



FRENCH INCROACHMENTS.

The French in 1687 found Johnson's discovery New York which was discovered by the English in 1614. The Ohio Country was taken over by the English and thoroughly surveyed by the Millington Co. West from 1724 to 1734. The Ohio River is 1000 miles long and 100 miles wide. It is the largest river in the world. The French in 1763 found the Ohio River and settled at Vincennes. The French in 1763 found the Ohio River and settled at Vincennes. The French in 1763 found the Ohio River and settled at Vincennes.

Canada in 1763 had not more than 50000 inhabitants of which 20000 were of the French and 30000 of the English. The French in 1763 found the Ohio River and settled at Vincennes. The French in 1763 found the Ohio River and settled at Vincennes. The French in 1763 found the Ohio River and settled at Vincennes.

North Limits of New England by Charter 1620

ASINIBOIES

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NORTH AMERICA

From the French of M^r D'ANVILLE

Improved with the Back Settlements of Virginia and Course of Ohio ILLUSTRATED

with Geographical and Historical Remarks

Explanation. Canada & the French Incroachments, are distinguished by Yellow. The Spanish Settlements Green, and the English Colonies by Colours.



ENGLISH Title to their SETTLEMENTS on the CONTINENT.

The English claim all North America to settle in by J. De Vobis in 1492 from Cape Florida to Cape of Florida in 1492. The English claim all North America to settle in by J. De Vobis in 1492 from Cape Florida to Cape of Florida in 1492.

Virginia was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492. The English claim all North America to settle in by J. De Vobis in 1492 from Cape Florida to Cape of Florida in 1492.

Florida was discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1492. The English claim all North America to settle in by J. De Vobis in 1492 from Cape Florida to Cape of Florida in 1492.



and the S Sea West, now more limited and very narrow toward y^e Sea
re of Long Island; but grows broader towards the Country of the Six
is supposed to be comprised in it. Property & Government in the Crown
nia named from its Proprietor W^m Pen Esq^r granted by K. Cha II. 1680.
ning of the 40^o. to the 45^o. of Latitude, & in Longitude 5 Deg. W. of Delaware
Miles round Newcastle, in 1682 the Duke of York granted to him a slip
ands from 12 Miles N. of Newcastle, S. to Cape Hinlopen in 38^o. 45^o. w^{ch} part
delaware or Lower Counties Property & Government in the Proprietors
till 1732 was part of Sth Carolina it was settled seperated, & granted to
with right for 21 Years. Property and Government which last was then
to the Crown.

tions call'd Iroquois by the French are the Mohawks, Oneout or Onidos
Karowgaws and Senekas, the Tuskarorah make a Sixth their Country
Lenaktadi 16 m. N.W. of Albany, to the Niawgra Straits of Lake Erri

acknowledg'd by the Utrecht Treaty to be Subjects of Great Britain;
to settle all the Country West to the Mifsissippi, and South to the Che-
the Country of the Melsalsagues, and Northern Iroquois, lying beyond
ron and Ontario and S^t Laurence R. as far East as Montreal in right
ests, and all the Country North to the same River, and East beyond
e and River, as their Antient Territories, besides the Lands of their
n the French agreed not to molest, they can raise 1500 fighting Men
s of the English who call them Brethren, and under the Protection

A

SUMMARY, Historical and Political,

OF THE

First Planting, Progressive Improvements,
and Present State of the BRITISH Set-
tlements in NORTH-AMERICA.

CONTAINING

- | | |
|---|--|
| I. Some general Account of ancient and modern Colonies, the granting and settling of the British Continent and West-India Island Colonies, with some transient Remarks concerning the adjoining French and Spanish Settlements, and other Remarks of various Natures. | IV. The Province of L'Acadie or Nova Scotia; with the Vicissitudes of the Property and Jurisdiction thereof, and its present State. |
| II. The Hudson's-Bay Company's Lodges, Fur and Skin Trade. | V. The several Grants of Sagadahock, Province of Main, Massachusetts-Bay, and New-Plymouth, united by a new Charter in the present Province of Massachusetts-Bay, commonly called New-England. |
| III. Newfoundland Harbours and Cod-Fishery. | |

By WILLIAM DOUGLASS, M.D.

VOL. I.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.

LONDON,

Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY, in *Pall-mall*.

MDCCLX.

179

A
SUMMARY

Historical and Political

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



Thomas Miller Esq^r

THE
AUTHOR
TO THE
READER.

THIS HISTORICAL SUMMARY concerning the British continent plantations in North-America, we published in loose sheets by way of pamphlet, feuille volante, or los-blad ; which in their nature are temporary, and soon lost ; but as it is generally well received, that it may be more permanent, we publish it in two large octavo volumes.

Vol. I. Part I. contains general affairs, viz. some account of ancient and modern colonies, the first grants and settling of our continent colonies and West-India islands,

VOL. I.

A

and

and the adjoining French and Spanish settlements, with remarks of various natures.

Vol. I. Part ii. contains, 1. The Hudson's-bay company's settlements, factories or lodges, and their fur and skin trade. 2. Newfoundland cod-fishery. 3. The province of Nova-Scotia; the vicissitudes under the British and French jurisdictions. 4. The several grants united by a new charter in the province of Massachusetts-bay.

Vol. II. concerning the sundry other British provinces, colonies, or plantations, in the continent of North-America, viz. New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, East and West Jerseys, Pennsylvania higher and lower, Maryland, and Virginia. Throughout are interspersed several miscellaneous affairs, such as the natural history, the distempers at times epidemical, and the endemial diseases in these various climates, with their paper currencies; as also some addenda and corrigenda, particularly, if, by historical freedoms used, any just offence (*humanum est errare*) is given to person or persons, it shall be candidly rectified.

The

The writer, with candour, acknowledges that in the affair of commodore Knowles's impress in the harbour of Boston, Nov. 1747, there was somewhat of passionate warmth and indiscretion, merely in affection to Boston, and country of New-England, his altera patria; but not with rancour or malice, having no personal acquaintance nor dealings with Mr. Knowles; therefore from common fame, he (as historians do) only narrates his peculiar temper, his severity in discipline, and not so much regard as some other sea commanders have for the mercantile interest, by impressing their men, when he thought the publick service required it: his general courage as a sea officer is not questioned; the insinuation concerning his personal courage, has been construed amiss; the refusing passionate challenges from private masters of merchant ships, whose men he had impressed, which perhaps might deprive the nation of his service, is no slur.

The writer declares that he had no other intention, than by setting the affair in a strong light, to contribute towards extend-

ing to the continent colonies, particularly to New-England, a late act of parliament against impressing of sailors in the sugar West-India islands. Therefore as this affair was temporary, of no use, and may give offence, it is suppressed in the present publication of this first volume of the Summary. Admiral Knowles, since he sailed from Boston, has been happy in successful expeditions, particularly in reducing the fort of Port-Louis of Hispaniola, and in beating a superior Spanish Squadron off the Havannah; he has been in a course of preferments; and prosperous as to his private fortune.

WILLIAM DOUGLASS,

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Place the Map to Face the Title of Vol. I.

A

S U M M A R Y,

HISTORICAL and POLITICAL,

O F

The first planting, progressive improvements, and present state of the *British* settlements in NORTH-AMERICA; with some transient accounts of the bordering *French* and *Spanish* settlements.

A S distance of place does equally or rather more admit of latitude, for imperfect, erroneous, and romantic accounts of affairs than distance of time; the author, after thirty years residence in these colonies, and correspondence with some inquisitive gentlemen of the several governments, does generously offer to the public the following collection, done with some expense of time borrowed from the business of his profession, and hours of relaxation; without any mercenary, sordid, scribbling view of profit, or ostentation of more knowledge in these things than some of his neighbours, but to contribute towards a solid certain foundation for the histories of these countries in times to come. The people in Europe (the public boards not excepted) have a very indistinct notion of these settlements, and the American settlers are too indolent, to acquaint themselves with the state of their neighbouring colonies.

VOL. I.

B

Descriptions

Descriptions and bare relations, although accurate and instructive, to many readers are insipid and tedious; therefore a little seasoning is sometimes used; where a *mica salis* occurs, it may not be disagreeable; it is not designed with any malicious invidious view. For the same reason, a small digression, but not impertinent to the subject, is now and then made use of; as also some short illustrations.

S E C T. I.

Concerning the boundaries between the British and French settlements in NORTH-AMERICA.

AS a treaty of peace seems to be upon the anvil in Europe between Great-Britain and France; the subject-matter of this section, is to propose a scheme (the more proposals or projections, the more choice) towards determining and settling the territorial limits, and those of an exclusive Indian trade, between Great-Britain and France in North-America. The scheme must be short, else it will not be attended to, and therefore requires some previous elucidations, and some short anticipating accounts of things.

Our principal interest is to rival the French and Dutch in their trade and navigation, without distinction or partiality to either. In this present war, the French court seems to neglect their colonies, trade, and navigation, the principal care of their late good and great minister Cardinal de Fleury; and run into their former romantic humour of land-conquests. This is the opportunity to take the advantage of their inattention, more especially with regard to North-America, our present subject.

The French are the common nuisance and disturbers of Europe, and will, in a short time, become the same in America, if not mutilated at home, and in America fenced off from us by ditches and walls, that is, by great rivers

rivers and impracticable mountains. They are a numerous, powerful, rich, and polite nation, they have the advantage of us in three grand articles.

1. Their government is absolutely monarchical; tax at pleasure; not accountable for monies expended in secret services (in Great-Britain, the article for secret services in the civil list, is small, and when the parliament allows any sum extraordinary for that use, it occasions a grumbling both within and without doors.) In this they have the advantage of us, well knowing, that not only private persons, but ministers of state, generals, admirals, even sovereigns may be bought or bribed; the late E. of Or—d, the grand master of corruption, when he gave himself the loose, at times declared, “That there was no private person or community, but what might be corrupted, provided their price could be complied with.” It therefore becomes the representatives of Great-Britain, narrowly to inspect into the conduct of their ministers, and other great officers in trust, especially in making treaties with France. The infamous treaty of Utrecht, 1713, was procured by the French court bribing our corrupted administration; that part of it relating to the British northern American colonies will in time be their ruin, if not rectified and explained. 2. By custom time out of mind, they are above, and do upon all occasions dispense with, the principles of honesty and honour; superiority and power is their only rule, as Louis XIV modestly expressed it, in the device upon his canon, *ratio ultima regum*: they occasionally make dupes of the other princes in Europe; their promises and faith are by them used only as a sort of scaffolding, which, when the structure is finished, or project effected, they drop; in all public treaties they are *gens de mauvaise foy*. This may seem an unmannerly national reflection; but, at this time, it could not be avoided, considering their perfidiously exciting a rebellion in Great-Britain, contrary to their solemn acknowledgment and guarantee of the *Hanover* succession, by inciting the Highlanders to rapine and killing of their

countrymen; their re-fortifying of Dunkirk in time of peace; their violating of their guarantee of the *pragmatic sanction*, concerning the Austrian succession, by invasion of Germany. 3. The greatest and most essential real article is, the largeness of their dominions in the best country of Europe, and thereby are become an overmatch for their neighbours, and more capable of swarming into their colonies than we are. In order to preserve a balance in Europe, they ought to be curtailed or dismembred there, which will effectually, at the same time, prevent their too great growth in America.

Louisbourg being now in our possession, there can be no great difficulty in reducing of Canada: at present it is not populous (perhaps not exceeding 12,000 men capable of marching) neither is it compact (from the mouth of St. Laurence river to its rise from lake Ontario, at fort Frontenac, are about 800 miles;) and the French (without a pun) are like cocks which fight best upon their own dunghill: witness, their late behaviour in Germany, in Italy, their late poltronnerie in Cape-Breton, and at sea. Flanders is their own dunghill, and perhaps for politic reasons, the allies allow them to over-run it, it will be to them a chargeable possession, and a diminution of their army in garrisoning of so many towns: thus by giving them scope, they may run themselves out of breath, that is, out of men and money, and become an easy prey.

Cape-Breton islands and Canada being reduced, would be to us an immense advantage, *viz.* the monopoly of all the American fish, fur, and skins trade, provided these acquisitions could be annexed to Great-Britain, as a lasting possession: but unless in the present treaty we could absolutely give the law to France, and persuade the other powers of Europe to allow us this monopoly, we should to no purpose, incur (if not reimbursed from home) an inextricable expense or debt, and by extending or stretching our colonies, render them more slender and weak; we are not capable of settling inland countries in a short time,

time, our European dominions cannot allow or spare people sufficient for that purpose. The Phœnicians, Greeks, Venetians, Genoese, &c. formerly had many factories and colonies in sundry places, but for want of people sufficient to maintain these possessions, they soon vanished. It is true, the Dutch, an amphibious man-animal, though a small people, maintain their ground in their colonies: but we may observe, they never run their settlements far from their natural and trading element, the water.

Formerly priority of discovery was reckoned a proper claim. The Cabots coasted North-America (they were in Canada river) in the end of the fifteenth century. Secretary Walsingham, being informed of an opening westerly, north of North-Virginia (Nova Scotia and New England were soon after called North-Virginia) anno 1583, sent out vessels upon the discovery; they sailed up the river of St. Laurence, took possession of Canada, and settled some trade there. In Queen Anne's manifesto, dispersed in Canada, anno 1711, when the expedition for the reduction of it, was on foot, it is said, "That Canada belonged to the English by priority of discovery, and what the French possessed there was by grants from the English, and consequently held it only as a fief, therefore where the possessors turn enemy, it reverts." Quebec was taken by some private English adventurers, anno 1629. It was given up by treaty to the French, 1632.

Afterwards in place of prior discovery, pre-emption of the Indian natives, and occupancy, was deemed a more just and equitable title. In case of a war, if any conquest happened, upon a peace, an *uti possidetis* (as is the practice with the Turks and other Asiatics) was the right: but at present in Europe, amongst the civilized and polite nations, at the conclusion of a war, the basis of the treaty, is former treaties (reckoned solemn bargains, indentures, or *jus gentium*) equivalents in money, absolute cession, or exchange of territories, for damages

received, or supposed to be received, articles of former treaties, explained and rectified, as in our present case the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, seems to require.

By treaty of peace and neutrality for America, anno 1656, Nov. 6, 16, between Great-Britain and France; in one another's districts they are not to trade, fish, or harbour (except in cases of distress to repair, wood, and water) but iniquitously by the treaty of Utrecht, our corrupt administration granted to the French the liberty of catching and curing of fish in the most advantageous places, "On that part of Newfoundland from Cape-Bonavista to the northernmost part of the island, and "from thence running down by the western side to "Point-Riche:" there cod-fish are so plenty, and fall in so near the shore, that the French fishermen, without the charge or trouble of hook and line, catch them by a kind of grappling, as our privateers discovered when they made prizes of several French fish-traders in the summer, 1744, in the northern harbours of Newfoundland: by this unaccountable concession, the French had already the better of us in the fishery trade, and, in a few years more, would have supplied all the markets in Europe, and by underselling, entirely excluded us from the Cod-fishery, which is more beneficial and easier wrought than the Spanish mines of Mexico and Peru.

It would be a vast advantage to our trade and navigation, if, by the ensuing congress for a general peace, we could obtain the monopoly of the North-America Cod-fishery; there are precedents of monopolies allowed amongst sovereign princes: the Dutch have engrossed the spice-trade (pepper excepted) of the East-Indies. But if the French are still to be allowed some share in this fishery, let them cure their fish upon the islands of the gulph of St. Laurence, and upon the S. E. shore of Terra de Labaradore near the straits of Belle Isle.

By the said treaty of Utrecht, our corrupted court gave up to the French the island of Cape-Breton, and the other islands in the gulph of St. Laurence, with this
pernicious

pernicious clause, *liberty to fortify*. Accordingly in Cape-Breton, or L'Isle Royale, was erected the fortress of Louisbourg, the North-American Dunkirk, to annoy our American navigation and trade; but, by good luck, it is lately fallen into our possession: as the people of New-England, from their abundant loyalty to the crown, and zeal for the British interest, were the first projectors and principal promoters of this most valuable acquisition; if it is confirmed to us by a subsequent peace, it may prove a kind of monopoly of the Cod-fishery. New-England deserves not only a plenary reimbursement, but also some peculiar favour or bounty from the parliament of Great-Britain; having, upon this occasion, involved themselves deeply in debt, and lost many of their best labouring men, not by the enemy, but by an ill-conditioned putrid or hospital fever and flux. The high encomiums of our militia ought not to give any umbrage of jealousy to the British government or mother-country, that, in case of any general discontent here, concurring with a Dutch or French (maritime powers) war, they may cast themselves into the arms of the French or Dutch; and occasion some difficulty, for a British squadron and armament, to reduce them to reason. The people here are so loyal to the crown, and so affectionate to their mother-country, that this cannot be supposed. It is true, the King and council of Great-Britain lately seem to be of opinion, that the colony of Massachusetts-Bay, with regard to the neighbouring colonies, is too large, and have accordingly *curtailed* it, by annexing a large part of it to the inconsiderable government of New-Hampshire, and some part of it to the small colony of Rhode-Island; as we have never settled our line with New-York government, we are told they design to put in for a share.

Cape-Breton and the other islands of the bay of St. Laurence, before the peace of Utrecht, were in our possession, as belonging to M. Subercasse's commission, in which he is called governor of L'Acadie and Cape-Breton islands. He was the French governor when we

reduced that country 1710; but by the peace these islands were given to the French in exchange for the fortrefs (no settlement) of Placentia: while the peace was negotiating, Mr. More, of the board of trade and plantations, was so barefacedly corrupt, when the importance of Cape-Breton was represented, he answered, Must the French then have nothing?

By the treaty of Utrecht, the Canada or French line with Hudson's-Bay company or Great-Britain, was ascertained, *viz.* from a certain promontory upon the atlantic ocean in N. lat. 58 deg. 30 min. to run S. W. to lake Mistafin (which communicates, by Indian water-carriage, by P. Rupert's river with Hudson's-Bay, and by Seguan river, with St. Laurence river at the port of Tadoufac, thirty leagues below Quebec) and from thence continued still S. W. to N. lat. 49 deg. and from thence due west indefinitely; this west line takes in the northern parts of the upper-lake, large as the Caspian sea in Asia, one of the North-America five great lakes, or inland seas. By this concession we gave the French a sea-line skirt of Terra de Labrador (by authors who write in Latin, called *Terra Laboratoris*, or *Nova Britannia*) the better to accommodate their fishery: whereas, if the British interest had been in view, the west line or parallel of 49 D. N. lat. ought to have been continued east to a little above the mouth of St. Laurence or Canada river.

By the said treaty, the French were not to fish within thirty leagues of Nova-Scotia to the eastward, beginning at the island of Sable; its south side lies in 43 D. 55 M. N. lat. and from thence in a S. W. line indefinitely: N. B. There is no Cod-fishery to the southward of N. lat. 41 D. Salmon, smelts, and some other north climate fish are under the same restriction: to the westward of this line was *a mare clausum*.

In the peace of Utrecht it was omitted to settle a line between our colonies and those of France, called commonly Canada, and Mississippi, or New-France, and
Louisiana,

Louisiana, from north to south; and the line east and west between Carolina or Georgia, and the Spanish Cape Florida claims. In the proposed negociation for a peace, it would be much for the ease and quiet of all parties to have the same settled.

The natural and most effectual boundaries of countries or territories seem to be large rivers, as the upper Rhine divides the French acquisitions from sundry German sovereignties; and mountains impracticable, as the Pyrenean mountains, in general, divide France from Spain, the Dafforne hills divide Sweden from Norway, the Carpach, or Carpathian mountains, divide Poland from Hungary and Transylvania. The great river of St. Laurence, the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the Apalachian mountains may answer the intended British and French boundary, without any advantage or acquisition, disadvantage or loss on either side; but merely for peace and good neighbourhood.

The French fur-trade, and their settlements, are almost entirely northward of St. Laurence river: let us take a cursory view of the southern or British side of this great river, and of the lakes Ontario and Erie, and of the Apalachian mountains, or blue hills: all the advantage the French can have, by Indians in their interest, or small settlements south of St. Laurence, is only upon occasion to distress their neighbours, the British in Nova-Scotia, New-England, and New-York.

From Cape Rosiers, at the southern side of the mouth of the river St. Laurence, in N. Lat. 50 D. 30 M. to La Riviere puante, or the Indian tribe, called the mission of Besancourt, over-against Les Trois Rivieres, are about 400 miles; the barrenness of the soil; impracticableness of the mountains, which lie but a small way south of the great river; the rapidity of the short rivers or runs of water from these mountains; renders the country inhospitable, especially there being no proper water-carriage for Indian canoes. Here are no Indian tribe-settlements, and, as if in a desert, no human
kind

kind to be met with, only a very few Indian travellers. In Massachusetts's new charter, anno 1661, the claim is kept up in its extent, by express words, "To the gulf of St. Laurence, and Canada rivers." By our last treaty with the French, which was that of Utrecht, 1713, L'Acadie, or Nova Scotia, was confirmed to us; the French commission to their last governor Subercasse, was from Cape Rosiers to Quenebec river; this river lies nearly in the same meridian with Quebec, and the head of it not above fifty or sixty miles distant from Quebec, the metropolis of Canada, or New France. (The mouth of Sagadahoc or Quenebec river, lies nearly in 44 D. N. Lat.) Quebec, according to M. De l'Isle's accurate observations, lies in 46 D. 55 M. N. Lat. From the entrance of Sagadahoc to Norridgwag (the head quarters, on Quenebec river, of a considerable tribe of the Abnequie Indian nation, our subjects, or dependants) are not exceeding 100 miles; thence up Quenebec river, almost due North, so far as Indian canoes with paddles and setting poles can proceed, about seventy miles; these 170 miles, allowing for the meanders, or crooked turnings of the river, may be computed at two degrees of latitude; remains about sixty miles only, to Quebec, hilly bad travelling. The Norridgwag Indians road to Canada is up to the head of Quenebec river, and thence, by several lakes and carrying-places, to the river La Chaudierie very rapid, which falls into St. Laurence river about four or five leagues above Quebec: their best but longest travelling road is from Quenebec river to Connecticut river, up Connecticut river, and thence to the river St. François, which falls into St. Laurence river, about four or five leagues above Les Trois Rivieres.

To render it evident, that we do not intend to project any large extension of territories inland, we shall proceed to enumerate some more extents in fundry places of the projected line. From Saratogoa, a considerable British settlement in the crook elbow and long falls of
Hudson's

Hudson's river, the carrying-place, to Wood-creek, are twelve or fifteen miles, according to the wet or dry seasons; thence about thirty miles to the Verdronken Landen, or drowned over-flowed flooded lands; thence fifty miles to Crown-Point, a pass near the entrance of lake Champlain (Crown-Point is not well expressed in English, the proper name is Scalp-Point, from some Indian battle which happened there, and many Scalps carried off; it is better expressed in French, Point Chevelure, and in Dutch, Kruyn Punt;) from Crown-Point 100 miles to fort Chamblais, at the falls of Chamblais river, near its outlet from the lake; thence five or six leagues to Montreal, the second good town of Canada; in all 210 miles from the New-York settlement of Saratogoa.

This Crown-Point, not much exceeding 100 miles from Montreal, is to this day, with the adjoining country, called the Dutch side of the lake Champlain or Corlaer (a Dutchman of consequence who was drowned there in a storm). We are sorry that the levies of the several Northern colonies, did not proceed in the intended expedition against the fort of Crown-point; success or not, it would have made some noise in Europe, and naturally have led the congress to settle the line or boundaries.

We have a fort and constant garrison of regular troops at Oswego N. Lat. 43 d. 20 m. near the mouth of Onondagas river, on the South side of the lake Ontario or Cataraque; in the proper seasons, here is kept a fair for the Indian trade; Indians of above twenty different nations have been observed here at a time, the greatest part of the trade between Canada, and the Indians of the great lakes, and some branches of the Mississippi, pass near this fort, the nearest and safest way of carrying goods upon this lake, being along the south side of it. The distance from Albany to Oswego fort is about 200 miles West, and many good farms or settlements in the way.

The

The Apalachian mountains or great blue hills (land much elevated in the air, viewed at a considerable distance, appears of a sky colour) are only 200 to 300 miles distant from the sea line of Virginia, Carolinas, and Georgia; the British people, and some naturalized Germans, have made some good settlements at the foot of the east side of these mountains, the wash of the hills rendering the soil very rich. This chain of mountains, is not passable but in very few places with pack-horses; it runs from the Sennekas country near the lake Erie, almost due south to the bay of Apalachia, in the gulph of Mexico. Sundry deeds from the Indians to the proprietors of the Carolinas do expressly mention this great ridge of mountains as a W. and N. W. line or boundary.

The CHIKESAW and upper CHERAKEE nations reach from the west side of these mountains to the great river Mississipi; at present, and for many years past, their trade is, and has been, with the Virginia and Carolina Indian traders, who keep considerable stores among these nations. We have many trading houses and stores all along the east side of these hills, and all the Indians who live there are our fast friends and traders, exclusive of any other European nation. The Sennekas, Chouwans, the old Tuscaroras, Cuttumbas, the lower and middle Cherakee nations. All our long rivers reach those mountains, *viz.* Potomack, and James rivers in Maryland, and Virginia, Maratoke, alias Raonoak river, Pemlico river, Neuse river, and a branch of Cape Fear river in North-Carolina, Peddie river, the middle branch of Wineaa in South-Carolina, and the Savanna river of Georgia.

The proposed line cannot be of any great detriment to the French colony of Canada; they have little or no fur-trade south of the river of St. Laurence, and not exceeding 280 friend Indian fighting men, *viz.* The mission of Besancourt, over-against Les Trois Rivieres forty men; on La Riviere Puante, the mission of St. François on the river of the same name, about four or

five leagues higher, 160 men; these two tribes are of the Abnaquic nation, and therefore naturally belong to the New-England Indians; above Montreal there are about eighty men called Kahnuaqus, or praying Indians; idle fellows, who run about the streets of Montreal, begging with their chaplets or beads; they are runaways from our Mohawk Indians.

As to our boundary with the Spaniard south of Georgia, which a few years since occasioned considerable disputes, and the stationing of a regiment (Col. Oglethorp's) of regular troops; we may observe, that soon after the restoration, the crown granted the colony of Carolina to certain proprietors, extending so far south as 29 D. N. Lat. (this included St. Augustine, in the latitude of the bottom of the bay of Apalachia; and by the treaties of 1667 and 1670, seems confirmed to us.) St. Augustine is a barred place, no harbour for vessels, excepting small craft, and seems of no other advantage to the Spaniard, but in time of war to annoy our navigation in these parts, and to disturb our adjoining colonies by exciting the Creek Indians in their neighbourhood to rapine, as was the case, anno 1715. They improve no territory. The Florida Neck, or Tongue, southward is a barren soil, not worth contending for. This Florida Shore appears to be of no great benefit to Spain, but would be of considerable advantage to Great-Britain, for the tranquillity of our colonies in that neighbourhood.

A scheme towards settling the boundaries between the British and French colonies of NORTH-AMERICA, and for the better regulation of their trade.

IT is further agreed and concluded, that the boundaries between the British Hudson's-Bay company, and the French colony of Canada, shall remain as settled by the peace of Utrecht, 1713. That in conformity to the treaty of peace and neutrality for the English and French colonies in America, anno 1686, French vessels shall

not enter any of the harbours of Newfoundland (excepting in cases of distress) shall not trade or curl fish there, neither shall they fish within—leagues of the same. That the exclusive fishing-line on the coasts of Nova Scotia and New-England, shall begin at the southerly entrance of the gut of Canso, and run a direct course to the island of Sable, comprehending all the banks of the said island; and from thence to run south-west indefinitely. That the inland line shall begin at Cape Rosiers, the mouth of the river St. Laurence; up the said river, and Cataraquia river to the lake Cataraquie or Ontario; along the said lake and its communication with lake Erie; along lake Erie so far as the Sennekas country extends; and from this termination, the nearest course, or distance, to the Apalachian mountains; and along the ridge of the said mountains to the bay of Apalachie in the gulph of Mexica; St. Augustine and the promontory of Florida included. That the islands in the gulph and river of St. Laurence shall belong to the French, but the navigation of the said gulph, river, and lakes, shall be free to both parties. That the French shall not set up lodges, trading-houses, or factories, nor travel with goods, in the British American territories; neither shall the British subjects, in French American territories; penalty, confiscation of goods: but the Indians shall have a free passage, with their skins and furs, and return of goods for the same, indifferently, to a market, in both territories. That the trade with the Chikewaw and Cherokee Indian nations (although west of the Apalachian mountains) as being of many years continuance, shall continue with the British subjects exclusively.

N. B. This Section would have more naturally concluded, than begun the Essay; but as it may be supposed that a negotiation for peace between Great-Britain and France is now on foot in Europe, it was judged seasonable, and advisable not to postpone it.

We shall now reduce the History of British North-America under the following heads:

SECT. I. A scheme for boundaries between the British and French colonies in NORTH-AMERICA, and for regulating their exclusive trade.

II. Some general and short account of the Spanish, English, French, and Dutch discoveries, settlements, and claims in America.

III. Concerning the Indian nations and tribes, intermixed with, under the protection of, or in alliance with, Great-Britain: as also some imperfect hints of those called the French Indians.

IV. Some remarks in relation to the general British constitution of their colonies, in order to render the accounts of the several provinces more succinct.

V. HUDSON'S-BAY company; their trading lodges, forts, and factories; their boundaries with Canada, as settled by the treaty of Utrecht, anno 1713.

VI. NEWFOUNDLAND fishery; it is not colonized.

VII. NOVA SCOTIA, appointed to be colonized in governor Philips's instructions, but hitherto neglected; and may be said (the garrison of Annapolis excepted) to be as much a French colony as before its reduction; together with some short account of the islands in the gulph of St. Laurence, formerly included in the government L'Accadie, or Nova Scotia, but given to France by the treaty of Utrecht, and lately reduced to subjection of the crown, I wish I could say annexed to the dominions of Great-Britain.

VIII. MASSACHUSETTS-BAY. In the extent of their new charter, anno 1691, comprehending Old Massachusetts-Bay colony, Plymouth settlement, Province of Main; and the jurisdiction, but not the absolute property of duke of York's grant from Quenebec river to river St. Croix in the Bay of Fundy, commonly called Sagadahoc.

IX. NEW HAMPSHIRE, including the northern settlements of Massachusetts-Bay, lately adjudged to the crown, and annexed to that province.

X. RHODE-

X. RHODE-ISLAND, including a part of Plymouth late colony, lately adjudged to Rhode-Island colony.

XI. CONNECTICUT, according to the boundaries respectively settled, by commissioners with Massachusetts-Bay, New-York, and Rhode-Island; and confirmed by the king in council.

XII. NEW-YORK, according to their divisional line settled with the proprietors of East-Jersey, anno 1719, by commissioners appointed by the legislatures of both provinces, and confirmed by the king in council: and according to a divisional line, settled anno 1725, by commissioners from the respective legislatures of New-York and Connecticut colonies, and confirmed by the king and council: the boundary between Massachusetts-Bay and New-York colony we must defer, as not ascertained; notwithstanding the New-York commissioners agreed, that the basis of their settlements, with Connecticut, should be twenty miles east from, and parallel with, Hudson's river; the colony of New-York (as I am informed) insist that Housatonick, alias Westenhoek, alias Stratford river, shall be the boundary with Massachusetts-Bay; the neutrality in Queen Anne's war, between New-York and their Indians, and Canada and their Indians, was bounded easterly by Housatonick river: some of the New-York politicians say, that their claim extends to Connecticut river: their line with Pennsylvania is limited by Delaware river, and the parallel of 43 D. N. Lat.: their northern boundary with Canada wants to be fixed in some subsequent treaty.

XIII. The EAST and WEST JERSEYS, two distinct grants: the proprietors surrendered the government to the crown, anno 1702: being small, the crown has united them under one jurisdiction or government.

XIV. PENNSYLVANIA. Two distinct governments or legislatures, but under one governor; because the property of one family.

XV. MARYLAND. Lord Baltimore's property. We cannot adjust his line with Penn's family, as it is not as yet settled.

XVI. VIR-

XVI. VIRGINIA; according to their line lately run and confirmed with North-Carolina.

XVII. NORTH-CAROLINA; according to their late line with Virginia to the North, and South-Carolina to the southward.

XVIII. SOUTH-CAROLINA. The other government: the grant of Carolina, being very large, was divided into two governments.

XIX. GEORGIA. An Utopian property and government; granted by charter to certain trustees. A favourite and chargeable colony, but hitherto unprofitable.

S E C T. II.

An introductory short account of the ancient and modern navigation, discoveries, and settling of colonies, in North-America, distinguished under the following heads or articles.

ARTICLE I.

A general view of navigation and colonies in remote times.

IN trade and navigation, as in all other affairs of antiquity, we are not to go too far back; in the very remote ages, the ancients did much indulge a poetical, florid, rhetorical, enigmatical, and mythological vein; it is not possible at this distance of time and place, to distinguish between their true and fabulous relations: their histories and all other matters were wrote in verse, admitting of many poetical fancies [a].

[a] When we say, that the most ancient records are poetical, fabulous, and allegorical, not to be depended upon for a real, simple, true account of things; we must except our scriptural book of religion, the oracles of Moses and the prophets, of CHRIST and his apostles, called, from its

Doubtless, from time to time, by famine, pestilence, and some implacable sword, whole countries have been depopulated, and consequently their records destroyed; we find that we cannot, with any certainty, go back exceeding 2500 years. From what we may collect, we find that China, the East-Indies, and Arabians, are prior to us in trade and navigation; at present we have much the advantage of them.

In the revolution of ages, the several countries upon the earth have been depopulated by pestilence, famine, or wars; and afterwards settled from other countries; thus the origin of the several countries must be very various and uncertain. The plains and overflowed lands, called interval lands in New-England, upon the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates in Chaldea, and of the Nile in Egypt, being very fertile and pleasant, enticed people to settle them in a compact, political, improving manner; therefore our first certain records of things seem to originate there [b].

Among the aborigines, the Arabians or Saracens have been time out of mind, and are at present the principal aboriginal navigators of the East-India seas. The Arabian Moors or Mahometans, long before we navigated these parts, sent colonies to almost all their sea coasts and

excellency, The Bible or Book. Here we find ships upon the Mediterranean, and merchants upon the Red-sea, as early as the days of Jacob and the primitive Israelites. Gen. xlix. 13. *Zebulon shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for a haven of ships, and his border shall be unto Zidon.* Judges v. 17. *Gilead abode beyond Jordan: and why did Dan remain in ships? Asber continued on the sea-shore, and abode in his breaches;* the original signifies in creeks. Our translation of the bible requires to be revised. The Midianites and Ishmaelites, who bordered upon the Red-sea, were seafaring men and merchants. Gen. xxxvii. 28. *Then there passed by Midianites merchant-men.*

[b] The lunar eclipses, noted at Babylon by the ancient Chaldeans, are original standards for the motions of the sun and moon, with their several inequalities for all future ages. The Chaldean was formerly the universal or commercial eastern language, as at present the Arabian is their learned language, and the Latin the western school language. The Thebans in the Upper Egypt, for the sake of navigation, began to observe the stars, and from their heliacal risings and settings, before CHRIST 1034 years, they rectified the year from 360 to 365 days.

islands,

islands, and drove the natives up into the mountains. The Arabians and Egyptians, for many ages, navigated the Red-sea and Indian-sea. We have had Indian spices in Europe above 2000 years. Suez, the ancient Arsinoe in N. L. 30 D. was the barcadier or seaport of Grand Cairo for the Red-sea, distant forty or fifty miles. The Arabian gulph was the most frequented navigation upon account of the East-India trade, before the Portugueze doubled the Cape of Good-Hope. The Arabians, by their situation upon the Red-sea, drove a great trade between the Indies and the Egyptians; this was at that time the greatest trade of the known world. It is from the Saracen navigation and colonies, that all Asia and Africa (excepting the Tartars, China, Siam, and some insignificant Pagans) are of the Mahometan religion: doubtless, for the same reason, all America, in process of time, will become Christians. The Arabian navigation was and is very considerable, notwithstanding there is not one navigable river in all Arabia. The Saracens and Moors had several colonies in Europe, they were not totally drove out of Spain, until anno 1492.

After the Egyptians and Arabians, the PHOENICIANS became the principal navigators; first the Sidonians, then the Tyrians, and afterward their famous colony the Carthaginians. The Phœnicians were originally mariners, who fled from the Red-sea to the Mediterranean, before CHRIST 1047 years; being used to long voyages for traffic in the Indies, they began the like long voyages in the Mediterranean sea to Greece, &c. The calamities of their wars with the Edomites made them leave their native habitations, and settle upon the Mediterranean. They were the first who directed their course by the stars in the night-time (the magnetical, or sea-compass, is a modern discovery) their first navigation was in long ships with sails and one order of oars. They sent many colonies abroad, *viz.* Byzantium or Constantinople in Greece, Byrsa or the famous Carthage in Barbary, Gadez or Cadiz in Spain, Cassiterides (tin islands) Sicily islands

and Cornwall in Great-Britain, &c. Carthage, the most famous trading ancient Phœnician colony, founded 883 years before CHRIST, were masters and settled colonies all along the N. W. coast of Barbary, in the *Insule fortunatæ*, or Canaries, and in the Hesperides or Cape de Verde islands, in N. Lat. 15 D. They had colonies in the *Baleares Insulæ* (*Majorca, Minorca, & Ivica*) in Sardinia and Sicily. Carthage was, for many years, the emporium or mart of trade in the west, as Corinth in Greece was the emporium of the east: they were both destroyed about the same time by the Romans, 146 years before CHRIST.

The Assyrians, an inland people, had no notion of navigation: by conquering Egypt and Phœnicia, they put a damp to trade and navigation: after some time, a new Tyre was built, and the Tyrians flourished more than before, until Alexander the Great, a royal knight-errant, destroyed the city, and sold the inhabitants for slaves.

In the history of navigation and colony settlers, next were the GREEKS; at first more for war-expeditions and invasions than for traffic. The first account that we have of a long ship was that of Argos [c], who 'about fifty-three years after Solomon, or 939 years before CHRIST, according to the computation of the most ingenious (I wish our language, as the Dutch, would admit of a degree of comparison above the superlative) and penetrating Sir Isaac Newton, in his *Chronology of ancient kingdoms amended*. The Argonauts were the flower of Greece, fitted out to persuade the nations upon the coasts of the Euxine and Mediterranean seas, to revolt from Egypt; they were a parcel of jolly young gentlemen, viz. Castor and Pollux, Æsculapius, Orpheus, Hercules, Deucalion the son of Minos, Bacchus's sons, &c.

The several Græcian republics had their turns of fortune of being more or less potent at sea; the Cypriots were the most noted for commerce. They settled colo-

[c] Chiron was the first who formed, or delineated, the constellations, being for the use of the Argonauts.

ries in the southern parts of Italy and in Sicily, calling it *Magna Græcia*; this name was afterwards confined to *Calabria Superior*, in the kingdom of Naples; they built Marfeilles in Provence in France; they had settlements near Barcelona in Spain.

Before CHRIST 885 years, the Corinthians began to improve navigation by large ships and *triremes* [d].

Thucydides says, that in the 29th olympiad was the oldest sea-fight mentioned in history; it was about 657 years before CHRIST, between the Corinthians and Corcyreans of Corfu. The Athenians (whose continent dominions were not larger than Yorkshire) assisted the Corcyreans, the Lacedemonians aided the Carthaginians (the Lacedemonians were more powerful by land, but the Athenians were more powerful by sea) this gave occasion to the famous Peloponnesian war, the subject of Thucydides' history: on one side and the other, almost all Greece were engaged. The Athenians and Lacedemonians disputed the empire of the sea for some time.

During the intestine feuds of the Græcian commonwealths, Philip, king of Macedon, invaded and conquered the countries in his neighbourhood, and at sea enriched himself by piracies, and put an end to the Græcian liberties. His son Alexander the great, proceeded

[d] The most ancient water-conveyance (does not deserve the name of embarkation or navigation) was in rafts or floats, afterwards *moraxyle*, or canoes, cut out of an hollowed piece of timber, as amongst the West-India islands, and south continent of America: as also bark of trees (generally birch) with wooden ribs, as amongst the inland Indians of North-America: Cæsar says, that upon his expedition to Great-Britain, he found no other vessels there, but small boats made with wicker and hides; such may, to this day, be seen in Wales and in the West Highlands of Scotland. The Phenicians introduced to the Mediterranean-sea long ships with sails and one tire of oars. When war was used at sea, and the manner of fighting was to strike their enemies ships with their *rostra*, or *proav* (the Newcastle colliers call it, giving them the stern) for a greater stroke, *momentum*, or shock, the bulk of their vessels were gradually increased to the enormous size of *quinquiremes*, or five tire of oars.—Ships of war, were by the Romans called *classica*, merchant-men were called *oneraria*.

to the Levant, and conquered (committed murders and robbery) so far as the river Indus [e]: upon his return, intoxicated with wine, and his youthful vanity from conquests, he died at Babylon; and his depredations (they deserve no better name) were cantoned amongst his generals in their several stations or commands, who, after some bickerings, agreed to an *uti possidetis*.

Next in course at sea appeared the Romans, who at first (like the present Turks) did only mind conquest, not trade; but in process of time, finding that the Corinthians and Carthaginians, had the dominion of the seas, so as to land and make depredations where they pleased; to keep them within bounds, the Romans were obliged to mind the sea out of necessity [f], and they were both destroyed about the same time by the Romans; a great wound to trade.

Julius Cæsar invaded Great-Britain from France in very small vessels or craft; they were all built and fitted in two months: the Britons, at that time, had no navigation; they were reduced to the Roman province, not a colony, and continued so above 400 years. As the people of Britain, at that time, were a sort of *sylvestres*, wild people, like our American Indians, Scots highlanders, Miquelets of Spain, or Montenagrins; all particular accounts of Great-Britain may be reputed as fabulous before Cæsar's time. Upon the swarming or emigration of the northern Barbarians, the Roman troops in Great-Britain were recalled to the defence of their own country: a party of the same northern nations, called Saxons, embraced the opportunity, invaded Great-Britain in that part of it now called England; and one

[e] The Græcian empire extended so far east as the river Indus, that is, they conquered, or rather made the several countries pay tribute, or, in the modern phrase, raised contributions to the river Indus: the Romans did not bring the country under contribution further east than the river Euphrates.

[f] At the sea-battle of Actium, before CHRIST thirty-one years, Mark Anthony had 500, and Augustus 250 ships of war: this was the greatest sea force that ever the Romans were masters of. of

of their considerable tribes, the Angles, gave name to the country.

Pirates in the Mediterranean sea have been formidable. *BELLUM PIRATICUM* is sometimes recorded by the Roman historians. Pompey was delegated for one of these pirate-wars, and, in the space of four months (to his great honour and glory, as it is said) reduced all the pirates.

The Romans with their conquests and colonies introduced their own language [*g*] all over Italy, into France, Spain and Portugal, where it continues to this day, but much intermixed with the languages of the aboriginals, and of some foreigners, who invaded them from time to time. In other nations, which submitted to the Romans rather for patronage or protection than by conquest (the Romans were, at that time, the general arbitrators of all the known civilized nations [*b*]) the Roman language or Latin did not prevail.

The Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous nations, who swarmed from the northern parts of Europe, and like locusts, or caterpillars, over-ran the southern parts of Europe, may be said, generally, to have superseded the Romans; they had no notion of navigation and a sea-trade, and did not in the least apply themselves that way. Of these only the Normans and Danes (a sort of pirates) became potent at sea; their first expedition into Great-Britain was about anno 800 [*i*]. They settled a colony in the north parts of France, and called it Normandy; in a course of years they made depredations and some settlements along the coasts of Saxony, Flanders, Britain, and France; as a monument of this, there is to be found on the sea-coasts of those countries, to this day, blond complexions, red and yellowish hairs.

[*g*] The Romans had letters from the Greeks, and the Greeks had the use of letters from the Phœnicians.

[*b*] The French have been aiming at this for above a century past.

[*i*] *N. B.* By anno — we always mean anno *Christi*, or the year of the Christian æra.

This

This Norman colony in France called Normandy, (I shall not say, conquered England) in process of time gave a king to England, called WILLIAM the Conqueror, whose establishment continues to this day.

While the Mahometan Saracens prevailed, they were for a considerable time, masters of the seas (especially of the Mediterranean from the Red-sea to Hercules's pillars) in the southern parts of Europe while the Normans ravaged the northern parts. The Moors and Saracens reduced the greatest part of Spain anno 714, and were not totally subjugated by the aboriginal Spaniards until anno 1492 [k]: the Spanish blood is much tainted with the Morefco.

The next, and last, set to be mentioned in this article, are the several REPUBLICKS IN ITALY (*Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, Pisans*) and Catalonia in Spain; they carried on the trade and navigation of the southern parts: and the HANSE TOWNS in Germany; they had the trade and navigation of the northern parts of Europe. Their intercourse was generally at Sluys and Bruges in Flanders; and exchanged or bartered naval stores, woollens, linens, &c. for Persian and East-India goods, and spices, &c. which in part were purchased at Grand Cairo, but mostly brought over land in caravans to several barcadiers, or sea-ports, in the bottom of the Mediterranean sea.

The Genoese had many colonies in Lesser Asia, and upon the Euxine sea, and drove a great trade there: in the beginning of the thirteenth century, they were in possession of Nice and Ventimiglia in Italy, of Tyre in Syria, of Ceuta in Barbary, of Corsica and Sardinia: their families of Doria and Spignola had the principal administration.

The Venetians formerly were in possession of Candia and of all the islands in the Archipelago and Ionian sea: in short, their becoming so rich and powerful gave

[k] The commanding land and sea-officers amongst the Saracens were called Emirs. Mr. Burchette, in his naval history, says, that, perhaps, from thence we may have our designation of admiral.

jealousy and umbrage to the other sovereignties in Europe, and occasioned the famous league of Cambray, anno 1508.

The first discoveries made in America were generally by Italian navigators, or of Italian extract (Columbus in the Spanish service, Cabots in the English, Americus Vespucius in the Portugueze, Veruzani in the French service, &c.) employed by several European princes.

The Hanse towns were an association of several trading towns in Germany; at one time they were in number about seventy; they are, at present, reduced to four; (there is constantly an English resident or minister with the Hanse towns) Lubeck on the river Traave the principal, Dantzick on the Weiffel or Vistula, Hamburg on the Elbe, and Bremen on the Weser: all these are free towns with a territorial district.

The Venetians, more particularly, becoming vastly rich by their trade in East-India goods and spices, set sundry princes of Europe upon projecting a navigable (consequently less chargeable way, so as to undersell the Venetians, and out them of that trade) and usefully practicable passage from Europe, to the rich produce and manufactures of the east. This leads to the subject of the following article.

ARTICLE II.

Concerning the several essays or adventures, towards discovering navigable passages from Europe to the East-Indies, China, and the Spice-islands.

IT is said, that one great inducement to Columbus's adventure westward, was to try for a western navigation to the Spice-islands; and luckily, by islands and a great continent intercepting him, America was discovered.

As the several great continents of Europe and Africa eastward, and America westward, lay in the way; the case was, how to double the extreme north or south

points,

points, or lands-ends, of these continents; or to find some practicable fraits or thorough-fares in these continents.

Before we proceed, we shall insert by way of amusement, as not impertinent to the subject, the following digression.

Some Dutch fishers missing of whales, are said to have failed in quest of them several degrees north of Cape Purchas of East-Greenland, which lies in N. lat. 82. D. there was no ice, only an open sea, but very hollow. Whalers say, that the farther north, on Spitzbergen, or East-Greenland, they found the greater plenty of grass, and other green herbs; therefore towards the pole it must be hotter: this seems to be probable from the nature of things: in June, at the north pole, the sun is 23 D. 30 M. high, and for some months always above the horizon; whereas, for instance, at London, the metropolis of Great-Britain, in N. lat. 51 D. 30 M. the sun, in December, is only about 15 D. high, and only for one third of its revolution or day above the horizon.

M. Frazier, a French navigator, says, in the account of his South-sea voyages; that on the 13th of March, 1714, N. S. in returning to France, south of Cape-Horn, in lat. 58 D. 30 M. and 68 D. 30 M. W. longitude from Paris, he discovered several islands of ice, whereof one was four or five leagues long; ice is not frequently met with hereabouts, and as ice is formed by an adherence to some land or shore, there must be land towards the south-pole; but not within 63 D. S. lat. for the extent of about 200 leagues from 55 D. to 80 D. west long. from Paris; because this space has been run by several ships, which the S. W. and S. S. W. winds have obliged to stand far to the southward, to weather Cape-Horn, the lands-end of South-America, in 55 D. 55 M. S. lat. This is the reason, why that chimera or fancy of a *terra australis* is at present, left out of our charts or maps. If lands are discovered south of 64 D. S. lat. they must be inhospitable and uninhabitable, considering that the weather is more stormy, and winters more rigid, in the high

high south latitudes, than in the same northern latitudes; the same climates south of the equator, are much colder than to the northward of the equator.

The southern latitudes are much colder, than in the same degrees of northern latitudes. 1. The sun is annually eight days longer on the northern side of the equinoctial, than on its southern side. 2. The sun in our north country winters is in its perigee, that is, nearer the earth, than in the southern winters, being then in his apogee. 3. The highest cod-fishery, according to Capt. Frazier, in the southern latitudes, is in 31 D. S. lat. Our cod-fishery in North-America (there are some straggling cod-fish caught more to the southward) extends to Nantucket, New-England, in 41 D. N. lat. therefore 41 D. N. lat. is nearly of the same temper or coolness as 31 D. S. lat.

To obtain navigable passages, into the Indian and South-seas, the extreme north and south promontories, or lands-ends of the several continents above-mentioned, were to be doubled. They are reduceable to four, *viz.* 1. The S. E. passage by doubling the Cape of Good-Hope, the south point of Africa. 2. The S. W. passage by doubling Cape-Horn, the south point of America, Magellan's-straits is a thorough-fare. 3. The N. E. passage, north of the north cape of Europe, but hitherto not discovered. 4. The N. W. passage, or rather thorough-fare between the north shore of America, and the south shore of West-Greenland, commonly called Davis's straits (to double the north parts of this West-Greenland, has hitherto not been imagined) this has at times been endeavoured, in the last century and half: M. Dobbs is at present, in pursuit of it. Lastly, we shall mention some tentatives for discovering thorough-fares in several openings in the body of the continent of America.

The ancients had no knowledge of countries south of the equator. John I, of Portugal, conquered Ceuta from the Moors, 1409; Henry, third son of King John, much in the humour of navigation discoveries, by his

encouragement, the Portugueze began, anno 1418, to range the west coast of Africa: 1438 Alphonfus V took Tangier, and ranged so far as Cape Negroe in 16 D. south latitude [1], and to this day have several colonies with territorial jurisdiction from thence to 7 D. S. lat. in Congo, Angola, and Loango. Anno 1442, the Portugueze obtained of the pope a grant of all lands lying S. and E. of Cape Bajador on the W. side of Africa, 26 D. 30 M. N. lat. In the reign of Emanuel 1497, Vasquez de Gamma doubles the cape; they had discovered this cape anno 1487, and called it the Cape of Good-Hope, in expectation of doubling it; thence they coasted along the eastern shore of Africa; from Cape-Negroe on the west side of Africa, 16 D. S. lat. round (the Cape of Good-Hope, a Dutch place of refreshment excepted) to Rio de Spirito Santo in S. lat. 18 D. on the east shore of Africa, is a very wild and savage country, no European Settlers; but from 18 D. S. lat. to 5 D. N. lat. the Portugueze have possessions, the chief being Mozambique in 15. D. S. lat. and Melinda in 2 D. 30 M. S. lat.

From the eastern coast of Africa, the Portugueze sailed over to the Malabar coast on the Indian peninsula. The next Portugal expedition for the East-Indies was drove upon the coast of Brazil, and after taking possession of it, proceeded to the Malabar coast. Anno 1510, Albuquerque reduces Goa, takes Amboyna, Banda, and some other

[1] The Portugueze in their adventures southward, on the east side of the Atlantic Ocean discovered, and are still in possession of, several clusters of islands; 1. The western islands, formerly called Azores or Tercezes, lying from 36 to 40 D. N. lat. about 300 leagues west of Portugal, and 300 leagues east of Newfoundland; they are nine in Number. Mercator, and after him, many English charts, place the first meridian at St. Michael's one of these islands, about 15 D. more west than Ptolemy's canon. 2. Maderas, first discovered anno 1410, first settled anno 1425; it was so called from its being well wooded: it produces the Madera wines, the *delicia* of the British American colonies. 3. Cape-Verde islands, nine in number, about 160 leagues west of Cape de Verde in Africa; they were anciently called Hesperides, were discovered anno 1440, but not settled until 1572; the New-England fishery bring some of their salt from their island of May.

of the Molucca islands, and returns home richly loaden with spices; they sailed along the coast of China. Thus during the reign of their good King Emanuel, who died anno 1521, they carried all before them at sea, and superseded the Venetians in a trade which they had enjoyed ever since anno 1260. Having purchased of Charles V, emperor, his claim, as king of Spain, of a pretended priority of discovery in the Spice-islands, they solely enjoyed without molestation for near a century of years the famous and profitable trade and navigation to the East-Indies; as Spain did that to the West-Indies.

Henry, king of Portugal, dying without children in 1580, king Philip, by a powerful army under the duke d'Alva, reduces Portugal; he claimed it in right of his mother Elizabeth the empress; Spain became master of all the Portugeze dominions and rich trade; being in the height of glory, after a few years, anno 1588, the king of Spain fits out the Invincible Armada (as he called it) against England.

The Dutch [*m*] at this time, as revolted from the dominions of Spain, were prohibited by the king of Spain,

[*m*] Captain Drake, afterwards Sir Francis Drake, by way of the straits of Magellan and South-seas, or Pacifick-ocean, 1579, in the name of the crown of England, took possession (according to the formalities of those times) of the Moluccas or Spice-islands, and carried a quantity of spices to England. The Dutch did not come to the East-Indies until 1595; did not see the Spice-islands until 1599. Some London merchants, anno 1600 (some time before the establishment of the Dutch East-India company) obtained letters-patent of incorporation, and formed themselves into a company; their common stock was 72,000*l*. sterling. During the indolent reign of James I, the English were not well supported in the East-Indies, and the Dutch over-reached them, notwithstanding a solemn convention between the English and Dutch, July 7, 1619, whereby the trade of pepper, at Java, was to be equal; and the trade of the Molucca, Banda, or Spice-islands, was to be two thirds to the Dutch, one third to the English; the Dutch in Amboyna (a principal Spice-island, in 3 D. 40 M. S. Lat. the best Dutch government next to that of Batavia) upon some frivolous pretext, inhumanly and cruelly massacred the English people, anno 1622: soon after they seized all the English settlements and factories in the Spice-islands, and have monopolized the spice trade ever since. This violent abuse, or transaction, can never be forgot, and perhaps

to trade to Portugal, the only emporium of East-India spices and other goods: this occasioned their endeavours to sail directly to the East-Indies, and Spice-islands: they first attempted a N. E. passage by Waygatz-straits, but in vain; afterwards, anno 1595, without ceremony they doubled the Cape of Good-Hope, seized several of the Spanish or Portugueze colonies, got a great footing in the East-Indies, and have established a great trade, and settled many considerable colonies.

Upon the expiration of the twelve years truce between Spain and Holland, anno 1621, the Dutch made several successful expeditions to Brazil (at the same time made some settlements in Guiana) and got some footing there. P. Maurice was appointed governor, and resided there from anno 1637 to anno 1644; for want of supplies he left it and returned home: the Dutch having a better game to play in the East-Indies, from whence they almost outed the Portugueze, they gave way in the Brazils, and after some years the Portugueze recovered it entirely, by anno 1660.

The following digression, may perhaps be an agreeable amusement to some readers.

To make some estimate of the Dutch East-India, whaling, and sugar trade (which, with their herring-

is never to be forgiven: the resentment and reparation has long lain dormant, from James I indolence, the national confusions during the civil war, the voluptuous reign of Charles II, the sole application of James II, to introduce *despotism* and *popery*, and laterly from indulgence and affection we bear to our natural and maritime allies, so the Dutch are called; at this time, from some corruption of the leading men, some evil spirit, or some abstruse mystery of state, they have, in the present war of Great-Britain with France, baulked us very much. Cromwel, a very great politician and general, who, though not legally, yet by divine permission, or as in some designations, *divina providentia*, or by the providence of God, had for some years the direction of British affairs, in his declaration of war against the Dutch, anno 1652, demands satisfaction for the Amboyna affair, and the arrears of a certain sum of 30,000*l.* sterling *per annum*, for liberty of herring-fishing on the coast of Schetland, as *per contract* with the English court in Charles I reign; Cromwel's war with the Dutch being soon over, their submissiveness and usefulness to him, made him drop it.

fishery

fishery and carrying, are the branches of their traffic) we shall instance the year 1738 (perhaps a medium year of business) that year arrived in the Texel, for Amsterdam, and the small towns in the Zuyder Zee, from the East-Indies fifteen ships; from East-Greenland, or Spitzbergen, ninety-two whalers; from West-Greenland, or Davis's streights, fifty-five whalers; with sugar, coffee, cocoa, from Surinam thirty-six; Curasoe eleven; other places in the West-Indies fourteen.

The Dutch at first carried on their trade in the East-Indies, by factories in several parts; afterwards they settled colonies with a territorial jurisdiction; they did not fully monopolize the trade, until 1635. The subscription for a company trade was 6,440,200 guilders, or florins.

The whole trade is supposed divided into sixteen parts, and the company into six chambers, each chamber having parts nearly in proportion to their subscription; of those sixteen parts eight belong to the chamber of Amsterdam, four to Zealand, one to Rotterdam, one to Delft, one to Horn, and one to Enchuyzen: each chamber has a peculiar board of directors, called in Dutch Bewindhebbers; the chamber of Amsterdam consists of twenty directors, that of Zealand consists of twelve directors, the other four chambers each consist of seven directors: The grand affairs of the united chambers are managed by a grand council, which sits at Amsterdam for six years, alternately; this general council consists of a deputation from each of the six chambers, Amsterdam sends eight deputies, Zealand four deputies, the other four chambers send one deputy each; and a seventeenth (this council consists of seventeen) is chosen alternately by the six chambers, and is president, or chairman.

This company is vastly rich, an original share of 3000 guilders (3000 is reckoned a high share) has been sold frequently at 20,000 guilders; notwithstanding their great annual charges in building and repairing fortifications, ships, store houses, salaries, soldiers pay, &c. amounting sometimes to upwards of a million and a half
guilders

guilders per annum. They are the most powerful private society in the world; some think them more powerful than the government of their own seven united provinces at home in Europe; they have at times lent the government, or States general, great sums of money for continuing their privileges; anno 1688, they lent the States general 8,000,000 guilders for continuing their privileges to anno 1740. It has been thought, that if the Dutch (I mean their people of quality and fortune) should, at any time, foresee a certain danger of being reduced by a more potent neighbour, they would transport their families and effects to the East-Indies, where they are masters of the sea: thus, in ancient times, the Tyrians, when in apparent danger of being reduced by Alexander the great, sent their wives, children and effects to Carthage. This company exports very little bullion from Holland (the English East-India company export too much silver) their spices vended in that country, purchase all the other goods they may have occasion for. The English East-India company, in some articles of trade, have the advantage of the Dutch; for, in fact, the Hollanders buy near half the goods sold at the English East-India sales.

The seat of government for all the Dutch East-India colonies and factories is at Batavia; here resides their governor-general with much greater state, than the president of the States-general of the united provinces. The governor-general is chosen by the company, with the approbation of the States-general; he is elected only for three years, but frequently continued for life; he has a council of six, *viz.* The major-general, a military officer; director-general, who has the inspection of the trade, and gives orders or instructions to all under-directors, factors, supercargoes, and masters or skippers, with four more named by the company. In very good policy, they have an independent court of judicature for civil and criminal matters, to whom the governor-general is subject, and by whom he may be condemned even to death. Under the governor-general are six considerable govern-

governments or colonies; each has a governor, director of trade, &c. besides several lesser governments, commanderies, and factories. This being only a digression, I must forbear to enumerate more particulars. As the above observations are not public, that is in print, I hope they may be acceptable.

II. A short history of the S. W. passages from Europe to the Mare del Zur, South-sea, or Pacifick-ocean; and to the East-Indies, or China, and the spice-Islands. As the Portugueze formerly claimed an exclusive navigation by the S. E. passage, in like manner the Spaniards pretended to the exclusive navigation of the S. W. passage, to the East-Indies. For the better understanding of the affair, we may previously observe [o]:

The reason why several princes of Europe endeavour'd other passages besides that of the S. E. by the Cape of Good-Hope to the spice-islands, and the Indian seas, was as follows. Ever since anno 1410, the Portugueze proceeded, with infinite labour and much expence along the west coast of Africk, to gain a passage to the East-Indies; anno 1442, they obtained of Pope Martin a grant of the sole navigation of seas, and property of lands, lying S. and E. of Cape Bajador N. lat. 27 D. W. from London 15 D. in Africa; this includes the Cape of Good-Hope, and the S. E. passage.

The Pope anno 1493, having granted to the Spaniard all lands beginning 100 leagues west from the Azores, or western islands (belonging to Portugal) and south indefinitely; occasioned a dispute between the Spaniards and Portugueze. The Portugueze reckoned the Spanish discovery of America anno 1492, and this bull, as an encroachment upon their right to the ocean, as being the

[o] In the course of this narrative concerning the colonies from Europe settled in America, to render matters more obvious and distinct, we do sometimes premise introductory accounts of affairs, and sometimes subnect by way of notes or annotations transient descriptions of incidental things, which, although in every respect not consistent with our intended brevity, nor strictly within the limits of our design, may be of use for a general information, and not disagreeable amusement.

first navigators of this ocean; complained to Pope Alexander VI, anno 1493; he composed this difference by the limits of a meridian, called, the line of dimarkation degrees west of St. Antonio, the westernmost of the Cape de Verde islands: St. Antonio lies 25 D. west from London [p].

As the Pope at that time, and for many years following, was universally in Europe regarded, as the sole and absolute arbitrator, or rather disposer of all dominions upon earth; the other princes of Europe did implicitly acquiesce in this fantastical, or rather FANATICAL division of the globe of the earth (its parts to be discovered) between the Spaniards and Portugueze; and for near a century, all the traffick of the East and West-Indies was engrossed respectively by the Portugueze and Spaniards; but in process of time, the British, French, and Dutch have got into their hands the greatest part of this traffic; gold, silver, and precious stones excepted.

There are three different south-west passages.

1. The straits of Magellan (it is properly a thoroughfare, but near the land's-end of America;) the east entrance lies in 52 D. 30 M. S. lat. its west entrance in 53 D. S. lat. in all its turnings about 116 leagues long; Cape Quaad not above four miles wide; at Batchelors river, fifty leagues from its east entrance, the flood begins to come from the westward, and makes a ripling with the eastern flood. After the beginning of May to the end of September, these straits are so full of ice, with fixed stormy westerly winds, there is no passing; at other

[p] Cape St. Augustine, the westernmost point of the Brazils (and of all America) lies in 53 D. W. from London: the line of dimarkation cuts off a slice of the eastern coast of America, now called Brazils; thus the Brazils belong to the Portugueze, not only by priority of discovery and occupancy (this is at present the good title by the law of nations) but by the Pope's antiquated, obsolete, divisional decree: and as the opposite line of dimarkation must be 180 D. E. and W. from this line, it is thought that some part of the Moluccas or Spice-islands, if the pope's decree were of any force or obligation at this time, would fall within the Spanish division.

times,

times, it is very difficult and tedious, therefore it is now difused. Trees grow here to a considerable bigness; there are no pine-trees in these southern latitudes, the like northern latitudes abound with them [q].

Ferdinand Magellanez, a native of Portugal, not sufficiently rewarded for his many good services in the Portuguese discoveries, offered his service to the emperor Charles V, king of Spain, to find a passage to the Spice-islands by sailing westward, without any violation of the pope's bull, or of the agreement with Portugal: with five ships and 300 men he sailed from Seville in Spain, Aug. 10, anno 1519; he wooded and watered on the coast of Brazil in 22 D. S. lat. he first, but in vain, attempted a passage by the river of Plate; he discovered and passed the straits of his own name, November, anno 1520; he proceeded to the Ladrones and Philippine-islands, where he was killed in a skirmish with the Indians; his ships proceed and arrived at the Moluccas or Spice-islands in November, 1521 [r], and settled a colony; they loaded with spices, and by way of the Cape of Good-Hope, in three years returned to Spain. After Magellan's passage, it was discontinued (being represented so very difficult) for many years. Camerga, a Spaniard, is said to have passed it anno 1539.

Capt. Francis Drake is reckoned the second who circumnavigated our globe, or earth, by passing the straits of Magellan; with five ships and 164 men he sailed from Plymouth, Dec. 13, anno 1577; he passed the straits of Magellan in September, 1578, after a very difficult navigation of sixteen days; he got much treasure along

[q] Here are large trees with a pepperish aromatic-tasted bark, formerly of good medical use, the botanical name is, *cortex Winteranus laurifolius Magellanica cortice acri*; Winter's bark from the name of the first importer; it is not at present to be found in the apothecaries shops in Europe, and the name is transferred to the *cortex elutheri*, from the Bahama-islands, called *cinamomum sive canella alba tubis minoribus C. B. P.*

[r] The Spaniards were soon drove from the Spice-islands by the Portuguese; and the emperor king of Spain having pressing occasions for money, for a certain sum renounced all his pretensions to the Spice-islands.

the coast of Chili and Peru; sailed so far north as 43 D. N. lat. the inclemency of the weather obliged him to return southward; he took possession, in form, of the N.W. parts of California for the crown of England, and called it New-Albion. He arrived at Ternate, one of the Molucca or Spice-islands, Nov. 14, anno 1579, and loaded a quantity of cloves; arrived in England, Nov. 3, 1580. He was knighted aboard of his own ship by queen Elizabeth [s]. His journal differed one day from the account of time in England [t].

[s] Good queen Elizabeth excelled in many things, particularly by encouraging of trade and navigation: she settled a trade with the Grand Seignior, with the Czar of Muscovy, with India, and began our America colony settlements. To encourage navigation-discoveries, she knighted the discoverers; she was called the restorer of naval glory, and the mistress of the ocean. Her expeditions against the Spaniards (the Dutch being under her protection) gave occasion to many of our discoveries and settlements of colonies and factories. She formed an English East-India company by letters-patent of incorporation, Dec. 30, anno 1600; there were 180 persons named in the patent, their common stock was only 72,000 *l.* sterling; whereas the Dutch East-India company incorporated by the States-general anno 1602, their common stock was 6,440,200 guilders or florins, being about 600,000 *l.* sterling, and consequently soon out-did us in the East-India trade and settlements.

[t] In fact, the Spaniards of Manila differ from the Portugueze of Macao, an island near Canton on the coast of China, about one day; the Spaniards came by the western navigation from New-Spain or Mexico; the Portugueze came by an eastern navigation from Europe; this occasions a clashing in their Sundays, and other holidays; and is a demonstration, that the same identical seventh part of time for religious worship, festivals, and falls, cannot, in the nature things, be observed, and consequently is not *jure divino*, but admits of a latitude or variation naturally, or by civil institution: thus naturally our New-England sabbath differs four hours forty-five minutes from our mother-country's Sunday, and is observed according to the course of nature; since the seventh part of time for rest and divine worship, cannot possibly be identically the same, but must differ as longitudes do. Some other differences in observation of times, are not essential to religion; some reckon the day before the night, some the night before the day, as do the Mahometans and others; the old and new-style makes a considerable difference in our holidays; they who follow the old-style in their holidays, are to a demonstration, in the wrong; yet notwithstanding, some of the church of England, and other churches who follow the old-style, clamour much against the Nonconformists, who do not observe their Christmas, Easter, and other erroneously established

Capt.

Capt. Thomas Cavendish (he was afterward knighted) was the third adventurer and circumnavigator by this strait; having passed, he distressed the Spaniards very much along the South-sea shore; he touched at California; took an Aquapulco ship; touched at the Philippine-islands and Java; he doubled the Cape of Good-Hope; touched at St. Helena in 15 D. S. lat. with much booty and glory, he arrived at Plymouth, Sept. 9, anno 1591.

The Spaniards having found two land-passes or conveyances, *viz.* The isthmus of Darien, and from the river of Plate cross the Andes to the South-Seas, they discontinued this navigation. Oliver Nort, anno 1598, and George Spilbergen, anno 1614, Dutchmen, passed. Sir John Narborough, fitted out by king Charles II, and the Duke of York, sail'd from England May 15, anno 1669; was only six months from Baldivia in Chili to England; he repassed the straits of Magellan, and made the Lizard June 10, 1671; was only one year and nine months in his voyage. M. de Beauchesne a Frenchman (perhaps the last in this navigation) passed anno 1699; he returned south of Cape-Horn without making land.

2. The passage by straits Le Maire and Cape-Horn. This strait lies between Terra del Fuego and Staten-islands, in 55 D. S. lat. being five leagues long, eight leagues wide, good soundings; from thence they double Cape-Horn, the south land's end of America, in 57 D. 50 M. S. lat.

Cornelius Schouten of Horn, and Jacob Le Maire of Amsterdam, anno 1615, were the first who adventured south of Magellan-straits. The island which makes the straits had its name from the States of Holland, the straits were called by the name of one of the discoverers, the cape was called after the name of the birth-place of the other discoverer. They performed their

holidays: in short, it would appear to a man of an indifferent persuasion, or void of prejudice, that, in the nature of things, divinity has left it with the civil power to regulate these matters.

circumnavigation in two years and eighteen days. This passage has been much practised.

Commodore Anson's (now Lord Anson) voyage through these straits round our globe or earth, is the latest we have any particular account of; he sailed from England Sept. 18, 1741, to annoy and distress the Spaniards in the South-seas; his squadron consisted of ships one 60 guns, two 50 guns, one 40 guns, one 20 guns, a sloop or snow of 8 guns, 2 victuallers; he had twelve months provision aboard, 500 marines and invalids, but returned to England a single ship: of the 510 men aboard the Centurion the commodore, when he sailed from England, not exceeding 130 returned to England. He was unfortunate as to wrong seasons all the voyage, he set out too late, was thirty-eight days in his passage to Maderas, did not leave St. Catherine's [u] on the coast of Brazil, in 27 D. S. lat. until Jan. 18, passed in sight of the Magellan-straits in March, through straits Le Maire, he was off of Cape-Horn in the height of their winter, with hollow seas, and boisterous adverse winds (we before hinted that the south high latitudes, are in their winters more tempestuous, than the like north high latitudes in the northern winters; thus Cape of the Good Hope, although in 34 D. S. lat. was at first called Cape Tormentosa, the N. W. winds in May, June, July, and August, being as it were fixed and very tempestuous) here he departed from all his fleet; the Severn and Pearl of 50 and 40 gun, tired out (as it is supposed) with tedious contrary winds, dismal storms, and an overgrown sea, left him and put back: some of his fleet joined him again at the island of Juan Fernandez in the South-sea, which is generally used as a place of refreshment by enemies and interlopers. He had a tedious passage of 148 days from St. Catherine's to this island.

[u] In this navigation, in time of a general peace, the proper halting places, places of refreshment, or to wood and water, are the Cape de Verde islands, the coast of Brazil, and the island Ferdinando, in the South-seas, 34 D. 10 M. S. lat. 100 leagues west from the coast of Chili.

He did not arrive off of Aquapulco until the end of January, O. S. the Manila [*w*] ship being got in January 9. From the west coast of Mexico he was 109 days to the Ladrones (it is generally performed by heavy sailers in sixty or seventy days) from thence he proceeded to Macao, a Portugueze settlement upon an island near Canton, the chief place of trade in China; here he continued from November 1742 to April following. June 20, anno 1743, commodore Anson by good chance (the Manila ship might have got into her port, but being informed at Aquapulco of Anson's bad condition, he bore up to him to take him) took the Manila ship bound from Aquapulco to Manila, about six leagues S. E. of Cape Spiritu Sancto off the island Mindora near Luconia or Manila island, July 11; he anchored again in Macao road, and left it December 15, bound for England. Anno

[*qv*] The Aquapulco or Manila ships, are annually sometimes three, generally two, sometimes only one; they sail from Aquapulco the latter end of March, near, or in, N. lat. 13 D. as freet from islands; have a run of 2100 leagues from Aquapulco in 16 D. 30 M. N. lat. and 106 D. 30 M. W. from London, to Guyam one of the Ladrones in 13 M. 30 D. N. lat. 220 D. W. long. from London, or 140 D. E. from London (their governor is subordinate to the Spanish Captain-general of the Philippines) the Ladrones, particularly Guyam, are of the same use of refreshment for the Manila or Aquapulco ships, as the Cape of Good-Hope is to the Dutch East-India ships, and the island of St. Helena to the English East-India company ships—From Guyam they sail 400 leagues to Manilas (the distance is the same to the Moluccas or Spice-islands) where they arrive some time in June: they set out from Manilas for Aquapulco in August, and are sometimes under a necessity to stretch so high as 50 D. N. lat. to come at the variable, or rather the westerly, winds. They never discover any land, but have frequent foundings, in the high latitudes. They arrive at Aquapulco in December or January; the first land they have made has sometimes been St. Sebastian off California in N. lat. 42 D. and 133 D. W. long. from London, being the most westerly known part of America; generally they make Cape St. Lucar the south point of California in N. lat. 22 D. 30 M. sometimes the first land they make is Cape Corientes, on the west coast of Mexico in N. lat. 19 L.

From the city of Mexico, by their barcadier of Aquapulco, they ship much silver to Manilas (commodore Anson accounted for 1,300,000 pieces of eight in the Manila prize of 1743, June 20) which purchase in Japan and China (they have a continued trade with these places) all sorts of rich goods for Mexico.

1744, April 3, he left the Cape of Good-Hope, and June 12, made the Lizard point. The prize money of the Manila ship, and of some small captures on the coast of Peru, accounted for, was in value 355,324*l.* sterling.

3. The navigation east of Staten-island, clear of all land, giving Cape-Horn the land's end of South-America, a good birth. This is the present practice of the French South-sea-men, and is the most adviseable.

Capt. Sharp, a Buccanier [x], anno 1681, came from the South-seas to the North-seas without making land; it was in their summer-season; Nov. 17, he was in 58 D. 30 M. S. lat. to the southward of Cape-Horn, where he met with several islands of ice and hard frosts; he crossed the equator or line Jan. 7.

Capt. Woods Rogers (afterwards governor of Providence and the other Bahama-islands) with two good privateers, set out from Bristol in August, anno 1708 (his pilot was Dampier, formerly a logwood cutter, who had been three times in the South-seas, and twice round the globe) he wooded and watered at Cape de Verde islands, at Brazils, end of November, and at the island Ferdi-

[x] The Buccaniers originally were a vagrant, vicious, seafaring, piratical people, chiefly English and French: they were used to kill wild bulls and cows with long fuses, called Buccanier-pieces, for their hides and tallow; at first they committed depredations only upon the Spaniards and Spanish settlements (Morgan took Porto-Bello and Panama, anno 1671) and although a notorious pirate, was knighted by that prince of pleasure and whim king Charles II, but afterwards was in disgrace. They carried on this *Bellum Piraticum* against the Spaniards, in the West-Indies, from anno 1666 to anno 1688, madmen like, for small booty, and that soon consumed; they suffered the greatest fatigues, hunger, and risque of life. They first formed themselves upon a small island called Tortugas, north of Hispaniola (all islands, where tortoise or turtle frequent, are by the Spaniards called Tortugas; that island near the Margaritas upon the coast of New-Spain, from whence, by a Spanish treaty at Madrid anno 1716, New-England brings salt for their fishery, is called Salt-Tortugas) as also upon the N. W. parts of Hispaniola; the court of France sent them over a governor, and colonized them; this is the original of the French rich settlements there: it is true, when the French had the Spanish Assiento contract for Negroes, Spain consented to their having a lodge and place of refreshment there; by their usual way of encroaching upon their neighbours, they are now become superior to the Spanish of Hispaniola.

nando,

nando, in the South-sea; having sea-room sufficient, he passed into the South-seas without seeing of land; Jan. 10, he was south of Cape-Horn in lat. 61 D. 53 M; ten weeks from the Brazils, he was upon the coast of Chili and Peru, where he continued making depredations till the month of December, then he lay in wait near the south end of California. He took the small Manila ship Dec. 22. He left California Jan. 12, arrived at Guam March 11, left Guam March 22, arrived in Batavia June 20, left Java-head Octob. 24, arrived in the harbour of Cape Good-Hope Dec. 28; sailed from thence April 8, with the Dutch East-India fleet (they are generally seventeen to twenty sail homeward bound) passed in sight of St. Helena April 30, off of Schetland-islands in the north of Scotland July 16, and arrived in the Texel July 23; having encroached upon the exclusive trade and navigation of English East-India company, they did not think it convenient to come to England, until they had settled the affair with the company.

III. Thorough-fares [y] in the body of the American continent from the eastern Ocean to the western Ocean, commonly called from the North-sea to the South-sea and East-Indies.

1. The straits of Magellan, already discussed.

2. Rio de La Plata John Diaz de Solis, a Spaniard, sailing southward, fell in with this river of Plate anno 1515; the name was occasioned by the first silver from Peru coming down this river (the native Indians call this country Paraguay) they went up the river so far as was convenient, and thence travelled by land to the country that afforded so much silver and gold, and made returns of it. Garcias, a Portugueze, was up this river anno 1524; he was cut off by the Indians. Sebastian Cabot, in the king of Spain's service anno 1525, sailed 200 leagues up the river of Plate. Anno 1535, Don Pedro

[y] This was designed as the last head of passages from the North to the South-sea, but as it seems to fall in more naturally in this place, we proceed with it accordingly.

de Mendoza, with twelve ships, went up this river; he left some forces there, they conquered the country to the mines of Potosi, and town of La Plata, 500 leagues from their first settlements; the Spaniards did not begin to work the mines of Potosi, until anno 1545. Buenos Ayres is fifty leagues up from the mouth of the river of Plate; one branch of this river is called Paraguay; here is the famous country Tucuman of the Jesuits; the Jesuits having, in some degree, civilized the native Indians, they divided it into districts or missions, under the direction of the Jesuits to this day. St. Jago, in 29 D. S. Lat. is the capital of the Jesuits country. At present there is a good land communication from the river of Plate to Peru and Chili, so that the Assiento Negroes are conveyed from Buenos Ayres to Peru and Chili: the road passes through La Plata (the great river comes near to it) in 21 D. S. lat. the capital of the audience of Los Chercas in Peru: the silver mines of Potosi and Porco are in its neighbourhood.

3. The river of Amazons [2]. Its mouth lies near the line or equinoctial, it is of a very long course, about 1800 leagues (it is the largest river upon earth) from its many windings and bad navigation, it is relinquished as a thorough-fare. Gonzalo Pizarro (brother to the famous Pizarro) governor of Quito in Peru, anno 1540, with a small army crossed the Andes, and fell down this river in quest of gold; here he built a brigantine which sailed down the river, which went home to Spain by the east or north-sea; Pizarro himself returned by land to Quito, he found no gold. Father d'Acuna from Quito went down this river, and by the East sea to Spain, and published an account of the country. The Spaniards endeavoured a settlement upon the river, anno 1554, but

[2] Bacchus, when he conquered Thrace, had a corps of Libyan women in his army, called Amazons; Minerva was their leader. Upon a Spanish expedition this way, a number of Indian women, with their husbands, upon this river, opposed the Spaniards; this was the occasion of the river being so called.

soon relinquished it. By the peace of Utrecht, France (the French have some small settlements in Guiana, north of this river) renounces both sides of the river of Amazons, and the navigation thereof.

4. The river Oronoque. Its mouth lies in about 9 D. N. L. by this river no thorough-fare ever was effected; it is the south-easterly boundary of the Spanish settlements on the east or north sea of America: St. Thomas is the only settlement the Spaniards have south-east of this river; some New-England privateers, in the beginning of the present Spanish war, made some attempts upon this place. Sir Walter Raleigh [*a*] took possession of the country of Guiana [*b*], anno 1595, for the crown of England.

[*a*] Sir Water Raleigh, for himself and associates or assigns, anno 1584, obtained a patent from the crown of England, for discovering and planting lands in America, not actually in possession of any christian prince. His first settlement was at Roanoke in North-Carolina, and encouraged adventurers to plant some of those lands now called Virginia: but his whim after metals, minerals, and precious stones, was the reason of his neglect of settlements. He was fitted out by queen Elizabeth, anno 1592, to annoy the Spaniards (Drake and Hawkins were fitted out, anno 1595, upon the same account; they both died in the West-Indies) he neglected his adventures to Virginia, and made three unsuccessful voyages up the river Oronoque, in quest of metals and precious stones: he was told (as it is said) and was so credulous as to believe, that, in that country gold was so plenty as to be heaped up like firewood. In the beginning of king James the first's reign, he was convicted and condemned to die for a conspiracy; was relieved from time to time; and after being kept prisoner in the tower twelve years, he proposes to find gold mines in Guiana, and, notwithstanding his being under sentence of death, was fitted out, but returned *re infecta*. Gundamar, the Spanish ambassador at the court of England, in the name of the court of Spain, clamoured and strongly complained of the infraction of peace and amity; to make an atonement, Sir Walter was the sacrifice, and his former sentence of death was allowed to take place; he was executed anno 1618.

[*b*] The country of Guiana lies between the rivers Oronoque and Amazons: the Spaniards to the northward, and Portugueze to the southward, but have no footing here. Its southern parts have some small French settlements, Cayenne, &c. the English settled the middle part, called Surinam; the Dutch took it from the English in the beginning of king Charles the second's reign, in it was quit-claimed to the Dutch by the peace of Breda, anno 1667, in exchange for the Dutch quit-claim-

The

5. The gulph of Mexico and isthmus of Darien. Vasco Numes de Balboa, with 290 men, anno 1513, was the first who crossed this isthmus, and discovered the South-sea in 8 D. 30 M. N. Lat. between Porto-Bello and Carthagena; at this place the isthmus is about one degree wide. This Vasco received no benefit by this discovery, being soon superseded by Padracias, who was, by the court of Spain, appointed vice-roy of Panama, originally and at that time capital of the South-sea Spanish colonies: there is a great ridge of mountains, or rather of many distinct hills running along this isthmus, into the gulph of Darien; there come from the mountains many rivers, which formerly afforded much gold dust or grains; this was the principal inducement to that romantic, ill-contrived, badly executed, and therefore short-lived Scots settlement here, called the Darien or Caledonia [c] company, anno 1699.

ing to the English their colony of New-Netherland, now called New-York; the Dutch settled its northern parts of Esquibe Barbice, &c. Sir Walter Raleigh, anno 1595, had taken possession of the whole country for the crown of England.

[c] Anno 1695, by an act of the Scots parliament, several foreigners, as well as natives, of Scotland, with a joint stock with perpetual succession, were incorporated by the name of The company of Scotland, trading to Africa and the Indies. One half at least of the stock, to belong to Scottish-men residing in Scotland; not any one subscription less than 100 *l.* and not exceeding 3000 *l.* sterling: to plant colonies, to build forts, &c. in any part of Asia, Africa, and America, with consent of the natives and inhabitants thereof, and not possessed by any European sovereign; with an exclusive trade, but may grant-permissions to other traders, to all Asia, Africa, and America, for thirty-one years. The company to have the jurisdiction in their own colonies, where they may impose duties, customs, &c. Their trade in Scotland to be exempted from all duties for twenty-one years. All concerned in the company are declared free Denizens of Scotland. For form's sake king William did grant to the company letters patent agreeable to this act. By the interest of some gentlemen deeply concerned, the parliament in the same sessions passed an act, of bad consequence, empowering the managers for boroughs, companies incorporate or collegiate, to invest any part of their stock in this company.

They began to settle at Darien 1699; the said act and letters patent were rectified by a Scots act of parliament anno 1701; and when the affair laboured much, by an act of queen Anne in a Scots parliament, anno

Anno 1680, some of the buccaniers went up the gulph or river of Darien, and from thence, by a short land-passage to St. Maria, in the bay of Panama: some buccaniers returned the same way to the north sea. At some distance to the westward, six leagues is Nombre de Dios, (*nomen Dei*) eighteen leagues from Panama; here the galleons formerly loaded, but because of the sickly air here and in the gulph of Darien, they were both relinquished by the Spaniards; this is the narrowest place of the neck: negroes from Jamaica, interlopers, have carried letters of advice from Nombre de Dios to Panama, and brought back answers in thirty-six hours. Six leagues west from Nombre de Dios is Porto-Bello [*d*]; it

1703. all persons and ships, natives and foreigners, trading to their colonies by the permission of the company, and returning to Scotland, are invested with all privileges and immunities of the company.

The project of settling a colony at Darien, well deserves the name of a Scots FOLLY: a country under subjection to Spain at that time in peace with us, and upon any emergency by a fleet from Spain, capable of swallowing them up; besides its being inhospitable from its unhealthfulness. If instead of this they had procured of Spain an Assiento Negro contract, with an annual dry-goods ship; if they followed a factory trade to China, to the bay of Bengal, to Hegly river, to Arabia, &c. perhaps it might have turned to some account; they soon were in a ruinous condition, and a little before the union with England, 100 *l.* stock sold for 10 *l.*

As good sometimes comes out of evil and folly, it happened so in this instance: many of the Scots members of the union parliament and their friends were concerned and involved in this company; the happy union was much promoted by inserting a clause in the articles of union, that all concerned should be repaid their principal with 5 *per cent.* from the time of paying in their money to May 1, 1701; the whole amounted to 23,288 *l.* sterling, to be paid out of the 398,085 *l.* sterling, equivalent money granted by England to Scotland, for that part of the English public debts which would be paid, by raising the customs and excise of Scotland to an equality with those of England; the malecontents of Scotland called this, the selling of the country.

[*d*] Porto-Bello was taken by a small Squadron under the command of admiral Vernon, November anno 1739, much to his credit and the honour of the British nation. Porto-Bello taken from the Spaniards, and Louisbourg on Cape-Breton from the French, are the most celebrated exploits this war, of the British people from home and in America: perhaps the most remarkable instances in history of the Spanish and French pusillanimity and cowardice, and of the British temerity and

is the north sea barcadier of Panama, about twenty leagues distant, and the fair for the Spanish galleons and the British South-sea annual ship. A few leagues west of Porto-Bello is the river Chagre (here Vernon, anno 1740, seized the Spanish factory, and carried off goods to the value of 70,000*l.* sterling) from the head of their river is the shortest land-carriage to Panama, not exceeding seven leagues.

5. The early adventurers to America; where they found any large opening or inlet, they had some small hopes of a thorough-fare to the South-seas, but proceeding only a small way, they were baulked: thus it happened in Chesapeake-Bay of Virginia, in Hudson's river of New-York, in St. Laurence's river of Canada the longest and largest of these inlets: John Cartier, a Frenchman, anno 1535, sailed up the gulph and river of St. Laurence so far as Montreal in Canada. Sir Humphry Gilbert from England, hearing of a strait north of Virginia (New-England and Nova Scotia were at that time comprehended in the denomination of Virginia) imagined, it might be a thorough-fare to the East-Indies; he sailed up the gulph and river of St. Laurence anno 1583, and took possession for the crown of England.

6. The next and last thorough-fare northward, is Davis's-straits; but as this is a very wide opening, or rather sea, dividing North-America from a northern distinct continent called West-Greenland or New-Denmark, we must refer it to the paragraphs of a north-west passage, and the section of Hudson's-Bay lodges and trade.

bravery. The Cuba and Carthagea very chargeable, but ineffectual late expeditions, are notorious instances of a ministry (from corruption or to humour the populace) wantonly playing away men and money; particularly, their unnatural and barbarous demand of some thousands of able men from our infant colonies (who rather required large additions of people, for planting and defending their settlements) as a sacrifice; of the 500 men from Massachusetts-Bay, not exceeding fifty returned.

IV. Essays towards a north-east passage to China and the Indian seas, come next in course of time; these adventures were prior to the outlets for the north-west discovery. The Cabots, in quest of a north-east passage, first weathered the north cape of Europe in 72 D. N. lat. by much sollicitation, our sovereigns of these times were prompted to make some advances this way in favour of trade. In king Edward the sixth's reign, was incorporated a company of merchants for discovering of lands unknown; in consequence of this some English ships, by the White-sea, came to Archangel; and the grand duke of Muscovy or Russia, grants to an English Russia-Company sundry privileges. Anno regni 1, 2, Philip and Mary, by patent, a society was incorporated, by the name of The governor, consuls, assistants, fellowship, and commonalty of merchant-adventurers to lands, territories, &c. unknown or unfrequented; this company were in possession of the Russia trade twenty-five or thirty years before the Dutch attempted it.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the English and Dutch began to try for a north-east passage, and for many years lost ships and their labour in impracticable adventures: it had an incidental good profitable effect, it brought them into the Russia trade and whale-fishery. The north-east and the north-west discoverers introduced the whaling business. The Dutch have wintered in 75 D. N. lat. in Nova-Zembla; the English have wintered in 78 D. N. lat. in Greenland; it was remarked that Nova-Zembla, although southward of Greenland, is colder than Greenland. The English Russia-Company were the first who went a whaling at East-Greenland; at that time they employed Biscayers; afterwards the Dutch came into it, followed it more closely, and are better acquainted. A few years since, the English South-Sea-Company fitted out a great number of good large ships, whalers; they sunk much money from mismanagement, and soon abandoned the affair.

A north-

A north-east passage has been essayed three different ways, *viz.* East of East-Greenland or Spitzbergen, between East-Greenland and Nova-Zembla, and by Wygatz-straits, between Nova-Zembla and Russia upon the continent.

The southermost point of East-Greenland lies in 76 D. N. lat. almost due north from the north cape of Europe. This Greenland may reach the north polar regions, but hitherto Point Purchas (so called by the name of the discoverer) in 82 D. N. lat. is the furthest north that has been discovered. The southermost part of East-Greenland lies about 150 leagues from Nova-Zembla.

Anno 1671, a whaler sailed the coast of East-Greenland to 81 D. N. lat. there they found the ice firm, it did not float; therefore it must adhere to some land backwards, consequently there can be no north-east passage that way. As the northerly and easterly winds in these parts cause very intense frosts, there must be to windward vast continents covered with snow or large fields of impenetrable ice. Thus the very hard frosts from the north and north-west winds in Baffin's-Bay, Davis's-straits, and Hudson's-Bay, indicate vast continents of snow and ice to the north-west.

Anno 1676, Capt. Wood was fitted out by the court of England in his Majesty's ship Speedwell with the Prosperous-pink, to discover a north east passage to the Indian seas; the Speedwell was cast away upon the rocks of Nova-Zembla in 74 D. 30 M. N. lat. (the men were saved, and came home in the Prosperous-pink) they found ice along to the northward with foundings, therefore land is not far off, and Nova-Zembla (a conjecture) may range north-westward, until it meets with East-Greenland, consequently no north-east passage between them, unless by some straits; the flood sets from the S. or S. W. therefore no passage northward; besides the water is rather saltier than common sea or ocean water.

In endeavouring a N. E. passage Nova-Zembla was discovered, and Wygatz-straits between Nova-Zembla, and the continent of Tartary or Russia: those straits in N. lat. 70 D. are always frozen and full of ice, excepting when for a very short time by a N. E. hurricane or storm it is cleared; but this time being short and weather tempestuous, it may be deemed impracticable.

[e] Sundry writers give us various small accounts or hints, some favouring, some discouraging a N. E. passage; none of them are sufficiently vouched. Some have written, that, upon the coasts of Japan and China, drift whales have been found with Dutch harping irons; these must

[e] There was a contest of many years standing, between Sir Isaac Newton with his followers, members of the Royal Society in London, and the Cassinis with their followers, members of L'Academie Royale des Sciences in Paris, concerning the figure of the earth. Sir Isaac affirmed, *It was an oblate spheroid*, that is, the earth rises higher towards the equator, and falls in towards the pole; Cassini pretended from actual mensuration, that it was an *oblong spheroid*. The king of France (the French court are much to be extolled for their generosity in encouraging and promoting of useful discoveries, but their agents or people employed, are not always to be depended upon in the exactness and truth of their reports) at a great charge employed his astronomers, and other mathematicians, to measure the degrees of latitude from the north to the south of France, by stations and triangles: their reports at that time, are now, by their own confession, found to be false by two of their own missions consisting of a parcel of Academicians; one was sent to Peru in America, to measure a degree of latitude near the equator; they are lately returned to France: the other detachment was sent to Torneo in Finland in Sweden, to take the dimensions of a degree of latitude under the polar circle; they returned anno 1737 (Torneo is at the bottom of the Bothnick gulph in N. lat. 65 D. 50 M. and 1 H. 23 M. east from Paris) from an observed eclipse of the moon and some occultations of fixed stars, variation W. 5 D. 5 M. the refractions did not differ much from those in France, the river was not shut up with ice until Nov. 2; they found the length of a degree of latitude that cuts the polar circle to be 57,437 toises or French fathoms, that is, 1000 toises longer than it should be according to Cassini: they pretended to French gascon, or romantick exactness, exceeding not only credibility, but credulity itself, *viz.* to find an ascertained basis for the mensuration of their triangles, in measuring by two companies, upon the ice, each with four wooden rods thirty feet long, in 7406 fathoms five feet, they differed only four inches.

have come by a N. E. passage. Some relate Russian barks that have sailed from the Mare glaciale east of Wygatz-straits, by Cape Soutainos, in N. lat. 60 D. to trade with the people who live on the Oriental ocean in N. lat. 50 D. therefore Asia and America are two separate continents. The Dutch (as it is said) anno 1646, tried this passage backwards, from Japan to the north ocean, but to no purpose; they were not obstructed by the ice, but puzzled by broken lands, head land, islands, bays, coves, inlets, and creeks. Some Dutch whalers missing of whales proceeded farther north than Cape Purchas of East-Greenland in N. lat. 82 D. and found an open sea clear of ice, but very hollow. *N. B.* Why did they not proceed in quest of a passage? If a clear sea could be found, that is, without continents or islands to fasten and fix the ice, a passage might be possible: but a passage through straits cannot be practicably safe; their ice is generally fixed; if accidentally in the height of some summers they be open, it can be only for a short time, and the uncertainty, when a frost may set it, renders the navigation too hazardous to run the risk of the vessel being frozen up, and the people perishing: Spitzbergen, or East-Greenland, seems to be a cluster of broken islands.

V. Adventures of a north-west passage to the west or Indian seas for the Spice-islands and China. Sebastian Cabot, a native of England, was fitted out by Henry VII, of England, anno 1497, to discover a north-west passage to the Spice-islands and East-Indies; he made land in West-Greenland in N. lat. 67 D. and called it *Prima Vista*, and from thence coasted to Florida, taking possession, according to the forms of those times as he sailed along, for the crown of England; but endeavoured no passage.

