laws which prohibit the exportation of dry cochineal, there are none which forbid the transport of it alive. There is not, therefore, the slightest likelihood that this dart was lanced by the captain; no, it was the poisoned javelin of a secret enemy, some foe to my tranquillity, or rather of some infamous miscreants who look on all that is meritorious only with invidious eyes.

And after all, can it be imagined, if it had been impossible for me to have purchased this precious insect, an insect I was so anxious to naturalize in our country, that I should endure the abortion of my project on account of a false and ridiculous delicacy? Most assuredly I should not, any more than a savage coming to France in search of grain, with which to enrich the land of his birth.

After such an avowal, doubtless my testimony will admit of credit; but more may be said: have I at any time passed with any one for a fool or an ideot? and should I deserve to be esteemed other in stealing a matter, precious certainly in my eyes, but which might be obtained for a mere trifle, and in thus exposing myself to the attacks, the mortification, the obloquy, which must naturally follow? In fact, what at the first custom-house could I have answered, on being interrogated, how I had got his production? A lie in such case would not have been less dangerous than a confession hurtful: I should have been exposed to the loss of the whole fruit of my travels, and in the eyes of Spaniards have incurred an opprobrium more painful to me than death.

I think I do not deceive myself with respect to right and wrong. To have stolen the cochineal would, in my opinion, have been an act of social injustice, as far as regards the cultivator whose garden I might have despoiled, an injustice which I fought to avoid, and I think successfully; for by buying it, I only committed a wrong against the nation from whom I bore it away: now, in my position, I regarded myself as the prototype of a different nation, on whom nature has bestowed the same prerogatives, the same right to her favours; and if, after offering payment for the cochineal at whatever price might have been imposed, all the Indians to whom I might have applied had combined to refuse my request, I should then have considered myself, as in case of war, absolved from the restrictions of social laws; but in infringing them, in carrying away by stratagem what had been denied to entreaty, I would have compensated the individual towards whom I might be guilty of a real injury, and have covered with piasters the ground from which I bore off my prize.

From the sentiments which thus with the utmost sincerity I have exposed, let it be judged if I have ought wherewith to reproach myself. Were I to decide, from my heart should I gain acquittal; but on a subject so delicate, and involving myself, I must leave with others to decide.

END OF VOL. XIII.

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