Sir Martin Frobisher, at first fitted out by private adventurers, made three voyages, anno 1576, 1577, 1578, to a strait in N. lat. 63 D. called by his own name, but ice and the inclemency of the weather successively obliged

obliged him to return, without any north-west passage discovery. He took formal possession of the north continent of Greenland, for the crown of England; but the Norwegians (at present the subjects of Denmark) pretended to have had settlements there prior by 200 years, from Iceland (its north parts are in N. lat. 66 D. 20 D. west from London;) but our first north-west adventurers Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, Baffin, Smith, &c. did not find the least vestige of the Norwegians ever being there: there was no bread-corn, no herbage, the aborigines had not altered their way of living, being cloathed with skins, and lodging in caves. This north continent the Danes call New-Denmark, and have a small miserable settlement there in Davis's-straits in N. lat. 64 D. and a guard ship in the whaling season: the soil and Indian trade are not worth contending for; the best of beaver and other fur is from hence, but in small quantities; it is inhospitable. Hans Egeda, in his natural history of Greenland, 4^{to}, 1741, says that Greenland was first discovered by the Norwegians and Icelanders, anno. 982, but the inclemency of the climate occasioned their abandoning it; his relation of many colonies, abbeys, and churches is too romantic to obtain credit. Anno 1721, a company of merchants or trading men, by a royal Danish licence set up at Bergen of New-Denmark in N. Lat. 64 D. where the author and his family continued fifteen years: he says that barley does ripen there [f], that there is some tillage and pasture-land, only brush-wood, several shell-fish, land constantly covered with ice and snow, excepting near the sea-shore, turneps grow well; musketoos very troublesome in July and August.

[f] There is a peculiar seed of grain for various climates: in Lapland, they have a species of barley ripe in six weeks from its being sowed; the barley seed of the lands farther south, as of Stockholm, do not ripen there: thus maize or Indian corn of Virginia does not ripen in New-England; that of New-England does not ripen in Nova Scotia and Canada. The farther north, the more vegetable growth is stunted and degenerates; far north grow only pine, fir, and birch wood. Farther north only brush, such as heath, juniper, vitis, idæa, cranberries, &c. Still farther north only a loose moss.

There is no good whaling amongst the loose ice; the whales when struck, dive, and it is uncertain where they may come up to blow; but near great islands of ice, and fields of ice or fast ice, they must come up by the same side; as the American or west shore belongs to Great-Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, anno 1713, the winds, being generally from the north and north-west, it is the leeshore and fields of ice; therefore if a monopoly of whaling could be allowed, by the law of nations, in Davis's-straits, it must belong to Great-Britain; thus we claim, but for political reasons do not prosecute our claim, to an exclusive herring fishery at Schetland, or north parts at Scotland; this controversy is well canvassed *pro* and *con* by Selden in his *Mare clausum* and by Grotius, in his *Mare liberum*. At present the king of Denmark assumes the sovereignty of the seas in Davis's-straits.

John Davis, upon the north-west passage discovery, anno 1583, made Cape Desolation about 62 D. N. Lat. and sailed to no effect, so high as 66 D. 40 M. He made another voyage anno 1586, found among the natives some copper. Anno 1587, he made a third voyage, and sailed so high as 72 D. 10 M. This opening is still called *Fretum Davis*, or Davis's-straits.

The king of Denmark, upon pretence of renewing his claims, fitted out some vessels for this discovery anno 1605, 1606, 1607, &c. their adventures were of no consequence. Anno 1619, John Munc sailed into the northern parts of Davis's-straits, and called it *Mare Christianum* (the name of the king of Denmark at that time) he wintered in 63 D. 20 M. N. Lat. and called it Munc's winter harbour; and the country he called New-Denmark; few of his men survived so as to return home and live.

In the beginning of the last century, Henry Hudson, by two adventures, having satisfied himself that there was no north-east passage to China, was sent from England to try a north-west passage; as the west northward navigation had no success, he sailed by the west southward

ward opening, through the straits, called by his name, into a bay called Hudson's-Bay, where he perished by the insidiousness of his villainous crew.

Sir Thomas Button (in these times many seafaring commanders were knighted, to encourage discoveries) anno 1611, encouraged by Prince Henry, pursued the north-west discoveries, passed through Hudson's-straits and Bay, navigated and looked into the several creeks and inlets of its western shore (water generally eighty fathom deep) he gave it the name of New-Wales; he, in much misery, wintered in 57 D. 10 M. N. lat. he called the place Port Nelson. This west coast was afterwards called Button's-Bay.

Sir Thomas Smith's sound, discovered anno 1616, is in N. Lat. 78 D.

After Davis, M. Baffin prosecuted the north-north-westward passage, in the north parts of Davis's-straits; there he found a great bay called Baffin's-Bay; he did not prosecute to the bottom, or farther extent of this bay, but despaired of finding a northwest passage. In N. Lat. 78, the compass varied 57 D. W. the greatest known variation.

No more voyages were made from England upon that design until anno 1631. Capt. Thomas James, of Bristol, made some additional discoveries to those of Hudson, Button, and Baffin (here we anticipate a little the Hudson's-Bay account) he wintered at Charleton-Island, near the bottom of Hudson's-Bay: in this island, he says, in summer-season, the days are excessive hot, and in the nights frost: in the months of June and July, the musketoes are intolerable; several kinds of flies and butterflies; no fish, nor fish-bones, or shells upon the shore, excepting cockle-shells; here were several kinds of fowl, deers, foxes, bears, and some small quadrupedes; full of spruce, firs, and juniper. He printed his journal (a good performance) London 1633, 4°. He gave it as his opinion, that there can be no north-west passage.

Several others in the beginning of the seventeenth century, made attempts for a north-west passage. West-Greenland and fields of ice obstructed them; but an incidental very considerable benefit accrued, *viz.* the Davis's-straits whale-fishery. None have prosecuted the navigation along the west side of West-Greenland into very high latitudes, to discover whether West-Greenland and East-Greenland do converge so as to join, or if there be a passage along by the north pole.

The many disappointments and discouragements, as also the intestine broils and confusions in England, did put a stand to all discoveries and other improvements. Upon the restoration of King Charles II, the discovery projects were again set on foot by some noblemen and merchants: Prince Rupert was concerned: Capt. Guiliam, in the *Nonsuch*-ketch, was fitted out anno 1667; he sailed up Baffin's-Bay so high as 75 D. N. Lat. and returned to Prince Rupert's river in N. Lat. 51 D. and laid the foundation of an advantageous fur-trade in the Hudson's-Bay company, established by royal patent anno 1670, to Prince Rupert and associates.

Capt. Middleton, in his north-west discovery voyage, anno 1742, says, it is impossible in any part of the western coast, lower than 67 D. N. Lat, called Cape Hope, west from London 87 D. He pretends to have inspected this coast narrowly; and if there be any passage farther north, it must be impracticable, because (if at all clear) it cannot be clear above one week in the year. His main attempt was in Wager river N. Lat. 65. D. 25 M. the entrance six to eight miles wide, tide five or six knots, soundings not less than sixteen fathoms (many savages came aboard, but had no trade, they spoke of mines [g]) the farther he went up Wager river, the tides did rise less

[g] Many of our adventurers to North and South-America (witness Sir Walter Raleigh in the river Oronoke) seem to have been more intent upon metals and minerals, than upon passages to the East-Indies, Indian trade, or settling of colonies.

(whereas

(whereas Sir John Narborough, in his passage through the straits of Magellan, the nearer he approached the western flood, the tide did rise more) the water from salt became brackish, and gradually more fresh; therefore it must proceed from some fresh water river, and is no salt water thorough-fare.

If there were discovered a N. E. or N. W. passage to China, the difficulties in navigation would render it of little or no use, other, than to amuse the curious in the hydrography of those parts.

There is a river, which the French *Coureur des Bois* call St. Lawrence, coming from the westward; it falls into the northern parts of the upper lake, nearly 100 D. W. from London, and the same latitude with the bottom of Hudson's-Bay, and communicated with it by Water canoe carriage; the north parts of California lie in about 130 D. west from London (according to Dr. Halley's accurate laying of it) and in Lat. 42 D. thus the difference of longitude is only 30 D. which, at the medium Lat. of 45 D. (fourteen leagues to a degree) makes only 420 leagues; and if California is divided from the continent by a sinus or strait, this will render the distance to that strait still shorter, by going up this river so far as Water canoe carriage will allow, and then perhaps only some short land carrying-place to some rivulet or river running westward towards the seas of California or western ocean, if some ridge or chain of impracticable mountains do not intervene. But *cui bono* all this puzzle? only to ascertain the geography of that country; it can be of no use in navigation.

Mr. Dobbs, who blamed Capt. Middleton very much for his bad management and unfaithfulness, did, anno 1745, procure an act of parliament, *viz.* Whereas a north-west passage through Hudson's-straits to the western American ocean will be a great benefit to the trade of Great-Britain; there is enacted a public reward of 20,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ sterling. to any ship or vessel belonging to sub-

jects of Great-Britain, that shall find out any such thorough-fare or passage. Upon this encouragement the Dobbs-galley and California sailed from England in May 1746; hitherto we have an account of them.

A digression concerning whaling.

THE New-England whalers distinguished ten or twelve different species of the whale-kind; the most beneficial is the black whale, whale-bone whale, or true whale, as they call it; in Davis's-straits, in N. lat. 70 D. and upwards they are very large; some may yield 150 puncheons, being 400 or 500 barrels of oil, and bone of eighteen feet and upwards; they are a heavy loggy fish, and do not fight, as the New-England whalers express it; they are easily struck and fastened, but not above one third of them are recovered; by sinking and bewildering themselves under the ice, two thirds of them are lost irrecoverably; the whale-bone whales killed upon the coast of New-England, Terra de Labradore, and entrance of Davis's-straits, are smaller; do yield not exceeding 120 to 130 barrels of oil, and of nine feet bone 140 lb. wt. they are wilder more agile and do fight.

Sperma ceti whales are to be found almost every where; they have no bone, so called; some may yield sixty or seventy barrels of oil, called vicious oil, the fittest for lamps or a burning light. It is from this whale that we have the parmacity or sperma ceti (very improperly so called) the ancients were at a loss whether it was an animal or mineral substance; Schroder a celebrated Pharmacopœia writer about the middle of the last century, calls it *Alind genus bituminis, quod Sperma ceti officinæ vocant*; he describes it *Pinguedo furfurosa producta exhalatione terre sulphuræ*. We now find that any part of its oil, but more abundantly the head-matter as the whalers term it, if it stand at rest, and in the sun, will shoot into adipous flakes, resembling in some manner the crystaliza-
tion

tion of salts : instead of *sperma ceti*, it ought to be called *adepts ceti*, in the *materia medica*. This same whale gives the ambergris, a kind of perfume, as is musk : anciently it was by the natural historians described as a kind of bitumen ; hence the name *ambra grisea*. Dale, a noted author, in his *pharmacologia*, not long since publishes it as such ; it is now fully discovered to be some production from this species of whale ; for some time it was imagined some peculiar concremented juice lodged in a peculiar cystis ; in the same manner as is the castoreum of the beaver or *Fiber Canadensis*, and the zibethum of the civit-cat or hyena, in cystis's both sides in the Ani rima. Thus not long since, some of our Nantucket whalers imagined, that in some (very few and rare) of these male or bull whales, they had found the gland or cystis in the loins near the spermatic organs : late and more accurate observations seem to declare it to be some part of the ordure, dung, or alvine excrement of the whale ; squid-fish, one of the Newfoundland baits for cod, are sometimes in Newfoundland cast ashore in quantities, and as they corrupt and fry in the sun they become a jelly or substance of an ambergris smell ; therefore as squid bills are sometimes found in the lumps of ambergris, it may be inferred, that ambergris is some of the excrement from squid-food, with some singular circumstances or dispositions that procure this quality, seldom concurring ; thus the Nantucket whalers, for some years last, have found no ambergris in their whalers. The *sperma ceti* whale has no bone or baleine in his mouth, but fine white teeth ; they are most plentiful upon the coast of Virginia and Carolina.

The fin-back, beside two small side-fins, has a large fin upon his back ; may yield fifty to sixty barrels of oil ; his bone is brittle, of little or no use ; he swims swifter, and is very wild when struck. The Bermudians some years catch twenty of these whales, not in sloops, but in whale-boats from the shore as formerly at Cape-Cod ; their

governor

governor of Bermudas has a perquisite of 10*l.* out of each old whale.

The humpback has a bunch in the same part of his back, instead of a fin: the bone is not good; makes fifty to sixty barrels of oil.

The scrag-whale has several of these bumps.

Black-fish, *i. e.* grampus of six to ten barrels of oil, bottle-nose of three or four barrels, may (like sheep) be drove ashore by boats.

Liver-oil is reckoned the best, especially for leather-dressers.

Whales are gregarious and great travellers or passengers; in the autumn they go south; in the spring they return northward. They copulate like neat cattle, but the female in a supine posture. The true or whale-bone whale's swallow is not much bigger than that of an ox; he feeds upon small fish and sea-insects that keep in shoals; has only one small fin each side of his head of no great use to him in swimming, but with a large horizontal tail he sculls himself in the water. The North Cape (in N. Lat. 72 D. in Europe) whales, are of the same small kind as the New-England, and entrance of Davis's-straits: here we may again observe, that the high European latitudes are not so cold as the same American latitudes [*b*], because 72 D. is the proper N.

[*b*] The cold is much more intense in the north parts of America, than in the same latitudes in the northern parts of Europe. Capt. Middleton gives a dismal account of his wintering, anno 1742, at Churchill river in Hudson's-Bay N. L. 59 D. whereas the French mathematical missionaries at Torneo in Lapland, N. Lat. 66 D. anno 1737, to station their triangles for the mensuration of a degree of latitude there under the polar circle, in winter did traverse the mountain. At Enarba, near Enera lake in N. Lat. 69 D. the country is so populous as to have annual fairs for trade. At Wardhus, 70 D. 45 M. in Norway, the king of Denmark keeps a garrison. The Dutch wintered in Nova-Zembla N. Lat. 75. The English in Greenland N. Lat. 76 D.

High north and high south, the most constant winds are westerly, being eddy or reflux winds, of the easterly trade winds between the tropics. In the European high latitudes, as also in the northern Ame-
lat.

lat. in Davis's-straits for the large whales, and the Dutch fish for them long-side of fields or large islands of ice; they use long warps, not drudges as in New-England.

Nantucket men, are the only New-England whalers at present; this year 1746, not above three or four whales were caught in Cape Cod; the whales, as also the herrings, (our herrings are not of a good quality) seem to be drove off from thence. Last year Nantucket brought about 10,000 barrels to market; this year they do not follow it so much, because of the low price of oil in Europe; notwithstanding, this year they fit out six or seven vessels for Davis's-straits, and sail in the end of March; they sometimes make Cape Frewell in fifteen days, sometimes in not less than six weeks. Upon a peace, they design to fish for whales in deep water, so far as the West-Indies, and Western-Islands. A whale may keep half an hour under water without blowing (breathing) but is obliged to blow many times before she dives again.

Some New-England men, a few years since, attempted whaling in the entrance of Davis's-straits, but to no advantage: they generally arrived there too late, in keep-

rican high latitudes, the winds are generally from the polar regions; the cold denser air, by reason of its gravity, pressing towards the equator, where the air is more rarified, lighter, and less elastic, to preserve an equilibrium, which is natural to all fluids: in the European high north latitudes, this wind (it is frequently N. W. being a sort of diagonal or compositum between the southerly direction towards the southern rarified air, and its westerly reflux or eddy direction) crosses a deep large ocean, consequently warm and mellow: in the American high north latitudes, these winds glide along vast continents of snow and ice, and consequently more and more chilled; this, *en passant*, may be a good surmise, against a practicable N. W. passage, because the warm ocean and its influence must be at a great distance. This way of reasoning does not hold good in the high southern latitudes, where, from this doctrine, the winds ought to be S. W. whereas they are in a manner fixed at N. W. but perhaps may intimate, that there is no continent of land or ice to the S. W. and a vast ocean to the west, northward to windward, which, by a boisterous hollow sea, carries the wind along with it; in fact, the ships that failed to near 70 D. S. Lat. seldom found any floating ice.

ing too near the Labradore shore (they kept within fifty leagues of the shore, they should have kept 150 leagues to sea) they were embayed and impeded by the fields of ice.

Whales seems to have some degree of sagacity. When much disturbed, they quit their keeping ground, and the tracts of their usual passages (the whale is a passenger from north to south, and back again according to the seasons) thus, as to New-England, formerly for many successive years, they set in along shore by Cape-Cod. There was good whaling in boats, proper watchmen ashore by signals gave notice when a whale appeared; after some years they left this ground, and passed farther off upon the banks at some distance from the shore; the whalers then used sloops with whale-boats aboard, and this fishery turned to good account. At present they seem in a great measure, to be driven off from these banks, and take their course in deep water, that is, in the ocean; thither upon a peace our whalers design to follow them. In Davis's-straits, at the first coming of the whaling ships, whales were plenty, but afterwards being much disturbed, they became scarce, and the ships returned home, before the inclemencies of the weather set in. The whaling season in both Greenlands is in May and June; the Dutch set out for Davis's-straits the beginning of March; sometimes they are a month in beating to weather Cape Farewell; they do not arrive in the fishing ground until May. Anno 1743, perhaps a medium year, the Dutch had in Davis's-straits fifty whaling ships (at Spitzbergen, or East-Greenland, they had 137 whalers) and got seventy-six whales and a half.

Observation and experience or practice improves every affair; formerly the whalers (even at Spitzbergen) used to tow the whales they killed into harbours to cut them up; at present they cut them up at sea and save much time: formerly they whaled in New-England and Bermudas only with boats from the shore (at Bermudas they continue so) afterwards by sloops upon the adjacent
banks,

banks, and do now proceed to catch them in deep water: formerly it was imagined that the true whale lived upon a kind of alga or sea-grass, or upon an oozy mud, now it is certain that they feed on shoals of small fishes and sea-insects; formerly our naturalists judged the sperma ceti and ambergris to be *bitumina sui generis*; at present it is obvious that the first is only a concreted oil or flakey adeps of a certain species of whale; the other is an indurated part of the ordure of the same kind of whale when it feeds upon squids, with other circumstances of sex, season, &c. and therefore but rarely found.

Some years since, the South-sea company fitted out twenty four large fine whaling ships; from mismanagement it turned to no account, they sunk about 100,000 *l.* sterling.

The British parliament, to encourage whaling, did pass an act, anno 1733, to continue during the whaling act 5 George II. enacting, That there should be paid by the receiver-general of the customs upon their return as a premium 20 *s.* per ton of shipping, under the following qualifications; the ships not to be under 200 tons, having on board forty fishing-lines, of 120 fathom at least each, forty harpoon irons, four boats with seven men to each (including the harponeer, steerfman, and line manager formerly employed in such voyages) with the master and surgeon, in all thirty men. For ships exceeding 200 tons, for every one exceeding fifty tons, an addition of one boat, six men, ten lines, and ten harpoon irons: must carry six months provision: and oil and bone to be duty free.

This prolix digression, as containing some things that are not generally attended to, may be amusement to the curious; and does by anticipation abbreviate the article of fishery, in the history of New-England.

ARTICLE III.

Some account of the discoveries and first settlements in America from Europe.

[i] **T**HE only European navigators and planters of America are the Spanish, Portugueze, Dutch, and English; the English are the proper subject-matter of this history, and their discoveries shall be related in course; the others are the subject of this article of the introduction.

The continent of America at a medium estimate is about 1000 leagues (by leagues we always mean the twentieth part of a degree on the meridians) from Europe and Africa, upon the intervening Atlantick or northern, and the Ethiopick or southern ocean, and Spaniards call the whole Mar del Nort; from Asia about 2500 leagues upon the intervening South-sea, Pacific Ocean, or Mar del Zur, which is reckoned to extend two fifths of the east and west circumference of the earth.

At first the America navigations were *via* Canaries and the Caribbee-islands; a more direct navigation to its several parts is now practised; the ancients imagined that within the tropics (*non est habitabilis æstu*) the earth was not habitable, whereas the fine rich countries of Mexico and Peru lie mostly within the tropics.

America may be divided into the continents of North-America, called by the Spanish writers America Mexicana, the continent of South-America, called by the Spaniards America Peruviana, the intermediate isthmus or audience of Guatimala, and Greenland north of Davis's-straits.

[i] Considering that the accounts of the discoveries and first settlements in America from Europe, published in English by our historians, geographers, and atlas-makers are so confused and false, so romantic and imperfect; I am induced by some friends to insert some better vouched and digested short account of the matter; this, though not inconsistent with our subject, will render the introductory section, out of all proportion and symmetry, too prolix.

I. Spanish

I. *Spanish discoveries and first settlements.*

CHRISTOPHER COLON, or COLUMBUS, a Genoese mariner or pilot, a curious man in his way, sedulous in making coasting charts of his voyages, and naturally a projector; he was for some years an inhabitant of Terceras, one of the Portugueze western islands, distant from Newfoundland not exceeding 300 leagues. He went to the court of Portugal, proposed discoveries upon the west coast of Africa: having for some time frequented that coast and the Canary-islands [k], as he formerly did the western islands; considering the sun's diurnal motion, the westerly winds, in certain seasons, blowing with continuance, driving pine and other fallen wood ashore, with some other symptoms, he conceived that there must be land to the westward.

Anno 1486, he proposed to the states of Genoa, to discover some countries westward, or to find a western passage to the Spice-islands; they deemed it an idle fancy and took no notice of it. This seemingly whimsical projection, had the same fate at the court of Portugal, and with Henry VII of England, though a lover of all projects to get money, and at the court of France: after six years solicitation at the court of Spain, the Moors

[k] The Canary-islands so called, from many dogs found there, the *insula fortunata* of the ancients, were discovered by some Guipulcoans for the king of Castile, about 100 years before Columbus's discovery of America; after being relinquished for many centuries by the Europeans: the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Romans, are said to have planted colonies; it is certain they visited these islands, although not the least vestige of their having ever been there appears. Ptolemy's canon was wrote in Alexandria of Egypt in the second century, and reckons his longitudes from Palma, one of the Canary-islands, 26 D. N. lat. long. from London, W. 19 D. 44 M. Louis XIII of France, by an edict commands all French geographers, hydrographers, and mariners, in their journals to begin their accounts of longitude from Ferro (*L'Isle de Fer*) the westernmost of the Canary-islands 20 D. west from Paris; accordingly Sanson, a noted French publisher of maps, places his first meridian at Ferro; this is two degrees farther west than Teneriff, where De Wit, the Dutch map-maker, fixes his first meridian.

and

and Saracens being fully expelled (they were in possession about 800 years) he obtained three ships and 120 men: he sailed from St. Lucar upon the discovery in August, 1492, touched at the Canaries, and from thence in thirty-six days (in those times a tedious voyage without sight of land) and landed Octob. 11, on the island Guan-chini, one of the Bahama or Lucayo-islands (so called, because he arrived there on St. Luke's festival) he called it St. Salvador, now Cat-island, in N. lat. 25 D. 76 D. west from London; and from thence he sailed to Hispaniola and Cuba-islands, and home, carrying with him some Indians, as a specimen and vouchers of his discoveries; he returned by way of the Azores, and arrived March 13 following.

Anno 1493, Sept. 25, he set out again with his brother Bartholomew, seventeen sail and 1500 men; he fell in with the Caribee-islands, and gave them names at pleasure, which they generally retain to this day; he touched at Jamaica, and at Hispaniola (his thirty-nine men left there last voyage were all killed by the Indians) and at the Bahamas.

In his third voyage, anno 1498, he made the island Trinidad near the mouth of the river Oronoke, and coasted from thence 200 leagues to Porto-Bello, and called that part of the country Terra-Firma; from thence he crossed over to his first settlement in Hispaniola.

His fourth and last voyage was anno 1502: upon his return to Spain, for misdemeanors he was in disgrace at the court of Spain, while others were making further discoveries; he died in Spain, anno 1506, Æt. 64. His son Diego (the other son died a bachelor) succeeded him in the admiralty of the Indies, married the duke d'Alva's daughter, but died without issue.

Americus Vespucius, a Florentine, was with Columbus in his first expeditions. Anno 1502, he left the Spanish service, and was employed by Emanuel king of Portugal, to make discoveries in this new part of the world; he crossed the equinoctial, and made land in 5 D. S. lat. on the

the coast of Guiana, now called Surinam; he discovered Brazil, and took possession for the king of Portugal, in the formalities of those times, and continued his range to 50 D. S. lat. The severity of the winter stopped his further progress; he returned home by way of Africa: next year he attempted the same voyage, but falling in with the coast of Africa, he returned, and nothing further is recorded of him. The whole continent was called by his name AMERICA. Here is a notable instance of the caprice of mankind, in giving this newly discovered continent the name America instead of Columbia: Americus made no settlement; Columbus was not only the first, but also the more general discoverer of this land.

In the beginning of the Spanish settlements there were only two governors, both deputed by D. Diego son of Columbus, admiral of the Indies, *viz.* the governor of Cuba, and the governor of Panama.

Velasquez the first governor of Cuba, entirely reduced that island, anno 1512, and successively sent forces to reduce the main land to no purpose. Ferdinando Cortez, a native of Spain, and well acquainted with the American navigation, upon a private adventure, anno 1519, set out from Spain with eleven ships and 550 men; arrived in the island St. Croix, and from thence westward to the continent, where, as he was informed, there was much gold; he landed on the east side of Jucatan, and thence in the river Tabasco, now called Vittoria, in the bay of Campechee 17 D. N. lat. and destroyed some of Montezuma's tributary Indians: having coasted farther west, he landed his men at La Vera Cruz, and burnt his transport ships; not with a design as it is commonly imagined, by cutting off any retreat for his men, to make them the more desperate, but lest any of his men should draw off and return to Cuba, and occasion the adventure to miscarry. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, did frequently send him superseding orders, which he disregarded; and marched

with 400 Spanish foot, fifteen horse, and seven pieces of cannon, together with some malecontent Indians who joined them. Navarez, with a considerable force, was sent by Velasquez to recal Cortez; Cortez defeated him, and drove off his party. Cortez had many skirmishes with the Indians or Mexicans, with various success: Montezuma, the chief or emperor of the Indian tribes, and his two sons, were found dead after one of these skirmishes; at length, Aug. 13, anno 1521, Mexico and the Mexican Indians submit to Spain. Notwithstanding Cortez, repeated refusals or disobedience to superior orders, and his cruelty to the Indians, being rich, he bought off all complaints at the court of Spain; he is made captain-general of New-Spain, and continued generalissimo until anno 1539, when he was recalled, and in Spain died a prisoner at large, December 1545, Æt. 62; his body was transported to Mexico, and buried there.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa, was the first who crossed the isthmus, anno 1513; he settled at Panama, which continued for some time the capital of the South-Sea colonies; he was soon superseded by Padrarias, one of Cortez's commanders; he gave commissions to Pizarro and Almagra partners, private traders, for making discoveries in Peru; for want of sufficient force, they returned from their first expedition, and differing with Padrarias governor of Panama, Pizarro went home to the court of Spain, and obtained a commission distinct from that of Panama. Pizarro had a royal patent for 200 leagues along the shore of Peru, and Almagra for 200 leagues south of this.

Pizarro, a healthy stout man, of mean parentage, of no learning, but very credulous, set out with 150 foot, and a few horse, to conquer Peru; he was afterwards reinforced by more native Spaniards under Almagra; he arrived, anno 1532, at Cusco, the Indian capital of Peru; inhumanly massacred many Indians, and Ataba-
liba

liba the Indian chief, by the contrivance of Pizarro, was insidiously executed by the Spaniards. Three articles were alledged against him: 1. Killing of his brother. 2. An idolater. 3. Disaffection to the Spanish. Pizarro and Almagra, from anno 1528 to anno 1533, subjugated Peru; and Lima, the present capital, was founded. Don Castro, anno 1530, with 700 men from Spain, was sent governor of Peru; Almagra opposed him, defeated, tried, and executed him. Alvaredo, governor of Guatimala, hearing of Pizarro's acquiring great riches in Peru, set out for Peru with an army of 700, mostly horse, anno 1535; Pizarro bought him off, he returned to Guatimala, and left his troops with Pizarro.

Almagra was the first who went upon an expedition from Peru to Chili anno 1535, but soon returned, being jealous of his partner Pizarro. Anno 1540, Pizarro sent Baldivia from Peru to conquer Chili; Baldivia, 1541, built its capital St. Jago in S. Lat. 34 D. eighteen miles from the ocean; Valparixo is its barcadier; he built Baldivia in S. Lat. 40. D. calling it by his own name, anno 1552; he continued his conquests to the island of Chiloe in S. lat. 43 D. at present the most southern part of Chili or Spanish settlements. This settlement of Chili laboured hard for about fifty years, having continued wars and conspiracies with the Indians; Baldivia was killed in a skirmish with the Indians. There was a general revolt of the Chiloesé anno 1559.

Pizarro and Almagra differed much; Pizarro, at length, made Almagra prisoner, and, by a formal court of justice, he was put to death, and the Pizarro's seized his government, property, and treasure. Almagra's partizans, anno 1541, assassinated Pizarro at Lima, and seized his treasure. Almagra's son assumes the government. Blasco Nunez Vala, a new vice-roy, was sent from Spain; he was opposed by the Pizarro faction, and killed in an engagement anno 1546. Thus the Pizarro's became masters of all America in the South-sea; and to save Peru, the court of Spain was obliged

to temporize, and appointed one of the Pizarro's vice-roy of Peru; but soon after this, Gasco, a cunning man, with 1600 veteran Spaniards, was sent over as president of the royal court, with great powers: the vice-roy Gonzallo Pizarro, had a difference with him; Pizarro is defeated, tried, and executed. There were several other insurrections; so that until anno 1554, King Philip of Spain could not be said to be in peaceable possession of Peru.

[I] For above fourscore years after the first Spanish discoveries in America, no European nation attempted any settlement there.

Cortez's ships sent to the Moluccas or spice-islands, by way of the South-sea, were destroyed by the Portuguese, and the project miscarried.

The Spaniards had scarce any communication with the Philippine and Ladrones islands until anno 1542; they made no great progress in settling of them till anno 1564, when the vice-roy of Mexico sent a fleet to settle colonies, and establish a trade there between Mexico, and Japan, and China. The Philippines have no trade with Europe: the Ladrones are a place of refreshment between Mexico and the Philippines. It is said, that anno 1732, the court of Spain had formed a project to send an East-India company to the Philippine Islands, by way of the Cape of Good-Hope, it came to nothing.

The coast of New-Spain (properly Mexico only is called New-Spain, as that part of the British settlements in America, between the provinces of New-York and Nova Scotia, only is called New-England) or Spanish America, may, in a few words, be described thus: The garrison of St. Augustine in the gulph of Florida N. Lat. 29 D. here is no settlement. The small settlement of

[I] I here annex some miscellaneous loose hints concerning the country and affairs of the Spanish West-Indies.

In the considerable sea-ports where the latitudes, longitudes, and the temporary variation of the compass or magnetic needle are well ascertained, I mention them, and adduce my vouchers.

Penfacola

Penfacola in the bay of Appalachie, of the bay of Mexico, about 120 leagues due west from Augustine, and only fifteen leagues east from l'Isle Dauphine, a French fort and settlement, consequently in a bad neighbourhood. After an interruption of a French sea-line (Louisiana or Mississippi country) upon the north shore of the gulph of Mexico of about 180 leagues, from Penfacola to St. Bernard or St. Louis-Bay; the coast of New-Spain begins again, and extends to the river Oronoke, in about 9 D. N. Lat. after another interruption of a sea line settled by the Dutch, called Surinam, and the following small French settlement of Cayenne, and the fine, rich, large Portugueze settlement of Brazil, to the river of Plate: the Spaniards have not settled much upon the ocean, but run up this river, and communicate with Peru and Chili. From the river of Plate in S. Lat. 35. on the east ocean to Cape-Horn, and from Cape-Horn along the shore of the west ocean or South-sea, to Chiloe in S. Lat. 43 D. the coast is a desert. From the river of Plate to Cape-Horn, the navigation is good, the soundings are very regular, being sixty to eighty fathom, at thirty to forty leagues from the land. From the island of Chiloe, in S. Lat. 43 D. to Cape St. Lucar of California, in N. Lat. 24 D. is the South-sea Spanish coast of Chili, Peru, the Isthmus, and Mexico.

Many of the Spanish settlements or provinces are so separated by mountains and deserts, they cannot be assisting to one another. The Spaniards have not settled exceeding 200 leagues north from the city of Mexico. In the country of Mexico is scarce any gold; their silver mines are not so rich, but are easier wrought than those of Peru. The quicksilver, for refining, comes from Old-Spain, and is a considerable article in the King of Spain's revenue. Peru produces quicksilver sufficient for itself; in Chili silver is scarcer than gold.

From Mexico to Lima, in Peru, the country is full of rocky mountains, scarce or very ill inhabited: north of Mexico and south of Peru are good countries. Upon

the coast of Peru and Chili, from 7 D. N. Lat. to 38 D. S. Lat. the winds are generally southerly, and extend 140 to 150 leagues west from the shore. Chili reaches from the island Chiloe 43 D. to 25 D. S. Lat. Peru from thence to the equinoctial. Chili and Peru are narrow strips of land upon the South-sea; from the Andes a chain of mountains running north and south, not exceeding twenty or thirty leagues from this shore. Peru may be divided into the sea-coast, the high lands, and this ridge of mountains, where all the cloudy vapours seem to condense and settle into rain; there it rains almost incessantly, but upon the sea-coast scarce any rain.

In the West-India islands the shores are generally either sandy bays or mangrove trees. In the West-Indies, between the tropics, they have tides or reciprocations of air or winds, as well as of seas, but not from the same cause; the first arises from the vicissitudes of day and night, that is from the shore or land being heated and cooled alternately; the other is from the influence of the moon.

In South-America is the longest chain of mountains upon earth, called the Andes or Cordilleras, extending from 10 D. N. Lat. to above 50 D. S. Lat. near the straits of Magellan, not many leagues from the shore of the west or south sea.

In all New-Spain there are but four great rivers, and they all fall into the east-sea, viz. 1. Rio Grande, or de la Madalane, venting into the bay of Mexico near Carthagena; upon this river, up the country stands St. Fe, the capital of the audience of Terra-firma. 2. River of Oronoke, which discharges into the East-sea, as do the following: 3. River of Amazons. And 4. Rio de la Plata; near its head stands the city of La Plata, the capital of the audience of Los Charcas; a branch of it called Paragua, comes from the northward, and seems naturally to be the western boundary of Brazil. From the Andes there run a few rivers into the South-sea of short course, small, and very rapid.

In all the Spanish settlements I find only two great lakes mentioned (in the northern parts of North-America we have many, especially the five great lakes or seas in Canada.) 1. The city of Mexico stands between two communicating (therefore called the lake of Mexico) divided by a causeway leading to the city, built in this situation for its better security; the upper lake is fresh, the other salt [*m*]; they receive runs of water, but have no vent. 2. Titico in Peru, S. lat. 17 D. of about eighty leagues circumference; it communicates with a lesser lake, Paria, about fifty leagues farther south; it is salt, receives rivulets, but has no vent.

The vice-roys, presidents, governors, and all other principal royal officers, are natives of Old-Spain; as are also their arch-bishops and bishops.

The church-jurisdiction consists of five arch-bishops, Mexico, St. Domingo, St. Fe, Lima, and La Plata; and about thirty bishops.

The civil-jurisdiction consists of the vice-roy of Mexico comprehending the [*n*] audiences of Mexico, Guadalajara and Guatimala; the vice-roy of Peru comprehending the audiences of Quito, Lima, and Los Charcas; and the independant audiences of St. Domingo (for all the islands) St. Fe, Panama, and Chili. I observe that the orders from the court of Spain, anno 1728, for a suspension of arms to the several independant commanders in New-Spain, are directed to the vice-roy of Mexico, to the vice-roy of Peru, to the captain-general of the

[*m*] From the gradual increase of the salt impregnation of this lake, that of Titico in Peru, the Mediterranean sea, and others in Europe, in a succession of many ages, Dr. Halley proposed to find out the age or standing of our earth: this, with his two sets of magnetic poles to account for the variations of the compass, are the only whims (though pleasantly amusing) that perhaps this man of great genius and industry, ever published.

[*n*] Audiences are supreme royal jurisdictions and courts, to which the provincial and other courts may appeal; but from these audiences there lies no appeal but to the council of the Indies in Old-Spain.

province and city of Carthagena, to the governor and captain-general of the province of Terra-Firma, to the president of Panama, to the governor of Buenos-Ayres, and to the commander of the galeons.

Their most considerable towns and sea-ports are Mexico, the metropolis, in about 20 D. N. lat. inland, no water-carriage near it; its barcadier for the Philippines is Aquapulco upon the South-Sea 16 D. 40 M. N. lat. distance ninety leagues; farther north of Aquapulco are no places of note, and for 140 leagues south of Aquapulco is a mere desert. Its barcadier for Europe is La vera Cruz; the mart or fair for goods from Europe by the flota, flotilla, azogues, and the British annual ship, is at Japala thirty leagues inland. Mexico stands upon more ground, but is not so populous as Bristol in England; is built with a rough hard stone (no freestone); an open town. La Vera Cruz, by the observations of Mr. Harris, who resided there, anno 1727, and as adjusted by Dr. Halley, is in N. lat. 19 D. 12 M. W. from London, 97 D. 30 M. variation at that time 2 D. 15 M. easterly.

Carthagena is the second good town belonging to the Spaniards upon the east side of America: from the same immersions and emersions of Jupiter's first satellite, observed at Carthagena, anno 1722, by Don Harrare principal engineer, and by M. Pound and Bradley at Wanstead (twenty-eight horary minutes east from London) Carthagena is W. from London 75 D. 30 m. longitude. Carthagena was taken by Sir Francis Drake, anno 1585; he brought away in money, cannon, and other effects, the value of 60,000*l.* sterling; the sickness amongst his men obliged him to return, sooner than he designed, by the gulph of Florida, and a beginning settlement in Virginia: Ponti, with a large squadron, a private adventure, anno 1699, reduced it and brought off the value of eight millions of livres: admiral Vernon, with a very large sea and land force of Great-Britain,
and

and of British North-America, came off *re infesta*, anno 1742.

Buenos Ayres is from London W. 3 H. 52 M. or W. Long. 58 D. by Pere Feuille's observation of the occultation of a fixed star by the moon, anno 1708, and as computed by Dr. Halley for London. From the entrance of the river of Plate on the east ocean, to St. Jago the capital of Chili on the west ocean, nearly in the same latitude of 34 D. south, the width of South-America is 18 D. in longitude, or 300 leagues only.

All the trade from Old-Spain to New-Spain does not employ exceeding fifty ships (a small nursery for navigation). The Spaniards have generally a squadron of king's ships at Carthagena, a small squadron at Callao, the barcadier of Lima; a ship or two at La Vera Cruz, called the Barlevanta armada, being generally one fifty gun ship and one snow; they set out from La Vera Cruz of Mexico, in December, with money to pay the judges, clergy, and troops in the Havana, St. Domingo, Porto-Rico, and Comanas; a private ship is hired to carry the pay to St. Augustine. The ships at the Havana are only occasional: the armada does not touch at Carthagena, it being the barcadier of St. Fe, the capital of Terra Firma, which produces much gold.

There is yearly a licence from 4000 or 5000 ton of dry goods to be shipped for New-Spain from Cadiz, annually, but alternately by the Flota for La Vera Cruz, and by the Galeons for Carthagena, the barcadier of St. Fe or Terra Firma, and for Porto-Bello the barcadier for Panama and Peru. The indulto or duty to the king upon shipped and registered gold, silver, cochineal, &c. is from seven to fourteen *per cent.* The azogues or kings [o]

[o] The azogues quick-silver is only for refining the Mexico silver. Peru produces native cinnabar, the ore of quick-silver; the quick-silver mines of Peru were discovered anno 1567.

Virgin silver is spongy and brittle, being so called from its having no mixture of alloy or impregnation, but in the state in which the quick-silver left it. Other metals with the denomination virgin (gold, quick-

quicksilver ships have licences for some dry goods. The galeons from Porto-Bello may, at a medium, bring home twenty-five millions pieces of eight, the flota from La Vera Cruz about sixteen millions, besides what is shipped off in the register ships. *N. B.* The council of state in Holland, anno 1708, made a report that Spain brought from the West-Indies, during the course of the last century, about twenty millions dollars *per annum*.

The register ships are all upon the same footing; we shall only instance from the Canaries, they are allowed four or five register ships of about 150 tons each, *viz.* two to Havana, one to Caraccas, one to Campeche, one to St. Jago de Cuba; to carry no dry goods, only wines and brandies; may bring home silver, and coarse goods, *viz.* sugar, hides, snuff, &c. but no cochineal, indigo, &c. are generally twelve months upon the voyage.

A digression. A short history of the South-Sea company affairs.

THIS was projected by Harley Earl of Oxford, and prime minister at that time, to induce the creditors of the government to be easy, and to incorporate their debts into a joint-stock, with prospect of great profit: but as they are not properly a British settlement in America, I am obliged to annex this to the introductory article of Spanish settlements.

9. *Annæ.* A parcel of the public debts and deficiencies were incorporated by the name of the South-Sea company, being in all 10,000,000 *l.* sterling, with an annuity of six *per cent.* The company to remain for ever, though the funds appropriated to them should be redeemed; their limits are, on the east side of America, from the river Oronoke to Cape-Horn (Surinam and Brazil not included) and from thence on the west coast

copper) signify grains or lumps of natural metal, requiring little or no refining.

of America, to the northernmost part of America (all other traders, within these bounds, to forfeit vessel and cargo) to go and return by the south capes of America, and never to sail above 300 leagues west of the American continent. *N. B.* This seems to interfere with the limits of the East-India company's exclusive navigation, which, by charter, is to the west entrance of Magellan's-straits.

I find from the public reports, that the balance, or neat profit of the South-sea trade for ten years preceding, anno 1734, amounted only to 32,260 *l.* sterling. The South-sea company was only a cant name. Their whole trade and business was only the assiento for 4800 negroes *per annum*, and an annual ship of dry goods of 500 tons, whereof the king of Spain had one quarter of the profits, and the crown of England another quarter.

The Spaniards have no Guinea trade of their own, and but little navigation from Old-Spain to New or America Spain; they have been obliged, from time to time, to contract with some European maritime power for a supply of negro slaves: in King James the second's and king William's reigns, they contracted with Don Nicolas Porcio, a Spaniard; his agent Don Castillo resided in Jamaica, and was knighted by king William, Sir James Castillo. The Portugueze lost by their contract; and, by the treaty of Baden, Spain was to pay to Portugal 600,000 crowns, for money due on the assiento contract and otherways. After the Portugueze, the French had the contract, but never furnished the numbers stipulated. Their place of refreshment was on the N. W. side of Hispaniola, or St. Dominique, as the French call it, which gave them a further footing upon that island: the time of their contract being expired, the British South-Sea company had the contract upon the following terms:

The contract was for thirty years from May 1, 1713, and upon the expiration thereof three years more allowed

ed to settle their affairs; the South-Sea company, or assentists, to furnish annually 4800 merchantable negro slaves of both sexes, paying to the king of Spain thirty-three and a third pieces of eight per slave in lieu of all duties upon 4000 of that number; may import, if they please, more than the stipulated number, the overplus paying only half that duty; may carry 1200 of these slaves yearly in four ships to the river of Plata, for the use of that country, and of the country of Chili; may be brought into any port of New-Spain where are Spanish royal officers; may be sold for any price, excepting upon the windward coast, *viz.* at Comana, Maracaibo, and Sancta Martha, where the price shall not exceed 300 pieces of eight; may transport the slaves coast-ways from Panama, along the shore of the South-sea, in ships of about 400 tons; they are allowed not exceeding six British in one factory; may have in each factory a Judge conservator, a Spaniard of their own choosing; the assiento ships not to be detained or embargoed upon any account; may make their returns in the company's ships, flota or galeons, duty free; may search and seize any vessels trading with slaves upon the coast; they are not to trade in any other merchandise; the crown of Great-Britain, and the crown of Spain, to be concerned each one quarter in the trade, and to settle accounts once in five years. In case of a war the assiento shall be suspended, and eighteen months allowed to carry off the effects. Considering the losses which former assentists have sustained, and to prevent any other kind of trade, the king of Spain, during the continuance of this contract, allows a ship of 500 tons yearly with dry goods, one quarter of the clear profit to the king of Spain, and 5 *per cent.* duty upon the other three quarters; they are not to sell their goods, but in the times of the fairs upon the arrival of the flota or galeons; the queen or crown of Great-Britain was also to have one quarter of the neat gain, but this was afterwards given up to the company.

The South-Sea company assiento agents were settled for some time at Barbadoes for the Caraccas and Maracaibo business, and at Jamaica for the rest of that trade. Jamaica lies the most convenient for carrying on this affair.

The South-Sea company have tried three methods of carrying on their negro business, *viz.* by their own ships, by contract and by chance purchase from private traders; this last was the cheapest: anno 1721, they contracted with the African company for a supply of 3600 negroes, two thirds males, six sevenths to be from 16 to 30 *Æt.* the other seventh to consist of equal numbers of boys and girls, none under 10 *Æt.* the contracted price was 22 *l.* 10 *s.* sterling per piece for Gold-coast, Jackin, and Whidaw negroes; 18 *l.* 10 *s.* sterling for Angola slaves. For some years they farmed out some of their assiento factories.

The South-Sea company's effects in New-Spain have been twice seized; anno 1718, upon our destroying the Spanish armada near Sicily; and anno 1727, when Gibraltar was besieged; I shall not in this place mention the seizures in the beginning of this present war. Mr. Keene, for several years, had from the company 1500 *l.* sterling *per annum*, as their agent at the court of Spain. The court of Spain made a demand of 60,000 *l.* sterling, arising mostly from a different way of reckoning the dollars payable as duty; the South-Sea company reckon at 42 *d.* sterling per dollar, the court of Spain reckon at 52 *d.* sterling per dollar; the rest was the King of Spain's quarter of the neat gains of the annual ship the Royal Carolina. On the other side, the South-Sea company alledge the frequent seizure of their effects; the refusals of licences or schedulas at times, as damages to be taken to account being one and a half million dollars damages sustained; this affair is not as yet determined; it is said that the majority of the South-Sea directors, at the desire of the ministry of that time, has agreed to pay the 68,000 *l.* sterling, upon a pro-
longation

longation of the term of their trade, and a speedy reimbursement of the one and half million damages.

The next part in the South-Sea company history, is a dismal, and for many ages not be forgotten transaction, a bubble, an epidemical, malignant, and mortal distemper of bodies politic; it came by way of France, where it was called Mississippi, with us it was called South-Sea; laying aside allegory, it is a notorious instance of the bad constitution of paper effects, I mean paper common currency and transfers; and as it has some affinity with our plantations paper currency, I hope it may be of political use, with the cotemporary Mississippi [p] and French bank history annexed by way of an-

[p] This note naturally should belong to the transient account to be given of the French colonies; but as it serves to illustrate our South-Sea bubble, a fatal imitation of Mr. Law's project, we have previously introduced it here; and the annexed account of the fate of the Royal Bank of France, which (linked to the Mississippi bubble) projected paper-currency for France, may be a proper warning or beacon to our America paper-money colonies.

Never was such a barefaced iniquitous scheme endeavoured to be put in execution; their confidence was in the legislative power, which they imagined could do any thing, though inconsistent with natural justice. The subject of this annotation, will remain a curious incident in history. That a private person, Mr. Law, projector of the Mississippi company bubble (this name appeared too chimerical; it afterwards assumed, and still retains the name of the French India Company) should so infatuate, impose upon, or bubble, in a most public manner, the politer part of mankind; future ages will be astonished, scarce credit, but admire. He rose the stock of a chimerical company from sixty to seventy *per cent.* discount (their first stock or subscription was sixty millions of livres in state bills, or national debts settled at sixty or seventy *per cent.* discount) to nineteen hundred *per cent.* advance.

By adding to this sixty million subscription in state bills forty millions more money-subscription, their stock became one hundred millions; and by the king's assigning to them the farm upon tobacco, which then was farmed at four millions, with the farmer's profit computed to three millions more, made seven *per cent.* to the proprietors: this gave them a great credit, and their stock rose much above par: next, the East-India and China company was incorporated with it anno 1718, and actions rose to 200 for 100 original. By seven successive subscriptions of sixty, forty, twenty-five, twenty-five, fifty, fifty, notations;

notations; it does also by anticipation take off some paragraph, which must have been premised in the

fifty millions, it became in all 300,000,000 livres principal or original stock. Their fund or government annuity, upon which they were to divide, was given out by Mr. Law to be as follows:

The farm, and its neat profits of tobacco	7 millions
Profits in the India trade	12
Out of the crown's general revenue	45
Out of the five great farms of imposts	30
Profits (imaginary) in time from Mississippi	7
Fishery, sole traffic of bullion, &c.	23
Coinage	5

131 millions

is better than forty-three *per cent.* on the original stock.

In September, 1719, the subscriptions (as above) taken in for increasing their stock were at ten for one, and those subscriptions were negotiated at cent per cent, that is, one principal fold for twenty; the subscriptions were to be made good by partial payments: but as many of the subscribers could not make their subsequent parts of payments, without selling out their former stock; old actions fell to 760 for 100 (notwithstanding this precedent warning, our South-Sea bubble split upon the very same rock) but by enlarging the times for the subscription payments, and the interest of their loans to the crown being augmented, stock rose again to 1200 or 1300, their privileges being continued to anno 1770.

The money, which the company gained by the advanced prices upon the several additions, from time to time, made to their stock, was lent to the king at a certain interest; with this money the king paid off, or reduced, the state debts, or annuities in the town-house of Paris, from four to three *per cent.* interest; which was a saving of about twelve millions *per annum* to the king.

In January N. S. 1720, the king had granted to the Mississippi, alias India company, the management and administration of the royal bank. About the same time the king sold to the company his stock, consisting of 100 millions of livres original, for 900 millions livres in partial payments. Thus the king sold all his stock at once by contract for money: thus the directors, and other great men, who were in the secret, sold out their own South-Sea stock when the affair was tending towards a crisis.

This Mississippi-bubble began to collapse in the end of May, 1720, and Mr. Law became a Profugus: to keep up the affair so far and so long as it could be, the company not being able to comply with the payment of the 900 million livres in money, the king accepts again of his 100 millions livres in original actions (an original share or action was 1000 livres;) and upon the king and company's annihilating
 article

article of plantation paper currencies. Perhaps it may be some amusement to the curious; hitherto it has not

some of their actions, they were reduced to 200 millions of actions; the old actions were called in, and a new tenor of actions given for the same, and it was resolved, that for three years next following, the dividend *per annum*, should be 200 livres per action, which is twenty *per cent.* and a royal society is erected to insure this at three *per cent.* premium. As there remained a number of actions, the property and in possession of the company, all persons who formerly sold out, were ordered to buy in again, at the rate of 13,500 livres per actions, in bank bills to be burnt. Notwithstanding all these labouring expedients, the people's panic could not be stopped, and the company fell into a languishing state; it is not to our purpose to prosecute this affair any further.

This spring 1747, the French-India company's actions are at 1045.

That a paper currency, with any profit or duration, can never supersede a gold and silver currency, will appear by the following short history of the Royal Bank of France.

Mr. Law, in aid of the Mississippi-bubble, projected the Royal Bank in the following gradations: 1. All officers of the revenue were to receive bank bills or notes. 2. By the king's edict, anno 1719, bank notes were fixed at five *per cent.* better than gold or silver coin; bank bills, in the beginning of summer anno 1719, were increased to 400 millions of livres (a livre is in value above 11 *d* sterling) in the end of summer the French court gave out (thus do some of the legislatures in our paper-money colonies) that this sum was not sufficient for a circulation, and 120 millions more were made. In October, 120 millions more, and soon after 360 millions more; being in all 1000 millions of livres, which is about forty-six millions pounds sterling, which is more than all the banks in Europe put together do circulate. 3. Next spring in March, N. S. anno 1720, by an edict, gold and silver was gradually to be lowered, and after some months forbid to have any currency, with the penalties of counterband goods, if found in any person's possession; Bank notes and Mississippi transfers to be the only currency; the importation of gold and silver species is forbid; even the payment of foreign bills of exchange, though specified, must be made in Bank notes. 4. As the court of France had been for many years in the practice of altering the current coin, for the profit of their king, Mr. Law proceeded to make a like experiment upon their paper-currency. By an Edict of May 21, 1720, Bank notes were to be reduced gradually (the Mississippi, or India company's actions, were at the same time, and in the same manner, reduced from 10,000 livres, their stated price, to 5000 livres) so that after some months, *v. g.* 1000 livres Bank notes was to pass for only 500 livres. This occasioned such an universal murmuring, that Mr. Law was obliged to save
by

by any writer been set in a strong, full, and compacted light.

Mr. John Law, born at Edinburgh in Scotland, began his plan of the Mississippi bubble in France, anno 1717, of which he was afterwards constituted principal director, and at length comptroller-general of the finances of France. He was the most noted man in Europe for a gamester and bubbler; he was persuaded that paper effects, or paper currency, and transfers, admitted of the greatest latitude for public cheat. In our American colonies, after having reduced the denomination of five shillings sterling to a heavy piece of eight, and from this having reduced it to light pieces of eight so far as the cheat could go; they fell into a paper-currency, whose intrinsic value being nothing, its imaginary value admitted of any reduction: at present in New-England, by this contrivance and management, a person who pays an old debt, of book, note, or bond, in the present paper currency; pays only one in ten or two shillings in the pound.

Impregnated by the projection of Mr. Law (excuse the metaphor) a national bubble began to be hatched in England; at length, the end of January, anno 1719-20, the Bank and South-Sea Company bid handsomely (that is apparently) great sums for the benefit of the public, upon one another, to have all the other public debts ingrafted into their stocks; the South-Sea Company

himself from the rage of the populace, by leaving the kingdom, and thereby confessing himself a most EGREGIOUS CHEAT. To appease the people, who suspected frauds in the India Company and Bank, the court appointed sham commissaries to inspect their books; they soon made a favourable report, and that they found in the India company a fund for above 300 millions livres original stock; the nation were not satisfied, it still remained in a ferment or fret; Mr. Law was obliged to abscond May 29, and resign his great office of comptroller-general of the finances; and the seals were taken from M. d'Argenson his accomplice, May 31; the edict of last March for gradually abolishing a gold and silver currency was revoked; and by October following, Bank notes had no longer a currency; nothing was taken in payment but gold and silver species.

carried it by bribing some of the legislature, and some in the administration, by taking up great quantities of store for their use. Mr. Walpole, doubtless, had a feeling, but secret and cautious, concern in this affair of corruption; and as the South-sea bubble came near its crisis, he screened himself by being made pay-master general of the land-forces; the Earl of Sunderland, May 27, 1720, being made first commissioner of the treasury in his room. Mr. Walpole did not re-enter himself, as first commissioner of the treasury, until April, 1721, the storm being over; and we may observe, that next month the parliament allowed the South-Sea Company directors large sums out of their forfeited estates, the parliament being then under the direction of Mr. Walpole; and towards the end of the same year, by the direction of our prime minister, admiral Norris landed Mr. Law, a fugitive from France, in England; (Mr. Law, at that time, was in cash, the proper bait for corruption) he introduced himself by buying off the appeal of the relations, and producing at the bar of the King's-bench, the king's pardon for the murder of Edward Wilson, Esq. (Beau Wilson) anno 1694: he was discharged: but his arrival in England being canvassed in parliament, and his infamous bubble in France being much clamoured against by the populace (Mr. Walpole, a consummate politician, by experience, at times found that the *vox populi* was the *suprema lex*; witness the excise projection upon wines and tobacco) his address, his money, the countenance of the court, availed nothing; he went off, and died obscurely in Germany; may this be the exit of all notorious cunning leading impostors in any human society or government.

The South-Sea proposals were accepted by the house of Commons Feb. 1, 1719-20, and had the royal assent April 4, following. They were allowed to ingraft the irredeemable long and short annuities, and the redeemables of five and of four *per cent. per annum* interest (the bank and East-India company annuities, or stock, not included)

included) to the value of 30,954,000 *l.* sterling by purchase or by subscription: the annual payments from the government upon these ingrafted public debts, to be continued as at present, until anno 1727, Midsummer, and from thence the whole to be reduced to an annuity of four *per cent*; the South-Sea engage to circulate one million exchequer bills *gratis*, and to pay seven millions pounds sterling to the government for this liberty and benefit of ingrafting so much of the public debts; the increased capital stock to be divided amongst all the proprietors. In the progress of the year 1719, the South-Sea company by act of parliament, for a certain sum to the public, had ingrafted a great part of the lottery anno 1710, by which, and by this great ingraftment, added to their original stock of 10,000,000 *l.* sterling their capital became 37,802,483 *l.* sterling (about 4,361,930 *l.* sterling of the principal which they were allowed to take in, by purchase or subscription could not be obtained, and remained as before) a vast and impolitic capital.

Next Day Feb. 2, after the bill passed the Commons, South-sea stock rose to 150, in May it was sold at 375, all July (the transfer books being shut) it sold at 930 to 1000. In August the South-sea bubble began to lose its credit; and the directors, to keep up the cheat, published, that thirty *per cent.* cash, should be the half year's dividend at Christmas next, and not less than fifty *per cent. per annum* for the next following twelve years. August 17, stock was at 830, Sept. 8, at 550, Sept. 29, at 150; at Michaelmas, South-sea bonds were at twenty-five *per cent.* discount.

At this time all the stocks (bank stock in July rose to 245, but it soon fell again to its intrinsic value 130) and many schemes were made bubbles; the capitals proposed by the several projectors and bubblers did not amount to less than 300 millions sterling. Most people neglected their other business, and attended some favourite BUBBLE, and John Blunt of London, the arch-bubbler,

was erected a baronet, a scandal to that honourable order of knighthood.

This grand national cheat, became a parliamentary enquiry. In the report of the secret committee, forty members of the house of Commons were charged with having stock taken up for them in brokers names; it was found that the directors bought stock for the company at very high rates, while they were clandestinely selling out their own; that the directors had lent out by collusion, about eleven millions of the company's money, with none or not sufficient security. In the house of Lords, the whole of it was called a villainous artifice; and it was resolved in parliament, that the directors so far as their estates would reach, should make good the losses the company had sustained by their fraudulent management; the estates of the directors, deputy cashier, and accountant amounted to 2,014,123*l.* sterling properly forfeited, but by management a great part of it was remitted to them. The reliefs allowed by parliament are too long to be related here; to the company was forgiven the seven millions which they contracted to pay to the government, upon condition of two millions of their capital being annihilated, but this was soon after restored to them. Anno 1722, the better to disengage themselves from incumbrances, they sold to the bank 200,000 of their annuity, which is four millions principal.

Several government debts were by the Earl of Oxford, incorporated into one joint-stock of annuities, and were called, The corporation of the governor and company of merchants in Great-Britain trading to the South-sea and other parts of America, and for encouraging the fishery. As Mr. Law borrowed his sham name of Mississippi Company, from our cant name of South-Sea Company; so we copied our South-Sea bubble from his Mississippi bubble.

After a further ingraftment of all the public debts (the East-India and bank government debts remained

distinct

distinct as formerly) that could be obtained, and the South-sea bubble being settled, 1723 June 24, their whole capital was found to be 33,802,483 *l.* (without including the 4000,000 *l.* of their stock which they had assigned to the bank) the parliament converted 16,901,241 *l.* one moiety of it into South-Sea annuities, the other half to remain a joint-stock in trade.

Anno 1733, this moiety of joint-stock in trade, by sundry government payments made from the sinking fund [q], became 14,651,103 *l.* at Midsummer, three

[q] The sinking fund was a projection of Mr. Walpole's, a consummate politician, especially in the affair of finances; it arises from public savings (the funds continuing the same) by reducing the interest of the public debts first to five *per cent.* anno 1717, afterwards to four *per cent.* and some (East-India company) to three *per cent.* This was not iniquitous, but natural justice; common interest had been reduced, by act of parliament, to five *per cent.* ever since anno 1714. It was left to the option of the creditors of the government either to be paid off, or to accept of a lower interest; they accepted of a lower interest: none of the companies or incorporated stocks choose to be paid off, but make interest that the sinking fund may not be applied to them: all the national debt (navy debt, army debentures, and the like excepted) consists in the stocks; these are as transferrable as is common cash, and therefore may be called cash in chest bearing interest. 2. When paid off, they lose the advance which the part paid would sell at, *e. g.* the East India company would lose about seventy, the Bank about forty *per cent.* on any part off.

The annual produce of the sinking fund is upwards of 1,200,000 *l.* and to this time, anno 1747, may amount to upwards of thirty three millions of pounds, whereof about twelve millions has been applied to redeem so much of the public debts, and the remaining twenty-two millions has prevented our running twenty-two millions more in debt; it is a help at hand against any extraordinary exigency, to raise part of the supply (since the beginning of the present war anno 1739, it has contributed one million yearly to the supply) upon emergencies any sum may be raised upon annuities, charged on the sinking fund for a time, until further settled.

Walpole's scheme, 1733, of an excise upon wine and tobacco would have been of public advantage, but it was prevented taking effect, by the strong fears of the populace, lest it should introduce a general excise upon the necessaries of life (as in Holland) as well as upon comforts and extravagancies: besides, it would have multiplied the officers of the revenue, creatures of the court and ministry.

quarters of this was separated, by the name of new joint-stock of South-sea annuities; the remaining 3,662,775 continues as a trading or capital stock, solely chargeable with all the company's debts, and not to divide above four *per cent. per annum*, until their present debts are cleared and paid off. The qualifications in their present trading stock (in the former stock the qualifications were higher) are a concern at least of 5000*l.* for governor, 4000*l.* for sub-governor, 3000*l.* for deputy-governor, 2000*l.* for a director: at a general meeting a 500*l.* concern has one vote, 2000*l.* has two votes, 3000*l.* has three votes, 5000*l.* has four votes; no single person to have more than four votes: no part of the trading stock to be redeemed, until the new joint-stock of annuities become reduced to 3,500,000*l.* No new bonds to be made, but at the direction of a general meeting.

The sinking fund has at times paid off to the old and new South-Sea annuitants about 6,500,000*l.* and at this time the government debt to the South-Sea is 27,302,203*l.* *viz.* stock 3,662,775*l.* old annuities 13,651,100*l.* new annuities, 9,988,328*l.* At present, spring 1747, the price of South-Sea stock is 103; East-India company stock being 177. Here we may *en passant* observe the great difference of credit and interest in the affections of the people, in relation to a tory, jacobite, and popish administration; and to a whig (excuse the cant name) revolution, and true protestant ministry: in the tory admi-

The stocks, or government debts, continued; and the church-lands in lay possession, are infallible preventives against popery and a revolution in the civil government.

Our bad administration in the end of queen Anne's time, after a successful war carried on for many years by a former good administration, instead of procuring advantageous terms of peace, conceded to the following disadvantageous articles with Spain by the treaty of Utrecht, anno 1713. 1. An entailed charge of maintaining large garrisons in Gibraltar and Minorca. 2. The precarious demolition of Dunkirk by their friends the French. 3. The Assiento of Negroes, which had proved a losing bargain to all former contractors. And 4. A sham renunciation to the crown France.

nistration,

nistration, in the four last years of queen Anne, South-Sea stock, though bearing an interest of six *per cent.* sold at a discount exceeding twenty *per cent.* at present, though the interest or annuity is reduced to four *per cent.* it sells at a considerable advance *per cent.*

I must here insert (I cannot find a place more proper) two affairs, not of property, but of indulgencies, and solemnly stipulated concessions from the court of Spain, to the subjects of Great-Britain, and more particularly in favour of our settlements in North-America, *viz.* logwood from the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, and salt from the Spanish island of Tortuga.

The cutting and carrying of logwood, formerly from the bay of Campeachy, and latterly from the bay of Honduras, in the gulph of Mexico, to Great-Britain and sundry European markets, has been for some time a branch of the British America trade, but more especially of New-England. This logwood business has been carried on for about eighty years, ever since anno 1667, by a sort of indulgence; this indulgence was confirmed, anno 1670, by the American treaty with Spain, *viz.* The English to remain in the occupancy of all territories and indulgencies of which they were then in possession.

Anno 1716, the Spanish ambassador at the court of Great-Britain entered a complaint to the king in council, against the English subjects cutters of logwood in the bays of Campeachy, &c. This was referred to the board of trade and plantations; they made report, that "by the American treaty anno 1670, there was confirmed to the crown of Great-Britain, a right to the *Laguna de Terminos* (bay of Campeachy) and parts adjacent in the province of Jucatan; these places, at the time of the treaty, and some years before, being actually in possession of the British subjects through right of sufferance or indulgence." This same right or liberty is absolutely granted and confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht 1713.

Notwithstanding this representation, and without allowing sufficient time for the logwood cutters to withdraw (if the court of Great-Britain had judged it proper) the Spaniard from the Tobasco, drove them off; it has never since been used by the British.

This bay lies on the west side of the promontory or province of Jucatan: Campeachy is a good town, large as Newport of Rhode-Island, built with a white free stone; it stands on the sea. This port or branch of the Assiento was farmed out by the South-Sea directors to Blockwood and Cathcart, at forty pieces of eight for every negro slave they imported; they sent four or five ships of about 300 tons each per annum, with a few negroes for a blind; their profit being from dry goods, which they sold, by the connivance of the royal officers bribed, at twelve to fifteen *per cent.* their chief returns were in logwood bought from the Spaniards, and carried to London and Holland; they also carried off some drugs, viz. *Gum. Elemi, Rad. Contrayerva, Rad. Sarsaparil,* &c. That year in which this logwood-bay was cut off, anno 1717, were imported into the port of London 5863 tons of logwood.

Since our people have been dislodged from the bay of Campeachy they followed the same business in the bay of Honduras on the east side of Jucatan; their die-wood is not so good, and the mouths of their rivers (Old and New-river) are more shallow. Because of the present war with Spain, this trade for some years has almost been discontinued.

Logwood is their currency or medium at 5 *l.* per ton denomination.

From this logwood cutting maroon life, there is a small incidental political advantage; as the logwood-cutters called bay-men, live a maroon, licentious, lawless life, it becomes in times of peace a receptacle for, and diverts, some sailors and others from the more wicked life of pirating.

A little

A little to the eastward of the bay of Honduras are a small tribe of Indians, the good friends and allies of the bay men, and Spaniard haters: that is, they affect the English more than they do the Spaniards, and they reckon the governor of Jamaica, as their patron and protector: our trade with them is of no consequence, being only some tortoise-shell, wild cocoa, and farfaparille.

The island of Ratan lies about eight leagues from the Muskitoë-shore, and about 150 leagues W. by S. from Jamaica; here we have lately fixed a garrison, and station-ships, but *cui bono* I cannot say.

The privilege of making and carrying salt from the island of Salt Tortugas, in the gulph of Mexico, near the Comanas or windward part of the Spanish coast, was expressly confirmed to us by the treaty of commerce between his Catholic Majesty, and the King of Great-Britain, at Madrid, Dec. 14, anno 1716. "Whereas
" notwithstanding the treaties of peace and commerce,
" which were concluded at Utrecht, July 13, and
" Dec. 9, 1713, there still remained some misunder-
" standings concerning the trade of the two nations, and
" the course of it. Article 3. Moreover his Catholic
" Majesty permits the said subjects of Great-Britain to
" gather salt in the island of Tortuga, in the gulph of
" Mexico; they having enjoyed that privilege in the
" reign of king Charles II, without hindrance or inter-
" ruption."

Notwithstanding this plain stipulation, anno 1733, in the spring, a British plantation's salt-fleet, under convoy of a 20 gun British man of war, as they came to sail from Tortugas, were attacked by two large Spanish men of war from the Margaritas, and four of the fleet were carried off; hitherto no recompence has been obtained.

In times of peace, for the use of the dry cod-fishery, are imported in Massachusetts-Bay, *communibus annis*,

1200 tons Tortugas salt; and about as much more from other ports, *viz.* The Isle of May, or Cape de Verde islands, Exeuma or Bahamas, St. Martins or Rochelle, Lisbon, Ivica, Cagliari in Sardinia, &c.

The reason why New-England dry cod is frequently salt-burnt, is from the use of Tortuga and isle of May salt, which are too hot. In Newfoundland they generally use Lisbon and French salt.

By late acts of the British parliament, salt is allowed to be imported directly from any part of Europe, to the colonies of New-York and Pennsylvania; in the same manner as salt may be imported into New-England and Newfoundland, by an act made 15 Car. II, for the encouragement of trade.

II. *French discoveries and settlements.*

THE French American colonies may be distinguished into their north continent America settlements, and those of the West-India islands, Cayenne, near the coast of Guiana or Surinam included. Their islands do not fall within the compass of our design; and having only transiently visited them without any view of enquiry, my fixed resolution is not to borrow or transcribe from common authors [r]; therefore the reader may excuse my laying them aside.

The continent French settlements, I divide into Canada or New-France, and Mississippi or Louisiana: some French writers, mention a French province called Hanoise, inhabited by above 16,000 whites, above half way between the mouth of the river Mississippi, and Quebec in Canada; this is only an imaginary or romantic colony; we take no notice of it, leaving it to the professed writers of novels.

[r] No person can trace me as a plagiarist; my own observations, hints from correspondents and well-approved authors, and from public records, are the materials of this essay.

I. Canada. The original of the name is uncertain, some say, it was named from Monsieur Cane, who early sailed into that river: if so, O caprice! why should so obscure a man (his voyage is not mentioned in history) give name to New-France, as it is called?

Verazani, a Florentine in the king of France's service (Francis I. was an active prince) coasted along the east side of North-America, and went ashore in several places; according to the humour of those times, took a nominal possession for France, from 37 D. the mouth of Chesapeake-Bay, to 50 D. N. lat. the mouth of the river St. Laurence, so called, because first discovered upon that saint's day; he sailed up the river of St. Laurence. Two ships from England sailed up that river, anno 1527. J. Cartier, a native of St. Malo, made two voyages to this river anno 1534 and 1535, he proceeded so far as Montreal, and called the country New-France. Anno 1542, Roberval from Rochelle carried thither, a few people to settle; they did not continue their settlements. About the middle of the sixteenth century, the French and Spaniards disputed settlements upon the coast of Florida. Secretary Walsingham of England, being informed of an opening south of Newfoundland, fitted out Sir Humphry Gilbert; he sailed up St. Laurence river, and took possession for the crown of England. Anno 1604, Henry IV [s] of France made further discoveries in L'Acadie, now Nova Scotia; and in Canada or New-France he planted a colony which subsists to this day; may it not subsist long; it is a nuisance to our North-

[s] Henry IV was the first of the French kings, who, to any purpose, encouraged trade and manufactures. After him, for some time in the reign of Louis XIV, Colbert (of Scots extraction) secretary of state in France, was a great patron and promoter of the same, as also of all polite learning, viz. The Academy of sciences for all parts of natural history, geometry, astronomy, mechanics, anatomy, chymistry, and botany; the French Academy, for the French language and other parts of the Belles-lettres; the academy for inscriptions and medals; the academy for architecture, painting, and sculpture.

America

America settlements; *delenda est Carthago*: Anno 1608, Quebec [*t*] on an isthmus on the river St. Laurence began to be settled, and is now increased to about 7000 people of all colours, sexes, and ages; it is the residence of the governor-general, intendant, and supreme council; tide flows about eighteen feet.

Canada is no otherways a company, only for the Castor or Beaver fur-trade; as they have no settlements, but upon rivers and creeks, by giving some delineation of these, we describe that country. The gulph of St. Laurence, from Cape Raze of Newfoundland, the Cape Rosier in 50 D. 30 M. N. lat. the mouth of the river St. Laurence (here the river is about thirty leagues wide) about eighty-eight leagues; in this gulph are the islands of Cape-Breton [*u*], Anticosti, St. Johns, Madalene, and some other small islands, given to the French by the infamous treaty of Utrecht 1713. From Cape Rosier to Tadoufac, on the north side of the river, are eighty leagues bad navigation. Tadoufac is no town, but a good harbour for large ships, navigable for ships twenty-five miles; has a water communication by the river Seguan, &c. with Hudson's-Bay. From Tadoufac to Quebec are thirty leagues, from Quebec to Les Trois Rivieres, on the north side of the river, thirty leagues; this was the first French settlement, it abounds with iron ore, is

[*t*] Quebeis, in the Indian Algonquin language, signifies a strait, Quebec, from De Hayes observations, anno 1686, lies in 45 D. 55 M. N. lat. and W. from Paris 72 D. 30 M. (Paris is E. from London 2 D. 30 M. circiter) is 70 D. W. from London; variation 15 D. 30 M. anno 1649, it was 16 D. W.

[*u*] Cape Breton is a late acquisition, or New-England conquest from the French; may it be permanent, but without any extraordinary garrison charge! It stretches from 45 D. to 47 D. 5 M. N. lat. separated from Nova Scotia, by the gut of Canso, five leagues long, and one league broad. Cape-Breton island lies in length from N. E. to S. W. scarce fifty leagues, its greatest breadth east and west about thirty-three leagues. Louisbourg, formerly called English harbour, is a good port and strong fortress: as this formerly belonged to Nova Scotia, we shall refer any further account of it to that section.

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the residence of a sub-governor; this government (there are three governments in Canada) extends twelve miles up the great river, and twelve miles down the river: the tide does not flow much higher; from Les Trois Rivieres to Montreal, the seat of the next sub-governor, are thirty leagues.

From Cape Rosier, along the south side of St. Lawrence to Montreal, is an almost continued chain of hills or mountains, and the runs of water short and rapid, it is scarce habitable. A little above Montreal, the two rivers of Outauawas (comes from a country N. W. belonging to a large and powerful Indian nation) and Catarauqui meet: Catarauqui river comes about fifty leagues S. W. from the lake of the same name; from fort Frontenac, at the head of this river by water-carriage to Montreal, are four days travel, but from Montreal to fort Frontenac are ten or more days travel, because of many carrying-places at several cataracts called falls or fauts.

The communicating five great lakes of Canada, *viz.* Catarauqui or Ontario, Erie, Ilenois, Hurons, and Upper lake may be called inland seas, lying from 39 D. to 51 D. N. Lat. The smallest Ontario is about eighty leagues long, thirty-five leagues wide; the lake Superieure is 200 leagues long, it is larger than the Caspian-sea. They do not freeze over; snow does not lie long within ten or twelve miles of them; their soft mellow circum-ambient vapour mollifies the air; the Indians say, that in hot weather the wind blows from the lake, and in cold weather into the lake, as do the land and sea-breezes in the West-Indies within the tropics.

All the French colonies are under the direction of the council of the navy of France, and of one of the four secretaries of France, called secretary for the Marine and Plantations; at present, anno 1747, M. Maurepas. The French King's charge *per annum* for Canada is about 200,000 crowns; but the high duty upon salt sent from France, and the duty upon furs and skins sent from Canada

to

to France, overbalances this charge. The king's bills of exchange upon the treasury are paid at fifteen days sight; the castor bills upon the company are paid at three months sight. Their currency is the same as in France, being twenty-five *per cent.* better than that of the French West-India islands.

By information from capt. La Rondde and lieut. de Ramfay, envoys from the governor-general of Canada, concerning the French instigating and furnishing our enemy Indians with war ammunition, anno 1723, there sailed from Quebec nineteen vessels for the ocean; built in the river of St. Laurence, six vessels fit for the ocean. *N. B.* Up the river to the southward, is good ship-timber; lately they have built two or three men of war for France.

The season of navigation in the river St. Laurence, are the months of August and September, for the store-ships and castor-company ships. Ships have sailed from Quebec to Rochelle in 18 days. Besides pelterie they send to France a small matter of lumber, timber, slaves, tar, tobacco. Ships from France bring wines, brandies, and dry goods, and sail with flour, pease, and pork to the West-India islands; and from thence home to France with sugars, &c. In Canada from the setting in of the frost until summer, no news from France and other foreign parts, excepting what is conveyed to them by way of Albany: many of the French furs are clandestinely carried to Albany; this is the reason, why our Dutch subjects there are averse to a war with the Canada French, and their Indians. At Oswego, the mouth of Onondaguas river upon the east-side of lake Ontario, there is a trading fair from Albany all summer; Indians of above twenty different nations resort thither, from South-Carolina in N. lat. 32 D. to the bottom of Hudson's-Bay in N. lat 51 D. Therefore there certainly is a good water communication inland, in all that extent, and consequently a vast Indian skin and fur-trade; furs are
more

more plenty to the southward, but not of so good a staple, as to the northward.

Canada is settled only, near the rivers and creeks; they sow no winter-grain. The produce of the country is not much more than is requisite for their own subsistence: the quality of their summer-wheat is such, that a baker gives 38 lb. wt. fine bread, for a bushel of wheat: apples grow well; pears, plumbs, and cherries not plenty; peaches will scarce do: they kill their store of poultry when the frosts set in, and keep them frozen in their garrets during the winter season, which saves grain, their food.

They have only three towns of any consideration, *viz.* Quebec, the metropolis and residence of the governor-general of Canada or New-France; it is their principal fortress; the Cathedral is their only parish church; in the lower town there is a chapel of ease; here are two convents (Jesuits and Recolects) of men, and three convents of women, or nunneries. Montreal more pleasantly situated, the residence of a deputy-governor, sixty leagues above Quebec upon the same river, is near as populous as Quebec, but not so well fortified. Les Trois Rivieres, a small town and trifling fortification, lies midway upon the river, between these two; it is the seat of the third government.

The country is divided into about eighty districts, somewhat in the manner of our New-England townships (the New-England townships, in Old-England would be called country parishes, and their several precincts, chapels of ease.)

All their militia, or fencible men, capable of marching, at this writing, anno 1747, do not exceed 12,000 men, with about 1000 regular troops independent marine companies, and about 1000 Indians that may be persuaded to march.

Besides the three towns, or strong places, already mentioned, there are, 1. Crown-Point as above, a late intrusion upon the jurisdiction of New-York; last year it was

was proposed to reclaim it by force, but the projection seems to vanish. 2. Fort Chamblais, a considerable fort or pass from the English settlements to the upper French settlements in Canada. 3. Fort Sorrel, where the river Chamblais, the discharge of lake Champlain, enters the river of Canada or St. Laurence, an insignificant fort. 4. Fort Frontenac, where the discharge of lake Ontario, and the other great inland lakes, forms the Catarqui branch of the river St. Laurence. 5. Fort Denonville near Niagara Falls (governor Vaudruetil had it accurately examined; it was twenty-six fathom perpendicular) between the lakes Ontario and Erie. 6. La Trouette at Les Detroits, between the lakes Erie and Hurons. *N. B.* These three last mentioned forts, have bread and pease from Montreal, but no other provisions.

Besides these, by way of ostentation, we find in the French maps of Canada and Mississippi, many forts marked out: These are only extempore stockades or block-houses made for a short time of residence in their travelling trade with the Indians; some French Indian traders when they set out, obtain (a certain perquisite) from the governor an escorte of a serjeant and a few private soldiers for protection against any Indian insults.

There is an annual patrolle of this nature from Quebec in Canada to fort Orleans, near the mouth of the Mississippi; it is about 600 leagues travel with its detours of rivers and carrying-places; the direct distance or difference in latitude falls short of 400 leagues: this long route is not attended with such difficulties and hardships as is commonly imagined; there is a river falls into the south side of lake Erie, which leads to a carrying-place to the river Ohio, a branch of the river Mississippi; the Indians hereabouts are, by the French, called Miamis.

The French, in their West-India or America settlements, have four governor-generals, the small settle-
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ment at Cayenne in Guiana not included, 1. The governor-general of Canada, in his commission, is styled governor and lieutenant-general of French North-America; he has under his direction the governments of Quebec, Les Trois Rivieres, and Montreal, with the commandants of the several out-forts already mentioned. 2. The governor-general of Louisiana or Mississippi; his residence is at Orleans upon the river Mississippi; the other government upon the river Mobile, or Mobile, is under his direction; the distance is about forty leagues. 3. The governor-general of the [*w*] French

[*w*] The present constitution of the West-India French governments is a governor-general, and intendant, who is their chief judge in all affairs, and a check upon the general, and a supreme council; under their direction are several small governments, departments, or commanderies, but under the immediate command of a sub-governor, or lieutenant du Roy, or commandant; and these districts are divided into parishes under the command of a kind of militia officer and sheriff called Capitain du Quartier.

Under the governor-general of the French Caribbee-islands are the governments of Martinique (this is divided into three, *viz.* Fort Royal, St. Pierre, and La Trinité) Guardeloupe (including the commandaries of the Grand Terre, and of the Les Saints) Marigalante, Grenades (including the commandaries of the Grenadillas) upon the death of the governor-general, or in his absence, the governor of the Grenades commands in chief; as happened anno 1717, when Les Habitants or planters, by an insurrection seized their governor-general Le Marquis de Varennes, and the intendant, and sent them home prisoners, with a process against them. In the French Caribbee-islands, in time of peace, are kept three companies of Swifs, of 100 men per company, ten companies of French independant marines, not exceeding fifty men each. The present governor-general is — who lately superseded Le Marquis de Champigny; the intendant is De la Croix. St. Bartholomew is a neutral island; the property and jurisdiction of it has not been settled by any treaty; it is frequented by some French marooners. Fort-Royal in Martinique (from P. Feuille) N. lat. 14 D. 43 M. W. from Paris 63 D. 22 M. anno 1704, variation 6 D. 10 M. E. increasing about a degree in ten years; a pendulum that vibrates seconds in Martinique, is in length three feet, six and half lines, French measure. *N. B.* Such pendulums increase in length in some proportion or regularity from the equator to the poles, but hitherto have not been reduced to a table; at Paris its length, as observed by the Academy Royal of Sciences, is three feet, eight and half lines.

Caribbee-islands, or Les Isles au Vent; his residence is at the island Martinique. 4. The governor-general of St. Domingue [*] (Hispaniola is so called by the French) or Les Isles sous le Vent; his residence is at Leogane; the middlemost of their settlements in N. Lat. 18 D. 40 M.

In the dominions of Canada, Quebec is the metropolis and place of greatest strength [y]; when this is re-

[*] Upon the west part of the island Hispaniola the French are become more numerous, and have much more considerable settlements than the Spaniards upon its east part; they have about eight shipping or delivery ports, each with a military commanding officer, whereof some are called governors, others only lieut. du Roy, some go by the name of commandants, all under the governor-general who resides at Leogane. Cape St. Nicholas of St. Domingue, and Cape Mayeze of Cuba, distance twelves leagues make the windward passage. Nearest to the Spaniard on the north side is their settlement of Ville du Cape, N. lat. 19 D. 48 M. W. from Paris 73 D. 35 M. we call it Cape François; it is their principal settlement, and sends off more produce of sugars, &c. than all the other French settlements there, and has a resident governor: on the south side next to the Spanish settlements is Fort Louis, N. lat. 18 D. 18 M. in the bay of L'Isle des Vaches. Here lay, anno 1741, the famous French Squadron under the Marquis d'Antin, designed either to convoy the Spanish Plate-fleet to Europe, or to hinder the junction of Vernon and Ogle, some to invade Jamaica upon admiral Vernon's proceeding against Carthagea: although they escaped an engagement with our fleet (reasons of state are above my reach) in the utmost distress for want of provision, with the death of many men and loss of some ships, they returned to France, having effected nothing; and d'Antin soon after died, some say killed in a duel by Marquis de Rocheville, a commodore under him in this expedition. The intermediate settlements are Port de Paix, Leogane, Grande Gouave, Petite Gouave, &c. they have several independent marine companies, but depend much upon their militia. The present governor-general is M. de Larnage, the intendant is M. Maillet. Some of our northern colonies at all times carry on a clandestine trade with them lately; though in time of war a neighbouring colony has been detected in carrying supplies thither, and returns from thence in molasses and indigo, under the blind of flags of truce.

[y] The reduction of Canada might have been effected without the least risk of miscarriage, and the possession maintained (not by putting the French inhabitants to the sword, as was the Spanish principle in their Indian conquests) by transporting the French settlers to France, partly at their own charge where able, partly at our charge where

duced,

duced, all their New-France falls instantly. Our pretensions to Canada shall be enumerated in the section of Nova Scotia. Quebec (from De Hayes) is in Lat. 46 D. 55 M. W. from Paris 72 D. 30 M. that is, from London 70 D. 30 M. Boston (from T. Robie) is in N. Lat. 42 D. 25 M. west from London 71 D. 30 M. therefore Quebec is 4 D. 30 M. north, and 1 D. 30 M. E. of Boston; that is, in geographical miles 270 north, and sixty-eight miles (reckoning forty-five miles to a degree of longitude in these parallels) east from Boston.

Champlain was their first governor; he gave name to the lake Champlain (the Dutch call it Corlaers lake) the

poor; and cantoning a great part of the country in property to the soldiers who served in the reduction. The British freedom of the press allows of surmises, where nothing is positively asserted. Perhaps our ministry may judge, that no peace could be made with France, unless France were so reduced as to accept the law, in making of peace at any rate; this might require many years expensive war; or without delivering up Louisbourg: The British people would never be reconciled to this, and might occasion a dislike to the ministers in administration, and perhaps a disaffection to the present civil government or established succession. This probably may be the reason with our ministers, that the fleet and land forces, apparently designed to observe duke d'Anville's squadron with land forces on board for recovering of Louisbourg, did not proceed to prevent Louisbourg's falling again into the French possession; that they might obviate a popular puzzle in making of peace. Thus our fleet and land forces aboard, apparently designed against Canada, were, by way of blind, sent upon that romantic descent on Britany in France. It has been thought that our reduction of Louisbourg, the key of the North America COD-FISHERY and FUR-TRADE, was not so agreeable to our ministry, as to the populace of Great-Britain; a real war between people of the different nations, but only a collusive war between their ministers. But providence, or, as some express it, a concurrence of many extraordinary chances or incidents, in our miraculous reduction of Louisbourg, and a train of disasters attending the French fleet and land troops designed for its recovery, seem to encourage that fondness which the British people have for keeping of Louisbourg. This year, anno 1747, notwithstanding many American troops are kept on foot, by the direction of the court of Great-Britain, at a great charge, designed for the reduction of Canada, the land forces destined from home for this expedition, are diverted from a Canada expedition this season, and sent to Flanders, for a grand effort, or critical trial of skill, and likely may prove the crisis of the present war.

passage from Albany, or New-York government, to Montreal, or the west parts of Canada; it is 150 miles long, and thirty miles wide. M. Frontenac, who succeeded anno 1672, gave name to the fort at the discharge of lake Ontario, being the source of the Catarqui branch of the river St. Laurence. Le Marquis de Nonville succeeded to the government anno 1685, and gave name to the fort near Niagara falls, between the lakes Ontario and Erie; anno 1687, with 1500 French and Indians, he invaded the Senekas country: the year following, anno 1688, in revenge the Five Nations, with about 1200 Indians, invaded the island of Montreal (the governor general and wife being then in the town of Montreal) ravaged the country, killed about 1000 persons, and carried off a few captives. To return this in some measure, in the beginning of king William's reign, the French and their Indians, to the number of about 300 men, in the night-time surprized Schenectaday in New-York government, and murdered sixty-three people. In the beginning of queen Anne's war, the colonies of Canada and New-York agreed for a neutrality between their respective Indians during the war; and an advantageous Dutch trade all that time was carried on from Albany to Montreal by means of the Indians.

The commanders in chief formerly were called admirals of New-France, afterwards vice-roys, at present governors and lieutenant-generals. Anno 1665, M. de Traci, vice-roy of French America, brought to Canada four independant companies of regular troops; and in September the same year, M. Courfal governor-general of Canada, arrived with a regiment of soldiers, and some families, for settlers: at present their regular troops consist of about twenty-eight independant marine companies very incomplete; a parcel of racaille or goal-birds from France, not to be depended upon. Anno 1714, father Charlevoix writes, that Vaudrueil, governor-general of Canada, at that time, acquainted M. Ponchartrain minister in France, *viz.* Canada has actually in it but 4480
fencible

fencible men; the twenty-eight companies of the king's regular troops amount only to 628 men (like our late Nova Scotia companies) and dispersed in the extent of 100 leagues. Their present governor-general is Le Marquis de Beauharnoes (some returned prisoners say he is lately dead) the intendant is M. Champarni.

The French Canada Indians. On our side, which is the south side of the river St. Laurence, they are tribes of the New-England nation of Abnaqui Indians, *viz.* De Lorette, a very small tribe a little below Quebec; Wanonak on the river Befancourt or Puante, over-against Les Trois Rivieres, not exceeding forty fighting men; about ten leagues higher is the tribe of Aroufiguntecook on the river St. François, about 160 fighting men; on the east side of lake Champlain, is the tribe of Mesiassuck, sixty fighting men; a little above Montreal are the Kahnugas, about eighty men, being a parcel of idle *Ave Maria* praying Indians, runaways from the New-York Mohawks and river Indians. Their Indians on the north side of St. Laurence river, are Les Eskimaux, or Barbares of Terra de Labrador; they eat their flesh and fish raw, and go naked, or covered with seals and other skins; they are in small clans, very idle, and of no great benefit to trade; are much dispersed; Papinchos near the mouth of the river St. Laurence; Algonquins, about 1500 men about Quebec, in fast friendship with the French; Outawawaas a very large nation, extending back of the other N. W. to near the bottom of Hudson's-Bay; S. W. are Les Renards; farther south we must leave the Indians for future discoveries. The general farms out the Indian trade to private companies or partnerships of Indian traders in certain districts.

2. Mississippi, or Louisiana. It was first discovered by Joliet a Frenchman, anno 1673. De la Salle, commandant of fort Frontenac, traversed the wilderness with much fatigue, equal to the greatest of penances, anno 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, and 1683. He went by the way

of lakes Erie and Ontario (in their communication he built a fort called La Trouette) to Mississipi. Anno 1684, he obtained of the court of France four vessels, with 200 soldiers aboard, and sailed from Rochelle to discover and fall in with the mouth of the river Mississipi; it lies about the middle of the north shore of the bay of Mexico; he expected to find it in the westernmost parts of this north shore, according as it was laid down in the erroneous sea-charts of that time, and accordingly landed in the bay St. Bernard, which he called bay St. Louis; here he built fort St. Louis but soon neglected; it is nearly in the same meridian with St. Cruz 97 D. 30 M. W. from London: the French maps extend the Louisiana farther south to Rio Bravo in 25 D. N. lat. From bay St. Louis, he travelled by land and discovered the mouth of the Mississipi 1685; in his return for Canada, anno 1686, he was killed by a mutiny of his men.

The source of the Mississipi is near Hudson's-Bay, west of the great lakes; the French have travelled up this river in canoes to 45 D. N. lat.

The first establishment of the colony was by captain d'Iberville, anno 1698; and although a natural and true Spanish property, the French settlements were connived at by Philip V, king of Spain, grandson to Louis XIV of France. Anno 1712, M. Crozat, secretary of finances or treasury, obtained from the king of France the sole privilege of trading to and from the Mississipi for fifteen years; this turning to no account, he relinquished it to the regent of France, and by the projection of M. Law, it was converted into the memorable bubble of the Mississipi-company (any out of the way, not easily to be investigated scheme of colony and profitable trade would have answered;) which Mississipi sham company first began to be hatched anno 1717.

This Mississipi colony extends from bay St. Louis to Pensacola, in a sea-line of near 200 leagues, but all along the water is so shoal, it is of no use in trade, excepting the mouth of the Mississipi, and there the country is un-
healthful

healthful from the inundations or floods at certain seasons by the dissolving of the northward snow; they have a small fur-trade, and begin to plant indigo; the bay of Movile, or L'Isle Dauphine, admits only of vessels of small draught.

From bay St. Louis or Bernard to Orleans upon the Mississippi, the residence of the governor-general, are about 140 leagues; thence to L'Isle Dauphine, where a sub-governor resides, are forty leagues; thence to Pensacola, a Spanish settlement, are fifteen leagues; from L'Isle Dauphine, in N. lat. 30 M. 30 D. W. long. from Paris 92 D. or 89 D. 30 M. west from London, are 7. 30 M. long. east to Cape Florida.

[z] III. *Portugueze discoveries and settlements.*

BRAZIL is a narrow slip, its sea-line extends from the river Amazons under the equinoctial, to Rio de la Plata. By the treaty of Baden, anno 1714, Spain resigns to Portugal, in full property and jurisdiction, the territory and colony of the Sacrament on the north branch of Rio de la Plata; Portugal not to allow of any traders to Brazil, but the European Portugueze. The Portugueze have a fort on the north side of the entrance of La Plata in S. lat. 34 D.

Brazil was a Portugueze accidental discovery; in sailing for their settlements and factories in the East-Indies, anno 1500, a Brazil fleet, by the easterly trade-winds, was drove upon the coast of Brazil. They made no settlement of consequence until anno 1549, king John sent over settlers and soldiers.

It is divided into fourteen captain-ships, whereof eight belong to the king, and six to private proprietors; all

[z] As a few additional pages may conduce towards a full and distinct, but contracted, view of all the American colonies from the several European nations, we dispense a little with our limits first proposed.

under one vice-roy, who resides at Bahia, or the Bay of all Saints, in S. lat. 12 D. 45 M.

The Portuguese, upon their first arrival in Brazil, cruelly murdered the Indians in the same manner as the Spaniards had done in Mexico and Peru; doubtless, the political reason was, their being too numerous to be kept under a continued subjection; but their religious evasion was, dominion is founded upon grace, therefore none, have any right to life or land but the true Roman Catholics, *Tantum potuit suadere malorum Religio.*

Portugal, consequently Brazil, was in the Spanish jurisdiction from anno 1580 to 1640. Philip II of Spain claimed, as he was the son of the eldest daughter of king Emanuel of Portugal; whereas the duchess of Braganza was a daughter of the son of king Emanuel, a better title. The Dutch revolted from and at war with Spain, become masters of the northern parts of the Brazils for some years; upon the revolution of Portugal, in favour of the house of Braganza, anno 1640, the Dutch gradually lost ground; the Dutch chusing rather to out the Portuguese from the Spice-islands, than divert their force to keep possession of Brazil. By Cromwell's war with the Dutch, anno 1642 May, to anno 1654 April, they could not afford sufficient protection to their conquests there (anno 1641, the Dutch made a truce with the Portuguese, *uti possidetis*, for ten years) and from the above considerations, and their small country not affording spare people sufficient to settle there, the Dutch made a total surrender by a treaty anno 1661.

Their rich mines diverted them from their former sugar business, and the other European colonies have got into it. The yearly import of gold to Portugal, for some years past, has been about three millions sterling *per annum.*

Anno 1711, the French took Rio de Janeiro, and brought it to contribution; it is from thence that most of their gold is shipped. The Brazil fleet for that port, in S. Lat. 23 D. sets out in January; for Bahia, in near

13 D. S. Lat. they set out in February; for Fernambuca, in 8 D. S. Lat. set out in March; and upon their return leave these parts in May and June. Most of the Brazil harbours are a dangerous navigation, because of sunken rocks at a small depth.

The most valuable imports to Portugal from the Brazils are gold (generally coined there at Bahia marked B. and Rio de Janeiro marked R.) found in separate grains or small pieces, or intermixed with spar, but not extracted or separated from silver and other metals as in Mexico; and of late diamonds, generally [a] small and of a bad water.

IV. *Dutch discoveries and settlements.*

THE Dutch West-India company is of little or no consideration; the price of their actions (or stock as it is called in London) thirty to thirty-five; whereas the Dutch East-India company actions at present are about 350 [b]. For many years their whole business was de-

[a] We have lately in the news-papers from Europe, a romantic account of a huge diamond sent home from the Brazils to the king of Portugal of 1680 carats (a carat is four grains) the news-writers, to heighten the romance, put it at 224 millions sterling value; whereas even according to the ancient high valuation of diamonds (formerly a diamond of one carat, of a good water and well polished, was valued at 10*l.* sterling, or 110 Dutch florins, the value of those more weighty was the square of carats multiplied into the value of one carat; diamonds most in demand are from one grain and a half to six grains) if cut and polished of the best water would not exceed twenty-eight millions sterling, and if only brute or not cut, not above half that value; and if we suppose it of a bad water, as are most of the Brazil diamonds, perhaps not much better than some curious well cut and polished pebbles, this will reduce the value very much. Formerly the largest diamonds known were, 1. That of the Great Mogul (formerly all diamonds of any value came from the Mogul's dominions) of 279 carats. 2. That of the Grand Duke of Tuscany of 139 carats, but inclining to a citron colour. 3. Governor Pitt's diamond sold to the crown of France for two millions of livres, or 135,000 *l.* sterling, it was of 127 carats.

[b] In AMSTERDAM BANK, there is no sale of actions or stock, it is not properly a company. It was established, anno 1609, by a plaudations

predations or piracies upon the Spaniards and Portuguese, in which they were very successful; first they took a Brazil fleet in Bahia, or the bay of All-Saints; next they took two ships of the Spanish plate-fleet near Cuba; some time after they took a Spanish plate-fleet worth twelve millions of florins. At present the interlopers run away with the company's trade and profits.

After anno 1621, upon the expiration of the Dutch twelve years truce with Spain, they disturbed the Brazil settlements (the Portuguese dominions were at that time under the Spanish jurisdiction) and were troublesome in Chili; they got some footing in Guiana, and retained a considerable footing in the north parts of Brazil for some years.

The Dutch settlements in America are not considerable, *viz.*

1. Amongst the Caribbee islands, the small island of Statia or St. Eustace, a few leagues west from St. Kitts; here is a Dutch West-India company-governor; not-

cart, or act of the *vroedschap* or town-council; the state of Amsterdam oblige themselves to make good all monies lodged in this bank. They retain the same intrinsic value of denominations, as they were at the time of the erection of this bank; thus for instance, a ducatoon at that time was three guilders, and so continues to be received and paid away there; whereas in the common currency of Holland, it is reckoned sixty-three stivers, and the par of the agio is five *per cent.* *N. B.* Here is a method to prevent depreciation, and qualifies this bank for that universal credit, which it has obtained in all foreign trade; notwithstanding, we may observe that the best constitutions, upon earth are shocked by very extraordinary events; for anno 1672, upon that sudden rapid invasion of the seven united provinces by France, the transfers in this bank were sold at ten *per cent.* discount, for current money, which with the addition of the agio is in effect fifteen *per cent.* This bank is the merchant's cashier, and he negotiates his affairs by transfers in his folio; a bank transfer is a legal tender; when the bank pays out specie, which seldom happens, they retain one eighth *per cent.* for keeping, selling, &c. Merchants of great dealings, for ten ducatoons *per annum*, have the state of their account sent to their lodgings every morning; the charge of transferring a sum exceeding 300 guilders costs only one stiver or penny. There was a bank established at Rotterdam anno 1636; it is of no note.

withstanding

withstanding the Dutch interlopers carry on here a considerable trade with the French and British people of the Caribbee islands; in this port the British and French Americans carry on a considerable intercourse of trade; and from St. Kits much sugar and molasses are brought clandestinely to save the four and an half *per cent.* and the plantation-duty, and plantation-bonds. This island is not capable of making above 100,000 lb. wt. of sugar *per annum.* The governor of Statia sends a commandant to the small island of Sabia, which raises only some stock or market provisions; he has also a commandant in St. Martin's island; this seems to be a neutral island; at present a few Dutch and some French live there, but of no consideration.

2. Amongst the lesser Antilles (Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Porto-Rico are called the greater Antilles) upon the coast of Curaccoes, or windward coast of the Spanish main, their principal settlement is the small island of Curafo, lies about eight leagues from the Terra Firma, in 12 D. N. Lat. The Dutch took it from the Spaniards anno 1634; their chief business is an interloping smuggling trade with the windward coast of the Spanish main. Adjoining to it are the Dutch small islands of Aruba eastward, and westward are Bonaire, Aves, Roca, and Orcilla, of no consideration.

3. Guiana; their chief settlement is Surinam. It was taken by the Dutch from the English in the beginning of king Charles the second's reign, and confirmed to them by the treaty of Breda anno 1667, in exchange for New-York confirmed to the English. Here are three proprietors concerned, *viz.* The Dutch West-India company, the town of Amsterdam, and admiral Somersdike's heirs. It is garrisoned by a detachment of one man out of each Dutch foot company of regular troops. It is a sugar colony; they keep their books in light pieces of eight, royals, and stivers; six stivers make a royal; eight royals make a piece of eight. Their currency twenty *per cent.* worse than the currency in Holland; a Holland's guilder

guilder passes for twenty-four stivers; their large currency is transferring bills of exchange upon Amsterdam, at the difference of twenty *per cent.* a heavy piece of eight passes for three guilders.

New-England has a considerable trade with Surinam for molasses. Surinam government, by proclamation Jan. 27, 1705, N. S. allow the importation of [c] horses and neat cattle from our colonies, at an impost of seven guilders per head, with tonnage of seven guilders per last of two ton shipping; there is also a duty of five *per cent.* out (six *per cent.* inward) upon two third value of goods.

West or to the leeward of Surinam is Barbice, a new settlement, belonging to a separate company, in a very thriving way; shares are sold at a very great advance.

West of Barbice is another Dutch settlement Esquibe (the English seamen, much guilty of corrupting foreign words, call it *Ise a Cape*) this furnishes good mill timber for all the West-India sugar settlements, and produces quantities of Balsam Capivi, the best of all the medicinal natural balsams.

Cayenne, a small French settlement in Guiana, east, that is to windward of Surinam; it lies in N. Lat. 4 D. 55 M. it is a sugar colony. New-England sends two or three floops to Cayenne yearly for molasses.

St. Thomas [d], one of the Virgin-islands, is comprehended in the commission of the governor-general of our leeward islands; at present it is in possession of a Danish company; seldom any company's ships to be seen there. The king of Denmark has a negative in all their proceedings; they may raise about 2,500,000 lb. weight of sugar *per annum*; they raise some cotton; here is a

[c] In New-England there is a breed of small mean horses called Jades or Surinamers; these run and feed in the waste lands at little or no charge, and are shipped off to Surinam for the use of their mills, &c. in the sugar plantations.

[d] We annex the following short paragraphs to render our enumeration of the American settlements from Europe complete.

Brandebourg or Prussian factory. All their ordinances and public writings are in Hollands or low Dutch, which is the mother-tongue of the island. Their currency is as in Surinam. It is a sort of neutral port, but under good oeconomy.

Tobago lies in 11 D. 30 M. N. lat. 59 D. W. from London, about forty leagues south from Barbadoes, near the Spanish island Trinadad, which lies near the mouth of the river Oranoke. King Charles II made a grant of it to the duke of Courland, to be settled only by the subjects of England and Courland. The duke of Courland made several grants in it to Englishmen, but it continues not settled.

St. Crux. The English, French, and Danish have at times claimed it; it continues a neutral island, lies south from the Virgin-islands.

V. *British first American discoveries, and West-India island settlements.*

I COME to a close of the introductory account of American affairs in general, which has insensibly swelled in the handling, much beyond my first plan; I hope it is not tedious to the curious and intelligent reader. We now enter upon the principally intended subject, the British settlements in America. An author, without ostentation designing a common good, may endeavour to conciliate attention and faith in his readers. As no man is born with the instinct or innate knowledge of his native or mother country, and does not generally enter upon such researches until 25 Æt. the air of the soil and juvenile conversation do not much contribute towards this: therefore a person not a native, but not a foreigner, who comes into any country at that age, and enters upon and prosecutes such investigations from personal observations, and credible correspondencies for a course of thirty years, may write, as if born in the country. I hope critics, natives of any of these our colonies, will not reckon

reckon it a presumption in me to assay the following accounts; especially as at present, no native appears to undertake this laborious, but useful, performance; I acknowledge it to be a performance not of genius, but of labour and method to render it distinct and clear.

The American colonies cannot be claimed by the several European nations from preoccupancy (they were not derelicts, but in possession of the aboriginal Indians) nor by inheritance, nor by what the law of nature and nations deem a justifiable conquest; therefore the adventuring European powers, could only give to some of their particular subjects an exclusive grant of negotiating and purchasing from the natural proprietors the native Indians, and thereupon a power of jurisdiction.

Formerly priority of discovery, even without a continued occupancy or possession, was deemed a good claim: Thus we originate our claims in North-America from the Cabots coasting from Prima Vista in 66 D. to 34 D. N. lat. although for near a century following, we made no settlements there, and did not so much as navigate the coast; because Henry VIII was a vicious prince, the affairs of his wives, and perplexities with the church, gave him full employment; Edward VI was a minor; queen Mary a wicked woman and bigotted Roman Catholic, her sole attention was to re-establish popery, at that time wearing out of fashion, in a most inhuman, execrable, furious, zealous manner; good queen Elizabeth, a great encourager of trade and navigation in some respects, but had the distressing of the Spaniards, and protection of the Dutch, more in her intentions, than the making of discoveries and settlements in America. Royal grants of lands if not occupied, and in process of time if another grant (with occupancy) is made to others, the first grant becomes void. Thus duke Hamilton's grant in the Naraganset country; Mr. Mason's grant of New-Hampshire; and many grants in the N. E. parts of New England are become void.

The

The Cabots of Venetian extract, anno 1495, obtained from king Henry VII a patent for the property of all lands they should discover westward of Europe; one fifth of the clear profit is reserved to the king. Henry VII was a lover and hoarder up of money. They fitted out from Bristol anno 1496; proceeded along the north shore of America till obstructed by the ice; then they turned their course southward; and at length their provisions proving scanty, they were obliged to put off for England. Thus the Cabots in the name of, and by commissions from, the crown of England, began to range the continent of North-America, before Columbus from the crown of Spain discovered any part of the continent of America; from 1492 to 1498, Columbus discovered only the islands in the gulph of Mexico. The Cabots were good industrious navigators, they were the first who weathered the north Cape of Europe.

The next patent for discoveries and settlements in America was March 25, 1584, to [e] Sir Walter Raleigh and associates, for discovering and planting lands in North-America, not actually possessed by any Christian prince: that same year two small vessels were sent *via* Canaries and the Caribbee-islands (this, in these days was reckoned the only route of navigation for any part of America) to trade upon that coast; upon their return, in honour to the virgin queen Elizabeth, it was called Virginia, reaching so far north as the gulph of St. Lau-

[e] Sir Walter Raleigh, of a good but reduced family in Devonshire, was handsome, robust, and eloquent, had a liberal education, and was brought up at the inns of court; he was much in favour with queen Elizabeth, and discovered Guiana anno 1595. He was in the plot against king James I, with lord Cobham, Grey, &c. convicted and condemned for high treason; he was thirteen years in prison, and wrote the history of the world; he projected a scheme to liberate himself, by proposing to the court the discovery of a gold mine in Guiana (he was naturally a mighty hunter after mines of minerals, metals, and precious stones) was fitted out, proceeded, and returned empty; being unsuccessful, and by the resentment of Gundamore the Spanish ambassador at the court of England, his former sentence was averred, and he was beheaded.

rence.

rence. Anno 1585, Sir Walter sent Sir Richard Grenville, with several vessels and 108 people, to begin a plantation; they landed upon the island Roanoke near the mouth of Albemarle river in North-Carolina. Sir Francis Drake, from the Spanish West-Indies, by way of the gulph of Florida stream, touched in Roanoke anno 1586; these people settlers dissatisfied, most of them returned with him to England. Anno 1587 and 1589, Mr. White, with the character of governor, brought over some people to Cape Hatteras, but effected no settlement.

No further attempt worth mentioning was made until anno 1606, Sir Walter Raleigh, by his attainder, having forfeited his patent, several adventurers petitioned the king for grants, and a grant was made to two companies, in one charter, *viz.* to the London adventurers from 34 D. to 41 D. N. lat. the other company was the Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, &c. adventurers, from 38 D. to 45 D. N. lat. Thus perhaps the uncommon and consequently neglected part from Cape Charles to Connecticut might fall into the Dutch hands. In the first company of adventurers several noblemen and gentlemen obtained a patent with power of government for a certain district, the jurisdiction to be in a president and standing council; they fitted out Capt. Newport, with three ships and 100 settlers; they sailed into Chesepeak-Bay, and fifty miles up James river, and began a settlement called James-town. Here properly begins the first planting of our eldest colony Virginia; the further narrative of this colony belongs to the section of Virginia.

The other company in the same charter of anno 1606, called the company of Plymouth, or West-country adventurers, *viz.* Sir John Popham chief-justice, Sir Ferdinand Gorge governor of Plymouth, &c. began their adventures in trade and settlements at Sagadahoc in New-England, about the same time.

Their first adventure was taken by the Spaniard: anno 1608, they fitted out captains Popham and Gilbert with

with people or settlers, and stores, and built a fort, St. George, near Sagadahock; it came to nothing. Anno 1614, Capt. Smith, some time president of Virginia, called the traveller, a good solid judicious writer in general, fitted out two ships and made a good voyage in trade; upon his return to England, he presented a plan of the country to the court, and it was called New-England. As after a few years the London company dissolved, so, it seems, was the fate of this company; and anno 1620, Nov. 3, king James I granted to a company of adventurers called the council of Plymouth, forty in number, all lands from 40 D. to 48 D. N. lat. keeping up the claim to New Netherlands, or *Nova Belgia*, at that time in possession of the Dutch, at present the British colonies of New-York, New-Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. This [f] council of Plymouth made several grants which were found faulty from their indistinctness, and having no power to delegate jurisdiction. Here we must break off, and refer the further Narration to the sections of the New-England colonies, which were the council of Plymouth grants.

The first inducements of the English adventurers to take out patents for countries or lands in America, and to suffer so much in settling, were the hopes of finding rich mines of minerals, metals, and precious stones, and a thorough-fare to the East-Indies or Spice-islands. After some time these projectors finding themselves disappointed, the old patents were neglected or annihilated: in the end of James the first's reign, and beginning of Charles I, new grants were procured; but by reason of the following civil confusions and divisions, the conditions of these new grants were not complied with; and people sit down at pleasure and at random. Upon the

[f] The company or council of Plymouth, by their charter or patent, had a power to convey any portion of their granted lands to any of his majesty's subjects: after having made many indistinct and interfering grants, they surrendered their charter to the crown, by an instrument under their common seal, June 7, 1635.

restoration of king Charles II, these settlers petitioned for peculiar grants (as we shall observe in the several sections of colonies) particularly of Maryland, Carolina, New-York, Connecticut, Rhode-islands.

The first grants from the crown were generally expressed to run back inland 100 miles; afterwards the style was due west to the South-seas, or until they met with some other Christian settlement; sometimes it is expressed from sea to sea, east and west: at present the words are to run back indefinitely. Many of the first grants were by false or uncertain descriptions, and did interfere with one another; as we may observe in the history of their several boundaries in process of time rectified and at present settled.

The settling of our sundry colonies have been upon several occasions, and from various beginnings. New-England was first settled by people from England, tenacious of their own non-conformist way of religious worship, and resolved to endure any hardships, *viz.* a very distant removal, inclemencies of the climate, barrenness of the soil, &c. in order to enjoy their own way of thinking, called gospel-privileges, in peace and purity. Our West-India islands have been settled or increased, some of them by Royalists, some by Parliamentarians; some by [g] Tories, some by Whigs, at different times fugitives or exiles from their native country. Virginia and Maryland have been for many years, and continue to be a sink for transported criminals. Pennsylvania being the property of Mr. Penn, a Quaker; he planted it with Quakers (as Lord Baltimore for the same reason at first planted Maryland with Roman Catholics) it is lately very much increased by husbandmen swarming from Ireland and Germany.

[g] Whig and Tory, originally were reciprocal party cant names of contempt, they began in the reign of king Charles II. Tories asserted passive-obedience and non resistance, as a prerogative of the crown; whigs maintained that liberty and property was a natural privilege of the people.

2. *The British island settlements.*

THE British American colonies, especially their islands in and near the gulph of Mexico, are the Spanish leavings; the Spaniards, their first discoverers, made no account of them; and when the English began to settle them, they were not disturbed by the Spaniard, as if below their notice. The English at first had no other design there, only to distress the Spaniards. Thus Sir Francis Drake made several depredations there, but no settlement; anno 1585 he took St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine, and soon quitted them. Anno 1597, Porto Rico was conquered by the English, but dropped.

The British American island governments may be enumerated under these heads, *viz.* The two small settlements of Bermudas and Providence, or Bahama-Islands, and the three general governments of Barbadoes, Leeward-Islands, and Jamaica: these three governments are called the British sugar islands. As at present sugar is of general use, and occasions a vast branch of public revenue to the nations of Great-Britain, France, and Holland, a digression concerning sugar may be acceptable.

A digression concerning sugar.

THE ancient Greeks and Romans used honey only for sweetning; sugar was not known amongst them. Paulus Ægineta, a noted compiler of medical history, and one of the last Greek writers upon that subject, about anno 625, is the first who expressly mentions sugar; it was at first called, *Mel arundinaceum*, that is, reed or cane honey. It came from China, by way of the East-Indies and Arabia to Europe. As spirits (*Spiritus ardentis*) not above a century ago were used only as officinal cordials, but now are become an endemical plague every where, being a pernicious ingredient in most of our beverages:

so formerly sugar was only used in syrups, conserves, and such like Arabian medicinal compositions. It is at present become of universal and most noxious use; it souls our animal juices, and produces scrophulas, scurvys, and other putrid disorders; by relaxing the solids, it occasions watery swellings, and catarrhus ails; it induces hysteric and other nervous disorders; therefore should be sparingly used, especially by our weaker sex; they are naturally of a *Fibra laxa*.

The island colonies (in a peculiar manner they are called the West-Indies) had the sugar-cane from the Brazils; the Portugueze of Brazil might have them from their settlements in the [b] East-Indies. At present the flavour and smell of our sugars, and of those from Brazil differ considerably; this may be attributed to what the French call, *Le gout de terroir*; thus it is with wines from transplanted vines; Virginia tobacco, and Brazil, and Varinas tobacco differ upon this account.

Arundo saccharifera C. B. P. sugar-cane, are the botanical Latin and English tribe names; it grows to five, six, or more feet high; articulated or jointed with a gramineous or reed leaf. The canes are generally planted in August, and cut down from Christmas to June of the following, not the same, year; they are from sixteen to twenty-two months upon the ground. This produce allows of a great latitude as to gathering in, without any

[b] China boasts much of the antiquity of its policy, and not without reason. They seem to be the elder brother of all the nations in Asia, Africa, and Europe; we can trace, even in our records, which do not go back exceeding 2500 years, many notable things from thence, such as the silk-worm, the sugar-cane, the small-pox, &c. America having no known land communication with them, and the intermediate navigation so long, that until the late improvements in navigation, America and the moon were much upon the same footing with respect to Europe, Asia, and Africa. Hence it is, that upon our discoveries of America, excepting speech, which is natural to mankind, they seem to have been only a gregarious sort of man-brutes; that is, they lived in tribes or herds and nations, without letters or arts further than to acquire the necessaries of life.

considerable

considerable loss: if cut reasonably and soon, they yield more juice, but less rich than if left standing a few months longer: moreover, canes that might have been cut at the end of December, the planters are under a necessity to keep some of them growing until June, to furnish provender, which is cane-tops, for their cattle. One gallon of cane liquor may yield about one pound three quarters of sugar; a pot of 60 wt. of sugar, may drop about three gallons molasses; one gallon molasses, if good, yields near one gallon rum or proof spirit; by claying sugars lose above two sevenths, which runs into molasses: the difference upon the improvement of sugars generally is in this proportion, *viz.* If muscovadoe sell at 25 s. *per cent.* wt. first clays sell at 35, second clays at 45, third clays at 55.

The manufacture is reckoned equal in value to the produce or cultivation; it has many chargeable articles, the mill, the boiling-house, the curing-house, still-house, store-house. Sugars are distinguished into muscavadoes, by the French called *Sugar bis or brute*, first, second, and third clayings or refinings.

The cultivation of the cane; a length of few joints or knots laid flat or horizontally in holes; these holes are half a foot deep or better, three feet long, two feet wide; thirty good field negroes may hoe an acre a day; from each joint or oculus proceeds a reed of canes.

In Barbadoes the charge of cultivation and manufacture of sugar (supposing the labour hired, as it happens in some particular circumstances) is about 15 l. *per acre*, an acre at a medium is reckoned to produce 2500 l. wt. sugar; therefore all exceeding 12 s. *per cent.* wt. in the price of sugars, is clear profit to the planter. *N. B.* The rum defrays the ordinary expence of the plantation. They allow one good field negro for one acre canes, all labour included. The labour is very considerable (supposing the ground well cleared and brought to) *viz.* holling, planting, dunging, weeding, hilling, and cutting.

After the first purchase, the charge of a sugar plantation negro, is very small, not exceeding 40 *s. per annum*. for cloathing and feeding; when full cloathed, it is jacket and breeches for the men; jacket and petticoats for the women of Oznabrigs at 9*d.* per yard, and a coarse red milled cap; the negroes of one plantation live in contiguous huts like an African town; are allowed some short time, *viz.* Saturday afternoon, and Sundays, with a small spot of ground to raise provisions for themselves; or, if new negroes, are allowed one pint of Guinea corn, one salt herring, or an equivalent per day in other provisions of salt mackarel, dried salt-fish, Indian corn, &c. Barbadoes requires a supply of 4000 or 5000 new negroes *per annum*.

The planters divide their cane-lands into thirds, *viz.* one third standing canes, another third new-planted canes, and the other third fallow. In Barbadoes they plant every crop or second crop; in the other islands they have ratoons, or second, third, fourth, &c. crops from the same roots, but every succeeding year they yield less.

The quantity of sugar imported *per annum* from the British sugar-islands to Great-Britain is about 80,000 to 85,000 hogsheds, at 1000 wt. per hoghead.

In imitation of the French, by an act of parliament 1739, British sugars are allowed to be carried directly, without entring in Great-Britain, to any foreign port south of Cape Finisterre, under certain restrictions too long for our enumeration. About fifty years ago the French were chiefly supplied with sugars from Great-Britain; at present they supply themselves, and can afford to undersell us in all markets, the Mediterranean, Holland, Hamburg, &c.

An exact minute list of the successive governors in the several islands, is scarce of any historical use, unless where some things remarkable have happened during their government; therefore without making much enquiry, I shall only mention those who easily occur.

The

The West-India islands, together with Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, are of vast profit to Great-Britain, by the labour of above three hundred thousand slaves, maintained at a very small charge. Here we observe a sort of puritanical, gross error, in the Utopian charter-constitution of the colony of Georgia, not allowing of the labour of slaves, and, by the experience of several years, this seems to be a principal reason of the settlement coming to nothing. By acts of their assemblies, slaves or negroes are real estate, but may be sued for and recovered by personal action. If it were not for the negroes and Mulattoes born in these colonies reckoning themselves natives, it would be impossible to keep so many able-bodied slaves in subjection by a few valetudinary white men: there have been, from time to time, insurrections of negroes; but were discovered, and the ringleaders executed in the most cruel and deterring manner that could be contrived. Slaves in any felonious case are tried, not by a jury and grand sessions, but by two justices, and three freeholders; a majority condemns them and orders execution. They generally value new negroes in this manner; a negro of 10 *Æt.* and of 40 *Æt.* are upon a par; from 20 to 25 *Æt.* is reckoned their prime; from 40 *Æt.* upwards, their value gradually decreases, as it does from 10 *Æt.* downwards.

Their voyages from London to Barbadoes or Leeward islands are six to seven weeks; but home to London not so much; when out of the trade-winds, the westerly winds and a westerly swell or sea generally prevail.

In these islands the rains (within the tropics, the Indians number their years by rains; without the tropics, they reckon by succession of winters) begin at the end of May, continue frequent for three months, and abate gradually to December. Hurricanes are from the middle of July to the middle of September: Barbadoes and the Leeward-islands are not much troubled

with hurricanes; but have at times violent gusts of wind, when the trade or easterly winds change per north (sailors call it going against the sun) to west, with a rolling sea from the Leeward. The sea breeze begins between eight and nine hours morning, increases till noon, retains its full strength till three afternoon, and gradually decreases to about five in the evening.

Even in their breezes, the air seems to resemble the suffocating breezes along the sands of the deserts of Libya, or like the steam and exhalation from burning charcoal: their air seems to be impregnated with some volatile acid sulphur, which, to a very inconvenient degree, rusts iron, and cankers other metals: it keeps the blood and spirits in a continued fret. In that climate I never could apply myself to a serious intense way of thinking exceeding half an hour; some constitutions are kept in a continued small degree of a phrenzy; hence proceed the many rash, passionate actions amongst the Creoles. In the north continent of America, for two or three weeks in July (dog-days are only astrological cant names amongst the vulgar; the hot weather of the season, not the influence of the stars are in the case) the weather is sometimes so hot, as to rarify the air too much; by relaxing its spring and action occasions sudden deaths, palsies, and the like nervous affections (*inassuetis*) in the human species and other animals; beginning of July, 1734, unusually hot; for a continuance of some days, eight or nine people die suddenly: at the writing of this July 8, and 15, 16, little wind south-westerly, intensely melting hot, but not sulphureous and stifling as in the West-Indies; scarce any thunder hitherto.

Besides regular tides, they have uncertain windward and leeward currents: with a windward current, new and full moon tides flow about three feet; they flow longer than they ebb.

Their general supply for charges of government is a poll-tax upon negroes, and an excise upon liquors imported.

imported. They have a very good regulation, that no freeholder's person can be arrested for debt; thus his labour is not lost to the public by a time of confinement, and he cannot readily run in debt exceeding the value of his freehold. It is to be wished, that this wise regulation may be introduced into our continent colonies.

The Spaniards and Portuguese in their first American navigations, very providently put on shore upon the intervening head-lands and islands, some live stock, particularly neat cattle and swine, to multiply by propagation, towards a future refreshment and supply of provisions in their voyages.

The general food of the Europeans there, and of their slaves, comes next in course; it is mostly vegetable [i].

Here we may previously observe, that the plants or vegetables between the tropics are so various from our European tribes, they seem to require a distinct system of botany, or ought to be reduced to some order by annexing to each tribe of European plants, some collaries of the affines; but without coming much into natural history, I am afraid some readers judge me too prolix.

The food of their negro slaves, and of the common labourers and white servants, may be divided into,

[i] Dr. Sloane, afterward Sir Hans Sloane, anno 1696, published a book *Catalogus plantarum quæ in insula Jamaica, Madera, Barbadoes, Nevis et St. Christophori nascuntur; seu prodromus historię naturalis Jamaicae, pars prima*. He has been sufficiently burlesqued on this affair; he gives no account of any part of natural history excepting of plants, and of those no description, only pedantic long lists of insipid synonyma from various authors: Dr. De Ruiseau of Barbadoes told me, that he was only eleven days upon that island, and pretends to give the natural history of the island. Thus de la Motray published several volumes in folio of his travels, amongst others, his travels in New-England; who to my certain knowledge resided there only a few days, and was very constantly at home in his lodgings in Boston, with company of no intelligence.

I. Their bread kind. 1. Cerealia, [*k*] rice, [*l*] Guinea corn, [*m*] Indian corn. 2. Legumina, or pulse kind, viz. [*n*] kidney-beans, [*o*] peas. 3. Roots, viz. [*p*] yams, [*q*] po-

[*k*] Rice is referred to the section of Carolina.

[*l*] *Milium Indicum album et nigrum Plinii; Camer;* Sorghum. tab. Guinea corn: it may be called a perennial, holding good many years from the same root; the grain is more nourishing and wholesome than Indian corn, and goes farther: the leaves and tops are good provender for cattle.

[*m*] *Mays granis aures T. Frumentum Indicum Mays dictum.* C. B. P. Indian corn: this is a principal American bread kind: a further account of it is referred to the sections of New-England.

[*n*] *Phaseolus Indicus annuus Glaber, fructu tumidiore minore variorum colorum absque hilo.* Kidney-beans, which in North-America are called Indian or French beans. This we refer to New-England.

Phaseolus maximus perennis, siliquis spicatis speciosis, albis, siliquis brevibus latis, semen album hilo albido. Sloane. White bonavilla, large as a common kidney-bean, much eat with boiled meat.

Do. *Semine rufo*, red bonavilla.

Phaseolus erectus minor, semine sphaerico albido, hilo nigro; Pisum quartum seu pisa Virginiana. C. B. P. Calavances, this properly belongs to the section of Virginia.

Do. *Fructu rubro*, red calavances.

[*o*] *Pisum hortense majus, flore fructuque albo.* C. B. P. Garden peas, from Europe planted thrive well.

Anagyris Indica leguminosa, siliquis torosis. Herm. Par. Bat. Pigeon Peas: this shrub, or small tree, grows to twelve or fifteen feet high, and holds for some years; the fruit resembles a *vicia*, called horse peas: they eat it with boiled meat.

[*p*] *Volubilis nigra, radice alba aut purpurascente, maxima, tuberosa, esculenta, farinacea, caule membranulis extantibus alato, folio cordato nervoso.* Sloane. *Inhama Lusitanorum Clusii*, H. LXXXVIII. probably it came from Guinea. It is the principal and best food of the negroes; hence it is that in general to eat, is called to yaam. This root grows sometimes as big as a man's thigh; the reddish are more spongy; the white are best, and not so cloyingly sweet as the West-India potatoes; many of the best white people use it for bread; to me it was more agreeable than bread of wheat-flower.

[*q*] Potatoes of two different kinds or tribes.

Convolvulus radice tuberosa esculenta dulci, spinaciæ folio, flore magno, purpurascente, patula. *Batatas Clusii*, H. LXXXVIII. West-India, Bermudas, Carolina potatoes; they are natives of America, but do not thrive to the northward of Maryland, because of the coldness of the climate. Clusius's description and icons are good; it is planted from some small incipient roots, or some slices of the large roots, having an

tatoes,

tatoes, [r] cassada. 4. Fruits, viz. [s] plantanes, [t] bananes.

oculus or bud, in the same manner as the solanum tuberosum, called Irish potatoes; the leaves spread along the ground like convolvulus; the flower is pentapetalous; the pistillum becomes the fruit containing many small seeds.

Do. *Radice rufescente*.

Do. *Radice alba*.

Do. *Radice carulescente*.

These continue permanently the same, are lusciously sweet; when too ripe or long kept, they become fibrous or stringy; the yellow is the most common and best flavoured.

Solanum esculentum tuberosum, C. B. P. *Arachidna Theophrasti forte*, *papas Peruanorum Clusii*, H. LXXIX. his icons are very good. Irish potatoes; they grow kindly all over America; in the northern parts the frost takes them soon; the roots are a number of tubers of various sizes connected by filaments, stalks, two or three feet erect; the leaves alternate, conjugated with an impar, of a dark green, the whole habit hairy; the flowers monopetalous in umbels whitish, fruit soft, with many flat seed; the large bulbs are used for food; the small bulbs are committed to the earth again, and are called seed potatoes; an Irish idiom, roots for seed. They are planted in the spring, and dug up in September for use. Gaspar Bauhine says, they were brought from Virginia to England, thence to France and the other countries of Europe. Clusius thinks it was carried from New Spain to Old Spain, and from thence to Italy and the Netherlands, and propagated at present all over Europe.

Do. *Radice alba*, whitish potatoes.

Do. *Radice rufescente*, reddish potatoes.

Do. *Radice favescente*, potatoes with a bluish cast.

Do. *Flore albo*. H. R. P. French potatoes; these are flatter, larger, less lobated, of a finer texture; this at present is much admired, does not yield so well, is not so easily hurt by the frost.

[r] *Ricinus minor viticis obtuso folio, caule verrucoso, flore pentapetalo albido, ex cujus radice tuberosa (succo venenato turgida) Americani panem conficiunt*, Cassada. The English, after it is well dried, grind it and bake it into cakes. The French eat it in crumbles, called farine, or farine de Manihot; they victual their West-India coasting-vessels with this.

[s] *Musa fructu cucumerino longiori*, Plumer. *Musa caudice viridi, fructu longiori succulento Anguloso*, Sloane. *Palma humilis longis latisque foliis*, plantanes. This tree grows from sixteen to twenty feet high; a very large, firm, long palm-leaf, used in thatching of huts, and good bedding for the poor; boiled or roasted it is used in place of bread.

[t] *Musa caudice maculato fructu recto rotundo, brevior odorato*. Hort. *Beamant*, Bananas. Does not differ much from the former.

II. Fish and flesh are mostly a foreign importation, viz. salt herrings from Scotland and Ireland; one barrel of herrings is reckoned equivalent to two quintals dried salt-fish, dried refuse salt-fish (cod, haddock, haake, and polluck) from New-England and Newfoundland, barreled salt mackarel from New-England; they sometimes use the country fresh produce of [u] flying fish, and [w] land-crabs, and [x] foldiers. They seldom are allowed any Irish salt-beef; it is reserved for the planters or landlords, their managers, overseers, and other white servants. Some negroes are allowed for their own account and profit to raise young pork (West-India young pork is delicious) and poultry, which they carry to market, but seldom eat of it. Their most delicious dish for a regale, is a pepper-pot or negro-pot compounded of salt-fish, salt-flesh of any kind, grain and pulse of all kinds, much seasoned with [y] capsicum or Guinea-pepper; it is something like a Spanish oleo, or Newfoundland showdder.

[u] *Hirundo*, Catesby: the flying-fish, called also by the native herrings. By a pair of large fins it bears itself up in the air for a short time, and to a small distance.

[w] *Cancer terrestris cuniculos sub terra agens*, Sloane. They are very plenty, and good food, called land-crabs.

[x] *Cancellus terrestris*, Carib. The hermit crab, or soldier, from their red colour. Their fore-part and claws are crustaceous; their hinder part soft, only a membranous integument, which they secure in the empty shells of sizable buccinums, and carry the shell along with them, not as an original property but as a derelict.

[y] There are many kinds of capsicums; we shall only mention three; they are a monopetalous, membranous fruit.

Capsicum siliqua lata et rugosa, Park. Bell or long-pepper; it is annual, has a longer leaf than most capsicums; is larger than a walnut, and when first ripe, red, and membranous. Planted in New-England; it comes to maturity, but is pickled when green.

Capsicum minus fructu parvo pyramidali erecto, Sloane. *Piper Indicum minimum*, *hurrectis siliquis oblongis erectis parvis*. This is much used in Barbadoes, and is called Barbadoes pimento, or Barbary pepper.

Capsicum minus fructu rotundo erecto parvo acerrimo, Sloane. Bird-pepper. These last two dried and powdered, are intensely hot (almost caustic) and sold over America by the name of Cayenne-butter, or Surinam pepper.

The provender for their neat cattle and horses besides cane-tops, and tops of Guinea corn already mentioned, [z] is Scotch grass.

Scorpions, scolopendras or forty legs, chigoes, sand-flies, vena medini, or Guinea worm, musketoos, ants, bed-bugs *cimices lectularii*, &c. very troublesome and great nuisances in these climates, we shall not describe, having already tired the readers who have no notion of natural history: but we cannot omit that great nuisance to navigation called the [a] worm, pernicious especially to new ships; at first only in the West-Indies, but have from thence been carried with ships, and do propagate in Carolina, Virginia, Maryland. They have got so far north as New-England, and lately have done considerable damage in the port of Newport, colony of Rhode-Island: it is to be hoped, that a severe freezing winter may destroy them, as it did in Holland anno 1730, when those worms, by eating and honey-combing of the piles of their dikes, between the highest and lowest water-marks, put the country in danger of being undammed or drowned.

I insensibly deviate into something of the natural history of these countries; but as it is not within the compass of my original design, which was their current and political history in a summary way; I shall only briefly relate and describe by the proper classical names (which hitherto has not been done by authors) that part of their natural produce which is used in common food, in delicacies, and as commodities in trade.

[z] *Panicum vulgare spica multiplici asperiuscula*. T. *Gramen panicum spica divisa*, C. B. P. Scots grass: perhaps so called, because plenty in the district of Barbadoes called Scotland; and not as a plant or herbage from Scotland in Great-Britain: it is perennial, and affords many cuttings or crops *per annum*.

[a] *Terredo* or *Xylophagus marinus, tubula conchoidis*, from one inch to one foot long; the extremity of their head resembles a double bit of that kind of borer called an augur.

1. The common food is mostly already mentioned, to these we may add ducks of several kinds, plover, wild [b] pigeons, wild hogs, [c] lobsters, [d] cray-fish, [e] river-crabs, [f] sea-crabs, the [g] sea-tortoise or turtle as the sailors call them.

2. Some of their delicacies are many sorts of cucumbers, melons, and the like of the gourd kind; [b] citrons [i] oranges, [k] lemons, sugar-cane already men-

[b] *Palumbus migratorius*, Careaby. *Palumbus torquatus*, Aldrovand. The wild pigeon, pigeon of passage, or ring dove: these are plenty at certain seasons all over America, and of great benefit in feeding the poor. The French call them *ramier*; the Dutch call them *ringe duif*, *wilde duif*, *boom duif*.

[c] *Astacus marinus*; lobster.

[d] *Astacus fuscivialis*, the cray-fish.

[e] *Cancer fuscivialis*; river crab. These two periodically quit their old crustaceous exuvie, and at that time have a kind of sickness (as we observe in silk-worms in their peniums, so called) and do disgorge from their stomach some *lapilli*, *calculi*, or bezoar called *oculi cancri*, or crabs eyes. N. B. The testacea so called, *viz* bezoars, corals, corallines, crabs eyes, and crabs claws are insipid, useless medicines; they are generally exhibited in small doses; but if given in doses of ten times the quantity, they do no good nor no hurt, as I have frequently tried; if in a continued use and in large quantities, they have the same bad effect, that chalk, clay, and the like have in the *pica virginum*.

[f] *Cancer marinus chelis rubris*.

Cancer marinus chelis nigris.

[g] *Testudo marina*. They are two weeks in coitu; hatch their eggs in the sand; they are caught either by turning them upon their back, or by harpooning: they are of various kinds, I shall mention only two sorts.

Testudo marina viridis. Green turtle, so-called from the colour of its fat; this is reckoned wholesome and delicious food.

Testudo caretta. Rochefort. hist. *des Antilles*; hawks-bill turtle, so called from the form of its mouth; the outside plates or scales of its boney covering, workmen call tortoise-shell.

[h] *Malus citrea sive medica*. Raij. H. The citron tree, or *pome-citron*: *Folii laurinis rigidis*, like the orange-tree, but without an appendix. The fruit is larger and rougher than a lemon, with a thick rind which is made into succades or sweet-meats, and is used in making citron-water, called by the French *Peau de barbadoe*; they grow mostly in Scotland district of Barbadoes, and are sold a rial per couple.

[i] *Aurantium medulla dulci vulgare*. Ferrar. Hesp. Common tioned;

tioned; cocoa we refer to the paragraph of produce for trade and [l] cocoa, [m] cabbage-tree, [n] pine-apple, so called from its resemblance of the fruit or cones of some pine-trees.

orange: perennial large rigid leaves, with a heart-like appendix; the fruit is fragrant, of a reddish yellow colour, and tough peel.

Aurantium acri medulla vulgare. Ferrar. Hesp. *Aurantia malus.* J. B. Seville, or sour orange. This is the medicinal orange.

Aurantium Sinense. Ferrar. Hesp. China orange, is eat only for pleasure.

Aurantium silvestre medulla acri. T. *Aurantia silvestris.* J. B. *fructu limonis pusillo, limas de Oviedo.* The lime-tree; this is more pungent and less agreeable, and not so wholesome as the lemon; it is much used in the American beverage called punch.

Aurantium maximum. Ferrarij, Shaddock-tree. It is sometimes large as a human head, with a thick rind, a flat disagreeable taste to my palate.

[k] *Limon vulgaris.* Ferrar. Hesp. *Malus limonia acida,* C. B. P. Sour limons; like the others of this kind, has perennial thick stiff green leaves, but without an appendix: the fruit is more oval than the orange, and with a nipple-like process at the extremity or end, of a pale yellow; it is the most delicious sowering for that julep-fashion drink called punch.

Limon dulci medulla vulgaris. Ferrar. Hesp. Sweet limon; it is not in much esteem.

[l] *Palma indica nucifera coccus dicta,* Raij H. *Palma nucifera arbor,* J. B. Cocoa-tree; palmetto leaves very large; every year it emits a racemus of cocoa-nuts, whereof some hold a pint of cool, pleasant lymph or drink; this nut remains upon the tree good for many years.

[m] *Palma altissima non spinosa, fructu pruniformi, minore racemosa sparso,* Sloane. *Palma quinta seu Americana fructu racemoso,* C. B. P. cabbage-tree. The wood is very spongy or pithy; grows very tall; every year near its top, about Midsummer, is emitted a large racemus of flowers, which make a good pickle.

[n] *Ananas aculeatus fructu pyramidato, carne aureo.* Plamer. Pine-apple; see T. I. R. Tab. 426, 427, 428. where it is most elegantly delineated. They plant it as artichokes are planted in Europe. It is a most delicious fruit, not luscious, but a smart brisk fragrant sweetaids; it may be called the ambrosia of the gods; but as the highest sweets degenerate into the most penetrating and vellicating acids; so this, if eat in quantities, occasions most violent cholick pains; for the same reason, sugar and honey are cholicky.

3. Produce that are commodities in trade [o] cocoa, [p] zingiber or ginger, [q] indigo, [r] cotton-wool, [s] a-

[o] Cacao, Raij. H. *Amygdalus sexta seu Amygdalis similis Guatimalensis*. C. B. P. Cacao-tree: at a distance it resembles a small European tilia, or lime-tree. It is planted from the seed or nut. Distances five feet; after three years it begins to bear, and may continue to bear from twelve to twenty years: rises to the height of twenty feet or more, flowers and fruit at the same time, not from the ends of the twigs, but from the trunks of the body and large branches of the tree: the flowers are whitish, *five petala*, without a calix; the fruit when ripe resembles a large cucumber, is red or yellow, containing twenty to forty cocoa nuts in a pulp. In some parts of New Spain they are used as money for small change, in Guatimala, Comanas, &c. These nuts made into paste called chocolate, and this dissolved in boiling water, is become a very general forbiton or liquid food for nourishment and pleasure.

[p] Zingiber, C. B. P. ginger. A tuberous root as an iris, reed or flag-leaves; the flower is of five petala, anomalous, as if bilabiated, *fructu trigono, triloculari*. They do not allow it to flower, because it exhausts the root. It is planted from cuts of the roots, and continues twelve months in the ground; it requires six or seven weeks to cure it, or dry it, in the sun as the French do; in Barbadoes they scald it, or scrape it, to prevent its sprouting: it is a very great produce, but forces and impoverishes the land very much.

[q] *Anonis Americana folio latiori subrotundo*. T. *Annil sive indigo Guadalupeusis*. H. R. P. Indigo. A pinnated leaf, red papilionaceous flowers, seed resembles cabbage-feed. It is planted by throwing ten or twelve seeds into each hole; after three months it is fit to be cut, and cut again several times or crops in the year. Indigo is the expression from the leaves macerated in water, and dried in the sun; the roots afford crops for several years. There are several degrees of its goodness, *viz.* copper, purple, blue, iron-coloured the worst. They have lately, with good success, gone into this cultivation in South-Carolina, and have three crops *per annum*.

[r] *Xylon Brasilianum*. J. B. *Gossypium Brasilianum flore flavo*. Herm. Par. Bat. Cotton. A shrub eight or ten feet high, resembling the rubus or raspberry at a distance. An acre of cotton shrubs may yearly produce one ct. wt. cotton; the poorer sort of planters follow it, requiring no great upset, and is a ready money commodity.

Xylon lana flavescente Yellow cotton.

[s] *Aloe Diafcoridis et aliorum*. Its leaves are like those of the jucca; from their juice is the aloes hepatica or Barbadoes, of a dark liver colour, and nauseous smell. The succotrine-aloes of the shops comes from the Levant in skins; Barbadoes or horse-aloes is put up in large gourds.

loes,

loes, [*t*] *Cassia fistula*, [*u*] tamarinds, [*w*] *lignum vitæ*, [*x*] white cinnamon, [*y*] coffee, [*z*] fustick, [*a*] braziletto, campeachy wood or logwood, nicaraga wood, by the Dutch called stockfish-hout; these last two commodities

[*t*] *Cassia fistula Americana*: Cassia. A large tree, winged leaves resembling the walnut, yellow five petal flowers; the pistillum becomes a long round woody pod, inch diameter and under, a foot long more or less, inside is divided into many transverse cells, covered with a black sweet pulp, and in each cell a flat smooth oval seed. The *Cassia fistula Alexandrina*, C. B. P. which comes from the Levant, is preferable to that of the West-Indies.

[*u*] *Tamarindus* Ray H. A large tree with pinnated leaves, no impar; the flowers are rosaceous and grow in clusters; the pistillum becomes a flatish, woody pod, three or four inches long, in two or three protuberances, containing a stringy dark acid pulp with hard flat seeds. The Tamarinds from the Levant and East-Indies are of a better kind.

[*w*] *Guaiacum, lignum senatum, sive lignum vitæ* Park. Pock wood. A large tree, smooth bark, ponderous wood, in the middle, of a dark colour, aromatic taste; small pinnated leaves, no impar; flowers of six petala in umbels; the seed vessel resembles shepherds purse. In the West-Indies they call it junk-wood. It was formerly reckoned a specific in the venereal pox; it has lost that reputation, but is still used in scorbutic ails, and its rosin in rheumatisms.

[*x*] *Ricinioides oleagini folio, cortex elutheriæ*, so called from one of the Bahama islands, almost exhausted; it is a grateful aromatic bitter, gives a good perfume; bay-tree leaves, berries in branches; this bark is of a yellowish white, rolled up in quills like cinamon, but much thicker; it is used in place of the *cortex Winterianus*.

[*y*] *Jasminum Arabicum castaneæ folio, flore albo odoratissimo, cujus fructus, coffy, in officinis dicuntur nobis*. Comm. coffee-tree Britannis Plukn. The Dutch East-India company carried some plants from Mecca. N. lat. 21 D. in Arabia-felix to Java, and from thence to Amsterdam in Holland, where the berries may be seen in perfection; lately it is cultivated in Surinam, Martinico, and Jamaica.

[*z*] *Morus fructu viridi, ligno sulphureo tinctorio, Buxei coloris, lignum Americanum*; fustick wood. It is a large tree, leaf like the elm, grows in the manner of ash tree leaves.

[*a*] *Pseudo-santalum croceum*. Sloane; braziletto used in dying. It is almost exhausted in the Bahama islands.

Thus, I hope, I have given an exact and regular account (such accounts are wanted) of the useful part of the produce of the British West-India islands under the heads of food, delicacies, or friandises, and commodities in trade: I am sensible, that it will not suit the taste of some of our readers, therefore, henceforward shall not distaste them much with the like excursions.

or die-woods are not the produce of our West-India islands, but are imported to Jamaica from the Spanish main.

The general supply for charges of government in all our West-India islands is a poll-tax upon negroes, and excise upon liquors.

Generally for every twenty to thirty negroes, a planter is obliged to keep one white man; two artificers or handicrafts men are allowed equal to three common labourers; 120 head of cattle require also one white man.

The regular troops from Great-Britain to the West-India islands are allowed by their assemblies for further subsistence per week 20*s.* to a commission officer, and 3*s.* and 9*d.* to the other men.

In some of these islands, the nominal price of the same sugars differ; for instance, sugar per ct. wt. if paid in ready cash, at 16*s.* in goods is 18*s.* in paying off old debts 20*s.*

The four and a half per ct. upon the produce exports of Barbadoes and the Leeward-islands, granted to the crown by their several assemblies in perpetuity, seems to be in lieu of quit-rents. L. Baltimore, some few years ago in Maryland, to make an experiment of this nature, procured an act of assembly for 3*s.* 6*d.* per hoghead tobacco in room of quit-rents: it was found inconvenient, and quit-rents were allowed to take place again.

Being prolix in the general account of the sugar islands, will render the accounts of the particular islands more succinct.

B A R B A D O E S.

BARBADOES is the most windward of all the islands in or near the gulph of Mexico; it lies in about 13 D. N. lat. 59 D. 30 M. W. from London, by the observations of Capt. Candler [b]. Sir William Curteens, an

[b] Capt. Candler, in the *Launceston* man of war, was sent out anno 1717, by the board of admiralty, to ascertain by good observations the latitudes and longitudes of the British West-India islands, with the respective variations of the compass at that time.

adventurer

adventurer in trade, anno 1624, in sailing home to England from Fernambuc of the Brazils, at that time in the possession of the Dutch, touched at this island, and, as it is said, gave the name Barbadoes, from large quantities of a bearded tree [c] growing there, it was overspread with a sort of Purslain [d]: Here he found some human bones, but not a living man: abundance of swine.

The earl of Carlisle, a court favourite, in the beginning of the reign of Charles I, had a grant of it from the crown. This island continued in the possession of the proprietary and his heirs about thirty years. Anno 1661, the crown purchased it of lord Kinnoul, heir to the earl of Carlisle; their family name was Hay, and allows to the heirs 1000*l.* *per annum* out of the four and a half *per cent.* duty.

The greatest length of the island is about twenty-six miles; its greatest width about fourteen miles; contents not exceeding 100,000 acres. Every freeholder is obliged to keep a plan of his land attested by a sworn surveyor: ten acres, valued at 20*s.* *per annum* per acre, qualifies a voter in elections.

At first they planted tobacco, some indigo, some cotton, and cut fustic a die-wood; at present they plant no tobacco, no indigo. Their first sugar-canes they had from the Brazils anno 1645: this island was generally settled by cavaliers in the time of the civil wars in England.

[c] *Strians arbor Americana, Arbuti foliis non serratis, fructu Pisi magnitudine, funiculis e ramis ad terram demissis, prolifera.* Pluken. Barbadoes fig-tree. It is a large tree, with a laurel or pear tree leaf; the fruit adheres to the trunks of the body, and great branches large as the top of a man's finger, containing small seeds fig-fashion.

[d] *Portulaca Curasavica procumbens folio subrotundo.* Parad. Bat. Not much differing from that Purslain, which is a troublesome spreading weed in many of our gardens at Boston in New England.

The governor's style in his commission, is captain-general and chief-governor of the islands of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent's, Dominica, and the rest of his Majesty's island colonies and plantations in America, known by the name of the Caribbee-islands lying and being to windward of Guardeloupe: excepting Barbadoes; the other islands are called Neutrals^[e], because the government and property of them, hitherto has not been settled by any solemn authentic treaty between Great-Britain and France.

In the time of the civil wars, Barbadoes and Virginia were settled by cavaliers and ruffians (excuse my coupling of them, I mean no reflection.) In the summer 1650, lord Willoughby proclaimed king Charles II, in Barbadoes, and administered the government in his name: but in January, anno 1651-2, he surrendered Barbadoes and the neighbouring islands to Sir George Afcew admiral for the parliament. About the same time Virginia submitted to the parliament.

Their legislature consists of three negatives, *viz.* the governor, the council (their full complement is twelve) and house of representatives (in all our colonies, in a particular manner called the assembly) composed of twenty-two deputies, that is, two from each of the eleven parishes without wages, or any allowance; the eldest counsellor in the parish is generally appointed the returning officer. Their assemblies are annual.

[e] Anno 1722, a patent passed the great seal of Great-Britain, granting the government and property of St. Vincent and St. Lucia, in the West-India Caribbee-islands, to the duke of Montague: he attempted a settlement at a considerable charge, but was drove off, by the French, from Martinique, because of its being a neutral island not adjusted. This island is about seven leagues east of Martinique, and about twenty-five leagues west from Barbadoes.

Upon St. Vincent's, are subsisting some aboriginal Indians: as also a community of negroes, which began from the negro cargo of a Guinea ship cast away there, and daily increases by the accession of runaway negroes from Barbadoes.

At Dominica is a large tribe of aboriginal Indians; they affect the French most.

Their

Their courts of judicature. The courts of error, chancery, and probate of wills, are in the governor and council. The courts of common law are in five districts, *viz.* Bridgetown district consists of three parishes, the others of two parishes each. Each court has one judge and four assistants.

Only one collection or custom-house office at Bridgetown: there are three more entry and delivery ports, *viz.* Oistines, Holetown, and Speights. This collection is under the inspection of a surveyor-general of the customs residing at Antigua.

Their currency is silver, Mexico standard by weight, whereof 17*d.* half *d.* wt. passes for 6*s.* Upwards of forty years since they borrowed from New-England, by a projection of Mr. Woodbridge, the fallacious scheme of a public paper-credit, or paper currency; but by orders from the court of England it was soon suppressed, and governor Crow had an instruction TO REMOVE FROM THE COUNCIL, AND ALL OTHER PLACES OF TRUST, ANY WHO HAD BEEN CONCERNED IN THE LATE PAPER-CREDIT. These bills, soon after their emission, fell forty *per cent.* below silver, and occasioned a great confusion and convulsion in the affairs of the island.

Anno 1717, peaceable times, when I was in Barbadoes, all along its lee-shore was a breast-work and trench, in which at proper places were twenty-nine forts and batteries, having 308 cannon mounted. The windward shore is secured by high rocks, steep cliffs, and foul ground. Anno 1736, in the island were 17,680 whites; whereof 4326 were fencible men, disposed into one troop of guards, two regiments of horse, and seven regiments of foot. The beginning of king William's war, Barbadoes furnished from 700 to 800 militia [*f*], with some militia

[*f*] Sir Francis Wheeler 1693, with a squadron of ships, two regiments of regular troops from England, and some militia from Barbadoes and the Leeward-islands, made descents upon the French islands

from our Leeward-islands to join the regular troops and squadron from England against the neighbouring French islands.

There may be about 80,000 negroes in Barbadoes, may ship off about 30,000 hogsheds of sugar, besides ginger scalded and scraped, cotton-wool, and aloes. Their duty of four and a half *per cent.* in specie upon produce exported, is perpetual, and given immediately to the crown's disposal: out of this the governor has 2000*l.* *per annum*, salary, besides large gratuities and perquisites. The tax on negroes, mills and pot-kills, is generally 10,000*l.* *per annum*; excise upon liquors imported 7000*l.* *per annum*, for defraying the ordinary charges of government.

Returned protested bills of exchange, are allowed ten *per cent.* and all charges.

They generally worship, or profess to worship, after the mode of the church of England; no dissenting congregation, a few quakers excepted; New-England had some of their first seminary of quakers from Barbadoes.

Some loose account of their governors. Lord Willoughby of Parham, at the restoration, was appointed governor of Barbadoes under the earl of Carlisle; he was at the same time governor-general of the Leeward-islands, and a proprietor of Antigua.

Upon the restoration James Kendal, Esq; was appointed governor.

Upon Kendal's returning to England, colonel Francis Ruffel, brother to the earl of Orford, came over governor, with a regiment of regular troops, and subsisted by the country; he died anno 1695, and Bond was president until July 1698.

April 2; they landed in Martinique at Col de sac Marine, plundered and came on board again. April 17, they landed at St. Pierre, did nothing, and returned to Barbadoes; and from thence to New-England; they unluckily imported a malignant fever (from 1692 to 1698 Barbadoes continued sickly) from thence to Newfoundland, and home to England.

1698, Ralph Grey, Esq; brother to the Earl of Tankerville arrived governor; he went to England for his health anno 1701, and John Farmer, Esq; was president and commander in chief.

1703, Sir Bevil Grenville, appointed governor; his home salary was increased from 1200*l.* to 2000*l. per annum*, that he might not desire gratuities from the country; they also built for him a governor's house in Pilgrim's plantation.

1707, Milford Crow, a London merchant, succeeded him.

1711, Robert Lowther, Esq; succeeded, and was continued upon the accession of king George I; by reason of several complaints (the chief complainer was the Rev. Mr. Gordon of Bridgetown, an eminent Martinico trader) he was ordered into the custody of a messenger, and called to account in the proper courts of Westminster-hall, which cost him a considerable sum of money. This affair of my name-sake general Douglass, of the Leeward-islands, may be a warning to all governors, that they are liable to be called to account upon small suggestions when their friends die, or are otherways out of place.

After a presidentship of some continuance; Henry Worsley, Esq; (who for some time had been British envoy at the court of Portugal) anno 1721, was appointed governor, besides his salary of 2000*l.* out of the four and a half *per cent*, by his finesse the assembly voted him 6000*l. per annum*, during his government: they soon found, that this was more than they could afford. There intervened two commissions which did not take effect, *viz.* Lord Irwin, who died of the small-pox before he set out from England; and lord Belhaven, upon his passage aboard the Royal-Anne galley, was cast away and drowned near the Lizard-point.

After this Sir Olando Bridgman and others were appointed, but never in possession.

L. How was a much esteemed governor, and died in Barbadoes.

1742, Sir Thomas Robinson, of him we have not much to say.

1747, Arrives Mr. Grenville governor; over and above his home salary, they allow him 3000*l.* *per annum*, during his administration, and to his satisfaction.

British Leeward islands.

THESE were first discovered in the second voyage of Columbus, the Spaniards despised them, and made no settlements there: they were severally settled by the English at different times, and are all under the command and inspection of one governor-general; in each of the four islands of Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Christophers, there is commissioned from Great-Britain a lieutenant-governor; in the small islands are militia captains, or capitaine de quartier, commissioned by the governor-general.

The general's commission is in this style; captain-general and commander in chief of the islands of Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher's, and all the Caribbee-islands from Guardeloupe to St. John de Porto Rico. In the absence of the captain-general and lieutenant-general (the lieutenant-general resides at St. Kit's) formerly the commander of Nevis, as being the oldest settlement, was commander in chief of these Caribbee-islands; but by a new regulation, the senior of the lieutenant-governors is to command. Each of the four islands has a distinct legislature, of a governor, council, and representatives.

Out of the four and a half *per cent.* duty on produce exported, are paid salaries *per annum* to the governor-general 1200*l.* to each of the four lieutenant-governors 200*l.* sterling. The present general Matthews obtained an instruction, that considering the 1200*l.* *per annum* was not a sufficient and honourable support, he was allowed

lowed to accept of additional gratuity salaries, and the respective islands settled upon him during his administration, *viz.* Antigua 1000 *l.* Nevis 300 *l.* St. Kit's 800 *l.* *per annum*; Montserrat did not settle the gratuity, but does generally give about 300 *l.* yearly: the perquisites are of the same nature with Barbadoes.

Anno 1736, in all the Leeward-islands were 10,520 whites; whereof fencible men in Antigua 1500, in St. Kit's 1340, in Nevis 300, in Montserrat 360, in Anguilla 80, in Spanish-town, or Virgin Gorda 120.

Soon after the restoration, Lord Willoughby of Parham was governor-general of the Leeward-islands, and at the same time governor of Barbadoes.

Sir William Stapleton.

King James II appointed Sir Nathanael Johnson; upon the revolution he abdicated and withdrew to Carolina, and was succeeded by

Christopher Codrington, Esq; he died 1698, and was succeeded by his son Christopher Codrington, Esq; the greatest proprietor in Antigua, a great proprietor in Barbadoes, and sole proprietor of the island of Barbuda. This family has been a great benefactor in pious uses and in seminaries for learning.

Sir William Mathews succeeded Col. Codrington anno 1704; he died soon.

1706 arrived for governor-general Col. Parks. He had been Aid de Camp to the most renowned duke of Marlborough, and carried to the court of England the news of the critical and great victory at Hochstet, near the Danube in Germany; anno 1710, he was murdered by an insurrection of the people or inhabitants; he is said to have been a vicious man, especially in his amours with the planters wives.

He was succeeded by Col. Walter Douglass, who was superseded anno 1714, and in the courts of Westminster-hall, was called to account for mal-administration; and Nov. 19, 1716, by the court of King's-bench, was fined 500 *l.* sterling, and five years imprisonment.

1714, Col. Hamilton appointed governor.

To him succeeded general Hart.

1726, To general Hart succeeded Thomas Pit, Lord Londonderry; he died in Antigua September, 1729.

Lord Forbes, next Col. Cosby were appointed.

April 1733, Matthews, formerly lieutenant-general, is appointed captain-general, and is at present continued in the administration.

During these forty years last and upwards, a regiment of regular troops from Great-Britain, has been stationed in the Leeward-islands, always very incomplete; our troops, as also the French in the plantations, generally speaking, are only corps of officers at a very great charge.

Their medium, is produce at settled prices from time to time; their cash consists of black-dogs (old French sols pieces) nine black-dogs make a ryal, eight ryals make a light or current piece of eight, ten ryals make a heavy piece of eight.

ANTIGUA began to settle about anno 1632; generally settled by the moderate or low church, afterwards called Whigs. May contain about 56,000 acres, 20,000 negroes. No river; scarce any good springs of fresh water; they generally use cistern water. The negro poll-tax is generally very high; excise upon liquors imported about 2000 *l. per annum*.

Their assembly, or lower house, consists of twenty-four representatives from eleven districts, *viz.* Four from the district of St. John's, and two from each of the other districts. Six parishes; each minister or rector is allowed as salary 16,000 wt. Muscovado sugar, with a mansion-house and glebe-land of ten or twelve acres. Only one collection with four entry and delivery ports, *viz.* St. John's, Parham, Falmouth, and Willoughby-Bay: the collector keeps his office at St. John's; where also resides the surveyor-general of the customs of all the islands,
Jamaica

Jamaica excepted. About 250 vessels enter in *per annum*.

Courts of justice. For common law, there are two precincts, St. John's and Falmouth, each one judge, and four assistants; there is also a court-merchant, being a summary way of dispatching debts, owing to transient traders. The governor and council are the judges of errors, chancery, and probates.

St. John's is a good harbour, smooth water, with good wharfs; English harbour, lately fortified by the care of commodore Charles Knowles, is a safe retreat for king's ships and others.

Chief produce is sugar and some cotton; no indigo.

MONTSERRAT is a small hilly island, settled mostly by Irish, two thirds Roman Catholics; about 4500 negroes; their whole annual charge of government does not much exceed 1500 *l. per annum*: not above five vessels *per annum* export their produce. One collection at Plymouth, have three entry and delivery-ports, *viz.* Plymouth, Old-harbour, and Kers-bay: three parishes; four divisions; each division sends two representatives, being eight in all; the parish ministers have 130 *l. per annum* from the country-treasury. Two regiments of foot, one troop, and horse-militia.

Courts of judicature. For common pleas only one precinct court held at Plymouth: the first court to which a case or action is brought, is called a court of grace (the inferior courts of the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, in some respect may be called courts of grace) the next court is a court of judgment, and may appeal to a third court; their grand session consists of the lieutenant-governor, council, and chief judge.

Their sugars are very ill cured in cask; are sold green, retaining much molasses: a planter, if much pressed by a merchant for debt, in five or six days from cutting the canes,

canes, the sugars are aboard. They plant also some cotton, and much indigo of the iron colour or worst sort; have four crops of indigo *per annum*; viz. April, Midsummer, Michaelmas, and Christmas.

NEVIS is one conical hill; good harbour, but great surf at landing, as is generally in the West-Indies; have about 6000 negroes (the French Squadron, under M. d'Iberville, in queen Anne's war carried off so many negroes as were afterwards sold to the Spaniards for 400,000 pieces of eight. Only one collection at Charles-Town; three entry and delivery ports, viz. Charles-Town, Morton's-Bay, and Newcastle; they load about twenty vessels *per annum* for Europe.

Five divisions or parishes; each division sends three representatives, in all fifteen assembly men. Judicature, only one precinct; courts as in Antigua.

They cure their sugar in square potts, is better than that of Montserrat; some cotton; no indigo, no ginger; cistern-water chiefly.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S about three or four leagues from Nevis. Upon its east end are salt-ponds and many small naked hills. The French formerly were in possession of its east end to Palmetto-point, and of its west end to near Sandy-point; but by the treaty of Utrecht anno 1713, quit-claimed the whole to Great-Britain. Have only one collection at Old-road, the court or shire-town; several entering and delivery ports: Basse-terre ships off most, next for shipping off is Sandy-point. They bring their sugars to the shipping places in hogsheads, not in bags, as in Nevis and Montserrat: they ship off much molasses; do not raise much cotton; no indigo, no ginger: they run much sugar aboard the Dutch interlopers at Statia, to save the four and a half *per cent.* the plantation duties, &c.

May have about 25,000 negroes; about nine parishes, each sends two assembly men. Good river-water from the mountains.

VIRGIN-ISLANDS. The eastermost is called St. Thomas, at present in the possession of the Danes; a good harbour, scarce any surf at landing; good careening at this island; a good town; the governor is Lutheran; the congregation and mother tongue is low Dutch. The island is small; they raise cotton and sugar; it is a neutral and free port, some say, to pirates not excepted. Salt-key, from which some vessels bring salt.—St. John's-island, two or three gentlemen of Antigua have a patent for; they raise cotton, and cut junk-wood, or lignum vitæ.—Tortola produces the same.—Beef-island cuts junk-wood.—Spanish-Town, or Virgin Gorda, is the westermost of the Virgins; they plant cotton only, being a mixture of Curaso white and yellow revel indifferently planted together.

Other small islands straggling between the Virgins and St. Christophers, *viz.* Anagada not settled; Sambrero not settled; Anguilla raises cotton; St. Martin's; some Dutch on one part, and some French on another part; St. Bartholomew, a neutral island not settled; Barbuda, the property of Codrington, is improved for grazing.

J A M A I C A.

JAMAICA is a long oval of about fifty leagues in length; the discoverer Columbus, and his heirs were proprietors of the island: he called it St. Jago or St. James, we call it Jamaica in our idiom.

Cromwel, without declaring war, [g] sent admiral Pen and general Venables with a considerable sea and land-

[g] Sovereign powers frequently dispense with the law of nations (honour and honesty.) Thus the Spaniards, in the spring 1727, laid force,

force, to annoy the Spanish West-Indies: they miscarried at St. Domingo; but reduced Jamaica, anno 1655, which remains with the English to this day.

Jamaica is much subject to hurricanes and earthquakes. Anno 1693, Port-Royal, during an earthquake was swallowed up: it may be supposed, that for many years preceding, the sea did gradually undermine it, and upon occasion of this earthquake Port-Royal subsided.

They carry on a considerable illicit but profitable trade to the Spanish Main, and return pieces of eight; and with the French of Hispaniola or St. Domingo, the returns are mostly indigo.

Port-Royal of Jamaica is 76 D. 37 M. west from London [b], and in about 18 D. 30 M. N. lat.

The quit-rents were generously given by the crown, to the treasury or revenue of the island. Lands granted before anno 1684, were at 2 s. 6 d. per 100 acres quit-rent; the new grants are a half-penny per acre *per annum* quit-rent. The rent-roll was lost, or pretended

siège to Gibraltar; the French lately refortified Dunkirk, before any declaration of war; there can be no other restraint upon princes but a balance of power: thus France, a nation too potent, can never be bound over to the peace, without being dismembered.

[b] By the same eclipse of the moon June 1722, observed by captain Candler of the Launceston man of war at Port-Royal in Jamaica, and by Christopher Kirch at Berlin in Brandenburg of Germany, allowing Berlin fifty-two horary minutes east of London. The difference of longitude between two places found by actual observation of the same eclipses, appulses, occultations of the celestial bodies, called luminaries, in both places, for the same phenomenon, is more exact, than where an observation is used for one place, and a calculation from tables for the other. Thus I judge the difference of longitude, between London and Boston, or Cambridge adjoining, is well determined by the same eclipse of the moon, March 15, 1717; observed at Cambridge near Boston by Mr. Thomas Robie, fellow and tutor in the college there; and observed at Paris by Cassini and de la Hire, academicians of the Royal Academy of Sciences; the difference in time was 4 H. 55 M. 40 Sec. As Paris is 9 M. 40 Sec. horary east of London; therefore the horary difference is about 4 H. 46 M. or 71 D. 30 M. Cambridge and Boston are west from London.

to be lost, in the great earthquake, and never settled since; the quit-rents sometimes amount to 2000 *l.* *per annum*. Their revenue acts are temporary, but for a long period; these acts made anno 1684, expired anno 1722, and were not renewed and confirmed (by the interest and application of governor Hunter) till anno 1726.

A few years since in Jamaica were 3000 fencible men white, in nine regiments, besides eight independent companies of regular troops; 100 men per company is their full compliment. The receiver-general, Mr. Cross, some years since in Boston for his health, told me, that some years he had 90,000 negroes in his list.

From Jamaica are exported sugar about 25000, hogsheds, very large, some of a ton weight; lately they have altered freights from number of hogsheds, to weight, and their hogsheds will be smaller in consequence. They have only water-mills and cattle-mills for their canes; about nineteen parishes. Lately they begin to raise some coffee, and have planted some logwood trees.

There is always stationed here a squadron of British men of war, generally under the command of an admiral. The governor has a standing salary of 2500 *l.* *per annum* out of the country treasury in course: the assembly generally allow him a gratuity of 2500 *l.* *per annum* more; these, with escheats and all other perquisites, do make it a government of about 10,000 *l.* *per annum*.

Duke of Albemarle concerned in Sir William Phips's fishing for a Spanish plate wreck, had good success; and in case such another fishing voyage should present, that he might be near at hand, obtained the government of Jamaica: he soon died, and was succeeded by colonel Moleworth.

Upon the revolution, anno 1690, the earl of Inchiquin was appointed governor; he died upon the island, and was succeeded by Sir William Beeston, lieutenant-governor and commander in chief, anno 1692; he died anno 1700.

Major-general Selwin was appointed captain-general and governor 1701; he died soon.

1702, the earl of Peterborough (famous in queen Anne's wars in Spain) was appointed captain-general of the island, and admiral in the West-India islands; he never set out for this government, and colonel Handasyde was appointed lieutenant-governor of Jamaica. Anno 1696, Ponti, with a French squadron, made a feint against Jamaica, but without making any real attempt; he put off for Carthage, where he had good success.

1710, Lord Archibald Hamilton was appointed governor, and superseded the command of colonel Handasyde; he was continued anno 1714, upon king George the first's accession.

1716, Mr. Pit (formerly governor of fort St. George in the East-Indies, commonly called Diamond Pit) was appointed governor, and colonel Otway lieutenant governor.

1717, Mr. Pit resigns in favour of Mr. Laws a planter, afterwards Sir Nicholas Laws; colonel Dubourgay lieutenant-governor. About this time the militia of Jamaica were disposed into one regiment horse, eight regiments foot.

1721, Duke of Portland appointed governor (a retreat from South-sea disasters) he died in summer 1726, and was succeeded by

Colonel Hunter, who went thither, by advice of his physicians, for his health; and thereby did certainly obtain a reprieve for some years.

1734, Upon col. Hunter's death, Henry Cunningham, anno 1734, went governor; but soon died after his arrival.

1736, Edward Trelawney, Esq; appointed governor; anno 1744, he was appointed colonel of a regiment of foot to be raised in England, for his good services. He continues governor at this time 1747.

BAHAMA-ISLANDS,

Commonly called the government of Providence, the principal island. One of these islands, called St. Salvador or Cat-island, was the first discovery that Columbus made in America.

They were granted by the crown of England to the eight proprietors of Carolina, anno 1663; but as the proprietors took no care to prevent enemies and pirates from harbouring and rendezvousing there, anno 1710, it was resolved in the council of Great-Britain, "That the queen do take the Bahama-islands into her immediate protection, and send a governor to fortify Providence."

The proprietors formerly granted a lease of these islands to a number of merchants called the Bahama-company: this turned to no account.

In the spring anno 1720, there set out from the Havanna an expedition of 1200 men in fourteen vessels against Providence and South-Carolina; they visited Providence without doing any damage, and were scattered in a storm.

The banks belonging to this cluster of islands and keys are called Bahama-banks, and made the east side of the gulph-stream of Florida; Providence the chief island where the governor and garrison are stationed, lies in about 25 D. N. lat. It is a place of no trade, and seems to be only a preventive settlement, that pirates and privateers may not harbour there, and that the Spaniards may not be masters of both sides the gulph-streams. Their small trade has been Braziletto, die-wood, cortex Elutheræ from the island of that name, salt from Exeuma, and ambergris by drift-whales: at present they afford sea-turtle, limes, and four oranges for the Bons Vivants of North-America.

They have one company of independent regular troops from Great-Britain. Capt. Woods Rogers, com-

modore of the two famous Bristol South-sea privateers, in the end of queen Anne's reign, was, anno 1717, appointed governor with an independent company. 1721, he was superseded by Capt. Finny. 1728, upon Capt. Finny's death, Capt. Woods Rogers is again appointed governor. Capt. Rogers died anno 1733, and Richard Fitz-Williams, Esq; is appointed governor. Fitz-Williams resigned anno 1738, and John Tinker, Esq; son-in-law to Col. Bladen, late of the board of trade, succeeded; and continues governor at this present writing, August 1747.

B E R M U D A S.

THIS name is said to be from John Bermudas a Spaniard, who discovered it, in his way to the West-Indies. Henry May, a passenger aboard Barbotier, cast away here, 1593, and tarried five months, we do not mention, because of no consequence. Sir George Sommers and Sir Thomas Gates, adventurers in the Virginia company, were shipwrecked here 1609, found abundance of hogs; a certain sign that the Spaniards had been there; these islands are sometimes called in public writings Sommers, or corruptly Summer-islands. Some gentlemen obtained a charter from king James I. and became proprietors of it: Mr. Moor was their first governor; Mr. Thomas Smith appointed governor 1612, and after three years, succeeded by Capt. Daniel Tucker 1616. Mr. Richard Norwood, a surveyor, was sent over by the company to make divisions; 1618 he divided it into eight tribes, by the names of the eight proprietors or adventurers, *viz.* Marquis of Hamilton, Sir Thomas Smith many years treasurer, earl of Devonshire, earl of Pembroke, lord Paget, earl of Warwick, earl of Southampton, and Sir Edwin Sands. Each tribe was divided into fifty shares; every adventurer to have his share by casting of lots in England, some had from one to twelve shares; besides a great deal of land left for common

or public uses; each share consisted of about twenty-five acres, and remains so to this day; the value of a share is 300 to 500 *l.* proclamation money; no wheel-carriages, no enclosures; they tether their cattle; high ways only from five to seven feet wide.

At first they went upon tobacco, as the humour then was in all the West-India islands—1619, Capt. Butler, with a large recruit of settlers from England, was governor, and the legislature was settled in governor, council, and assembly; being formerly in a governor and council.

Anno 1698, Samuel Day, Esq; was governor; anno 1700, Capt. Bennet was appointed governor.

The present governor is — Popple, Esq; Anno 1747, upon his brother's death he succeeded, his brother Alured Popple, Esq; formerly secretary to the board of trade and plantations; was appointed lieutenant-governor (the commander in chief is designed only lieutenant-governor) anno 1737.

Bermudas is in 32 D. 30 M. N. lat. about 65 D. west from London, lies 200 to 300 leagues distance from the nearest lands, *viz.* New-England, Virginia, South-Carolina, and Providence, or the Bahama-islands. Tide flows five feet; is well secured by funken rocks, but water sufficient, in narrow channels and turnings requiring a good pilot. Their only settlement of notice is upon St. George's-island, about sixteen miles long from E. N. E. to W. S. W. scarce a league wide in the broadest place; in some places the spray of the sea crosses the island. The winds from the north to the north-west, are the most prevalent; subject to smart gusts of wind, thunder, and lightning. March, April, and May is their whaling time, but of no considerable account; their whale-oil and ambergris are inconsiderable; the governor has a perquisite from the royal fish about 10 *l.* per whale.

In Bermudas there may be about 5000 whites; their sensible men not much exceeding 1000 men, and many

of these generally at sea; their militia consist of 100 horse, and one company of foot from each of the eight tribes; there is in garrison one company of independent regular troops from Great-Britain always incomplete (as are all our plantation-troops for want of a proper check) the perquisite of the governor.

Their diet is mean, and the people generally poor, simply honest; but gay in a rustic manner (Bermudas giggs) they have the best breed of negroes, equal to white men in their navigation.

Their trade is of small account; they build their own sloops of cedar [*i*] of their own growth; fit for use in twenty years intervals or growth; their keel-pieces, wales, and beams are of oak; their masts are of white pine, from New-England.

Their chief business is building sloops of cedar, their own growth, light runners; their exports are inconsiderable, *viz.* some pot-herbs and roots for the other parts of America; a white chalk-stone easily chiseled for building gentlemens houses in the West-India islands; Palmetto [*k*] leaves manufactured into plait, better than the straw-work of Italy and of nuns in some countries: they are noted for going to fish upon Spanish wrecks; they excel in diving [*l*].

This island (or rather islands) is generally healthful. The famous Mr. Waller, a gentleman of fortune and wit, a member of the long parliament, resided here

[*i*] *Cedrus Bermudiana*, vulgo *H. Juniperus Bermudiana*, H. L. Bermudas cedar; it is harder than the cedar of Carolina and Virginia; they are all distinct species, as are the red and white cedars of New England: we shall give a more classic, practical, or mechanic and commercial account of them when we come to treat of timber and naval stores used in, and exported from, New-England.

[*k*] *Palma pruvifera Bermud.* (of the palms some are cocciferous, some pruniferous) with a very long and wide leaf.

[*l*] Bermudas is noted for divers: an Indian born there of Florida parents, dived eighteen fathom (common diving is eight to ten fathom) and clapped lashings to an anchor; was near three minutes under water; upon his emersion or coming up, he bled much at mouth, nose, and ears.

some years during the civil wars of England, and says of Bermudas,

[*m*] None sickly lives, or dies before his time;
So sweet the air, so moderate the clime,

[*m*] This notion of a healthful climate, gave occasion to a late scheme projected by a whimsical man, dean B——ly, since bishop of Cl——ne in Ireland, of founding in Bermudas an university college or seminary for the education of the British American youth. Projectors are generally inconsiderate, rash, and run too fast. He did not consider that places for health are accommodated for valetudinarians and old people; whereas young people, where the stamina vite are good, seldom want health, as at Harvard-college in Cambridge, near Boston in New-England, not exceeding one or two *per cent. per annum* die; that this place is of very difficult access or navigation; does not produce a sufficiency for the present parsimonious inhabitants. This abstracted notion seems only adequate to the conceptions of a common school-master, to keep his boys together (as a shepherd does by folding of his sheep) while they learn to read English, and labour at the rudiments of the Latin language; whereas young gentlemen, students of the belles lettres, civil history, natural history, or any of the three learned professions, require a larger field than that of a small island divulsed (if we may so express it) from the world or continents of the earth. He hired a ship, put on board a good library (some part of it he bountifully bestowed upon the colleges of Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut in New-England) and in company with some gentlemen of great worth, after a tedious winter passage, put in at Rhode-island, a small colony of New-England; built a kind of a cell, lived there a recluse life for some time, until this fit of ENTHUSIASM deservesced, and, convinced of the idleness of the whim, did not proceed, but returned to England.

There are enthusiasts in all affairs of life; this man of himself was an enthusiast in many affairs of life; not confined to religion and the education of youth, he invaded another of the learned professions, Medicine, which, in a peculiar manner, is called the learned profession; he published a book called *Siris* (the *ratio nominis* I cannot investigate) or tar-water, an universal medicine or *panacea*; he never knew it fail, if copiously administered, of curing any fever; whereas many fevers, *viz.* that of the plague, of the small-pox, with symptoms of purples and general hæmorrhages, &c. in their own nature, to most constitutions from first seizure are mortal, by an universal necrosis or sudden blast of the constitution. It cures the murrain, rot, and all other malignant distempers amongst cattle, sheep, &c. The continued or long use of it does violence to the constitution; in asthma and rheumatic disorders, a short use of it has been beneficial, but our materia medica affords more efficacious and safe medicines; it is at

Formerly pine-apples, and some other delicious fruits of the Caribbee-islands, were cultivated in Bermudas; by cutting down the timber and wood, the island is become so open and exposed to the bleak winds, that tender exotics do not thrive.

present almost worn out of fashion. Tar is only turpentine by fire rendered of a caustic quality; whereas turpentine (and consequently its water or decoction) by the experience of many ages, has been found a most beneficent, medicinal, natural balsam.

He ought to have checked this officious genius (unless in his own profession way he had acquired this nostrum by inspiration) from intruding into the affairs of a distinct profession. Should a doctor in medicine practice (public praying and preaching (though only in a quack or W—d vagrant manner) with pious, private, ghostly advice and exhortations to his patients, alias penitents, the clergy would immediately take the alarm, and use their Bruta Fulmina against this other profession. This seems to be well expressed in a London newspaper by way of banter or ridicule:

The bishop's book annoys the learned tribe:

They threaten hard, " We'll preach, if you prescribe."

As his Bermudas college projection, and his residence in New-England, have rendered him famous in North-America, perhaps it may not be impertinent to give some further history of Mr. B—ly, in his proper character as a divine: I shall take it from his *Minute Philosopher*, a book composed in New-England, and confine it to his wild notions of mysteries in religion. He says, that from a certain enthusiasm in human nature all religions sprout; from the faith which children have in the directions of their parents; from the great share that faith has in the policy of nations (he means the *Arcana Imperii*) and in common commerce or trade, we are led to faith in religious revelations. Since we cannot explain many obvious things in nature, why should we be obliged to do so in religion? In a very loose expression, he compares mysteries in religion to the enthusiastic, and to demonstration non-entities of the philosopher's stone in chemistry, and of perpetual motion in mechanics. The abstracted idea of a triangle is as difficult as that of the trinity; that of the communication of motion, as difficult as that of the communication of grace. We ought to have the same reason for trusting the PRIEST in religion, that we have for trusting the lawyer or physician with our fortune or life; thus every man ought to have a liberty of chusing his own priest and religion. This is too general a toleration, and puts an end to all social religion.

To conclude, the right reverend the bishop of Cl—ne, notwithstanding his peculiarities, is a most generous, beneficent, and benevolent gentleman, as appears by his donations in New-England.

S E C T. III.

Concerning the Indian tribes and nations; intermixed with, under the protection of, and in alliance with, Great-Britain: also some hints of the French Indians.

THAT the contents of this section may be the more easily comprehended, perhaps it may be convenient to distinguish it into some separate articles.

1. A general history of the West-Indians, or aboriginal Americans. 2. Their religion, language, manners, arts, and improvements in nature. 3. Their tribes or nations lying upon or near the eastern shore of North-America. 4. Their wars with, and incursions upon, the British North-America colonies.

ARTICLE I.

A general history of the aboriginal Americans.

AS to the origin of things, particularly of mankind, we have no other account in credit with christians, whether allegorical or literal is not my affair, but that of Moses in the scriptural books of our Bible or religion. Doubtless there have been at times general or almost universal pestilences, famines, deluges, implacable wars, which have almost extinguished the race of mankind in the countries where these general calamities prevailed; and must require many centuries to repeople them from the small remaining stock, and to reduce them by gradations [*n*] to large societies called tribes or cantons, nations, and empires.

[*n*] From a country or continent thus reduced to a very small stock, we may investigate the various degrees of civil government. At first they were only distinct families, lest Isolé, and their government was

The boundaries of their united tribes called nations or empires, are natural, *viz.* seas, bays, lakes, great rivers, high mountains; thus for instance, our neigh-

patriarchial, that is, by heads of families: these heads of families soon became acquainted and neighbourly, and for mutual protection and good neighbourhood, entered into associations, by us called tribes, cantons, or clans: several of these tribes, upon suspicion of some ambitious design of some neighbouring powerful tribes, or confederacy of tribes, for their better defence were obliged to enter into a federal union, and at length were incorporated into one general direction called a nation or empire. Perhaps we may suppose that such were the empires of Mexico and Peru in America.

Sir Isaac Newton, in his chronology of ancient kingdoms amended, by his incomparable sagacity investigates, that in ancient times Greece and all Europe were peopled by wandering Cimerians and Scythians; the emigrations or excursions which in several ages have occasioned revolutions, and new-peopling of the southern parts of Europe: Goths, Vandals &c. came from thence by swarming, that is, leaving their native country for want of room or subsistence. Northern countries are the least liable to the abovementioned calamities, and may be called nurseries: they had lived a rambling life, like the Tartars, in the northern parts of Asia.

We should have previously observed, that mankind is naturally a gregarious animal, does not love solitude, but has a strong passion or propensity for society; their natural reason, and capacity of speech or communication of thoughts, inclines them to it.

Dr. Heylin, from him most of our modern historians of this kind transcribe, gives a very easy novel manner of the peopling the several nations from the posterity of Noah; we shall not impose this upon our readers. He says the Americans proceeded from Noah, by way of Tartary.

Others publish their conjectures, that North-America was peopled from Scythia and Tartary; that South-America was peopled from China and Japan, without reflecting, that according to the situation of these countries it is impracticable; our modern large ships cannot perform the navigation from China in less than six or seven months: how can it be performed in canoes? The Americans had no large embarkations; this requires no serious animadversions.

Some authors whimsically alledge, that the Phœnicians or Carthaginians might have been drove thither by some continued fresh easterly winds; but the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Grecians, Romans, and Arabians, who were successively the great navigators, make no mention of America; and upon our arrival in America, we could not find the least monument or token of their ever being there.

Therefore we can carry the history of the American countries no higher than Columbus's discovery, anno 1492. See p. 25. 63.

bouring

bouring nation of Abnaquies are bounded by the Atlantic ocean, or rather at present by the English settlements upon the Atlantic shore, by the bay of Fundi, by the great river St. Laurence, by lake Champlain and Hudlon's river.

The tribes which, at least nominally, compose their general denomination of a nation, are generally named from the rivers upon which they live; as in Lapland of Sweden, the Laplanders are distinguished by the names of the rivers Uma, Pitha, Lula, Tarneo, and Kimi.

As China seems to be elder brother of all the nations of mankind as to their politia and improvements in nature; so America may, with much propriety, be called the youngest brother and meanest of mankind; no civil government, no religion, no letters; the French call them *les hommes des bois*, or men-brutes of the forest: they do not cultivate the earth by planting or grazing, excepting a very inconsiderable quantity of maye or indian corn, and of kidney-beans (in New-England they are called Indian beans) which some of their squaas or women plant; they do not provide for to-morrow; their hunting is their necessary subsistence, not diversion; when they have good luck in hunting, they eat and sleep until all is consumed, and then go a hunting again.

The higher the latitudes, the Indians are fewer in numbers and more straggling, nature not affording necessary subsistence for many, and only in small bodies or herds: their trade or commerce is trifling, having no produce, no manufacture, but little game; the difficulty of subsisting requires almost their whole time to provide for themselves.

Excepting that constitution of body, which by use they have acquired from their birth, of enduring hardships of hunger and weather; they are tender, and not long-lived, and generally very simple and ignorant; some of their old men, by use and experience in the
world,

world, acquire a considerable degree of sagacity. New negroes from Guinea generally exceed them much in constitution of body and mind. In the province of Massachusetts Bay New-England, there was formerly a very good project or design, to educate at college some of their most promising youths, to serve as missionaries for civilizing, instructing, and converting of the wild Indians: this good purpose turned abortive from the tenderness of their constitution and awkwardness in learning, and at present is laid aside.

They are not so polite as the wandering Tartars; no dairies. Like the wild Irish they dread labour more than poverty; like dogs they are always either eating or sleeping, excepting in travelling, hunting, and their dances; their sloth and indolence inclines them to sottishness; before christians arrived amongst them, they had no knowledge of strong drink; this christian vice not only destroys their bodily health, and that of their progeny, but creates feuds, outrages, and horrid murders. They are much given to deceit and lying, so as scarce to be believed when they speak truth. See annotations, page 116. Their temper is the reverse of the East-Indies, whereof some casts or sects will not kill any animal; the West-Indians or Americans are barbarous, and upon small provocations kill their own species; some of them exceed in barbarity, and in revenge and fury eat the flesh of their enemies, not from hunger or delicacy; such formerly were the Florida Indians; they said that the flesh of the English eat mellow and tender, that of the Spaniard hard and tough, the Bermudian fishy.

The aboriginal Americans have no honesty, no honour, that is, they are of no faith, but mere brutes in that respect. They generally have great fortitude of mind; without any appearance of fear or concern, they suffer any torture and death. In revenge they are barbarous and implacable; they never forget nor forgive injuries; if one man kills another, the nearest in kindred to the murdered

murdered watches an opportunity to kill the murderer ; and the death of one man may occasion the deaths of many ; therefore when a man is guilty of murder, he generally leaves the tribe, and goes into a voluntary kind of banishment. They are a sullen close people. The Indian wars ought to be called massacres, or inhuman barbarous outrages, rather than necessary acts of hostility.

The Indians have their hunting, fowling and fishing grounds ; by a forked pointed pole, they strike or harpoon their fish ; but their wives and children reside mostly on their planting grounds ; they plant but little. They do not wander like the Tartars ; there are said to be some wandering Indians ; they cannot be many ; because the settling Indians are very jealous of their hunting and fishing grounds or properties.

Their ancient navigation was only crossing of rivers upon bark-logs ; travelling along rivers, rivulets, and sides of lakes in canoes or schuyties, portable by two men in their carrying-places from one river or pond to another ; they are of birch-bark upon ribs of ash, sowed together by some tough wooden fibres, and paid (as sailors express it) with rosin from some pine kind ; they use no sails and oars, only paddles and setting-poles ; they are capable of carrying a man, his wife, children, and baggage. Narrow rivers are better travelling than ponds or lakes, because upon the lakes, if stormy or much wind, they cannot proceed, but must put to the shore.

Many of our intermixed Indians are of good use as servants. It is observable, that amongst the Indian servants and negro slaves, the silly, thoughtless, and pusillanimous answer best ; some perhaps may observe from this, that the blind passive obedience and non-resistance men, make the best subjects and court slaves in Europe.

The Indians between the Tropics ; their complexion is not of so good a metalline copper lustre, but paler,
stature

stature smaller, not so robust and courageous; but, by reason of the fertility of the country, are in larger tribes, and consequently more civilized; and from being civilized, their confederacies and federal unions reduced them into vast empires [o]. Such were the empire of Mexico, their moderator or principal man was Montezuma; and in the empire of Peru the more rich, as having vast treasures of silver and gold.

The northern tribes are small and distinct; a large parcel of land lying waste (in winter-countries) for many months in the year, not fertile, and not cleared of woods, cannot subsist many people, but these small [p] tribes, though much dispersed are allied by contiguity, language, and intermarriages; thus it is with our neighbouring Abnauques, who border upon New-England; the Iroquois or Mohawks, who border upon New-York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; and the Cherokees, who border upon Carolina; these may be called three distinct great nations.

The Indians in the high latitudes are paler, short, thick, squat; clothed with skins (generally seals-skins) sowed with thongs; no bread-kind, no fire; live upon whale and seal-blubber, and other fish, and what beasts they may kill with their arrows and darts; their boats and canoes are of a singular make, adapted only for one person; in the winter they live in caves.

[o] A Spanish bishop of the West-Indies, a man of observation, many years since wrote, "That the Indians are of a tender constitution: no part of Europe was more populous than Mexico, upon the Spaniards first arrival. The Spaniards, in the first forty years, destroyed about twenty millions of Indians; they left but a few Indians in Hispaniola, none upon Cuba, Jamaica, the Bahama-islands, Porto-Rico, and Caribbee islands, excepting upon Dominica and St. Vincent, where they remain to this day.

[p] In Bible-history we read, that all mankind anciently lived in small tribes; Abraham and his allies could muster only 318 men; with these he defeated four great kings, who had conquered several kings. Where lands lie not cultivated, the tribes must be small and inhabitants few for want of subsistence.

Indians

Indians in general paint their bodies, especially their faces (they affect red colour) as the Picts and Britons of Great-Britain formerly were accustomed.

In the higher latitudes the Indians reckon by winters (years) moons (months) and sleeps (nights.) Between the tropics they reckon by rains (the seasons of rains, end of summer and beginning of autumn are periodical, as are our winters) moons and sleeps. In computing distances, they reckon by sleeps or days travels (as the Dutch do by hours) *viz.* so many sleeps or days travel from one place to another.

Notwithstanding the unpoliteness and want of fire-arms amongst the American aboriginals, the Europeans could not have effected their settlements, because of vast disparity in numbers, if some disaffected tribes, to be revenged of the impositions and encroachments of some neighbouring tribes, had not joined the European small-arms. Thus Cortez against Mexico was joined by several disaffected tribes; when the settlers of New-Plymouth first landed, Massasoit was glad of the countenance of their small-arms against the Naragansets.

As to their make and complexion [q]. They have thin lips, flattish faces, languid countenance, small black

[q] We cannot account for the aboriginal differences of complexions in the various nations, and the variety of their features. The people of the middle and south parts of Africa are black, of various constant permanent shades or degrees, with flat noses, thick lips, short frizzled or crisp black hair; perhaps the complexion of the tawney-moor of Barbary the ancient Mauritania, is not aboriginal, but a complication of the European white, and the African black; our American complexion seems to be native and sincere. The natives of the Indian peninsula, betwixt the rivers Indus and Ganges in the East Indies, have the African black complexion, the European features, and the American lank black hair or crin, but all native and genuine, not from a mixed breed. Extreme hot or extreme cold weather, do equally tawn white people, but not permanently; transplantation or transportation recovers their native complexion.

It is not various climates that gives the various complexions; America lies from 65 D. N. lat. to 55 D. S. lat. comprehending all eyes,

eyes, imberbes and impubes, stature various as in Europe; in the highest north and south latitudes, they are taller and more robust than between the tropics; their hair jet black, lank (between the tropics not so lank) stiff, called by the French *crin*. The Spaniards found it more tedious and much more difficult to reduce Chili, than their other American conquests. Their complexion is of a splendid reddish brown, or metalline lustre, which is well expressed by a copper colour: thus a splendid white, is called silver-colour: not of an olive-colour or tawney (a tanned leather yellowish colour) as are the Aborigines of Barbary, and some of their progeny in the south parts of France, Spain, and Portugal. Some Indians upon the isthmus of Darien, are of a milk-white complexion, which is not natural and hereditary; but proceeds from a tender morbid constitution; their parents were copper-coloured, and their children become copper-coloured.

Their posture is not cross-legged as among the Asiatics; accumbent as formerly with the Greek and Ro-

the various climates of Europe, Asia, and Africa; the American complexion is permanently every where the same, only with a more or less of the metalline lustre. Salmon, a late disaffected scribler, in his modern history, says, the blacks after some generations will become white; in New-England there are Guinea slaves in succession of several generations, they continue the same in feature and complexion; it is true, that in the West-India islands some dissolute planters are said to wash the blackmoor white; by generating with the successive shades of their own issue, children, grandchildren, &c. the progeny at length becomes *blonde*, or of a pale white.

Upon this subject there are several intricacies in nature not to be unravelled. Why the negroes of Guinea should have woolly crisp black hair, and those of the Indian peninsula have lank black hair? Why the wool of northern sheep carried into a hot climate becomes like goats hair, and returned to a northern climate, they recover their wool again? How near neighbouring nations, if they do not intermarry, differ in features and complexions: the Circassians are very beautiful, their neighbouring Tartars are extremely ugly: the Laplanders are ruddy and fresh, the adjoining Russians and Tartars are tawney and squalid.

mans,

mans, lying on their left side, leaning upon their elbow; nor cowering as the women call it, the manner of the African negroes, knees bent and legs parallel to their thighs; not sitting upon their buttocks and thighs with their legs dependant as in Europe; but sitting on their buttocks erect, with their thighs and legs in a strait line extended horizontally.

Our general trade with the Indians is fire-arms, powder, and shot, for war and hunting; strouds and blankets for cloathing, spirits, rum, and brandy for indolence; formerly toys, which were as considerable though silly amusement to them, as jewels are to us.

In travelling they direct their course by noted mountains, by the sun when visible, by the mossy or north side of trees. As most insects avoid oils, the Indians greafe themselves as a defence against musketoes and other troublesome flies.

Many of our European purchases of lands can scarce be said to be for valuable considerations; but a long possession, and in consequence prescription, have made our title good. Father Ralle, a late ingenious jesuit, and French missionary with the New-England Abnaquie Indians, about twenty-six years since did kindle a war or insurrection of those Indians in New-England, by inculcating, that they held their lands of God and nature in succeeding generations; that fathers could not alienate the earth from their sons. We use no other artifice to keep the Indians in our interest, but, by underselling the French, and giving a higher price for Indian commodities; this is fair and just.

Our printed histories of the Indian countries, their governments, religion, languages, and customs, are credulously copied from credulous authors, and full of silly conceits; a very late and notable instance of this, we find in the journal of Anson's voyage to the South-seas, published by the mathematical master of the Centurion, anno 1745.

Strictly

Strictly speaking, they seem to have no government, no laws, and are only cemented by friendship and good neighbourhood; this is only a kind of tacit federal union between the many tribes, who compose the general denomination of a nation; every individual man seems to be independent and *sui juris*, as to government, and is only in friendship and neighbourly relation with others of the same tribe: Notwithstanding, we sometimes find heads of tribes mentioned as if in succession, nay even female successions; in the New-England Pocanoket, Mount-hope, or king Philip's war, anno 1675, there is mentioned the squaa-fachem of Pocasset, and a squaa-fachem amongst the Nara-gansets. In other parts of the earth all societies or cohabitants have government, and an absolute compelling power is lodged somewhere, and in some manner; but the American Indians have no compulsive power over one another: when a tribe or neighbourhood sends delegates, to treat with other bodies of men, whites or Indians, the conclusions are carried home *memoriter*, and the young men must be persuaded to come into these articles; when the Indians at any time are forced into a peace, the blame of the war is laid upon their young men.

The aboriginal cloathing of the northern Indians was skins of seals cut in particular fashions, and sewed together with thongs (they had no threads of flax, hemp, or any other herbs) in other parts they wore skins of the various beasts of the forest. At present the Indians, who have commerce with the colonies from Europe, wear duffils and blanketing of about two yards square, which the Romans called a [r] toga; their segamores or sa-

[r] The Toga seems to be the most ancient, natural, and simple wear used by mankind; the Scots highlanders have wore it further back than our records reach, striped and chequered variously according to the humours of different ages; but of late years it seeming to be used as a badge of disaffection to the present happy established government in Great-Britain, the parliament in their great wisdom have abolished it.

ems wear blankets, with a border of a different colour, and may be called prætextati.

ARTICLE II.

The religion, language, food, and medicine, with some other loose particulars relating to the American Indians.

AS the Americans before the arrival of colonies from Europe, seem to have been, and still continue, in general, the most barbarous and the least polished people upon earth; a clear, exact, and full account of these things cannot be expected; but for the greater perspicuity we reduce them under distinct heads.

I. *Religion of the Americans.*

SOME Indians of sagacity, a little civilized and instructed towards the Christian religion, can give no distinct account of any Indian religion, and stumble much at the mysteries of our Christian religion, being indiscreetly crouded upon them at once, and with too much impetuosity, without previous instruction. If you do not believe immediately, you will be damned, is the expression of our zealots; whereas they ought to be first tamed by familiarity and fair dealing; in friendly conversation upon proper occasions, without any appearance of officiousness, instruct them in natural religion and morality; these are plain and easily comprehended; afterwards with discretion, they may be by degrees initiated into the mysteries of our religion. Our missionaries, void of common prudence, in a reverse preposterous manner begin with the abstruse articles of the Christian religion, and thence proceed to instruct them in the plain easy dictates of nature. In a silly, low, cant way, some of our preachers tell the Indians, that the Christians God is a better God than the Indians God; whereas, they ought

to inform them, that there is but one supreme God, and that one manner of worshipping this God is more agreeable to the GODHEAD, as being more natural and decent. If some of our Indian traders, were instructed, and at a public charge capacitated to sell cheap amongst the Indians, they would gain their affections in this trading familiar friendly manner, and lay a good foundation for their conversion towards Christianity: an abrupt Christian religious mission amongst them seems absurd; if the Emperor of China, or the Grand Turk, should send such missionaries into Great-Britain to convert the people there to the doctrines of Confucius or Mahomet, instead of gaining profelytes, it would avert them. The following digression may be acceptable to some of our readers.

A digression concerning the religions of ancient nations.

I do not presume to write concerning the controversial or devotional points of our modern religions, national, or private opinions; that is the business of a peculiar profession or craft, called priests.

Religion improves in nations, hand in hand with good policy, and as they become more and more civilized. It may be called the cement of society. The Romans did fight *pro aris et focis*, for their religion, as well as for their country. Amongst the West-India buccaneers, the most morally vicious of mankind; the French immovably adhered to one another, because of their being all Roman catholics; the English to one another, as being protestants, and not from any other regard. Otherways both agreed and acted jointly as pirates.

As to religion, all mankind may be divided into three sects.

I. They who believe in a supreme intelligence (or intelligences) who by omnipotence created and framed the world, and by infinite wisdom manages it: they may

may be called the godly. With this class, the divine attribute *INCOMPREHENSIBLE* ought to resolve and compose all altercations concerning this being: Plutarch says, there is but one and the same supreme being or providence, that governs the world, though worshiped by multiplicity of names, by various nations and sectaries. This sect admits of three sub-divisions.

1. Theists, commonly called deists, who admit of no modifications in the deity; in ancient times, and to this day, they are improperly called atheists. Amongst us, he who denies the Trinity, is in law deemed atheist and blasphemer. Anaxagoras, the philosopher, passed at Athens for an atheist, because he denied that the sun, the other planets, and the stars were gods. Socrates is said to have been a martyr for the unity of the Godhead, refusing to pay homage to the various gods of Greece. This is the national (if we may thus express) religion of the Mahometans, having the large extent of all national religions. It is the private opinion of many who are intermixed with and go by the name of Christians, and are generally designed Arians, or Socinians, (Socinus of Sienna in Italy;) they also deny original-sin, and providence.

2. Tritheists or Trinitarians. The distinguishing tenet of all true orthodox Christians: they worship divinity under three distinct modifications, which I shall not pretend to explain or illustrate, because a mystery.

3. Polytheists. Such were the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans: the poets had a greater variety of gods than the philosophers, many of them to be looked upon as a machinery introduced to embellish a poem, and to amuse the mind: they deified various parts of nature, and were great promoters of polytheism. All the gods and goddesses of the ancients were only modifications, words, or names, to express several attributes of a supreme Being, the excellencies in nature, and the virtues of heroes, and very eminent men; as if in Britain

we should say Newton, the god of natural philosophy and mathematics; Addison, the god of the belles lettres, and polite learning.

II. They who admit of no supreme Intelligence, but say that blind matter is the extent of our knowledge; these are the literal and true atheists. Anaximander was the first noted atheist upon record, about 600 years before CHRIST; his noted followers were Lucippus, Democritus, Epicurus, Lucretius, &c. In these late times, [s] some, singularly self-conceited of their own penetration, have avowedly declared themselves such, in despite of all the polite part of mankind.

III. The third sect made its first appearance by means of Pyrrho, in the 120 olympiad; they doubted of every thing. Cicero and Seneca, two great men, were inclined this way; the late duke of Buckingham, an ingenious man, the epitaph which he made for himself begins, *Dubius vixi, incertus morior, &c.* Dr. B——ly, bishop of Cl——ne, seems to affirm, in a whimsical manner, that every thing we see is an illusion, that the whole series of life is a continued dream.

To these we may add, that, there is with all sober-minded men only one general religion. THE PRACTICE OF TRUE AND SOLID VIRTUE. The belief in certain vague opinions, the observing of fixed or appointed external rites and ceremonies, do not enlighten the understanding, or purify the heart, by rectifying the passions. Mr. Pope, in his essay upon man, well expresses it:

For modes of faith, let wicked zealots fight:
He can't be wrong, who's life is in the right.

[s] Spinoza, a Jew, in his *Traſtatus Theologico-Politicus*.

Vanini, born at Naples in Italy, taught atheism in France, was convicted thereof, and burnt at Thoulouse, anno 1619.

Jordano Bruno wrote a book, *De tribus Impostoribus*; meaning Moses, CHRIST, and Mahomet.

Hobbes, in his *Leviathan*, advanced several wild notions of this kind, but not consistent; he died anno 1679, *Æt.* 91.

Sir Isaac Newton used to say, when the conversation ran upon differences in religion, "He knew of no heretics or schismatics, but the wicked and the vicious."

Let us investigate the origin and progress of religion from the nature of things. Mankind is naturally a superstitious *parvidum animal*, some few cunning designing men, take the [t] advantage of this general weakness of human nature; and as nurses frighten and awe children by hobgoblins and bugbears, so they, by vociferations, gesticulations, and pretended familiarity with some superior invisible being, promise to conciliate his benevolence, in procuring good luck in their affair of life (thus Powowers promise good luck in hunting to the Indians) they avert sickness and other calamities; sometimes from the said familiarity, they impose pretended dreams, visions, and impulses, as do our present new-light disciples of a vagrant or strolling actor of enthusiasm. The Chinese, though a polite people, their commonalty are much addicted to superstition and magic.

From this the wisemen, that is, the lawgivers and ministers of state in Greece, and elsewhere, took the hint, and set up oracles, which were absolutely under their own direction and influence; these were of good use to reconcile the silly (but *varium et mutabile vulgus*) people, to what the state in wisdom had proposed upon any extraordinary occasions: these oracles delivered by women; the Sibyls were called *fatidicæ*, that is, prophesying and fortune-telling women; our women exhorters among the Quakers and Methodists, are not of the same good use.

Herodotus writes (Cicero calls him the father of history) that the ancient Persians had neither temples,

[t] Perhaps priests of all religions are the same; we must except a sober-minded, regular, truly pious and exemplary clergy; they are of the greatest use in cementing society.

altars, nor statues; in this condition we found the aboriginal Indians or Americans. When nations began to be civilized, we find the first objects of adoration (proceeding from admiration) were the sun, moon, other planets, and the stars, in Egypt; and the periods of their revolutions were used in the computation of time. The revolution of the sun was called a year, that of the moon a month; every planet had one day assigned him, and these seven planetary days were called a week: if there had been more or fewer planets, the days of the week would have been more or fewer; Moses, brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians, retained the same in his history part of our Bible, and carries on the allegory (as some free-thinkers call it) of the creation accordingly. Our American Indians had no knowledge of the planets, and therefore had no reckonings by weeks, or returns of seven days. The planetary names of the days of the week, at first view, seem confused and at random; but, in fact they were methodically so called. They began by the Sun, as being the most glorious planet, and assigned to him the first day of the week, *dies solis*, or Sunday (Sabbath-day is of a Jewish signification, and properly the seventh day of the week; Lord's-day is novel and peculiar to christians) from thence reckoning in the natural order of the planets, allowed a planet to every hour of the twenty-four, which compose a day; the next in course, according to the astronomy of these days, was Venus, Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and consequently the Sun had the eighth hour, the fifteenth and twenty-second hour; Venus the twenty-third; Mercury the twenty-fourth; consequently the Moon had the first hour of the next parcel of twenty-four hours, and gave name to the second day of the week, *dies lune*, or Monday; and in the same rotation Mercury gives name to the third; Jupiter to the fourth day of the week, &c. In Britain we have substituted four of our north-country or Gothic

Gothic gods in the place of Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Venus.

So far back as ancient records inform, we find that amongst the Egyptians and Orientals, religion first began to acquire a national consistence or system. The philosophers of Greece went to Egypt and Asia to study wisdom, learning, and religion; those of Rome went to Greece. They all did so much indulge a poetical or mythological vein, that it is difficult to distinguish between their true established religion and gods, from the fabulous.

The various religions at this time amongst the nations of this earth (the several parts of the earth that can be of any consequence, are now well explored, and the Americans may be well said to be of no religion) may be reduced to these general heads: 1. The christian, or believers in Jesus Christ, which perhaps is that of Moses with additions and emendations: this may be called the religion of Europe, some few Turkish dominions in Europe excepted. 2. The Mahometan, which is much more extensive, and prevails in a great part of Africa, in a great part of Asia, and in some part of Europe. 3. That of Confucius, being the followers of the doctrines of Confucius in China, and the neighbouring parts of Tartary. 4. May be comprehended under the general name of idolaters, who worship the objects, or the images and representations of the objects which they adore from love or fear; the Lama of the eastern Tartars I call an idol.

The negroes of Africa have a kind of religion which may be called idolatry; they worship some material objects, which in their nature may be extremely beneficial or very hurtful to mankind; the first through admiration and love, the other through fear. But our stupid American Indians had no temples, no altars, no idols or images, no set times for worship, if it may be called

worship; it is only occasional, with frantic and ridiculous vociferations and gesticulations, in cases of sickness or great calamities, performed by some of their cunning men called Powowers: they never harrass European captives to change their religion; no religious wars [u], no confusions from convocations.

The Powowers, are not parish-priests or clergy, regularly set apart to initiate the people into the mysteries of religion, and to perform some rites and ceremonies called religious: they are of the same nature with rascally cheats and pretended conjurers, that in the most civilized nations of Europe (intirely distinct from any sort of religion) impose upon ignorant and weak people, by pretending to some familiar conversation with some superior secret Being. Their Powowers, by aid of this influence, become also their physicians; this seems to be natural; even with us a civilized people, our priests, or Gospel-ministers, by the same aid, are very apt officiously to intrude into the office of a physician, and use the sick as their patients as well as their penitents: priests and old women of both sexes (as dean Swift humourously expressed it) are the great nuisances to a regular medical practice. *Expertus loquor*. This perhaps may be the natural reason, why some physicians use the clergy with contempt.

I do not find that Christianity is like to have any good footing among the Indians: 1. We are not exemplary enough in common life, and commercial dealings: the Indians say, that they cannot perceive mankind the better for being christians: christians cheat them out of their lands and other effects, and sometimes deprive them of

[u] The civil administration in England, from experience, are sensible of the inconveniences arising from the meetings of the convocations of the clergy, and for many years have not allowed them to sit: they are not essential to episcopal church-government; and when they meet, they naturally ferment or rather effervesce, and occasion feverish paroxysms in the church, and sometimes convulsions in the state.

their lives. 2. Our missionaries are generally void of discretion; the Indians are, in all respects wild, know nothing of the general rudiments of religion [*w*]: The missionaries instead of first taming and civilizing the Indians, and next instructing them in the principles of natural religion and morality, begin with the sublime mysteries of our religion, such as, *How many persons are there in the Godhead?* and the like. Thus from the beginning they are bewildered and lost for ever. 3. Some *piæ fraudes*, which at first may amuse, but afterwards when discovered, leave a permanent prejudice against the christian religion; thus it is said, that some French missionaries in relating to the Indians the history of our Saviour's birth and sufferings, tell them that the virgin Mary was a French woman, that the English crucified JESUS CHRIST.

L A N G U A G E S.

THEIR manner of expression is vehement and emphatic; their ideas being few, their language is not copious; it consists only of a few words, and many of these ill-contrived; by a rumbling noise or sound of many syllables, they express an idea or thing, which, in the

[*w*] Mr. Brainerd, a missionary from a society in Scotland for propagating christian knowledge by Indian conversions amongst the De la Ware, and the Seshquahana Indians, in his journey printed at Philadelphia, anno 1745, says, that his station was from Crofweekfung in New-Jersies, about eighty miles from the forks of De la Ware river to Shaumaking on Seshquahana river, about 120 miles west of the said forks; that he travelled more than 130 miles above the English settlements upon Seshquahana river, and was with about seven or eight distinct tribes there, speaking so many different languages, mostly belonging to the Sennekas: he was three or four years upon this mission, sometimes did not see an Englishman for a month or six weeks together; all his exercises were in English. Mere journals are dry, but otherwise it seems naif or natural. At that time there was no other missionary amongst the Indians of Jersies and Pensylvania. Notwithstanding all his personal penances, and charge to the society, he effected nothing, though a pious laborious missionary.

European

European languages, is done by a syllable or two; as their ideas increase, they are obliged to adopt the European words of adjoining colonies. In numbering they use the same natural way of reckoning by tens, as in Europe; ten being the number of human fingers. No chronicles, scarce any traditionary accounts of things extending back further than two or three generations; scarce any Indians can tell their own age.

They had no [x] characters, that is, hieroglyphics, or letters; they had a few symbols or signatures, as if in a heraldry way to distinguish tribes; the principal were the tortoise, the bear, the wolf. There was not the least vestige of letters in America; some years since a certain credulous person, and voluminous author, imposed upon himself and others; he observed in a tiding river, a rock, which, as it was not of an uniform substance, the ebbing and the flowing of the tide made a sort of vermoulure, honey-combing, or etching on its face; here he imagined, that he had discovered the America Indian characters, and overjoyed remits some lines of his imaginary characters to the Royal Society in

[x] There are sundry ways of expressing our thoughts and sounds.

1. The Egyptian hieroglyphics seem to be the most ancient: they were delineations, drawings, and paintings, or images of material things, or allegorical expressions of transactions in figures real or chimerical; mutes seem to express themselves in hieroglyphical motions: the defect of this character seems to be, that ideas which have no material figure could not be well expressed, and the writing too tedious and imperfect.

2. The Chinese have no letters or compounding characters; every word has a peculiar character, and instead of being unreasonably long, as with the Americans, there is in some manner a necessity for all their words being monosyllables; thus their characters are so numerous, that a man of letters is a trade, not soon to be learnt.

3. In Europe a few arbitrary characters, called letters, were first brought to us from Phœnicia via Greece, and are in different nations in number from twenty-four; by these variously mixed, all European words are composed and well distinguished; they express words or sounds only, not things as in hieroglyphics.

London:

London: see Philosophical Transactions, Numb. 339. "At Taunton, by the side of a tiding river, part in, part out of, the river there is a large rock, on the perpendicular side of which, next to the stream, are seven or eight lines, about seven or eight feet long, and about a foot wide each of them, ingraven with unaccountable characters, not like any known character." This may be supposed wrote anno 1714: at present, anno 1747, by the continued ebbing and flowing the honey-combing is so altered as not in the least to resemble his draught of the characters.

As the Indians were so rude, as to have no letters or other characters, there is no certain way of writing their names of things; all we can do is to express their sounds or pronunciations as near as may be in our own letters. Father Ralle of Noridgwog, and some other scholastic French missionaries, have imagined that the Greek alphabet suits their pronunciation best. The Indians have a figurative way of expressing themselves as if in hieroglyphics; thus, the renewing of alliances they call brightening of the chain.

There is no general fixed way of writing Indian words, therefore we shall not mind any particular orthography in that respect, only we shall endeavour to be understood: for instance, the Indian tribe upon Quenebec river in New-England, we write and pronounce it Naridgwog, the French missionaries write it Narantsoack: the tribe of the Iroquois or five New-York allied Indian nations, which we call Sennekas, the French call them *Sonontouans*.

There is not the same reason for preserving the Indian names of their countries, nations, tribes, mountains, and rivers, as there is for preserving the Greek, Roman, and other more modern names of such things in Europe; the Indians have no civil or classical history to require it. The Indians change their own personal names, and the names of other things upon trifling occasions: our Indians

affect to have English names; thus Massafoit's two sons desired of the court of Plymouth to give them English names; they were accordingly named Alexander and Philip; this Philip, formerly Metacomet, was chief in a subsequent Indian war, called king Philip's war. Captain Smith the traveller resided nineteen years in Virginia and New-England, and wrote a history of those parts, anno 1624; he enumerates the names of many tribes, rivers, and other things, which are now irrecoverably lost.

As the Indian dealings and mutual correspondence is much confined, their several languages are of small extent [y].

III. Food and medicine of the aboriginal Indians.

OUR Indians do not imitate the bees, ants, &c. in laying up stores, but like rapacious animals, live from hand to mouth; after long fasting they are voracious, and upon a gluttonous repast can fast many days, by bracing in, or reefing their girdles or belts.

The far-north Indians of West-Greenland, Terra de Labarador, &c. live upon the blubber of whales, seals,

[y] Mr. Elliot, formerly minister of Roxbury, adjoining to Boston, with immense labour translated and printed our Bible into Indian; it was done with a good pious design, but must be reckoned among the *Otiosorum hominum negotia*; it was done in the Natic language; of the Natics at present there are not twenty families subsisting, and scarce any of these can read: *Cui bono!*

The countries in Europe being well civilized, with a great mutual intercourse and use of letters, their general languages, but in various dialects, are very extensive; the ancient Latin, in its various dialects and words, adopted from neighbouring nations, extends over Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal; the Celtic in Bretagne of France, Cornwall and Wales of England, Isle of Man, great part of Ireland, and the Highlands of Scotland; the Teutonic in Germany, Great-Britain, Low-countries, in Belgia, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; the Sclavonian in Muscovy and Russia, in Poland, in Hungary, and the other countries west of these so far as to the Turkish dominions.

and

and other fish, and their most generous beverage is fish-oil; scarce any quadrupeds or fowls, not only from the severity and long continuance of their cold weather, frost and snow, but also because their meadows and other lands, instead of grafs and other herbage, bear only mos.

The Indians, in the more moderate climates, live by hunting, fowling, and fish; they do not clear and cultivate the forest by planting and grazing; lately some of their squaas or women improve in planting of maize and Indian beans. Their bread-kind are maize [z], or Indian corn, phaseolus, kidney or Indian beans, several sorts of tuberous roots called ground-nuts; several sorts of berries, particularly several sorts of *vitis Idea*, in New-England, called huckle-berries. Upon a continued march, where hunting and fowling is inconsiderable, they carry with them, for subsistence, parched Indian corn called no-cake.

The Abnaquies, or New-England northern and eastern Indians, because of the hunting and fowling failing during the winter, are obliged to remove to the sea-side, and live upon clams, bafs, sturgeon, &c.

Their medical practice resembles that of officious old women in some remote country villages of Europe; mere empiricism, or rather a traditionary blind practice; they regard only the symptoms that strike the gross senses most, without respect to any less obvious principal symp-

[z] This history was not composed into a regular, full body, before it began to be published; and its being published only at various times of leisure, and humour of the writer, it seems to become too much of a miscellany, but without neglecting the principal view or design. Notwithstanding the designed brevity, conciseness, or summary (which spoils the fluidity or fluency of style) it swells too much; therefore at present to ease some of our readers, we lay aside or defer the designed short description or natural history of these things, which are used by the Indians as food, medicine, or traffic.

tom, which may be called the disease, or to constitution, sex, and age. The Powowers, conjurers, or wizards, are their principal physicians.

They do not use our way of venesection, but practise cupping; they vomit and purge by particular herbs or roots; instead of vesicatories and caustics, they burn with touchwood. Their principal remedy is sweating in huts warmed by heated stones, and thereupon immediate immersion in cold water: this seems to be a rational practice, first by relaxing to give a free passage to the obstructed circulatory juices; and after a free passage is supposed to be obtained, by cold immersion to brace up again: in inflammatory and eruptive epidemical fevers, *e. g.* small-pox, this practice depopulates them.

Their medicines are only simple indigenous herbs; they use no exotic plants, no minerals, no medicinal compositions, or chemical preparations. The virtues or proper uses of their herbs were discovered by chance, and their simples, which have had a peculiar continued success, have been handed down or transmitted from generation to generation. As it is amongst brutes of a simple steady manner of regimen and living, so with our Indians there is no multiplicity of distempers, therefore their [a] materia medica is not copious.

Our Indians are so tender, and habituated to a certain way of living, that they do not bear transplantation; for

[a] In Europe our materia medica is too luxuriant, and the greatest part of it trifling; many of our medicinal preparations and compositions are silly and of no real use to the patient; it is with pleasure that I observe, the various conserves, syrups, distilled waters, and some other Arabian medicines, wear out of fashion in Great-Britain amongst the regular physicians, and are used only by quacks and practising apothecaries. A proper regimen diet, and not exceeding a dozen notedly efficacious medicines properly applied (this, by some of the clergy, old women, and nurses, is represented as doing nothing) is the true effectual materia medica: where the nature of the distemper and indications of cure are ascertained (in this consists the art of physic.) D. Pitcairn's problem, *Dato morbo remedium invenire*, is not very intricate, where incurable is not in the case.

instance,

instance, the Spanish Indians, captivated in the St. Augustine war, anno 1702, and sold for slaves in New-England, soon died consumptive; this occasioned an act of assembly to discourage their importation. Europeans seem to thrive the better for being transplanted; the progeny of Europeans born in America do not bear removals, the reasons I cannot assign: for instance, from Massachusetts-Bay Province in New-England of 500 men upon the Cuba and Carthagena expedition, not exceeding fifty survived; of 3000 men upon the Cape-Breton expedition, near one half died naturally in Louifbourg, or soon after their arrival in New-England; of about 300 persons late prisoners and captives in Quebec of Canada, about seventy died there.

They are not so lascivious as Europeans (Asiatics are more lascivious than Europeans, witness the seraglios and harems of the great men in Turkey and Persia, and the dispersed Jews in Europe) they never offer violence to our women captives: but are not so continent as is generally represented by authors; Mrs. Rowlandson, wife to the minister of Lancaster in New-England, captivated by the Indians anno 1676, writes, that her Indian master had three squaas or wives; Mr. Brainerd, a Scotland missionary, in the journal of his mission, printed anno 1746, mentions "the abusive practice of Indian husbands and wives, putting away each other, and taking others in their stead."

IV. *The American Indians trade and currencies.*

TRADE. Their chief trade is skins and furs, the produce of their hunting, mostly deer-skins and beaver.

Beaver the farther south, have less fur and more hair; the farther north the staple is the longer: they reckon eight sorts of beaver, *viz.* winter, and summer, fat, and dry, &c. The winter fat is the best, next to coat-beaver, which is beaver wore till it is well greased.

A beaver-

A beaver-skin may weigh from one pound and a half to two pound; an Indian pack of beaver may weigh about 80 lb. wt. Beaver breed once a year, ten to fifteen at a litter. In the very high latitudes there are no beaver, because no wood; beaver require wood, which they cut, or rather gnaw with their teeth (thus squirrels and rats gnaw timber) into lengths called junks or logs for making their dams, and part of their food or subsistence is the bark of trees. Three quarters of the returns of the Hudson's-Bay company is in beaver, to about the value of 40,000*l.* sterling *per annum*. The same good animal affords another commodity, castoreum, called beaver-stone; this is not according to a vulgar error, the testicles, but some inspissated secretion contained in a couple of glands near the anus of both males and females.

Deer-skins much more plenty southward; South-Carolina does export *per annum*, the value of 25,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* sterling in deer-skins.

In the high latitudes, they deal with a small matter of feathers, whale-bone, and blubber, or fish-oil.

Currencies. Their commercial standard of currencies is to the northward (I mean in North-America) per pound beaver-skin value, to the southward per pound deer-skin value.

They formerly had, and in some places still retain, for small currency (in New-England, in old charter times, they were a tender for any sum not exceeding forty shillings) wampum or wampum-peag, being small bits of the spiral turns of a buccinum or whelk. This done up into strings, and certain plaits or belts, was a large denomination, and large sums were reckoned by the number of fathoms of this wampum-plait: thus we read in the histories of former times, for instance, that the Naganset Indians, sent 200 fathom of wampum, to pay in part a debt to Boston colony; Uncas, sachem of the Moheags in Connecticut, paid 100 fathom of wampum for monies due to the English.

ARTICLE III.

The Indian nations and tribes upon the eastern side of North-America.

WE may distinguish the Indians by their relation or position with regard to the European colonies settled in North-America. 1. The Indian nations (we cannot particularize their several tribes or clans) without, but bordering upon the British grants, such are the French Indians of Canada, and the Spanish Indians of Florida. 2. Indian tribes within our grants or charters, but without our settlements, such are the Mikamakes of Nova Scotia, the Abnaquies of New-England, the Mohawks, or five nations of New-York; the emigrant Tuscararoes I do not call a nation, &c. 3. Indian families, interspersed with our settlements upon Indian reserved lands; these are useful to the Europeans, particularly to the British, as domestic servants, labourers, sailors, whalers, and other fishers: many of the Indian reserves are extinct, and their lands lapsed to the provinces.

The present names of the seven Indian nations, or general great divisions, may continue in perpetuity, as classical names in history: for the many particular tribes included or which compose the several nations or general divisions, their names are so various and changeable, we cannot enumerate them; and still less known are the names and numbers of the villages or castles in the several tribes.

The Indian nations or general divisions, which lie upon or near the eastern shore of North-America, are the Indians of West-Greenland, commonly called Davis's-straits, Eskimaux, Algonquins, Tahsagrondie, Owtawaes, Miamis, Chikefaus: Mikamakias, Abnaquies, Iroquois or Mohawks, Chawans, Old Tuscararoes, Cuttumbaes,

Cherokees, and Creek-Indians: some short descriptions or delineation of these will make the face of the east side of North-America more apparent and familiar to us, before we set down the several modern colonies settled there; in imitation, *si parva magnis componere*, of the *Europæ antiquæ & modernæ* tables or maps.

I. The Indians of West-Greenland, or of a north-east continent from Davis-straits reaching from Cape Farewel in N. lat. 60 D. northward indefinitely, and all the Indians in the same latitudes, are a few straggling miserable people; live in caves or dens under ground, because of the severity of the cold [b]; have no fire (no fuel) eat their flesh and fish raw; are cloathed in seal-skins; much subject to the scurvy [c] or itch (the French call those of Terra de Labradore south of Davis's-straits, for this reason, the scabbed indians) have no produce or subject for trade.

The Eskimaux extend from Davis's and Hudson's straits north, along the west side of the Atlantic ocean to the mouth of St. Laurence river south; thence range westward cross the lower parts of the several rivers which fall into the bottom of Hudson's-Bay, and then northward along the western shore of Hudson's-Bay to the polar circle [d] in 66 D. or 67 D. N. Lat. as Mr. Dobbs writes, Thus the Eskimaux, excepting a small narrow tract upon the Labradore shore, are all quit-

[b] Extremity of cold, may equally be called hell, as extremity of heat; our scriptural writers lived in a hot country, not in a cold climate. In the government of Muscovy or Russia, translation or exile to Siberia the northern parts of Russia in a high latitude, is used as a degree of punishment next to death, in felonious criminal cases, particularly in ministerial treachery.

[c] Their fish coarse diet, extremity of cold, and long winter confinements, render their circulating juices rancid or putrid, and consequently are very scorbutic.

[d] Here I cannot understand what Mr. Dobbs and Capt. Middleton write; they mention northern Indians in Lat. 62 D. and 63 D. and some Eskimaux in Lat. 66 D. to 67 D. and these two nations in a natural or continued enmity; how shall we reconcile this intermixture?

claimed

claimed to us by France in the treaty of Utrecht, anno 1713: excepting those who frequent the bottom of Hudson's Bay; the others can be of no commercial benefit, they afford a very small matter of feathers, whale-oil, and blubber.

Mr. Dobbs of Ireland, the present enthusiastic follower of a N. W. passage projection, very credulous, gives the name of many imaginary tribes west of Hudson's-Bay; but as in high latitudes not many people can subsist [e], and his tribes are not well vouched, we cannot mention them. Mr. Dobbs is an enemy of the Hudson's-Bay company; he says, that trade is got into the hands of about nine or ten of their principal men, who export not exceeding 3000*l*, sterling *per annum*, in British produce and manufacture; and keep up their prices so high, that the French supply them cheaper, and carry away the trade; whereas if their charter was vacated, and the trade laid open, many traders would settle factories or trading houses up the rivers towards the French, and, by underselling them, much increase our fur-trade.

ALGONQUINS in several tribes reach from the mouth of St. Laurence river along its north side, extending about 150 leagues; they are the French best Indian friends; but frequently upon little differences give the French settlers much disturbance; may be about 1500 fighting men.

TAHSAGRONDIE indians are between the lakes Erie and Hurons; perhaps from the barrenness of the country, they are of small numbers, dispersed, and of no great notice: they are friends of the New-York nations.

[e] In the high latitudes, towards winter, some of their animals become grey or silver-coloured; and next summer recover their native colours; not from the same hairs or feathers re-assuming their native colour, but by a new growth or coat: perhaps a like decay of native heat in the aged of mankind, occasions their becoming grey.

OUTAWAES, a great and powerful nation, they live upon the Outawae river, which joins upon the Cataraqui river (the outlet of the great lakes) a little above Montreal, and upon the great lakes, and extend N. W. to near the S. W. part of Hudson's-Bay; they deal considerably with the New-York trading houses at Oswego [f], upon the lake Ontario in the Onondaguee country. In May, anno 1723, about eighty men, besides women and children, from a large tribe belonging to the Outawaes came to Albany in the province of New-York, and desired to be admitted as another friend-nation amongst the Mohawk nations; this tribe lies between the lake of Hurons and the upper lake, and call themselves Necaragees, of six castles or villages, near the straits between these two lakes, adjoining to a tribe called by the

[f] Indians of above twenty nations, or large tribes, come here to trade in the season of their fairs; these Indians are distinguishable, by the variety and different fashions of their canoes; the very remote Indians are clothed in skins of various sorts; they all have fire-arms; some come so far north as Port-Nelson in Hudson's-Bay N. Lat. 57 D. and some are from the Cherokees, west of South-Carolina in N. Lat. 32 D. This seems to be a vast extent of inland water-carriage, but it is only for canoes the smallest of craft. In Europe our inland water-carriage vastly excels this: for instance (I do not mention the royal canal in France from the western ocean to the Mediterranean-sea, nor the many canals finished, and projected in Muscovy and Russia, by Peter the Great, because they are artificial) from Asia and the black-sea, up the Danube river, to near the head thereof; and thence a small carrying place to the head of the river Rhine, which, by its many branchings, has an extensive communication, and falls into the northern ocean in Holland; and from the sources of the Danube a small carrying-place to the head of the river Rhone, which falls into the Mediterranean sea, in the south of France; up the river Rhone, and the Saone, and the Ouseche; then a small carrying-place to the head of the Seine river, which, by way of Paris, Rouen, and Havre-de-Grace, carries into the northern ocean; and from the Seine by a canal to the river Loire by way of Orleans and Nants to the western ocean. Our navigation and carriages in Europe are much improved beyond this wild manner, incommoded by cataracts, falls, or sautes; by trees which accidentally fall across their rivulets, &c. In Europe their carriage is in ships and large craft for the ocean, seas, and large rivers, and from thence an easy wheel-land carriage at pleasure.

French [g] Misilimackinac. There is a large nation south-west of the Outawaes, called by the French, Les Renards; they are not within our knowledge.

MIAMIENS, so called by the French (we call them Twightwies) or Illinois; they live generally upon the river Miamis, and the lake and river Illinois which receives the river Miamis. The Illinois is a great river, and by it

[g] Mr. Kellogg, anno 1710, from Massachusetts-Bay, captivated by the Indians; in curiosity, and from a laudable public spirit for information, travelled with six French Indian traders, from Montreal in Canada up the Outawaes river, N. W. to Matawaen; thence they carry a little way to a small lake, N'pising, and by the French river to the great lake of the Hurons (a miserable country) about fifty leagues in length, never froze over, but is like an open sea (no spruce, that is fir, or pine in this country) they coasted to its N. W. corner, and wintered at a village or tribe of the Outawaes, called Misilimackinac, in N. Lat. 46 D. upon the straits between the lakes Hurons and Illinois; this strait is frozen over in winter; here he wintered; he killed trout of 50 l. wt. from these straits they entered the lake Illinois, and coasted in course of its length S. S. W. to its south-westerly corner; thence they carried one league (the longest carriage in their journey or voyage) to a branch of the river Illinois: the river Miamis, which gives name to a large nation of Indians, and comes from near the lake Illinois, and by which these traders with Mr. Kellogg returned to Montreal, falls into the river Illinois. The river Illinois runs a course of about 130 leagues, and falls into the river Mississippi. Mr. Kellogg, upon the river Illinois, saw the remains of some former French settlements, but no present inhabitants, some tufts of clover, and a few European fruit-trees; this is what some French writers call the province of Hanois (perhaps corruptly for Illinois) inhabited by above 16,000 whites; on the river Illinois was a French fort, called fort Louis or Creveccœur. Five leagues below the mouth of river Illinois, falls into the Mississippi the great river Misouris from the north-west. Farther down is a French village and wind-will, some maize, a few vines, and other European produce. A little farther down the Mississippi, falls in the river Owbache, Ohio, or Belle-Riviere; it heads near the west branch of the Sesquahana in Pennsylvania. This is another rout for the French trade, and patrole to the mouth of the Mississippi. Hereabouts the French traders and Mr. Kellogg ended their voyage, and returned to Montreal in Canada by the river Miamis. We may suppose that about 37 D. N. Lat. is the boundary between the French two general colonies of Canada and Louisiana of Mississippi, and that their Canada trading licence extends no further.

is one of Canada routs for their patrol and trade to the Mississippi.

CHICKESAUS seem to lie next to the Miamis, on the eastern side of the Mississippi; they are allies of and traders with the people of Carolinas. The Cherokees are next in course upon the east side of Mississippi river; but as they lie both sides, and upon the Apalachian mountains, we shall for method's sake (method renders every thing distinct and easy) refer it to the next range of Indian nations.

We have given a general view of the more remote nations of Indians, that is, of the nations that live north, and west, and south-west of the great river St. Laurence, and west of the Apalachian mountains to the great river of Mississippi: we now proceed to the next range that lies from the mouth of St. Laurence river north, to the bay of Apalachia in the gulph of Mexico south; being upon the south and south-east side of the river St. Laurence, and east side of the Apalachian mountains, or great blue-hills; which reach from the [b] Niagara falls, in the straits between lake Ontario and Erie N. lat. 43 D. to the bay of Apalachia in N. lat. 30 D. These mountains are generally 300 miles from the Atlantic shore; all the runs of water from their east side, fall into the Atlantic ocean, and those from the west-side into the grand river Mississippi.

II. The Mikamakes of *l'Accadie* or Nova Scotia, some of them live along Cape-Sable shore, some at Green-Bay, Menis, and Chicanicto, some in Cape-Breton island, and St. John's island: they do not much exceed 350 fighting men; they continue in the French interest, from our

[b] M. Vaudreuil, late governor-general of Canada, caused these famous falls to be narrowly examined; reduced to a perpendicular height, they were only twenty six fathom; father Hennopin writes it 100 fathom. It is true, that from the great falls, it continues still to descend somewhat further by ledges or stairs.

bad management; notwithstanding that the whole province was quit-claimed to us by the peace of Utrecht 1713: from this same neglect or wrong conduct it proceeds, that the French are allowed to keep five missions in this province, *viz.* That of Annapolis River, of Cape-Sable shore, of Monis, of Chicanicto, and St. John's river. The bishop of Quebec in Canada is allowed to be their superior and constituent, and they act by his direction.

The Abnaquies, properly the New-England Indian nation, reach east and west from the bay of Fundy (to describe the Indian nations as geographers in Europe do countries, by latitudes and longitudes, would be stiff, pedantic, not accurate, and of no use) to Hudson's or New-York river and lake Champlian or Corlaer; north and south from the St. Laurence or Canada great river, to the Atlantic ocean. They are in many tribes, but dwindle much and become less formidable; their intercourse with the British and French has introduced additional distempers amongst them, particularly those which proceed from the immoderate use of spirits, brandy or rum; hence they become more indolent, and are straightned for subsistence; their hunting fails them, they have but few deer and beaver; a small matter of Indian corn and kidney-beans, which their squaas or women plant, is at present a considerable part of their subsistence; they consisted of many tribes, some extinct, some extinguishing, and the others much reduced [*i*]; let us enumerate them in their natural order. 1. The Indians of St. John's river, these belong to Nova Scotia, and have a

[*i*] The proprietors of the eastern lands in New-England, for some scores of years, have been much incommoded by the incursions of these Indians, which renders their interest there a mere dead stock; but very soon these Indians will not be capable to annoy them any more, and by a law for settling quiet possession (this country being so often settled and unsettled, bought and sold, the various claims are very intricate and title precarious) the lands there will become valuable.

French missionary priest; the mouth of St. John's river, in the bay of Fundy, is about ten leagues from Annapolis-Royal. The St. John's river Indians, in travelling to Quebec, go up this long river, and so on to a short rapid river which falls into the river of St. Laurence a few leagues below Quebec; they do not exceed 150 fighting men. 2. Penobscot Indians are within the Massachusetts-Bay grant, have a French missionary; they lie upon a great bay of the same name; their numbers not exceeding 150 men fit to march; they travel to Quebec up the small river of Penobscot, which comes from the westward, and go on to Quenebec river a little above Taconic falls, and thence follow the same rout with the Quenebec Indians. 3. Sheepscut Indians in the Massachusetts grant, upon a river of the same name, which falls into Sagadahoc (formerly called Sagatawooke) river, or rather bay, from the eastward; not exceeding two or three families existing anno 1747. 4. Quenebec Indians, in the foresaid grant, upon the river of the same name, being the middle and principal river of Sagadahoc; their principal settlement or head-quarters is at Norridgwoag, about 100 miles up northward from the entrance of Sagadahoc; they were much reduced in their war or rebellion, in the time of the wise administration of William Dummer, Esq; they have a French missionary, and travel to Quebec up Quenebec river, and from the head thereof, by several ponds and carrying-places to the short rapid river La Chaudiere, which falls into St. Laurence river, about four leagues above Quebec; at present they do not exceed sixty fighting men. 5. Amerescogin Indians upon Pegepscut or Brunswic river, which falls into the west side of Sagadahoc, they may be said to be extinct. 6. Pigwacket Indians on Saco river (they are in two settlements) Pigwoket and Ossipee at Ossipee pond (Lovel, and his party of voluntiers were cut off by the Indians, anno 1724) lie about fifty miles about Winter-Harbour, the mouth of Saco river; at present not exceeding a dozen fighting men, and formerly travelled (at present they are

in

in the British interest) to Quebec via Connecticut river up, and St. François river down to Canada river. 7. The Pennycook Indians, upon Merrimac river in New-Hampshire jurisdiction, but lately quite extinct. 8. The Walnonoak Indians, on the river Puante, called the mission of Besancourt, over-against Les Trois Rivieres, thirty leagues above Quebec, at this time in the Canada jurisdiction, about forty fighting men. 9. The Arouseguntecook Indians, upon the river and mission of St. François, about forty leagues above Quebec, in the Canada jurisdiction, not exceeding 160 men fit to march. 10. Mafassuc Indians, on the east or Dutch side of lake Champlain, in the French interest, do not exceed sixty fighting men. Thus the Abnaquie extensive nation of Indians, does not exceed 640 fighting men fit to march.

The Iroquois Indians. We call them Mohawks, the name of one of the five or six united nations; thus the seven united provinces of the Belgic Netherlands are called Holland from the province of Holland; and the ten Spanish, now Austrian, provinces there, are called Flanders, from the province of Flanders: they head or lie north of our provinces of New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and some part of Virginia; the Senaccaas reach a great way down Sesquahana river; the tribe of about 100 souls called Shaumakins, lie below the forks of Sesquahana, about 120 miles west from the forks of De la Ware river. In all public accounts, they are lately called the six nations of New-York friend Indians; the Tuscararoes, emigrants from the old Tuscararoes of North-Carolina, lately are reckoned as the sixth; we shall reckon them as formerly. 1. The Mohawks; they live upon the Mohawks or Schenectady river; they have a castle or village westward from Albany forty miles, another sixty-five miles west from Albany: the number of their fencible men about 160. 2. Oneideas, about eighty miles from the Mohawks second village, consisting of near 200 fighting men. 3. Onondagues, about
twenty-

twenty-five miles farther (the famous Oswego trading place on the lake Ontario, about 200 miles west from Albany, is in their country) consist of about 250 men. 4. Cayugas, about seventy miles farther, of about 130 men. 5. Senekeas, further west about 700 marching fighting men. The fighting men of the five or six nations of Mohawks, may be reckoned at 1500 men, and extend from Albany west about 400 miles, lying in the New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia governments, in about thirty tribes or villages. Besides these, there is settled a little above Montreal, a tribe of scoundrel runaways from the Mohawks; they are called Kahnuaques, of about eighty men.

The CHOWANS, on the east side of the Apalachian mountains, or great Blue-hills, are reduced to a small number; they lie west of Virginia and North-Carolina; they live north of Roanoke river. Lately our Indian traders have found several practicable passes cross these mountains, and keep stores in their west side, or intervals of ridges; they are in continued or natural enmity with the Tuscararoës.

The TUSCARAROES lie between Roanoke and Pamlico rivers in North-Carolina; do not exceed 200 fighting men, being much reduced upon their North-Carolina insurrection, anno 1711, and many of their nation drove off; now settled with the New-York five nations.

CATABAWS in course lie south of the Tuscararoës, a small nation, of about 300 men. The Catabaws, Cherokees, and some of the Creeks, are not styled subjects, but allies and good friends of Great-Britain.

CHEROKEES [k] live upon the southern parts and both sides of the Apalachian mountains; are a populous extensive nation of about 6000 men. Anno 1722, in a congress with governor Nicholson of South-Carolina, there

[k] The Cherokees are a constant and sure barrier between the French upon the Mississippi and the British colonies of Carolina: why should not the Abnagues, by good management, be made a good barrier between New-England and Canada?

were present of the lower and middle Cherokees the chiefs of thirty-seven towns or tribes; and, with their consent general Nicholson appointed Wrosetatow their commander in chief. The people of South-Carolina have a considerable trade or trucking factory at Tunisec, a Cherokee tribe upon the river Mississippi.

CREEK Indians of Florida about 2000 men. The lower Creeks consist of eight to ten tribes, and run west to Flint river, which falls into the bay of Apalchia or gulf of Mexico; by instigation of the Spaniards particularly of St. Augustine, are very troublesome to our Carolina and Georgia settlements, especially the adjoining tribe of Yamasses. For instance, anno 1719, there was some French and Spanish projection against Great-Britain in embryo; the Abnaquies of New-England, by the instigation of the French, began to be troublesome upon the same projection; this projection in Europe came to no maturity.

III. Indian families, or small tribes upon reserved lands, interspersed with the British settlements in North-America. Upon the lower parts of the several rivers, which run into the Atlantic ocean in the British settlements, are several small distinct tribes or related families, which are not reckoned as belonging to the farther inland large nations: they extinguish apace from the infection of our European distempers and vices; it can be of no use to follow a detail of these perishing transitory small tribes or families; as a sample I shall enumerate those in the province of Massachusetts-Bay.

By act of the Massachusetts-Bay assembly, anno 1746, the Indian reserves being distinguished into eight parcels, guardians, or managers, for these silly Indians were appointed. 1. Upon the eastern part of the promontory or peninsula of Cape-Cod, in the townships of Truro, Eastham, Chatham, Harwich, and Yarmouth; these Indians go by the several names of Pamet, Nossët, Pachée, Potowmaket (here is an Indian congregation with a minister)

nister) Sochtoowoket, and Nobscuffet. 2. The western part of the said peninsula of Cape-Cod in the townships of Barnstable, Sandwich, and Falmouth, called the Indians of Wayanaes (the name of a formerly greatest sachem in that country) or Hyaneas, Costweet, Mashpe, Waquoit (Oyster harbour) Scootin, and Saconoffet or Woodshole, the ferry-place to Martha's-Vineyard. 3. The Indians of the island of Nantucket about 900 souls, being more than all the others together, are very useful in the whale and cod-fishery. 4. Indians of Martha's-Vineyard island about 450; lately many of them have gone to settle in Nantucket, being a place of better employment. 5. The Indians of Plymouth, Pembroke, and Middleborough, called Namasket. 7. The Nipmugs (formerly comprehending all the small inland tribes from Connecticut river to Merrimac river; Blackstone or Patucket river, which falls into the Naraganset-Bay, was formerly called Nipmug river) formerly known by the names of Cutamogs, or Nipnets, in the townships and districts of Dudley, Oxford, Woodstock, Killinsbay, and Douglass; the Hasanamissets in Grafton and Sutton; the Nashobies in Littleton, Stow, Acton, and Concord; Nashaways in Lancaster and Groton. 7. The Indian plantation of Natic, with a minister and salary from an English society for propagating the gospel amongst the Indians in New-England; he officiates in English, and his congregation are mostly English; it lies about eighteen miles west from Boston, not exceeding twenty families of Indians. 8. Puncopag Indians, in the township of Stoughton, being three or four families. Besides these, there is in the S. W. corner of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, about twenty-five miles east from Hudson's or York river, a small tribe of Indians, called Houfatonics, upon a river of that name, called Westenhoek by the Dutch: they are lately intermixed with the English in the townships of Sheffield and Stockbridge.

Excepting the Indians of Nantucket and Martha's-Vineyard (better employed) all the others in a few years will
will

will be extinct; most of their men were persuaded to enlist as soldiers in the late expeditions to Cuba and Carthage against the Spaniards, and to Cape-Breton, and Nova Scotia against the French; scarce any of them survived, and the names and memory of their tribes not worth preserving.

In the other British colonies, where any tribes intermixed with our settlements require notice, they shall be mentioned in the proper sections. This article I prosecute no further.

ARTICLE IV.

Indian wars with the British colonies in North-America.

WHEN the country of the Indians at war with us, lies upon our frontiers, but without our grants, I call it a war in the common acceptation; if within our grants, but without our settlements, I call it an eruption, in our proclamations against them it is called rebellion, as in all the New-England wars with the Abnaquies; if intermixed with our settlements, it is an insurrection, such were the wars of the Pequods, anno 1637, and of king Philip and his confederates, anno 1675.

In this article I only mention the Indian insurrections or commotions which happened from the first landing of the English in the American countries, until the British [1] revolution in favour of the Prince of Orange, anno 1688: after this period, though our Indian wars were generally executed by the bordering Indians, they were under the influence, and by the direction of the Canada French; therefore I do not reckon them as mere Indian

[1] The revolution in a strict sense, was not the landing of the prince of Orange, afterwards king WILLIAM of blessed memory; it was a parliamentary exclusion of all the Popish branches of the British royal family, and settling the succession to the crown in the Protestant branches thereof.

wars, but as French wars in America; they went *pari passu* with the British and French wars in Europe, and being intermixed with the European and New-England British expeditions against Canada, Nova Scotia, or L'Accadie, and Cape-Breton, or L'Isle Royale, we shall give some short account of them in the proper sections.

A detail of the small Indian skirmishes, at our first settling, can be of no useful information, and at this distance of time is no amusement. A rascally fellow, Capt. Hunt, anno 1614, by stealth carried off some Indians, and in the Mediterranean of Europe, sold them to the Spaniards as Moors captivated from Barbary; this occasioned a diffidence and disgust against the English traders upon that coast for some time. In New-England, excepting the Indian wars with the Pequods 1637, and with the Pakenokets (called king Philip's war) and their confederates, anno 1675; and the French Indian wars with us during king William's and queen Anne's wars in Europe; and an eruption anno 1722, to 1725, when the French and Spaniards were hatching a war against us in Europe, which proved abortive; and our present war with the French and their associated Indians; we had no Indian war of any kind. It is true, there have been private rencounters between the English and Indians at times from sudden flights of passion or drunkenness; as happens all the world over.

Upon good enquiry it will be found, that our properly speaking Indian wars have not been so frequent, so tedious, and so desolating, as is commonly represented in too strong a light (hunger-starved, and cold-starved were our greatest hardships in settling;) In New-England our only Indian wars, properly so called, were the Pequod war, anno 1637, which lasted three months; and king Philip's war, anno 1675, and 1676, of about fourteen months continuance; and the war of 1722, to 1725.

In our northern parts, the Indians generally appear in small skulking parties, with yellings, shoutings, and antic

antic postures, instead of trumpets and drums; their Indian wood-cry is jo-hau; their war-cry may be expressed, woach, woach, ha, ha, hach, woach.

The Indians are not wanderers like the Tartars, but are ramblers; and in time of war, according to the seasons, they may be annoyed at their head-quarters, and ambuscaded or way-laid at their carrying or land travelling places. Their retreats or strong places are the swamps (copses in a morass.) Dr. Cotton Mather, with good propriety calls it, being inswamped, in imitation of the European term intrenched. Like the French in Europe, without regard to faith of treaties, they suddenly break out into furious, rapid outrages and devastations; but soon retire precipitately, having no stores for subsistence; the country is not cleared and cultivated. Their captives if they sicken, or are otherwise incapable of travelling, they kill them, and save their scalps; the English thus captivated are sold to French families in Canada, but redeemable upon reimbursing the price paid, by an order from the governor-general of Canada.

Their head-warriors are men noted for strength and courage; sometimes in their wars they chuse a temporary chief of all the tribes of one nation engaged (at times some particular tribe or village have declined joining in war with the general nation.) Thus the Niantics in the Pequod war; thus the Saco Indians in the present war, or rebellion of the Abnaquies; but not with a Roman dictatorial power: anno 1676, Madacawando of Penobscot was chief of all the eastern or Abnaquie Indians, and Squando of Saco was his second; anno 1637, Saffacous was chief of the Pequod castles or villages.

Our scouts or Indian hunters, in the time of war, carry packs, which at first setting out may weigh 70 wt. being about thirty days provision of biscuit, or parched Indian corn, salt pork, sugar and ginger to qualify and animate their drink, which is water: their method of lodging,

lodging, pitching, or camping at night, is in parcels of ten or twelve men to a fire; they lie upon brush, wrapt up in a blanket, with their feet to the fire.

Towards the better understanding of the Pequod or Poquot, and king Philip's wars, it may be proper to know the situation and circumstances of their adjoining Indians, as they were anno 1637. Along shore first were the Cape-Cod, peninsula Indians in several tribes; the Nantucket, and Martha's-Vineyard island Indians; these were always in friendship with the English settlers: next were the Pocassets (at present called Seconet) of about 300 fighting men; the Pockanokets, or king Philip's men, about 300 fighting men; the Nipmugs, adjoining to the Pockanokets inland, in several tribes, extending from Connecticut river to Merrimack river; the Naragansets from Naraganset-Bay to Pakatuke river, the boundary between Connecticut and Rhode-island colonies, about 1000 men; the Pequods from Pakatuck river to near Hudson's or New-York river, the Moheags at the head of New-London or Thames river, about 400 men; the Connecticut river Indians in several tribes.

PEQUOD WAR. The occasions of this war were, 1. A barbarous warlike nation; they killed, anno 1634, captains Stone and Norton, traders. 2. Lords Say and Brook 1636, building a fort at the mouth of Connecticut-river, near their head quarters, offended them. 3. Their continued killing, upon Connecticut-river, of English traders, upon frivolous pretences, to the number of thirty; at length the English could not avoid a proper resentment.

Anno 1635, July 15, the associated colonies of New-England made a league offensive and defensive with the six Naraganset sachems: by one of the articles, the Naraganset Indians confirm all former grants of lands made to the English. The Naraganset and Pequods were not cordial friends with one another.

1637, in May 20, a body of seventy-seven English, sixty Connecticut-river Indians, 200 Naraganset Indians, 100 Niantics (a village of the Pequods in friendship with the English) and twenty men from the garrison of Saybrooke-fort, under the direction of [*m*] captain Mason, afterwards deputy-governor of Connecticut (the 160 men from Massachusetts-Bay under Mr. Stoughton, and the fifty men from Plymouth colony, had not then joined them) took and burnt the Pequod fort near Mystic river (this river divides Stonington from Groton in Connecticut) and killed about 140 Indians: a great body of Pequods came down from their neighbouring principal fort, but the English and their auxiliary Indians made a good retreat to their boats; in all they had only two men killed, and sixteen wounded. The English pursued the Pequods from swamp to swamp with great havock: at length, in a swamp of Fairfield, towards New-Netherlands, they were routed; their captivated children were sent to Bermudas, and sold for slaves. Saffacous, their leading sachem, with about thirty more Pequods, fled to the Mohawks, and were murdered by them. In less than three months war, about 700 Pequods were destroyed, and that nation reduced to about 200 men, who sued for peace; which was granted them upon condition of their abandoning their name and country, which accordingly they did, and incorporated themselves with the Naragansets and Moheags [*n*].

N. B. They had not many fire-arms.

After the Pequod war, there were at times between the Indians and English private mutual injuries, sometimes more general misunderstandings, and threatened ruptures; but the union offensive and defensive of the

[*m*] This captain Mason, for his good service, had a colony grant of a large extent of land; these lands are now in dispute between the colony of Connecticut and Mr. Mason's heirs.

[*n*] Perhaps some expedient of this nature might be used with regard to some of the incorrigible clans of Highlanders in the northern and western parts of Scotland.

united colonies of New-England awed them. By this union the proportions were, Massachusetts 100, Plymouth, Hartford, and New-Haven, each forty-five men; this union was made anno 1643, the 19th day of the third month.

Anno 1645 and 1646, the Naragansets were privately hatching an insurrection, but were soon brought to an open declaration of a settled friendship with the English.

1653, the [o] Dutch of New Netherlands were forming a confederacy with our Indians, to cut off all the

[o] The Dutch have generally been called our natural and good friends, but as there can be no real friendship amongst rivals in trade, it is a maxim with merchants, *there is no friendship in trade*; the Dutch carry this higher, *that there is no humanity in trade*; we ought to be equally jealous of the French and Dutch. The French faith is in our times as notoriously bad, as the *Punica* and *Græca fides* was in ancient times, therefore I shall not enumerate any instances of it. I shall give a few instances how faulty the Dutch have been in this respect. 1. Not long after we had relieved them from the Spanish bondage in their vaderland, or native country, they massacred our factory at Amboyna in the East-Indies, never to be forgiven nor forgotten. 2. In our New-England wars with the Pequod Indians, anno 1637, and with king Philip's Indians, anno 1675, they supplied our enemy Indians with ammunition, &c. from New-York and Albany. 3. Anno 1653, when the English and Dutch were at war in Europe, our Dutch-neighbours of New-Netherlands had formed a plot, in conjunction with the Mohawks and eastern Indians, to cut off the British colonies in New-England; but a peace in Europe soon happening, prevented this massacre. 4. A few years since in the island of Java in the East-Indies, in the suburbs and country adjacent to Batavia, were settled about 90,000 Chinese, multiplying very fast; the Dutch, jealous of their numbers and growth, upon a pretended umbrage of an intended insurrection, surprized, in cold blood, and massacred many thousands of them, in order to reduce their numbers: gain is their God; to this they sacrifice every thing, even their own species, mankind. 5. In the autumn, anno 1746, when a French Squadron invaded Fort St. George in the East-Indies, the English women of the town and its territory fled to Pallicut, a Dutch settlement, three hours or twelve miles north from St. George's; but the Dutch would not receive them. 6. The silent consent of the Dutch to the French attacking and taking of the Austrian towns in the Netherlands: it is suspected in all our battles or engagements against the French in Flanders

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New-England settlements, but a peace between England and Holland prevented it.

Anno 1654, the Naraganset and Niantic Indians made war against the Montaoke Indians at the east end of Long-island; but the united colonies of New-England, by fitting out 270 foot and forty horse, soon brought the Naragansets to an accommodation.

PACONOKET, OR KING PHILIP'S WAR. Massasoit, chief of the Wampanogoes, whereof Paconoket or Mount Hope Neck was a tribe, was a good friend to the first Plymouth settlers. He left two sons, Wamsucket and Metacomet; at their own desire the government of Plymouth gave them the English names of Alexander and Philip; Alexander died anno 1662; Philip, by a formal instrument to the government of Plymouth anno 1671, restricted himself from disposing of any of his lands without their consent.

This Philip, sachem of the Wampanogoes or Paconoket Indians, was naturally a man of penetration, cunning, and courage; he formed a deep plot anno 1575, to extirpate the English of New-England: with profound secrecy he effected an extensive confederacy with other tribes of Indians, *viz.* Pocasset, Naragansets, Nipmugs, Connecticut-river Indians, several tribes of the Abnaquies our eastern Indians. The Canada French were in the scheme, and, by their emissaries, endeavoured to keep up the spirit of insurrection; the Dutch from Albany were suspected of supplying these Indians with ammunition. By the New-Plymouth grant, we find the Pacanoket Indians extended up Patuket or Blackstone, formerly Nipmug-river, to the Nipmug country; but this boundary could not be ascertained by the late com-

this war, that the Dutch general officers had private instructions, *to give way*, as if in collusion with the French court. The Dutch is an oligarchy, or a government of few, and therefore liable to corruption, and would even bring their own country to a market, and sell one another upon occasion. The Dutch, if they could be sincere, are our most natural allies against the encroaching French.

missioners for settling the line between Plymouth and Rhode-island colonies.

Philip began his insurrection June 24, 1675, by killing nine Englishmen in Swanzey, adjoining to Mount-hope, his head quarters. The English suspecting the Naragansets, a powerful nation, might join Philip, marched an armed force into the Naraganset country, and awed them into a treaty of peace and friendship; but notwithstanding (such is Indian Faith) they joined Philip, as will appear in the sequel.

Beginning of July, the Pocassets begin hostilities. In a Pocasset swamp, king Philip and his confederate Pocassets, were environed by the English, but by night made their escape to the Nipmug country, leaving about 100 women and children. Middle of July, the Nipmugs begin hostilities by depredations in Mendon. August 25, the Connecticut-river Indians begin hostilities by annoying the neighbouring English settlements.

In August the eastern Indians, *viz.* Pennycooks of Merrimack, Pigwokets of Saco, and Amareseogins of Pegepscut-rivers break out, and by December they killed about fifty English, with their own loss about ninety Indians. The severity of the winter brought these tribes of eastern Indians to a formal peace; but by solicitation of Philip they broke out again next summer, and were joined by the Quenebec Indians, kill several English, and destroy their stock; but Philip being killed, they soon came in and submitted.

The enemy Indians, imagining that upon the footing of the late treaty, the English would deem the Naragansets as neutrals, in winter retired to the Naraganset country; but for very good reasons, the English, jealous of the Naragansets, sent thither 1000 men, 527 whereof from Massachusetts, under the command of governor Winslow of Plymouth; they were increased to 1500 men by an addition of some neighbouring friend Indians; December 19, they attack the Indians in their

fort

fort or swamp, and killed about 700 Indians, besides women and children, with the loss of about eighty-five English killed, and 150 wounded; the swamp is called Patty-squamscut.

Notwithstanding this disaster, the Indians had skulking parties out all winter; they kept the field better than the English, and harrassed our people much; they did damage in the town of Plymouth, and within a few miles of Boston, and the English were obliged to keep close in garrison-houses. In the spring, the Mohawks having some difference with the Abnaquies, favoured the English; and the Indians being much harrassed by famine (they had little produce, because of the war, from their planting grounds last crop) fevers and fluxes, the Massachusetts government very wisely issued a proclamation July 8, 1676, promising the hopes of a pardon to all Indian enemies or rebels, who should come in within fourteen days. Many submitted, many withdrew to their respective peculiar abodes; some travelled westward towards Hudson's river, were pursued and killed. Philip was reduced to skulk about, and, in a swamp of Mount Hope, his own country, with six or seven of his followers was killed August 12, 1676.

During Philip's war about 3000 Indians were killed, captivated, and submitted; the Naragansets from a large body reduced to about 100 men. The war being over, about 400 Indians by order met at major Waldron's of Catchecho; 200 were culled out, who had been notoriously, wicked, and mischievous; of these a few suffered death; the others (of the 200) were transported and sold for slaves.

King Philip's, or Bristol neck, was sold towards defraying the charges of the war, and afterwards, by the general court, incorporated by the name of Bristol with some peculiar privileges and exemptions.

The colony of Connecticut was scarce touched in this war. We have no record of Rhode-island assistance.

After Philip's war, there were no more insurrections or rebellions of our intermixed Indians: the following wars were by eruptions and incursions of the Indians within our grants, but without our settlements, by instigation of our natural enemies the French of Canada, *viz.* from autumn anno 1688 (some short truces intervening) to Jan. 7, anno 1698-9, and from Aug. 16, anno 1703, to July 17, anno 1713, and from spring 1744, when there were mutual declarations of war in Europe of the British and French; this war still subsists at this present writing September, 1747. Here we may observe, that our eastern Indians in this pending war have not annoyed our settlements eastward, being called off by the French to Crown-Point; from Crown-Point the French and their Indians have done considerable damage upon the New-York and Massachusetts western frontiers; and to Nova Scotia, by investing the fort of Annapolis-Royal; and by the massacre of our people at Menis, they have considerably incommoded us. The late disasters of the French expeditions, under the duke d'Anville and M. La Jonquiere, against Cape-Breton, Nova Scotia, and our other settlements in North-America, have made the French desist from any further enterprises in Nova Scotia and our eastern Indians, being dismissed from that service, have lately appeared against our forts of Pemaquid and Georges.

Our wars with the Indians in the reigns of king William and of queen Anne, and the present war, are intermixed with expeditions from Europe; they are not merely Indian; we refer them to the subsequent sections.

Governor Dummer's war against the Indians may be reckoned purely Indian, we shall give some short account of it. The Canada French perceiving our eastern settlements advance apace, set their Quenebec missionary, father Ralle a jesuite, to work; he made these Indians jealous of the English, by telling them, that these lands were given by God unalienably to the Indians and their children for ever, according to the christian sacred oracles.

cles. Anno 1717, the Indians began to murmur, and after some time gave the English settlers formal warning to leave the lands within a set time; at the expiration of that time they committed depredations, by destroying their cattle and other stock: the missionary, with a priestly heat, began the affair too precipitately, before the receiving of directions from France, as appears by a letter from M. Vandreuil, governor-general of Canada, to this father, "He could not tell how far he might intermeddle in the affair, until he had particular instructions from the council of the navy in France;" all the French colonies are under the direction of that board: and the small-pox (which the Indians with good reason dread) prevailing in New-England, anno 1721, prevented a declared rupture until anno 1722, July 5; the government of Massachusetts-Bay proclaimed them rebels, and ordered 100*l.* per scalp to volunteers fitted out at their own charge, and afterwards 4*s.* per day besides. Our most considerable action against them was at Noridgwoag of Quenebec river, August 12, anno 1724; their fighting men being just come home from scouting. Captain Harman, with 200 men in seventeen whale-boats go up Quenebec river, surprize the Indians at Naridgwoag, bring off twenty six Indian scalps, and that of father Ralle; Indians killed and drowned, in their flight cross the river, were computed to be eighty. Captain Lovel, a volunteer with forty-four men, sets out, via Ossipi pond, for Pigocket, was intercepted by about seventy Indians; he and about fourteen of his men were killed, and many wounded.

The French and Indians of Nova Scotia were concerned in this war; they made a vain assault upon the fort of Annapolis-Royal, and did some damage at Canso.

The delegates from the five or six New-York Indian nations, and from the Moheign or Hudson's river Indians, and from the Scatacooks, came to Boston, re-

ceived presents, gave fair promises of acting in our favour, but did nothing.

We sent commissioners to the governor-general of Canada, to expostulate with him concerning his encouraging the Indian depredations, and to reclaim captives: his answer was, That these Indians were independent nations, and not under his direction; this was a mere evasion.

After many bickerings, by good management in the wise administration of lieutenant-governor Dummer, the Indians begged and obtained a cessation of arms, Dec. 15, anno 1725, and a peace the May following at Casco; saving to the Indians all their lands not hitherto conveyed, with the privilege of hunting, fowling, and fishing as formerly: signed by the Noridgwoag, Penobscot, St. John's, and Cape-Sable Indians.

Three or four years since, some interspersed Indians in Maryland were troublesome, and occasionally killed some Englishmen; they were soon quelled.

In Virginia, in the beginning, the Indian incursions retarded them much; anno 1610, from 500 they were reduced to eighty; from 1712, there was uninterrupted peace with the Indians till 1622; by a sudden general insurrection, they massacred 347 English people, reckoned at that time half of the colony. Sir John Harvey, a very arbitrary governor, encroached much upon the Indians by making enormous grants of their lands; this occasioned another massacre from the Indians anno 1639, 500 English were cut off, especially about the head of York river; this was soon over, and peace lasted many years. Anno 1676, some mutual murders happened between the English and Indians in the out-settlements, Bacon, a hotheaded young gentleman of the council, because, as he thought, the assembly was too dilatory in fitting out against the Indians; in contempt of the government, and without a proper commission, inlisting soldiers of his own accord, occasioned an intestine civil mutiny
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of the white people against the government, and obliged the governor Berkley to fly to the remote county of Accomack upon the eastern shore of Chesapeake-Bay: to quell this commotion a regiment of soldiers was sent from England; but Bacon dying, the commotion was over, before the regiment arrived: this corps continued there three years, and were disbanded in Virginia; Bacon's body could not be found to be exposed to infamy. This anticipates, but at the same time it helps to shorten the section of Virginia.

IN NORTH-CAROLINA, anno 1711, in November the Cape-Fear Indians broke out, and destroyed about twenty families, and much stock: by succours from Virginia and South-Carolina, they were soon reduced; and many of the Tuscararoes obliged to take refuge amongst the New-York Indian nations, where they continue, and are generally called the sixth nation.

S E C T. IV.

*General remarks concerning the British colonies in
America*

THE subject-matters of this section according to my first plan, are prolix, being various and copious, and perhaps would be the most curious and informing piece of the performance to some readers; but as many of our readers in these colonies seem impatient for our entering upon the affairs of their several settlements, we shall contract the present section, and shall defer several articles to the appendix; such as, the rise, progress, and present state of the pernicious paper-currencies; some account of the prevailing or endemial diseases in our North-America colonies, and many other loose particulars; the various sectaries in religion, which have any footing in
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our American colonies, shall be enumerated in the section of Rhode-Island, where we find all degrees of sectaries (some perhaps not known in Europe) from [p] NO RELI-

[p] Some facetious gentlemen, perhaps, use too much of a sarcastic freedom with our colony governments: for instance, that, in the small colony of R—de I—d, ANARCHY is their civil constitution; NO RELIGION is in the room of an ecclesiastical constitution, and they who are of any well-regulated religion are non-conformists; in sea-affairs they are the PORTO-RICO of New-England; for many years they have been the most noted paper-money bankers or BUBBLERS in New-England, but at present are in this case eclipsed by a more eminent enterprising neighbouring colony: by this contrivance in overstretching a provincial public paper credit, they may, in some sense, be said to have become bankrupts. At present they pay 2s. 3d. in the pound; such is the present difference between 3*l*. (the price of one ounce of Mexico silver standard, October 1747) denomination depreciated, and 6s. 8d. the price of silver, the rate at which their notes of credit were first emitted.

To render this intelligible to the lowest capacities: if this losing negotiation of public bills of credit proceeds, a British half-penny will exchange for a shilling New-England base currency, and a corkin pin for a penny in small change.

Oldmixon, an erroneous scribler, in his *British empire in America*, printed in London 1708 (he died 1742) without any design seems to favour the other colonies of New-England; he writes, the government of Rhode-Island is still separate from that of New-England.

No religion (I hope the above character may admit of considerable abatements) is inconsistent with society. The form of the judicial oath in that colony, "Upon the peril of the penalty of perjury," seems not to answer the intention of an oath, which is a solemn invocation of God's judgments hereafter, over and above the penalties which may be inflicted in this world; thus by cunning and secrecy they may evade the one, but by no means can be supposed to escape the other. It is true, that in Great-Britain the affirmation of Quakers, and in Holland the declaration of the Menists, are equivalent to our oaths. Upon the other hand, the frequency of oaths upon small occasions, makes them too familiar, and by taking off the solemnity and awe of an oath renders them nearly upon a par with common profane swearing; the many oaths in the several branches of the revenue, particularly in the customs, are of bad effect; hence the proverb, a custom house oath, that is, an oath that may be dispensed with. Oaths give a profligate man of no religion (that is, who does not think himself bound by an oath) a vast advantage over an honest conscientious religious man: the same may be said of the sacramental tests of conformity, and occasional conformity practised by the church of England.

gion to that of the most wild enthusiasts. Religious affairs, so far as they may in some manner appertain to the constitution of the colonies, make an article in this section.

ARTICLE I.

Concerning our first discoveries of, and trade to the British North America; before, it was by royal grants, patents, and charters divided into the colonies at present subsisting.

IN page 109, &c. I gave some anticipating account of these our first discoveries. I shall further add:

Sebastian Cabot, commissioned by king Henry VII of England, to endeavour discoveries of the north-west passage to China and the East-Indies, anno 1497, discovered and took possession, according to the forms used in those times, of all the eastern coast of North-America, from about the north polar circle to Cape Florida, (as is related) in the name of the crown of England; the Cabots had a royal English grant of the property of all lands they should discover and settle westward of Europe; they made no settlement, and their grant dropt.

Sir Walter Raleigh a favourite, by order of queen Elizabeth, anno 1584, sent two vessels to North-America, to land people that were to remain there; they landed at Roanoke in North-Carolina, where they remained and planted for some short time. Raleigh gave to all that part of America the name VIRGINIA, in honour or memory of the virginity of queen Elizabeth; a continued but small trade was carried on from England to these countries for some time, and, by landing at times in sundry places, took farther possession for the crown of England.

Anno 1606, April 10, king James in one patent incorporated two companies called the south and north Virginia companies; the south Virginia company to reach
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from 34 D. to 41 D. N. Lat. They began a settlement, anno 1607, on Chesepeak-Bay, and this part of the country retains the name Virginia in a peculiar manner to this day; here we must drop it, and reassume in the proper section of Virginia: the north Virginia company, called also the west-country company, had liberty to settle upon the same eastern coast of America from 38 D. to 45 D. N. Lat. They kept a constant small trade on foot, and sometimes wintered ashore, as, for instance, at Sagadahoc anno 1608; but made no formal lasting settlement, until that of New-Plymouth anno 1620; here we must stop, and reassume in the sections of New-England colonies. These settlements were to have been at 100 miles distance from one another, that is, from their chief place; each territory or colony was to extend fifty miles both ways along shore, and 100 miles back into the country, so as to make a district of 100 miles square: thus from the gulph of St. Laurence to Cape-Fear we should have had seven colonies of equal dimensions, but not of equal quality; at present in that space we have about a dozen colonies very unequal and irregular, because granted at different times; most of them run back into the wilderness indefinitely. This patent did not subsist long; the companies were managed by presidents and council, but in a few years, made a surrender. The Dutch took the opportunity to sit down in some parts of the degrees of latitude, that were in common to both companies, and kept possession of property and jurisdiction, almost threescore years.

Capt. Henry Hudson, anno 1608, discovered the mouth of Hudson's river in N. L. 40 D. 30 M. upon his own account, as he imagined, and sold it, or rather imparted the discovery to the Dutch. The Dutch made some settlements there, but were drove off by Sir Samuel Argol, governor of a second Virginia-company, anno 1618, because within the limits of that company's grant; but anno 1620, king James gave the Dutch some liberty of refreshment for their ships bound to Brazils, which they afterwards

afterwards in the times of the civil wars and confusions in England, improved to the settling of a colony there, which they called New-Netherlands, comprehending all the present provinces of New-York and New-Jerfies, and some part of Pennsylvania. Their principal settlements were New-Amsterdam, at present called the city of New-York on Hudson's river, and fort Cafimir, since called New-Castle upon Delaware river, west side of it; Hudson's river was called by the Dutch, Nord-Rivier, and Delaware river was called Zuid-Rivier. Beginning of king Charles the second's reign, by conquest 1664, and the subsequent cession by the Breda treaty 1667, it reverted to the crown of England. The further account of this territory belongs to the sections of New-York and New-Jerfies.

We may in general observe, that spices, precious stones, gold, silver, other metals and minerals, were the first inducements and objects of our East and West-India discoveries (the trade for tobacco, rice, fish, furs, skins, and naval stores, seem to have been only incidental.) As these did not succeed, our first endeavours or adventures for settlements did not proceed.

From historical observations during the last century and half, we may learn many of the successful methods to be used, and the inconveniences to be avoided, in settling of colonies.

ARTICLE II.

Concerning the general nature and constitution of the British North-America colonies.

ALL our American settlements are properly colonies, not provinces as they are generally called: province respects a conquered people (the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru may perhaps in propriety bear this appellation) under a jurisdiction imposed upon them by the conqueror; colonies are formed, of national people, *e. g.* British in
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the British colonies, transported to form a settlement in a foreign or remote country.

The first settlers of our colonies were formed from various sorts of people. 1. Laudably ambitious adventurers. 2. The mal-contented, the unfortunate, the necessitous from home. 3. Transported criminals. The present proportion of these ingredients in the several plantations varies much, for reasons which shall be mentioned in the particular sections of colonies, and does depend much upon the condition of the first settlers: some were peopled by rebel Tories; some by rebel Whigs (that principle which at one time is called loyalty, at another time is called rebellion) some by church of England men; some by Congregationalists or Independents; some by Quakers, some by Papists (Maryland and Monferrat) the most unfit people to incorporate with our constitution.

Colonies have an incidental good effect, they drain from the mother-country the disaffected and the vicious (in the same manner, subsequent colonies purge the more ancient colonies;) Rhode island and Providence-plantations drained from Massachusetts-Bay the Antinomians, Quakers, and other wild sectaries. Perhaps in after-times (as it is at times with the lord-lieutenants and other high officers in Ireland) some mal-contented of figure, capable of being troublesome to the administration at home, may be sent in some great offices to the plantations.

In our colonies we have four sorts of people. 1. Masters, that is planters and merchants. 2. White servants. 3. Indian servants. 4. Slaves for life, mostly Negroes. White servants are of two sorts, *viz.* poor people from Great-Britain, and Ireland mostly; these are bound, or sold as some express it, for a certain number of years, to reimburse the transporting charges, with some additional profit; the others are criminals judicially transported, and their time of exile and servitude sold by certain undertakers, and their agents.

In our American settlements, generally the designations are, Province, where the king appoints a governor; colony, where the freemen elect their own governor: this customary acceptation is not universal; Virginia is called a colony, perhaps because formerly a colony, and the most ancient.

We have some settlements with a governor only; others with governor and council, such as Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Hudson's-Bay, and Georgia, without any house or negative deputed by the planters, according to the essence of a British constitution: these, may be said, not colonized.

There are various sorts of royal grants of colonies.

1. To one or more personal proprietors, their heirs and assigns; such are Maryland and Pennsylvania; both property and government.
2. The property to personal proprietors; the government and jurisdiction in the crown; this is the state of the Carolinas and Jerseys.
3. Property and government in the crown, *viz.* Virginia, New-York, and New-Hampshire, commonly called Piscataqua.
4. Property in the people and their representatives, the government in the crown; as is Massachusetts-Bay.
5. Property and government in the governor and company, called the freemen of the colony, such are Connecticut and Rhode-island.

This last seems to be the most effectual method of the first settling and peopling of a colony. Mankind are naturally desirous of a parity and leveling, without any fixed superiority; but when a society is come to maturity, a more distinct fixed subordination is found to be requisite. Connecticut, Rhode-island, and some of the proprietary governments, are of opinion, that they are not obliged to attend to, or follow, any instructions or orders from their mother-country, or court of Great-Britain. They do not send their laws home to the plantation-offices to be presented to the king in council for approbation or disallowance: they assume the command of the militia, which by the British constitution, is a prerogative of the

crown. Some time ago, they refused not only a preventive custom-house office, but likewise a court of vice-admiralty's officers appointed from home; but these points they have given up, especially considering that the royal charter grants them only the privilege of trying causes, *Intra corpus comitatus*, but not a-float or *Super altum mare*.

As a small country, though rich and thriving, cannot afford large numbers of people; it ought not to run upon discoveries and conquests beyond what they can well improve and protect; because by over-stretching, they weaken or break the staple of their constitution: but they may in good policy distress as much of the enemy's country as is possible, and, for some short time, keep possession of some of their most important places, though at a great charge, even, by hiring of foreign troops, in order to obtain some suitable, profitable equivalent. New-England, with the incidental countenance of a small British squadron, easily reduced the North-America Dunkirk, or Louisbourg in Cape-Breton island; and perhaps luckily, without waiting for the direction of the British ministry. Considering our large sea and land-force, well fitted, upon the expeditions, against Havanah and its territory in the island of Cuba, the rendezvous of all the Spanish Plate-fleets; and against Carthagena, the best strong-hold the Spaniards have in America; and against Canada, called the New-France in North-America, which would have given us the monopoly of the cod-fish and fur-trade; many of our American militia voluntarily formed themselves into companies and regiments for that purpose; but the ministry at home, perhaps for good reasons best known to themselves, seem to have balked these affairs. The above apparently intended conquests would have been easy.

Great-Britain does not, like France, swarm with a numerous people, therefore cannot settle colonies so fast, without allowing of a general naturalization. From Germany we had many emigrant Palatines and Saltburghers,

burghers, and in time may have more: foreigners imported, should not be allowed to settle in large separate districts, as is the present bad practice; because for many generations they may continue, as it were, a separate people in language, modes of religion, customs, and manners; they ought to be intermixed with the British settlers, English schools only allowed for the education of their children; their public worship for the first generation, or twenty years, may be allowed in their original language in the forenoon, and in English in the afternoon, according to any tolerated religion. As our missionaries do not attend the service of Indian conversions, some of them may be employed in this service. After the first twenty years from their first arrival, their public worship shall for ever be in English; all their conveyances, bonds, and other public writings, to be in English; thus, in two or three generations (as de Foe humorously expresses it) they will all become true-born Englishmen. We have an instance of this in New-England, where many Irish, in language and religion (I mean Roman catholics) have been imported some years since; their children have lost their language and religion, and are good subjects. We have a notorious instance of the bad effects, in not observing this regulation in Nova Scotia; the French inhabitants, though in allegiance to the crown of Great-Britain ever since anno 1710, by allowing them a separate residence, with their language and religion continued, are at present, as much estranged from, and enemies to, the British interest, as they were thirty-seven years ago; witness their behaviour in our present French war, by their favouring and concurring with our French Canada enemies, and the late expeditions from France. The D—ch, in a neighbouring province, because not well dashed or intermixed with the English, though in allegiance above eighty years, do not seem to consult our interest so much as might be expected.

Although the colonies of various nations may learn the *juvantia* and the *ledentia* from one another; there may be several political regulations in colonies foreign to us, which may have a good effect with themselves, but may not fit our constitution; for instance, 1. The Spaniards say, that their vast extensive settlements in America, have continued in due subjection about 250 years, by their principal officers ecclesiastical, civil, and military, being from Old-Spain; in China (a polite nation) no man can be a Mandarin in his own country or district, where he was born. 2. The French, Spanish, and Portugueze colonies, are not allowed to make wines, and distil spirits of sugar for merchandize, because it would hurt the vent of the wines and brandies of their mother-countries: some such regulations, with regard to things commonly manufactured in Great-Britain, not to be manufactured in the plantations, have from time to time been laid before the court of Great-Britain, by people disaffected to the plantations, *e. g.* by Col. D——r not long since; but happily, have had little or no effect.

The several colonies, particularly those of New-England, the most suspected, have it neither in their power nor inclination to withdraw from their dependence upon Great-Britain: of themselves, they are comparatively nothing, without the assistance and protection of some European maritime power; amongst those, the French, Spanish, and Portugueze differ so much from them in religion, the most popular affair, and in an absolute monarchical government, inconsistent with our plantation levelling spirit, that we have nothing to fear from them: the Dutch being nearly the same with us in religion, and apparently (though not really) the same as to a popular government, they bid the fairest for carrying off our plantations from their allegiance, and ought, in a particular manner, to be guarded against; if in time of some general discontent, a war should happen with the Dutch.

As in natural parentage, so infant colonies ought to be tenderly and filially used, without any suspicion or surmise of a future obstinate disobedience, desertion, or revolt. Some of the American colony-legislatures, have at times been drawn into errors and inadvertencies, by some popular, wicked, leading men, which has obliged the court of Great-Britain to make some alterations in their peculiar constitutions: we shall enumerate them in the respective colony-sections; at present we shall only instance a few relating to this province of Massachusetts-Bay. 1. Upon a *quo warranto* from the court of King's-bench, issued in trinity-term anno 1635, against the governor and company of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay; and in trinity-term, anno 1637, judgment was given for the king to seize the said colony, and to take governor Cradock's body into custody; but, by reason of the ensuing troubles, this judgment was never put in execution. 2. The heirs of Mason and George, proprietors of the provinces of New-Hampshire and Main, complained to the king of the usurpations of the government of Massachusetts-Bay; the king, by a mandatory letter, anno 1676, to Massachusetts-Bay colony, required an answer to those complaints: the agents for Massachusetts-Bay, before the court of King's-bench, disclaimed these lands, and, by an act of assembly of the colony 1679, all their encroaching grants were vacated. 3. Upon several pretended complaints their charter was vacated in chancery 1684, but they obtained a new and more perfect charter anno 1691. 4. Governor Shute, anno 1722, carried home seven articles of complaints concerning their house of representatives encroaching upon the prerogative; by their agent in England, they submissively gave up five of these articles, and the general assembly accepted of an explanatory charter, whereby the other two articles were explained away: all these shall be related more at large in their proper place. 5. Several bubbling banks and schemes designed to defraud creditors and others, by depreciating the currency in New-

England, being on foot, and not suppressed by the proper legislature (perhaps because many of their leading members were concerned) several worthy gentlemen applied home for redress, and obtained, anno 1741, an act of parliament against unwarrantable schemes in America.

Upwards of thirty years since, upon some complaints concerning the colonies, particularly of South-Carolina; the court of Great-Britain judged, that it might be for the general British interest, to have all charter and proprietary governments vacated by act of parliament, and accordingly a bill was brought into the house of commons; but the New-England agent Dummer, by an ingenious piece which he published at that time, giving the true state of the colonies, by his vigilancy, assiduity, proper solicitations and personal address, and interest with some of the leading men, occasioned the bill to be dropped.

The vacating of all charter and proprietary governments is not the ultimate chastisement that may be used with delinquent colonies; the parliament of Great-Britain may abridge them of many valuable privileges which they enjoy at present; as happened in an affair relating to Ireland: the parliament of Great-Britain, anno 1720, passed an act for the better securing the dependence of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain: therefore the colonies ought to be circumspect, and not offend their mother-country; as for instance, 1. In abusing that privilege which our colonies have of raising taxes and assessing of themselves: South-Carolina had not supplied the necessary charges of government, for four years preceding anno 1731; New-Hampshire for five years preceding anno 1736. 2. In time of peace emitting of depreciating public bills of credit for a medium of trade and commerce, and making them legal tenders; this is equivalent to coinage (and of a base standard) a prerogative of the crown.

Our British American colonies have many valuable privileges: 1. Enacting their own laws, with condition of their not being repugnant to the laws of Great-Britain, but may be otherways various from them. 2. Raising their own taxes. 3. No act of the British parliament made since the first settling of our colonies, extends to the colonies, unless expressly extended in the British act of parliament. 4. No private purchase from the Indians shall be valid (formerly much deceit and cheat has been discovered in these purchases, tending to alienate the Indians from the British interest) without the confirmation of the governor and council in some colonies, and without the approbation of the legislature in the other colonies. There are lands in some of our plantations, where it is not possible to shew any Indian conveyance, because they were derelicts; such are all our West-India island settlements, no Indians being there at our first landing: the possessors, who were prior to patent or king's commissioned governors, have no other title to their lands but long possession, a sort of prescription. Thus the old settlers of New-Hampshire hold their lands, it being supposed that Mr. Mason had neglected or relinquished his grant.

In the beginning of our colony grants, there was only one house of [g] legislature; the governor or president, the council or assistants, and the representatives, voted together. At present, in conformity to our legislature in Great-Britain, they consist of three separate negatives; thus, by the governor, representing the king, the colonies are monarchical; by a council they are aristocratical;

[g] In the Saxon times, the parliament did not consist of two distinct houses; the peers, being freeholders of great territories, were deemed the hereditary representatives of their vassals and tenants. In the Scots parliament there ever was only one house, consisting of three states, *viz.* the peers, the commissioners or representatives of shires or counties, and the commissioners for boroughs; they all voted together indifferently, but in committees, and the like, the proportion of committee-men from each, was limited.

tical; by a house of representatives, or delegates from the people, they are democratical: these three are distinct and independent of one another, and the colonies enjoy the conveniencies of each of these forms of government, without their inconveniencies, the several negatives being checks upon one another. The concurrence of these three forms of governments, seems to be the highest perfection that human civil government can attain to in times of [r] peace with the neighbouring states: if it did not sound too profane, by making too free with the mystical expressions of our religion, I should call it *a trinity in unity*.

The second negative in our legislatures, differs from that of Great-Britain. In Great-Britain it is an [s] hereditary house of Lords; in our American settlements, the members of their councils so called are only temporary, appointed by the court of Great-Britain *durante beneplacito*, or by annual elections in some of our colonies. In Carolina, at first, there was designed an hereditary fe-

[r] In the times of war, perhaps a dictatorial power in one proper person would be requisite, upon account of dispatch and secrecy, but accountable to the three negatives. This was the practice amongst many of the ancient polite nations, particularly amongst the Romans; the only inconveniency seems to be, lest this dictator, in the height of his power and glory, should render himself a perpetual dictator, as Julius Caesar did, and introduce a monarchical tyranny.

Both in the times of peace and war, if a continued succession of knowing and virtuous princes were possible in nature, absolute monarchy would be the perfection of civil government, because of the wisdom, secrecy, and dispatch that would attend it: but as no such race of men are to be found upon earth, a limited monarchy is eligible. The political constitution, like the human, is ticklish; and in the hands of a *solo fool*, would suffer much; there are but few who understand politic health and sickness.

[s] Hereditary nobility, and other great officers, where any considerable trust attends, are great incitements to good actions in progenitors, who are ambitious of entailing honours upon their own memory or posterity, but in nature seem absurd, as if wisdom were hereditary. This does not hold good as to hereditary monarchs, because all elections of a monarch would put the nation in most dangerous ferment,

cond negative (in place of a council) of Palatines and Cassiques, lords of large manors; this is dropped.

There are a few irregularities or exceptions from these three negatives in some of our colonies, which shall be taken particular notice of in the proper sections, and doubtless in time will be rectified. 1. In Connecticut and Rhode-island their elective governor has no negative. 2. In Pensylvania the council has no negative. 3. In Massachusetts-Bay the council is not independent; it is obnoxious to the caprice of a governor's negative, and to the humour of the house of representatives who elect them. In some elections the council and representatives vote together.

Notwithstanding a colony assembly's being upon the point of dissolving in course, according to their several and various municipal laws, the governors dissolve them in form, as in Great-Britain, to keep up the prerogative of the crown.

In proprietary colonies, where the proprietors have retained the jurisdiction, the proprietors nominate the governor, with the approbation of the king in council. Excepting in proprietary and charter-colonies, all patents for lands are in the king's name, *teste* his excellency in council.

The municipal laws, or laws peculiar to the several colonies, are too various and variable, as well as bulky, to be inserted in a summary; they are remitted home from time to time, and are to be found in the plantation-offices in London, excepting those of the proprietary and charter-governments; by their patents they are not obliged (this was an original defect in such patents, and may be rectified by act of parliament) to transmit them to the crown for approbation or disallowance. The laws of a colony may be various from, but not repugnant to, the laws of Great-Britain.

In our colonies the courts of judicature are various, but all of the same nature with the courts in England; *viz.* chancery (in the charter-governments *jus & æquum*

are in the same court) common law, probate of wills, and appurtenances; a court of vice-admiralty by queen Anne's commission *tertio regni*, pursuant to an act of parliament 11 and 12 Gul. III. called, *An act for the more effectual suppression of piracy*, consisting at least of seven of the nominated from their offices; and for want of that number complete, any three of the nominated may appoint a complement.

Cases in chancery and common law may be carried home by appeal or petition to the king in council; from thence it is referred to the lords of the committee [1] of council for plantation-affairs: from this committee of council it is referred or sent down to the lords commissioners for trade and plantations. This last board frequently take the advice of the attorney and solicitor-general, and reports are returned back from one board to another, and issued by the king in council.

The officers of the customs received or preventive, are immediately under the direction of the commissioners of the customs in Great-Britain.

The commission of vice-admiral to our plantation-governors gives no command a-boat; their jurisdiction is only relating to wrecks, &c. cast on shore, to low-water mark, being of the same nature with the several vice-admirals along the coast in Great-Britain.

Every king's commission, with instructions to a governor in the plantations, is a sort of charter to that colony or province *durante beneplacito*.

Our plantation-governors have no power, without orders from the court of Great-Britain, to grant letters of reprisals. The French and Dutch governors have this power.

All our plantation-governors are liable to be called to account (on complaints) at the King's-bench bar in Westminster; for instance, Douglass of the Leeward-islands, anno 1716, and Lowther of Barbadoes, 1720.

(1) There are four standing committees of council. 1. For foreign affairs. 2. Admiralty and navy. 3. Trade and plantations. 4. Grievances. In France these several departments are called distinct councils.

Formerly,

Formerly, governors, if court favourites, had at times plurality of governments (as some clergymen, favourites of leading men, have plurality of benefices;) lord Willoughby was governor of Barbadoes and the Leeward-islands; Sir Edmond Andros, in the reign of James II, was governor of all New-England, New-York, and the Jerseys; lord Bellamont was governor of New-York, Massachusetts-Bay, and New-Hampshire; it is not so at present, except in the two distinct governments of Pennsylvania, therefore under one governor.

In the colonies their revenue-acts are generally annual; in Jamaica, they are temporary, but of a long period; in a few of the colonies there are some perpetual taxes; thus in Barbadoes and Leeward-islands the four and a half *per cent.* upon produce exported; and in Virginia 2 s. per hoghead tobacco. All their provincial treasurers are appointed by their own assemblies; excepting the four and a half *per cent.* in Barbadoes and the Leeward-islands, the king's collectors are the receivers; and also receive the plantation duties laid on by act of parliament 1673, as not appropriated for the use of the treasuries of the several plantations, but at the king's disposal: the 1d. *per cent.* upon tobacco of Virginia and Maryland, is appropriated for the benefit of the college or seminary at Williamsburg.

In the several colonies their general revenue is by a tax of some pence in the pound, upon the principal of real estate, personal estate, and faculty; and a poll-tax, imposts, and excises.

The produce for export in the several colonies shall be enumerated in the proper sections. Upon our first discoveries of America, we found no horses, asses, cows, sheep, and swine. In the inland parts of the continent, especially upon the Mississippi, there was plenty of buffaloes; and in the West-India islands, several sorts of wild hogs, native; every where much deer, and the American stag or buck-moose, which differs from the German elke, by its branched brow antlers: variety of
geese,

geese, of ducks, and of wild fowl, called gibier by the French.

In the colonies of the several European nations, they have a national exclusive commerce amongst themselves, and with their mother-countries. St. Thomas, a Danish settlement, only admits of a free general trade. The French and Dutch governors (perhaps by a private instruction from their courts at home, and as a considerable perquisite) do at times allow or connive at a foreign importation of necessaries (provisions, lumber, horses, black cattle, &c.) with which they cannot otherways be accommodated, and are much in want of.

By act of parliament, anno 1698, no vessels, unless registred in England, Ireland, or the plantation (by the union, Scotland is included) upon oath that they were built there (foreign prizes are also qualified) and that no foreigner is directly or indirectly concerned.

Plantation produce or goods as enumerated (commonly called enumerated goods) by several acts of parliament, are not to be carried, but to Great-Britain; and plantation-bonds are given, and a certificate to be returned to the officers of the shipping ports, of their being loaded accordingly. The enumerated goods are naval stores, viz. pitch, tar, turpentine, masts, yards, and bowsprits; sugars, molasses, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, dying-woods, rice, beaver, and other furs, copper-ore. Rice and sugars, by late acts of parliament, are indulged under certain conditions (too long to be enumerated in a summary) to be carried to certain foreign parts: logwood is not the growth or produce of our plantations, and, by the construction of the commissioners of the customs, is exempted from being an enumerated commodity (as we have no logwood the growth of our plantations) being imported from the Spanish West-Indies to our colonies, and re-exported to Europe.

By an act of the parliament of England, anno 1673, there are imposed plantation duties (produce carried from

from one colony to another) upon certain enumerated goods for a general national use, not for the particular colony, *viz.*

	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Muscavado sugars	1 6 <i>pr ct. w.</i>	Tobacco 1 <i>pr lb.</i>
White do.	5	Cotton half 1
Ginger	1	Indigo 2
Dying woods	6	Cocoa nuts 1

That upon tobacco has been appropriated to the college in Virginia at Williamsburg.

Our North-America trade to Great-Britain, is, the enumerated commodities abovementioned, pig-iron, and fish-oil; sometimes wheat and staves to Ireland: to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, dried cod-fish: to the West-India islands, lumber, refuse dried fish, salt beef and pork, butter and cheese, flour, horses, and live stock: the returns from the West-India islands, are, sugar, molasses, rum, cotton, indigo, die-woods, Spanish money, and cocoa. Sugar, rum, tobacco, and chocolate, are much used in our colonies.

Anno 1729, the attorney and solicitor-general gave it as their public opinion, that a negro slave coming to Europe, or baptized any where, does not make him free.

In our colonies [u] computations of all kinds, weights, and measures, are the same as in England.

[u] It is not adviseable in any case religious or civil, though for the better, to make alterations in any affair where the populace have acquired a general standing prejudice (the reformation from the church of Rome about two centuries since, is an exception) imbibed from their infancy, or first habitual way of thinking. The solar years and lunar months, according to the old style, are not within a popular ken, and being very erroneous, are perhaps at present, under the consideration of the British legislature, to be rectified. Measures and weights, must be ascertained for all nations upon our earth, and prevent much puzzling by reductions: by taking the fixed length of a pendulum, that vibrates seconds in any noted place, *e. g.* in London or Paris, and allowing for the small variations, easily investigated for some very distant latitudes, *e. g.* a pendulum vibrating seconds at Porto-Bello near the

Our

Our settlements upon the easterly side of North-America, are much colder in winter, and much hotter in summer, than the same latitudes in the westerly or European side of the other vast continent; the globe of our earth may be said to consist of two large continents, *viz.* the ancient continent of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the new continent called America. Every man, who has resided some time in Europe and some time in North-America, is personally sensible of this: in Europe northern fisheries, for instance, cod and salmon extend southward to 51 D. N. lat. in North-America they extend no farther than 41 D. N. lat.

Mariners observe, that in their passages between Europe and America, winds are [*w*] almost three quarters

Equator, is found to differ one line, or the 12th part of an inch, from that at Paris: let this pendulum's length be called a MEASURE, and this divided into decimals (being the most easy and general way of expressing fractions) be called TENTHS, and this subdivided into Tenths, called HUNDREDS: thus all measures might be reduced to three denominations; as in England money is reduced to pounds, shillings, and pence; contentive measures are easily reduced, upon this foundation, to a like certainty: such a vessel of such certain dimensions, containing a certain quantity of sincere rain water (which is nearly the same all over the earth) may be called a POUND, and this multiplied or divided may be called by some fixed denominations of weights.

[*w*] The trade-winds may be reckoned to extend 30 D. each side of the equator (being farther than the common formal technical way of reckoning, to the tropics) which proceeds not only from the sun's, in his repeated course, rarification of the air westward, and consequently the elastic air naturally expanding itself towards those westward rarified spaces by an easterly current; but is complicated with another cause not much attended to, *viz.* the circumambient air near the equator, being a less considerable specific gravity, than its corresponding part of the earth; it is less susceptible of the earth's daily rotatory motion, and, with respect to the solid earth, has an effectual motion westward, that is, in the appearance of an easterly current of wind. The westerly winds, in latitudes higher than 30 D. N. latitude, are natural eddies of the easterly trade winds. A northerly wind, is the natural tendency of a condensed very elastic air, from the polar cold regions, towards the rarified air near the equator. A complication of this current of air, from the northern polar regions to the south, and of the eddy of the trade-winds from the

of

of the year westerly; baron Lahontan, a Canada officer, writes, "That the winds from Canada to Europe are easterly for about 100 days in the year, and westerly about 260 days:" this, with an attending westerly swell or heaving of the sea, is the reason, that the passages from North-America to Europe are much shorter than from Europe to North-America.

In North-America the dry freezing winds are from north to west; in Europe the dry freezing winds are from north to east, proceeding from that great continent which receives and retains the northern effects of cold, *viz.* snow and ice, lying to the westward of America, and to the eastward of Europe; the current of air gliding along, becomes more and more impregnated with the cold: the terms of frigorific particles, or of a peculiar salt of nitre, I leave with the virtuoso idle notional philosophers. The situation of lands occasions considerable differences in the temper of the air; the weather in Canada is generally in winter colder (in proportion to its latitude) than in New-England, and more settled, as being surrounded with land of some extent, and therefore the land influence from all corners of the winds, of the same nature; whereas in New-England to the eastward is water or sea of a very different influence from the land or earth's specific gravity or solidity in receiving or retaining cold or heat. By the softness of the vapour from the water, the sea-shore is warmer than the

westward, makes the frequent North-America winds from north to west; and the north-west is the most frequent, especially in the winter months.

In the summer-time, when the sun is much to the northward of the equator, our northern continent is much warmed, and these north to west winds gliding along a vast warmed continent, acquire more and more degrees of heat. Therefore considering the general current of the extratropical (retaining the classical-terms) winds: the vast continent of North-America being westward of our settlements; our leeward North-America settlements must be in summer much hotter than the European windward settlements in the same latitudes.

inland,

inland, the sea warmer than the shore, and the ocean or deep water warmer than the sea. Thus the island of Great-Britain and its appertaining islands are much warmer in winters than the adjacent continent, but with this inconveniency (a digression) that this soft vapour or damp, disposes the inhabitants to a catarrhus or colliquative consumption; this distemper, time out of mind, is recorded as an English endemial distemper. The situation of the various countries as to islands and head-lands, as to variety of soil, sandy lands which retain the heat, morafs, swamps, and wood-lands which retain damp; these a summary cannot enumerate, with regard to the winds or current of the air and as to temper of the air in our various colonies.

Georgia excepted (Nova Scotia and Cape-Breton I do not call colonies) our American colonies have been no charge to Great-Britain; a small matter of artillery to some of them must be acknowledged, but without ammunition. The British men of war or king's station-ships, of late, have been of no use only by their countenance: the commanders are either indolent, or in collusion with the pursers (not long since they had the perquisite of pursers) take advantage of the provisions of the non-effectives, connive at their ships being ill manned, and upon an exigency or when called home, distress the trade by pressing sailors: there are exceptions; I shall only instance Sir Peter Warren, an assiduous, faithful, good, and therefore fortunate man. Our provinces have frequently grumbled upon this account, and have lately made an experiment by fitting out a province-frigate at a great charge in Massachusetts-Bay; but for these last two years seem to be under the same censure; where the fault lies, I shall not at present relate.

In all our colonies are many good, industrious, frugal, pious, and moral gentlemen; I hope the following, general character of many of the populace will give no offence. 1. Idleness, intemperance, luxury in diet, extravagancies in apparel, and an abandoned way of living.

Our planters, especially their children, when they go home to Great-Britain, distinguish themselves too much by their dress, and expensive way of living for a short time. 2. The people of all colonies (British, French, &c.) do not seem to have so much solidity in thinking as in Europe; but exceed the European *menu peuple*, as to some little tricks and arts in business acquired by education, and a continued practice. 3. By importing and expending too much of superfluities from Europe, and in some colonies, by substituting a paper-currency, they impoverish themselves, and are under a necessity of sending their gold and silver, as returns, to Europe. 4. A present profit prevails over a distant interest.

To avoid prolixity, but with impatience, I must defer the iniquity of a multiplied plantation paper-currency to the appendix; it is of no benefit only to the fraudulent debtor; they are not ashamed to acknowledge that in equity and natural justice, they ought to repay the same in real value which they received; but they say, their province laws excuse and indemnify them, by paying any nominal value; and that the compassionate good creditor must blame himself for his forbearance and long credit, while money is depreciating: that a multiplied paper-currency naturally depreciates itself, I shall at present only evince by the instance of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, November 1747, where are about two millions, one hundred thousand pounds current public bills of credit not cancelled or burnt, whereof a small matter is in the hands of the receivers of the taxes; the operation is, bills of exchange with Great-Britain are risen to the extravagant incredible height of one thousand pound New-England, for one hundred pound sterling.

Of timber-trees, especially white oaks for ship-building, the best grow in New-England; farther north they are dwarfish, and of an untoward grain; farther south they are spongy and soft, and do not afford compass timber.

In countries far north the mould is light and spongy, being much distended by the hard long frosts.

ARTICLE III.

The ecclesiastical or religious constitution of the British colonies in North-America.

IN all the royal patents and charters of our colonies, the principal condition required of the patentees, seems to be the conversion of the Indians; and the crown on the other part conditions for the encouragement of settlers, a free profession or liberty of conscience: therefore a [*] TOLERATION for all Christian

[*] Religion and civil government in a general sense are, *jure divino*, but the various particular churches and states, seem to be only *de factis* because none of them have escaped revolutions: an indulgence, or rather a legal explicit toleration for all (communions they are called) communities of religion, which are not inconsistent with a virtuous life, and the good of society, in good policy ought to be allowed; the Romans, a very polite people (their *jus civile* is practised every where in Europe to this day) made the gods (religions) of all nations free of their city or empire; the Dutch, by an universal toleration (but their public places of worship must be licenced) have become rich; the Dissenters in England, by their riches, are a great prop to the Protestant establishment; being excluded by law from several vain, idle, ambitious offices and posts, they apply themselves the more to trade and manufactures, and become generally richer than the churchmen. The various decent modes, consistent with society or humanity, of worshipping a supreme Being, may be tolerated; as proceeding innocently from the bias of education, from the various constitutions and tempers of mankind, and fashions of the age; but all with a good intention or conscience.

The differences in religion generally amount only to this, *viz.* different people worshipping the same GOD in different modes and factions: priestcraft (I do not mean the pious, meek, charitable clergy) sets them by the ears to the discredit of all religion, and they make mountains of mole-hill differences.

Amongst all sectaries, there is a canker-worm called bigots, which put their sect in a ridiculous light; they are in a tacit sullen enmity with all mankind who are not of their frantic or fanatical persuasion; they believe implicitly in some parson, an idol of their own making, but not properly in God Almighty.

professions

professions of religion, is the true ecclesiastical constitution of our American colonies; the [y] Roman catholic only is excepted; the nature of our constitution, the horrid principles of that religion, and at present the popish claims to our royal succession, can by no means admit of it; the papists of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Montserrat, seem to be too much indulged. By an act

[y] The Roman catholics, commonly called papists, in all well-regulated governments, from most evident civil political reasons, ought to be excluded; the constitution of their religion renders them a nuisance in society; they have an indulgence for lying, cheating, robbing, murdering; and not only may, but are, in Christian duty bound to extirpate all mankind who are not of their way of thinking; they call them heretics: unless the Pope (the head and oracle of their religion) by some public accepted bull explain this article of their religion; popery by the laws of nature, and *ius gentium*, ought to be deemed, inconsistent with human society.

A doctrine or law, though iniquitous, if not put in execution, becomes obsolete and of no effect, and its evil tendency ceases; but this most execrable doctrine has, in a most dismal horrid manner, frequently been put in execution; I shall give a few instances. 1. The popish persecution of protestants by the papists in England in the reign of queen Mary, from anno 1553 to 1557; bishop Burnet says, that she was a good-natured woman, but of a very ill-natured religion. 2. The bloody massacre of the Huguenots by the papists in Paris of France. De Serres, one of the best French historians, begins his account of this massacre thus, *O ma France! les cheveux me beris-jonnent, j'ay horreur de voir sur le theatre de ton histoire jouer une tres-inhumaine tragedie*. Upon a Sunday, being St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, in the reign of Charles IX, they took the opportunity of the time when the marriage of Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre a protestant, to Marguerite de Valois, sister to the king of France, was to be celebrated; most of the princes of the blood and grandes of France, who were of the protestant or Huguenot religion, being expected in Paris upon this occasion, they thought it a proper opportunity to extirpate them by the surprize of a massacre. At this blow they massacred ten thousand persons in Paris. 3. The popish gun-powder-plot discovered the beginning of November, 1605, designed to blow up and destroy the peers of England at that time in parliament assembled: thus they imagined to cancel one of the three negatives of the English legislature. 4. The butcherly massacre of the protestants in Ireland, anno 1641, by the Irish papists. Many suspected, that it was by the instigation and direction of the court of England, at that time making precipitate great advances towards the Roman catholic religion.

of the English parliament, incorporated with the act of union of Scotland and England, anno 1707, the church of England is, and for ever hereafter shall be, the established religion in the territories belonging to England, *viz.* in the plantations: therefore, the church of England is at present, and must continue in perpetuity the established national religion of the plantations, being one of the fundamental articles of the union; earl of I—lay, a great lawyer, upon a certain occasion, in a speech in the house of lords, well observed, “That there were only two articles of union unalterable, *viz.* those relating to religion, and the proportion of taxes.” Antecedent to anno 1707, it seems that a general toleration limited as above was the religious establishment of our colonies; 1. In their charters and grants, there is no preference given to the church of England. 2. The act of uniformity, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s reign, was prior to the colonies in America. 3. In the act of uniformity, beginning of king Charles the second’s reign, are mentioned only “the realm of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed.” 4. By a late act of the British parliament for the naturalizing foreigners in the plantations; receiving the sacrament in any protestant congregation is a qualification; therefore it did not extend to the plantations.

I know of no doctrinal [z] difference between the laity of the church of England, and the laity of the three

[z] Predestination and free-will seem to be only private opinions, but not a national church doctrine with us; they seem both to be orthodox, the first from the omniscience and prescience of a supreme being, the other from the constitution and inward feelings of mankind: how to reconcile them is a mystery, and not to be canvassed; here we must say with the simply good Laplander (when questioned concerning some of our Christian mysteries, by a Swedish missionary) *GOD KNOWS.*

Free-will, *That all the physical and moral evils which we perceive amongst mankind, proceed from the abuse we make of this liberty:* this opinion seems the most consistent with the good of society.

Predestination, *That every thing comes to pass by a fatal necessity, in a strict absolute sense, is pernicious to a good life and to society, and ende-*
denomina-

denominations of protestant dissenters; who are thus distinguished from other dissenters, because they take out licences for their meetings or religious assemblies in England, I mean the Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists; these last at present seem to differ from the

courages an abandoned wicked life: it annihilates all religion: if good works do not forward, nor bad works hinder, salvation; the fear of GOD, and the keeping of his commandments, are of no effect. We must acknowledge that predestination in some political views has a good effect; this turns me into an annotational digression.

There are many things, which in a cursory, not well pointed view (as painters express it) seem shocking, but in a proper political view are beautiful and unavoidably consistent with society; I shall mention a few instances. 1. Predestination for military men; Mahomet, and Cromwell, found a vast advantage by this doctrine; the Mahometans have improved this doctrine very much amongst their militia, *viz.* If they conquer, they have profit and glory in this world; if killed in battle, they have paradise in the next. 2. A dissolute thoughtless way of life, but so regulated, as not to be enormous and prejudicial to peace and good neighbourhood; without this tacit allowance, we should be at a loss for a sufficient number of soldiers and sailors upon occasion. 3. Pinching of the very mean labourers or working people, by lowering or keeping their wages much under; hereby our merchants can afford in foreign markets to under-sell the merchants of other countries, and consequently vent more of their produce or manufacture: besides, let us suppose, their employers in generosity and beneficence to allow more wages than are merely sufficient to provide them the necessaries of life, perhaps, some few of them, may lay up this surplus, and, in a short time, aspire higher than this their mean labour, thus their labour is lost; but the greatest part would idle away so much time (a day or two in the week lost to the public good) as this surplus could supply with necessaries, to the lessening of our manufactures, &c. 4. Encouraging of a great consumption of British goods by luxury and extravagant equipage in our colonies, is thought by some wrong-headed men to be a benefit to the mother-country: this is a grand mistake, because industry and frugality in all subservients, is requisite, otherways they cannot long afford to continue this consumption reckoned a benefit to Great-Britain. 5. Running in debt produces depreciating money-making assemblies (having secured the real value of their own usual salaries and wages) towards romantic, &c. expeditions or any paper money requiring affair; and procures volunteers for such expeditions by screening debtors from their creditors, thus, and by other (I must not say iniquitous) acts for the relief of debtors, hurting creditors and the credit of the country very much.

others only in the manner and age proper to receive baptism. My being prolix in this point, is designed not to dictate, but to contribute towards conciliating their affections to one another; their doctrinal religion is the same; their establishment or legal toleration the same; they differ only nominally, or in denominations; if any of these denominations should be angry with me, I give them this short anticipating answer, I am independent, and of no party but that of truth.

The differences in the modes of Baptism are not essential; my voucher is the bishop of London our diocesan, noted by his printed pious super-excellent pastoral letters; in a letter to the reverend Mr. Miles, a rector of the church of England in Boston, dated Fulham, Sept. 3, 1724. "I have been informed within these few days, by a bishop who had a letter from Boston, that some of the ministers there, begin the dispute about the validity and invalidity of baptism; administered by persons not episcopally ordained. This was advanced in England some years ago, by the Nonjurors, enemies of the Protestant religion, and present government. The bishops in convocation then assembled, set forth a paper, proving and declaring, that baptism by water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by what hand soever administered, or however irregular, is not to be repeated: this doctrine, the great patrons of our church maintained against the Puritans in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James I. Considering the views with which this doctrine has been lately advanced here by the Nonjurors, if any missionary shall renew this controversy, and advance the same, I shall esteem him an enemy to the church of England, and the protestant succession, and shall deal with him accordingly." Dodwel carried this affair of baptism to a ridiculous height, viz. that the souls of men were naturally mortal, but episcopal baptism makes them immortal.

The

The differences in offering up their prayers to the supreme Being are not essential, whether, 1. By liturgy, a printed form, called, in the church of England, common-prayer. 2. *Memoriter*, though generally composed by some directory, or custom, or habit, as amongst the three denominations of protestant dissenters. 3. *Random extempore* prayers of the sober-minded; I do not mean the profane enthusiastic prayers of new-lights and others, which they impiouly call, praying as the Spirit shall give them utterance; inspirations are ceased. 4. Mental prayers; these are called Quietists; such are the English Quakers, the Dutch Mennists or Mennonites, the Spanish, French, and Italian Molinists; they are of opinion, that in our devotions we are to retire our minds from all exteriors, and sink into a pious frame of silence; that using of words, or attending to words, interrupts devotion; and they reduce all the exercise of religion to this simplicity of mind. In short, Quietists are of opinion, that the great God ought to be adored in silence and admiration; that words and ceremonies divert true devotion to material sounds and objects. Our Quakers say, that their silent meetings are the most edifying. A strict uniformity in religion does not people a country, but depopulates, and particularly sends away the best of their people, the industrious, peaceable, conscientious dissenters. The revocation of the edict of Nantes hurt France very much, by sending away many of their best manufactures and artificers, to the great benefit of Great-Britain and Holland, where an extensive, compassionate, charitable toleration, is established by laws and placarts.

3. In our colonies people of all religions are under the coercive power of the civil government; therefore, at present, any other government in the several denominations of churches, might have the bad effect of *imperium in imperio*, i. e. confusion. In fact, in our plantations, at this time, there is no real provincial church-government, and consequently they do not differ in this

respect; the bishop's commissary is only a nominal office: the annual meeting of the independent or congregational clergy in Boston the end of May, at the solemnity of the election of a provincial council; and the yearly pilgrimage of some Quakers, are only upon a laudable friendly account. Perhaps a superintendant of the missionaries from the society of 1701, might have a good effect; with a power and instructions to remove missionaries from one station to another, as the interest of propagating the gospel might require. As an historian, every thing is in my province. Some who do not understand propriety of characters, think I ought not to mention the clergy; but, as a writer of history, I cannot avoid it, without being reckoned deficient and partial in the affairs of the clergy.

4. The vestments of the clergy are not to be faulted; they are not essential to religion; all communions seem to affect something peculiar in this respect; the gown, cassock, girdle, rose, surplice, &c. of the church of England; the plain black gown of the officiating clergy in Geneva, Switzerland, and among the Huguenots of France; the blackgown with frogs in the country ministers of Scotland; the black cloak of the independents; the antiquated habit of the Quakers, particularly of their exhorters.

Perhaps, at present, many religions are so loaded with verbal differences or controversies, and with enthusiastic devotional terms, that they are become an affair not of piety, sincerity, and truth, but a jumble of insignificant technical words, and cant-phrases: as formerly, instead of true solid philosophy and natural history, there was in the schools only a pedantic metaphysical jargon, which by this time has received a notable reformation; so I doubt not, that religion in time may admit of the like purity and simplicity.

In Great-Britain there are three distinct societies for propagating christian protestant knowledge or religion in foreign parts, incorporated by royal charters.

1. Anno 1649, the parliament of England, granted a charter to a president and society, for propagating the gospel in New-England; at the restoration it was laid aside, but by sollicitation a new charter was granted 14 Car. II. Feb. 7. to a society or company for propagating the gospel in New-England, and parts adjacent in America; the number of members not to exceed forty-five, and the survivors to supply vacancies; they appoint commissioners in New-England to manage affairs there: this charity has been helpful to some of the preachers in New-England who have small provision.

2. Anno 1709, by charter there was established in Scotland a society for propagating christian knowledge amongst the Highlanders; 4 Geor. I, their charter was extended to all infidel countries beyond seas; they have a considerable fund; they have had a missionary upon the New-England western frontiers, and another upon its eastern frontiers; the laborious Mr. Brainard, lately dead, was their missionary amongst the Indians upon the northern frontiers of Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys.

103. A society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, established by charter June 16, anno 1701; their certain fund is very small; they depend upon subscriptions and casual donations; their subscribing and corresponding members at present, are upwards of 5000; in the American colonies, near sixty missionaries; their annual expence exceeds 4000*l.* sterling. We may find by their charter, by their annual society-sermons, and by the yearly narratives of the progress of this society, that the principal design is to propagate christian knowledge; that the Indians may come to the knowledge of CHRIST; to preach the gospel to the heathen; the care of the Indians bordering upon our settlements, and such like expressions; a secondary design is, to officiate when there is no provision, or only a small provision for a gospel ministry. Many good things were originally intended by this charter, and doubtless the same good intentions continue with the society; but in all public

distant affairs the managers at home may be imposed upon. Here I beg leave of the missionaries, as an historian to relate matters of fact; if any missionary thinks that I deviate from the truth, he may correct me, and I shall be more explicit and particular in the appendix. The remarks which I shall make at present are, 1. The missionaries do not concern themselves with the conversions of the Indians or heathen; the missionaries of Albany, in the province of New-York, have at times visited the Mohawks. 2. Instead of being sent to reside and serve their missions in our out-town new settlements (where, in the words of their charter) "the provision for ministers is very mean, or are wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for ministers, and the public worship of God," they are sent to the capitals, richest, and best civilized towns of our provinces; as if the design and institution were only to bring over the tolerated soper, civilized dissenters, to the formality of saying their prayers [a] liturgy-fashion. In the colony of Rhode-Island, discreet able missionaries are requisite.

The British missionaries of the three distinct societies are much deficient, when compared with the missionaries of other nations amongst the heathen. 1. For many years last past, we have frequent accounts of many nu-

[a] I do not intend to derogate from the liturgy or common-prayer of the church of England, from their vestments, and other decorations and ceremonies (which some Puritans call ecclesiastical SCENERY) from their fasts and festivals. Because, 1. So much of the Roman breviaries and ceremonies, were to be retained, as were consistent with the reformation; that the *transitus* or change with the vulgar might be more easily complied with. 2. Those of the confession of Augsborg, and Heidelberg in Germany, the Huguenots of France, the Dutch established church, &c. have printed forms of prayer, and a fixed psalmody. 3. The Greek and Armenian churches tolerated in the Turkish and Persian dominions, must have vanished many centuries ago, if it had not been for the outward shew of the vestments of their clergy, decorations of their churches, their fasts and festivals. 4. To the Westminster presbyterian confession of faith, is annexed a directory for the public worship of God, amongst other things the several heads to be observed in their public prayers are directed.

merous

merous conversions of the heathen in the East-Indies by the Danish christian protestant missionaries, which not only [b] propagates our christian religion, but, in a political view, brings over the aborigines, and secures them in a national interest. 2. The French missionaries in Canada are indefatigable, and thereby serve the interest of France, equally with that of christianity. 3. The polish missionaries in China, from several European nations, by their mathematical ingenuity, and their *omnia omnibus*, have been very useful to christianity.

A digression concerning the settling of colonies in general; with an Utopian amusement, or loose proposals, towards regulating the British colonies in the north continent of America.

IT is a common but mistaken notion, that sending abroad colonies weakens the mother-country; Spain is generally brought for an instance; but Spain being ill

[b] Missionaries may be useful in a double capacity, 1. Civil, that is, by bringing those wild nations or tribes, into the interest worldly or political of their constituents, and of keeping them steady in the same. 2. Religious, for this they are principally designed, to convert the heathen to the religion of their own country; by purity of doctrine and exemplary life to establish religion and good manners amongst them; they ought chiefly to inculcate, that true happiness consists in health and virtue; that the essentials of religion are to be good and wise. Mr. Hubbard, in his history of the troubles in New-England by the Indians, gives a wrong turn, in terming it, "The Indians carrying on the designs of the kingdom of darkness;" whereas we do not know of any Indians, that ever attempted to pervert our people in affairs of religion, nor to make them abjure the christian religion—The most noted and deserving English missionary, that hitherto has appeared in our British North-America colonies, was the Rev. Mr. John Elliot of Roxbury, called the Indian Evangelist; he was educated at Cambridge in England, came over to New-England anno 1631, was sixty years minister of Roxbury, adjoining to Boston; his successor Mr. Walter is now living, a very extraordinary instance of no more than two incumbents in the space of 120 years in succession. Mr. Elliot died 1690, Æt. 86. His Indian bible (it was in Natic Indian) was printed at Cambridge 1664; after his death it was republished with the corrections of Mr. Cotton, minister of Plymouth.

peopled

peopled does not proceed from thence; it is from their native sloth; from driving all the Moors out of that country; from a rigorous inquisition in religious affairs; from vast numbers of friars and nuns, who do not labour, and who are not allowed to propagate their species: for this reason, and from the popes being landlords only for life, the pope's dominions in Italy are almost desolate of people, but not from sending out colonies; they have no colonies.

The grandeur of Phœnicia, Greece, and Rome, was much owing to their colonies; they made no complaints of their colonies depopulating their respective mother-countries. The many and large Dutch colonies in the East-Indies, do not depopulate Holland, but are the chief foundation of their wealth. How vastly rich must France have been in a very short time, if the good cardinal Fleury's scheme of trade and colonies had been followed, in place of their idle romantic land-conquests in Europe.

The people sent from Great-Britain and their progeny made vastly more profitable returns, than they could possibly have done by their labour at home: I do not mean idlers and soldiers sent only for the defence of unnecessary multiplied colonies; this seems to be bad policy, by exhausting their mother-country both of men and money. If any neighbouring foreign settlement becomes noxious, let us demolish or dismantle it, when in our power, and prevent, by treaty or force, any future settlement; this will be sufficient and profitable.

The nations of Great-Britain are not a numerous people, and therefore cannot swarm so much (in allusion to bees) as some other countries of Europe: we have found and do practice two considerable expedients, to supply this defect. 1. Importing and naturalizing of foreigners; witness the late incredible growth of the province of Pennsylvania, from the importation of Palatines and Strasburghers from Germany. By an act of parliament, any foreigners who, after the first of July,

1740, shall reside in any of his majesty's colonies seven years or more, without being absent above two months at a time from the colonies, and shall bring a certificate of his having received the sacrament within three months in some protestant congregation, and of taking the oaths to the government before a justice, and registering the same, shall be deemed as natural-born subjects. 2. Importing and employing of [c] slaves from Africa; in the West-India or sugar-islands, and in the southern district of the British colonies in North-America; they are about 300,000 at the charge of about 30*s.* sterling *per annum* per head. These negro slaves are employed in the produce of all our sugars, tobacco, rice, and many other valuable commodities.

The discouragements and hindrances of the growth of our plantations, which require to be remedied, are all impresses, because hitherto our plantations have no spare hands. 1. Inlisting of landmen as soldiers to serve without their several provinces or colonies: all the colonies want more people, and whites; natives of America do not well bear transplantation; of the two companies sent from Massachusetts-Bay in New-England many years ago for the relief of Jamaica, not above six men returned; of the 500 men sent to Cuba expeditions, not exceeding fifty men returned; of the 4000 men volunteers upon the expedition to Louisbourg, one half died of sicknesses; and they who returned, came home with a habit of idleness, and generally consumed more than they earned, and consequently were worse than dead: inlistments to be allowed only occasionally in cases of invasions or insurrections in the neighbouring provinces. 2. Impressing of idlers, and impressing of sailors from the inward-bound trade, leaving aboard proper persons

[c] From observation and experience, it seems to be an established opinion, that a negro man of forty *Æt.* is in value equal to a negro boy of ten *Æt.* and proportionally in their other ages upwards and downwards.

to take care of the interest, though in itself illegal, is by custom connived at; but this connivance is abused by some commanders, impressing men who in a special manner are exempted by act of parliament, such as foreign sailors, tradesmens apprentices, whole crews of merchant-ships outward-bound, and cleared out, without securing the vessels from disasters, and the goods from embezzelments.

1. By act of parliament, amongst those exempted from impresses, are, every foreigner, whether seamen or landmen, who shall serve in any merchant-ship or privateer, belonging to the subjects of Great-Britain. There are likewise exempted from being impressed into his majesty's service, every person being of the age of fifty-five years, or under eighteen; every person who shall use the sea, shall be exempted from being impressed for the space of two years, to be computed from his first going to sea; and every person who having used the sea, shall bind himself apprentice to serve at sea, shall be exempted from being impressed for the space of three years, to be computed from the time of binding.

2. The navy may be served without violent impresses; we have many instances of brave, active, gallant commanders, who have carried on affairs committed to their trust with good expedition and success, without distressing of trade; but merely by voluntary inlistments, having gained the affection of sailors in general, by using those men with humanity and benevolence; a noted instance we have of this in Sir Peter Warren, a gentleman of an universally acknowledged good character, naturally good and humane, always friendly to trade, benevolent, beloved by his officers and common sailors, assiduous and constant, therefore successful and fortunate.

3. If the foremast men aboard men of war were more humanely used by all their officers, perhaps there would be no occasion for impresses: their encouragement in times of war is very considerable, *viz.* That all officers, seamen, and soldiers, on board every British man of war, shall

shall have the sole property of all ships and merchandize they shall take after the 4th of January, 1739, in Europe, and after the 24th of June, 1740, in any other part of the world; to be divided in such proportion as the crown shall order by proclamation, as also a bounty of 5*l.* for every man which was living on board any vessel so taken or destroyed, at the beginning of the engagement; by proclamation the dividends were to the captain 3 8ths (if under the command of an admiral or warrant commodore, one of the three eighths is to the admiral or commodore) 1 8th to the lieutenants and master; 1 8th to the warrant officers; 1 8th to the petty officers; and 2 8ths to the private men. By act of the general assembly of Massachusetts-Bay, the provincial armed vessels in dividing their captures, 2 8ths is allotted to the captain, and 3 8ths to the private men, because the private men of a provincial privateer are supposed to be good livers and inhabitants; those belonging to men of war are generally abandoned vagrants, and any additional pence renders them more dissolute and incapable or negligent of their duty.

There are many other encouragements to provide the navy with volunteer sailors; and to prevent arbitrary and violent impresses, unnatural in a free British constitution; for instance.

4. For the better encouraging foreign seamen to serve on board British ships, it is enacted, that every such foreign seaman, who shall, after the first day of January, 1739, have served during the war, on board any British man of war, merchant-ship, or privateer, for two years, shall be deemed a natural-born subject of Great-Britain, and shall enjoy all the privileges, &c. as an actual native of Great-Britain.—Provided, that no person thus naturalized, shall be of the privy council, or shall have any place of trust civil or military, or have any grant of lands from the crown. Impressing of seamen for the service of the navy, prevents the increase of shipping and seamen in the colonies, and occasionally makes

riots

[d] riots and dangerous tumults; the impressing of seamen has in part been redressed by the late act of parliament. There had long subsisted a dispute between the admiralty and the trade, concerning the impressing of sailors: the first insisted that, commanders of privateers, and masters of merchant-men, did encourage desertion from his Majesty's ships of war by entertaining and hiring deserters; the merchants complained of the great hardships upon trade and navigation, from the arbitrary unreasonable impress of hands by indiscreet captains and commanders: to accommodate this affair the parliament of Great-Britain in their wisdom passed an act anno 1746, that privateers or merchant-men harbouring deserters from the king's ships, should forfeit 50 *l.* sterling per man; and any officer of a man of war impressing any sailor (deserters excepted) on shore or on board shall pay 50 *l.* sterling, for each man impressed. This act is only in relation to the sugar-island colonies; it might easily, when in agitation, have been extended to the continent colonies of North-America by proper application of their several agents; in a particular manner New-England claimed this exemption (if their agents

[d] Our province in a peculiar manner (I am apt to call Massachusetts-Bay our province, because, at this writing, of my residence there) requires some more severe acts against riot, mobs, and tumults. The least appearance of a mob (so called from *Mobile Fulgus*) ought to be suppressed, even where their intention in any particular affair is of itself very good; because they become nurseries for dangerous tumults; I shall give an instance or two in Boston. 1. A few years ago, a house of notorious evil fame, known by the name of mother Gr—n's, was ransacked by a small mob in the presence of, some say, by instigation of, some well-meaning magistrates; the consequence was, the mob a few days afterwards demolished the public market-house, and carried off the materials for their own private use. 2. For some years past upon the 5th of November, being the anniversary Gun-powder-treason day, several mobs, have carried about pageants of the Pope, the Devil, and Pretender; these Gun-powder-treason mobs yearly increase. A few days after the Gun-powder-treason pageantries or mobs, an impress in Boston harbour, with the recent accident of two men in Boston being murdered by a press-gang, occasioned a very great tumult in Boston.

had

had had that address, interest, vigilancy, and assiduity which their duty required) by having lately suffered so much in their persons and purses by a voluntary expedition in favour of their mother-country against Louisbourg: I am apt to think that being too forward beyond our natural abilities, may give the ministry at home some reason to imagine, that New-England is so increased in people, as to have many idlers to spare; as appears by their order for two regiments of soldiers (or 2000 men) from hence, in addition to the garrison of Louisbourg. At present, I hope the ministry are convinced that New-England cannot spare idlers sufficient to make one regiment complete. I speak for the interest of the country, and impartially in general; my interest being in that country, some may wrongly think that I am partial.

Before the plantation or colony trade took place, the trade of England consisted only in the exportation of tin [e], lead, leather [f], grain, and wool [g]: by colonies

[e] Britain surpasses all the world for woollen manufactures and for tin; the Phœnicians had colonies in the Cassiterides or British islands, because of their TIN: there is no known place of the earth, where such quantities of tin are to be found; Mr. Davenant, a former inspector-general of the imports and exports, in his reports anno 1711, writes, that the contract for tin, was 1600 ton flannery weight, or 1714 ton, 508 lb. avoirdupois weight; which is more than is taken off by foreign exportation and home consumption, and may tend to make the commodity a drug.

[f] Great-Britain produces more GRAIN, than they can consume, and there are certain bounties given upon its exportation, when prices do not exceed specified rates; and upon the exportation of manufactures from grain, there are bounties and drawbacks, *z. g.* upon malt, beer, malt-spirits. In England from a consumption of about 80,000 quarters of malt are manufactured about 1,600,000 gallons of malt-spirits, which pays upwards of 150,000 *l.* sterling *per annum* to the public revenue.

[g] Wool and woollens are the greatest and most profitable commodity of the produce and manufacture of Great-Britain, on which the value of lands and the trade of the nation do chiefly depend. The gain in manufacturing of wool is so considerable, that the greatest penalties, even to death, prohibits the exportation of wool not manufactured; the admiralty appoint cruizers on the coasts of Great-Britain and Ireland, to intercept the exportation of wool; these penalties

our trade and navigation is vastly improved; Cromwell and the rump parliament had good notions of trade in general, and particularly of the plantation trade; they had a scheme to bring the Dutch to reason, for some outrages they had done us in our spice trade and other affairs; but the subsequent reigns of the indolent Charles the second, and of the popish priest-rid James the second, were great damps. The addition which the factories and colonies have made to our trade and navigation is immense, *viz.* the Indian trade, fur and skin trade, cod-fishery and fish-oil, naval stores, tobacco, rice, sugar, and other West-India Island produce. Besides the profits they afford to the planters, merchants, and navigation owners, they yield great branches of revenue to the public treasury; the East-India trade about 300,000*l.* sterling *per annum.* tobacco 200,000*l.* sterling, sugars 150,000*l.* sterling, &c.

In multiplying of colonies, there are boundaries which to advantage cannot be exceeded. Thus our sugar colonies produce as much sugar as we can vent to profit; the same may be said of rice, and perhaps of tobacco;

were extended to wool from Ireland, and afterwards to the plantations; by act of parliament, after Dec. 1, 1699, no wool nor woollens, the produce of any of the English plantations in America, to be shipped off on any pretence whatsoever; as also that no such wool or woollens, the produce of any of the English plantations in America, shall be loaden upon any horse, cart, or other carriage, to the intent and purpose to be exported, transported, carried, or conveyed out of the said English plantations, to any other of the said plantations, or to any other place whatsoever, upon the same pains, penalties, and forfeitures; which are forfeiture of goods and carriage, and 500*l.* sterling fine.

Our woollens are above one third of our universal export. At a medium our wool manufactured is double the value of the wool itself; and deducting all charges, one third of the neat profit goes to the landlord. We import about 5000 bags of Spanish or Segovia wool *per annum*; it is of a fine grain) without a mixture of it no superfine cloths can be made) but of a short staple; it cannot be wrought without a mixture of English or other wool of a longer staple.

if we increase in these, their prices at market from their plenty must fall, and not yield a sufficient profit.

The regulations in the colony-trade, ought to be altered according as circumstances of time, &c. may require; for instance, seeing by an arret of the council of state 1726, the French colonies are allowed to carry their produce directly to other ports of Europe, but the vessels to return directly to the ports of France from whence they set out: therefore Great-Britain seems to be under a necessity to take off all enumerations (that of sugar and rice is lately in part taken off) but that the vessels which carry plantation-goods to foreign ports, shall clear out from Great-Britain before they return to the plantations. This would prevent their carrying foreign goods to our plantations directly, and would maintain the proper dependency of the colonies upon their mother-country.

The Utopian amusement.

I SHALL conclude the general history of the British North-America colonies, being the first part of our summary, by a scheme for the better regulating these colonies. It is not to be expected that such considerable alterations are to be made, and therefore may be called an idle scheme; but, perhaps, it may give some hints towards rectifying several things, which much require emendations.

By the general patent of king James I, anno 1606, the sea-line of the English North-America, at that time called North and South-Virginia, was to have been divided into colonies [g] of 100 miles square, being for each colony 100 miles upon the sea; but this patent was soon vacated, and the proposed divisions did not take place: afterwards royal grants were made at sundry times, to various grantees of single persons or communities, of different humours and views; so that boundaries (the countries not being well explored, for instance,

Merrimack river with relation to the boundaries of Massachusetts-Bay, and New-Hampshire colonies) were uncertain, and their constitutions different. The colonies at this time are arrived to a state of considerable maturity, and the conveniences and inconveniences of the politia or polity of the several colonies are now apparent; perhaps it would be for the interest of the nations of Great-Britain, and for the ease of the ministry or managers at the court of Great-Britain, to reduce them to some general uniformity; referring to their several general assemblies or legislatures, the raising of taxes, and appropriating the same, with the affairs relating to their different or fundry produces and trade; these may be called their municipal laws.

Previously, at the court of Great-Britain, there may be constituted A BOARD OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS for direction; to be composed of gentlemen returned home, who have formerly been governors of colonies, judges of vice-admiralty, consuls at foreign ports of trade, commodores who have served some time in plantation-stations, surveyor-generals, and collectors of the customs in the colonies, planters, merchants, and factors who follow the plantation trade. Some few of these may have salaries, and be obliged to a close attendance; the others may be honorary, and with equal power of management when present: the agents (they are properly their attorneys) of the colonies to attend when called upon.

This board being constituted, their first business may be to compose a draught of a body of general laws for all the plantations (it may be called the MAGNA CHARTA OF THE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA) by perusing the present law-books of the several colonies, and from their own personal experience and observation, with the assistance of the attorney and solicitor-general, or of some other eminent lawyers. This draught of general laws for the plantations to be laid before the British parliament for their approbation, and to be passed into a public act of parliament; in process of time, and as things may require,

require, subsequent parliaments may make additions and amendments. All these general laws may be comprized in [b] one pocket-volume.

Some of these plantation general laws, may relate to the following articles.

I. PROPERTY shall permanently remain as at present, and transferable according to law, with a clause for quieting possessions.

Proprietary and charter-governments to be vacated for equivalents, either in money, or a further addition of land-property, and all governments of the colonies to be vested in the crown [i].

The government of all the northern American continent-colonies being thus in the crown, that country may, at the pleasure of the court of Great-Britain, be divided into sundry governments more uniform, equal, and convenient for the attendance of persons concerned

[b] The laws of nations of long standing have been reduced with great utility into a small compass. The Roman pandects are in fifty-one titles. Lewis XIV of France reduced all the laws of that great country into two small pocket volumes, called *Code de Louis des affaires de mer*, and *Code de Louis des affaires de terre*. The laws of Scotland preceding the union, are in three duodecimo volumes. The laws of Denmark are in one quarto volume.

[i] To some original grantees, the government of the colony was equally their property, as that of the soil. It has been a practice, time out of mind, with the British legislatures, for a public good use, to take away private property, allowing proper adequate compensation. In such grants of colonies, government and land-property are not to be deemed for ever inseparable; the earl of Granville (formerly lord Carteret) had one eighth of the government, as well as of the soil of the Carolinas; lately he resigned his part of the government to the crown, retaining his eighth part of the soil, which is laid off distinct, but some think too amply, either as an equivalent for resigning his share in that government, or by way of indulgence as a court-favourite. The people of the New-Jerseys were so mutinous for two or three years, that the proprietors (the proprietors are many) for their own ease, surrendered the government to the queen in council, by an instrument dated April 17, 1702.

in their provincial courts, than at present, without any damage or infraction of [*k*] property : moreover, the several colonies will be more adequate checks upon one another in cases of mutiny or insurrections. The several colonies as at present are at length, and with much difficulty, become well-bounded and distinguished (the line between Maryland and Pensylvania excepted) and therefore without any trouble may be reduced into the following governments :

1. Nova Scotia.
2. Sagadahock, Province of Main, and New-Hampshire.
3. Massachussetts-Bay.
4. Rhode-island, and Connecticut.
5. New-York, and the New-Jerseys.
6. Pensylvania, and the three lower counties upon Delaware river.
7. Maryland.
8. Virginia.
9. North-Carolina.
10. South-Carolina.
11. Georgia.

[*k*] Where the property belongs to one family (as the earl of Granville, lord Fairfax, lord Baltimore, and Pen's) there is no difficulty, because no damage is done to the property of the soil, by subjecting some part of it to the jurisdiction of one government, and the other part of it to the jurisdiction of an adjacent government : but where the property of the soil belongs to a community, as in three of the colonies of New-England ; in splitting of colonies for uniformity and convenience, there seems to be some difficulty in dividing or adjusting the property of colony lands remaining, not granted to private persons ; this difficulty vanishes in course of years. The colony of Rhode-island has made grants of all their community-lands to sundry private persons many years since : the colony of Connecticut sold the remainder of their colony-lands, anno 1737, being seven townships in its north-west corner, to private persons by public vendue ; the interest of the purchase-money is wisely applied towards the support of free-schools. In the province of Massachussetts-Bay (their government is in the crown, but the property of their lands or soil is in the community) of their old charter-colony lands, not exceeding the value of
Hudson's-

Hudson's-Bay is not a colony, and consists only of very much separated small factories or lodges, at the mouths of some considerable rivers, where the Indians in their canoes come to trade with furs and skins. Newfoundland is not a colony, but only a number of good harbours for curing of cod-fish; the soil is good for nothing.

As the country and rivers are now well explored and known, if the colonies were to be new-modelled, they might be more distinctly bounded as follows.

Nova Scotia, which is bounded by the river and gulph of St. Laurence, by the Atlantick ocean, and Bay of Fundi, shall be further bounded by boundary, N^o 1, being St. John's river, &c.

In the boundaries of the several colonies according to this scheme, I mean a due true course, but not according to compass or magnetic needle, because of the continued irregular progressive variations.

1. St. John's river, from its mouth up to—N. lat. and thence in a course true north to St. Laurence river, called Canada river.

2. Sagadahock entrance, and up Quenebeck river to N. lat.—and then north to the river of St. Laurence.

3. Up Merrimack river to its fork in N. lat.—near Endicot's tree, and thence north to St. Laurence river.

4. Up Connecticut river to—N. lat. and thence north to the river of St. Laurence.

four or five townships or parishes of six miles square each, remains not granted to private persons: in their additional province of Maine, a line of two townships deep (the valuable part of that country) along the sea and rivers is already become private property; so that the remainder, of less value, may be resigned to the crown for some valuable consideration, to be applied towards paying the province debt. Besides, by treaty with the Indians anno 1725, all those lands hitherto not conveyed to private persons, were reserved to the Indians.

N. B. In these community-colonies, when they made grants to private persons, if they had subjected the granted lands to some small certain quit-rents, these quit-rents would have been a permanent branch of the public revenue towards the charges of government; and would have prevented large tracts of granted lands from being ingrossed, lying idle and waste.

5. Up Hudfon's river to the carrying-place to Woodcreek, by Woodcreek and the drowned lands to lake Champlain, by lake Champlain and down the river Chamblais to St. Laurence river.

6. Up Delaware-Bay, and the river to N. lat.—and thence north to lake Ontario.

7. Up Chesepeak-Bay, and Sefquahana river to N. lat.—and thence north to lake Ontario.

8. Up Chowan found, and Roanoke river to—long. west from London—and thence due west to the Apalachian mountains, or farther west to the river Mississippi.

9. Up Winea-Bay, and Peddie river to—W. long.—and thence west to the Apalachian mountains, or farther to the river of Mississippi.

10. Up the Savanna river to—W. long.—and thence west to the Apalachian mountains, or farther to the great river Mississippi.

11. Finally, is the new Utopian colony of Georgia, which may extend south and west indefinitely.

Islands in the dividing bays and rivers may be annexed in the whole to one of the adjoining provinces, or partly to one, and partly to the other.

II. In each colony or province, there may be a legislature for raising of taxes, and for appropriating the same to the sundry articles of the charges of government, and for enacting of municipal laws, adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the colony, to be sent home (if for any considerable period) for approbation: if presented, and not disallowed by the king in council after _____ time, such plantation laws shall be deemed good, as if ratified.

The legislatures may consist of three negatives:

1. The governour, with advice of the king's or governour's council [1], appointed by the crown, with re-

[1] In all our colonies, Pensylvania excepted, the council is one of the three negatives in the legislature; in the King's governments it seems unequal (I do not say absurd) because as the crown has the appointing commen-

commendation of the Board of trade and plantations; this may be called the king's negative.

2d negative may be some particular hereditary lords of large manors (*e. g.* Ranflaer, Levingston, Beekman in New-York government) appointed by royal patents: The qualifications may be a land estate in constituted townships or parishes, not less than three thousand acres, and who shall pay at least — *l.* sterling, value in every thousand pound province rate; something of this nature was designed in the beginning of Carolina settlement. These *Patricii*, or hereditary *Optimates*, will be a credit to the country, and may be called the upper house of assembly. Those lands to be in tail general, that is, to females in defect of males (while in females that vote lies dormant, until a male, the issue of this female, shall appear) indivisible and unalienable: this seems to be consonant to the second negative in the parliament of Great-Britain.

3d negative is the representatives of the common people from their several districts; and may be called the lower house of assembly, or the common house of assembly. At present they are variously represented, as may appear in the following sections, concerning the several colonies. Perhaps a general uniformity might be expedient, that is, two or more representatives from each county, and two representatives from each shire town: the qualification for the electors to be 40*s.* *per annum* sterling value of freehold, or 50 *l.* sterling value principal in any estate real or personal; the qualification of the elected, representative, or deputy to be — *per annum*, land rent, or — principal estate of any kind clear of all incumbrances. As the representatives of counties and towns are not elected as agents for these counties or townships at the general court, but as their quota of

of the governor, and of his council; the crown is vested with two negatives in three: therefore it is proposed, that the King's, or governor's council, shall have no other concern in the legislature, than by advice to the governor in his negative.

the commons representation in the province; when they find a person well qualified in knowledge and honesty, though not a town resident (in the out-townships it cannot be supposed that the residents or settlers do understand much of state-policy affairs) they may have the privilege of electing that person, though a [m] non-resident, but with some natural interest of freehold in the county or townships.

As upon frivolous occasions disputes sometimes happen between the several negatives; and thereby their general assemblies spend much idle time, attended with extraordinary charge, and delay of business: therefore in times of peace, they shall not sit at one session exceeding — [n] days; which will oblige the representatives of the people to a quicker dispatch of business, and will prevent the governours from forcing them into their own interested measures, by an inconvenient long attendance.

As in some colonies, their assemblies have refused or neglected, for some years following, to supply the ordinary charges of their governments; therefore if such a neglect happen in any colony for two years running, the board of trade and plantations shall be empowered to tax that colony, and make an assessment in proportion to some former assessment; and the usual or last chosen collectors and constables be obliged to collect the same, and carry it into their respective treasuries, to be applied as the said board shall direct, but for the use of the charges of the particular colony, and for no other use.

III. RELIGION. “For the greater ease and encouragement of the settlers, there shall for ever hereafter be “a liberty of conscience (this is in the words of the char-

[m] In the Massachusetts-Bay colony, 5 William and Mary it was enacted, That no town in the province shall chuse any representative, unless he be a freeholder and resident in such town which they are chosen to represent.

[n] The diet of Poland for this reason, have such a regulation, established in perpetuity.

“ter of the province of Massachusetts-Bay) allowed in
 “the worship of God, to all Christians [o], Papists ex-
 “cepted;” and without any peculiar religious qualifica-
 tions for offices. As the church of England by the arti-
 cles of union is the national church of all the British plan-
 tations, their ministers must be licenced by their diocesan;
 but all other communities, with their places for religious
 worship, may be licenced by the quarter sessions, and
 registred. Upon any complaints in cases of life or doc-
 trine of the ministers, the quarter sessions may appoint
 some knowing, discreet ministers of the gospel in the
 neighbourhood (this is a jury of their peers) to enquire
 into the matter, and make a report of their opinion to the
 quarter sessions. Preachers and exhorters [p] not licenced
 by the quarter sessions, who shall intrude without the
 invitation or consent of the town or parish-minister (as by
 their noise and nonsense they may alienate the minds of
 weak people from their own settled ministers) shall be
 deemed as fortune-tellers, idle and disorderly persons,
 vagrants and vagabonds. That the parsons of the
 church of England, and the ministers of the tolerated
 communities be enjoined to live in exemplary charity

[o] Pag. 225.

[p] Vagrant enthusiasts, such as are, at this present writing, Mr.
 W—f—d, and his brethren; if they could be so *apprivoisé* or tamed,
 as to submit to regulations, the edge of their fiery zeal might be turned
 toward Indian conversions, which would be of good use in a political,
 as well as religious, view: this is practised with good effect by our
 French neighbours of Canada. At present their zeal is ill-pointed;
 in towns of business, poor deluded tradesmen and labourers (whose
 time is their only estate) are called off to their exhortations; to the
 private detriment of their families, and great damage to the public:
 thus, perhaps, every exhortation of W—f—d was about 1000 *l.* damage
 to Boston in New-England.

That the missionaries be cantoned along the Indian frontiers, espe-
 cially at the truck or trading houses, under the direction of a super-
 intendant or travelling missionary, one for each of the northern and
 southern districts of our continent colonies: these missionaries are also
 to officiate in the poor out townships or parishes not able to maintain a
 gospel-ministry.

and

and [q] brotherhood. That their pulpit discourses may principally relate to things which do not fall within the cognizance of the municipal laws; to preach up industry and frugality; to preach down idleness, a dissolute life, and fraud; never to intermeddle in affairs of state; no pulpit invectives against tolerated religious sects; that as Dr. Swift humourously expresses it, "Their religious zeal, having no vent by their tongues, may be turned into the proper channel of an exemplary life."

IV. JUDICATORIES. That in the several colonies, the legislatures or general assemblies, may have a power to erect judicatories for crimes capital or not capital; for pleas real, personal, or mixt; and to elect judges and justices not annually or *durante beneplacito*, but for life, or *quamdiu se bene gesserint*; and when by reason of age in the judges, their intellectual faculties become languid, and their memories fail; they may be allowed a certain yearly pension: thus these gentlemen will make the law their delight, study, and only business; and be under no temptation of being mercenary to provide for a rainy day. It must always be supposed that the officers of the court of vice-admiralty, the officers from the board of customs, and the surveyors of the woods or masting-trees, are to be appointed by the court of Great-Britain: the justices of the general sessions of the peace, of the inferior court of common pleas, of the superior court of judicature, assize, and general jail-delivery, and of probates to be elective in the several provinces. That appeals from the colonies shall be to a court of dele-

[q] Dr. Humphrey, secretary to the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, in answer to some complaints sent to the society against some of their missionaries by the Rev. Mr. William Williams of Hampshire, by his letter dated London, Warwick-court, in Warwick-lane, May 29, 1735, writes, that "the ministers of the church of England, were as little as may be, to meddle with any matters of controversy, but only to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments according to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England."

gates,

gates, being a committee of the board of trade and plantations; and from thence in cases of great consequence to the house of lords in Great-Britain, the *dernier resort* of all justice for the dominions of Great-Britain, which is a court of law and equity in itself, as all other courts of judicature ought to be [r].

The four principal executive offices ought to be in four [s] distinct persons or boards. 1. The governor with his council. 2. The chancery. 3. The judges of the superior court of common pleas. And 4. The judge of probate of wills and granting of administration.

As an estate qualification, the judges of probates and judges of the superior courts, shall have a clear estate of any sort, above what will discharge all incumbrances; paying — in every thousand pound tax: inferior judges and justices of the quarter sessions, a like estate paying — in every thousand pound colony or province tax.

Some regulations to prevent delay of justice, that causes may speedily be brought to issue and execution; some exception may be made in cases, where are concerned, *infants, femme couverte, non-compos*, and persons beyond seas. In all the ports, a court merchant, for the summary dispatch or recovery of debts belonging to strangers and transient traders.

That the real estate of intestates [t] be indivisible, and go to the next in kin.

[r] In all nations of Europe, England excepted, law and equity are in the same court; in our colonies it would shorten law-suits, and prevent much unnecessary charge, by uniting two courts into one: a number of good judges may reasonably be supposed to have a greater collective knowledge, and to be more impartial, than a sole judge in equity, chancellor, or master of the rolls; several chancellors have been convicted of iniquity.

[s] In Virginia, from bad policy, they are all vested in one board, the governor and his council: in several other colonies two or more of them are in the same person or board.

[t] Intestate real estates divided among all the children or collaterals, and in the next generation subdivided amongst their children or collaterals, will render a colony for ever poor; because depending upon

V. TO ENCOURAGE THE GROWTH OF THE COLONIES. No person shall be carried out of the respective colonies, or required to march, without their own consent, or by a particular resolve of their legislature; no levies of lands-men for soldiers, excepting in cases of foreign invasions, great incursions of the Indians, or general insurrections in any of the colonies; these [u] levies to be in certain proportions or quotas for each colony, to be settled from time to time, according to their proportional growths by the boards of trade and plantations. No impress of sailors, it hinders the growth of their trade and navigation; the profits center in the mother-country; impresses may occasion tumults and mutinies in the colonies; a noted instance we have from that rash unprecedented impress [w] at Boston New-England by

a small pittance of land, scarce sufficient to produce to the necessaries of life, and being under no absolute necessity of using further industry, they continue idle and miserable for life; whereas the younger children, if, instead of being freeholders, they become tenants (as a public good) they must be more industrious, and raise, besides a mere subsistence, a sufficient rent for the landlord, and acquire a habit of industry: some of their male children will become a nursery for the public land and sea service; as for the female children, their want of real estate will not disqualify them from being good breeders, but incite and oblige them to accept of husbands when they offer.

[u] There has been no repartition for many years; the last was in this proportion.

Massachusetts-Bay	350	East-Jersey	60
New-Hampshire	40	West-Jersey	60
Rhode-island	48	Pensylvania	80
Connecticut	120	Maryland	160
New-York	200	Virginia	240

Carolina at that time was of no considerable account. Since that time Pensylvania, from the great importation of foreigners and Irish, is become near equal to Massachusetts-Bay, and the Jerseys equal to New-York.

[w] Small mobs happen in all sea-port towns upon impresses: the occasion being extraordinary this was a larger mob, and may be called a tumult; this occasion in a vote of a legal town-meeting, is termed an unwarrantable impress, and in a resolve of the house of representatives Nov. 19, it is expressed, "A grievance which may have been the cause of the aforesaid tumultuous disorderly assembling together." The mob began early in the morning, by night were in-
comodore

commodore Knowles, Nov. 17, 1747. 2. Importing and naturalizing of foreigners conformably to two acts of par-

toxicated with strong drink, and used the governor, upon his admonishing them from the balcony of the court-house, with very indecent, rude expressions, but with no rebellious design; as drunk, they were void of sense or design.

With some difficulty I persuaded myself to publish this annotation; because, 1. The inhabitants of the town of Boston legally convened, alledging, that governor SHIRLEY, in his published letters with regard to this tumult, had set the town of Boston in a disadvantageous light, and that their character and reputation were much affected thereby, occasioned misunderstandings; but have since, by mutual explanations, been amicably composed, and therefore ought to be buried in oblivion. *N. B.* An expression, in a former sheet of this history, is said to have occasioned these misunderstandings: as the author hopes that this history may live, he thinks himself obliged to explain that expression. The governor's letters were wrote and delivered, though not printed, prior to the publication of that sheet (or pamphlet as it is termed) which was done by a private person, not by the direction, or in the knowledge, of the town of Boston, consequently the town was not in the question; the author himself was under no temptation to offend one party, or to please the other party; he holds no place under the governor; he is not a town-officer; he never had, nor ever shall desire to have, any influence among the populace; government he adores; tumults he abhors. The expression is, "He was welcomed to town again (the town-
" address or petition to the governor, says, "on your return to town")
" by the regiment of militia under arms, as is usual upon the recep-
" tion of a new governor, or REASSUMPTION of the government,"
in allusion to his reception when he arrived from Cape Breton to re-assume the chair of government; there was no designed insinuation of weak conduct; if any thing in the expression is exceptionable, it ought to be construed only as an impropriety in diction; a lapse may be incident to any author. 2. I do not affect such occasional articles; they debase a history of permanent design, to the low character of a transitory news paper: but as this affair is too much magnified, and is represented at home in a false and bad light, to the disadvantage of this town and province, I thought it incumbent upon me, as an historian in place and time, to give a short impartial relation of this incident, more especially to obviate the imputation of being rebellious, which, amongst other bad effects, might retard the reimbursement of the great expence incurred by New-England in the reduction of Cape-Breton, and occasion a jealous regard from the court of Great Britain; from thirty years residence in New-England, I am convinced that no British subjects have a better regard for the Hanoverian race or succession. Rebellion implies concerted measures, with provision of

liament, anno 1740; see p. 234; naturalized foreigners are not to settle in separate peculiar districts, but intermix-

money, and warlike stores (this is not alledged); no fire-arms; they did not attempt to take possession of town-batteries and stores; they did not take possession of the town-gates (Boston is a peninsula, with only one gate open by day and by night) or court-house; its lower floor, or walks, is open and free to every body without being reckoned trespassers. The governor's letters to the secretary, which surprized the town, do not seem to be wrote with any premeditated design of hurting the character of the town; but perhaps with some degree of warmth, and in "utmost haste," and he calls it an "illegible scrawl."

Commodore K—s, naturally rash and imprudent, without advising with the governor and council, and cautioning his officers ashore in Boston concerning a mob which might probably ensue upon such an extraordinary impress, in the night-time, with armed boats, did kidnap or steal ship-builders apprentices, and did rob ships (cleared out) of their crews. Some of these vessels belonged to Glasgow in Scotland, therefore he imagined, or was ill-informed, that the Glasgow masters and factors were the managers of the mob; and in a transport of passion, as it was rumoured, said, that all Scotchmen were rebels. If this be made apparent, in quality of a warrant commodore, he is of notice, and may be obnoxious to *scandalum magnatum* of all the Scots peers, and to the resentment of every Scots loyal subject, in history, or otherwise, even to the *minutiae* of his character.

In the morning Nov. 17, 1747, upon this arbitrary unprecedented too-rigorous impress, some sailors, strangers, belonging to two or three vessels bound to Guinea and privateering, fearing the like fate, did in their own defence, assemble or associate, but without any fire-arms, only with the rusty cutlasses belonging to their vessels, some clubs, and catsticks. This appearance, as is usual, attracted some idle fellows of low circumstances, and lower character, boys and children, which made the mob appear large: this mob suspecting that some of the press-gangs were in town, went in search for them; and some wicked abandoned fellows (a mob is like a brute flock of sheep, they implicitly and without reasoning follow a ringleader or speaker; therefore a ringleader or speaker, if convicted as such, ought to suffer for all felonies and other damages committed by the mob) proposed to make reprisals of the commodore's officers, as hostages for the release of the town-inhabitants.

This mobbish assembly imagining that those officers had sheltered themselves (the government was in duty obliged to protect them) in the governor's house, or in the provincial court-house; at noon they appeared before the governor's house, and in the evening before the provincial court-house: by this time being much intoxicated (which after a few hours sleep subsides) they used the governor, who appeared in
edly

edly with the original British, see page 209. Papists or Nonjurors, shall register their names and estates.

the balcony, with indecent language; and some naughty boys and children, who in frolics take pleasure in the rattling of glass (sometimes they use the window-glass of their parents houses with the same freedom) with brick-bats broke some window-glasses of the court-house, but were reproved by the real mob.

This mob was less impetuous than the generality of mobs; they used the sea-officers well, and dismissed them before the commodore had dismissed the impressed town-inhabitants: they did not seize captain Aufcough or Erskine, but left him at large upon his parole.

After the tumult had subsided, the commodore advanced with his fleet to insult Boston, which he imagined had insulted him. The governor, in his letter from castle-island to the secretary, Nov. 19, writes, "I will endeavour to divert him from such thoughts, and to influence him to discharge the inhabitants, and as many as I can in the end, but I cannot promise success from the present temper he is in;" this insinuates, that the commodore was not master of his temper, which is absolutely requisite in a statesman, commander of an army, or commodore of a squadron of men of war ships.

Nov. 19, in the morning, after the tumult had subsided, the commodore makes an offer to the governor, to come in person to the castle for the defence of the governor's person and of the fort. This appears with an air of vanity and assuming; but the governor in answer, justly and with propriety of character, acquaints him, "That he did not retire to the castle for safety of his person; and that he had not the least apprehension of the castle's being in danger from any mob." Finally, the commodore found it adviseable to retire with his squadron, and after a few days put to sea for the West-India islands.

The affair of the town-militia not appearing in arms when called upon, is not easily to be accounted for. Some say, that 1. The militia apprehended that the tumult was at an end, upon the rioters leaving the governor's house in the forenoon. 2. That as they were called upon, in quality of *passé comitatus*, that is, in aid of the civil officers; and as the civil officers did not appear to do their duty, they might think it preposterous to appear first; but in exigencies such formalities must not be insisted upon. 3. There was no legal alarm, and no written signed orders to the militia; especially in case of being assaulted by the tumult, in going to their rendezvous, or at their rendezvous, in their own defence to fire sharp shot. 4. I conjecture, that they were so stunned by this rigorous unprecedented impress, and imagining the affair was in support of the impress, as being illegal, they thought in consequence they could not be required to support it. I am convinced it was not from any rebellious motive, that is, disaffection to the king and his succession, or to the three branches of legislature then convened in Boston.

VI. PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS. For the education of youth, there shall be one public school or more in each town-ship or district, for teaching to read English, for writing, and arithmetic: in each shire-town a grammar-school for the learning the dead languages of Greek and Latin; for Hebrew roots recourse may be had to the divinity colleges: the masters of the town and country schools to be approved of by the quarter sessions: in each province, a *schola illustris*, or college, for what are called arts and sciences, to be regulated by the legislatures. And near the center of the North-America continent colonies (therefore not in Bermudas, Dr. Berkley's scheme) an university or academy to be regulated by a board of plantations, to initiate young gentlemen in the learned professions of divinity, law, and medicine; in the modern commercial and travelling languages of French, Spanish, and Dutch; in other curious sciences of mathematics, belles lettres, &c. and gentlemen exercises of riding the great horse, fencing and dancing: from school to college, from college to travel, and from travel into business, are the gradations of a liberal education; but for want of effects the link of travel is frequently wanting.

In every shire-town there shall be a work-house, to oblige and habituate idlers to some work: it is a better charity to provide work for the idle poor, than to feed them: as also an alms-house for the aged, infirm, and incurable poor of the county: but [*] principally and especially, an orphan-house for poor children: where parents are dead or unable to provide for their children, these children become children of the common-wealth;

[*] This sort of charity I admire; it is charity in a political view, as well as in humanity; they may become useful members of the common-wealth: the aged, infirm, and incurable, are for ever useles, and a dead weight upon the community; in countries less humane, as in some provinces of China, where there is scarce necessary food for their multitude of people, as incumbrances they deprive them of life.

not to be brought up to [y] idle learning (reading and writing excepted) but to trades and labour: generally these poor children may be bound to proper masters, as apprentices or servants, the boys to 21 Æt. the girls to 18 Æt. by the county-courts, or by three justices, *Quorum unus.*

VII. [z] TO ENCOURAGE TRADE AND NAVIGATION IN THE COLONIES. 1. All enumerations be taken off, excepting upon such commodities, as are the peculiar produce of our plantations, and which no foreign nation can purchase of any other nation. 2. As [a] animosities sometimes happen between colonies, from the mutual imposing of high duties upon the mutual importation or exportation of goods, which may tend to alienate their very useful national intercourse amongst the colonies: therefore no such colony-duties shall be imposed, but by special acts of parliament. 3. That all [b] combinations and agreements, between workmen concerning wages, &c. shall be unlawful: that the employer shall pay the full prices agreed on, in money, not in goods, or

[y] Some gentlemen of observation take notice, that the late humour of erecting in Great-Britain, a multiplicity of free-schools and charity-schools, is a detriment to the common-wealth; bringing up so many youth to learning, renders them feeble, idle, and above common hard labour; the life of a country.

The prevailing humour in the English universities, of making a business (called criticism) of using and perusing the Greek and Roman classics, to discover typographical errors, and the inadvertencies of a translator, are of no use to the community; the critic does not acquire more wisdom, and is of no benefit to arts and sciences; but may prove an innocent, idle amusement to gentlemen of estates.

[z] The enumerated commodities (*i. e.* which are not to be carried directly to any other ports, but to those of Great-Britain) are tar, pitch, turpentine, hemp, yards, bowsprits, beaver-skins, and other furs, copper-ore, tobacco, rice, suttic, and other dying woods, indigo, cotton-wood, ginger, sugar, and molasses.

[a] Most of our colonies have passed, at times, such acts in despite to some colonies; for instance, anno 1721, Massachusetts Bay, and New-Hampshire, by acts of their general assemblies, imposed unreasonable duties upon their mutual imports and exports.

[b] This is conformable to an act of British parliament, anno 1726, with relation to workmen employed in the woollen manufactures.

by way of truck, with certain penalties. 4. That the legislatures in each colony, may make their own [c] municipal or local laws. 5. That the governors of the several colonies or provinces, shall have their salaries out of the civil list from home, but shall have no salaries, or gratuities from the respective assemblies; it has happened at times in all our colonies, that some designing evil men, having obtained a wicked majority in the assembly, have thus biased and corrupted their governors. 6. When townships exceed 500 legal voters for a town-meeting; the legislature, or the governor with his council, may appoint a certain [d] number for life or number of years, of the most knowing, discreet, and substantial men of the town, to act in every thing, in place of a general town-meeting, excepting in elections of representatives or deputies for the general assembly; in every township all papists to register their names and estates. 7. That all vessels, those from Great-Britain not excepted, be liable to tonnage or powder-money, it being towards the protection of their trade and navigation. 8. That no man (even with his own consent) shall be enlisted in actual land or sea-service under 20 Æt. nor above 52 Æt. This is conformable to a late act of parliament for enlisting marine soldiers.

VIII. TAXES. The different nature of the several colonies will not admit of any general taxations; therefore the various taxes must be local, adapted to the conveniencies of each colony. Here I shall only observe, 1. That in these colonies (in North-Carolina there is no other tax) where there is a poll-tax upon all male whites from 16 Æt. and upwards; it seems not equitable that a

[c] Roman colonies were foreign lands peopled (*Coloniam ducere*) by native Roman families, though governed by Roman laws and officers; they had also municipal by-laws, made by the *Præfectus, Senatus, Populusque* of the colony, that is, in our idiom, by the governor, council, and representatives

[d] In the towns of Holland the *vroedschap* is generally from twenty to forty men.

chimney-sweeper, or the meanest of the people, should pay as much (as at present in Massachusetts-Bay) as a counsellor or prime merchant; the people ought to be classed, and pay in proportion, according to their rank and substance. 2. That as wines and spirits are not the necessaries of life (and therefore hardship upon the poor is not in the case) there may be a considerable impost or custom upon this importation; and where spirits are manufactured (for instance rum in Boston) an excise at the still-head (thus private tippling-houses, that pay no excise, will have no advantage over the licenced houses) upon exportation to draw back the duties of impost or excise. 3. That there be a licence-tax upon all taverns, inns, and other public houses of that nature. 4. A [e] sumptuary excise or duty upon extravagancies used in diet or apparel, excepting upon materials that are the produce or manufacture of Great-Britain. 5. As vexatious suits in law are a great nuisance in all countries, and the smaller the [g] charges of courts, the greater is the encouragement to such suits; therefore there should be a stamp duty upon all writings or instruments used in law-affairs: whereas appeals from one court to another, are generally vexatious, no appeal to be allowed, unless the appellant [g] deposit — sum of money: if the appellant is cast, this money to be applied towards the charges of the province or county. 6. In the affair of [b] rates,

[e] *Sumptus*, amongst the Romans, was used to signify luxury, and their *sumptuaria lex*, was also called *cibaria lex*; but at present it is generally used to signify excess in apparel and equipage.

[f] In Massachusetts-Bay, since the law-charges have been enhanced by acts of assembly, law-suits in number are much diminished.

[g] As in private life all good men learn from the example and practice of one another; so it is, or ought to be, amongst nations or countries. In Holland, upon an appeal from the Laage Raad to the Hooge Raad, seventy-five guilders is deposited, and if he reviews from the Hooge Raad, he deposits 200 guilders.

[h] In Great-Britain taxes are generally of these three denominations, land-tax (which comprehends the income of real estate, of personal estate, and of faculty) customs or impost, and excise or consumption.

as in Great-Britain, the principal gentlemen of the county in the land-tax act are nominated as commissioners for the county, whereof but a very few are acting; in the plantations, the justices of the quarter sessions in the counties seem to be the proper commissioners to appoint assessors in each parish of the most substantial men; and in cases of grievance, appeals in the first instance may be made to the quarter sessions.

IX. That [i] for the benefit of the British trade and navigation, more especially with regard to the American

[i] Many vessels have been lost near the channel of England and elsewhere, by not giving proper allowance for the difference of variation since the date of Dr. Halley's chart anno 1700.

The utility of frequent well-vouched general maps of the variations is apparent also in inland-affairs; I shall only instance in the affairs of Massachusetts-Bay colony (the place of my residence) in settling the lines or boundaries with the neighbouring colonies. Anno 1719, they agreed with Rhode-island to run their line west 7 D. N. anno 1613, they run their line with Connecticut W. 9 D. N. anno 1741, according to the determination of the king in council, upon an appeal from the judgment of the commissioners appointed to settle the lines; their line with New-Hampshire was run W. 10 D. N. as if the variation were constant or upon the increase, whereas it was upon the decrease: 1. About anno 1700, Dr. Halley's period, the west variation in Massachusetts-Bay was about 10 D. and, without giving any allowance for its decrease in the space of half a century, did in the last case settle it according to Halley's chart; anno 1741, the variation was scarce 8 D. and the error or gore was in favour of Massachusetts-Bay. 2. The other line, between Massachusetts-Bay purchase, called the Province of Maine, and New-Hampshire, was adjudged to N. 2 D. W. true course, and was laid out with the same error N. 8 D. E. variation, and the gusset was in favour of New-Hampshire. 3. Line, or the Rhode-island line with Massachusetts-Bay, was settled anno 1719, when the variation was about 9 D. laid out by agreement, W. 7 D. N. and the error or gusset was in favour of Massachusetts-Bay; these gussets contain no inconsiderable tract of land; for instance, this gore, though from the station called Saffries, and Woodward, it runs only about twenty-four miles, it acquires a base of 360 rod, being one mile and forty rod, commonly called the mile of land: it is true, that after some time Massachusetts-Bay gave to Rhode-island an equivalent in waste lands, as to property, but not jurisdiction. 4. The line between Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut (a government of wise, circumspect husbandmen) was laid out just, being 9 D. variation. Mr. Brattle, an ingenious, accurate man, observed in Boston, the variation W. 9 D. N. anno 1708.

colonies,

colonies, and factories in Africa, the East-Indies, and China; and for the better adjusting the boundaries of colonies or grants in North-America, there shall be fitted out at certain periods of years by the board of admiralty or navy board, a few small vessels, such as are the man of war snows called sloops, with able observers or mathematicians, and a proper apparatus; in different routs along the seas of trade, to observe the variations for the time being; and to reduce them to a general chart of variations, in imitation of the chart (the first of that kind) for anno 1700, delineated by the ingenious, assiduous, learned, and of blessed memory Dr. Halley, from his own knowledge and observations, from the good accounts of others, and from the analogy of the whole: it was soon cavilled at by our competitors the French academicians and navigators; but afterwards conceded to and applauded by the French [k] academicians. In these voyages, when on shore by observing the eclipses of Jupiter's moons, and of our moon when to be had, they may adjust the [l] longitudes, and other requisites of

Doubtless sundry navigators have good accounts of variations in their journals, and some curious landsmen have at times amused themselves in this affair, but scarce any have been published to the world: the only continued set of variation observations, in my knowledge, is that of the Royal Academy of Sciences for Paris; these observations are annual, and generally made in the months of December, from anno 1700, down to this time, and are to be continued by learned men well disciplined, in pay, and therefore obliged to regular duty: our members of the Royal Society for philosophical transactions in London are volunteers, not in pay, not obliged to duty; some of them at first setting out, perform some *Coup d'Eclair*, but are soon tired.

[k] The French are our rivals in every thing; and more particularly in matters of learning, they keep up a laudable emulation. Thus Sir Isaac Newton and his followers investigating the earth to be an oblate spheroid, the French academicians asserted it to be an oblong spheroid (that is, with the degrees of the meridian shorter towards the poles) from actual mensurations (by triangles) of degrees of the meridian, from the north to the south of France; but lately (after a contest of above fifty years) by their missions to Torneo under the polar circle, and to Peru under the equinoctial, they have given up the point.

[l] The longitudes determined by sea-journals, by eclipses and oc-
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places.

places. The other nations of commerce, particularly France and Holland may do the same at a public charge; thus by means of so many checks, we may attain from time to time some certainty as to the variations; this insensibly brings me to a digression.

A digression concerning the magnetic needle, commonly called the mariner's compass.

THAT the magnet or loadstone attracted iron, was known to the highest antiquity in record; but the polarity of an iron rod or wire, touched by a magnet and afterwards poised, was not observed until the thirteenth century of the christian æra. The mariner's compass is said to have been first used in Italy (the principal place of traffic in those days) anno 1301. Cabot, a Venetian, makes the first mention, anno 1544, of the variation or deflection of the magnetic meridian from a true meridian, various in various places. Gassendi, about a century and a half since, discovered that this declination of the needle in each particular place, in process of time, had some variation. It is not long since that the dip of the needle, various in various places, and the variation of this dip-variation in the same place, has been discovered:

cultations, before the use of telescopes, micrometers, and pendulums, were not so exact as at present; formerly, the South-America shore was reckoned 6 D. of longitude too much distant from Europe; by an observation of the moon eclipsed, Dec. 21, anno 1740, from captain Legge, of the Severn man of war at the island St. Catharine, on the coast of Brazil, St. lat. 27 D. 30 M. 49 D. 20 M. W. from Greenwich. Senex's maps have placed that coast about 6 D. too much eastward. The China missionaries (they carry the credit of able mathematicians to enforce the truth of their religious doctrines) find that formerly the eastern coast of China was reckoned 25 D. long. too much distant from Paris. Dr. Halley, anno 1677, was sent at a government charge to St. Helena, to observe and take a catalogue of the fixed stars in the high southern latitudes, which he accordingly reduced to a catalogue and tables: at that time the variation was 40 M. E. of St. Helena.

a needle

a needle poised before it is touched, upon the magnetic touch, its north point with us dips from a horizontal position; for instance, anno 1723, Mr. George Graham in London observed it to dip 75 D. He observes, the stronger the touch, the greater the dip: this needle must be afterwards properly loaded to bring it again to an horizontal poise to serve in the compass. As the variations of the dip are at present of no use in navigation, therefore having no relation to our history of the British American colonies, we drop them.

Magnetism is some power in nature, hitherto inexplicable, as are gravity and electricity; whereby a loadstone (an iron ore or mineral) draws to itself loadstone or iron. No interposed body can hinder this influence or attraction; a large magnet broken to pieces, each frustum or fragment, retains the attraction and polarity; steel is more receptive and retentive of magnetism than common iron. The north poles of touched needles do not attract but repel one another, and attract south poles: likewise south poles do not attract but repel south poles. If the different directions of the magnetic needle were permanent for the same place, it might be imagined to proceed from different accumulations of magnetic matter in these different parts of the earth. Halley's amusing fancy, that the globe of the earth was one great magnet, with two contained nuclei (which humorously may be termed wheels within a wheel) whose four poles are different from those of the earth, and from one another; and in case a third line of no-variation should be discovered in the South-seas (which he seems to suspect from the accounts, anno 1670, of Sir John Narborough, of the variation upon the west coast of South-America decreasing very fast) he was to introduce a third nucleus: these nuclei he supposes detached from the earth and from one another, and to have a circulatory or libratory motion, equal or unequal, according as the solution of the phænomena might require: but this pleasant novel

does in no manner account for the irregularities in the variations, as hereafter related; and until by future observations they be reduced to some rules, it seems in vain to attempt any hypothesis.

Dr. Halley, upon his return from his long voyages, delineated the variations as they were anno 1700, in all the oceans and seas, the Pacific ocean excepted, from 58 D. N. lat. to 58 D. S. lat. Delisle delineates the variations 20 D. farther N. than Halley. This chart of Halley's being the first of its kind, will perpetuate his memory better than brass or marble, and will be a permanent credit to our British nation. Since Dr. Halley's chart of variations for anno 1700, near half a century is elapsed, which has produced great alterations in the variations, seeing Halley's Atlantic and Ethiopic line of no-variation, in about the space of a century, from 1600 to 1708, had moved (it passed, anno 1600, by cape Agulbas, the southernmost cape of Africa, by the Morea, and the north cape of Europe, in N. lat. 71 D. 24 M. and 22 D. 10 M. E. long. from [m] London) by its north parts through Vienna anno 1638, through Paris anno 1666, westward in all about 1400 leagues, and by its south parts only about 500 leagues.

The anomalies or bizarreries of the variations, are unaccountable, and no length of time, or series of years is likely to bring them to a mean.

1. The variations for the same place, sometimes have a direct progressive motion, but unequally; sometimes are stationary, and sometimes retrograde: I shall instance the variations at Paris for about a century and three quarters of a century; anno 1580, the variation was eleven and a half D. E; anno 1666, no variation; is at a medium about 8 M. *per annum*; anno 1715, variation was 12 D. 30 M. W. for that interval, is about 14 M. *per annum*. From that time to anno 1720, it was generally retrograde; from

[m] We always mean longitude from London, if not otherwise expressed.

1720, variation about 13 D. W. for five years it was strictly stationary; from anno 1725, it was at a medium directly increasing or progressive to anno 1732, variation 15 D. 45 M. W. From 1732 to 1743 (so far the memoirs of the Paris academy of sciences are published) the variation was 15 D. 5 M. W. that is a little upon the decrease with a libratory motion: therefore (as I may conjecture) the general increase of the European west variations seems to be retarded, or stationary, or upon the decrease.

2. Mr. George Graham of London, an ingenious and accurate mechanicien, observes, anno 1722 from Feb. 6, to May 10 (the compass-box remaining unmoved all that time) above one thousand times; the greatest variation (westward) was 14 D. 45 M. the least 13 D. 50 M. he observes that the variation is considerably different in different days, and in different hours of the same day; without any relation to heat or cold, dry or moist air, clear or cloudy, winds or calms, nor the height of the barometer. In the same day, he observed the greatest variation from noon to four hours afternoon, and the least about six or seven hours in the evening. Mr. Joseph Harris, in his return from Jamaica to London, anno 1732, observed, that the westerly variations were less in the morning than in the afternoon. The curves of no-variation, and of each particular variation, do alter their curvatures so irregularly and undulatory, that they are not reducible to any equation expressive of their nature.

3. The variations have no relation to meridians; according to Halley's chart anno 1700, at the entrance of Hudson's straits, variation was 29 and a half D. west; at the mouth of Rio de la Plata, nearly under the same meridian, the variation was 20 and a half D. east. As to parallels of latitude it is observed, that the farther north or south from the equinoctial, the variations are the greater, but in no regular progression either as to distance from the equinoctial or difference of time. M. des Hayes
and

and Du Glos, anno 1682, at Martinique, found the variation 4 D. 10 M. east; anno 1704, it was 6 D. 10 m. E. this is 2 D. in twenty-one years; in the same interval of time, it increased at Paris 5 D. 30 M. The farther from the lines of no-variation, the variations seem to increase or decrease the faster.

4. Capt. Hoxton from Maryland, relates a strange phenomenon of his magnetic needles or compasses; anno 1725, Sept. 2, a little after noon, fair weather, small sea, in N. Lat. 41 D. 10 M. 28 D. E. long. from cape Henry of Virginia, all his compasses (an azimuth, and four or five more) carried to several parts of the ship continued for about one hour, traversing very swiftly, so as he could not steer by them, but all of a sudden, every one of them stood as well as usual. Capt. Middleton, in his Hudson's-Bay voyage of 1725, says, that his greatest variation was 40 D. W. in N. Lat. 63 D. 50 M. 78 D. W. from London, where the compass would scarce traverse: he says, a great cold or frost hinders the needle from traversing; where near a great body of ice, there were great complaints of the compass not traversing: he suspected, that the age of the moon had some influence upon the variation.

5. The three lines of no-variation seem to be of different natures; that line in the Atlantic and Ethiopic ocean gives easterly variations west of its line, and westerly variations east of its line; that line in the Indian ocean reversly gives westerly variations west of its line, and easterly variations east of its line; that in the pacific ocean or south-sea, unexpectedly gives easterly variations both sides: Dr. Halley and others, before this third line was discovered, seem to have laid it down as a law in nature, that where an easterly variation terminated, a westerly variation must begin; and where a westerly variation terminated an easterly variation was to begin, but further observations evince this to be no stated law.

There is a magnetic influence all over the surface of our globe or earth: the magnetic needle in some places has

has a true meridian direction; in others the magnetic meridian has a deflection more or less in different places, east or west: the points or places of no-variation, and of the several quantities of variation, when connected, form curves, but so irregular as not reducible to any equation, and of no permanent figure, and not easily to be classed: we shall only observe that,

There are at present three lines of no-variation. 1. Between Europe with Africa, and America in the Atlantic and Ethiopic ocean; the variations east and north of this line are westerly, and the farther distant from this line the greater, and their increase or decrease the swifter; this is a general principle in variations: Halley says, that in the beginning of this century, all over Europe the variations were westerly, and upon the increase; but at present, these west variations in the eastern parts of Europe seem to be stationary (at Nuremberg in Germany the W. variation was stationary at 11 D. from 1700 to 1708) upon the decrease; for instance at Torneo in N. Lat. 65 D. 50 M. 23 D. E. from London, M. Bilberg, anno 1695, found the variation 7 D. W; anno 1735, the French academicians found it 5 D. 5 M. W. therefore upon the decrease, and perhaps belonging to the system or class of the Indian ocean line of no-variation (the line is not ascertained where the increase ends, and the decrease begins) as in the northern parts of Asia they belong to this class of Indian ocean variations; for instance, at Astracan near the Caspian sea, N. Lat. 46 D. 15 M. and 45 D. E. Long. wide the east variations decreased at London, there the west variations increased even to 24 D; and as the west variation increased in London, it diminished at Astracan. Our North America variations belong to this first line of no-variations, and are westerly N. and E. of this line, and easterly S. and W. of it: these E. variations along the coast of South-America increase very slow; at La Vera Cruz, in N. Lat. 19. D. 12 M. anno 1727, it was only 2 D. 15. M. E; at Pariba in Brazil beginning of this century S. Lat. 6 D.

6 D. 38 M. it was 5 D. 35 M. E; at Buenos Ayres S. Lat. 34 D. 50 M. it was anno 1708, 15 D. 32 M. E; at Cape-Horn 20 D; south of Cape-Horn in S. Lat. 56 D. 42 M. it was 17 D. E. being upon the decrease; and stretching along the Pacific ocean westward or northward these east variations decreased.

This line of no-variation moves the quickest; anno 1600, it passed Cape Agulhas (about 2 D. E. of the Cape of Good-Hope) the Morea, and north Cape of Europe; at this Cape Agulhas the variations afterwards became west, viz. anno 1622, 2 D; anno 1675, 8 D; anno 1691, 11 D; anno 1732, 17 D; at St. Helena the variations were anno 1600, 8 D. E; anno 1623, 6 D. E; anno 1677, Halley found 40 M. E, anno 1690, 1 D. W; anno 1700, Halley found 2 D. W; anno 1732, 8 D. W; Halley, anno 1700, ascertains this line of no-variation from four observations N. Lat. 31 D. W. Long. 64 D. N. 2 D, Long. 18 D. W; S. Lat. 17 D, Long. 10 D. W; S. Lat. 37 D. Long, 4 D. W. This line of no-variation seems to move quick to the westward, in S. lat. 35 D. from anno 1700 to 1709, it moved 50 leagues westward. A French ship, anno 1706 (being the first that made this traverse) from Rio de Galleguas upon the east coast of American S. lat. 51 D. 68. D. W. long. from Paris, variation 23 D. E. made 1350 leagues to the Cape of Good-Hope in 34 D. 15 M. S. lat 17 D. 45 M. E. long. from Paris, found the variation lines tending towards the S. pole, to become nearly parallel, and in some places alter only one degree for two degrees of longitude.

The second line of no-variation, in the Indian ocean, anno 1600, passed through the Moluccas or Spice-islands, and a little east of Canton in China; in a century following, that is, anno 1700, it had not advanced eastward above 100 leagues; the W. point of Java (and in the influence of this line) anno 1676, was 3 D. 10 M. west variation; anno 1732, it was only 3 D. 20 M. but the farther west these variations increased, the quicker to the common axis of the variation parabolic curves, and then

then began to decrease and terminate in the first line of no-variation. The common axis of the inscribed parabolic curves, anno 1700, passed through Madagascar, and the straits of Babelmandel, about 50 D. E. long. from London, where the increasing W. variations terminate, and the same W. variations begin to decrease; Halley places the highest of these west variations 27 D. S. lat. about 530 leagues east of the Cape of Good-Hope.

The third line of no-variation was found by Captain Rogers, in the Pacific ocean in N. lat. 14 D. W. long. from London 125 D. and in N. lat. 13 D. W. long. 193 D. was 12 D. E. (and afterwards decreasing to the second line) the largest of these east variations which reign all over the Pacific ocean; French navigators, since anno 1710, have traversed this ocean southward of the equinoctial line, as Capt. Rogers did northward of it, and found the no-variation line nearly upon the above-said meridian, and the other variation lines nearly parallel with the meridians. Sir John Narborough, Dr. Halley, and Capt. Rogers, were mistaken in their conjecture, that south of the equinoctial in the middle parts of this ocean there must be a tract of western variations.

This third no-variation line seems to be a continuation of the first inflected westward into a circular arch whose vertex at present seems to be in about 34 D. N. lat. and 80 D. W. long. from London.

All variations within this curve made by the first and third line, being a space of 140 D. upon the equinoctial, are easterly; all without it, on its east side, being a space of 115 D. to the second line are westerly; all without it, on its west side are easterly, being a space of 105 D. to the said second line. It is observable, that all variation lines, the nearer they approach to the poles of our earth, the more they converge towards a parallelism with the meridians, as if to terminate in the poles. The several variation lines seem to receive their flexures from the influence of their easterly and westerly no variation lines, so as to form parabolic curves, or circular arches.

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The alterations in the variations are not from any uniform circulatory or libratory power; but as these magnetic powers seem to be accumulated and act connectedly, it must be by some kind of fluctuation. In opposition to this, it may be said, that the fluctuation of any dense or specifically heavier considerable part of the earth would alter the equilibrium and diurnal rotation of the earth, and make strange changes in the fluid surface of the earth by inundations and ebbs.

This digression is too abstruse and philosophical for most readers: the design of it is, to incite the curious, to attend the useful speculation of variations, more than heretofore.

As the variations of the magnetic needle or compass have not been much attended to in the colonies, I cannot pretend to be particular in that affair, and shall only relate some loose hints that are come to my knowledge. The line of no-variation (which for distinction I call the first) from the eastward, enters the continent of North-America, in Carolina about 33 D. N. lat. at this writing anno 1748; and by a flattish flexure crosses the continent of North-America, and in the Pacific ocean converges southward, and forms what is now called the third line of no-variation. Capt. Rogers, anno 1708, in 14 D. N. lat. 125 D. W. long. from London fell in with this line of no-variation.

To the northward and eastward of this N^o 1. no-variation line upon the eastern coast of North-America, the variations are west; and the farther north the greater, but all upon the decrease; and the farther north, the quicker is the decrease.

The greatest variation known was anno 1616; in N. lat. 78 D. at Sir Thomas Smith's found in Bassin's-Bay, the variation was 57 D. west.

Capt. Middleton publishes, that at the mouth of Churchill-river (N. lat. 59 D. west long. from London 24 D. 50 M. from an immersion of Jupiter's first Satellite) anno 1725, the variation was 21 D. W.; anno

1738,

1738, it was 18 D. W. ; anno 1742, it was 17 D. W. decreasing very fast.

At Quebec in Canada, anno 1649, the variation was 16 D. W. ; anno 1686, it was 15 D. 30 M. is half a degree in thirty-seven years ; but after this, according to M. Delisle, it varied 1 D. in eleven years.

In New-England Mr. Brattle observed at Boston, anno 1708, the variation 9 D. west ; anno 1741, upon a commission for settling lines between Massachusetts-Bay province, and the colony of Rhode-island, a little to the southward, the commissioners found the variation 7 D. 30 M. west.

In New-York city (by eclipses of Jupiter's first Satellite, governor Burnet found it 74 D. 57 M. W. of London, being in N. lat. 40 D. 40 M.) Mr. Wells, surveyor-general of the province-lands, anno 1686, found the variation 8 D. 45 M. west ; governor Burnet, anno 1723, found it 7 D. 20 M. west.

In New-Jerseys, anno 1743, the line, between the proprietors of East and West-Jerseys, was run 150 miles, twenty chains, 9 D. 19 M. west ; but because of the difference of variation, which must be supposed at the south and north terminations of this line, it was alledged that it must not be a direct line ; and upon examination it was found that this line was in all respects erroneous : at the south point near Egg-Harbour the variation was only 5 D. 25 M. west, and at the north point on Delaware-river in 41 D. 40 M. it was 6 D. 35 M. west : this was to the prejudice of the East-Jersey proprietors.

The streets of Philadelphia, anno 1682, were laid out with great preciseness N. 18 D. E. ; anno 1742, they were found to be 15 D. east ; this is 3 D. in sixty years.

In the parallel of 39 D. running the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, anno 1686, the variation was found to be 9 D. westerly ; anno 1739, in running this east and west line, it was found 5 D. 30 M. W. difference is 3 D. 30 M. in fifty-three years.

In Virginia, Cape-Henry in 37 D. N. lat. 75 D. west from London, anno 1732, the variation was 4 D. 40 M.

In the Carolinas, navigators upon the coast give no allowance for variation, because near the line of no-variation; inland, in running a divisional line between the two governments or jurisdictions of South and North-Carolina, and in laying off Carteret's eighth part of the property of Carolina, no account was made of variation.

From the line of no-variation in N. lat. 33 D. southward, the east variation takes place, increasing very slow; because at La Vera Cruz, N. lat. 19 D. 12 M. W. long. 97 D. 30 M. anno 1727, the variation was only 2 D. 15 M. east.

Here ends the first or general part of the Summary concerning the British colonies in America, with some interspersed hints relating to the colonies of the other European nations. In the following part we shall give particular accounts of our several colonies, in order, as they are enumerated page 15 and 16.

The End of the FIRST PART.

 P A R T II.

S E C T. V.

Concerning the Hudson's-Bay company, their territories and trade.

THE adventurers who endeavoured a N. W. passage to China, the Spice-islands, and the East-Indies, and in search for copper-mines, gave occasion to the discovery of Hudson's-Bay, and its subsequent fur and skin trade.

The [a] Cabots, anno 1496, obtained from Henry VII of England, a grant of all lands they should discover and settle westward of Europe. In quest of a N. W. passage, they coasted the eastern shore of North-America, and took a general possession for the crown of England, but made no settlement; the first land they made was West-Greenland, in N. lat. 66 D.

From [b] that time this navigation, and these discoveries, were entirely neglected, until 1576, 1577, and 1578. Sir Martin Frobisher made three voyages to a strait which retains his name, but he made no discoveries.

Sir Humphry Gilbert, by direction of secretary Walsingham, coasted the north-easterly shore of America; particularly he took possession of Newfoundland, and St. Laurence or Canada river, for the crown of England, and began some fishing-trade there, anno 1583.

[a] Short-repetitions or recapitulations, are sometimes used to render the matter more distinct and fluent.

[b] See pag. 110.

Capt. John Davis from Dartmouth, made three voyages this way, anno 1583, 1586, and 1587, but made no discoveries: that branch of the opening (the opening at Cape Farewell, in 60 D. N. lat. a little farther, at Cape Defolation, branches into two openings) which reaches north-westward, retains the name of Davis's-straits, and is the whaling-ground of West-Greenland, where the [c] English, Dutch, Biscayers, Hamburgers, Bremers, and Danes kill large whales of 500 to 600 barrels of oil, and eighteen feet of bone: this whaling continues for about seven or eight weeks.

Henry Hudson, after two N. E. successful trials, and one in vain north-westward navigation, essayed the other opening abovementioned, and sailing westward and southward, discovered the straits and bay called by his name. Anno 1611, proceeding upon further discoveries, he was never more heard of. In his time he was as much an enthusiast for a N. W. passage, as Mr. D—bs [d] is at present, as appears by the present paper-war between D—bs and Middleton.

[c] Anno 1732, the South-sea company had fourteen ships in East-Greenland, and seven ships in West-Greenland, or Davis's-straits, and got twenty-four and a half whales: this fishery did not answer the charges of fitting out, and it is dropped, notwithstanding the encouragement given by act of parliament anno 1724, that any of his majesty's subjects may import whale fins, oil and blubber of whales, taken and caught in Greenland-seas in British ships, navigated according to law, without paying any custom, subsidy, or other duties for the same.

[d] Mr. D—bs of Ireland was the projector of Middleton's N. W. discovery voyage: because it did not succeed, he charges Middleton with neglect, misconduct, and suspicion of corruption; he says, Middleton was bribed by the company not to make any discovery, or to conceal, or to falsify a N. W. discovery; Middleton told Mr. D—bs, by letter Jan. 21, anno 1737, the company judged it their interest rather to prevent than to forward a N. W. discovery in that part of the world; and that they offered him 5000 *l.* to act and report in their favour. Some of Middleton's officers made affidavits concerning his bad conduct; upon the design of the admiralty's fitting out captain Middleton for the N. W. discovery, the governor and council of the Hudson's-Bay company, wrote to the governor at Prince of Wales's Fort upon Churchill-river, to refuse them refreshment; but afterwards,

Sir

Sir Thomas Button, fitted out by prince Henry anno 1612, passed Hudson's-straits, and sailing westward, disupon further consideration, they revoked this order, and allowed the governor to supply captain Middleton if in distress. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Mr. D—bs procured an act of parliament for 20,000 *l.* public reward for a discovery, and accordingly the Dobbs Galley and California sailed from England in May, 1746.

Mr. D—bs runs much into the novel; he seems to be a wild projector, and notoriously credulous: he gives particular accounts of large countries and islands in the Pacific Ocean, especially from S. lat. 9 D. to N. lat. 15 D. very rich and populous, abounding in nutmegs, mace, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, silk, and ebony; the natives with reddish complexions, grey eyes, high noses, beards and hair curled. In the N. W. parts of America were vessels or ships with prows (heads or lions we call them) of gold and silver: W. S. W. the Indians come to a sea, where were great vessels, and men with caps and beards gathering of gold. About a century since, anno 1646, Bartholomew de Foutes, vice-roy of Mexico and Peru, hearing that the English were endeavouring a N. W. passage, sailed to the river of Los Reys in 53 D. N. lat. upon the west side of America, and detached capt. Bernardi, who sailed to 77 D. N. lat. (here he found it as warm as 10 D. less N. lat. upon the east side of the American continent) upon this coast he met with capt. Shapley from New-England (this is an unaccountable stretch to prove a north-west passage;) there is no record nor tradition of this in New-England in my knowledge. Mr. D—bs is as particular in giving accounts of distant not frequented countries, as if he were describing Great-Britain or France; and proposes that Great-Britain shall settle an extent of countries, more than all Europe could effect.

Mr. D—bs, from the stories of the French fathers, and of the *Coueurs des Bois*, relates strange things. From lieutenant Jerome (doubtless a native of Gascony) he relates, that in the district of Hudson's-Bay, are to be seen 10,000 rein-deer in a herd, and large mines of virgin-copper.

The French were, at this rate, most egregious fools to give up so easily, by the treaty of Utrecht anno 1713, two such valuable articles of deer-skins and copper. Northward is a strait with floating ice, probably a passage to the western-ocean or South-seas, the north wind raising the tide ten feet above the ordinary tides. At the peace of Utrecht, in Quebec were from 4000 to 5000 troops in garrison. On the west main are the copper-mines, on the east main are the lead-mines. He gives large lists of names of imaginary tribes of Indians, their lakes and rivers; whereas the several islands, head-lands, bays, rivers, &c. do not retain their Indian names, as in some of our colonies, but are called by the names of the several adventurers or discoverers. Mr. D—bs names and describes all these things minutely, and with the same ease as if they were the best known, most polite, and well regulated countries upon earth.

covered a large continent, and called it New-Wales; its sea and bay retain the discoverer's name; he could not proceed farther than 65 D. N. lat. and called it N. Ultra; he wintered miserably upon that west continent at Port Nelson in 57 D. N. lat.

Capt. Thomas James, from Bristol anno 1631, made further discoveries in Hudson's-Bay; he wintered near the bottom of the bay at Charleton-island in N. lat. 52 D. and published a good journal of his voyage.

Anno 1616, Mr. Baffin, by the north-westerly opening called Davis's-straits, carried the north-west affairs so high as N. lat. 80 D. to no purpose, and gave his name to the sea or bay in that high latitude.

Capt. Fox, anno 1632, sailed into Hudson's-Bay upon the discovery, where he saw many whales the end of July; he proceeded no farther than Port Nelson in N. lat. 57 D.; he wintered there; tide fourteen feet.

The beginning of the last century, the Danes went upon the north west discovery, and took possession of the north-easterly shore of Davis's-straits, and called it New-Danemark, and made a miserable settlement in N. lat. 64 D. From that time they have assumed the sovereignty of the seas in Davis's-straits, and keep a royal frigate stationed there during the whaling-season, which does not continue above seven or eight weeks.

The civil wars in England prevented any further attempts of such discoveries for some time, until Prince Rupert and company, anno 1667, fitted out capt. Guilam; he landed at Rupert-river in N. lat. 51 D. upon the east continent of Hudson's-Bay, built Charles's Fort, traded with the Indians to good advantage, and laid a foundation for the companies fur and deer-skin trade.

A royal charter was granted May 2, anno 1669, to a governor and company of adventurers of England trading into Hudson's-Bay, whereof here follows an abstract: *To prince Rupert count Palatine of the Rhine, to George duke of Albemarle, to William earl of Craven, and to fifteen others, and to others whom they shall admit into the said*

said body corporate, power to make a common seal, and to alter it; to chuse annually some time in November, a governor, a deputy-governor, and a committee of seven; any three of the committee, with the governor or deputy-governor, to be a court of directors: freemen to be admitted (their factors and servants may be admitted freemen) at a general court; a power to dismiss the governor, deputy-governor, or any of the committee, before the year expires; and upon their dismissal, or death, to elect others in their room for the remainder of the year: to have the sole property of lands, trade, royal-fishery, and mines within Hudson's-straits, not actually possessed by any Christian prince: to be reputed as one of our colonies in America, to be called [e] Rupert's land: to hold the same in free and common soccage: to pay the skins of two elks, and two black beavers, as often as the king or queen shall come into those lands: power to assemble the company, and to make laws for their government and other affairs, not repugnant to the laws of England: an exclusive trade, without leave obtained of the company, penalty forfeiture of goods and shipping, one half to the king, one half to the company. In their general meetings for every 100 l. original stock to have one vote; may appoint governors, factors, and other officers, in any of their ports; the governor and his council to judge in all matters civil and criminal, and execute justice accordingly: where there is no governor and council, may send them to any place where there is a governor and council, or to England, for justice: liberty to send ships of war, men, and ammunition for their protection, erect forts, &c. to make peace or war with any people who are not Christian; may appeal to the king in council.

Anno 1670, Mr. Baily, with twenty men, was sent over by the company to Rupert-river. Port Nelson was the next settlement, anno 1673; and Mr. Bridge was sent over governor of the west main from Cape Henrietta-Maria. Anno 1683, the factory was removed from Rupert-river to Moose-river: Rupert-river is not used, because exposed to the depredations of the French; from Tadoufac thirty leagues below Quebec upon Canada-

[e] This name has never been used; it is called Hudson's-Bay colony.

river, there is water-carriage to lake Mistafin, which communicates with Rupert-river. The trade at the mouth of all the rivers which fall into Hudson's-Bay is secured to Great-Britain by the treaty of Utrecht; but the heads of the southern rivers are within the French bounds, and the French have trading-houses which very much intercept and lessen our Indian trade: the company do not much use the east and south parts of the bay, because of the bad neighbourhood of the French.

In the summer anno 1686, in time of peace, the French from Canada became masters of all our Hudson's-Bay factories, port Nelson excepted. Anno 1693, the English recovered their factories, but the French got possession of them again soon after. Anno 1696, two English men of war retook them. In Queen Anne's war, the French from Canada were again masters of these factories; but by the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713, the French quitclaimed them to the English so far south as 49 D. N. lat. Hitherto we have not heard of any attempt made upon them by the Canadians in this French war which commenced in the spring 1744.

Mr. Dobbs reckons that this country, called Hudson's-Bay, may be esteemed from 51 D. to 65 D. N. lat. and from 78 D. to 95 D. W. long. from London; the true definition of it is, from the treaty of Utrecht 1713; viz. from a certain promontory on the Atlantic ocean N. lat. 58 D. 30 M. runs S. W. to lake Mistafin (this includes the western half of *Terra de Labrador*) thence S. W. to N. lat. 49 D. and from this termination due west indefinitely; the northern boundary may be reckoned Davis's-straits, because of the Danish claim, and otherways north indefinitely.

The entrance of Hudson's-straits at Resolution-island is about fifteen leagues wide; tide flows four fathom; winds N. W. about nine months in the year; not free of ice above two months in the year; sails and rigging freeze in July; it is 140 leagues in length to the bay: at the bottom of the bay only four feet tide. Capt. Middleton,
in

in twenty-three voyages, never could arrive at the factories, above five or six times, before the 10th of August; and it is a standing order not to attempt coming back the same year, unless they can sail from the factories by Sept. 10; it is generally pleasant weather: Middleton, in all his voyages, never suffered shipwreck; August is the proper month for the navigation of Hudson's-Bay and straits; always good soundings.

This grant is divided into the west main or continent formerly in charts called New-North and South-Wales, and the east main called *Terra de Labrador* or New-Britain: the French claimed the bottom of the bay as belonging to New-France or Canada, but they disclaimed it by the treaty of Utrecht.

Because of the inhospitableness of the country, no towns or plantations can ever be settled there; it must for ever remain a number of scattered dismal lodges or factories. Hudson's-Bay and Georgia are improperly called colonies; they have no house of representatives: the Hudson's-Bay company in London make their laws and regulations, as the trustees for Georgia in London do for the settlers in Georgia.

Hudson's-Bay colony, as it is called, consists of several lodges at the mouths of several rivers for trade with the Indians, *viz.* on the west continent are Churchill-river, Nelson's-river, Severn-river, Albany-river, and Moose-river; on the east continent are Rupert-river and Slude-river.

Churchill-river (Prince of Wales' fort) is the most northerly, being in about 59 D. N. lat. and 94 D. 50 M. W. long. from London, the most westerly part of Hudson's-Bay; here Capt. Middleton, anno 1742, upon a N. W. discovery wintered miserably. At the mouth of this river, the tide comes from N. b. E. two knots; they return about 20,000 beaver-skins *per an.* the company keeps here about twenty-eight men: it is navigable 150 leagues.

Nelson's-river (Fort York) called by the French Bourbon river; its port lies in N. lat. 57 D; it is the finest

and largest river in the bay; it communicates with great lakes, and branches of rivers of Indian trade: tide fourteen feet; the company have here twenty-five men.

New-Severn-river, the French called it St. Huiles, in N. lat. 55 D; it is at present slighted or neglected, a barred river.

Albany-river in N. lat. 52 D. W. long. 85 D. 20 M. four feet tide: from the middle of May to the middle of September fine warm weather; anno 1731, 118 canoes came there to trade; the company keep here twenty-five men.

Moose-river in N. lat. 51 D. four feet tide; it is a much larger and finer river than Albany-river; the company have here twenty-five men.

Prince Rupert-river on the east side of the bay, N. lat. 51 D. is at present neglected.

Slude-river on the east side of the bay, in N. lat. 52 D. here are eight or nine men kept by the company.

The company's profits are very great, and engrossed by a few; their stock has been sold at 300 for 100 original; they may export annually about 3000 *l.* sterling value, and their half-yearly sales are about 25,000 *l.* sterling; eight or nine merchants have engrossed about nine tenths of the stock; the charge of the company is about 120 servants, two or three annual ships, having in time of war about 120 men aboard. They import deer-skins, castoreum or beaver-stone, feathers, whale-bone, and blubber; but beaver-skin is two thirds of the whole, and is the standard of their truck or currency.

Mr. Dobbs thinks it would be a public national benefit, that the Hudson's-Bay company's charter were vacated, and the trade laid open: thus we shall undersell the French, and carry on a greater trade with the Indians (the company keep the price of goods too high) and we should have trading-houses up the river; the company have no such trading-houses; the company, by their charter, are obliged to endeavour a N. W. passage, which, on the contrary, they discourage.

As this is a country of exclusive trade and navigati on we are too much confined to the accounts of their own navigators. As a specimen, we shall take a medium voyage of Capt. Middleton's anno 1735. He set out from London May 21, June 12, made Cape Farewell in N. lat. about 59 D. W. long. 45 D. 50 M. var. 29 D. W. July 1, in N. lat. 61 D. W. long. 70 D. 10 M. var. 41 D. W. he was fast in thick ice with fogs and rain; August 3, he arrived in Moose river, N. lat. 51 D. W. long. 83 D. var. 22 D. W. he sailed from thence Sept. 1, makes no mention of ice in his return; arrived in England Oct. 7. As for the climate, Middleton, in the journal of his N. W. discovery-voyage anno 1741 and 1742, says, he arrived in Churchill river August 10; first snow was Sept. 1, geese flying to the southward; Sept. 27, thermometer as low as in London, time of the great frost; Oct. 21, ink and water froze by the bed-side; beginning of November, a bottle of spirits full proof froze in the open air: after Nov. 11, no going abroad without being froze (*N. B.* forgetting himself, he frequently mentions the company's servants, and Indians being abroad after that time) April 2, begins to thaw in the sun; about this time the ice at the ship was ten feet thick with thirteen feet snow over the ice. April 10, large fleaks of snow (in the preceding months the falling snow was as fine as dust) a sign of the winter's being spent; April 22, a shower of rain (no rain for seven months preceding) beginning of May, geese begin to appear; May 13, got the ship into the stream, and July 1, we sailed upon the N. W. discovery; he proceeded no farther north than 66 D. 44 M. because the beginning of August from a high mountain we perceived to the S. E. at about twenty leagues distance, a strait covered with an impenetrable solid body of ice, and therefore no communication with the eastern sea; and the tide of flood coming from thence, we had no hopes of passing that way into the western or Pacific ocean; and August 8, we bore away to the southward.

In the northern factories, the great thaws begin the end of April; the waters inland are froze up from the beginning of October to the beginning of May. In North-America we judge of the inclemencies of their several climates, by the times of the flights of their passage-birds: in these factories wild geese and swans fly southward beginning of October, and return northward the end of April, and beginning of May. Seldom a night in winter without an *aurora borealis*. Some deer twelve to thirteen hands high; here are white bears, swans, ducks of several kinds, and other water-fowl; in their meadows, instead of *cerealia* and *gramina*, that is, bread corn, and grasses, they have only moss, some scurvy-grass, and sorrel. Hares, rabbits, foxes, partridges, beginning of October, from their native colour, become snow-white, and continue so for six months, till the season produces a new coat: wind blows from the N. W. about nine months in the year; they have nine months ice and snow; the cold fogs and mists damp the pleasure of their short summers.

I formerly hinted the vast advantage that the European western north latitudes had of the American eastern north latitudes; by way of amusement, I continue further to observe, that in 50 D. (for instance) N. lat. in the N. easterly parts of America, it is as cold as in 60 D. or upwards N. lat. in the N. westerly parts of Europe; the ocean and its mellow vapour being to the windward of Europe; but a rude rigorous, chilly, frozen, and snowy continent is to the windward of the other. I vouch this by a few instances. 1. From Churchill-river fort there was no going abroad without being frozen in winter; from Torneo in Lapland, anno 1736, nearly under the polar circle, to investigate the length of a degree of latitude there, the French academiciens in the severity of the winter, were sixty-three days in the desert, procuring a complete set of triangles. 2. The bottom of Hudson's-Bay is scarce habitable in winter, though scarce so far north as London; a most agreeable *calum* or air. 3. In the Orkneys

Orkneys (where the Hudson's-Bay ships call in to hire men and boys at 5 to 20 *l.* sterling *per annum*, according to the years of their indentured continuance; they are called N. W. men) there is good wintering; barley, pease, and oats, cabbages, other pot-herbs, and usual roots, grow kindly; not much snow and ice; Orkneys is a little north of Churchill river.

Capt. Middleton [*f*], in his too minute journals of his many voyages from England to Hudson's-Bay, observed, that in Hudson's-Bay, in the same longitudes from London, in sailing north, the variations increase faster than in any known part of the earth; for instance, in one of his voyages he observed, that in about 84 D. W. long. from London, the variations increase thus:

In N. lat. 50 D.	variation was 19 D. W.
55	25
61	30
62	40

Capt. Scrogs, anno 1722 (who had Mr. Norton late governor of Churchill fort aboard, with two northern Indians to discover the much enquired after copper-mines) traded with the Indians for whale-bone, at Whale-bone point in N. lat. 65 D. Here the tide flowed five fathom.

A digression giving some farther accounts of late endeavours towards a north-west passage to China.

A PASSAGE by the north-westward or Davis's-straits seems to be given up or relinquished by all European adventurers; but the passage by the southerly branch, or Hudson's-Bay, is still in prosecution. The British parliament lately enacted a reward of 20,000 *l.* sterling, to the discoverer, if from Hudson's-Bay. Upon this encouragement, the Dobbs-galley and California, as a private adventure, sailed from England May 1746; in our know-

[*f*] These are not designed as strict stiffly connected historical accounts, but as loose occasional observations, in some manner reduced under general heads; therefore although we have already made a digression concerning variations, this may be admitted.

ledge,

ledge, they are not as yet returned to England. Their original proposal was to sail eastward to the East-Indies and China (but there is no act of parliament to indemnify them, in a trespass upon the exclusive navigation granted to the East-India company in these seas, by charter and act of parliament) and from the eastward to sail to the northward of California, and from thence to endeavour an easterly passage to Davis's-straits or Hudson's-Bay.

The last tentative for a N. W. passage was by Capt. Middleton from Hudson's-Bay, anno 1741 and 1742, according to order and instructions from the lords of the admiralty May 20, anno 1741: there was no occasion for his wintering in Hudson's-Bay, before he set out upon the discovery; he should have sailed from England, so as to arrive in Hudson's-Bay in the middle of July; push the discovery, in the month of August, and return in September.

A short abstract of his discovery-journal is, we sailed from Churchill-river July 1, in N. lat. 65 D. 10 M. E. long. from Churchill-river 9 D. we doubled a head-land, and called it Cape Dobbs; and the following opening, we called Wager-river; tide five or six knots from the east, and full of ice; Eskimaux Indians came aboard, but had no trade: proceeding farther north, we doubled another head-land, and called it Cape-Hope; and sailing farther to N. lat. 67 D. E. from Churchill fort 12 D. 20 M. from the mountains we saw a narrow dangerous strait frozen over, and no probability of its being clear this year, deep water, no anchorage; being afraid of freezing up, we returned to N. lat. 64 D. here were many whale-bone whales; we examined all along to N. lat. 62 D. tide from the eastward: August 15, we bore away for England; and Sept. 15, we arrived at Kerston in the Orkneys.

I shall by way of amusement mention the arguments used on both sides of the question, in favour of, and in prejudice against, a N. W. passage to China.

In favour of a N. W. passage. 1. The whales found in plenty on the west side of Hudson's Bay; as there is

no mention of whales in Hudson's-straits, they do not come that way; they cannot come from Davis's-straits by the frozen straits of Middleton, because of a wide and large field of ice; whales cannot pass under a large tract of ice, they cannot live without blowing at times in the open air; therefore these whales must come from the western or Pacific ocean, by some straits or thorough-fare in Hudson's-Bay: it is more probable that the great whales in Davis's-straits, when the sea there begins to be froze up, pass into the ocean, or deeper water, because warmer: thus the cod-fish upon the coast of New-England in very cold winters retire into deep water. Mr. Dobbs affirms, that Middleton saw no whales near Cape Hope, or the frozen straits; he judges the frozen straits to be only a chimæra; therefore the whales in Button's-Bay must come from the westward. 2. Wager-river, where was Middleton's principal enquiry, in N. lat. 65 D. 24 m. W. long. 88 D. 37 M. from seven miles wide at its entrance, farther up increased to eight leagues wide, and from fourteen to eighty fathom water, and whales were seen twenty miles up the river. Dobbs conjectures that these whales came from the western ocean, by some strait or passage south of Wager-river, from N. lat. 65 D. to 62 D. Here it is where the Eskimaux Indians follow whaling, and traded with capt. Scrogs, anno 1722. 3. Middleton, from some undue influence, did not well inspect the coast, where the greatest probability was of a passage; designedly he kept too great an offing, and descryed pretended land and mountains in the clouds; concluding there were no thorough-fares, he did not send his boats ashore to try for inlets. Fox, anno 1632, sailing upon this coast, saw much broken land and islands, and plenty of whales at the end of July. 4. Middleton's officers said, that the tide was three hours sooner at the mouth of Wager-river than at cape Frigid; therefore the tide did not come from the frozen straits and Baffin's-Bay eastward, but from some straits westward; the same mal-content officers assured Mr. Dobbs, that the higher
up

up Wager-river, the water became the saltier, and the flood was from W. S. W. Middleton says the tide came from north-easterly.

To evince the impracticableness of a N. W. passage.

1. The French, very inquisitive and mindful of their interest, seem to give up any prospect of this passage, because, by the treaty of Utrecht, they readily renounced for ever to Great-Britain the sole and exclusive benefit of a N. W. passage to China from Hudson's-Bay or Davis's-straits, when discovered.
2. The whales on the west side of Hudson's-Bay, by the frozen straits, came from Davis's-straits, where they are plenty.
3. Middleton says (we cannot answer for his vouchers) that Indian travellers have gone by land from Churchill-river, as high as the arctic circle, but met with no thorough-fares; his northern Indians, which he took on board in Churchill-river, were chiefly designed to shew him the copper-mines.
4. The farther up Wager-river, the tides rise less; the water from salt becomes brackish, and the higher the more fresh.
5. Middleton writes, that from his own experience, there is no thorough-fare from Churchill-river in N. lat. 59 D. to N. lat. 67 D.; and farther north, if there be any straits or thorough-fare, it cannot be clear of ice (if ever clear) above a week or two in the year, and therefore impracticable: from the river Wager to N. lat. 62 D. he stood into every bay and searched the coast narrowly.
6. As the winds there are generally from the N. W. and excessively cold, there must be a long continued or connected tract of land westward, covered with perpetual snow and ice, and therefore impracticable. Moreover, if there is any such strait, it is narrow and long; the adventurers would run a certain risk of being froze up and of perishing.

S E C T. VI.

Concerning the island of Newfoundland, and its Cod-Fishery.

THIS is a fishery of longer standing, than are any of our colony or plantation settlements; it is no colony, it is not confined to any patent or exclusive company, but is an open general British cod-fishery, consisting of many lodges, or commodious harbours for curing of cod-fish, for the Spanish, Portugueze, and Italian markets.

Our [g] claims of discovery, not occupancy, run so high as the times of the Cabots coasting along the eastern shore

[g] The Cod-fishery profitable and sufficient to supply many and large markets, is peculiar to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New-England: a monopoly of this fishery in these seas, to be called a *Mare clausum*, would be a vast advantage to the trade and navigation of Great-Britain, if it could be obtained at the ensuing congress for a general peace amongst the states in Europe: it is true, the French and Spaniards have a considerable claim to some interest in the Newfoundland Cod-fishery, because the Guisuscoans of Spain, and the Bayonniers of France were contemporary, if not more early in that fishery than England. By the treaty of Utrecht, the Guisuscoans, and the other subjects of Spain, were allowed their claimed privilege of fishing at the island of Newfoundland: by the same treaty the French were allowed to fish, and cure their fish on that part of Newfoundland from Cape Bonavista, N. lat. 49 D. 30 M. to the northermost part of the island in N. lat. 51 D. 30 M. and from thence running down by the western side to Point-Riche in N. lat. 50 D. 30 M. by the cod-fish being more plenty, and by falling in nearer the shore, the Cod-fishery of the north part of the island seems to be more profitable than upon the southern harbours of the island; by this concession before the war, anno 1744, the French had the better of us in the Cod-fishery trade — King Charles I, bubbled by the French, gave them a liberty of fishing and curing fish in Newfoundland, upon the silly pretext of supplying an English convent in France with fish.

This Cod-fishery is not only a considerable addition to the trade and wealth of Great-Britain; but by the many men employed in catching and curing of the cod-fish, is a good nursery for our navy and other navigation (the plantation-trade, the fishery of Newfoundland, the coal trade of Newcastle, and the watermen upon the river of Thames, are the great nurseries or seminaries of our navigation) if the French could by treaty be excluded from this fishery, it would contract their navigation-seminary very much. Canada does not increase their na-

of

of North-America upon a N. W. discovery, and their taking possession for the crown of England, from place to place; they settled no fishery there, but gave it the name, anno 1507, of Terra de Baccaleos with good propriety, that is, cod-fish land; the French called it, *Terre Neuve*, we retain their name, and call it Newfoundland.

Secretary Walsingham, anno 1583 (about this time all the trading nations of Europe were intense upon a N. W. passage to China, and the East-Indies) being informed of a westerly opening north of North-Virginia (the present Nova Scotia) sent out Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a gentleman of estate upon the discovery; this gentleman sailed up the gulph, and some part of the river St. Laurence; and in form took possession of Newfoundland and Canada for the crown of England; he settled a fishery at Newfoundland, but being cast away upon his return to England, the fishery was soon relinquished; but prosecuted by the French, Spaniards, and Portugueze.

Anno 1608, this fishery was again undertaken by John Guay of Bristol merchant; several Englishmen, women, and children wintered there, anno 1613,

Anno 1610, king James gave to the earl of Southampton lord-keeper, and others, a grant from Bonavista to Cape St. Mary W. of Cape Raze; some families were sent over; it did not answer, they returned to England.

Anno 1620, or 1623, Sir George Calvert, principal secretary of state, afterwards lord Baltimore, obtained a patent for some part of Newfoundland, from the bay of Bulls to Cape St. Mary's; he settled a fort and plantation at Fairyland; but in the time of the troubles in the civil war of England, it was discontinued, and was outed by Sir David Kirk. Anno 1654, having retained some claim until that time, lord Baltimore, a zealous Roman catholic, came abroad (as the first settlers of New-England did in their religion way) to enjoy the free exercise of vigation much; their trade employs a very small inconsiderable number of vessels: their inland fur and skins business is managed by a few French *Choueurs des Bois*, and Indians called *Les Hommes des Bois*; therefore Canada cannot people fast.

his religion in quiet: from Newfoundland he removed to Virginia; but the Virginians being as zealous for the church of England way, as he was for the church of Rome way, he became uneasy, and went farther up the bay of Chesapeake above the Virginian settlements; and afterwards obtained a most beneficial patent of those lands now called Maryland, which the family enjoy to this day; at present this family is Christian protestant.

The French made a settlement at Placentia in the south part of the island where the cod-fish first set in yearly; this was relinquished to Great-Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, anno 1713, and, by way of equivalent, the French had given to them the islands of Cape Breton, and all the other islands in the gulph of St. Laurence, and liberty to catch and cure fish in the northern harbours of Newfoundland: the French pretend, that they have had a constant fishery at Newfoundland ever since it was taken possession of, for Francis I, king of France, by Verazano a Florentine. In Cromwell's time Sir David Kirk's family resided some years in Newfoundland; he invaded Canada several times, and had a grant of lands north of St. Laurence-river, called Canada: but king Charles II, always more in the French interest (kings may be bought to betray their own countries interest) than in that of Great-Britain, quit-claimed Canada, as also Placentia, St. Peter's, &c. of Newfoundland in the gulph of St. Laurence, to the French.

The English have been for a long time in the use of this fishery. Anno 1545, there was an act of the English parliament, for encouragement to the English merchants trading to Newfoundland: the first family settlements with continuance seem to have been anno 1610. At present there are nine or ten settlements called harbours, not towns, where they cure and ship off their dry cod-fish: at this writing anno 1748, there are about 4000 people winter there; they fish and cure fish from May to October; the fishery is generally off the mouths of their harbours; they do not fish much upon the banks.

M. Bellin says, that from good observations Cape Raze, its southermost, point lies in N. lat. 46 D. 50 M. Its northermost land in the straits of Belle Isle, lies in N. lat. 51 D. 30 M. its greatest breadth (the island resembles an isosceles triangle) or base is from Cape Raze to Cape Raye about eighty leagues. From the northern part of Cape Breton island, or St. Paul, are fifteen leagues to Cape Raze, or rather Cape Sud, the entrance of the gulph of St. Laurence: the north cape of Breton island lies in N. lat. 47 D. 5 M.

The great bank of Newfoundland lies from N. lat. 41 D. to 49 D. and ninety leagues from E. to W. distance from Cape Raze about thirty-five leagues.

As to the regulations, discipline, or œconomy of Newfoundland, differences amongst the fishermen of the several harbours, are at first instance determined by the admirals so called, being the first ship masters who arrive for the season in the respective harbours. From this judgment, an appeal lies to the commodore of the king's stationed ships, who determines in equity. Felonies in Newfoundland are not triable there, but in any county of Great-Britain. Newfoundland having no legislative assembly or representative of the debtors of the country, their currency is not perverted but continues at a sterling value. At present the commodore of the king's ships stationed for the protection of the fishery of Newfoundland, is governor of Newfoundland, during his continuance there, by the title of governor and commodore in chief of Newfoundland, and of the forts and garrisons there. There are also lieutenant-governors of the forts of Placentia and St. John's, at 10 s. sterling per day. As we hinted, the master of the vessel who first arrives in the several harbours, is called admiral of that harbour, and acts as a magistrate, and is called lord of the harbour.

The [b] annual quantity of cod-fish shipped off by British subjects from Newfoundland is various, from 100,000

[b] The estimates in a late pamphlet, called, *The Importance of Cape Breton considered*, are too much at random, and erroneous.

quintals to 300,000 quintals; generally they make double the quantity in proportion to what is made in New-England.

Capt. Smith, a man of credit, writes, anno 1623, that there fished upon the coast of Newfoundland yearly about 250 sail of English vessels, at a medium of sixty tons, and returned the value of 135,000 *l.* sterling annually: their method of sharing at that time, was one third to the owners, one third for victualling, and one third to the ship's company.

The commodore of the king's ships at Newfoundland, when the fishing season is over, receives from each harbour a report in distinct columns. I shall instance the year 1701, being in time of peace, a medium year, and the accounts the most distinct.

The state of Newfoundland, anno 1701.

Number of ships, fishers,	75
Sacks or purchasers	46
Burthen of said ships	7991 tons
Number of men belonging the said ships	—
Number of fishing ships boats	338
Number of inhabitants boats	558
Number of by-boats	97
Quantity of fish made by ships	79,820 quint.
Quantity of fish made by inhabitants	136,500 quint.
Q. of train or liver oil made by ships	1264 hhds.
Train or liver oil made by inhabitants	2534 hhds.
Number of stages	544
Number of men	461
Number of women	166
Number of children	256
Number of servants	2698

Anno 1716, exported to Spain, Portugal, and Italy 106,952 quintals.

The fish shipped off from the several harbours: I shall instance a year of small fishery.

Anno 1724, were shipped off

From the harbours	N ^o vessels	Quantity of fish
St. Peter's and Placentia	2	3500 quint.
Trepaffay	3	3700
Formoose	2	3300
Renufe	1	1200
St. John's	20	37,000
Conception-Bay	4	11,000
Trinity	5	11,200
Bona Vista	1	4000
Fairyland	17	29,000
Bay of Bulls	4	7000

59

111,100

Anno 1732, were shipped off from Newfoundland about 200,000 quintals; last year, being anno 1747, were exported somewhat more.

In Newfoundland they reckon, when well fished, 200 quintals to the inhabitants boat or shallop, and 500 quintals to a banker.

The liberty allowed by the treaty of Utrecht to the French, for fishing and curing of fish in the northern parts of Newfoundland, abridges us of an exclusive navigation, such as the French fully enjoy. By an edict anno 1727 (by virtue of the 5th and 6th articles of peace and neutrality in America, concluded Nov. 6, anno 1686) it is peremptorily declared, that all English vessels sailing within a league of the shores of any French island, shall be seized and confiscated, without any other proof of trade. St. Malo and Granville are the principal French cod-fishery in North-America; there are some from St. Jean de Luz, Bayonne, and Nantes. Before Cape Breton lately fell into the possession of Great-Britain, the French bankers, when long out, went to water and refresh at Cape Breton.

Four to five thousand Newfoundland fresh cod-fish are reckoned to make one hundred quintals of well cured dry cod, or three quintals wet fish make one dry. The
livers

livers from 100 quintals dry cod, afford about one hoghead, or sixty gallons of liver oil. After the fish are headed, boned, split, and salted, the shoremen deliver one half the weight; the overplus goes for their labour.

The cod-fish annually appear first at St. Peter's and Placentia in May, and thence proceed northward along shore to St. John's, Trinity, &c. and in autumn are fished by the French in the north parts of Newfoundland. Cod follow the bait fish, as they appear near the shore successively during the fishing season; first are the caplin, next come the squid; the herrings take their course in Autumn; at other times a mullet is their bait.

Their fish-ships are distinguished into fishing-ships, which by their own boats and men catch and cure their fish-cargoes; and sack-ships, which purchase their fish from the inhabitants.

The soil is rocks and mountains [i] inhospitable; their trees are pine, fir called spruce [k], and birch; strawberries and raspberries here are good and plenty. In Newfoundland there are no land-estates; but many of their salmon streams or falls belong to patentees. In the winter, they make seal-oil, and save their skins. The great islands of ice, which appear upon or near the banks of Newfoundland, come from Davis's-straits.

Goods imported to Newfoundland and consumed there, are only salt, bread, flour, rum, and molasses, payable either in fish as the price shall break, which is generally at 10 s. sterling per quintal, or in bills of exchange upon Great-Britain; these bills of exchange are from the sack ships, who purchase their fish or cargo from the inhabitants by bills: bills purchase these goods cheaper, than the fish truck, because the fishermen impose any fish in pay.

The several bickerings that have happened in Newfoundland between the British and French, cannot be re-

[i] No sleeping, no wheel-carriages; their fire-wood is carried some miles upon men's shoulders.

[k] Spruce-leaves and buds decocted in place of hops, make an agreeable beer or drink, and is esteemed good in the scurvy.

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heard minutely in a summary, we shall only mention a few. Anno 1704, August 18, about 140 French and Indians, in two sloops from Placentia, land in Bonaviste harbour, and burn four vessels; anno 1705, in the winter, M. Subercasse governor of Placentia, afterwards governor of Nova Scotia, with 550 soldiers and inhabitants of Placentia, and from Canada with some Indians, ransacks all the southern settlements in a few days, carrying away 140 prisoners; laid Consumption-Bay, Trinity, and Bonaviste under contributions, having burnt their stages and craft; they besieged the fort of St. John's (capt. Moody and forty soldiers in garrison) five weeks in vain; St. John's is the principal British fishery settlement in Newfoundland; anno 1710, the garrison of St. John's was reinforced by two companies of marines.

Placentia was quit-claimed by France to Great-Britain; and anno 1714, June 1, col. Moody being appointed lieutenant-governor of Placentia, received possession from M. Castabella, who succeeded M. Subercasse as governor of Placentia anno 1706, when Subercasse was removed to the governor of L'Accadie or Nova Scotia; this Castabella, was made governor of Cape Breton islands, and continued in that government many years. Anno 1719, col. Gladhill was appointed lieutenant-governor of Placentia in place of col. Moody. At present anno 1748, the lieutenant-governor of Placentia is major Hamilton; and the lieutenant-governor of St. John's is capt. Bradstreet.

The following accounts of fisheries fall in naturally with this section, and carry along with it some account of the New-England fishery.

A Digression concerning fisheries.

THE principal and most extensive branches of fishery in commerce, are 1. Whaling, which is in common to all maritime nations, but followed to best advantage by the Dutch; it is called the great fishery, as herrings and cod fishing are called the small fisheries. 2. Herrings; of these the Dutch also make the most gain, although the only herring

herring fishery known to us, of quantity and quality, sufficient and proper for the markets, is confined to the British sea, which is a *Mare clausum*, and in all respects is the British peculiar property, excepting that it is a natural thoroughfare or high way to all nations in their outward bound and inward bound voyages; and Great-Britain, with greater propriety, may be called Herrings island, than Newfoundland called Terra de Baccaleos. The Dutch, in the reign of Charles I, agreed to pay annually to Great-Britain, 30,000*l.* sterling for licence or liberty of fishing for herrings upon the coast of Great-Britain; they paid only for one year, 1636, and no more; Cromwell, in his Declaration of war against the Dutch, made a demand of the arrears of this licence money (at the same time he insisted upon satisfaction for the Amboyna affair) but the principal differences which occasioned the war being soon accommodated, these demands were dropped. 3. Cod-fish. The European north sea cod, the cod from the banks of Holland and coast of Ireland are much superior in quality to the American cod; but in no degree adequate to the Spanish, Portugueze, and Italian markets: the cod fishery to supply markets, is peculiar to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New-England. If Great-Britain, pending this French war, continue with success to reduce the French trade and colonies, we may give the law; and have Newfoundland, the islands in the gulph of St. Laurence, Nova Scotia, and New-England, confirmed to us in perpetuity; with an exclusive trade and navigation upon the coasts thereof to the extent seaward of — leagues; thus we shall have the monopoly of the cod fishery. At a low state, we can afford at a medium 300,000 quintals *per annum*, whereof Bilboa, the dry cod fishery barcadier, takes off from 70,000 to 80,000 quintals *per annum*, to supply Madrid, and some other inland countries of Spain.

To render these accounts distinct, I shall reduce them to five heads. 1. The Whale-fishery. 2. Herring-

fishery. 3. Cod-fishery. 4. The smaller fisheries exportable, but of no great account. And, 5. Some fish not exportable or merchantable, but of great benefit in present spending, especially for the poor.

I. WHALES. See a digression concerning whaling, p. 56. We shall further add the following remarks: Whales, that is the true or bone whales go southward (they are passengers according to the seasons) towards winter, and return northward in the spring. Formerly, in New-England Cape-cod embayed them, but being much disturbed (they seem to have some degree of reason) they keep a good offing. The smaller whales, *viz.* sperma-ceti, fin-backs, hump-backs, &c. which never go far to the northward, but stroll considerably southward, are apt to strand upon the shoals of North-Carolina and Bahama banks: they become drift whales, and some afford drift sperma-ceti. In their passages north and south, having kept an offing to the banks, though they were incommoded by the whale-fishers; at present in their passages they keep deep water; and upon a peace the whalers are to fish for them in deep water.

New-England whaling at present is by whaling sloops or schooners with two whale-boats and thirteen men; each boat has an harpooner, a steersman, and four rowers: the whale-boats do not use thoughts, but nooses for their oars, upon account of expedition; because only by letting go their oars, without loosing of them, they keep expeditiously long side of the whale. The best place of striking a whale is in her belly, about one third from her gills; the fast is a rope of about twenty-five fathom; then a drudge or stop-water, a plank of about two feet square, with a stick through its center; to the further end of this stick, is fastened a tow-rope, called the drudge rope, of about fifteen fathom; they lance, after having fastened her by the harpoon, till dead.

The New-England whalers reckon so many ct. wt. bone, as bone is feet long: for instance, seven foot bone gives 700 wt. bone: New-England bone scarce ever ex-

ceeds

ceeds nine feet; and 100 barrels of oil is supposed to yield 1000 wt. of bone: whales killed in deep water, if they sink, never rise again.

Sperma-ceti, whales do not go far north; they are gregarious, or in shoals; they go southward to the Bahama islands in October, and return in the spring: most of the Bermudas whales are fin-backs, twenty to thirty *per annum* caught.

A whale stranded back off Cape-Cod, yielded 134 barrels oil, and — wt. of bone; this whale was so fat, that, some poor people tried the muscular flesh, and made thirty barrels more of oil. In New-England whaling, they go upon shares, one quarter to the vessel or owners, the rest to the company, finding themselves victualling and whaling gear. The whalers in deep water, or at a considerable distance from Nantucket, fit out in the beginning and middle of March. Third week of July, anno 1738, arrived our whalers from Davis's-straits. The New-England true whale is the same with the European North-cape whales, are not easily killed, being agile and very wild; the Dutch do not fish them. Sperma-ceti whales do not go far north, they pass by New-England in October, and return in the spring. Grampus's, bottle-noses, and the other small cetaceous kind are called black fish.

It is not easily to be accounted for, that whales do not in course of years become scarcer, considering the continued great slaughter of them by the whaling nations; they bring only one calf at a time after many months gestation, whereas other fish spawn multitudes.

Fish-oil is, 1. That from the true or whale-bone whale, and the other large whales. 2. Vitious oil from the sperma-ceti whales. 3. Black fish oil from grampus's bottle-noses, porpus's, &c. of the small cetaceous kind. 4. Liver-oil from the livers of sundry fishes, especially of cod-fish. 5. That from the blubber or *penicula adiposa* of seals and sea-cows. There are two sorts of seals; one sort has its skin dappled or in small spots;

spots; the other sort called the Ice-seal, hath a large black patch, runs slow, and is killed by a small blow on the head; 500 have been killed in a harbour at Newfoundland in a morning: the skins and blubber is their mercantile produce. The sea-cow or morse is plenty upon the coasts of Nova Scotia and the gulph of St. Laurence, particularly at the island of St. John's; it is of the bigness of a middling cow (it is not the same with the manatee of the gulph of Mexico) a very thick skin with hair like that of a seal.

In cold winters the whales, as do other fish, keep in deep water. The New-England people whale with a drudge or stop-water, not with long ropes or warps as the Hollanders. Upon the coast of New-England, whales go northward from the middle of March to the middle of May. About thirty years ago, *communibus annis*, were exported from New-England about 5000 barrels of fish-oil; at this writing, anno 1748, about 10,000 barrels, notwithstanding the whales keeping a greater offing.

2. HERRINGS. In this tribe of fishes there are many species or distinct kinds, *viz.* The shadd, the true herring, the alewife, the Sardinia, the anchovie, &c. In this article, I write only of the true or merchantable herring; in good quality and large quantities, they seem peculiar to the coasts of the British islands, and I shall in the first place mention these as a standard.

Upon the coasts of Great-Britain, herrings make their first appearance northward (at the Western Islands of Scotland they appear in the spring) as it is commonly said, at the [1] Shetland islands in N. lat. 61 D. beginning

[1] Shetland islands are the *ultima Thule* of the ancients: in the winter the seas are open, but harrassed with continued storms, so as to have no communication with the other parts of the earth. The Dutch East-India ships, by a standing order, always return between the Orkney and Shetland islands. In Shetland their mother or indigenous tongue or language is Norse or Norwegian; it was originally a Danish property, and, upon king James VI of Scotland marrying a daughter

of

of June; by custom the Hollanders do not begin to fish until [m] June 24, and return to Holland in August and September: 2000 buffes (a pink-sterned catch of about forty to fifty ton) have at one time fished in Brassa sound: about Midsummer herrings are in the greatest perfection. It is said, they come from the northern deep waters (we hear of no herrings about Iceland under the Northern Polar Circle; a cod-fishery has been attempted there, but turns to no good account) in a large body or shoal, and meeting with the islands of Great-Britain, this shoal is split; one part or wing takes along the eastern shore, and make in successively into all the Friths of Scotland, more especially in August to the Frith of Forth at Dunbar and Fife Side: their next great appearance is at Yarmouth roads upon the coast of England, where the Dutch presume again to fish for them; thence to the mouth of the river Thames, and thence to the southern and western parts of England. At Ilfracombe, N. lat. 51 D. 10 m. within the mouth of the Severn river, about two leagues to sea, they fish herrings from Michaelmas to Christmas, and make from 10,000 to 12,000 barrels *per annum*. In the autumn the herrings spawn, become lank or lean, and are only fit for being cured by smoaking, called red herrings; it is imagined that soon after spawning, they disappear in deep water south of the British islands: the western shoal or wing of this great body, pass amongst the Lewis's or [n] Scots western islands; thence this part of body of herrings subdivides when they meet with Ireland; one column proceeds to the western

of Denmark, it was quit-claimed to Scotland. The people of any considerable business there speak English, Norse, and Dutch.

[m] By a resolve of the senate of Hamburg, no herrings are deemed to be in maturity, fit to be imported to a market until Midsummer. Hamburg is a principal mart for herrings, it supplies the north-east parts of Germany by the river Elbe and its branches, as Dantzick supplies Poland by the Wesel or Vistula and its branches.

[n] Called by the ancient geographers *Abud* or *Hebides*. Here are plenty of cod and long fish: may consist of about 40,000 souls or inhabitants.

coast of Ireland; the other column pass along St. George's, or the Irish channel, to the mouth of the Severn.

It seems more reasonable to think, that these herrings are constant retainers to the islands of Great-Britain, some times disappearing in deep water, and at other times appearing in shoal-water, according to their various feeding and spawning grounds, so as annually to make the circuit of these islands; and as is the manner of all Passenger fish, go northward towards summer, and southward towards winter or cold weather, and in very cold weather take to deep or warmer water. And in fact or observation we find the herrings appear amongst the western islands of Scotland in spring; they are at Shetland and the north parts of Scotland in summer; they are along the east and south coasts of Great-Britain in autumn; and St. George's channel in winter.

The British herrings spawn in August and September: when they spawn, the fishermen call it fouling of the water; it is said they go by pairs to the bottom, and rub their bellies in the mud and sand until their [o] milts and rows are discharged; soon after this the herring-fishery is supposed to be over, and that the herrings take to sea or deep water.

Dantzick is the principal market for the Scots and Dutch white or pickled herrings; next are Hamburg and Stockholm: the Dutch re-pickle their herrings in Holland.

The herrings of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New-England, are either of a different species, or of a bad quality; and if in curing their quality could be remedied, they are not of a sufficient quantity to supply the herring markets: they are caught in seines or meshes; they have been pickled and barrelled for the Negroes in the West-India islands, but turned out not merchantable, and that branch of fishery was dropped. In Newfoundland they come in by autumn, being their last bait fish. In New-England, notwithstanding their being a peri-

[o] Lactes.

odical

odical fish, their periods are uncertain; at present they are not so plenty as formerly, and generally set in to spawn towards the end of winter.

Periodical shoals or passengers of north sea fish upon the eastern shore of North-America, are not found south of 41 D. N. lat. some straggling cod and salmon are sometimes caught to the south of Nantucket or this latitude, but do not answer the curing.

3. COD-FISHERY. The Scots or north sea dry cod, and the New-England winter dry cod, are of the prime quality; they will bear watering: summer fish of New-England, when watered, breaks. Large winter cod dry fish, is the best for Bilboa market; it retains its mellowness, and will bear land-carriage to Madrid; smaller fish will answer in other markets. In Great-Britain and Ireland, they are not reckoned merchantable if under eighteen inches in length, from the first fin to the setting on of the tail, and are allowed no salt debenture or bounty. August and September are the best times for selling a fish cargo in the Roman catholic countries; their Lent stock by that time is expended.

The New-England fishery have their salt from Salt-Tortugas, Cape de Verde islands, Turks islands or Bahamas, Lisbon, and Bay of Biscay. The fishermen victual with salt pork only, biscuit, and rum. All cod-fish caught, from the beginning of June to the beginning of October, are called summer fish; the others are called spring and fall fish, or winter fish, and are of the better quality. The salt fleet from Tortugas generally arrives in New-England about the middle of April.

New-England dry cod-fish is more salt burnt than those of Newfoundland, because in New-England they generally use salt from Tortugas and the Isle of May, which is too fiery; at Newfoundland they make use of salt from Lisbon and the Bay of Biscay, of a milder quality: in Newfoundland they work their fish belly down; in New-England they work them belly up, to receive

ceive more salt, and add to their weight. No sun-burnt, salt-burnt, or that have been a considerable time pickled before dried, are to be deemed merchantable fish.

Marblehead in New-England ships off more dried cod, than all the rest of New-England besides; anno 1732, a good fish year, and in profound peace, Marblehead had about 120 schooners of about fifty tons burthen; seven men aboard, and one man ashore to make the fish, is about 1000 men employed from that town, besides the seamen who carry the fish to market; if they had all been well fished, that is, 200 quintals to a fare, would have made 120,000 quintals. At present, anno 1747, they have not exceeding seventy schooners, and make five fares yearly; first is to the Isle of Sable; the cod-fish set in there early in the spring, and this fare is full of spawn: formerly, they fitted out in February, but by stormy weather having lost some vessels, and many anchors, cables, and other geer, they do not fit out until March. Their second fare is in May to Brown's Bank, and the other banks near the Cape Sable coast; these are also called spring-fish. Their third and fourth fares are to St. George's Bank, called summer fish. Their fifth and last fare is in autumn to the Isle of Sables; these are called winter fish. New-England cod is generally cured or dried upon hurdles or brush. Anno 1721, were cured at Canso off Nova Scotia 20,000 quintals of cod-fish; but, as it is said, the officers of that garrison used the fishermen ill, and no fishery has been kept there for many years. At present, anno 1747, there is cured in all places of British North-America about 300,000 quintals dry merchantable cod.

There are several other particulars relating to the cod-fishery interspersed in the former sheets, which we shall not repeat, lest we should deviate from the character of a summary. We shall observe, that the French have been too much connived at in carrying on a considerable cod-fishery near the mouth of the river St. Laurence at Gaspee, contrary to treaty, because it lies in Nova Scotia.

Continued

Continued westerly or dry winds are not requisite in curing dry cod, because they must be sweated in piles by some damp easterly whether. Winter fish ought not to be shipped off till May; for although the preceeding frosts make them look fair and firm, if shipped off too soon, the subsequent heat of the hold, makes them sweat and putrify. The stock fish of Norway and Iceland, are cod cured without salt, by hanging in the frosts of winter upon sticks, called stocks in Dutch.

4. SMALLER FISHERIES used in commerce; we shall mention a few.

Scale Fish so called, *viz.* Haddock, Haake, and Pol-luc, which in New-England are cured in the same manner as dry cod; these, together with the dry cod that is not fit for European markets, are shipped off to the West-India islands, towards feeding of the Negro slaves, and make a considerable article in our trade to the sugar-islands.

Mackarel, split, salted, and barrelled for the Negroes in the sugar-islands, are caught either by hook, seines, or marshes; those by hook are the best; those by seines are worst, because in bulk they are bruised: mackarel will not take the hook, unless it have a motion of two or three knots; if quicker they will take the hook; but their jaw being tender gives way, and the mackarel is lost. There are two seasons of makarel, spring and autumn; the autumn mackarel are the best: those of the spring appear about the middle of May, very lean, and vanish in two or three weeks.

Sturgeon very plenty; some are twelve feet long, and weigh 400 wt. Formerly a merchant of Boston contracted with some fishmongers in London. Anno 1721, he sent 1500 cags of 40 to 50 wt. (the contract was for 5000 cags *per annum*) the fish were good, but too salt or ill cured; this fishery did not answer, and it was dropped. London is supplied with sturgeon from Dantzick, Hamburg, and Pilau.

Salmon

Salmon are plenty in all the British North-America rivers from Newfoundland to about N. lat. 41 D. They set in to Massachusetts-Bay about the middle of April; they do not chuse warm weather, therefore do not continue there long after having spawned; farther north they continue many months. This salmon is not of a good quality, and is not so good for a market, as the salmon of Great-Britain and Ireland.

Alewives, by some of the country people, called herrings; they are of the [*p*] herring tribe, but somewhat larger than the true herring; they are a very mean, dry, and insipid fish; some of them are cured in the manner of white herrings, and sent to the sugar-islands for the slaves, but because of their bad quality they are not in request: in some places they are used to manure land; they are very plenty, and come up the rivers and brooks into ponds in the spring; having spawned they return to sea: they never take the hook.

5. FOR SPENDING FRESH. Besides the abovementioned fish, which are also eat when fresh, there are many sorts which are not cured and shipped off. In New-England they are generally well known, and are much the same as in Britain: we shall refer them to the sections of New-England.

Many fish go up the rivers, and into ponds, earlier or later in the spring to spawn, *viz.* salmon, shad, alewives, tom-cod, smelts, &c. and many good laws have been made in New-England, to prevent their passages from being stopped by weirs, &c. as they are of great benefit to the inhabitants near these rivers and ponds.

[*p*] The pilchard or halecula is not found in these parts; it is nowhere heard of, but upon the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall in England; Dartmouth lies in the centre of the pilchard fishery; they are caught from the beginning of August to the beginning of November; it is smaller than a herring.

S E C T. VII.

Concerning Nova Scotia, or L'Acadie.

THIS country was called Nova Scotia by Sir William Alexander, secretary of state for Scotland; by means of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, president of the New-England or Plymouth company, he obtained a royal grant, Sept. 10, anno 1621; he was afterwards created lord Alexander, viscount of Canada, and earl of Stirling, anno 1633. The French call it L'Acadie, an abbreviation or corruption of Arcadia in the Morea of Greece, a northern hilly country of the Peloponnesus. Hitherto, it cannot be called a colony; it is only an impotent British garrison in an ill-regulated French settlement: the French settlers and the British garrison officers (with much impropriety) call the inhabitants Neutrals, though under the protection of, and in allegiance to, the crown of Great-Britain; there are no British settlers to compose an assembly or legislature for making laws and raising of taxes.

The French had early settlements in L'Acadie or Nova Scotia; captain Argol from Virginia, anno 1613, visited Port-Royal and St. Croix, and brought away two French vessels. M. Biencourt was at that time governor of Port-Royal: Argol broke up some French settlements in Sagadahock and L'Acadie, called part of New-France, or Terra Canadensis. At present the country north of St. Laurence river, only, retains this name: this expedition of Argol's made way for Sir William Alexander's patent. Sir William admitted some associates, anno 1623; they sent over a ship with some settlers, but they all returned to England the same year, and the French proceeded in their settlements. K. Charles I, anno 1625, upon his marriage with Henrietta Maria, a daughter of France, quit-claimed Nova Scotia to the French.

There have been many revolutions in the property and dominion of Nova Scotia.

1. Anno 1627 and anno 1628, Sir David Kirk and associates, upon a private adventure, but by commission from the king or crown of England, conquered the French settlements in Canada and Nova Scotia; and patents were obtained from the court of England, by which the lands called Canada, north of the river St. Laurence, were granted to Sir David Kirk, and the lands called Nova Scotia, south of the said river, were confirmed to Sir William Alexander.

2. Sir William sold the property to M. Claude de la Tour d'Aunay, a French protestant, and anno 1632, Mar. 29, by treaty king Charles quit-claimed it to France.

3. Cromwell sent col. Sedgwick; he reduced it anno 1654, and it was confirmed to England by treaty in the year following; M. St. Estienne, son and heir of the above Claude de la Tour, came to England, made out his claim, and had the property surrendered to him; this La Tour sold the property to Sir Thomas Temple, who was governor and in possession of the property until anno 1662; it was then delivered up to the French by king Charles II (that race ought to be called sons of France, not sons of Great-Britain) who agreed with the Temples for a sum of 10,000 *l.* sterling to be paid them (but it never was satisfied) upon account of their right.

Menival was appointed governor, and built a small stockaded fort, called Port-Royal, upon a bason, nine miles from the bay of Fundy; Nova Scotia was confirmed to the French by the Breda treaty, anno 1667, in the manner of a quit-claim. La Tour, a French protestant, upon his returning to the Roman catholic way of worship, had it confirmed (as to property) to him by the court of France. La Tour, in the various vicissitudes, was protestant when the country was under the dominion of England, and Roman catholic when it was subject to the king of France. La Tour built a fort at St. John's river: M. Donnée, the French governor of L'Acadie, deemed it irregular, and inconsistent with the royal prerogative: while La Tour was in France, he reduced it, and inhumanly

manly destroyed La Tour's wife and family. La Tour became poor, borrowed a large sum of money of M. Belle Isle, a rich merchant and trader to North-America, and assigned over to him one half of the province or seigneurie.

4. The French of L'Acadie being troublesome neighbours, New-England fitted out an expedition of 700 men under col. Phipps, at their own charge, anno 1690, (Menival governor, the fort ill fortified, and ill provided) they demolished the fort; the French took the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of England, but soon revolted in conformity to Roman catholic and French faith, and continued their settlements; and by the treaty of Ryswic, anno 1697, Great-Britain quit-claimed it to France. *N. B.* The New-England expedition sailed from Boston (Nantasket is in Boston harbour) 28th of April, came before Port-Royal 11th of May, in two or three days Menival surrendered, and the French garrison was shipped off.

Anno 1704, major Church, with 550 voluntiers, visited Penobscut, Passamaquady, and Les Mines; they brought off about 100 prisoners: in July they attempted Port-Royal, but in vain.

Capt. Rowse of Charlestown, anno 1706, as a flag of truce was sent to Annapolis to exchange or redeem prisoners; he, with some of his owners and associates in Boston, were under suspicion of secret contracts [q], to supply the French enemy; indictments were laid against them for high misdemeanours; they were fined, but their fine remitted: one trip they brought home seventeen prisoners; next trip only seven prisoners.

Anno 1707-8, March 13, from New-England there proceeded an expedition against Port-Royal, under col.

[q] At present, anno 1747 and 1748, the same game is played, *improvisè*, from Rhode-Island, New-York, and Philadelphia; if this licit trade supplied the enemy only with superfluities and extravagancies at a good price, perhaps in policy it might be connived at; but to relieve their necessities instead of distressing them (which the proclamation of war in express words requires) seems to be a degree of treason, or at least of high misdemeanor.

March, with two regiments of militia, Wainwright and Hilton, covered by the Deptford man of war from England, and the province galley; this expedition had no effect, and the officers of the Deptford were blamed as negligent or refractory.

Anno 1709, col. Nicholson and capt. Vetch apply at the court of Great-Britain, for sea and land-forces to reduce Canada; there being at that time a sort of court war, it was not attended to, but upon their soliciting an expedition of less consequence, *viz.* to reduce Port-Royal and the country of Nova Scotia; this was obtained.

5. Nova Scotia continued with the French from anno 1662 (Sir William Phipps's reduction and possession of it, anno 1690; may be said to be only momentary) until anno 1710, it was then reduced by a force from Great-Britain, and from New-England, under col. Nicholson, and confirmed to Great-Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, and thus it remains to this day.

This expedition under general Nicholson (with instructions to all the governors of New-England to be assisting) and adjutant general Vetch, was as follows, anno 1710, July 15, Nicholson, with some British officers, and col. Reading's marines, arrive at Boston from England, for the intended expedition: the armament set out from Boston, Sept. 18, consisting of the Dragon, Falmouth, Leostaff, and Feversham men of war, the Star bomb, and the Massachusetts province-galley, with transports, in all thirty-six sail; the land-forces on board were, one regiment of marines from England, two regiments of Massachusetts-Bay, one regiment of Connecticut, and one regiment of New-Hampshire and Rhode Island, commissioned by the queen, and armed by her gift; they arrived at Port-Royal in six days (the grenadiers of Walton's regiment were commanded by Mascarene, the present governor of Annapolis fort, and commander in chief of Nova Scotia) after a small affair of cannonading and bombarding, the French governor Subercasse capitulated, and October 5, the fort was delivered up; and col. Vetch,
according

according to instructions, becomes governor. The terms of capitulation were, that all the French, being 481 persons within the Banlieu, or three miles of the fort, shall be under the protection of Great-Britain, upon their taking the proper oaths of allegiance; the other French settlers were left to discretion, that, in case the French make incursions upon the frontiers of New-England, the British shall make reprisals upon the French in Nova Scotia, by making some of their chief inhabitants slaves to our Indians; yet notwithstanding, the French of L'Acadie commit hostilities, but the Port-Royal and Cape Sable Indians desire terms of amity and alliance; the garrison allowed to march out with six cannon and two mortars, afterwards bought by Nicholson for 7499 livres ten sols: the garrison consisting of 258 foldiers with their officers, and other inhabitants, in all 481 persons, male and female, were shipped to Rochelle in France; general Nicholson sent major Livingston, and M. Subercasse sent baron St. Casteen to the marq. de Vaudruel general of Canada, to acquaint him with this event; they arrived at Quebec, Dec. 16. The men of war and transports sail for Boston, Oct. 14, leaving a garrison in Port-Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, of 200 marines and 250 New-England voluntiers; they were relieved next year by 400 of the troops destined for Canada. The New-England charge in this expedition, was upwards of 23,000 £ sterling reimbursed by parliament.

The French governor's commission was in these words; Daniel Anger de Subercasse, knight of St. Louis, governor of L'Acadie, of Cape Breton islands and lands adjacent from Cape Rosier, of the great river St. Lawrence as far as the east parts of Quenebec river.

Here it is not improper to annex the following digression.

A digression concerning some late British expeditions against Canada.

ANNO 1690, the New-Englanders having reduced Port-Royal, and all the rest of Nova Scotia or L'Acadie,

were encouraged to attempt Quebec in Canada the same year; they set out too late in the year, want of experience in their principal officers, sickness amongst their men, and the army of 1000 English with 1500 Indians, who at the same time were to march from Albany, by the way of Lake Champlain to attack Montreal by way of diversion, to divide the French forces, not proceeding, occasioned a miscarriage, with the loss of 1000 men, and a loss of many of their transports in their return, with a great charge incurred; which charge occasioned the first emission of a pernicious [r] Paper Currency by way of

[r] The odium which I bear to this fallacious and designed cheat of a plantation government public Paper Currency, leads me to anticipate a little upon the article of Paper Currencies designed for the Appendix. This pindaric or loose way of writing ought not to be confined to lyric poetry; it seems to be more agreeable by its variety and turns, than a rigid dry connected account of things: some perhaps of no taste blame me for want of method; and on the other lay a strict observance of the propriety of words, they call pedantry.

I have observed, that all our Paper-money-making assemblies have been legislatures of debtors, the representatives of people who from incogitancy, idleness, and profuseness, have been under a necessity of mortgaging their lands: lands are real permanent estate, but the debt in Paper Currency by its multiplication depreciates more and more. Thus their land estate in nominal value increases, and their debt in nominal value decreases; and the large quantities of Paper Credit is proportionably in favour of the debtors, and to the disadvantage of the creditors, or industrious frugal part of the colony: this is the wicked mystery of this iniquitous Paper Currency.

A public credit Paper Currency, is a great promoter of expeditions. 1. These bills to defray the charge are soon expedited, but with a consequent distant but certain ruinous effect. 2. This affluence of paper credit invites or encourages people to borrow and run in debt, beyond what they ever can extricate. 3. Debtors, when called upon by their creditors from enlisting by acts of their legislatures, are indulged or respited for some considerable time; thus towards the Cape-Breton expedition, anno 1745, in less than two months, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, out of 20,000 sensible men capable to march, 3000 enlisted, and were a dead loss to the province: 2000 more, that is, two regiments were proposed by — to be added to the garrison of Louisbourg, but cannot be completed; and two or three thousand more towards demolishing a French out-fort, called Crown-Point, which we cannot pretend to maintain, but abandon to be rebuilt by the French for one tenth of the charge which it may cost us in reducing it (Quebec re-

public

public bills of credit to pay this charge: there sailed from Boston frigates and transports thirty-two, having 2000 landmen aboard; the admiral called the Six Friends carried forty-four guns; they sailed from Boston August 9, did not arrive before Quebec till October 5, landed 1400 men under general Walley about one league and a half from the town, were repulsed two or three times with great loss. Baron La Hontan, who was then at Quebec, says, "The New-England men did not want courage, but wanted military discipline; that Sir William Phipps's conduct was so bad, that he could not have done less than he did, if he had been hired by the French, to stand still with his hands in his pockets; if they had come directly against the town, it would have surrendered, but they were dilatory in their consultations at a distance, which gave time to reinforce the place with regular troops, militia, and savages; Sir William bombarded the town from four vessels, and did damage to the value of five or six pistoles; in the town were only twelve great guns, and very little ammunition."

Anno 1711, the scheme and expedition for reducing of Quebec and Placentia, and consequently all Canada and Newfoundland, to ingross the Cod-fishery [s], was

duced by a force from Great-Britain will save us both men and money, and effectually bring all Canada into our hands.) Some evil genius seems to preside or prevail at present, by the apparent destruction of the persons and effects of this jaded province of Massachusetts-Bay.

When I happen upon this subject, I cannot avoid being more sanguine (but in truth) than some Paper-money-patriots may judge reasonable; that I may not preclude what is to be said in the Appendix, concerning Plantation Paper Currencies, I shall only instance the vast incredible damages that personal estates have suffered in New-England, by depreciation of denominations from the multiplying of a nominal Paper Currency. Anno 1711, by act of assembly the exchange of the government bills upon account of the sham Canada expedition, was fixed at 140 New-England for 100 sterling. At present in the spring, anno 1748, it is with merchants 1000 New-England for 100 sterling, perhaps from mal-administration only.

[s] Or rather to draw off some of our troops from annoying the French in Flanders, and finally by miscarrying to contribute towards making the people of Great-Britain tired of the war with France.

concerted by the new ministry, solicited by Nicholson; [f] the regiments of Kirk, Hill, Windrefs, Clayton, and Kaine, from Flanders, together with Seymour's Disnay's, and a battalion of marines from England, under the command of brigadier Hill, brother to the new favourite Mrs. Masham, in forty transports, with a squadron of twelve line of battle ships, several frigates, two bomb-veffels, a fine train of artillery under col. King, with forty fine horses, and six store ships; they sailed from England April 28, arrived at Boston, June 25: by order from home there was a congress at New-London of all our plantation governors north of Pensylvania with Nicholson, to concert measures; to the British troops were joined two regiments from Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island, and New-Hampshire, to attack Quebec, while the militia from Connecticut, New-York, and Jerseys, with the Indians of the Five Nations, so called, under general Nicholson, marched by land from Albany, Aug. 20, to attack Montreal for diversion. It [u] was alledged, that they were retarded at Boston for want of provisions; they did not sail till July 30; there were sixty-eight vessels, carrying 6463 troops; August 18, they anchored in the bay or harbour of Gaspee, on the south side of the entrance of St. Laurence river, to wood and water. Aug. 23, in the night-time, contrary to the advice of the pilots, in a fog they fell in with the north shore, and, upon

[f] Four of the principal men of the five Indian Tribes or Nations, who lie between our settlements and Canada, called the Four Kings, were sent over to England to persuade this expedition.

[u] Sir Hovenden Walker wrote to governor Dudley in Boston, "I concur with the opinion of all the sea and land officers here, that the government of this colony have prejudiced the present expedition instead of assisting it."

Admiral Walker having demanded a supply of sailors, the governor and council represent, That the ordinary guards for the sea coast and inland forces, with those detached for the present expedition, are upwards of two thousand men; which, upon a strict examination into the muster-rolls, is more than one fifth of all the persons within this government capable of bearing arms; therefore it was inconsistent with the safety of this her majesty's province to spare any more men: there were 1100 effective land forces, and 160 sailors in our transports.

the islands of eggs, lost [w] eight transports, and 884 men. In a council of war, it was resolved, that, by reason of the ignorance of the pilots, it was impracticable to proceed; and that advice should be sent to recall general Nicholson from proceeding to Montreal. The fleet anchored in Spanish river off Cape-Breton, Sept. 4, and, in a general council of war, it was resolved not to attempt any thing against [x] Placentia, but to return to Great-Britain. They sailed from Spanish river Sept. 16, and in twenty one days were in soundings near the channel of England. Oct. 16, at St. Helen's, the Edgar, with the admiral's journals and other papers, was blown up, and the voyage (as some say) in that inhuman wicked manner settled. The charge incurred by the province of Massachusetts-Bay was something more than 24,000*l.* sterling allowed by parliament, and converted into debentures transferrable, and bearing interest; it is probable the Massachusetts demand of 178,000 *l.* sterling charges incurred in reducing Louisbourg, may be satisfied in the same manner; these debentures to be transferrable only towards cancelling the provincial bills of public credit, that ACCURSED PAPER CURRENCY, in which the honest, industrious, frugal people have lost almost the whole of their personal estates by depreciations; but not to be intrusted in any shape with fallacious money-making and indebted g—rs and a—lies.

[w] Whereof one was a New-England victualler, whose men were saved.

[x] By an intercepted letter from Casta Bella governor of Placentia, to M. Pontchartrain French secretary of state, it appears, that the French had not exceeding 700 men in that garrison and country, consequently must have proved an easy conquest.

When they mustered at Spanish river, the number of men aboard the men of war and transports were 7643. Although they had not exceeding ten weeks provision, at short allowance, in two or three days Placentia might have been reduced, garrisoned, and the fleet dispatched to Great-Britain without suffering for want of provisions: I cannot say such was the fatality, but such was the destination of the affair by a wicked ministry.

Our [y] next Canada expedition proved abortive in a shorter time from the conception; but may be supposed to have been occasioned by some natural good [z] policy causes, and not from premeditated designed means of miscarriage, as in the former. By orders dated — April, 1746, from the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state at the court of Great-Britain; all the British governors in North-America are required to raise each of them, so many independent companies of 100 men, as they can spare and effect: those of New-York, New-Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to be formed into one corps, to

[y] Romantic expeditions have been the bane of our northern colonies, by incurring a paper public credit, made a currency and legal tender. The ill concerted, and worse executed, expedition, anno 1690, against Canada, introduced this vicious currency: the very, very, very rash, but very, very, very fortunate expedition against Cape-Breton or Louisbourg, I hope may terminate public paper currency; the damage to all industrious frugal people is flagrant, that is, silver, by this expedition, from 30s. per oz. was depreciated to 60s. per oz. Thus all good honest men (real estates, specialties, the salaries and wages of our legislatures excepted) lost one half of their estates; and by taxes to cancel this debt, lose, in course of years, perhaps one quarter more of their principal estates, that is, the industrious and frugal, from the beginning of the project of the Cape Breton expedition, in the space of two years have lost three quarters of their estates: if reimbursed from the parliament of Great-Britain, the taxes being only one quarter will be eased: some say this is the natural consequence from the indebted members of the legislature.

[z] Vulgar minds cannot dive into mysteries of state, no more than into mysteries of religion; that is, whether this not followed Canada expedition was only a feint, to make the French secure and guardless upon the coast of Britany; that the ships, merchandize, and stores at Port Louis, Port L'Orient, &c. might fall an easy prey: or, whether the allowing duke d'Anville's squadron, with land-forces, to sail early in the summer without molestation in Europe and America; was, that Cape-Breton might fall into the French hands again, or that they might reduce Annapolis with Nova Scotia to be delivered up again to Britain at a peace, as an equivalent for Louisbourg with Cape-Breton islands, if not retaken by the French: this may be imagined from the delay of Lestock's and lieutenant-general St. Clair's sailing, 'till too late in the year, and afterwards, by a feint, converting the expedition into a descent upon the coast of Britany, to abate the popular clamour for their not proceeding against Canada; all this to prevent puzzling in a subsequent congress for a peace.

be commanded by brigadier Gooch, lieutenant-governor of Virginia; the king to be at the charge of arming, paying, and cloathing of these troops, but the several colonies to furnish levy-money and victualling; Virginia sent two companies, Maryland three, Pennsylvania four, the Jerseys five, New-York fifteen, being twenty-nine companies; these were designed against Crown-Point, and from thence against Montreal; the two Virginia companies remained in the fort of New-York, the regular troops were sent upon the expedition; the yellow fever at this time prevailed at Albany, therefore the troops for the expedition rendezvous at Saratago, about thirty miles higher up Hudson's river: Massachusetts-Bay raised twenty companies, Connecticut ten, Rhode-island three, New-Hampshire two, being thirty-five companies. These were to join the British land-forces under lieutenant-general St. Clair, with a squadron of men of war from England to reduce Quebec, and all Canada, while Gooch was making a diversion at Montreal, sixty leagues farther up the river of St. Laurence; these colony militia were to receive part of the booty, and to be sent home when the service was over.

Admiral Lestock's being appointed commander of the squadron destined for this expedition, in place of admiral Warren, a man of integrity, and the delays until too late in the year, plainly evinced that the reduction of Canada at that time was not intended. As the governors of the several colonies had no instructions to dismiss their levies; these levies were continued on foot; the Massachusetts men were disposed into two regiments of Waldo's and Dwight's; at the request of governor Mascarene, five or six of Waldo's companies, the three companies of Rhode-island, and the two companies of New-Hampshire, were [a] sent for the protection of Nova Scotia; the other

[a] The three companies from Rhode-island were shipwrecked near Martha's vineyard; the two companies of New Hampshire went to sea, but for some trifling reason put back, and never proceeded: the want of these five companies was the occasion of our forces being over-

1500 men were designed to join the southern levies, in order to reduce [*b*] Crown-Point fort, built by the French as a rendezvous and place of arms for disturbing our settlements of New-England and New-York; see p. 11. Some misunderstanding between the several governments, and the contagious sicknesses which prevailed about Albany, prevented the prosecution of this design: the order for dismissing or disbanding of the Canada levies, did not arrive until October, anno 1747; they were accordingly dismissed, and have produced another crop of idlers, the bane of all countries.

Here we shall continue the history of the several bickerings or skirmishes which we have had in Nova Scotia with the Canadians, the other French, and their Indians.

After the reduction of Port-Royal or Annapolis-Royal by general Nicholson, anno 1710, notwithstanding that by the capitulation, the inhabitants without the Banlieu were to be [*c*] Neutrals, they continued their hostilities; hostilities continuing, the French missionary priest, and

powered by the Canadians at Minas with a considerable slaughter. I use this expression, because many of them were not fairly killed in a military manner.

Here I cannot avoid mentioning the impropriety of the expression *AUXILIARIES*, which properly signifies foreign troops in aid; whereas the troops sent from New-England for the protection of Nova Scotia, belonged to the same crown or dominion, and perhaps may more properly be called succours, or reinforcements.

[*b*] Formerly New-England was generally in the time of the French wars annoyed from the north-eastward: but this war our annoyance is north-westward, that is, from Crown Point. In former wars there was a neutrality between the New-York or Mohawk Indians and the French Indians; so that a considerable trade was easily carried on between Albany and Montreal, to the advantage of the people of New-York, and disadvantage of Canada. The French erected this fort, 1. To prevent this disadvantageous intercourse of trade. 2. To extend their claims of dominion and soil. 3. The better to disturb our settlements in the times of war. New-York government, in former French wars, did not suffer; in this war they have suffered much.

[*c*] At present it seems an impropriety in the officers of the troops and garrison of Annapolis, and in the neighbouring governments of New-England, to call the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, *NEU-*
five

five of the principal inhabitants upon the river of Annapolis, were seized and kept as hostages, for the inhabitants future good behaviour; even notwithstanding this precaution, capt. Pigeon, with sixty men being sent up the river for timber to repair the fort, they were way-laid by the French and their Indians; this party were all killed or made captives.—Many other hostilities were committed.

After the peace of Utrecht, a tranquillity continued till the war between New-England and their eastern indians. The French missionaries persuaded the Indians, that the English had encroached upon their lands. Anno 1721, in June, capt. Blin, a Nova Scotia trader, Mr. Newton collector of Nova Scotia, and others, were made captives by the Indians at Pasamaquady, but were soon released, because governor Doucet of Annapolis had made a reprisal of twenty-two Indians. Along Cape-Sable shore the Indians began to insult our fishing vessels: in July, these Indians take several fishing vessels on the Cape-Sable coast, kill and captive many of their men; governor Philips at Canso fits out two armed sloops; they kill and take captive many Indians, and put an end to the Indian sea-roving, anno 1724. Anno 1723, July 15, the Indians, at Canso upon Durrel's island kill capt. Watkins, two more men, one woman and one child. Anno 1724, in July, a party of Indians attack Annapolis of Nova Scotia, they burn two houses, and kill one serjeant, and one private man of a party that sallied: in the fort they [d] shot and scalped one of the Indian prisoners as a reprisal for the Indians shooting and scalping of serjeant M^c Neal; and

TRALS, because, 1. These French inhabitants, with their Indians, continued our enemies and, in fact, killed and captivated many British people, in breach of this neutrality. 2. By the treaty of Utrecht, the whole province of Nova Scotia, or L'Acadie, was absolutely ceded to Great-Britain. 3. The principal men of the French inhabitants have taken the oaths of allegiance to the crown of Great Britain.

[d] In some Christian countries such reprisals in cold blood upon people not personally guilty, would have been deemed barbarous and inhuman.

burn

burn two French houses as a reprisal for the two English houses burnt; several English living without the fort were made captive, but soon ransomed by the French.

From this time until the French war in the spring, anno 1744, this neglected non-effective garrison of Annapolis continued in a profound peace, and supine indolence. In the beginning of the present French war, the fort of Annapolis was in a miserable condition; the garrison soldiers did not exceed eighty men, capable of fatiguing duty; hogs and sheep from without passed the fosses or ditches, and mounted the ramparts at pleasure.

War was declared by Great-Britain against France (the French had declared war some weeks before) anno 1744, March 29; the proclamation of war did not arrive in Boston until June 2; the French of Cape-Breton were more early in their intelligence, and the garrison of the not tenable post of Casco could not (in case the general instructions were such) have timely advice to abandon it; accordingly about 900 men, regular troops and militia, were, by M. Duquesnel governor, sent under M. Du Vivier from Louisbourg; they seize Casco May 13; there were four incomplete companies of Philip's regiment in garrison, not exceeding eighty men, with a man of war tender; the French burn the small settlement, conditions were, to be carried to Louisbourg, and to continue there one year, and thence to be sent to Boston or Annapolis; but were sent to Boston sooner.

In June, a few small vessels (Delabrotz, afterwards taken by the Massachusetts-Bay province snow privateer, commander) from Louisbourg annoy St. Peter's, and some other small harbours of Newfoundland west of Placentia, and threatened Placentia fort.

[e] Beginning of June, about 300 Cape-Sable and St. John's Indians, under the direction of a French missionary

[e] Here we may observe the forwardness and activity of the French nation, upon the breaking out of a war, who thereby have a considerable advantage over the unpreparedness and dilatoriness of their enemies: from that national nuisance Cape-Breton, an effectual French

priest,

priest, M. Luttre, attempted the fort of Annapolis; they burnt the out-houses, destroyed some cattle, killed two men, summoned the garrison to surrender, promising good quarters, otherwise threatened to storm them, upon the arrival of some French forces which they expected from Louisbourg; but upon the arrival of the province snow privateer beginning of July from Boston with the first company of militia (the government of Massachusetts-Bay raised four companies to reinforce the garrison of Annapolis) they broke up, and returned to Minas (or les Mines) and the women and children of Annapolis removed to Boston for safety.

In September, Du Vivier with sixty regular troops from Louisbourg, and about 700 militia and Indians (the above mentioned Indians joined him) upon the arrival of all the Massachusetts succours, particularly of capt. Gorham's Indian rangers (Du Vivier had lain some weeks near Annapolis fort) he retired to Minas: several messages which have been censured, passed between him and the garrison officers of Annapolis, the most favourable account, is, That Du Vivier acquainted them that he expected (in the mean time they might have good terms of capitulation) from Louisbourg some men of war, one of 70 guns, one of 56 guns, and one of 30 guns, with cannon, mortars, and stores, and a reinforcement of 250 more troops; the answer of the garrison, was, That when this force arrived, it was time enough to make proposals: After he had tarried there three weeks, disappointed and

place of arms to distress the British North-America colonies, at once and before we had notice from home of a French war, there issued three expeditions, *viz.* against Placentia, Canso, and Annapolis-Royal; Duquesnel (otherwise a good officer) governor of Cape-Breton, erred in being too forward; he had instructions along with the declaration of war, not to attempt any expedition (this I learnt from M. le Marquis de la Maison fort, commander of a French man of war, the Vigilant of 64 guns, taken by commodore Warren and captain Douglass) until further orders from the French court; perhaps as Louisbourg was ill garrisoned, it was suspected that such expeditions might alarm the neighbouring populous British colonies, and prompt them to the reduction of Louisbourg, as it really happened with good success.

discontented, he retired to Minas; next day after his decamping some trifling vessels with cannon, mortars, and warlike stores, arrived in the basin of Annapolis, and hearing of Du Vivier's being withdrawn, they were afraid of our frigates annoying of them; they soon removed, and as it happened, they narrowly escaped our vessels: Du Vivier from Minas went to [f] Bay Vert, and thence to Canada, and from thence home to France.

As the Cape-Sable and St. John's Indians, persisted in their hostilities against the subjects of Great-Britain; in November 1744, the government of the Massachusetts-Bay declares war against them, declaring them enemies and rebels; because they had joined the French enemy in blocking up Annapolis; had killed some British subjects, and had committed other depredations: the Passamaquady, Penobscot, Noridwoag, Pigwocket, and other Indians westward of St. John's, are forbid to have any correspondence with those Indian rebels: for all Indians eastward of a line, beginning at three miles east of Passamaquady, and running north to St. Laurence river, the government settles for a short time premiums, viz. 100 *l.* new [g] tenor, for a male of 12 *Æt.* and upwards scalped, and 105 *l.* new tenor if captivated; for women and children 50 *l.* scalps, 55 *l.* captives. Sometime afterwards it was found that the Penobscot and Noridwoag Indians also joined with the French; the assembly of Massachusetts-Bay colony, Aug. 23, 1745, extend the premiums for scalps and captivated Indians to all places west of Nova Scotia, 250 *l.* new tenor to volunteers, and 100 *l.* new tenor to troops in pay [b].

[f] Bay Vert is the embarkadier from Canada to annoy Annapolis, and other places in Nova Scotia. Here are only four miles land-carriage to Chicanecto bay, which falls into the great bay of Fundi of Nova Scotia. Upon this pass a fort would be of good service to prevent Canada incursions, and to obviate the perverting of the French inhabitants of L'Acadie from their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain.

[g] Whereof at present, anno 1748, 50 *s.* is equal to 20 *s.* sterling; old tenor is only one quarter of new tenor.

[b] If Du Vivier, with his 900 men, which reduced Canso, had di-
Anno

Anno 1745, in May, M. Martin, a lieutenant from Canada, captain of a company of Savages or Indian rangers, a true partizan, with about 900 raggamuffins, Canadians, other French and Indians, comes before Annapolis; they continued but a short time, and returned to Minas; and, I suppose, by orders from Louisbourg, went to relieve Louisbourg at that time besieged: captain Donahew, in the service of the Massachusetts colony, met with them in Asmacoufè harbour June 15, being two sloops, two scooners, and about sixty large canoes; upon the further appearance of Beckett and Fones, this body of French and Indians retired and returned to Minas. From that time, until de Ramsay's attempt in September, 1746, the garrison of Annapolis suffered no insults.

From the beginning of this French war, there have been quartered at Minas and Chicanecto and the neighbouring French villages, a dispersed number of officers and soldiers from Canada; but from Martin's leaving Annapolis in the beginning of July, 1745, to the arrival of de Ramsay in September, 1746, the garrison of Annapolis enjoyed their wonted Rest.

In the summer 1746, a force of about 1600 men, regular marine troops, Canadian militia, and Coureurs des Bois, with French Indians, under the command of M. de Ramsay, arrive in Minas, to join the forces expected from France under [i] the duke d'Anville. They were

ready proceeded to Annapolis, and been joined by the Cape Sable and St. John's Indians, he must infallibly, and with ease, have reduced Annapolis.

[i] In the spring 1746, the French fitted a strong armament at Brest to be commanded by the duke d'Anville, lieutenant-general des Armées navales, to recover Louisbourg, and distress the British North-America; they did not sail from Rochelle until June 22; they escaped or were overlooked by the British admiral Martin's squadron of observation: the court of Great-Britain had certain information of their being sailed, and of their destination; but perhaps for certain reasons of state, did not send after them, though we had at that time an equal or better armament ready to sail. This French fleet, after a tedious passage, and having suffered in a storm near the island of Sable, did not arrive off Chebueto in Nova Scotia until Sept. 10. The armament consisted of

much caressed by our French subjects there, and our Minas subjects, gave to the garrison of Annapolis DE-

eleven line of battle ships, some frigates, two fire-ships, transports, &c. having 3150 land-forces aboard. Duke d'Anville's instructions were, to proceed against Louisbourg, and, when taken, to dismantle it; thence to proceed against Annapolis in Nova Scotia, and when taken, to garrison it; thence he was to sail for Boston, and burn it; afterwards in ranging along he was to annoy and distress the coast of North-America; and finally to visit our West-India sugar islands.

D'Anville detached three capital ships and a frigate, under the command of M. Conflans, to convoy the trade to Cape François in Hispaniola, and to return and join the grand squadron; these were the four French men of war which near Jamaica fell in with a British squadron commanded by commodore Mitchel; but Mitchel, in effect, refused taking of them. M. Conflans' orders were, that for advice, he was to cruize upon the Cape Sable shore, between Cape Negroe and Cape Sambre, for a limited time, and then to sail directly for France; they received no advice, and never joined d'Anville's squadron; these were the ships that spoke with some of our fishing schooners, and gave a feint chase to the Hinchinbrook man of war snow Sept. 15; they avoided giving any alarm to our Louisbourg squadron.

This French armanent, from their being long aboard before they sailed, and from a tedious passage, were become very sickly (duke d'Anville died, and was buried at Chebucto) they put in to Chebucto harbour, landed and encamped to recruit their health; in this place, near one half of their people died of scorbutic putrid fevers and dysenteries; the Nova Scotia Indians frequented them much; and this camp illness becoming contagious, the Nova Scotia Indians were reduced to above one third: they were supplied with fresh provisions from our French districts of Minas, Cobequid, Piskaquid, and Chicanecto; the French commissaries or purfers of the squadron paid according to instructions, not only for this fresh stock, but for all the provisions furnished to the Canadians and their Indians, from the commencement of this war. Our squadron at Cape-Breton, under admiral Townshend, did not visit the French fleet when distressed.

The season of the year being too far advanced, their strength much impaired, the detached four men of war not having joined them, and from disappointments, and the officers in a fret with one another, it was resolved in a council of war to proceed against Annapolis-Royal of Nova Scotia: they sailed from Chebucto, October 13; after four days they met with a storm off Cape Sable, and in a council of war it was resolved to return directly for France. Two of the squadron were in the bay of Fundi, ships of 60 and 36 guns; that of 36 guns came into the basin. Our ships, the Chester, Shirley, and Ordnance frigate, well-manned with land-forces, went in chase of them; the Chester ran aground: the French ships, after having put ashore an ex-

CEITFUL,

CEITFUL, and no other intelligence. Here they continued some months; but the winter season approaching, and no tidings of the French armament, the French troops deemed it advisable to return to Canada. In their return, duke d'Anville's armament arrives in Chebucto of Nova Scotia, and an express was sent to recall them; about 400 of them were overtaken, and returned with de Ramsay, Culon, and la Corne, three captains of marines, and chevaliers or knights of the order of St. Louis. Towards the end of September, de Ramsay comes before Annapolis, made no assault, but encamped at some distance; the Chester man of war of 50 guns, the Shirley frigate of 20 guns, and the Ordnance schooner, at that time were in the basin of Annapolis; three companies of reinforcements for the garrison from Boston were arrived, and de Ramsay having had advice of the French fleet being returned to France, made the French decamp October 22, and return to Minas.

press, with advice to De Ramsay, that the French fleet were returned to France, escaped and continued their voyage home.

This French armament upon the coast, for very good reasons, alarmed Boston; in a few days, with great expedition, it was reinforced by 6400 country inland militia; the militia of the sea coast countries remained at home for their own defence, to prevent depredations. Upon occasion Connecticut was to have sent us 6000 men, being about one half of their militia.

The French in Chebucto were eight ships of the line, whereof the *Perfait* was burnt, as incapable to proceed; upon the coast of France, the *Nottingham* took the *Mars*; the *Exeter* drove the *Ardent* ashore, and burnt her: this was the fate of the great French armada or armament against the British North-American colonies.

The British squadron, commanded at first by admiral Warren, and afterwards by admiral Lestock, with land-forces under the command of lieutenant-general St. Clair, which seemed destined against Canada, and to observe the French squadron in North-America, after many delays, on account of contrary winds and other pretences, was converted to an invasion upon the coast of Brittany: the troops landed at Quimperley bay, Sept. 20. and bombarded Port l'Orient; Sept. 26, the troops retreated, and left four pieces of cannon, and a ten inch mortar, ammunition, and stores; some marines and sailors were left behind: Oct. 1, they embarked at Quimperley; afterwards some land at Quiberon, and did a small matter of damage.

His design was to quarter at Minas and Chicaneſto, during the winter, and to join the French fleet and land-forces, which were expected to reduce Annapolis, in the ſummer; governor Maſcarene of Annapolis, judged that in addition to the three companies of volunteers which arrived from Boſton in autumn, 1000 men of reinforcements from New-England, might be ſufficient to diſlodge the French enemy, and to conſume (by purchaſe) all the French inhabitants proviſions produced there, in time coming to prevent the ſubſiſtence of the enemy, who might lodge there and corrupt the inhabitants; and Britiſh forces being quartered among them, might influence them to continue in their allegiance to the crown of Great-Britain: Maſſachufferts-Bay aſſembly vote 500 men to be ſent, Rhode-iſland 300 men, and New-Hampſhire 200 men; the Rhode-iſland men were ſhipwrecked near Martha's Vineyard; thoſe from New-Hampſhire ſet out, but put back upon ſome trifling excuſe, and never proceeded; the 500 men from Boſton only arrived; the diſappointment of the Rhode-iſland and New-Hampſhire men was the reaſon of our ſubſequent diſaſter at Minas.

Our firſt parcel, under captain Morris, arrived at Minas Dec. 12; when all were arrived, they did not exceed 470 men, beſides officers; water-carriage in the winter-ſeaſon being impracticable, they marched by land thirty leagues, with much hardſhip, in eight days; every man ſet out with fourteen days proviſion upon his back; the main body was quartered at Grand Pre, in a very looſe, ill-contrived, ſcattered ſituation, but upon alarm to repair to the main guard; col. Noble ſuperſeded col. Gorham in the chief command; Gorham and major Phillips, with a ſmall eſcorte, ſet out for Annapolis Jan. 29; they were but nine miles on their way, when the French began their attack.

The French, well informed of our ſcattered ſituation, as to cantonment, and not regularly provided with ammunition and proviſion, ſet out from Chicaneſto Jan. 8,

for

for Minas, which, by heading of creeks and rivers, is about thirty leagues distance, and by excursions to bring along as many of the settlers and Indians as possible, did not arrive at Minas until Jan. 31, and began about three hours in the morning by many distant attacks or onsets at the same time, in parties of seventy to fifty men. They were about 600 of the enemy, Canadians, inhabitants, and French Indians; they killed many of our men in a most inhuman base manner; col. Noble, lieuts. Lechemore (nephew to the late lord Lechemore) Jones, Pickering, ensign Noble, with about seventy serjeants, corporals, and private men; made prisoners capt. Doane, lieut. Gerrish, and ensign Newton, in all about sixty-nine men, the wounded included; many of the prisoners were set at liberty.

The French were well provided with snow-shoes; this necessary winter-marching article we neglected: however, a considerable number of our men got together, but as they had not exceeding eight shot per man, and provisions being scanty, they capitulated, 1. We are to march off with arms shouldered, drums beating, colours flying, through a lane of the enemy with rested fire-locks. 2. To be allowed six days provision, one pound of powder, with ball. 3. Not to carry arms in the bays of Minas and Chicanecto for six months.

De Ramsay, being lame, was not in this onset, M. Culon had the command; and after Culon was wounded, M. La Corne commanded: this affair being over, they returned to Chicanecto, and expecting La Jonquiere's squadron with land-forces from France in the summer, they continued at Minas and Chicanecto, until they received advice by some storeships for Canada, which had escaped [k] of La Jonquiere's fleet being destroyed, May 3, 1747: then they returned to Canada, and have given

[k] Anno 1747, in the spring, the French Brest and Rochfort fleets joined at Rochelle, and sailed from thence; they consisted of thirty-eight sail, *viz.* seven men of war from 74 to 44 guns; of these the Invincible of 74 guns, and a frigate of 44 guns (the only man of war

no further disturbance to Nova Scotia: notwithstanding, for the better security of the fort and garrison of Annapolis, Massachusetts-Bay, this spring, 1748, sends a reinforcement of seven companies of militia.

Having briefly related the French bickerings with us in Nova Scotia, we proceed to some further accounts of that country.

ANNAPOLIS, in 44 D. 40 M. N. Lat. tide thirty-three feet, lies upon a fine basin; but the rapid tides in the bay of Fundi make a difficult navigation. Into this basin comes a river of good water-carriage, without falls for twenty-five miles; and near it are several small villages or parcels of French settlements, which, in time of peace, plentifully and cheaply, supply the garrison with fresh provisions and other necessaries. From Cape Anne near Boston harbour, to Cape Sable, are eighty seven

that escaped being taken) were to convoy the six East-India ships; the other five men of war, with transports and merchantmen, having soldiers, stores and goods aboard, were designed for Nova Scotia and Canada. Admiral Anson and Warren, with thirteen line of battle ships, two frigates, and a fireship, fell in with them, May 3, in N. lat. 43 D. 16 M. and frustrated two French expeditions to North-America and to the East-Indies; six of the men of war were taken, all the six East-India company ships, and many of the transports; we had from 4000 to 5000 French prisoners, with their commodore or admiral M. de la Jonquiere chef d'Escadre, an old man of 70 *Æt.* all this was effected with a very inconsiderable loss of men; seven companies of Frampton's regiment were aboard (the other three companies were in the grand battery of Louisbourg in Cape-Breton) and behaved well. M. de St. George, a knight of Malta, commanded that part of the fleet which was bound to the East-Indies.

I shall but just mention (because not nearly related to our subject) the action of admiral Hawke, Oct. 14, 1747, near Cape Finisterre, with a squadron of fourteen capital ships; he fell in with a French fleet commanded by M. de l'Entendiere chef d'Escadre, of eight large line of battle ships, and 180 merchantmen; four of the men of war were destined to bring home a fleet from Martinique; only two of the French men of war escaped; the merchantmen, in the time of the action, made the best of their way, but some were picked up by our privateers soon after, and in the West-Indies.

leagues;

leagues; from Cape Sable to Annapolis are thirty leagues; capt. Campbell in the Squirrel man of war, sailed from Marblehead near Boston harbour (shortest course) in twenty-three hours. The English have no other footing in this province, besides the fort of Annapolis; and before this French war, a small fishery at Canso.

Aglate la Tour, grand daughter to the before mentioned La Tour, by management and for small considerations, obtained procurations and quit-claims, from all the heirs of La Tour, and Belle-isle; she married a subaltern officer in Phillips's regiment; she went to England, and sold the seigneurie or property of all the province to the crown of Great-Britain, anno 1731, for 2000 guineas; the sole property of all the province is now in the crown, and at present yields not exceeding 17 *l.* sterling *per annum* quit-rent. By the peace of Utrecht, the French in Nova Scotia, upon their taking the British government oaths, were to continue in their possessions; the not appropriated lands by the king of Great-Britain's instructions were reserved for protestant subjects [1]; notwithstanding this instruction, the French Roman catholic subjects, as they swarm (as they multiply in families) make free with these crown lands.

Anno 1717, col. Phillips was appointed governor of Nova Scotia in Place of Vetch, and of Newfoundland in place of Moody; the four independent companies of Annapolis, and the four independent companies of Placentia, with two more additional companies, were re-

[1] Perhaps governor Phillips and lieutenant-governor Armstrong, for secret valuable considerations, made to the French inhabitants some concessions, indulgencies, or connivences. When we recollect such mercenary connivences of governors; and while our French inhabitants retain a language and religion the same with France, our natural enemy, and entirely different from that of Great-Britain; they must naturally and unavoidably, upon any misunderstanding between the British and French, favour the French interest: therefore they must be removed by some subsequent treaty, or be elbowed out, or their language and religion must gradually be changed.

gimented in his favour, making a reduced or reformed regiment of 445 men, officers included. After the French reduction of Canso, our soldiers prisoners arrived at Annapolis, being about sixty men, the poor remains or representatives of four companies; three of these companies were incorporated with the five companies of Annapolis, and with the fourth company of Canso. Thus at Annapolis were six companies, at Placentia one company, and the three new companies to be sent from England to St. John's in Newfoundland, made up the regiment of ten companies, to be completed to 815 men, officers included, the complement of a British marching regiment: the reinforcements and recruits for this regiment from England, by mismanagement and neglect were very unfortunate; and the regiment remains in an abject low estate, though in time of war, and continual jeopardy, from our neighbouring French, and armaments from France.

In order to colonize this country, governor Phillips had a royal instruction to form a council for the management of the civil affairs of the province; and accordingly in April 1720, appointed twelve counsellors, *viz.* John Doucet, lieutenant-governor, Laurence Armstrong, Paul Mascarene, Cyprian Southack, John Harrison, Arthur Savage, John Adams, Herbert Newton, William Skeen, William Sherriff, Peter Boudrie, and Gillam Phillips, esqrs. By the fifth instruction, if any of the council be absent from the province exceeding twelve months, without leave from the commander in chief, or absent two years without the king's leave, his place shall be deemed void or vacant. In the absence of the governors and lieutenant-governor, the eldest counsellor is to act as president of the council, and to take upon him the government: thus anno 1739, upon the death of lieutenant-governor Armstrong, major Mascarene, a soldier from his youth, a gentleman of probity and exemplary good life, became and continues president of the council, and commander in chief for the time being, of the province

vince of Nova Scotia. As Mascarene was only major of the regiment, and Cosby lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and lieutenant-governor of the fort of Annapolis, and consequently his superior officer, Cosby seemed to dispute the command of the province; but by an order from home, it was determined, "That whatever rank
 " any person may have out of the council, he must submit
 " to the laws of seniority, which in civil government
 " ought never to be dispensed with, but by his majesty's
 " special order under his sign manual." The governor Phillips disputes the moiety of the salary which the commander in chief of the province claims in the absence of the governor; but by an instruction or order from home, the forty-second instruction to the governor of Virginia, is also directed to take place in Nova-Scotia, viz. "Upon
 " the governor's absence, one full moiety of the salary,
 " all perquisites, and emoluments whatsoever, shall be
 " paid and satisfied unto such lieutenant-governor,
 " commander in chief, or president of our council, who
 " shall be resident upon the place for the time being,
 " for the better support of the dignity of the govern-
 " ment."

Col. Phillips, governor of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and col. of a regiment in garrisons there, arrived in Boston 1720, Oct. 4; upon his arrival in Nova Scotia 880 effective men of the French inhabitants, took the oaths to the crown of Great-Britain. At this time, anno 1748, we reckon French inhabitants in Nova Scotia from 3000 to 4000 fencible men; Indians in Nova Scotia not exceeding 250 marching men; the contagious distempers of d'Anville's fleet reduced them very much.

Col. Phillips, with advice and consent of his council, is impowered to grant lands under certain limitations, but in general at 1*d.* sterling *per annum*, per acre quit-rent; Roman catholics are excepted. Col Ph—ps had fundry sums allowed by the board of ordnance for repairing fortifications, and the like, at Annapolis and Canso; and were converted, as is said, to his own pro-
 per

per use. In time of peace, the garrisons in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, with a reduced regiment of foot and detachments from the train, cost Great-Britain about 15,000 *l. per annum*.

When Massachusetts-Bay colony obtained a new charter (their former charter was taken away at the same time with many corporation charters in England in the end of the reign of Charles II, and beginning of the like or more arbitrary reign of James II) 7th of October, 1691, Nova Scotia at that time in possession of the French, was annexed (as was also Sagadahock, or duke of York's property) to the Massachusetts jurisdiction, to keep up the claim of Great-Britain; Nova Scotia has since been constituted a separate government; and has continued about forty years to this time, a nominal British province without any British settlement, only an [m] insignificant preventive, but precarious fort and garrison.

[m] The regiments in garrison at Louisbourg may be conveyed to Nova Scotia, and cantoned amongst the French settlements; after some short time to be disbanded, with some encouragement of lands and other things as settlers. Thus we may by degrees ELBOW the French out of their language and religion, and perhaps out of their lands. As many of them, dissatisfied with our neighbourhood, will chuse to remove home to France, or retire to Canada; the remainder will in course continue in their allegiance to the crown of Great-Britain. Nova Scotia has continuedly been in the jurisdiction of Great-Britain for about forty years, and from the bad management of those concerned, in all that time, not any family natives of Great-Britain, or of British extract, have been induced to settle there; there are a few families in and belonging to the garrison of Annapolis.

Notwithstanding the expediency in giving up and demolishing of Louisbourg, it may prove a puzzling affair, 1. Because contrary to the prevailing popular opinion. 2. As the French have made no land conquests in any of the British dominions, the French have no equivalent restitution to make for Cape-Breton, unless by connivance of our ministry, in neglecting the defence of Annapolis and Nova Scotia, we give it to the French, to be made use of as an equivalent; if this could be supposed, the present ministers will not heartily thank the bold New-Englanders for their great expence of men and money in the reduction of Louisbourg, and preservation of Annapolis, but reckon them officiously daring: notwithstanding the reprieve which these expeditions

As this country is rude, a geographical description of it cannot be expected: it is a large extent of territory, bounded westward by the Bay of Fundi, and a line running northward from St. John's river to St. Laurence or Canada great river; northward it is bounded by the said St. Laurence and gut of Canso, which divides it from the island of Cape-Breton; and south-easterly it is bounded by Cape Sable shore.

The most valuable article in this province is the Cape-Sable coast, where is a continued range of cod fishing banks, and many good harbours: it is true, that along the Cape-Sable shore and Cape-Breton, for some weeks in summer, there are continued fogs (as upon the banks of Newfoundland) from the range of banks to the eastward, that the sun is not to be seen, but without storms or bad weather; the rest of the year is clear weather, very suitable for dry cod-fish. Along this coast to keep clear of lands-ends or promontories, of rocks, and of shoals, the courses are, from Cape Anne near Boston

to Cape-Sable	E. by N.	87 leagues
to Cape-Sambro	E. by N. half N.	50
to Canso	E. N. E.	45
to Louisbourg	E. northerly	18

200 leagues.

Some of these harbours are called Port Latore, Port Rosway, Port Metonne, Port Metway, La Have, Malagash, Chebucto. In Chebucto, in the autumn 1746, lay the French armada under duke d'Anville, destined to destroy or distress all the British North-America settlements: this bay and river of Chebucto bids fair in time to become the principal port of Nova Scotia and its metropolis; from this there is good wheel land-carriage communication with the bay of Minas, that is, with La

give to debtors, and by stretching out paper-credit, depreciate nominal currency in favour of our landed debts; perhaps a majority of the legislature may favourably construe it as done, in duty to their country, and to the interest of all the dominions of Great-Britain.

Riviere

Riviere des Habitants or La Prarie, with the river of Cobaquid, the river of Pifaquid, and the best parts of the province. It is true, Annapolis lies upon a fine bason, and is more inland for a large vent or consumption (thus London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow have become rich) but the country round it is bad, and the tides of the bay of Fundi renders the navigation difficult.

Upon the opposite or westerly shore of the bay of Fundi, are the rivers of Pasamaquady and St. Croix, being about seventeen leagues N. W. from the gut or entrance of the bason of Annapolis; the river St. Croix is the boundary between Nova Scotia government, and the territory of Sagadahock, or the duke of York's property; for the present in jurisdiction, annexed to the neighbouring New-England province of Massachusetts-Bay. Upon this shore farther northward is the river of St. John's, ten leagues distant from the gut of Annapolis; this is a profitable river, of long course; a considerable tribe of the Abnaquie Indians are settled here, but always (from the indolence of the government of Nova Scotia) in the French or Canada interest. The prodigious falls, or rather tides, in this river near its mouth of thirty fathom, are not a cataract from rocks, but from the tide being pent up in this river between two steep mountains. By this river and carrying-places there is a communication with Quebec, the metropolis of Canada. When we reduced Port-Royal 1710, major Livingston and St. Casteen went by this river to acquaint the general of Canada concerning that event. Higher or more northward is Cape Doré, about thirty leagues from Annapolis; here is plenty of mineral coal for firing: some years since, this affair was undertaken by a company, but soon dropped with loss; here are some slender veins of copper ore, some thin laminæ of virgin copper, and a gold sulphur marcasite.

Upon the easterly shore, or gulph of St. Laurence, is Canlo gut, a safe and short passage from the British settlements to Canada river, six leagues long, one league wide;

wide; a good navigation, from the journals of Capt. Gayton, anno 1746, upon a cruize to Bay Verte. About twenty-five leagues farther is Tatamaganahou, a considerable Nova Scotia French district or settlement, and good road for vessels; fourteen leagues farther is Bay Verte, shallow water, but the embarquadiers from Canada, to disturb us in Nova Scotia; from this are only four miles land carriage to the river of Chicanecto. Here we may observe, that upon the Chicanecto bay side are eleven fathom tide; upon the gulph of St. Laurence or Bay Verte side, are only from four to five feet tide. Farther (Isle Bonaventure and Isle Percée intervening, where the French, by treaty of Utrecht, rightfully cure dry cod fish) at the south entrance of the river of St. Laurence, is Gaspee, a deep bay and good harbour; here unrighteously the French dry cod fish. I observe in the late French charts published by authority, there is a territory pricked off, called Gaspee, as if not belonging to Nova Scotia or L'Acadie, ceded to Great-Britain by the treaty of Utrecht. Such a paper encroachment, if not attended to, may be construed after many years a just claim by prescription; such is at present the dispute between the Baltimore family of Maryland, and the Pen's family of Pennsylvania concerning the old Dutch charts, and our new charts in relation to Cape Cornelius, the south cape of Delaware Bay, and Cape Henlopen, twenty miles south westerly from the mouth of Delaware Bay, in running the line between the three lower counties of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Nova Scotia is divided into ten or twelve districts; each district annually chuses one deputy to be approved by the commander and council at Annapolis; he is a sort of agent for the district, and reports the state of the district from time to time. They are in no legislative or executive capacity; the French missionaries, who are not only appointed by the bishop of Quebec in Canada, but under his direction (a scandal to the indolent government and garrisons of Nova Scotia) in their several districts

stricts and villages, act as magistrates and justices of the peace; but all complaints may be brought before the commander in chief and council at Annapolis.

The New-England bills of public credit, ever since the cession by the treaty of Utrecht, have been their common currency; until the late intolerable depreciation by immensely multiplying this credit beyond its bearings, by expeditions, and, in fact, the credit of those bills is almost sunk [n], or rather lost; the French inhabitants absolutely refused them in currency.

Island of Sable.

THIS island must be deemed in the jurisdiction of the province of Nova Scotia, as it lies upon the latitudes of that coast, though at a considerable distance; and the British exclusive line of fishery, by the treaty of Utrecht 1713, beginning at this island, implies the same to belong to Great-Britain: the name is French, and we retain it with much impropriety; we ought to have translated it to Sandy island, in the same manner as we have turned Point de Sable (a former French district in St. Christopher's) to the present British name Sandy point. The property is loudly (that is, in the public newspapers) claimed by some private persons; I shall not inquire into the merit of the affair

I am informed by people who were shipwrecked there, and lived some months upon the island, that, from Canso to the middle of the island are thirty-five leagues south; it is a low land, with small rising knowles of sand called downs, in form of an elbow, the bite to the northward,

[n] In a message, Nov. 5, 1747, from the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, relating to the pay of Canada forces, to their governor, it is represented, "Should such a further sum be emitted, as is necessary for the purpose mentioned in your Excellency's message, we apprehend it must be followed by a great impair, if not utter loss of the public credit, which has already been greatly wounded." Thus the odium of this iniquitous or base money currency is thrown upon M. S—ley, by the proper money branch of the legislature.

about

about twenty miles in length, and narrow; by reason of shoals of sand, small tides five or six feet, and a great surf, it is inaccessible, excepting in the bite, where boats may land. Formerly some persons of humanity put cattle ashore to breed, for the relief of the shipwrecked, and by multiplying, they answered that benevolent charitable end; until some wicked, mean, rascally people from our continent, destroyed them to make gain (these robbers of seafaring people, called these depredations the making of a voyage) of their hides and tallow. The south side is in 43 D. 50 M. N. lat. no trees; their principal growth is juniper bushes [o], huckle-berry bushes [p], cranberries, [q] bent-grass; some ponds; abundance of foxes and seals; great snows in winter, but do not lie long.

At this island, which is deemed thirty leagues eastward from the Cape Sable shore of Nova Scotia or L'Acadie, by the treaty of Utrecht 1713, begins the British exclusive line of fishery, running S. W. indefinitely, and including the fishing banks belonging to the island.

Cape-Breton islands.

CAPE-BRETON cannot properly be called a British colony, until confirmed by some subsequent treaty of peace, and annexed to the dominions of Great-Britain; but notwithstanding its retarding the prosecution of this history, I cannot avoid taking notice of the reduction of Louisbourg, being in our neighbourhood, an event recent and very memorable. I shall endeavour to relate it with exactness and impartiality. By ascribing every step of it

[o] *Vitis Idæa angulosa*, L. B. *Vaccinia nigra*. Park. black worts, or bill-berries.

[p] *Oxycoccus sive vaccinia palustris*, L. B. Moss-berries, or marsh whortle-berries; the French of Canada call it Canneberge; it is plenty all over the northern parts of North-America; and is a most exquisitely agreeable acid sauce for all roast meats, and for pastry tarts.

[q] *Gramen spicatum, fecalinum, maritimum, maximum, spica longiore* T. *Spartium, spicatum, pungens, oceanicum*, L. B. English or Dutch sea matweed.

to Providence, I hope it will not be construed as detracting from the merits of the country of New-England, the place of my abode or home. The motto may be *Audaces fortuna juvat*, and with good propriety may be termed *Dignus vindice nodus*, and without imputation of cant, be ascribed to some extraordinary interposition of Providence in our favour: Governor Shirley, in a speech observes, that "scarce such an instance is to be found in history." A colonel in this expedition gave it this turn, "That if the French had not given up Louisbourg, we might have endeavoured to storm it with the same prospect of success, as the devils might have stormed Heaven." The annual convention of the New-England ministers, in their address to the KING, call it, "The wonderful success GOD has given your American forces." A clergyman from London writes, "This prosperous event can hardly be ascribed to any thing short of an interposition from Above, truly uncommon and extraordinary." These expressions of the Governor's, &c. ought not to be construed as derogating from the most bold adventure of the New-Englanders.

The reduction of Louisbourg was much above our capacity; in short, if any one circumstance had taken a wrong turn on our side, and if any one circumstance had not taken a wrong turn on the French side, the expedition must have miscarried, and our forces would have returned with shame, and an inextricable loss to the province. As this was a private or corporation adventure without any orders from the court of Great-Britain, the charges would not have been reimbursed by the parliament; and the people of New-England from generation to generation would have cursed the advisers and promoters of this unaccountably rash adventure.

In the congress of Utrecht, when the French demanded Cape Breton island, it was proposed, that it should lie in common for the use of the British and French fishery, without any settlements or forts, but open; the French would

would have acquiesced; but in this, as in some other articles, our abandoned wicked ministry of that time gave the French nation more than they really expected, *viz.* the exclusive property and dominion of the island, with the liberty of fortifying. It is generally thought, that by next peace Louisbourg will be demolished, and the island laid open and in common to both nations: It is certain, that the duke d'Anville had an instruction, if he succeeded in recovering Louisbourg, to demolish it.

As this was a private adventure, upon surrender, we might have demolished it soon, and converted the artillery, other warlike stores, and many other valuable things, to the use and benefit of the New-England colonies concerned, and so have put an end to a great accruing charge; the charge of maintaining a garrison there with men, provisions, warlike stores, and repairs in time of peace, will be a great and unprofitable article of national expence, and as both nations are much in debt, neither of them will incline to be at the charge, but agree to demolish it. As Great-Britain are a small people, but at present masters at sea, their game is to procure all the advantages of an extensive commerce; we are not capable of peopling and maintaining land-acquirements: Perhaps the promoters of this very popular adventure do not receive the sincere thanks of the ministry or managers at the court of Great-Britain (this may be the reason of the remoras in our solliciting a [r] reimbursement) because thereby they have incurred, to please the populace, an annual charge of 60,000 *l.* sterling *per*

[r] Perhaps our agent or agents at home (who are in the nature of attorneys for the province or corporation) to ingratiate themselves with our legislature, have represented the affair wrong, which has induced them, in quality of a colony legislature, to count their chicken before they are hatched, and, in some sense, to prescribe to the sovereign legislature of Great-Britain, concerning the disposition of this money. There is a late incident not in our favour, the duke of Newcastle, concerned in all our colony expeditions, is removed from being eldest secretary, that is, of the southern provinces, to which Ireland and the plantations are annexed.

annum, or 600,000*l.* New-England currency, a considerable article where ways and means were difficult.

If the act of parliament against impressing of seamen in the sugar-islands, had been extended to the northern American colonies, we should have been easy under a British squadron stationed at Boston, and their bills for home supplies, would have made good returns for our merchants; our traders could not have suffered above two or three *per cent.* difference of insurance, which is a trifle compared with the great charge incurred by reducing of Louisbourg, and of maintaining it during the war.

Here I shall give some short account of evenements in the northern parts of North-America, from the commencement of the present French war to the present time, May 1748; I shall not notice small affairs, which do not require mention in a general history.

The French declared war against Great-Britain March 15, 1744, N. S. Great-Britain declared war against France March 29, 1744, O. S. The French in these parts had more early intelligence of the war; at Boston we did not proclaim this war until June 2. May 13, M. Du Vivier, with a few armed small vessels, and about 900 regular troops and militia from Louisbourg, takes Canso without any resistance, and carries the nominal four companies, being from seventy to eighty soldiers, and the few inhabitants, prisoners to Louisbourg.

Here is a notorious instance of the French too forward rash conduct; contrary to express instructions sent by the court of France to the garrison of Louisbourg, along with the declaration of war (my information was from M. le Marquis de la Maison Forte, captain of the Vigilant) that considering the weak and mutinous state of their garrison, it was not adviseable for them, until further orders, to attempt any expedition which might alarm the populous neighbouring British colonies. 2. If instead of taking the insignificant post (it did not deserve the name of fort) of Canso in their neighbourhood, the sooner to humour the vanity of an eclat; had they with the same

force

force gone directly to Annapolis, by surprize, it would have easily submitted.

About the same time a small inconsiderable armament from Louisbourg, commanded by M. de la Brotz, made some depredations about St. Peter's of Newfoundland, and threatened Placentia fort. This de la Brotz, in a French privateer sloop of eighteen guns and ninety-four men, was soon after this taken by the Massachusetts province snow, Capt. Tyng, upon the coast of New-England, and carried into Boston. A small privateer from Louisbourg takes a sloop with whale-oil aboard from Nantucket island bound to Boston.

See the section of Nova-Scotia, p. 319, for the attempts against Annapolis in June, by some Indians under the direction of M. Lutre, a French missionary priest; and in September, by some French and Indians, commanded by M. du Vivier, who burnt Canso in May.

The end of July, Capt. Rouse, in a Boston privateer, arrived at St. John's harbour in Newfoundland from the great banks; he brought in eight French ships with 90,000 mud-fish. In August, Capt. Rouse, in consort-ship with Capt. Cleves, in a ship and some small craft, and fifty marines, fitted out by the British man of war stationed at Newfoundland, sail in quest of the French ships that cure cod-fish in the northern harbours of Newfoundland; August 18, at Fishot, they took five good French ships, some dried fish, but not well cured, and seventy tons of liver-oil; thence they proceeded to the harbours of St. Julian and Carroes. Capt. Rouse hereby merited, and accordingly was made a post or rank captain in the British navy.

In September, dies Du Quesnel, the French governor of Cape-Breton, a good old officer; and was succeeded in command by M. du Chambon, an old poltroon.

In October, Capt. Spry, in the comet bomb, upon the coast of New-England, takes a French privateer in her first voyage or cruize, Capt. Le Grotz, sixteen guns, 100 men, whereof some were Irish Roman catholic soldiers

formerly of [s] Phillips's regiments from Canfo : this privateer was called Labradore, from a gut in Cape-Breton where she was built; she had taken two or three of our coasters from Philadelphia. About this time Capt. Waterhouse, in a Boston privateer, refused a French East-India ship richly laden; and Capt. Loring, in a small Boston privateer, was taken by a new French man of war from Canada bound to Louifbourg.

Nov. 19, sails from Louifbourg the French grand fleet of fish ships, of six ships from Canada, &c. This fleet consisted of three French men of war, six East-India ships, thirty-one other ships, nine brigantines, five snows, and two schooners; seven vessels remained to winter at Louifbourg.

This is a short history of the sea campaign (as the French express it) in the northern parts of North-America, for anno 1744.

The French people transported from Louifbourg to France (including the Vigilant's men) preceding July 17, 1745, 4130, whereof 1822 *via* Boston, and seventy-six *via* New-Hampshire. The French, while in Boston, were allowed in old tenor per week, *viz.* an inhabitant from Cape-Breton 20 s. a sailor 15 s. captain of the Vigilant 5 l. second captain 3 l. each officer 40 s.

Anno 1745, in March [t], La Renommée, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, 350 seamen, and fifty marines, charged with public dispatches, and designed for observation, in cruizing along the Cape Sable coast, met with several of our small armed vessels, and, with the Connecticut transports, which upon any other occasion she might have destroyed with ease: If she had put into Louifbourg, by the addition of good officers, of men, and of stores, the garrison would have been encouraged, and perhaps have rendered our expedition vain. But having

[s] In this regiment they have been much guilty of enlisting Roman catholics, because cheap and easily to be got.

[t] This was the best advice boat the French had, she was taken in a voyage to Hispaniola.

discovered an expedition against Louisbourg in great forwardness, she made the best of her way to carry immediate advice thereof to France; and a squadron, under the command of M. Perrier, was soon fitted out from Brest for the relief of Louisbourg. La Renommée failed in this squadron, she was an exquisite sailer, and at length taken by the Dover, 1747.

In May, the [u] Vigilant, a French man of war of sixty-four guns, and 560 men, with a good land-fall, instead of going directly into the harbour of Louisbourg, attacked a British man of war of forty guns, the Mermaid, capt. Douglafs. This prudent officer by a running fight decoyed the French ship into the clutches of commodore Warren in the Superbe of sixty guns; in company were also the Eltham of forty guns, the Massa-

[u] Commanded by M. le Marquis de la Maison Forte, son-in-law to M. Chiconeau, first physician to the French king. This gentleman was too rash in firing; as he met with British men of war, he should have made the best of his way to port, and only have put his men in a posture to prevent boarding, without firing, which stops the ship's way, and have received the fire of our ships silently. Notwithstanding this misconduct, the marquis was a man of good sense and observation; he made this good remark, that the French officers of Louisbourg, in bad policy, hindered the English from viewing at all times the strength of their forts; because if the English had been well informed of its strength, the most sanguine, rash, wrongheaded person, if not a natural fool, could not have imagined such a reduction without regular troops, and without artillery; our proper cannon (the 10 guns of 18 lb. shot lent us from New-York excepted) were bad, old, and honey-combed; four of them split in firing. He further well observed, that our allowing the French officers prisoners freely to view Boston and the country of New-England, would effectually discourage and forbid any French attempt to invade a country so well peopled.

Here we may observe, that the warlike names of the French men of war, sound more elegant, proper, and bold, than the flat appellations of the British men of war, by the names of counties, towns, and persons: for instance, in the French navy there are, le Terrible, l'Ardent, le Fougueux, le Mars, le Neptune, le Jason; le Vigilant, le Gloire, la Renommée, &c. In the English navy our names are flat, the Kent, the Devonshire, the Cumberland, the London, the Edinburg, the Chester; the Prince Frederick, the Princess Mary, the Wager, &c.

chuffetts frigate of twenty guns, and the Shirley galley, of twenty guns; the Vigilant struck to the Mermaid, May 18, and was manned chiefly from New-England: if the Vigilant had arrived in Louisbourg, considering the many good officers aboard, a large number of sailors and marines, with great quantities of stores, we should have been disappointed in the reduction of Louisbourg.

If the proposal made three days before the Vigilant was seized, had taken place, *viz.* of laying up the men of war in Chapeau rouge bay, and landing the sailors and marines to join our sieging army, the Vigilant would have got in and frustrated the reduction of Louisbourg.

M. Marin, after a vain attempt against Annapolis in Nova Scotia, with 900 French and Indians, in small sloops and canoes, was bound to the relief of Louisbourg by molesting the siege; in Asmacouse harbour they were dispersed by some of our small armed vessels June 15; see Nova Scotia section, p. 321.

The French squadron of seven men of war, commanded by M. Perrier, designed for the relief of Louisbourg, set out from France too late. July 19, in N. lat. 43 D. 45 M. W. long. from London 40 D. 30 M. E. off the banks of Newfoundland, took our prince of Orange mast ship lieutenant-governor Clark of New-York aboard; here the French learnt that Louisbourg had surrendered; without this intelligence, they would have become a prey to our Louisbourg squadron: the French altered their measures, and in a storm were dispersed; la Galette of 32 guns did not rendezvous; the Mars 66 guns, St. Michael 62 guns; and the Renommée of 32 guns, put back to France; the Parfait 46 guns, Argonaute 46 guns, and le Tournoir 32 guns, put into the harbour of Carrous in the northern parts of Newfoundland 51 D. 5 M. N. lat. lay there three weeks, and sail a convoy for the French fish ships.

Some homeward-bound rich French ships, ignorant of this event, came before Louisbourg to refresh, and were taken by our ships; as all the British men of war had entered.

entered into a contract of joint sharing, I shall not particularize the ships that made the seizures. July 24, they took an East-India ship from Bengal, value 75,000*l.* sterling; soon after they took another East-India ship. August 22, was taken a South Sea ship (decoyed by the Boston packet captain Fletcher) value about 500,000*l.* sterling.

In July, we sent some small craft to St. John's island to bring away the French inhabitants, to be transported to France; some of our men imprudently and too securely went ashore; they were ambuscaded by some French and Indians; we lost twenty-eight men killed and captivated.

Oct. 5. sailed five men of war, *via* Newfoundland with the two East-India ships for England, to be condemned there, conformably to an act of parliament; the South Sea ship, for certain reasons, was condemned as unfit to proceed: the Vigilant, Chester, and Louisbourg fire-ship were left to winter there.

Our provincial privateer snow captain Smithurst, was lost in a storm, and all the men drowned.

Our sea campaign, anno 1746, was as follows: In the autumn 1745, were shipped off from Gibraltar the two regiments, foot, of Fuller and Warburton, with three companies of Frampton's regiment; they arrived in the winter upon this bad coast (I mean the winter coast of New-England, Nova Scotia, and Cape-Breton) and therefore put into Virginia to wait the spring season; they arrived at Louisbourg May 24, 1746, and relieved our New-England militia of about 1500 men; they had kept garrison there at the charge of Great-Britain from the surrender of the place June 17, 1745; commodore Warren received a commission as governor, and colonel Warburton as lieutenant-governor of the garrison of Louisbourg, and territories thereunto belonging. Admiral Warren's occasions called him home, and Mr. Knowles was appointed governor and commodore of a small squadron

there; it is said, he behaved in a most imperious disgusting manner.

Admiral Townshend, with a squadron, was ordered from our West-India sugar islands, for the protection of Louisbourg; he continued there in harbour all the time that Duke d'Anville's French squadron was upon our coast, without giving them any molestation in their great distress, doubtless from some secret instructions, which he did not think proper to communicate to Mr. Knowles. Townshend with eight ships sailed in November from Louisbourg for England.

The story of d'Anville's expedition that autumn in these seas, we have already related in the section of Nova Scotia, p. 322.

In the summer, by an order from home, the several northern colonies raised forces towards the reducing of Canada; see p. 324. This was perhaps only a state-amusement, without a real design to prosecute the affair: the Massachusetts-Bay voted 3000 men, whereof 2000 were enlisted; and by an order from home, they were dismissed in October 1747, after having further involved the province in a considerable debt for enlisting, victualling, and providing of transports.

Anno 1747. in the spring, a French squadron with Transports and land forces, fitted out in France, for the annoyance of Cape-Breton, and reduction of Annapolis of Nova Scotia, were intercepted, beginning of May, by admirals Anson and Warren's squadron; see p. 326. M. de Ramsay, with his party of Canadian French and Indians, had wintered at Chicanecto, to join the land forces from France; but upon the news of La Jonquiere's disaster, they returned to Canada, and from that time to this present writing May 1748, Annapolis has been in perfect security and tranquillity; there is at this time a rumour of some expedition on foot in Canada.

Beginning of winter commodore Knowles from Louisbourg with a small squadron, was joined at Boston by the
station

station ships of North-America, leaving their trade exposed to the depredations of French and Spanish privateers; he sailed to our windward sugar islands, and from thence to Jamaica; having made up a considerable squadron with land forces aboard, he was to distress the French harbours and settlements on Hispaniola (the French call the island St. Domingue) as much as possible; he has already reduced and demolished a strong fort in Port Louis. Here, 1741, lay a large French squadron under the marquis d'Antin, designed to prevent the junction of Vernon and Ogle, or to awe our expedition against Carthagena, or to carry home the Spanish plate fleet; neither of these were effected, but returned to France in a very distressed condition.

Anno 1748. the adjacent British provinces, or colonies, are negotiating an expedition against a French fort at Crown-Point, upon the Dutch side of Lake Champlain, and consequently within the jurisdiction of New-York; when the affair is narrowly canvassed, perhaps it will be deemed [*w*] a silly, but chargeable affair: as hitherto nothing is concluded upon, we must drop it.

[*w*] As to the reduction of Crown-Point a French fort, and lately a place of arms for the annoyance of the British settlements of New-York and the N. W. frontiers of New-England, 1. Unless all Canada were in course to be reduced, which we cannot pretend to effect without an armament from Great-Britain; this, when reduced, must either be demolished, but soon rebuilt again by the French, at one tenth of our charge in reducing it; or garrisoned strongly, at a great charge, because of its great distance from us, and vicinity or easy water communication with Canada. 2. It is not in the New-England district, jurisdiction, or government, and consequently not under our direction so as to make any advantage of it in the skin and fur trade. 3. If we were to act with the same sordid private interest views, as have formerly been practised by the Dutch settlement, but at present English government of New-York; for instance, in the late queen Anne's war with the French, these our Dutch subjects contrived a neutrality between the New-York or Five Indian nations and the French Indians, and thereby ingrossed the French and Indian trade of those parts, and the French of Canada with their Indians were all let loose to distress Nova Scotia and the eastern settlements of New-England; at present it might be

Cape-

Cape-Breton was formerly in the Nova Scotia district; the French call it L'Isle Royal; by commission, M. Subercasse, the last French governor of L'Acadie, is called governor of L'Acadie and Cape-Breton islands, from Cape Rosiers at the entrance of St. Laurence river, to Quenebec river. By the treaty of Utrecht 1713, all L'Acadie or Nova Scotia was quit-claimed by France to Great-Britain; excepting the Cape-Breton islands, that is, all the islands in the gulph of St. Laurence: these Great-Britain quit-claimed to France.

The great island of Cape-Breton lies from 45 D. to 47 D. N. lat. its most northerly point distant fifteen leagues from Newfoundland, the gulph of St. Laurence intervening; here a few cruizers might preclude the French Canada trade; it is separated from Nova Scotia by a thorough-fare, which we call the Gut of Canso; the French call it the Passage of Fronsac. The Mermaid a British man of war of 40 guns, 1747, upon a cruize, sailed through this gut, found it six leagues long, is narrow, but good anchorage, flood from the north; from the Gut of Canso forty leagues to Bay Verte, where are about ten or twelve French huts, upon the Nova Scotia, shore, shallow water; here is the communication of the Canadians with our perfidious French of Nova Scotia, by a short land-carriage or neck of about four miles to Chicanecto. Tatamaganahoc is a large French village, fourteen leagues west southerly from Bay Verte, a harbour for large ships.

Louifbourg, formerly called English harbour, is in N. lat. 45 D. 55 M. the passage by sea from thence to Quebec is about 200 leagues, and has been performed in three days. In Cape-Breton island, there is a gut lake or in-

adviseable, tacitly to consent to the continuance of Crown-Point as a rendezvous and place of arms for the French and their Indians; thus the eastern frontiers of New-England would be safe, formerly much harrassed by the enemy Indians. This war they have not suffered much; our western frontier exposed to the excursions from Crown-Point, are covered by New-York and the late addition to the government of New-Hampshire when settled.

land

land sea, called Labradore about twenty leagues long, and three or four leagues wide; here they build small vessels; the French privateer called Labradore, captain Le Grotz, taken by the Comet bomb, 1745, was built there. In the north part of the island is a good harbour; St. Anne's, is a good soil; here was laid out fort Dauphin, to be found in the French charts, as if finished.

The other islands in the gulf of St. Laurence are private French property; St. John's and the Magdalene islands were granted to the Conte de St. Pierre; St. John's is about twenty leagues long, good land, many French and Indians; governor Knowles of Louisbourg neglected the possession of it. The island of Anticosti is the property of Sieur Joliet, a Canadian; it lies in the mouth of the river St. Laurence, is large but inhospitable; no good timber, no good harbour; plenty of large cod-fish: below Gaspée, on the coast of Nova Scotia, at L'Isle Percée and L'Isle Bonaventure already mentioned, the French make cod-fish.

After a short description of the late French colony of Cape-Breton islands, I shall briefly, without interruption and at one view, relate that memorable event of reducing Louisbourg, the French American Dunkirk, by a few New-England militia, with the countenance of some accidental British men of war.

When Louisbourg was given to us by the French, we found 600 regular troops in garrison, with about 1300 militia, whereof about one half were called in from the adjacent settlements; the main fossée or ditch eighty feet wide; the ramparts thirty feet high (the scalado, or scaling ladders, which we sent by the direction of Mr. Bradstreet, at present lieutenant-governor of a fort in St. John's harbour, Newfoundland, were too short by ten feet, and never were used) upon the town ramparts were mounted upwards of sixty-five cannon of various sizes; the entrance of the harbour defended by a grand battery of about 30 guns of 42 pound ball, and by the island battery of 30 guns of 28 pound ball; provisions for six months,

months; ammunition sufficient, if well husbanded from the beginning; ten mortars of thirteen inches, and six of nine inches.

Mr. Vaughan of Damarascote, in the territory of Sagadahock, in the dominions of New-England, a whimsical wild projector in his own private concerns, entirely ignorant of military affairs, and of the nature of the defence or strength of a place regularly and well fortified at an immense expence, dreamt or imagined that this place might be reduced by a force consisting of 1500 raw militia, some [*] scaling ladders, and a few armed small craft of New-England.

It is said, that [y] governor Shirley was taken with this hint or conceit, but imagined that 3000 militia, with two forty guns king's ships, might do better. This expedition was resolved upon and prosecuted, without any certainty of British men of war to cover the siege, and prevent supplies; a packet was sent to commodore Warren, stationed at our West-India sugar islands, by a loaded lumber sloop, desiring the assistance of two ships of 50 or 40 guns, and if he could not spare two, to send one, which perhaps might be sufficient: Mr. Warren's answer was, That for want of further instructions from the admiralty, he could in course send only two ships to the New-York and Boston stations; but soon after this he received instructions to proceed to North-America with the Superbe 60 guns, Launceston 40 gus, and Mermaid 40 guns, in order to succour Annapolis, or any of his majesty's settlements against attempts of the enemy, and to make attempts against the enemy. In proceeding to Boston for provisions and other supplies, some fishing schooners, by letters from governor Shirley informed him, that the expedition had proceeded, and

[*] The ladders sent with this expedition were ten foot too short, from bad intelligence; but if sufficiently long, they were not practicable.

[y] In our plantations some captain-generals and colonels, even of regular troops, are not to be supposed military men.

desired

desired that he would immediately cover them by his protection, without touching in at Boston; the good, assiduous, and public-spirited commodore Warren directly proceeded and joined this adventure; he is now an admiral in the navy, and knight of the Bath, in reward for his good services.

The assembly of Massachussetts-Bay, Jan. 25, 1744-5, by a majority of one vote, resolved upon this expedition; Feb. 2, the enlistments began for volunteers, and sailed the end of March for Canso, 3000 men complete; we had in good conduct and precaution, three weeks before this, sent out some privateers to block up the harbour of Louisbourg. At Canso they remained three weeks; at this time the shore of Cape-Breton was impracticable from fields of ice which came down by thaws from the river of St. Laurence or Canada, and by easterly winds drove upon that coast: at Canso was built a block-house of eight small cannon, garrisoned with eighty men. The expedition sailed from Canso, April 29, and next day arrived in Chapeau-rouge bay, a little south of Louisbourg. Here, in landing our men, we were opposed by a body of upwards of 100 regular troops (whereof twenty-four were of the Swiss company) commanded by Maurepang, formerly a noted sea-rover; we suffered no loss, the French retired with the loss of eight men killed, and ten made prisoners: from Canso we had sent a small party to St. Peter's, a small French settlement upon Cape-Breton, and burnt it.

May 2, we detached 400 men to march round, under cover of the hills, to the N. E. harbour of Louisbourg. Upon the surprize of our men's burning the store-houses and fish-stages there, about one mile from the grand battery, the troops in the grand battery (to reinforce the town, the harbour being sufficiently guarded by the island battery) retired to the town precipitately, without destroying the trunnions and carriages of their cannon, only spiking or nailing them, which were soon drilled,
and

and served against the town [z]; we took possession of it May 3, and found 350 shells of thirteen, and thirty of ten inches, and a large quantity of shot.

The New-England militia before the town were in all about 3600 [a] volunteers, whereof not exceeding 150

[z] Here we may observe, that by the Herculean labour of our militia (many of them were used to masting and logging) whose great achievements were most remarkable in quality of pioneers or labourers, they dragged these heavy cannon upon sledges over morasses not practicable by horses or oxen. By good providence, they had no occasion to shew their conduct and courage in repulsing of sallies (May 8, there was a small insignificant sally from the town; it was said, that the mutinous discontented garrison could not be trusted without the works, for fear of desertion) or storming of the works. Some capricious writers have called in question the New-England conduct, but not their courage.

[a] The New-England armament for the reduction of Louisbourg, and in consequence towards the acquisition of the province of Cape-Breton islands, or islands in the gulf of St. Laurence, was as follows:

Province of Massachusetts Bay.

Land-forces.

Regiments of Lieut. gen. Pepperell

Brig. gen. Waldo

Colonels Moulton

Hale

Willard

Richmond

Col. Gorham, called of the whale-boats

Col. Dwight and lieut. col. Gridley, of the train of artillery

Capt. Bernard's independent company of carpenters or artificers.

Sea-forces.

Ship Massachusetts frigate, capt. Tyng 20 guns

Cæsar Snelling 20

Shirley-Galley Rouse 20

Snow Prince of Orange Smithurst 16

Brig. Boston packet Fletcher 16

Sloops Donahew 12

Saunders 8

Bosch 8

Ship hired from Rhode-island Griffin 20

Colony of Connecticut.

Land-forces.

One reg. of 500 men, Major general Wolcot.

By sea.

Thompson 16 guns

Colony sloop 16

men

men were lost (the prince of Orange snow excepted, lost in a storm) by fortune of war, *viz.* killed by bursting of cannon, by shot from the town, killed and drowned in the rash attempt against the island battery. Upon our first encamping, from the damp of the ground, there happened a general flux, or rather simple diarrhoea or

Province of New-Hampshire.

Land-forces.

One reg. of 350 men, Col. More.

By sea

Their province sloop.

Colony of Rhode-island.

Land-forces none.

By sea their colony sloop.

The colonies south of New-England furnished no quotas of land or sea-force, they made some small presents of provisions. The Governor of New-York lent ten good cannon of 18 lb. shot; without these, and the French unexpectedly abandoning their grand battery, our expedition must have been ineffectual. Governor Shirley says, "That without these cannon, we could not have had the same prospect of success, and all other preparations must have been frustrated."

At the desire of general Pepperell and commodore Warren, in June, the Massachusetts-Bay sent a reinforcement of 400 men, and Connecticut sent 200 men; they did not arrive until after the siege was over. When the town or fort was in our possession, the New-England militia garrison proving very sickly, they were recruited from time to time by the colonies of New-England.

The British men of war that arrived from time to time before Louisbourg, intimidated the garrison; they were

Commodore Warren's squadron from the West-India sugar islands, the *Superbe* of 60 guns, *Launceston* and *Mermaid* 40 guns each; they joined in the adventure.

The *Vigilant*, a French ship of 64 guns, designed to reinforce Louisbourg with men and stores, was taken by Warren's squadron, May 19, and added to the squadron; she was afterwards manned mostly from New-England.

May 22, The *Princess Mary* of 60 guns, from England, *via* Boston.

The *Hector* of 40 as ditto

June 10, The *Chester* of 50 from England.

12, The *Canterbury* of 60 } called in from Newfoundland.

Sunderland of 60 }

Lark of 40 }

Eltham of 40 called in from convoying the

New-England mast-ships for England.

mere looseness, not mortal, and soon over. After we got into the town, a fordid indolence or sloth, for want of [*b*] discipline, introduced putrid fevers and dysenteries, which, at length, in August became contagious, and the people died like rotten sheep; this destroyed, or rendered incapable of duty, one half of our militia.

During the siege, the French made only one insignificant sally, May 8; the garrison was mutinous, and could not be trusted at large; this rendered us secure, and the siege was carried on in a tumultuary random manner, and resembled a Cambridge commencement.

In the beginning of the siege, some of our men inconsiderately strolled, and suffered from a body of French Indians.

May 16, a party of about 100 men in boats landed in the night near the light-house point, to surprize our men who were erecting a battery there to play upon the island battery of the French. This party was timely discovered and obliged to fly into the woods, and being joined by some Indians, had several skirmishes with our scouts.

May 26, in whale-boats (so thin and light that a few musket balls are sufficient to sink them) about 400 men

These effectually covered the siege by cruising; two small French vessels only got in by a fog; and when it was resolved by the sea and land-officers to storm the town, June 18, the depended-upon attack was by sea, while our land-forces by way of diversion made a feint (but without any practicable breach) to storm it ashore. At that time we had British men of war

One of 64 guns

Four of 60

One of 50

Five of 40

and upon capitulation, commodore Warren's boats took the first possession of the town, and his marines mounted guard for some days.

[*b*] In military discipline there are sundry articles besides the manual exercise of the musket and the evolutions: I shall mention upon this occasion only two, 1. A due subordination to superior officers or command, which the levelling spirit of our Plantations does not well admit of. 2. A proper care of their men, as to clean dress, wear, eating, drinking, lodging, and a proper regard to their sick.

rashly

rashly attempted the island battery, where is bad landing, 30 guns of 28 pound ball, and 180 men in garrison;) we lost in this mad frolic sixty men killed and drowned, and 116 prisoners to the French.

[c] As to the affair of the siege of the town, it was in this manner. In the beginning upon Greenhill, 1550 yards distant from the king's bastion, called the Citadel, we erected a battery of a very few small cannon, one thirteen inch, one eleven inch, and one nine inch mortars; they could do no execution; May 7, a battery was made at 900 yards distance, and we summoned the town; May 17, a battery was advanced to 250 yards distance

[c] I shall further mention only a few instances of misconduct in the managers of this expedition; we cannot lay the blame upon the province in general, *viz.* 1. Hiring into the government's service, captain Snelling's ship that had lately imported the small-pox. 2. While the country levies were in Boston, in one day, March 5, the small pox appeared in three different parts of the town; no care was taken to remove these levies to some of the many convenient islands in Boston bay; miraculously, by the care of some guardian angel or genius, they escaped the small-pox, which would have rendered the expedition abortive in embryo. 3. Some companies were fitted out with unserviceable Bristol guinea arms (some of those arms notoriously bad, were called in) instead of allowing a small bounty to those men that would have carried their own good arms. 4. Slops or cloathing were not sent to our troops sooner than October; during the siege, that is, our being in the field, was constant dry favourable weather; next day, June 18, after we had possession of the town, the raining season set in, which, for want of our men being cloathed and well lodged, would have broke up the siege.

By way of amusement, I may take notice of some New-England poems, upon this occasion (not in disparagement to the country; here at present some true poetical genius's begin to appear.) I shall mention only two instances; the first is by Mr. Niles, in the lowest doggerel rhyme, in imitation of Homer's lists and characters of the commanding officers the siege of Troy; the instance is,

Waldo commission'd is a Colonel,
And o'er land force Brigadier general.

The other is by an anonymous author in the highest bombast,
And that New-England schemes Old surpass,
As much as solid gold does tinkling brass;
And that a Pepperell's and a Warren's name
May vie with Marlborough and a Blake for fame.

from the west gate; May 20, on the other side of a creek was erected a battery of five 42 pounders, called Tidcomb's battery, to batter the circular battery and magazine.

We made no regular approaches by trenches, that is, by parallels and zigzags, but bombarded the town at random, and did much damage to the roofs of the houses; the west gate was defaced; the adjoining curtain and flank of the king's bastion were much hurt, but no practicable breach.

The Canterbury and Sunderland being arrived, it was resolved to storm the town by sea, June 18, by three 60, one 50, and four 40 gun ships, while the land-forces made a feint or diversion ashore; the French were afraid to stand it, and capitulated June 17, to march out with the honours of war, not to serve for twelve months; to be allowed all their personal effects, and to be transported to France, at the charge of Great-Britain.

The place was put under the joint administration of Pepperell and Warren; and all future charges were to be defrayed by their bills upon the pay-master general and Ordnance. According to the enlisting proclamation, our militia were to be discharged so soon as the expedition was over; governor Shirley arrived in Louisbourg, Aug. 17, and persuaded them to continue; but notwithstanding, if the Vigilant, the Chester, and Louisbourg fireship had not continued there over winter, the militia might have been discouraged, and the place in danger of being surprized by the French, and their Indians from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's island.

When the Launceston's guns were landed and mounted upon the ramparts, we had 266 good cannon mounted in the town and batteries. Capt. Montague of the Mermaid carried home the advice of Louisbourg being surrendered.

As it is probable that Louisbourg will be demolished upon a peace, I shall not give any description of the town and its fortifications; I only mention that from the grand battery, erected to range and defend the entrance of the harbour, to the light-house at the mouth of the harbour, are about 2000 yards; after we were in possession of this battery, and drilled some of the great cannon, which the French had nailed and relinquished, the town and battery cannonaded one another with a great and useless expence of ammunition. This folly was less excusable in the French, as they could not possibly have any recruit of stores; the distance from the grand battery to the circular battery of the town, is 1857 yards, which is too great for much good execution. From Maurepas gate to the island battery, E. N. E. 1273 yards: from the island battery to the light-house, N. E. 1133 yards.

As the French royal navy at present are much [d] reduced, and not capable of sending any considerable squadron so far aboard; perhaps in good œconomy and with sufficient security, the present nominal chargeable corps (besides the large detachment from the train of ordnance) in garrison at Louisbourg of about 4000 men, may be reduced to 2000 effective men, and the reformed men may with proper encouragement be sent to settle, and be intermixed with the French in Nova Scotia; continuing them in corps and in pay for some time.

The present garrison troops of Louisbourg, if complete, consist of

[d] A little before the commencement of the present Spanish war, the French royal navy consisted of

1 ship of 90 guns.	7 ships of 62 guns
9 of 74	6 of 60
4 of 72	8 of 50
4 of 64	8 of 40 to 46

All these may be called line of battle ships; but in the progress of this present French war to this writing, they are reduced to near half the number.

	men		
Fuller's	reg.	815	
Warburton's		815	officers included } Marching regiments
Frampton's	3 comp.	245	
Sir Wm. Pepperell's		1000	for officers not in- } may be cluded add 80 or } called ma- more to each } rines.
Col. Shirley's		1000	
		3875	

The project of raising two regiments in New-England was faulty in two respects. 1. A young settlement, already much reduced in their young men, by late expeditions; to exhaust them more by standing levies, is a grievous hardship; it not only retards or stunts the growth of a colony, but in fact, minorates them, and puts them backwards; this is the general complaint of the country; extravagant price of labour, and want of labourers. 2. The public disappointment of the interest of Great-Britain, where 2000 men are depended upon; of these 1000 perhaps are and ever will be non-effectives, it being impracticable for the country to spare so many men, for standing or continued regular troops.

Perhaps the speculative original design, at home, might appear specious, that is, 1. A garrison of men indigenous natives of, or habituated to, the climate. 2. That by reserving some officers commissions to the disposal of the colonies, the gentlemen of our militia who had distinguished themselves in the expeditions, might have some reward for their merit; this last design was attended with the [e] inconveniency of being perverted, by bestowing these commissions to purchasers, to relations and to friends.

Some of our good farmers, artificers, and other labourers, leaving their several occupations for a short

[e] When I write with freedom, impartial disinterested readers will excuse me in quality of a disinterested historian; I have no personal disregard or malice, and write of the present times, as if these things had been transacted 100 years since.

time, to serve their country upon an exigency, in a military way, is very laudable. This was in practice amongst the Romans; some of their great generals have upon this account left the plough, and when the expedition was over, have returned to it again; such ought to be rewarded with places of profit or honour, without purchase, subscriptions for presents, assignments of their pay for a time, and other [f] avaricious contrivances.

In the summer 1746, the assembly of Massachusetts-Bay, sent to the court of Great-Britain [g], accounts of their provincial charge in reducing of Louisbourg, to the amount of about 178,000 *l.* sterling. This affair is still depending, and is imputed, rather to the inactivity and improper application of our agents, than to dilatoriness in the ministry and parliament: the righteousness and generosity of our parliaments are notorious, and a reimbursement is unquestionable; and if properly pushed to effect, we might have had for some time past, an annual accruing interest upon debentures of 7000 *l.* sterling, *per annum*, which at present is 70,000 *l.* New-England

[f] Hungry or indigent animals are voracious; and amongst mankind this may proceed further, to a *Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*, which is in itself indefinite.

[g] These accounts were in sundry articles.

1. Account of the first muster-rolls in the expedition to Cape-Breton, as made up and paid by order of the General Assembly of the Massachusetts-Bay province.
2. Account of the several sums paid by the committee to the officers and soldiers who continued in your Majesty's garrison at Louisbourg, until they were discharged by your Majesty's order.
3. Account of the charge of transport vessels employed in your Majesty's service, in the expedition to Cape-Breton, and for the service of the garrison at Louisbourg; exclusive of such as were laden with stores by express order from the general and admiral.
4. Account of the charge of the vessels of war in the pay of the Massachusetts province, in the expedition to Cape-Breton, and after reduction of the place.
5. Account of the cost and charge of transporting warlike and other stores, for the service of your Majesty's forts and garrison at Louisbourg, by order of admiral Warren and general Pepperell.

With some contingent charges.

currency; this would much lessen our yearly provincial tax.

At Louisbourg their currency sounds as if it were sterling value; British coin cannot be exported, therefore Spanish coin, which is the most general in all the commercial countries of our globe, reduced to a sterling value, is called sterling by us. Immediately upon our possessing of Louisbourg, the Gibraltar and colonies currencies cheat began to take place; that is, the commissaries or pay-masters, what was charged to the proper officers or boards at home at 5*s.* sterling, they paid off (to their own private advantage of 11 *per cent.* a cheat) by a milled piece of eight, value 4*s.* 6*d.* sterling. If Louisbourg should continue a garrison, a considerable article in the British annual supply, those commissaries, from the example of our American colonies and Gibraltar, would soon improve their profits, to pay away a light piece of eight, value 3*s.* 6*d.* sterling for a British crown or 5*s.* sterling. The imposition at Gibraltar of 1*s.* sterling for 16*d.* currency and pay, it is said, has lately been under consideration of the British parliament; may it introduce the consideration of the abuses in our plantation paper currencies, where the abuse is vastly more; in Gibraltar 1*s.* sterling, is paid away for a nominal 16*d.* in Massachusetts-Bay; from a [b] very b—d administration,

[b] Losers are indulged to complain, and naturally do complain and are clamorous. Is it possible for a man in the space of a year or two to be gradually robbed of one half of his personal estate without complaining? The complaint is seasonable, being at the opening of the new assembly of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, the most considerable of our colonies.

Some men do not care who sinks, if they swim; if our estates are still more to be reduced by this cheating game, some persons will complain more loud; and perhaps some anecdotes or private history of these affairs, gathered from the unguarded information of some blabbing confidants, may require to be communicated to the public: to a man aggrieved, there is some pleasure or satisfaction in venting himself by complaining, even where there is no redress.

From time to time, anticipating the affair of currencies, referred to the Appendix, may be excused: this pernicious desolating torrent becoming more and more violent, requires a more speedy resistance.

we have exceeded all our colonies, even North Carolina, where their paper money was at a discount with a

The colony of Massachusetts-Bay was the leader of paper currencies in the British plantations, and have now at length carried this fraud to the utmost (even beyond North-Carolina management;) if carried further the staple must break, and the fraud of the wicked projectors (in all affairs there are limits, which in the nature of things cannot be exceeded) cease.

I shall enumerate some of the many mischiefs attending the bad fraudulent management of paper currencies. I. From an equality with sterling, afterwards with proclamation value, they have reduced the value of our currency to 10 for 1 sterling. II. The governor and legislature keep up their salaries and wages to the sterling value, but seemingly allow all other transactions to run into confusion and ruinous depreciations. III. The depreciations might have in a great measure been obviated, even when there were great exigencies for present money. Thus after the first emissions being 40,000 £. anno 1690 and 1691, to pay off the public debts incurred by Phipps's Canada expedition, when there was an appearance of an ensuing depreciation, if more were emitted; the government did wisely borrow the bills already emitted, from the possessors, with good effect, and these bills did not depreciate. If, in the Cape-Breton, and amusing late Canada expeditions, we had done the same, it would have had the like good effect with respect to the public, but would not have answered the wicked intentions and occasions of the promoters of these bills, *viz.* 1. Of those who had acquired the craft of negotiating (in troubled waters good fishing) these depreciating bills to their own advantage. 2. Of those who were to redeem their mortgaged estates by defrauding their creditors with a depreciated nominal value, instead of the true contracted value; well knowing, that a multiplied paper credit, depreciates itself more and more. IV. By act of assembly, a public bill of credit explicitly in its face promising only 2 oz. 13 d. 8 gr. silver, shall be equal to a bill promising 3 oz. silver; that is, in common arithmetic, 8 shall be equal to 9. V. In the same kind of impositions, used by Lewis XIV. of France, who by recoinages from time to time minorated his money; at length finding his people reduced to insensible dupes, he saved the charge of recoinage, and uttered the same coin with only some little mark or stamp, at a further depreciated value. In June 1744, to save the charge of new plates, we minorated the value of emissions of November, 1741, by a few dashes upon the same plate.

Finally, some say, that as it is a maxim in the civil law, *Qui civem servare potest, et non servat, occidit*; the proper check negative in the legislature, ought to bear all the blame of these iniquitous depreciations and absurdities which expose the province.

fallacious cheating truck; it is 10 for 1 sterling; ours is somewhat worse in good bills sterling.

From the surrender of Louisbourg and territories thereto belonging, June 17, 1745, to June 1748, there have been several transient commandants, but no continued established governor; if the court of Great-Britain were in earnest to retain this place, many candidates would have appeared, and some person of great interest established; whereas from a colonel (Warburton) being lieutenant-governor, it is now reduced to a lieutenant-colonel being governor. The commandants in succession have been as follows from the surrender:

1. The general Pepperrell, and commodore Warren, naturally joint administrators.
2. Admiral Warren [*i*], governor; colonel Warburton, lieutenant-governor.
3. Commodore Knowles [*k*] governor; colonel Warburton lieutenant-governor.
4. Hobson, lieutenant-colonel to Fuller, governor; Ellifson, lieutenant-colonel to Pepperrell, lieutenant-governor.

[*i*] Admiral Warren went home, and has since done great service, acquired much glory, and a very great fortune.

[*k*] Commodore Knowles went to command a Squadron from Jamaica, to reduce St. Jago de Cuba, a nest of Spanish privateers, or rather pirates: his conduct and success was as formerly; no benefit to the public, no profit to himself; in failing out, the norths (as he writes) would not allow him; and in returning to Jamaica he visited St. Jago, but could not be reconciled to their preparations for defence. As a by-blow, he surprized, in March 1747-8, the French Port Louis of Hispaniola, with the loss of two good captain, Renton and Cust, and several other men; and the fine man of war schooner Achilles, built by the ingenious ship-builder Mr. Hallowel of Boston, in carrying advice from Mr. Knowles to Jamaica, was taken by two Spanish privateers. Admiral Knowles destroyed and carried off some iron guns; it is said, that by capitulation it was to be deemed a free and neutral port, and consequently proper to supply the French with provision and ammunition from all nations; this cannot be credited in the worst of conduct.

S E C T. VIII.

Concerning the province of Massachusetts-Bay.

THE next four following sections concern the dominions of New-England, at present divided into four several colonies or governments. To render the accounts of them more clear and distinct, we shall begin this section with an introductory article, in general, concerning the sundry grants and settlements made, before they were colonized by royal charters and patents. As Massachusetts-Bay province, is composed of many different grants, united at present in one charter; some general account of these several territories may be useful; afterwards we proceed to more particular accounts of these territories in so many distinct articles, beginning from the northward.

ARTICLE I.

Some general account of the dominions of New-England, and a general account of the territories incorporated by royal charter into one province or colony by the name of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.

THIS is a laborious affair, being obliged to consult MSS records; the many printed accounts are, 1. Too credulous and superstitious. 2. Too trifling; must the inspid history of every brute (some men as to intellects do not exceed some brutes) or man-animal be transmitted to posterity? 3. The accounts of every white man and Indian mutually killed, or otherways dead, would swell and lower history so much, as to render the perusal of such histories (excepting with old women and children) impracticable. 4. The succession of pious pastors, elders, and deacons, in the several townships, parishes, or congregations, I leave to ecclesiastic chronologers; canonization or fainting seems not consistent with
our

our protestant principles. 5. The printed accounts, in all respects, are beyond all excuse [1] intolerably erroneous.

[1] Mankind are not only to be further informed, but ought also upon occasion to be undeceived; for this reason, and not as a snarling critic, I have subjoined the following annotation, concerning some of the most noted writers of New-England affairs. At present I shall mention only two or three of those that are generally read; and in the sequel of this history, may animadvert occasionally upon some others. I find in general, that without using judgment, they borrow from old credulous writers, and relate things obsolete for many years past, as if in the present state of the country.

Dr. Cotton Mather's map of New-England, New-York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, is composed from some old rough draughts of the first discoverers, with obsolete names not known at this time, and has scarce any resemblance of the country; it may be called a very erroneous antiquated map.

Capt. Cyprian Southack's land map of the eastern North-America, is worse; it is as rude as if done by an Indian, or as if done in those ages when men first began to delineate countries; it gives no information, but has no other bad effect, than turning so much paper to waste: but his large chart of the coast of Nova Scotia and New-England, being one continued error, and a random performance, may be of pernicious consequence in trade and navigation; therefore it ought to be publicly advertised as such, and destroyed, wherever it is found amongst sea charts.

Oldmixon's (he died anno 1742) British empire in America, 2 vol. 8vo. Lond. 1708. He generally writes, as if copying from some ill-founded temporary news-paper. Dr. C. Mather says, that Oldmixon, in 56 pages, has 87 falsehoods. He prefixes Mather's silly map, and confesses that he borrowed many things from Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*; leaving out, the puns, anagrams, miracles, prodigies, witches, speeches, and epistles. Mather's history he calls a miserable jargon, loaded with many random learned quotations, school boy exercises, Roman like legends, and barbarous rhimes. Neal writes, the colony of Connecticut surrendered their charter 1688, and have holden no courts since. *N. B.* Upon Sir Edmund Andrew's arrival, 1686, as governor of the dominions of New England, &c. they dropped the administration according to their charter; but their charter not being vacated by any legal trial, upon the Revolution they were allowed to prosecute the administration, and to hold courts as formerly—400 students in Cambridge, New-England—His account of the Indian religions, or rather worship, is false and ridiculous—The Indians live commonly to 150 *Æt.*—Plymouth-Bay is larger than Cape-Cod, and has two fine islands, Rhode-island and Elizabeth-island—New-England is bounded west by Pennsylvania—Dorchester is the next town to Boston

The

The first English discovery of the eastern coasts of North-America was by the Cabots in the end of the fifteenth century. The first effectual royal grant of soil or property was, anno 1584, to Sir Walter Raleigh and associates; he gave the name Virginia to all the continent

for bigness—At Boston there is a mint. *N. B.* Perhaps he meant the mint 1652, assumed in the time of the troubles and confusions in England—An indefinite number of more errors, the repetition of them would be confutation sufficient.

Neal's History of New-England, 2 vol. 8vo. Lond. 1720. He is much upon the history of the low ecclesiastics, borrowed from the noted Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*. He gives a tedious silly ridiculous conjectural account of the settling of North-America from Scythia and Tartary, and the southern parts from China—Natick is an Indian town, consisting of two long streets, each side of the river; as if he were describing one of the large Dutch voting towns with a river or canal running through it. *N. B.* This Indian town at present consists only of a few straggling wigwams—Orange Fort of Albany is eighty miles up Hudson's river—the Indian government is strictly monarchical. *N. B.* The Indians of a tribe or clan, live together like friendly, but independent neighbours; their senators or old men, have no coercive or commanding power over their young men; all they can use is only persuasion.—Quebec has five churches and a cathedral. *N. B.* Only one parochial church, which also serves as a cathedral; and a conventual chapel in the lower town.—The great fresh water lakes behind New-England, are constantly frozen over in winter from November; which occasions the long and hard winters of New-England. *N. B.* These lakes are upon a small storm of wind, tempestuous, and never frozen over; and because of their soft vapour, not much snow lies within twelve or twenty miles distance from these lakes.—The whale fishing is almost neglected in New-England; Newfoundland has almost engrossed it. *N. B.* In Newfoundland they make only a small quantity of liver oil—The clergy of New-England are not renowned for humanity and politeness.—The French in New-England are very numerous—The conveniency of fishing renders Cape-Cod populous as most places in New-England. *N. B.* At present Cape-Cod, called Province Town, may consist of two or three settled families; two or three cows; and six to ten sheep—To enumerate the other errors and blunders of this performance, would be copying of it; but it will not bear such a new impression.

This annotation is already too prolix for an amusement; we must defer to some other occasion the amusements from Cotton Mather's *MAGNALIA*, or History of New-England, from Salmon's modern history, from Atlas maritimus et commercialis, from Jesselin, and from Hubbard.

in general, so called from the English queen of that time Elizabeth, a virgin queen because never married.

New-England was first discovered to any purpose, by captain Gosnold 1602; and the fish, train oil, skin, and fur trade thereof, with the Indians for some years, was principally carried on by some Bristol men. A rascally fellow, Captain Hunt, carried off some Indians; and, in the Mediterranean sea of Europe, sold them to the Spaniards, as slaves, Moors of the coast of Barbary. During some following years the Indians had an aversion to, and jealousy of, the English traders; but at length anno 1619, they were brought to a thorough reconciliation, which made the beginning of the New Plymouth settlement more easily carried on.

This captain Gosnold of Darmouth, was an associate of Raleigh's. Anno 1602, from England instead of the former wide indirect course to Virginia by the Canary and Caribbee islands; he sailed a more direct or northern course, and fell in with this coast; was embayed in N. Lat. 42 D. 10 M. where he caught many cod fish, and called it Cape Cod; thence sailing southward he gave queen Elizabeth's name to one island; and to the next island, where he found quantities of wild grape vines, he gave the name of Martha's Vineyard; these names are retained to this day.

Captain Gosnold at his return to England gave a good character of this new country, which induced several gentlemen jointly to obtain a royal grant anno 1606 (Sir Walter Raleigh from his attainder having forfeited his grants in North-America) April 10, they were two companies in one charter to plant and dispose of lands there; see p. 204. They were much the same districts as are our present southern and northern districts of custom houses; the southern district was called the London company, which does not belong to this part of our history. The other was called the northern district, North Virginia, or the company of Plymouth or West country adventurers; Lord chief justice Popham and Sir Ferdinando

Ferdinando Gorge were of this company; Lord chief justice Popham was their patron and principal promoter: he dying soon after, the settlement dropped; but some trade for fish, skins, and furs was carried on for some years. Their first adventure was taken by the Spaniards anno 1606. Captain George Popham appointed president or director of a settlement to be made there, came over with captain Gilbert in two ships with families and stores anno 1607; some families wintered at sagadahoc near the mouth of Quenebec river (here many good rivers meet and discharge themselves into the bay called Merrymeeting-Bay) anno 1608, but soon left it with the character of a cold, barren, inhospitable desert.

Captain Smith, called the traveller, sometime president of Virginia, an ingenious man, anno 1614, with two vessels came upon this coast for trade and discovery of mines of minerals, metals, and precious stones; *auri sacra fames* promoted most of our American discoveries; he surveyed the coast well, and gave names (still upon record) to many of the head-lands, bays, and rivers, which are now obsolete, and other names have taken place: he presented a plan of the country to the court of England, and it was called NEW-ENGLAND, which name it retains to this day.

About this time there were several voluntary companies of adventurers to America, but without grants or patents: the London, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, &c. companies, who soon dissolved of themselves.

The northern company of anno 1606, insensibly dissolved it itself; and a new company of adventurers was formed, called the Council of Plymouth, or Council of New-England; their patent reaching from N. lat. 44 D. to 48 D. is dated Nov. 18, anno 1620, to the duke of Lenox, marquis of Buckingham, marquis of Hamilton, &c. the corporation to consist of forty; upon deaths the vacancies to be supplied by a vote of the survivors. Being in process of time divided among themselves, they surrendered their patent 1635, and some of them, *e. g.* duke of Hamilton,

Hamilton, Sir Ferdinando Gorge, &c. obtained from king Charles I. peculiar grants or patents: their patent was designedly extended much north and south, to include and keep up the English claim to New-Netherlands in possession of the Dutch to the southward, and to L'Acadie, since called Nova Scotia, then in possession of the French, to the northward [m]; see a large account of these affairs, p. 109 and 205. To be a body corporate, to have a common seal, make laws, and dispose of any parts thereof, but could not [n] delegate the jurisdiction without an additional royal charter.

This council of Plymouth, or New-England, made many indistinct and interfering grants; at this time many of their grants are become obsolete, such as duke Hamilton's of the Naraganset country, Mr. Mason's of New-Hampshire, some grants upon Kenebec river, &c. The members of this council of Plymouth differing amongst themselves, occasioned the surrender of their charter to the court, by an instrument under their common seal dated June 7, 1635; there has been no general British company in America since that time.

Here we may observe in general, that Laud [o], archbishop of Canterbury, noted for his immoderate zeal to

[m] Thus Nova Scotia and Sagadahock, or the former duke of York's property, at that time in possession of the French, were, by the Massachusetts charter, annexed in jurisdiction to Massachusetts-Bay; the court of Great-Britain, notwithstanding, seem to reserve their property and jurisdiction there, and accordingly have withdrawn Nova Scotia from the jurisdiction of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and constituted it a king's government to no purpose; perhaps, if it had continued annexed to a popular government, some progress might have been made towards a settlement.

[n] Lately the commissioners appointed from home to determine the boundaries between the colony of Rhode-island, and that part of the Massachusetts province, formerly called the colony of New-Plymouth; the defect of a subsequent royal charter to New-Plymouth, was the reason why the commissioners determined, and afterwards confirmed by the king in council, strictly according to the royal charter of Rhode-island, though thirty-eight years posterior to the New-Plymouth grant.

[o] Archbishop Laud may be called the Father of New-England; he was a considerable statesman, prime minister or principal adviser to

promote

promote uniformity in the church, occasioned an emigration of Non-conformists in great numbers to New-England, preceding anno 1641: but from that time, until the restoration of the family of Stuart, being about twenty years, very few came abroad; the Independent or congregational manner of religious performances having the ascendant in England, as most [p] suitable to the civil administration of those times. In the reigns of Charles II,

Charles I. His administration was rigid against the good and religious Non-conformists. He was accused and convicted of a design to introduce popery, and subvert the constitution; for which he suffered death by the axe, Jan. 10, 1644.

[p] Cromwell's reducing the church of England to separately covenanted independent congregations, was a master-piece in politics; in true policy all civil governments ought to encourage the congregational scheme. A national established church, episcopal or presbyterian, in a civil national government, is *imperium in imperio*, a wheel within a wheel, as it is commonly expressed; which renders the movements more perplexed; and by a national church assuming the direction or pointing of our natural enthusiasm, it clogs and endangers the civil constitution. Our New-England congregationalists seem to deviate from their primitive discipline: in imitation, perhaps, of a new convocation of the clergy of the church of England, at the opening of a new parliament; our congregational ministers of New-England have a formal synod or meeting at the time of the general election or opening of a new legislative civil assembly: they assume the constitution of a synod, e. g. at times they address the king in this style: The pastors of the churches in his majesty's province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, assembled at their annual convention in May: their papers are signed in form by the Moderator, in imitation of the legal national (by act of union established in perpetuity) general assembly of the presbyterian church of Scotland, my Alma mater. The Quakers have fallen into the same error, by their quarterly and annual itinerant meetings, which, in time by cunning men, that is, statesmen, may be improved to the disadvantage of the civil government.

A national church administration, distinct from the national civil administration, is very inconvenient. The most absurd notional opinions in religion, if not established by the penal laws of a national church, are of no consequence, and from their absurdity drop, if allowed to take their courses; but if forcibly stopped, or dammed up, they gather, and in time may break out into a rapid torrent, carrying all before them: the civil wars in England, Car. I, are a notorious instance of this. To qualify this *imperium in imperio*, the Roman Emperor was Pontifex Maximus, and the King of England is called Head of the Church.

and

and of James II, many dissenters came over. Late-ly the long leases of the farmers in the north of Ireland being expired, the landlords raised their rents extravagant-ly. This occasioned an emigration of many north of Ireland Scotch presbyterians with an intermixture of wild Irish Roman catholics. At first they chose [q] New-England; but being brought up to husbandry or raising of grain, called bread corn, New-England did not answer so well as the colonies southward: therefore at present they generally resort to Pennsylvania, a good grain colony.

This council of Plymouth parcelled out their grant into several colonies or settlements.

Robert Brown, a [r] hot headed young enthusiastical clergyman began anno 1580, to preach against the ceremonies and discipline of the church of England; he

[q] They erected a presbyterian meeting-house in Boston, Mr. John Morehead their presbyter, as appears by an inscription, in two columns, and not elegant:

The first column,

*This chh. of presbyterian strangers, was congregated anno dom. 1729.
Anno dom. 1744, by a small but generous
Illa manebit. Labilis e contra si sit erana
Suprema. Desiderio J. M. hujus ecclesie.*

The second column,

*This building was begun anno dom. 1742, and finished
Number. Hujus fundamen saxum est. Demus
Peribit. Gloria Christi lex nostra
Christique pastor, and first preached in May 6th.*

Latin and English interlarded is new, excepting in burlesque; likewise the disposition of these lines is singular, and to be rightly understood must be read by joining the several lines of each column. This church is a neat convenient building, and doubtless in time may be endowed with more learned and elegant pastors of the presbyterian mode.

[r] Mr. Wh—ld, a young clergyman of the church of England, has lately appeared in the same manner, preaching against the bad conduct of the clergy of England; his disciples are called Methodists, Separatists, or New Lights. *N. B.* This New Light is an unnatural composition of free-thinking and devotional cant.

was persecuted or baited and teased by the bishops courts; he with some disciples left England, and formed a church at Middleburgh of Zealand, in the Dutch Low-countries; after some time this effervescence or ebullition of youth subsided; he returned to England, recanted, and had a church of England cure bestowed upon him, and died in that communion, anno 1630.

A congregation of these Brownists was formed in Yarmouth 1602; being harassed by the established church of England, with their pastor they transported themselves to Leyden in Holland; here they became more moderate under the direction of their pastor [s] Mr. Robinson; and from Brownists changed their denomination to that of Independents. Being of unsteady temper, they resolved to remove from amongst strangers, after ten years residence, to some remote country in some wilderness, where without molestation they might worship God in their own devotional way. Thus the first settlements in New-England were upon a religious account, not properly for produce, manufactures, and trade, but as recluses: amongst the Roman catholics are many communities or convents of unmarried or single persons recluse; but these were recluse families.

After having obtained an instrument from king James I, for the free exercise of their religion in any part of America; they sold their estates and made a common bank, and entered into articles of agreement with the adventurers called the council of Plymouth, to settle on the banks of Hudson's river, now in the government of New-York; after the misfortune of being twice put back, they sailed 120 persons in one ship from Plymouth (they gave the same name to their new settlement) Sept. 6, 1620, and fell in with Cape Cod Nov. 9; being too late in the season for proceeding to Hudson's river; although without the limits of their agreement, they were obliged to sit down in the barren soil, and formed them-

[s] Mr. Robinson's son Isaac died at Barnstable, New-England, 1706, *Æt.* 106.

felves into a voluntary association or colony, subscribed by forty-one men, but had no communication with the Indians of the country until the middle of March following; about this time these Indians, by some epidemic malignant illness and intestine wars, had been much reduced. They chose Mr. Carver governor for one year; but he died in April following, and was succeeded by Mr. Bradford. From the length of the voyage, other fatigues, and extreme cold weather, about fifty of their number died the first year of putrid fevers, and other scorbutic ails; all was in common for the first two or three years, having divided themselves into nineteen families, menages, or messes: yearly they received a few recruits of people; anno 1624, when they received their grant, the whole settlement consisted of only 180 persons in thirty-two messes. From so small a beginning in the space of about 125 years, New-England is arrived to its present glory. They purchased their lands of Massassoit, the Indian Sachem; he was glad of their alliance and assistance, being then at war with the Naraganset Indian numerous tribe.

They had no grant of their lands from the council of Plymouth until anno 1624; this grant was not to the company of adventurers and freemen, but to William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns; he was afterwards persuaded to assign this grant to the freemen in general. This assignment (as I understand it) was afterwards confirmed by a new grant from the council of Plymouth to the company of freemen, Jan. 1629-30: they never had any royal charter or patent, consequently no jurisdiction; the council of Plymouth could convey property, but could not delegate jurisdiction. Here we must break off, and reassume the history of Plymouth old colony, when we come to the article of Plymouth as a constituted colony.

It is certain, that the first settlers of New-England did not (as in some of our colonies) come over indigent or criminals,

criminals, but as devout religious [1] Puritans; they were not servants to the adventurers as in some colonies.

Before we enter upon the four well settled and constituted colonies of New-England, we shall but just mention some grants which have, in process of time, been incorporated with these four colonies, and their memory lost or swallowed up in them, and of others become obsolete. Some of them shall be related more at large in their proper places.

Muscogus, or Lincoln grant, of thirty miles square.

Pemaquid grant.

Shepscut purchase, or Nagwafac purchase of Robinhood an Indian Sagamore, Nov. 1, 1639, between Sagadahock bay and Shepscut river: these three are in the territory of Sagadahoc.

Nehumkin purchase of the Indians, October 13, 1649, both sides of Quenebec river; in this lies Richmond fort.

Plymouth grant, Jan. 1629, to William Bradford and associates, lies both sides of Quenebec river; in this are Cushnock falls about forty miles from Noridgwog; these three are upon Quenebec river, one half in Sagadahock, one half in the province of Main.

[1] The Puritans were pious, honest, well-meaning people; but too contracted, rigid, and singular in their discipline and practice of devotion: they would not allow of the English St. George's red cross in the military ensigns, colours, and standards. In common affairs of life, they affected to use scripture terms, and these not always proper; our translation is not good. Ancient terms in common life, used by the polite Greeks and Romans, they called profane, and did not use them; for instance, instead of December 25, they wrote the 25th day of the tenth month; instead of Monday, they said the second day of the week; some of them made conscience of a pun or rebus: thus some good old women would not brew on Saturdays, because the ale or beer would in course work upon the Lord's day following.

The generality of the first settlers soon became more moderate and social, while others became more obstinately and intractably enthusiastick; these last removed, and gave birth to the voluntier settlements of Providence, Rhode-island, Connecticut, and New Haven, in the dominion of New-England.

Pegapscot purchase, each side of Pegapscot river; extending to the west side of Quenebec river: Mr. Whar-ton purchased it of the Indian Sagamores 1683, being about 500,000 acres. At present it belongs to nine proprietors, Thomas Hutchinson, etc. it interferes with Nahumkin purchase and Plymouth grant.

Province of Main granted 15 Car. I, to Sir Ferdinando Gorge, extending from Piscataqua and Newichewenock rivers to Quenebec river, and 120 miles inland; includes the Pegapscot purchase; was purchased by the colony of Massachusetts-Bay, and is annexed by the new charter.

Province of New-Hampshire; from Piscataqua river, to within three miles of Merimack river, granted to Mr. Mason 1624, sold by Mr. Mason's heirs to Mr. Allen of London. At present that grant and conveyance seem to be obsolete: the property of the settled land is in the settlers; the property of the waste land is in the crown; and the jurisdiction of the whole in the crown: it extends sixty miles inland, and lately there is annexed an indefinite quantity of territory belonging to the crown, formerly claimed by Massachusetts-Bay.

Colony of Plymouth, the mother colony of New-England; extending from Old Massachusetts to the seas, viz. to Massachusetts-Bay, the ocean, and within three miles of Naraganset-Bay; it is now annexed to Massachusetts; they began a voluntier settlement, 1620.

Mr. Weston, one of the Plymouth adventurers, obtained a separate grant of some land; and in May, 1622, sent over about sixty men to make a settlement at Weymouth about fifteen miles south from Boston; they managed ill, became idle and dissolute, and soon broke up, and their memory is lost.

Mr. Gorge, son to Sir Ferdinando Gorge, anno 1623, brought over some settlers: he had some commission from the Council of Plymouth, as governor-general; soon discouraged, he returned home.

About the same time Mr. David Thompson attempted a settlement at Piscataqua; the memory of it is lost.

Some

Some adventurers proposed to make a settlement north side of Massachusetts-Bay. Anno 1624, they began a small settlement at Cape Anne, the northern promontory of this bay, and are now become the most considerable British America settlement, which, by way of eminence, is commonly called New-England; they have had a first and second charter, as shall be more fully related.

Anno 1626, captain Wolaston and some others, with servants, provisions, and other stores, began a settlement at Braintree; but not answering expectation, after two years they intirely broke up: some went to Virginia, some to New Plymouth.

Anno 1630, earl of Warwick had a grant of a tract of land along shore from Naraganset river, forty leagues west southerly, and back inland to the South Seas. Earl of Warwick assigned his grant to Viscount Say and Seal, and to Lord Brook, and nine more associates; finding many difficulties in settling, they assigned their right to the Connecticut and New-Haven settlers; these settlers were emigrants from Massachusetts-Bay; originally they had no title, but fate down at pleasure, and do at present enjoy a royal charter by the name of the Colony of Connecticut. Part of this grant, *viz.* from Naraganset bay to Connecticut river, when the council of Plymouth surrendered their patent, was given anno 1636 by the king to duke Hamilton; he never was in possession, and the claim is become obsolete.

Anno 1642, Mr. Mayhew obtained a grant of the islands of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, &c. and began to make settlements there.

There were several other grants and purchases for small considerations, and now become obsolete; for instance, the million purchase from Dunstable six miles each side of Merimack river to Winapisinkit pond or lake, granted by governor Andros, and council in the reign of James II; a claim of this grant was, by some of the grantees revived about twenty-five years ago; but as illegal and odious it was dropped.

Originally according to captain Smith's map, approved of by the court of England, New-England extended from twenty miles east of Hudson's-River, northward to the river St. Croix, or perhaps to the gulph of St. Laurence, including Nova Scotia, a subsequent peculiar grant; when James II, sent over Sir Edmund Andros governor, his commission or patent was for the late colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode-island, called the dominions of New-England, distinct from New-York and Sagadahock, of which he was also appointed governor. *N. B.* New-Hampshire and Province of Main, at that time were of no consideration, being under the protection, and, as it were, tacitly annexed to the good flourishing colony of Massachusetts-Bay.

The dominions, or rather denominations in New-England, at present consist of four colonies, or severally independent legislatures, *viz.* Massachusetts-Bay province, province of New-Hampshire, colony of Rhode-island, and colony of Connecticut: for sake of perspicuity, to each of these is assigned a distinct section.

The new charter of Massachusetts-Bay, anno 1691, is a [*u*] union or consolidation of several separate grants into one legislature and jurisdiction; for the more effectual protection of the whole, against the incursions of our neighbouring French and Indians. Their new charter comprehends the following territories; Sagadahock, or duke of York's property; province of Main; old co-

[*u*] Anno 1643, there was a union of four colonies or settlements in New-England for their mutual protection against the enemy, French and Indians, to be managed by a deputation of two from each, in church fellowship; they were quota'd, Massachusetts-Bay 100, Plymouth forty-five, Connecticut forty-five, New-Haven forty-five. Rhode-island at this time and Mason's grant of New-Hampshire, and Sir Ferdinando Gorge's grant of the province of Main were of no consideration. This was a sort of Amphictyonic council, *si parva magnis*. The ancient Amphictyonic council met at Thermopylæ; they were a general assembly or congress of deputies from several of the most noted communities, republics, or sovereignties of Greece, who met, spring and autumn, upon general affairs, especially for mutual protection.

lony of Massachusetts-Bay, old colony of Plymouth; and the islands of Nantucket, Elizabeth, Martha's Vineyard, &c. Before we reduce these into separate articles, to make the whole more apparent, we shall insert an abstract of this incorporating second or new charter (although a late event or transaction) as it affords a general idea of the constitution of all our British colonies.

This new charter of anno 1691, bears date 3 W. and M. Oct. 7, countersigned Pigot. After recital of the former grant or charter, it proceeds thus: *Whereas the said governor and company of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, by virtue of the said letters patent, are become very populous and well settled; and whereas the said charter was vacated by a judgment in Chancery in Trinity Term, anno 1684; the agents of that colony have petitioned us, to be re-incorporated by a new charter; and also to the end that our colony of New-Phymouth in New-England, may be brought under such a form of government, as may put them in a better condition of defence: We do by these presents, incorporate into one real province, by the name of the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England; viz. the former colony of Massachusetts-Bay, the colony of New-Phymouth, [w] the province of Main, the territory of Acadia or Nova Scotia, and the [x] tract lying between Nova Scotia and province of Main, the north half of the isles of shoals, the isles of*

[w] In the delineation of the province of Main, in the impressions of a new charter, are left out (for what reason I know not) the following words: *And up Sagadahock river, to Quenebec river, and through the same unto the head thereof, and into the land north-westward, until 120 miles be ended, being accounted from the mouth of Sagadahock.*

[x] Nova Scotia, and this tract called Sagadahock, were annexed to this neighbouring charter to keep the English claim, they being at that time in possession of the French: since that time, by the treaty of Utrecht 1713, they have been quit-claimed by the French to the crown of Great-Britain; and Nova Scotia has been constituted a separate property, and jurisdiction, or government. Sagadahock hitherto continues annexed to Massachusetts-Bay province; but as it is not the absolute property of the province, perhaps from a large extent of a frontier defenceless in itself, it is more of an incumbrance, than of any advantage.

[y] Capawock, and Nantucket near Cape Cod, and all islands within ten leagues directly opposite to the main land within the said bounds. To our subjects inhabitants of the said lands and their successors, quit-rent, a fifth part of all gold, and silver, and precious stones that may be found there. Confirms all lands, hereditaments, &c. formerly granted by any general court to persons, bodies corporate, towns, villages, colleges, or schools; [z] saving the claims of Samuel Allen under John Mason, and any other claim. Former grants and conveyances not to be [a] prejudiced for want of form. The governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary to be in the king's nomination; twenty-eight counsellors, whereof seven at least make a board. A general court or assembly, to be convened last Wednesday in May yearly; consisting of the governor, council, and representatives of the towns or places, not exceeding [b] two for one place; qualification for an elector 40s. freehold, or 50 l. sterling personal estate. The [c] general assembly to elect twenty-eight [d] counsellors,

[y] Martha's Vineyard, and Elizabeth Islands.

[z] This relates to the New-Hampshire claim from Merimack river, to Necanickeag or Salem; but the late determination of the boundaries between Massachusetts Bay and New-Hampshire, by the king in council, has removed that claim.

[a] Governor Andros, in the arbitrary reign of James II, made a handle of want of form to disturb possessions, by compelling the possessors to take new patents for their own lands with extravagant fees; and to pay quit-rents to the crown.

[b] By uninterrupted custom (prescription) the town of Boston sends four representatives; the qualification of 40s. freehold for an elector, is become nominal value, instead of the designed sterling value, that is 4s. instead of 40s. the qualification 50 l. sterling, personal estate is set at 40 l. sterling.

[c] Perhaps the natural meaning of this was, the representatives of the people; but at present the council of the former year jointly with the representatives chuse a new council.

[d] Perhaps, the council of the present constitution of the Massachusetts-Bay, labours under two disadvantages or imperfections. 1. To be arbitrarily led, or rather drove by the governor, to prevent future negatives. 2. As their election is annual, they may be biased by the humour of the majority of the representatives (this I have particularly observed in the cases of multiplied emissions of paper currency) lest they should be dropped next annual election. A notorious instance of this happened anno 1741, when the representatives dropped about

whereof

whereof eighteen from the old colony of Massachusetts-Bay, four from Plymouth late colony, three from the province of Main, one for the territory of Sagadahock, and two at large. The governor, with consent of the council, to appoint the officers in the courts of justice. All born in the province, or in the passage to and from it, to be deemed natural born subjects of England. Liberty of conscience to all Christians except Papists. The general assembly to constitute judicatories for all causes criminal or civil, capital or not capital. Probate of wills and granting of administrations, to be in the governor and council. In personal actions exceeding the value of 300 l. sterling, may appeal to the king in council, if the appeal be made in fourteen days after judgment, but execution not to be staid. The general assembly to make laws, if not repugnant to the laws of England to [e] appoint all civil officers, excepting the officers of the courts of justice, to impose taxes to be [f] disposed by the governor and council.

one half of the former year's council, because averse to a certain pernicious CHEAT, or paper-money scheme called the LAND-BANK; the words of the act of parliament, "mischievous undertakings and unlawful;" this scheme was disannulled by an express act of the British parliament 1741; and governor Belcher could not avoid negating thirteen of the new elected counsellors.

Mr. Belcher, at present governor of the New Jerseys, is generous, void of covetousness, studious of the real good of the countries under his direction, and a strict observer of royal instructions: if he had continued two or three years longer in the administration of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay, their paper-currency would happily have been obliterated or cancelled, and must naturally and gradually have fallen into a silver currency, the general currency of the commercial world; Mr. Belcher was not a paper money governor, he was well acquainted in the commercial world.

[e] In the election of all such civil officers the council and representatives vote together, but not as two separate negatives; these officers are, the treasurer, the impost officers, the excise officers; the general commissary of provisions, stores, and traffic for garrisons and Indian truck-houses; attorney-general, and notaries for the several sea-ports.

[f] Anno 1732, the council and representatives of the province of Massachusetts-Bay applied to the king in council, concerning the right which the house of representatives had, to pass upon accounts, brought against the public before they were paid; it was determined by the king in council, that the house of representatives had no such right.

The conversion of the Indians to be endeavoured. The governor to have a negative in all acts and elections. All acts of assembly to be sent home by the first opportunity to the king in council for approbation; if not disallowed in three years after their being presented, shall continue in force until repealed by the assembly [g]. The general assembly may grant any lands in late Massachusetts-Bay and Plymouth colonies, and in the province of Main; but no grant of lands from Sagadahock river to St. Laurence river shall be valid, without the royal approbation. The governor to command the militia, to use the law martial in time of actual war, to erect forts and demolish the same at pleasure. No person to be transported out of the province, without their own consent, or consent of the general assembly. The law martial not to be executed without consent of the council. When there is no governor, the lieutenant-governor is to act; when both are wanting, the majority of the council to have the power. The admiralty jurisdiction is reserved to the king or lords of the admiralty. No subject of England to be debarred from fishing on the sea-coast, creeks, or salt water rivers, and may erect lodges and stages in any lands not in possession of particular proprietors. All [b] trees fit for masts of twenty-four

[g] By the former charter the provincial lands were granted to twenty-six proprietors, and such as shall be admitted freemen; but by this new charter, these lands are granted to the inhabitants in general, to be disposed of by their representatives or general assembly.

[b] By an act of the British parliament anno 1722, this cause is extended, viz. That after Sept. 21, 1722, in New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey in America, no person shall cut or destroy any white pine trees, not growing in any township or its bounds, without his majesty's licence; on pain to forfeit for every white pine-tree, of the growth of twelve inches diameter and under, at three foot from the earth, 5 *l* sterling; for every such tree from twelve to eighteen inches, 10 *l*. from eighteen to twenty-four inches, 20 *l*. from twenty-four and upwards, 50 *l*. to be sued before the judge of admiralty: and all white pine-trees, masts or logs made of such trees, which shall be found cut or felled, without the king's licence, shall be forfeited and seized for the use of the crown. By an act of parliament 1729, the penalty in this clause of the charter is confirmed; and the act of 1722, is extended to all the British provinces in America; and confines the exception to the property of private persons only, notwithstanding they grow within the limits of any township.

inches diameter and upwards, twelve inches from the ground, growing upon land not heretofore granted to any private persons, are reserved to the crown; penalty for cutting any such reserved trees 100l. sterling per tree.

About twenty years since, the assembly of Massachusetts-Bay received and accepted an additional or explanatory charter from the court of Great-Britain; the history of the affair is as follows: In the administration of governor Shute, a good-natured gentleman, and though no great politician, tenacious of the prerogative, a few hot-headed turbulent men, who had got the ascendant over their fellow-representatives, and in some measure over the council, endeavoured the same over the governor, by assuming some articles of the prerogative: in the end of anno 1722, Mr. Shute in person, carried home seven articles of complaint against the house of representatives encroaching upon the prerogative.

1. Their taking possession of royal masts cut into logs.
2. Refusing the governor's negative of the speaker.
3. Assuming authority jointly with the governor and council to appoint fasts and thanksgivings.
4. Adjourning themselves for more than two days at a time.
5. Dismantling of forts, and ordering the guns and stores into the treasurer's custody.
6. Suspending of military officers, and muleting them of their pay.
7. Sending a committee of their own to muster the king's forces.

Upon a hearing before the king and council, Mr. Cook, agent for the house of representatives, and his council or lawyers in the name of the house of representatives, gave up or renounced the 1, 3, 5, 6, and 7 articles; acknowledged their fault, induced by precedents of former assemblies, but wrong and erroneous; and that it was a former assembly, not the present, that had been guilty: the other two articles were regulated
by

by an explanatory charter, and they directed to accept the same.

This explanatory charter is dated 12 regni Geo. I, August 20, and countersigned Cocks. *Whereas in their charter, nothing is directed concerning a Speaker of the house of representatives, and of their adjourning themselves; it is hereby ordered, That the governor or commander in chief, shall have a negative in the election of the Speaker, and the house of representatives may adjourn themselves not exceeding two days at a time.* By the prudent conduct of governor Dummer, the assembly were induced to accept of this explanatory charter, by a public act of the general court, anno 1726.

We may observe in general, that the œconomy or mode of jurisdiction is much the same in all the four colonies of New-England, by justices of the peace and their quarterly sessions, by inferior county courts of common law; and by provincial ambulatory superior courts for appeals, where cases are issued: it is also a court of judicary, or *oyer and terminer*.

They are divided into constituted districts called townships; they are a kind of bodies corporate, may sue and be sued, elect all proper officers, send deputies to the legislature house of representatives, and make by-laws. The management of township affairs is in a few (called Select-men) annually elected by the qualified voters of the townships or districts. In most of the other British colonies, their constituted parishes, by custom, act as bodies corporate; the management is in [*i*] Vestry-men, so called, who generally are for life, and the survivors supply vacancies.

In the four colonies of New-England juries are returned to the several courts by election in certain *quotas* from

[*i*] Perhaps so named, because they commonly meet in the vestry-room of the church, where the priest is supposed to keep his sacerdotal vestments, and may be called the dressing-room.

the several townships, but not by the appointment of the sheriffs.

In the rigid, and furiously zealous church and state administration of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury (he carried both church and state beyond their bearings, and consequently in the nature of things they overiet) many puritans and other nonconformists flocked over to New-England; this occasioned a state proclamation April 30, 1637, forbidding any subjects to transport themselves to America, without licence from his majesty's commissioners. Anno 1640, the people in New-England did not exceed 4000, and, in the twenty following years, many went [k] home from New-England: their way of worship was then in great vogue in Old-England.

N. B. Many of the first English settlements in America, were by companies of Adventurers, with a joint stock; annually in London, each company chose a president and treasurer for managers.

We proceed to the several articles concerning the colonies or territories, united into one province by the new charter of Massachusetts-Bay.

Each article goes no further than the time of this charter union. From that time the history of their joint affairs is carried along in the article of Old Massachusetts-Bay colony.

[k] It is said that amongst others, Oliver Cromwell was stopped from coming over. This seems to be an idle surmise; Cromwell was an active politic man; it cannot be imagined that a man of that genius, and in the prime of life, would chuse a wilderness or desert for his scene of action: besides, a person of his cast, and who probably might prove turbulent at home, in good court policy ought to be allowed to withdraw.

ARTICLE II.

Concerning Sagadahock, formerly called the duke of York's property.

KING Charles II, March 12, 1663-4, granted to his brother the duke of York, a certain territory or tract of land, thus described, *All that part of the main land of New-England, beginning at a certain place, called or known by the name of St. Croix, adjoining to New-Scotland in America; and from thence extending along the sea-coast, unto a certain place called Pemaquin or Pemaquid, and so up the river thereof, to the farthest head of the same, as it tendeth northwards, and extending from thence to the river of Quenebec, and so up by the shortest course to the river of Canada northwards.*" This was called the duke of York's property, and annexed to the government of New-York. The duke of York, upon the death of his brother king Charles II, became king James II; and upon king James's Abdication these lands reverted to the crown.

At present the territory of Sagadahock, is supposed to extend from the river St. Croix eastward, to the river of Quenebec westward, and from each of these two rivers due north to the river of St. Laurence; thus St. Laurence or Canada river is its northern boundary, and the Atlantic ocean is its southern boundary. When Nova Scotia was in possession of the French, Sagadahock territory was included in the commission of the French governor of L'Acadie or Nova Scotia; thus it was in the time of granting a new royal charter to Massachusetts-Bay; therefore to keep up the English claim to this territory, as well as to Nova Scotia, the jurisdiction of both were included in that charter.

Upon the peace of Utrecht 1713, Nova Scotia and Sagadahock were quit-claimed by France to Great-Britain; and the court of Great-Britain reassumed the jurisdiction

dition of Nova Scotia, and after a few years more, the crown purchased the property of the foil or seigneurie of all the French claimers: it is now a separate king's government, with the property in the crown; but this territory of Sagadahock remains in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts-Bay, and sends one member to the council, but hitherto not any to the house of representatives of Massachusetts-Bay: the general assembly cannot dispose of lands there, without the consent of the King in council. The property of peculiar grants there, remain good to the several claimers, until the crown shall purchase the same, as was the case in Nova Scotia.

Colonel Dunbar projected Sagadahock territory to be set off as a separate government for himself; this was introduced, by obtaining a royal instrument or instruction, to set off 300,000 acres of good mast and ship timber land, for the use of the crown or navy; it was forwarded by a royal instruction to colonel Phillips, governor of Nova Scotia, April 27, 1730, to take possession of the lands between St. Croix river and Quenebec river. Accordingly a detachment of thirty men with an officer, made from the four companies of his regiment in garrison at Canso in Nova Scotia, was sent to take possession of that country, to keep garrison at Frederick's fort on Pemaquid river; where the detachment kept for some time. Upon application home of the Muscongus company, proprietors in part of Sagadahock, by their indefatigable agent Mr. Waldo, this instruction was revoked, August 10, 1732, and colonel Phillip's detachment was called off. At present, the province of Massachusetts-Bay, to obviate cavils or complaints, of their relinquishing the occupancy of this territory, keep a truck-house and garrison at George's, and a garrison at fort Frederick, and is likely to continue under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts-Bay, and is at present annexed to the county of York, or province of Main.

In the beginning of this French war anno 1744, the fencible men in this large territory of Sagadahock were only

384	BRITISH Settlements in AMERICA.	PART II.
only at	George's and Broad-bay	270
	Pemaquid	50
	Shepscut	50
		<hr/>
		370

but at this writing 1748, very few of these remain, being much exposed to the Canada French Coureurs de Bois, and their Indians.

In the beginning of the last century England and France indifferently traded to Sagadahock. Under the direction and countenance of Chief justice Popham, the English made the [Z] first New England settlement, 1608, at Sagadahock, but of short continuance.

Anno 1613, captain Argol from Virginia broke up some French settlements at Sagadahock.

The claims to lands in the territory of Sagadahock, are of various and perplexed natures, viz. Some by old Indian grants in drunken frolicks for none or not valuable considerations; some by grants from the council of Plymouth; some by patents from the governors of New-York, when under that jurisdiction, particularly from governor Dongan a Roman catholic in the reign of James II.

Some part of this territory was granted by the council of Plymouth, 1629, to Mr. Beauchamp of London merchant, and to Mr. Leverett of Boston in Lincolnshire, and their associates, called the Lincoln company or society, viz. from Muscongus, now called Broad-Bay, a little eastward of Pemaquid to Penobscot bay ten leagues along shore, and from this termination and that of Muscongus ten leagues inland, so as to make a parcel of land of thirty miles square. This Plymouth grant seems to have been confirmed by a royal grant of Charles II, signed Howard, privy seal; that was about the time when the Connecticut and Rhode-island charters were granted.

[Z] Where a repetition is short, it ought to be allowed, because it saves the reader the trouble of turning back by a reference.

Leverett's

Leverett's title lying dormant, Sir William Phipps purchas'd of Madakawando, chief Sachem (as it is said) of the Penobscot Indians, the lands each side of George's river, so high as the second falls; Spencer Phipps, adopted heir of Sir William Phipps, made over his right to the heirs and associates, of Leverett; anno 1719, it was convey'd to several associates, so as to make thirty equal shares in the whole; the new associates, oblig'd themselves to settle two townships upon George's river, of forty families each; but an Indian war breaking out, the conditions were never performed: the Indians hitherto have not formally quit-claim'd it. Mr. Waldo, a gentleman well qualified for an agent, a partner, who effectually negotiated the affair at home, against the contrivances of colonial Dunbar, to annex it to the crown, has acquired a very considerable part of this grant.

George's truck-house and fort lies near the center of this grant, is about twelve miles up this river; at the mouth of the river is a bar of a very small draught of water; five miles higher are the first falls of George's river; Broad-bay of Muscongus is only a large creek or bay with a small rivulet running into it.

In the territory of Sagadahock not much good ship-timber; some white pine for masts; may be of good service to Boston in supplying it with firewood. The soil is not bad.

The grants of the Shepscut lands, and of the Pemaquid lands, seem not included in the duke of York's property.

Most of the grants and conveyances in this territory, are not to be found upon record, which occasions great confusion in claims.

ARTICLE III.

Concerning the province of Main.

THIS being the first of the territories at present called New-England that falls in our course, for the reader's more ready conception of the New-England affairs, we shall, *ab initio*, recapitulate some matters already delivered.

King James I, by letters patent bearing date Nov. 3, 1620, granted all that land and territory in America, lying between N. lat. of 40 D. to 48 D. unto the duke of Lenox, marquis of Buckingham, marquis of Hamilton, and others their associates noblemen and gentlemen, in all forty persons, and to their successors; and incorporated them by the name of the council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon, for settling, planting, ruling, and governing all that country by the name of New-England; to have and to hold, possess and enjoy, all the continent lands and islands between the said latitudes to them and their successors for ever; with power to alienate, assign, convey, and set over, under their common seal, any part or portion thereof to any of his majesty's denizens, or other adventurers.

In the end of James the first's reign, Sir Ferdinando Gorge, president of the council of Plymouth, and captain Mason had sundry grants from Neumkeag river, which divides the present towns of Salem and Beverly, to Sagadahock or Quenebec river, which were afterwards altered into the grants of the Province of Main, and of New-Hampshire as at present.

The council of Plymouth, Nov. 7, 1629, granted to Gorge and Mason, all that tract of land from the heads of Merrimack river and Sagadahock or Quenebec river, to the lake Iroquois, now called Cataraqui or Ontario, and the river which empties itself from the said lake into Canada river to be called LACONIA; but as they never occupied it, this grant is become obsolete, and may be said to have reverted to the crown; and at present, since the
late

late settlement made of the line between Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire, may be said to be in the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire.

Sir Ferdinando Gorge, president of the Council of Plymouth, or Council of New-England, obtained a grant from this council, April 22, 1635, of a tract of land called the Province of Main, extending from Piscataqua river to Sagadahock and Quenebec river. This grant was confirmed by the crown, April 3, 1639. The agent or agents of Massachusetts-Bay, purchased, 15 Car. I, July 20, 1677, this grant of the heirs or assignees of Gorge.

The grant of the province of Main *begins at the entrance of Piscataqua harbour, up the same to Newichewanock river, and through the same to the farthest head thereof, and thence north-westward, till 120 miles be finished; and from Piscataqua harbour's mouth aforesaid, north-eastward along the sea-coast to Sagadahock, and up the river thereof to Quenebec river, and through the same to the head thereof, and thence into the land north-westward, till 120 miles be finished; and from the period of 120 miles aforesaid, to cross over land, to the 120 miles before reckoned, up into the land from Piscataqua harbour through Newichewanock river: as also the north half of the isles of Shoals.*

The lines of the territories belonging to the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and of the province of New-Hampshire, being in dispute for many years, New-Hampshire petitioned to the king in council, that their boundaries with Massachusetts-Bay might be determined; accordingly with consent of the agents for Massachusetts-Bay, April 9, 1737, [m] a commission under the great seal of Great-Britain was issued, appointing five of the eldest counsellors from each of the neighbouring provinces of New-York, New-Jerseys, Nova Scotia, and Rhode-islands (five to be a quorum) as commissioners, reserving property and an appeal to the king in council: the appeal was heard

[m] The charge of passing the commission was 135*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* sterling.

before a committee of privy council, March 5, 1739; the commissioners, and afterwards the king in council, settled this line N. 2 D. W. true course. Accordingly New-Hampshire *ex parte* (Massachusetts Bay refusing to join in the survey) by Mr. Bryant a surveyor of lands, settled the line with the province of Main, *viz.* From the mouth of Piscataqua river to the head of Newichewanock, a little north of Lovel's pond, upon a great pond from whence proceeds Mouffum river, about north-westerly forty miles, thence N. 8 D. E. by needle (the commissioners, and as afterwards confirmed by the king in council, settled this line N. 2 D. W. true course) which is by allowing 10 D. variation, thirty miles. This survey was in March, the snow and ice melting, rendered the further survey progress impracticable; thus forty miles of this line remain to be run.

Both governments of Massachusetts-Bay and of New-Hampshire were in one and the same person at that time; and it was suspected that the governor favoured Massachusetts-Bay; therefore the general assembly of New-Hampshire brought on a complaint against the governor, previous to the appeal's coming on. The commissioners began to sit August 1; the general assembly of New-Hampshire was adjourned by the governor to the 4th of August, which retarded them three or four days in appointing managers and giving in their pleas: the commissioners pronounced judgment Sept. 2; the governor prorogued the assembly from Sept. 2, to Oct. 13, that they might not have an appeal ready to give into the commissioners in six weeks from judgment given, the time limited by the commission. The complaint was heard before a committee of the council; they found the complaint just, and their report was approved of by the king in council. To prevent the like inconveniencies, a separate governor was appointed for New-Hampshire; and the governments of Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire have been in two distinct persons ever since.

The method used before the new charter by the colony of Massachusetts-Bay purchase of the heirs or assigns of Gorge, to convey or dispose of lands there, was in this manner; for instance, July 26, 1684, the president of the province of Main, by order of the general assembly of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay, makes a grant of the township of North-Yarmouth to sundry persons. In a strict sense, the colony of Massachusetts-Bay could not exercise any jurisdiction there, because the heirs, &c. of Gorge could not delegate jurisdiction; notwithstanding, we find orders of jurisdiction signed in Boston; for instance, in the war against the Indians, an order to sheriffs, constables, &c. to impress boats and land-carriages, is signed Boston, Sept. 16, 1689, Thomas Darnforth, president of the province of Main.

The north and south lines running inland are 120 miles; the front or sea line, and the rear line, may be about eighty miles, that is, the contents of the province of Main may be about 9600 square miles; whereof at present granted in townships or districts, are only the first or sea line, consisting of the townships of Kittery, York, Wells, Arundel, Biddiford, Scarborough, Falmouth, North-Yarmouth, George-Town, or Arrowick, Brunswick, and the settlement of Topsam; and a second or inland line, consisting of Berwick, Philips-Town, Naraganset, No. 1. Naraganset, No. 7. Marblehead township, Powers, and other townships, and Cape-Anne township.

In this territory of Main, there are some private purchases from the Indians, which the proprietor-general, the assembly of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, seem not to dispute; for instance, anno 1683, Mr. Wharton, a merchant in Boston, purchased of six Sagamores, about 500,000 acres called the Pegepscot purchase; bounded five miles west from Pegepscot river, by a line running: t five miles distance parallel with the river, to a certain fall in the said river, and thence N. E. about forty-four miles in a strait line to Quenebec river; it includes the eastern divisions of Nahumkee purchase, and of Plymor

purchase; Plymouth purchase extends fifteen miles each side of Quenebec river. Wharton dying insolvent, the administrator sold this purchase for not much exceeding 100*l.* New-England currency, 1714, to eight or nine proprietors, *viz.* Winthrop, T. Hutchinson, Ruck, Noyes, Watts, Minot, Mountford, &c. It is bounded S. westerly by North-Yarmouth, which takes in a small part of this grant at small point; George-Town, Brunswick, and Topsam are in this grant.

At the breaking out of the French war, in the province of Main were militia, or fencible men, 2485.

	Men		Men
Township of Kittery	450	Scarborough	160
York	350	Falmouth	500
Wells	500	N. Yarmouth	150
Arundel	95	Brunswick	50
Biddiford	120	Naraganset N. 1.	20
Berwick	150	New-Marblehead	40
Philip T.	150		
			<hr/>
			920
Sir W. Pepperell's reg.	1565	Sagadahock	370
			<hr/>
		Col. Waldo's reg.	1290

But at present many of these have left their towns and habitations, being exposed to the French and their Indians.

For some time during the old charter of Massachusetts-Bay colony, they extended their claim to three miles north of the northernmost part of Merrimack river, called Endicots Tree, near the crotch or fork where Pemagawaset river, and the wares or discharge of Winipisiakit pond or lake meet, and from thence extended their due east and west line to the E. and W. oceans, that is, from the Æthiopic ocean to the South-Sea or Pacific ocean. Thus they assumed (as being prior) almost the whole of Mason's grant or New-Hampshire, and the S. E. corner of Gorge's grant, or the province of Main, so far as Black-Point, near Saco river, both in property and jurisdiction; and did accordingly make grants of lands and constitute townships

townships which sent representatives or deputies to the general assembly of Massachusetts; but upon complaint of the heirs of Gorge and Mason to the king in council and the courts in Westminster-hall, Massachusetts-Bay disclaimed these lands, as hereafter shall be more fully related.

The whole of the province of Main at present constitutes only one county, called the county of York; and to this county is [n] annexed the territory of Sagadahock.

In the province of Main and New-Hampshire, from the first settling of the English, for about fifty years, that is, until king Philip's war, the English and Indians kept a good friendly correspondence; but ever since, during the European French wars, the French of Canada have made use of the several tribes of our neighbouring Abnaquie Indians to distress our settlements; vide Sect. III. Article 4.

Prior to the Massachusetts-Bay purchase, the settlers in the province of Main never had any other protection; but that of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay. When the court of England, much corrupted, began in an arbitrary despotic manner to re-assume grants, charters, &c. it was ordered by the king in council, July 24, 1679, that the Massachusetts-Bay government, upon the reimbursement of 1200 *l.* sterling paid Gorge's heirs for the province of Main, shall surrender it to the crown, being a purchase made without his Majesty's permission. The new charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1691, put an end to that and all other pretended claims.

[n] The lands east of Quenebec river were never a settled French property with possession and jurisdiction; and the French transitory conquest of it, was only a suspension of the former British owners property; and upon re-conquest or a peace, returned to the former owners, *jure possiminti*, or a right to one's former inheritance; therefore in colonel Dunbar's case the board of trade, and committee of council reported to the king in council, that the Muscongus associates should not be disturbed in their possession, and to be under the defence or protection of Massachusetts-Bay as formerly.

Geography and chronology, are two the most considerable elements of History. The most essential and invariable things in the geography of a country, are its general position upon the surface of the earth as to latitude and longitude; the remarkable mountains and great hills; the sea-coast; and the runs of rivers and rivulets from the inland into the sea.

In the province of Main, the remarkable mountains and hills are, 1. The White-Hills, or rather mountains, inland about seventy miles north from the mouth of Piscataqua harbour, about seven miles W. by N. from the head of the Pigwocket branch of Saco river; they are called White, not from their being continually covered with snow, but because they are bald a-top, producing no trees or brush, and covered with a whitish stone or shingle. These hills may be observed at a great distance, and are a considerable guide or direction to the Indians in travelling that country. 2. The Pigwocket hills, at a small distance from the White Hills, are much inferior to them, and scarce require to be mentioned. 3. Aquimanticus Hills, well known amongst our sailors, are in the township of York, about eight miles inland; it is a noted and useful land-making, for vessels that fall in northward of Boston or Massachusetts Bay.

Upon the sea-coast, Casco-Bay is a large, good, and safe harbour or road for vessels of any burden; being sheltered or covered by many islands: here some of the contract mast ships take in their lading. Along this coast are many harbours, commodious for small craft in lading of lumber and fire-wood for Boston.

The capes, promontories, or head-lands, belong properly to sea charts; I shall only mention Small-Point at the south entrance of Sagadahock, Cape-Elizabeth in the S. E. corner of Casco-Bay, Black-Point, four miles N. E. of Saco river, Cape-Porpus in Arundel, and Cape-Ned-dick in Wells.

The considerable rivers are, 1. Quenebec and its mouth called Sagadahock, which divides the province of Main, from

from the Old Bristol purchase of Pemaquid, including the Shepscut purchase, and from the territory formerly called the duke of York's property, all which at present are called the territory of Sagadahock. From the entrance of Sagadahock to Merry-meeting Bay are eighteen miles; thence to Richmond fort and truck-house near the mouth of Quenebec river, are twelve miles; thence to the first falls, though only a ripling called Cashnock falls, are eighteen miles; thence to Taconick falls are eighteen miles: here in M. Dummer's Indian war our people left their whale-boats, and marched forty miles by land to the Indian village or town called Naridgwoag; they destroyed the settlement, brought away the scalp of the French missionary father Rale, a Jesuit, with about twenty-six Indian scalps: some Indians were drowned in crossing the river precipitately. Thus from the mouth of Sagadahock to Naridgwoag are about 106 English miles, and the province of Main cannot extend above twenty miles higher; these Indians in travelling to Quebec, with their canoes go much higher up the river; the Naridgwoag Indians with their French missionaries, have in the French wars been very troublesome to the English settlements; but by Dummer's well managed Indian war, and a late mortality from a putrid fever and dysentery, received when in curiosity they visited duke d'Anville's sickly troops and squadron at Chebucto, upon the Cape-Sable coast of Nova Scotia, they are now reduced to very inconsiderable impotent numbers. 2. Amerascogin river: up this river, not many years since was a tribe of Indians, but are now extinct; near the mouth of this river is Brunswick fort; this river is particularly noted for plenty of good sturgeon: not many years since a merchant of Boston contracted with some fishmongers of London to supply them with a certain quantity of well-cured sturgeon every year, but whether from the bad quality of the fish, or rather from the negligence of the people employed in curing of it, there was no sale for it in London, and the fore-

said

said Indian war breaking out, that fishery is given up. 3. Saco river, its considerable branches are Pigwacket river; it rises about seventy miles north of Piscataqua harbour, and Ossipee river, from Ossipee pond about fifty five miles N. westerly from Piscataqua harbour: about fifty miles from the mouth of Saco formerly were Pigwackets, a considerable tribe of Indians with a French missionary, but they are now almost extinct; this river is navigable only a small way to the falls for small vessels; here is a fort and truck-houses; at the mouth of Saco river is Winter Harbour, so called from Mr. Winter, who had a farm there. 4. Mauson river comes from some ponds near the famous Lovel's pond, about forty miles above Piscataqua harbour: at these ponds Bryant the surveyor began to set off the N. 8 D. E. line between the province of Main and New-Hampshire; this river falls into the ocean in the town-ship of Wells. 5. Piscataqua river, which for the space of forty miles divides New-Hampshire from the province of Main; from the mouth of this river or harbour to the inlet of Exeter bay are about ten miles; thence to the mouth of Catechecho river, which comes from the W. N. W. are five miles; from this upwards, Piscataqua river is called Newichawanock river, and higher it is called Salmon falls river.

The small rivers or runs of water and of short course are many: Recompence river; Royals river running through Cape-Anne grant or township, and through North Yarmouth to the sea; Presumpcot river, comes from Jabago pond, by Naraganset N^o. 7. through Falmouth, where it falls into the sea; Falmouth river or Stroud Water of Casco-Bay; Quenebec river dividing Arundel from Wells; York river in the township of York.

ARTICLE IV.

Concerning the late colony of Plymouth.

WHAT relates to this colony, prior to their more fixed and determined grant, anno 1629, from the council of Plymouth, see p. 370.

Some

Some English Puritans belonging to Mr. Robinson's church in [o] Leyden in Holland, with some of their friends in England, obtained of the council of Plymouth, an indistinct imperfect grant of lands in North-America; their design was for Hudson's river, but falling in with Cape Cod late in the year Nov. 11, they were obliged to winter there, and in a shallow bay and poor soil within the great bay of Massachusetts; they sit down and call it New-Plymouth, in remembrance of Plymouth in England, from whence they took their departure.

They had no particualar grant from the council of Plymouth of the country where they settled, until 1624; and this was so indistinct, that they obtained a new grant 1629, but still so obscure as not to be understood at present, as appeared at a hearing 1741, before commissioners appointed by the court of Great-Britain, to settle their line with the colony of Rhode-island.

We shall only briefly observe, that captain Smith the traveller, with two ships, 1614, made a good voyage upon these coasts, and, by his means, the country was named New-England by the court of England.

Anno 1616, four or five sail of fishing vessels from London, and as many from Plymouth, make good fares of fish.

Anno 1618, only two sail from Plymouth in England fish upon the coast of New-England.

Anno 1619, only one ship of 200 tons; made a good voyage.

Anno 1621, ten or twelve ships from the west of England, fish upon the coast of New-England, and made good voyages with their fish to Spain.

Anno 1622, there were upon the coast of New-England thirty-five vessels from the west of England.

Anno 1623, captain Smith writes, that there were for that year forty sail from England, fishing upon the coast

[o] In Leyden to this day, an English presbyterian congregation is maintained in their works by the states.

of New-England. That Canada and New-England in six years last past, had shipped off 20,000 beaver-skins.

After some time, a number of people, from New-Plymouth, purchased of the Indians, a parcel of land called Noffet near Cape-Cod, and gave it the name of East-ham; their purchase upon this narrow promontory reached about thirty miles from north to south. The first two years they lived without any supply from England, cleared and planted sixty acres with Indian corn. At first they seemed to have a sort of *Lex Agraria* for each mess or menage; or rather their possessions seem to have been in common.

Mr. Edward Winslow [p] their agent, anno 1624, imported the first cattle, being a bull and three heifers: about this time Plymouth settlement consisted only of 180 persons; the adventurers, as it is said, had expended 7000 *l.* sterling being entirely carried on by adventures; but being discouraged, they sold their interest to the settlers for a trifle. The grant at first was sole to Mr. Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns; but at the request of the general assembly, he assigned his right to the freemen: upon governor Carver's death April 1621, he was annually chosen governor while he lived (excepting one year Mr. Winslow, and two years Mr. Prince) he died May 9, 1657, *Æt.* 69.

GOVERNORS.

Mr. Carver, from November 1620 to April 1621.

Mr. Bradford the grantee succeeded, and was annually chosen governor until his death, May 1657, excepting for three years; he was a man of no family, and of no learning.

Mr. Prince, who had twice been chosen governor in Mr. Bradford's life-time, succeeded, and was annually chosen governor till death, Aug. 29, 1673, *Æt.* 71. He was a man of good natural parts, but of no learning.

[p] Mr. Winslow died in Cromwell's Hispaniola expedition 1655, *Æt.* 61.

Mr.

Mr. Prince was succeeded in annual elections by Josiah Winslow, who died Dec. 18, 1680.

Next Richard Trent was unanimously elected, until their charter was dropped or superseded.

I find that upon the Revolution, the commander in chief of Plymouth colony is called president, not governor: thus major Church's commission from Plymouth to go against the eastern Indians is signed Sept. 6, 1689, Thomas Hinkley, president.

N. B. At first this colony was only a voluntary association; in the beginning the governor had only one assistant, afterwards three, and sometime after five; at length; anno 1637, they chose seven assistants.

As the boundaries by their grant were ill-determined, there were continual disputes between this colony and that of Rhode-island. By a commission from Charles II, 1664, to colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, to determine controversies concerning several boundaries in the continent of North America, they passed judgment concerning the boundaries between Rhode-island and Plymouth colony; as it was only by way of amusement to quiet the minds of the people in these colonies, and never confirmed by the king in council, it had no effect.

Ever since the colony of Plymouth has been annexed to the province of Massachusetts-Bay, those disputes have continued or been revived from time to time. The chief dispute was concerning Attleborough Gore, which if Massachusetts-Bay had quit-claimed to them, Rhode-island would have given a general quit-claim in all other concerns; and prevented the loss of Bristol, and some part of Barrington, Swanzy, Tiverton, and Little Compton; but the influence of a few ill-natured, obstinate, inconsiderate men, [q] prevailed in the legislature to the damage of the province of Massachusetts-Bay.

[q] Here we may observe the pernicious consequence of blindly following the dictates of inconsiderate, imprudent, clamorous, or violent leading men.

Rhode-

Rhode-Island by memorials sent home, the agents of Massachusetts-Bay giving consent, obtained a commission for the eldest counsellors of the neighbouring governments to meet and adjust their boundaries; accordingly they meet at Providence in summer 1741, and found that the last determined grant for Plymouth colony, 1629, specifies it in this manner, *viz.* between Conohasset [*r*] rivulet towards the north, and [*s*] Naraganset river, towards the south; and between the [*t*] ocean towards the east, and a strait line extending directly into the main land from the mouth of the said Naraganset river, to the utmost bounds of the Packanoket country, alias Sawamsset country, the famous king Philip of Mount Hope his country, to the [*u*] Nipmug country, which determination is now forgot, and from Cohasset back into the main land westward, to the utmost bounds of the Packanoket country.

The better to understand the boundaries of the late colony of New-Plymouth (now annexed to the province of Massachusetts-Bay) with the colony of Rhode-Island; I must in anticipation, give the boundaries of [*w*] Rhode-Island colony, as delineated in their charter, *viz.* bounded westerly by the middle channel of Pakatuk river, and up the said river northerly to the head thereof, and thence in a strait line due north to Massachusetts south bounds; extending easterly three English miles to the E. N. E. of the most eastern and northern parts of Naraganset bay, as it lieth or extendeth itself from the ocean; bounded southerly on the ocean, unto the mouth of the river which cometh from Providence; and from the town of Providenc, along the easterly bank of the said river called Seaconck river, up to Patucket falls; and thence due

[*r*] Now called Bound Brook.

[*s*] The mouth of Taunton gut or river, or Seaconnet point.

[*t*] Or bay of Massachusetts.

[*u*] Plymouth grant was up Blackstone, Patucket or Nipmug river to the Nipmug country; this Nipmug country could not be ascertained by the late commissioners for settling the line with Rhode-Island.

[*w*] In matters not as yet upon record in public histories, it is proper so be particular.

N. to Massachusetts south line, where is the most westerly line of Plymouth colony.—The Rhode-island claim was three miles E. N. E. of Assent creek of Taunton river, and thence due S. to the ocean east of Seaconnet point; and from the said E. N. E. point, a westerly course to Fox point, being the mouth of the river that comes from Providence town, thence along the east side of Seaconck river to Patucket falls; and thence due north to Massachusetts south line.

Upon a hearing at Providence, in summer 1741, of the committees or agents of both colonies before the commissioners appointed by royal patent to settle this line or boundary; the council of Plymouth patent, nor any copy of it was produced; therefore the recital of the said letters patent, in their deed to Bradford and associates, was not sufficient evidence against the king's charter to Rhode-island. This commission was not to meddle with property, but only with jurisdiction, which is ascertained to Rhode-island by royal charter, notwithstanding their charter being posterior to the New-Plymouth colony grant; because the council of Plymouth could only delegate property, but not jurisdiction. By no evidence, it was made appear that the water (a salt water sinus, commonly called a continuation of Taunton river; it is called Taunton great river in their private deeds) between the main land on the east, and the island of Rhode-island on the west, was never at any time called Naraganset river.

The determination of the commissioners, anno 1741, was, by the king in council 1746, confirmed as final. And is to this effect, *viz.* from the province of Massachusetts-Bay, south line, a meridian line (allowing S. 7. D. W. variation) to Patucket falls; and thence down the easterly side of Seaconck river, to the S. W. corner of Bullocks neck; and thence N. E. three miles (supposing a N. E. line of three miles from the north-easternmost parts of the bay on the W. side of Romstick neck) in a strait line, until it meets with the termination of
this

this imaginary line; and from this to the bay near Towasset neck; so that this line touch the N. E. extremity of an imaginary line running N. E. from the N. E. corner of Bristol cove or harbour. On the east side of Naraganset bay, it begins at a point 440 rods southward of the mouth of Fall river in Tiverton; thence runs east three miles; and from thence runs southerly parallel with the easternmost parts of Naraganset bay or Taunton great river to the sea.

By this determination the late colony of Plymouth, or rather the present province of Massachusetts-Bay, lost, in favour of Rhode-island, a triangular piece of land commonly called the Attleborough Gore [x]; bounded S. 7. D. W. from an interfection with Massachusetts S. line, to Patucket falls nine and a half miles; from Patucket falls up Patucket or Blackstone river, to the interfection of this river with Massachusetts south line, in a direct or strait course twelves miles, W. 55 D. N. from this interfection E. 7 D. S. about ten miles: this Gore is constituted a township of Rhode-island, by the name of Cumberland, so called from prince William duke of Cumberland. Bristol is entirely adjudged to Rhode-island colony jurisdiction, and retains its former name. Part of Swanzey, being forty-seven families, and a great part of Barrington, are constituted a township by the name of Warren, in honour of Sir Peter Warren, knight of the Bath, and an admiral in the navy; an honest benevolent gentleman, always propitious to trade. The three mile strips of Tiverton and Little Compton, on the east side of the bay or Taunton great river, continue by the name of districts of Rhode-island.

[x] This Gore has been for many years in dispute between Massachusetts-Bay and Rhode-island, and if some of our managers, hot-headed obstinate men, had conceded it to Rhode-island, it being plainly their due, they would have given to Massachusetts-Bay a general quit-claim, and their other claims would not have been revived. Something of the same nature shall in course be taken notice of, with regard to New-Hampshire.

The line between Old Massachusetts and Plymouth is no more as a colony line; but continues to divide the county of Suffolk in the Massachusetts, from Plymouth and Bristol counties of the late Plymouth colony. This former dividing line of the two colonies, begins at the intersection of Attleborough Gore, and runs three and a half miles E. 7 D. S. to the station tree of [y] Woodward and Saffries: from this station to a notch in Bridgewater E. 18 D. N. are twenty-three miles; thence one mile and a quarter north on Bridgewater; thence E. nine miles to Accord Pond; thence still east to Conohasset, at the mouth of Bound Brook on the bay of Massachusetts, six miles: in all about forty-one miles.

From Conohasset in Massachusetts-Bay, to the race point of Cape Cod, is to this late colony of Plymouth, an east, south, and west boundary; by the flexure or hook of the Cape, the back (as it is called) of Cape Cod to Cape Malabar or Sandy Point, is an east boundary; from Sandy Point, farther along the back of the Cape to Elizabeth islands, and thence along Buzzard's bay, to the boundary line near Seaconnet point, is a south boundary; westerly it is bounded by the line settled by commissioners anno 1741, as before delineated; northerly it is bounded by the line dividing the old colonies of Massachusetts-Bay and Plymouth, already described.

In this colony are no remarkable mountains or great hills.

The considerable harbours are, 1. Plymouth Bay, water shallow, a considerable trade to the West-India islands for sugar, rum, molasses, and cotton; it is a branch of Boston custom-house or collection, distance forty miles: three small rivulets, called Jones, Herrings, and Eel rivers, fall into this bay. 2. Cape Cod harbour, safe, and deep water; but from the hook or flexure, and

[y] This station tree is 120 rods distant from the angle where the several colony lines were set off; it is called Woodward and Saffries station, from the names of two obscure sailors, who were assisting in the survey.

consequently different courses, vessels with difficulty get out to sea; it is no sea-port or place of trade. This cape, by its particular [z] form and by stretching into the sea, becomes a snare for itinerant or passenger fish, *viz.* whales, herrings, mackarel, &c. but the whales by experience have learnt to keep farther to sea in travelling; the other fisheries are neglected, from the fishermen, who were generally Indians, being carried away upon romantic expeditions. The tide flows within the cape about twenty feet; upon the back of the cape it flows only five or six feet; Billingsgate, a precinct of Eastham, is noted for oysters.

The smaller inlets or harbours from the discharge of rivulets are as follows: 1. Upon the inside of the great bay of Massachusetts (that part of it is called Barnstable bay) Scituate, a bad harbour, no considerable run of water. All the harbours in Barnstable bay to Cape Cod are shallow, because of a sandy slow slope of the shore, and the inland runs are short and small, not capable of making channels. In Sandwich is Mill river. In Barnstable is a small inlet. In Yarmouth a small inlet. In Harwich a harbour called Point of rocks, not safe. In Eastham is Stage harbour, and Billingsgate, the best of these small harbours. 2. Upon the outside or ocean side of Cape Cod promontory; Head of Pamet, no proper harbour; it is in Truro, and high tides, as anno 1723, pass over the meadows from sea to sea. Sandy Point, or Monymoy in Chatham, is a good harbour for small vessels, but the bar shifts. Bass river in Yarmouth. Hyanaes, the best of these harbours, in Barnstable, is much used. Osler bay in Barnstable, Falmouth bay. Woods hole or cove, called Soconoffet; here is a ferry of about one

[z] Captain Southack, in a most false, therefore pernicious sea chart of the coast of Nova Scotia and New-England, delineates a thoroughfare from the great bay of Massachusetts to the ocean in Eastham, near Sandy Point; no person, himself excepted, ever imagined or dreamt of this thoroughfare: his dream or words are, "The place where I came through with a whale-boat, April 26, 1717, to look after Bellame the pirate."

mile to Elizabeth great island; and of about three leagues to Martha's Vineyard. We may observe, that along this shore is a bar at about half a mile's distance, with small inlets; within the bar is water of some fathoms. 3. In Buzard's bay are many good creeks, salt water rivers, or harbours; excepting in Rochester, the runs of water that fall into these creeks are of short course: Agawam, Wagwagantit or Mill river, Sipacan harbour, Marapoisset, Accushnot, Polyganfet, and Coaxit [a].

The considerable rivers in Old Plymouth colony, are 1. North river, divides Scituate from Marshfield; deep water; but vessels in a storm cannot put in there, the entrance being rocky. The tide flows nine or ten miles up this river; here ships and other vessels are built to advantage, timber being plenty; from this river, Boston has a considerable supply of firewood. 2. Taunton river; from about seventeen miles up Taunton great river, on the east side of Naraganset Bay, according to the late royal determination of boundaries with Rhode island, begins Plymouth colony upon Taunton river; the tide flows up this river from 440 rods below Falls river; the boundary between Freetown and Tiverton about twenty-five miles to near the mouth of Sawamset or Middleborough river, which comes from Afawampsit pond in the south parts of Middleborough, and falls into Titiquit or Taunton river: in this river and the adjacent townships of Dighton and Swanzey are built good ships and other vessels. 3. Patucket or Blackstone, formerly Nipmug river, navigable from Rhode-island boundary at Bullock's neck, ten miles to Patucket falls; in Rehoboth or Seaconick are built some good vessels.

[a] The sea line of the late colony of Plymouth is about 220 miles, but has only one sea port for foreign trade, *viz.* Plymouth: the other harbours are very small, and used only by fishermen and coasters. The other New-England territories do much exceed it in trade, although their sea lines are much smaller; the sea line of the province of Main does not exceed eighty miles, of New-Hampshire twenty miles, of Old-Massachusetts eighty miles, of Rhode-island sixty miles, of Connecticut 140 miles.

The capes, head-lands, or promontories are, 1. The Gurnet head, being the north point of Plymouth bay; it lies west southerly from Cape Cod seven leagues, and that part of Massachusetts-Bay within this line or course is called Barnstable bay. 2. Cape Cod, a noted promontory on the west side of the Atlantic ocean, in N. lat. 42 D. 10 M. lies from Boston E. b. S. southerly, about eighteen leagues. This is a narrow long promontory stretching into the ocean, and from the pitch of the cape to Buzard's bay may extend upwards of sixty miles, which, with a medium breadth of six miles, makes about 230,000 acres; consists of the townships of Falmouth, Sandwich, Barnstable, Yarmouth, Harwich, Chatham, Eastham, Truro, and Province town; these make the county of Barnstable. 3. Sandy Point; in the charter it is called Cape Malabar, about ten leagues north from island of Nantucket.

[b] Besides the promontory of Cape Cod, the late Plymouth colony may be in value of forty miles square, is 1600 square miles, or 1,024,000 acres; is in the whole about 1,254,000 acres. In this old colony, there are no vacant or colony lands; all the lands are the property of townships or private persons, as granted by the general assembly from time to time.

Plymouth was called one of the associated colonies of New-England before the stricter consociation (the twelfth

[b] I am afraid, that by being so particular in the description of our territories or colonies, I may be found guilty of an impropriety, in giving the geography instead of the history; but we must consider, that these countries, young and dependent, cannot afford many state revolutions, therefore our history must chiefly consist of delineations, and of some accounts of their various produce and commerce.

I shall not be very minute in the inland geography: in my amusement hours, I have composed the actual surveys (as upon record) of each township and district in the four colonies of New-England, into a plan of about three and a half feet square, by a scale of five miles to one inch. This plan, of many years collecting, and perfected at a considerable charge, is a free gift, for a public benefit to the provinces of New-England; each township or district is to have a copy gratis, to be lodged in the town clerk's office.

day of the third month, 1643) of the four colonies of New-England. It was an alliance like that of the Swiss cantons. This colony assisted in the Pequod Indian war 1637; this war was only of a few months continuance, and ended with the entire reduction or extinction of that tribe; see p. 193.

Concerning the islands near Cape-Cod.

THE noted islands are Nantucket, Capawoek, or Martha's Vineyard, and the Elizabeth islands.

The north side of Nantucket, or the town of Sherburn, lies in N. lat. 41 D. 10 M. about ten leagues from the main land; contains about 23,000 acres, the value of six miles square; beach included it is in twenty-seven proprietorships, but all in common, excepting forty acres home lots to each proprietorship; each proprietorship may keep 560 sheep. It is a county of itself, a very industrious people; they make some dry cod-fish; their principal business is whaling. Anno 1744, in the beginning of the French war, they had about forty sloops and schooners in the whale fishery; thirteen men to a vessel, do make from 7000 to 10,000 barrels of whale oil *per annum*; their bone seldom exceed seven feet. A whale of 100 barrels, yields 1000 wt. of bone. In this island are about 900 Indian souls, of great use in their fishery.

Martha's Vineyard, about eight leagues west from Nantucket, and three leagues south from Woods Hole in Falmouth upon the main, is about twenty miles in length; the east end is about eight miles wide, and tapers away to Guy Head, at the W. end three miles wide; much of the island is very barren, being heaths and pine land; three poor townships, Edgar-Town, Tisbury, and Chilmark; about 200 fencible white men; about 450 Indian souls. With the Elizabeth islands it makes [c] Duke's county.

[c] Before the Massachusetts-Bay new charter, all these islands belonged to the government of New-York; and the receiver of the quit-

Elizabeth islands lie in a range, S. W. half way between Martha's Vineyard, and the shore of Buzard bay; they make Buzard's bay; the largest island one mile from Woods Hole, or the main is about eight miles long, but very narrow; belongs to Thomas Lechmere, Esq; and Mr. Bowdoin's estate; it is called Nashawn island; here is a good harbour, Tarpaulings cove; on Martha's Vineyard is another good harbour, Holms's hole, of good use to vessels that navigate this channel; next is Tinker's island, Slocum's island, and Cattehunk islands; these belong to Slocum, Ward, and Sanford's heirs.

Slocum's island lies one league south westerly from the west end of Martha's Vineyard; is in value one mile square; it belongs to Mr. Norton.

ARTICLE V.

Concerning the old colony of Massachusetts-Bay.

THE old writers of the history of New-England are so trifling and erroneous, that the late [*d*] scriblers and hackney writers who copy the affairs of New-England from them, appear, by their obsolete and erroneous account of affairs, in a very ridiculous light, and afford me no assistance.

rents of New-York made demands of the old arrears of their quit-rents.

[*d*] At present I shall only instance Salmon's modern history, and the *Atlas maritimus et commercialis*.

Salmon seems to be a Tory, or rather a Jacobite; he vindicates the treaty of Utrecht. and discovers a very silly prejudice against New-England's first settlers, *viz.* That they came over to secure a retreat for their brethren, in case they miscarried in subverting church and state at home; this is a very idle surmise, because the first set of emigrants did not exceed 100 persons, and of these not above sixty survived the first winter.

From Salmon I shall only give a few instances, which at first sight are very ridiculous, without any comment—"In Virginia abundance of cod-fish—Virginia is separated from Florida by the Apalachian mountains—In the fort near Newport are 300 cannon—North-Carolina is a well-peopled flourishing colony." *N. B.* It is the sink or

Anno

Anno 1625, Mr. Conant and company in trade, made some settlement at Cape Anne, the north easterly promontory of Massachusetts-Bay; they were mostly from Dorchester, and the west of England. This gave rise to a project, first concerted in Lincolnshire, of procuring from the council of Plymouth, a grant for settling a colony in Massachusetts-Bay, with a resolution that the principal town thereof be called BOSTON, from a sea-port and parliament town of that name in Lincolnshire; being joined by some adventurers of London and Dorsetshire, they obtained from the council of Plymouth, March 19, 1627-8, a grant in the name of six associates and their

nauseous drain of all our colonies; in all the colony only two or three Gospel ministers, very sickly, and very bad navigation.—“In New-England both men and women are put to death for adultery—Cambridge university consists of three colleges.” *N. B.* They are only three buildings (the scholars are all of one college) making three sides of a designed quadrangle.—“The New York forces against Montreal were to go by the lake Ontario.” *N. B.* It was by lake Champlain.—“Our Indians go naked in summer, and wear deer-skins in winter.” *N. B.* They wear blankets summer and winter.—“Penobscot river divides New-England from Nova Scotia.” *N. B.* The river of St. Croix, more eastward, is the boundary.—“Hudson’s river divides the southern parts of New-England from New-York.” *N. B.* The dividing line is twenty miles east of Hudson’s river.—His enlarging much upon trifling and fabulous things, to multiply sheets, and his many obvious inconsistencies, shew him to be a scribbler, and no accurate historian.—His abstract of the laws of New-England, are from an obsolete old charter law-book.

A few instances of absurdities from the *Atlas maritimus et commercialis*, printed at London 1728, sold to subscribers at 3 *l.* 15 *s.* sterling.—“New-England is four governments in one charter—New-London colony—Connecticut and New-Haven colonies, have Rhode-island and Providence under the same jurisdiction—Tunmerick from New-England—Most of the towns in New-Hampshire are fortified.—New York apply chiefly to whale-fishing, and whale the most.” *N. B.* They do not whale in any respect.—“Merimack river rises in Nova Scotia.—In the two colleges of Cambridge about 400 students.” *N. B.* They exceed 100 scholars.—“In New-England sixty-two market towns, and twenty seven fortified places.—Jerseys has two sea ports, Perth and Amboy.”

Josselin, Hubbard, and Mather’s *Magnalia*, we shall for the present deter.

assigns, of all the lands in New-England from three miles south of Charles river, to three miles north of Merrimack river, east and west from sea to sea: these six associated twenty more persons, and March 4, 1628-9, obtained a royal grant with a charter, countersigned Woolfely; it is commonly called the old charter, whereof an abstract is as follows:

King James I, anno regni 18, Nov. 3, granted by patent to a council at Plymouth in Devon, and their associates and assigns for ever, the property and jurisdiction of the lands in America (called New-England) from 40 D. N. lat. to 48 D. N. lat. and east and west from sea to sea; if not possessed by any Christian state, nor within the limits of a southern colony lately granted; the quit-rent to be the fifth part of all their gold and silver ore. This company by deed granted and sold, 19th of March, 3 regni Charles I, a part of their patent lands to six gentlemen, Sir Henry Roswell, &c. their heirs, assigns, and associates for ever, viz. All lands from three miles northward of any and every part of Merrimack river, to three miles southward of any and every part of Charles river, and of Massachusetts-Bay, E. and W. from sea to sea, with all islands on the eastern or western coasts. This grant was confirmed to those six gentlemen and their twenty associates by royal charter, March 4, 1628-9. The said twenty-six grantees, with all such others as shall hereafter be admitted and made free of the company, shall for ever be one body corporate and politic, by the name of the GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS-BAY IN NEW-ENGLAND. The corporation to consist of one governor, one deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, to be annually elected out of the freemen of the company; the king nominated for the first year, Matthew Craddock, governor, Thomas Goff, lieutenant governor, with eighteen assistants. The governor may call an assembly at pleasure; the governor and assistants, not under seven, may once a month meet to do business. Four great and general courts or assemblies of the freemen annually, on the last Wednesdays of Hilary, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas terms, whereof the governor and

six of the assistants, at least to be seven, [d] with the representatives of the townships, to admit freemen, constitute officers, make laws, but not repugnant to the statutes of England: annually upon the last Wednesday in Easter term shall be an election of general assembly then convened, of a governor, deputy-governor, eighteen assistants, and all other officers. Liberty to transport from England any people, effects, and merchandize free of customs both outward and inward, for the first seven years, and quit from all taxes and customs in New-England: also for the first seven years, and for fourteen years more, excepting the five per cent. duty in England, upon all merchandize imported. All born in this country, or in passages to and from the colony, be deemed natural-born subjects of England; the general court may make orders and laws, constitute officers, may impose fines, imprisonment, or other lawful correction, according to the course of other corporations in England [e]; establishing of the Christian faith amongst the natives, is in this charter declared to be the principal end thereof; may encounter and resist by force of arms, by sea or land, any who shall in a hostile manner invade the said plantation; if any of the said colony shall injure any subject of princes in amity with us, they shall, proclamation made in England, be required to give satisfaction, and make restitution; which if not complied with, the said persons shall be put out of our allegiance and protection, and the said princes shall be allowed to prosecute the said offenders with hostility — None of our subjects to be debarred fishing upon the coast of New-England, nor from setting up stages and workhouses on shore, and cutting requisite timber and wood.

The colony seal was an Indian erect, naked, an arrow in his right-hand, and a bow in his left-hand; these words in a scrawl from his mouth, *Come over and help us*; and in a round, *Sigillum Gab. et Societatis de Massachusetts-Bay in Nova Anglia.*

[d] This seems to imply, that they were to meet and vote together.

[e] Here capital crimes seem not to be included.

To render this history clear and distinct, we shall here continue the accounts of the incidents which happened, relating to this charter, down to its being vacated in Chancery in 1684.

Anno 1635, several complaints against the colony of Massachusetts-Bay being lodged in the court of King's-bench; a *quo warranto* was issued against the governor and company of Massachusetts-Bay: some of the company appeared and disclaimed their charter; others did not appear, and were outlawed.

In this controversy with Mr. Mason, anno 1637, in Trinity term, was obtained a judgment from the King's-bench, against the colony of Massachusetts-Bay, in favour of the king, *viz.* That the king should seize the said province, and take their governor Cradock's body into custody; but, by reason of the ensuing civil war confusions, the charter was never taken up, and from that time to the Restoration, New-England enjoyed a desirable tranquillity; and at the desire of their important neighbours, the eastern settlers were taken into their protection and jurisdiction.

Upon the Restoration 1661, Gorge and Mason's representatives renewed their complaints against Massachusetts-Bay colony, upon account of encroachments; it was chiefly in compassion that these eastern people were (as abandoned) taken under their protection and jurisdiction, but moreover Massachusetts-Bay colony conceived, that it might keep up their claim, to the most northerly part of Merimack river, with three miles advantage, and E. and W. from sea to sea, including all the settled part of Mason's grant or New-Hampshire, and of the province of Main to Black Point.

Anno 1675-6, March 10, ordered by the king in council, that Massachusetts-Bay government, should answer the complaints of Mason's and Gorge's heirs, concerning their being by said government unjustly kept out of their right.

William

William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley were sent over as agents; they disclaimed any title to those lands in the petition.

The lords of the committee for trade and plantations, with the lords chief justices Rainsford and North, reported to the king in council, that the Massachusetts-Bay colony, by their representatives, disclaimed any title to the said lands in controversy; this report was confirmed by the king in council,

After the order of the king in council, July 20, 1677, the assembly of Massachusetts-Bay passed an act 1679, vacating all such grants as they had made of lands beyond the three miles north of Merrimack river. We must observe, that about this time, some of the Massachusetts people, upon account of the Indian trade and fishery, removed to New-Hampshire and province of Main, and lived for some time in a separate state; but from divisions amongst themselves, and from fear of being insulted by the Indians, they put themselves under the protection and jurisdiction of the government of Massachusetts-Bay. 1652, The inhabitants, of New-Hampshire, or Piscataqua, or Mason's grant, put themselves under the protection and government of Massachusetts-Bay, until the time of Cranfield's being appointed governor of New-Hampshire. President Cutts and council, Sept. 18, 1680, were commissioned by the king; before this there had been no power of government granted for that territory of New-Hampshire. We may observe, that the old townships of Portsmouth, Hampton, and Dover, were grants of the Massachusetts-Bay assembly: colonel Waldron, representative for Dover, was Speaker of Massachusetts house of representatives.

Anno 1682, May 9, The king in council further inhibits the Massachusetts-Bay government, from any jurisdiction in Mason's property.

The further account of the disputes between the corporation of Massachusetts-Bay, and the heirs of Mr. Mason

Anno 1682, when a despotic monarchy was hatching, several towns in England began to surrender their charters, by the persuasion of lord chief justice Jeffries, a person capable of any wickedness to gratify the court; particularly in Cornwall, where are many poor boroughs, for small considerations always at the devotion of the court: twenty-five boroughs brought in their charters.

Anno 1683, king Charles II, by a message to the general assembly of Massachusetts-Bay desired, that in consideration of several [e] complaints entered against them, they would surrender their charter to the king's pleasure, which by a vote of general assembly was refused. Thereupon in consequence of a *quo warranto*, and *scire facias*, 1684, in Chancery, in Trinity term, judgment was entered against their charter, and it was vacated; the colonies agents or attornies not appearing.

Robert Humphrey, Esq; agent for Massachusetts-Bay colony, in his letter to the governor and council, dated Inner Temple, May 2, 1685, and read in the general assembly July 8 following [f], writes, "The breaches assigned against you, are as obvious as unanswerable; so that all the service your council and friends could have done you here, would have only served to deplore, not prevent, that inevitable loss. I sent you the lord keeper's order of June 15, 1684, requiring your appearing first day of Michaelmas term, else judgment entered against your charter was to stand. When this first day came, your letters of attorney neither were, nor indeed could be, returned; accordingly, I applied to the Chancery for further time: where judgment passes by default, there may be a rehearing. Instead of sending letters of attor-

[e] A disregard to the acts of trade, persecution of their fellow-christians, &c.

[f] Mr. Humphrey at that time seems not to have been a real friend to New-England.

ney, the colony sent only an address to the king, without colony seal, or any subscription per order; therefore it was not presented. I herewith send you a copy of the judgment against your charter. Colonel Kirk was fixed upon, by Charles II, to be your governor; and James II, is said to have renewed his patent for your government."

Henry Cranfield, governor of the adjoining province of New-Hampshire, is said to have been appointed by Charles II, governor of New-England. It is certain his commission was never published; if there was any such patent, it dropped by the death of Charles II: by Charles the second's sudden death, whether natural, or wickedly procured, we shall not determine; this affair was neglected, and the New-England colonies continued for about two years more, in the enjoyment of their charter privileges [g].

Joseph Dudley, Esq; was sent over to the court of England as their agent in the charter affairs; but as being a native of New-England, and a cunning man, it was thought by the court that he was the proper person to facilitate and to introduce a new administration, or form of government. Accordingly, in April 1686, he was appointed president, with a council to govern New-England; he arrived at Boston in June following: there were no considerable acts in government in his time. In December of the same year, arrives Sir Edmond Andros, governor of New-England, with Nicholson, lieutenant-governor, and two independent companies of soldiers; and president Dudley was appointed chief-justice.

The New-England charters being laid aside, the governor and council (six or seven persons, generally stran-

[g] Plymouth colony had the same fate with Massachusetts-Bay colony in the affair of charters; Connecticut and Rhode-island colonies submitted, by resolve of their assemblies, to the king's pleasure, and for two years and a half were under the government of Sir Edmund Andros, without being required to surrender their charter; upon the Revolution, as their charter had never been vacated by law, nor surrendered, they were allowed by the court of England to reassume their charters, and continue in the full enjoyment thereof to this day.

gers) had the legislative and executive power of government. They acted many unjust and oppressive things; for instance, in property, they alledged, that the people's conveyances were not according to the laws of England, and that upon their charter ceasing, their former titles ceased; and obliged them to take out new grants or titles at high rates and extravagant fees: particularly the king assumed the absolute government, and the property of the unappropriated lands, the granting of lands, raising of taxes, making of laws, with the executive part likewise.

Upon the arrival in April 1689, in Boston, of the news of a thorough revolution in England, there was a kind of popular insurrection in Boston against the governor Sir Edmund Andros and his officers, who surrendered, and were sent home; a convention of the principal gentlemen of the colony was held in Boston, who appointed a council, Simon Bradstreet, president, or committee for the safety of the people, and conservation of the peace; and summoned a convention of the representatives of the people. Accordingly, at the first meeting, sixty-six representatives of forty-four towns and districts were present; and May 24, there were representatives from fifty-four places; they resolved that the governor, deputy-governor, assistants, and other officers, as chosen May 12, 1686, should act in their respective stations; *viz.* Simon Bradstreet, governor; Thomas Serjeant, major-general; Isaac Adington, secretary; John Phillips, treasurer; Thomas Danforth, president of the province of Main, &c. Thomas Oakes was speaker of the house of representatives: they resolved upon six rates of taxes, whereof one rate was to be in provisions: all this was transacted with submission to the king and queen's pleasure when notified.

It was proposed by a writ of error, to have a rehearing concerning the New-England charters, in Westminster hall; but this was dropped. There was a bill brought into the convention parliament, for restoring the New-England charters; it passed the lower house, but
the

the convention being dissolved soon after, it dropped. Upon granting the new charter, the king allowed the agents for Massachusetts-Bay to nominate their first governor; they nominated Sir William Phipps.

The further provincial proceedings we defer to the next article.

The boundary line of Old Massachusetts-Bay colony.

THE southern line is, 1. With the late Plymouth colony forty-one miles; being fifteen miles due W. twenty-three miles W. 18 D. S. see p. 401, and W. 7 D. N. three miles and a half. Upon this line lie the townships of Hingham, Weymouth, Braintree, and Stoughton. 2. [b] The line with Rhode-island colony, from the intersection of the north and south line from Patucket Falls to Massachusetts-Bay south line, as settled by agreement of the two colonies, May 14, 1719, and afterwards confirmed by the king in council, is W. 7 D. N. about twenty miles to the N. W. corner of Rhode-island, being a production of Connecticut and Rhode-island N. and S. line, as settled by agreement of these two colonies, anno 1738. N. B. Here the differences of variation allowed per agreement with Rhode-island of W. 7 D. N. and with Connecticut of W. 9 D. N. occasions a notch of one mile and forty rods in the township of Douglafs, from the Rhode-island N. W. corner to the Connecticut N. E. corner: upon this line lie the townships of Wrentham, Bellingham, Uxbridge, and Douglafs. 3. The line with [c] Connecticut, run anno 1713, from said N. E.

[b] Massachusetts south line was set off according to the letter of the charter, from three miles south of the head of Stop-river in Wrentham, being the most southerly branch of Charles-river; it falls into the main body of Charles-river at Medfield.

[c] In N. lat. 41 D. 2 M. as observed by the ingenious, learned, and inquisitive gentleman William Burnet, Esq; sometime governor of New-York, and afterwards governor of the province of Massachusetts-Bay; a worthy son of the worthy, pious, and honest, though political bishop Burnet.

corner

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corner of Connecticut, W. 9 D. N. to the N. W. corner of Connecticut seventy-two miles; *viz.* from said N. E. corner of Connecticut to Connecticut river (ninety rods north of the N. E. corner of Suffield) thirty-eight miles, and from thence to Connecticut N. W. corner thirty-four miles; in all seventy-two miles upon Connecticut: this line was [k] settled per agreement, and afterwards confirmed by the king in council: upon this line lie the townships of Dudley, Woodstock indented, Sturbridge, Brimfield, Somers, and Enfield indented, Suffield indented, Westfield, Bedford, Housatronics, No's 3 and 2, and Sheffield.

As an equivalent, for some indented lands properly belonging to the colony of Connecticut, but settled, and for some time assumed under the jurisdiction, of Massachusetts-Bay; anno 1713, the province of Massachusetts-Bay allowed the property, but not jurisdiction of some of their vacant province lands, containing 105,793 acres in four separate parcels. These equivalent lands were sold at public vendue by the colony of Connecticut April 25, 1716, for 683*l.* New-England currency in sixteen shares, *viz.* Gurdon Saltonstall, governor of Connecticut, Mrs. Saltonstall, Paul Dudley, Addington Davenport, Tho. Fitch, Anthony Stoddard, William Brattle, minister, Ebenezer Pemberton, a minister of the gospel, William and Joseph Dummer, each one half of a share, Jonathan Belcher, John White, William Clark, near Boston common, John Wainwright, Henry Newman and John Caswal, each one third of a share, Nath. Gould, and Peter Burs, each one half of a share, John Stoddard and Elisha Williams, each one half of a share, and to John Read one share: about 40,000 acres of these lands, by the late settlement of a line with New-Hampshire, fall

[k] A late petition to the general court, or general assembly for the indented townships of Massachusetts-Bay, to be set off to the jurisdiction of Connecticut is idle and vain, because the jurisdiction has been some years since finally issued by the king in council.

into the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire upon Connecticut river above Northfield.

The west line of Massachusetts-Bay hitherto is not settled; the people of New-York pretend that their east line is Connecticut river [l], because the Dutch colony, their predecessors, extended their pretensions so far, and had a considerable trade in Connecticut river. But we may observe, that some years since, anno 1725, when New-York and Connecticut settled their line, which was afterwards confirmed by the king in council; their fundamental agreement was, that this boundary line should be at twenty miles east of Hudson's river, and parallel with the said river; therefore naturally this line in the same circumstances must extend northward, and bound Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire provinces.

The [m] north and east lines have been in continued disputes in opposite claims of Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire. Anno 1739, the king in council, upon appeals from the judgment of commissioners (per agreement of both parties) appointed under the great seal of Great-Britain, finally determined the same.

As all disputable claims are now extinguished, we may reckon them as obsolete; but for the curious (antiquaries perhaps may be an improper term in a young colony) we shall give some succinct account of those claims.

It is frequently very difficult, and almost impossible to reconcile the letter of the boundaries of two old grants; because generally more was granted, than had been surveyed, or perhaps more than had been discovered; therefore the lines were ill expressed, in loose general terms, and frequently interfering; which cannot be adjusted but by amicable voluntary conventions and agreements of

[l] Anno 1726, some of the Massachusetts-Bay people, in settling Housatonic townships, were arrested to Albany court in an action of trespass against a grant to some Dutchmen from my lord Cornbury, governor of New-York.

[m] It was designed to refer the history of this line to the section of New-Hampshire, but it seems more naturally to fall in this place.

the parties concerned; to be explained and confirmed by the king in council, the original granter.

Immediately upon the royal grant or patent to the New-England company, called the council of Plymouth, that council granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorge, governor of the fort of Plymouth, and sometime president of the said council, and to Mr. Mason merchant of London, their secretary, jointly; from Neumkeag or Salem river to Quenebec river along the sea shore, and sixty miles inland: soon after, they had separate grants of separate parcels of land: here, we are only to relate the disputes with Mr. Mason's heirs and assigns, and the section of New-Hampshire must be referred to.

Anno 1621, March 9, the council of Plymouth granted to John Mason, Esq; of London, their secretary, his heirs and assigns, a tract of land from Neumkeag to Merrimack river. Anno 1629, they granted to ditto a tract [n] of land, between Merrimack river and Piscataqua river, sixty miles up each river, and these to be bounded by a line across from river to river. Both these grants were joined in a new grant 1635, April 22, from the council of Plymouth to the said Mason, viz. sixty miles up Neumkeag river, &c. and from the entrance of Neumkeag (a creek between Salem and Beverley) round by the sea-shore to the middle entrance of Piscataqua river, up Piscataqua river, and Newichawenock river to the head thereof, and thence north westward till sixty miles be accomplished; and cross from the termination of each of these sixty miles, to be called New-Hampshire. Anno 1635, Aug. 19, king Charles, by patent, confirms this grant called New-Hampshire, with power of government and jurisdiction (as in the palatinate or bishoprick of Durham) with power of conferring honours.

The complaints from time to time of Mr. Mason's heirs to the king in council, and the determinations

[n] This patent is posterior to that of Massachusetts-Bay 1628⁹, and therefore void, as the lands between Neumkeag and Merrimack river,

thereupon, have been already related in p. 410; we shall now mention some very large private claims from Indian grants, where both colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New-Hampshire were supposed to be concerned in property, as well as in jurisdiction.

Anno 1629, the chiefs of the Indians of Merrimack river sold to John Wheelwright and others of the Massachusetts-Bay colony, all that land beginning "at the end of twenty miles N. W. from Patucket falls, and thence running a N. E. line to intersect Merrimack and Piscataqua rivers, and these two rivers to be the bounds of it, from that line to the sea." This, together with other lands, included all the late province of New-Hampshire. This claim was revived by Mr. Cooke and others, about thirty years since, when some Irish Presbyterians petitioned both assemblies of Massachusetts-Bay and of New-Hampshire, for a settlement or township of lands: these emigrants are settled upon part of those lands by charter or grant from the governor and council of New-Hampshire; their township is called Londonderry (formerly Nutfield) and flourishes much; they are a noted pattern and example of industry and frugality; particularly they excel in the fabric or manufacture of linen cloth. May the other townships of New England copy from them! This township lies a few miles east of Patucket falls of Merrimack river.

Anno 1683, a large tract of land called the Million purchase, both sides of Merrimack river above Souhagen river, was granted by the Sachems of the Weymaser or lower river Indians, and the Penycook or upper river Indians, to Jonathan Tyng of Dunstable for valuable considerations. This tract of land extended upon the west side of Merrimack river, from the mouth of Souhagen river, where it falls into Merrimack river, six miles and a half up the said Souhagen or Souhegonack river; thence N. 20 D. westward, ten miles; thence in a direct line from the northward as far as the most southerly end or part (meaning, I suppose, the production westward of

a line from the southerly end of the said pond) of the great pond or lake, commonly called Wenepesioche lake; extended upon the east side of Merrimack river from Brenton's lands or farm (in Litchfield) six miles in breadth eastward, and thence running in a direct line northward unto, and as far as, the most southerly end or part of Wenepesioche lake; neither of these west or east lines to come nearer to the river of Merrimack than six miles; an Indian plantation of three miles square is reserved. These lands were conveyed in several parcels, and at sundry times, to certain persons by transfers, anno 1684, 1685, and 1686; of which transfers some were acknowledged before the magistrates of the administration of the old colony of Massachusetts-Bay, and some before those of king James the second's reign. After these conveyances and transfers were confirmed by Robert Tufton Mason proprietor of New-Hampshire, April 15, 1686, so far as falls within the royal grant of New-Hampshire, at a quit-rent of 10s. sterling *per annum* when demanded, they were regulated into twenty equal shares, *viz.*

Joseph Dudley	Samuel Shrimpton	John Blackwell
Charles Lidget	William Stoughton	Peter Bulkeley
John Usher	Richard Wharton	William Blathwayt
Edward Randolph	Thomas Henchman	Jonathan Tyng
John Hubbard	Thaddeus Macarty	Daniel Cox.
Robert Thompson	Edward Thompson	

And three other persons to be hereafter named and agreed upon; no benefit of survivorship; to be divided as soon as may be, and each share may take up 5000 acres at discretion for the present. These grants and regulations were also confirmed July 12, 1686 (and entered Nov. 9, following) by Joseph Dudley, president, and by the council of his majesty's territory and dominion of New-England in America; with an addition of the township of Concord, Chelmsford, Groton, Lancaster, Stow, and Dunstable, and twelve miles more of land. This claim

was in a manner revived about twenty-eight years since, but soon dropped; it is now again revived by an advertisement in the Boston Gazette of June 21, 1748. These lands at present are in the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire, and must be claimed in that province.

Not many years since Mrs. Rand from New-England, heiress or representative of Thomas Goffe, one of the twenty-six original patentees or proprietors of Massachusetts-Bay grant, entered a claim in Chancery accordingly, and gave some disturbance to the Massachusetts-Bay vessels in the river Thames in London, by entering a *Ne exeat* in Chancery; pretending they were the produce of that colony, which the twenty-six original proprietors had never jointly assigned to the settlers; but upon her death, and one of the heirs of the other original proprietors appearing, the affair dropped; and the settlers, by their representatives in general assembly, continue in quiet possession by prescription.

For many years there had been a dispute concerning the north boundary of Massachusetts-Bay colony with New-Hampshire; New-Hampshire claimed, from three miles north of the middle channel of the mouth of Merrimack river due west, until it meet with other British governments; Massachusetts-Bay claimed, from three miles north of the Black Rock, where Merrimack river emptied itself into the ocean, when the charter was granted; thence running at three miles distance parallel with the river, to three miles north of the fork or crotch where this river first receives the name Merrimack, and from thence due west to the South-Sea, or to any of his majesty's other territories.

[2] Anno 1731, the general assembly of New-Hampshire appointed Mr. Rindge their agent, to solicit at

[3] I have been the more particular in this affair, that it may serve, by way of instance, to illustrate the length of time required to bring Plantation affairs to an issue at the court of Great-Britain. The affair of the boundaries between lord Baltimore of Maryland, and the

home, for settling their boundaries with the province of Massachusetts-Bay; 1733, the petition was presented; 1734, Jan. 5, the Board of Trade and Plantations, sent to the attorney and solicitor-general, this question, "From what part of Merrimack river, the three miles limitation ought to be taken?" March 19, the report was, "From three miles north of the mouth of Merrimack river." 1737, April 9, by the consent of both parties, a commission under the great seal was issued to some gentlemen of the councils in the neighbouring provinces to hear and judge in the affair. The commissioners met at Hampton in New-Hampshire Aug. 1, and gave their determination Sept. 2; both parties appealed to the king in council, and the commissioners adjourned themselves to Aug. 1, 1738, to receive the king's pleasure. 1739, March 5, the appeals were heard before the proper committee of privy council, and afterwards their report was heard before the king in council, where the affair was finally determined. Conformably to this determination the lines were run by the province of New-Hampshire, *ex parte*, the Massachusetts-Bay government refused to join in the survey; the line between New-Hampshire and the province of Main by Mr. Bryant; the line parallel with, and at three miles (on the north side) distance from the river Merrimack by Mr. Mitchell; and the line from Patucket falls station W. 10 D. N. to New-York east line by Mr. Hazen. These lines or surveys were in May, 1741, lodged with the records of both provinces.

We come now to delineate the northerly line of Massachusetts-Bay province. The commissioners for settling of it, 1737, put it thus, "If the same lands were granted by W. and M. charter, as by that of Charles I;" then this line should run three miles north from the Black Rock at the mouth of the river Merrimack, and parallel Penns of Pennsylvania, is of a much longer standing, and not as yet issued.

with

with the river to three miles north of the crotch where the rivers of Winnepisiack and Pemegawasset meet, and thence due west: but if otherwise, then the line is to begin at three miles north from the mouth of the said river, and run from thence due west. Upon the appeals the king in council issued the case in neither of these ways; but that after the parallel was carried so far as the flexure of the river at Patucket falls, it should proceed no farther; because if the parallel line were to be continued farther, it would be east, and not north, from the river; the course of the river from this flexure becoming north and south; and from a station three miles north of the flexure or falls, the line to run W. 10 D. N. by compass, to New-York east line.

Mr. Mitchell's line parallel with Merrimack river begins at three miles north of a Black Rock, to Patucket station, being W. 9 D. S. by compass twenty-seven miles. This parallel line passes through and cuts off part of the following townships of Massachusetts-Bay government, *viz.* Salisbury, Amesbury, Haverhill, Methuen, Dracut, and Nottingham; the colony of Massachusetts-Bay had extended these townships beyond the three miles north of Merrimack, not so much upon account of their having assumed the jurisdiction of that country, at the time of granting these townships, but chiefly because they were Indian grants to Massachusetts people.

Mr. Hazen's line from Patucket station three miles east of Merrimack river, runs W. 10 D. N. by compass to cut Connecticut river (one mile and three quarters north of Northfield meeting house; and about ten miles south of fort Dummer) fifty-three miles fifty-eight rods; thence to New-York line twenty miles east from Hudson's river, thirty-six miles sixty rod; in all about ninety miles. The line continued falls in with Hudson's river six miles above Albany church, and a little below the mouth of Mohawks river. This line passes through, and takes off from the Massachusetts Bay jurisdiction, some parts of the following townships and lands, *viz.* Dunstable,

stable, Groton, Townsend, [p] Ipswich newtownship, Canada to Rowley, some province vacant lands, Canada to Sylveſter and others, Canada to Roxbury, Wincheſter, Northfield, Fall-ſight township, Boſton new township, No. 2, and province vacant lands to New-York eaſt line.

The ſea line of the old colony of Maſſachuſetts-Bay does not exceed eighty miles.

The ſuperficial land contents of ſaid colony we may eſtimate in this manner: 1. Its northerly line in a direct courſe, north ſide of Merrimack river, W. 9 D. S. to Pantucket ſtation is twenty-ſeven miles; thence W. 10 D. N. to New-York eaſt line are about ninety miles; being in all about 117 miles. 2. Its ſoutherly line is from Conohaſſet rocks to the notch in Bridgewater, fifteen miles; thence W. 18 D. ſouth to the ſtation tree twenty-three miles; thence W. 7 D. N. to Rhode-iſland, N. W. corner, which is nearly the ſame with Connecticut N. E. corner twenty-four miles [q], thence W. 9 D. N. to Con-

[p] A few years ſince, the general aſſembly of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay was in the humour of diſtributing the property of much vacant or province land; perhaps in good policy and foreſight, to ſecure to the Maſſachuſetts people, by poſſeſſion, the property of part of ſome controverted lands; accordingly it came to paſs, that upon a royal commiſſion from the court of Great-Britain, to determine this controverſy, the juriſdiction, but not the property, was allotted to New-Hampſhire, or rather to the crown. Some of theſe grants, called townſhips, were to the inhabitants of the ſeveral old townſhips, e. g. to Boſton three townſhips, to Ipſwich one, &c. nine townſhips were voted, but only ſeven granted, to the deſcendants of the Naraganſet or Pequod Indian war ſoldiers 1637, called Naraganſet townſhips; nine townſhips were granted to the heirs of the militia, or ſoldiers, who went againſt Canada, anno 1690, and are called Canada townſhips. A parcel of theſe townſhips, the furtheſt up in the country, run W. 5 and a half D. S. acroſs from Merrimack river thirty-five miles to Connecticut river, as a barrier againſt the Indians, they are called the double line of towns; whereof No. 3, 8, and 9, are very mountainous, rocky, and ſtony, not capable of ſettlement; No. 4 and 7 are the beſt lands.

At preſent there remains in the territory of Old Maſſachuſetts-Bay colony, vacant or provincial lands, not exceeding the value of ſix townſhips of ſix miles ſquare each.

[q] This line, by a production of about twenty miles, falls in with Hudſon's river, about half a mile below the mouth of Eſopus river.

necticut

necticut N. W. corner seventy miles ; being in all about 132 miles. 3. The meridian distance from the above-said northerly and to the southerly line is about forty-seven miles. These forty-seven miles multiplied into 125, which is nearly the medium between the northerly and southerly line, produces 5875 square miles, which are 3,750,000 acres [r].

As to the situation of this American province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, upon the surface of the terrestrial globe ; we shall observe that BOSTON the chief town or metropolis of New-England, from the observations of the late ingenious Mr. Thomas Robie, fellow of Harvard, alias Cambridge college of New-England determined it to be in 42 D. 25 M. N. lat. and [s] west from London 4 H. 46 M. which is W. long. 71 D. 30 M.

[r] By a late determination of the king in council, the province of Massachusetts-Bay, has lost of its claimed lands, about one half in number of acres : thus estimated ; the southerly line of the claimed lands disjoined from Massachusetts, is 117 miles ; the northerly line is from Endicot's tree, three miles north of the fork of Merrimack river, thirty five miles to Connecticut river, and thence to New-York east line about sixty miles, being in all about ninety-five miles, whereof a medium extent east and west is 106 miles ; this multiplied into fifty-five miles, the meridian distance between Pantucket falls and Endicot's tree, gives 5830 square miles, which are 3,737,200 acres.

There are some actual surveys of extents which ought not to be lost in oblivion ; as for instance, from Merrimack river due west to Groton meeting-house are twelve miles ; from Groton meeting-house (as surveyed by colonel Stoddard, major Fulham, and Mr. Dwight, by order of the general assembly) to Northfield meeting-house W. 16 D. N. by compass, are forty-one miles and a half ; from Deerfield meeting-house near Connecticut river, a little higher, to Albany church upon the west side of Hudson's river, W. 12 and a half D. N. are fifty-seven miles twenty rod. From such actual surveys the public roads may be laid out to better advantage than at present : for instance, the present road from Bolton to Albany (this is the road to Montreal in Canada) by way of Springfield, the Housatouicks, and Kinderhook is about 200 miles ; a new and better road, but not as yet well improved, is *via* Lancaster and Nichawog to Sunderland upon Connecticut river eighty-four miles, and from Deerfield, a little higher to Albany, are fifty-seven miles, being in all only about 150 miles.

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The general history under the old charter administration continued.

THIS charter was dated March 4, 1628-9; by charter Mr. Cradock was nominated their first governor, but by reason of his advanced age, he declined going over; and Mr. Endicot, deputy-governor, but being of no note, he was dropped: the company in London chose John Winthrop, governor, and Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor.

Anno 1629, the company sent over 350 people, 115 neat cattle, some horses, sheep, and goats (most of this stock died in the passage) six pieces of cannon, with stores; they landed at Neumkeag, now Salem, June 24, 1629; Mr. Endicot, their leader, gave it the name Salem.

1630. In April, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, with some of the adventurers and assistants, many settlers and servants, provisions and stores, in all seventeen ships, were sent over this year: of the settlers about 100 died the first year; and the survivors [†] suffered much for want of

[‡] By the same eclipse of the moon, March 15, 1717, observed by Cassini and De la Hire at Paris (which is 9 M. 40 seconds in time east from London) and by Mr. Robie at Cambridge of New-England. Two observations better ascertain the difference of time between two remote places, than an observation in one place, and a calculation only for the other.

[†] Deputy-governor Dudley, March 28, 1631, wrote home to his friends in England, "The 180 servants which we had sent over, we could not avoid giving them all their liberty, though they cost us from 16 to 20*l.* sterling a person, not having bread kine for a fortnight. If any comes to this settlement to plant for worldly ends (but if for spiritual he may do well) that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will soon repent him; we failed of our expectation to our great damage. People of England, who are endued with grace, and furnished with means to find their families for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come. In the beginning of our settlements we had great sickness and mortality, as well as the settlers of New-Plymouth, which seemed to proceed from want of warm lodging and good diet; they who landed in summer died of fevers from the heats; they who landed in winter, as those of New-Plymouth, died of the scurvy,

provisions.

provisions. After a chargeable, long, and tedious voyage, they landed at Salem; they disliked Salem, and chose to settle where the land was better; they proceeded to the mouth of [u] Charles-river farther up the bay. Here some settled, and called it Charles-Town; some settled at Sagus-river, now Lynn; some at Mystic-river, now Medford; these two settlements are between Salem and Charles-Town; some from Charles Town crossed over, and settled upon a Peninsula, now called BOSTON, the metropolis of British America; some settled from Charles-Town westward at Newtown and Watertown; some from Boston settled two miles west southward, and called it Rocksbury, because rocky ground; some settled four miles south from Boston, and called it Dorchester; they were mostly west countrymen. Newbury settled 1635 [w].

Being sickly, and fearing the severity of the winter, many were discouraged; about 100 persons returned with the ships to England; some Libertines went to a small settlement which had been made at Piscataqua without this jurisdiction. From settling out, April 30, to December following, died upwards of 200 persons.

Anno 1631, freemen were first admitted, and here the old charter law book begins; preceding May, 1634, admitted about 390 freemen; preceding 1641, about 4000 settlers came from England. For the twenty following years, the independent manner in religion was fashionable at home, and more people went home from New-England, than came abroad to New-England. After the Restoration, the episcopal church of England again became rigid, and many Dissenters came over with their ministers; thus Mr. Allen was appointed minister

[u] It was so called some years before this settlement.

[w] Here I could proceed, and give the history of the first settling and progressive improvements of most townships in the province of Massachusetts-Bay; but this would be of too private and confined a nature, to be admitted into a general summary, and could engage the attention of but a few readers.

of

The assiduous and well-qualified agent Dummer, in his ingenious and politic piece, published in London, 1721, in defence of the New-England charters, when all charter and proprietary governments were in danger of being annihilated, by a bill brought into the House of Commons of Great-Britain; he writes, "That the expence of settling the Massachusetts-Bay colony for the first twelve years, was about 200,000*l.* sterling; that the settlers were neither necessitous nor criminals."

The history of their successive governors, is as follows:

1630. The company of Massachusetts-Bay adventurers in London, chose for their governor, John Winthrop, a lawyer, son of Adam Winthrop, of Groton in Suffolk; he brought over with him to New-England the proceeds of an estate of 600 to 700 *l.* sterling *per annum*; was almost annually elected governor till his death; he was very charitable, particularly in distributing his medicinal Van Helmont nostrums to the poor. His son was very instrumental in procuring the Connecticut charter, and was annually chosen their governor during his life. His grandson was some time major-general of the colony, and chief-justice or judge; he died 1717. To his great grandson John, was dedicated the *xith* vol. of the Philosophical transactions of the London Royal Society; he died lately in London.

1636. In opposition to Mr. Winthrop, Henry Vane, son of Sir Henry Vane, was chosen governor; he came over an enthusiastic rigid Puritan; his conduct was disagreeable to the people, he was dropped the year following, and Mr. Winthrop chosen as formerly. He was afterwards member of the long parliament in England; and executed as a traitor 1662. *Æt.* 50.

1645. Thomas Dudley was elected governor, Mr. Winthrop, deputy-governor: Mr. Dudley was born at Northamp-

Northampton; he was a Puritan, and bred in the army; he was about ten years steward to the earl of Lincoln; he came over deputy-governor 1630, and was at times chosen major-general of the colony; he died in Rockbury, July 31, 1652, Æt. 77. His son Joseph Dudley sustained many great and arduous posts, Colony-agent, president of the council, chief-justice, member of parliament in England, and governor of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, as shall be in course related more at large. His grandson Paul Dudley, Esq; is the present chief-justice of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, of long experience in the laws and customs of the province; he is noted abroad in the world, by some ingenious pieces, relating to the natural history of New-England, published in the Philosophical Transactions of the London Royal Society, for the years 1720 and 1721.

1653. John Endicot was chosen governor; he died 1665. 1665, Richard Bellingham, a lawyer, a very old man, was elected; he had been an assistant or magistrate thirty years before; he was chosen governor for seven years successively; he died 1671, Æt. 80. He had formerly been treasurer of the province; he was very severe against Anabaptists and Quakers; his memory is perpetuated by the township of Bellingham, being called after his name.

1671. Was chosen John Leverett; he was annually continued governor till death 1676, in the autumn. His father Thomas Leverett, with his family, removed 1633, from Boston in Lincolnshire of Old-England, to New-England.

1676. Simon Bradstreet was elected governor; he was annually rechosen till anno 1686; the charter being vacated, he was superseded by president Dudley: upon the Revolution in New-England, April 1689, subsequent to and consequent of the Revolution in England, Nov. 1688; by the advice and direction of the principal inhabitants of the colony, with the other colony officers, as elected 1686, he reassumed the government, till the arrival of the new charter, May, 1692. This was approved

proved of, and confirmed by W. and M. He was born in Lincolnshire, had been a fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge of Old-England; succeeded governor Thomas Dudley, as steward to the earl of Lincoln; he married a sister of governor Joseph Dudley; he died March 27, 1697, *Æt.* 95; he was the longest liver of all the first planters of New-England.

Some short time after the succession of king James II, the charter being vacated, Joseph Dudley, Esq; who had been sent over the colony's agent, arrived in Boston, June 1686, as president with a council; he assumed the administration; he was superseded by

The arrival of Sir Edmund Andros, governor of New-England, in Dec. 1686; he continued governor, until sent home, with his officers, by the Revolutioners in the spring, 1689. He had been governor of New-York under the duke [*] of York and Albany for seven years preceding 1684, when he was superseded by colonel Dongan a Roman catholic: anno 1692 in Virginia he had the chief command, having succeeded Francis Nicholson, who was lieutenant-governor under lord Howard, principal governor, dismissed; Sir Edmund continued governor until 1698, when colonel Nicholson from Maryland superseded him; governor Nicholson returned to England 1704, and was succeeded by the earl of Orkney. Here we insensibly anticipate affairs belonging to the section of Virginia.

The successive major-generals under the old charter were, Thomas Dudley, John Endicot, Edward Gibbons, Robert Sedgwick, Humphrey Atherton, Daniel Denison, John Leverett, Daniel Gookin, and Thomas Sergeant.

The successive secretaries, were William Burgis, Simon Bradstreet, Increase Newel, and Edward Rawson; between the old and new charters in the intermediate

[*] The city of New-York was so called from his English title; and the city of Albany from his Scots title.

arbitrary oppressive administration in the reign of James II, James Randolph was secretary.

Colonel Usher, at the Revolution was treasurer for the dominions of New-England; upon this Revolution he went off abruptly.

[y] *Some singularly remarkable laws and customs in the old charter administration.*

THEIR enacting style was, *It is ordered by this court, and the authority thereof.*

For many years from the beginning, the governor, assistants, or council, not under seven, and deputies or representatives in a legislative capacity [z] voted together; but from long experience divers inconveniencies were found to arise, and it was enacted 1652, that the magistrates (governor and council) should sit and vote apart, constituting [a] a separate negative.

The governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, or council called magistrates, were the superior court for appeals in civil cases; and were the court of oyer and terminer in cases of life, member, banishment, and divorce. After they were constituted two distinct houses, if they happened to differ in any cases of judicature civil or criminal, the affair was to be determined by a vote of the whole court met together. The ge-

[y] These minutes and common place from records, and observations of self and friends, I hope, are exact, and all matters material may be depended upon; but the business of my profession and other affairs, do not allow me time sufficient to reduce them into a strict stiff method or order; therefore they appear miscellaneous, but in some loose manner digested for the use of future writers.

[z] In Scotland, before the happy union 1707, in their parliaments, the peers, commissioners for shires or counties, and commissioners for burghs or boroughs, made only one house and voted together.

[a] The colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-island followed their example, and their legislature to this day consists of two negatives: the governor has no third negative, as in the provinces strictly belonging to the crown; but in the upper house or negative, in case of an equivote, he determines the affair.

neral court only, had power to pardon condemned criminals. The governor when present was president in all courts. No general court to be continued above one year. The governor, deputy-governor, or majority of the assistants, may call a general assembly; but this assembly is not to be adjourned or dissolved, but by a vote of the same.

County courts may admit freemen, being [b] church-members, that is, of the independent or congregational religious mode; only freemen were capable of voting in civil assemblies: 1662, upon the king's letter, this law was repealed.

Formerly some townships had it in their option, to send or not send deputies to the general assembly. The deputies of Dover and such other towns as are not by law bound to send deputies, may be excused.

The officers annually elected by the freemen in general (not by their representatives or deputies in the general court or assembly) were the governor, the deputy-governor, the assistants or council, the treasurer, the major-general, the admiral at sea, the commissioners for the united colonies, and the secretary.

By an act 1641, the freemen of any shire or town, have liberty to chuse deputies for the general court [c], either in their own shire or town, or elsewhere as they judge fittest; so be it, they be freemen and inhabiting this jurisdiction.

By a law made 1654, no person, who is an usual or common attorney in any [d] inferior court, shall be ad-

[b] This was too narrow and confined, perhaps more severe than ever was practised by the church of England in its most bigotted and faulted periods; the present generation in New-England are of an extensive charity to all Protestants, though differing in some peculiar, but not essential, modes or ways of worship.

[c] This law was not re-enacted under the new charter administration, but a special act; residence was required, by the influence of a party or faction averse to a polite assembly well versed in commercial and other public general affairs of the world.

[d] At this time the general assembly was called the supreme or general court.

mitted to sit as a deputy in the general court or assembly.

Where the country or colony laws are deficient, the case shall be determined by the [e] word of God.

Disfranchisement, and banishment, were the usual penalties for great crimes.

Governor and deputy-governor jointly agreeing, or any of their assistants, consenting, have power out of court, to reprieve a condemned malefactor, till the next court of assistants, or general court; and that the general court only hath power to pardon a condemned malefactor.

1652, Enacted, That a Mint-house be erected in Boston, to coin silver of sterling alloy into 12 *d.* 6*d.* and 3*d.* pieces, in value less than that of the present English coin by 2 *d.* in the shilling; the stamp to be, within a double ring; on the one side MASSACHUSETTS, with a tree in the centre; on the other side NEW-ENGLAND, with the year [f] 1652, and the figure XII, VI, and III, according to the value of each piece; with a private mark. Excepting English coin, no other money to be current in this common-wealth; 5 *per cent.* for [g] charges of coining to be allowed by the owners of the silver brought into the mint to be coined. Exportation of this coin, except twenty shillings for necessary expences, is prohibited on pain of confiscation of all visible estate. Coinage is a prerogative of the Sovereignty, not of a colony. Scarce any of this coin now appears; with all other silver coin, it is drove away by a multiplied fallacious base paper-currency.

Besides some small duties of impost upon strong liquors imported; and a small excise of 2 *s.* 6*d.* per hhd.

[e] Our Bible in these times was their body of laws, civil as well as ecclesiastical, especially in criminal cases.

[f] All the New England coin is dated 1652; though for many following years they continued coining.

[g] In Great-Britain the coinage charge is defrayed by the government; for this use the parliament allows 15,000 *l.* *per annum.*

upon cyder, and malt liquors retained; and tonnage, 6 *d.* per ton, upon shipping; the ordinary revenue was a poll tax or capitation upon all male whites of 16 *Æt.* and upwards, and a rate of — *d.* in the pound of principal estate at small valuations: thus for instance, anno 1651, the tax was 20 *d.* per poll, and a rate of 1 *d.* in the pound estate.

Anno 1692, when the old charter expired, a tax of 10 *s.* poll, and a rate of 30 *s.* upon every 100 *l.* of principal estate, was computed to raise 30,000 *l.* value equal to proclamation money.

Anno 1639, a Court merchant is appointed. When a stranger's affairs do not allow him to tarry the ordinary terms of the courts; the governor or deputy, with any two of the assistants, or any three of the assistants, may call a special court.

Several acts for fairs and markets in several towns; for instance, in Boston two yearly fairs, and a weekly market upon the 5th day [b].

Enacted, a small body of good maritime laws in twenty-seven sections.

The œconomy of their militia was after this manner. All white men of 16 *Æt.* and upwards, were inlisted; no company of foot to be under sixty-four private men (small towns are to join) no troops of horse to exceed seventy men. The non-commission officers to be appointed by the commission officers of the company. The commission officers of a company to be chosen by a majority of the men inlisted in that company, to be approved by the county-court, or sessions. All the companies of one county or regiment, by a majority of the men belonging to that regiment are to chuse a serjeant-major of the county, the commander of that regiment. The commander of all the militia of the colony was in a major-general, annually chosen by the general assem-

[b] It is not easily to be accounted for, that the court merchant, and weekly markets, were not re-enacted under the new charter administration.

bly [i]. Any seven assistants, whereof the governor or deputy-governor to be one, may impress soldiers.

To prevent oppression, any person taking excessive wages for work done, or unreasonable prices for necessary merchandize; shall be fined at the discretion of the court where the offence is presented. The select men to regulate the wages of porters.

The forms of their judicial oaths were, By the Name of the Living, and sometimes Ever-living GOD—By the great Name of the Ever-living Almighty GOD—By the great and dreadful Name of the Ever-living GOD. These were used according to the solemnity of the occasion.

Any person may view and have attested copies of any records; the journals of the council excepted.

[k] Powowors to be fined five pounds. Jesuits, or any Roman catholic ecclesiastics, to be banished; if they return, to suffer death: this law was afterwards extended to the Quakers.

Anno 1656, none of that cursed sect of heretics, lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, are to be imported: penalty upon the master 100*l.* per piece, and 40*s.* per hour for any other person harbouring or entertaining them.

1658. A Quaker [l] convicted, shall be banished upon pain of death.

[i] All this is fully expressed in a few words in the Dorchester burying place near Boston, upon a grave-stone of Mr. Atherton; he sustained all these commands, as also the office of assistant or magistrate in the state, and deacon in the church or congregation; the poetry is rude, being composed in the infancy of the country:

*Here lies our Captain, and Major of Suffolk was withal,
A godly Magistrate was he, and Major general.*

Anno 1655, Cromwell divided England into eleven districts, and constituted a military commander in each, by the name of Major-general, but this was soon disused. At present in Great-Britain. the militia of each county is under the direction of a lord lieutenant, or of a lieutenantcy of the country.

[k] These were Indian conjurers and fortune-tellers.

[l] The Quakers, by their simplicity of manners, fair dealings, in

Penalty for playing at cards or dice 5*s.* for observing any such day as Christmas 5*s.* profaners of the sabbath day, for the first offence to be admonished, but for after offences to be fined. Drinking healths aboard of vessels 20*s.* every health. Reviling magistrates or ministers 5*l.* or whipping.

1633. Constables are to present unprofitable fowlers, and tobacco-takers, to the next magistrate.

No motion of marriage to be made to any maid, without the consent of her parents. Births, marriages, and deaths to be recorded in each town: to be returned yearly to the county court or sessions.

The general assembly having received and perused a letter from the privy council in England, with an act of parliament 12 Carol. II. for the encouraging of shipping and navigation; they appointed naval officers in all their proper sea-ports, the transactions to be transmitted to London once a year by the secretary.

Women, girls, and boys, are enjoined to spin; the select men of each town, are to assess each family, at one or more spinners: when they have avocations of other business, they are to be deemed half or quarter spinners; a whole spinner shall spin every year, for thirty weeks, three pound every week of linnen, cotton, or woollen.

dusury, frugality, humanity, and charity, with good propriety, give themselves the denomination of FRIENDS: as such they are at present much in favour with the civil government of Great-Britain; in these colonies, by an order from the crown, they are exempted from paying towards the parochial ministers dues. I must not produce this as an instance (because a powerful corps are in the opposition) that a regular clergy in pay, under the confined (confinement occasions desertion) discipline of Creeds, Confessions, Canons, Articles, &c. are not of that use in society (from the long experience of many centuries) as those not confined, but who act as voluntiers or irregulars not paid, but merely as from the *Amor Patriæ et Proximi*, they are directed. Forms in religion are generally of bad influence; with the vulgar, they pass for the ALL of religion, and are thereby diverted from the essentials, *viz.* a good life, and charity, which is brotherly-love to the affluent, and compassion toward our neighbours the indigent.

Five years quiet possession to be deemed a good title. In commonages five sheep shall be reckoned equal to one cow.

1667. No licenced person to sell beer, but of four bushels barley malt at least, to the hogshead, and not to be sold above 2 *d.* the ale quart; not to be mixed with molasses, coarse sugar, or other materials. No mackarel to be caught, except for spending whilst fresh, before the first of July annually. Surveyors appointed to view all shipping in building.

Wampumpeag to be a tender in payment of debts not exceeding 40 *s.* at 8 white or 4 black a penny; this was repealed anno 1661.

After a vote passed in any assembly or civil court, a member may enter his dissent, without entering his reasons of dissent, to be recorded.

In all assemblies, neuters, that is silents, shall be accounted votes for the negative. Any two magistrates with the clerk of the county, may take probate of wills, or grant administration.

In old charter times the colony was at first divided into the three counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex; when they assumed the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire and province of Main, and settled compactly upon Connecticut river, the colony, 1671, was divided into these six counties:

Counties	{	Suffolk		Shire-towns	{	Boston.
		Norfolk				Salisbury and Hampton.
		Essex				Salem and Ipswich.
		Piscataqua				Dover and Portsmouth.
		Middlesex				Charlestown and Cambridge.
		Yorkshire				York.
Hampshire	Northampton and Springfield.					

Transactions relating to their Religious Affairs.

SOME account of the various sectaries or modes of religious discipline and worship in the several British American colonies, was designed for the section of Rhode-island colony, that plantation being productive or receptive of very many sectaries: but as the persecutions (so called) of sundry sectaries in the old colony of Massachusetts-Bay, is too much and too impartially noted by many historians; I could not avoid in this place, to give a few and matter-of-fact account of these things. I. Concerning the congregational way of religious discipline and worship as generally practised in the colonies of New-England. II. Some narrative of the severities used in the Massachusetts-Bay, towards various sectaries or communions of rigid Brownists, Antinomians, Muggletonians, Anabaptists, Quakers, and [m] Witches [n].

I. [o] Some conscientious non-conformists harassed by the bishops courts, &c. in the reign of James I, obtained a loose grant from the council of Plymouth called the New-England company, of some lands in North-America; they transported themselves to New-England, and at first were perhaps [p] enthusiastically rigid and called Brownists [q], from the name of their apostle or

[m] Witches are Enthusiasts or Maniacs, and may, with propriety of words, be said of the devil's communion.

[n] By the many controversies in revealed religions, the several sects expose the inconsistencies and absurdities of one another's opinions, and occasion the wise and thinking part of mankind to regulate themselves by natural religion only; and to conclude that all religions only are good, which teach men to be good.

[o] See p. 224. 369.

[p] Nothing but a religious heat or zeal at that time could have withstood the severities of their winters; at present their winters are less rigid from the country being more and more cleared of woods, and exposed to the sun, which dissolves their snows sooner than before it was opened.

[q] Robert Brown first appeared 1580. Sir Walter Raleigh writes, that in 1592, there were in England near 20,000 Brownists.

leader;

leader; afterwards their indiscreet zeal beginning to subside, they were called [*r*] Independents, because every congregation was independent of the other churches, but not independent of the civil government, as some invidiously represent it. A church consisted only of so many people as could conveniently meet together in one audience, and under covenant among themselves; a vote of the brotherhood, made and unmade their minister, elders, and deacons; a minister could not administer but to his own congregation; they allowed of communion with other churches in word and prayer, but not in sacraments and discipline; they advised with neighbouring churches, but were under no obligation to follow their advice.

After some time, they still became more moderate and sociable; they converted the designation Independent, to that of congregational: although they retained the notion of an independent supreme ecclesiastic power in each congregation; they allowed, that sometimes it may be expedient to have the advice of synods and councils: thus insensibly and naturally, for sake of good order, they fall into the Presbyterian mode; and, in fact, have had several synods appointed by the civil legislature. 1. In August 30, 1637, in Newtown was called an universal synod to condemn the errors of the Rigids and Antinomians; M. Williams, Mr. Vane, and Mrs. Hutchinson were their leaders; this synod continued three weeks: this occasioned an emigration, and the settling of the colony of Rhode-island. 2. Sept. 30, 1648, by order of the legislature, a synod was called at Cambridge, to establish uniformity; they agree to the Westminster confession of 1646, in matters of faith and doctrine, but compose a plan of their own for discipline. 3. Anno

[*r*] This mode of religion seems to be laudable and well adapted to prevent *imperium in imperio*, that is, a church government from controuling the state or civil government. Cromwell, a very great statesman, as well as general, was sensible of this; they were his favourites upon that account.

1662, in the spring, in Boston a synod was called by direction of the general assembly, concerning the right that grand-children of church-members had to baptism, concerning the confociation of churches, and some other affairs of church-membership. 4. Anno 1679, another synod in Boston was appointed by the legislature, to consult what was proper to be done to remove the evils which continued to afflict the people of New-England; 1678, many had died of the small-pox; the result was, that all the churches should renew their covenant. They had a second session, May 12, 1680, and agreed upon a confession of faith, nearly the same with that of the Independents in England, Oct. 12, 1658, called the Savoy confession of faith, and seemed to renounce the models of Geneva and Scotland. 5. Anno 1687, the ministers of Massachusetts-Bay colony, jointly sent an address of thanks to king James II, for his [s] indulgence or general toleration of religious opinions and congregations. This was sent over and presented to king James by Mr. Increase Mather; he and his constituents were not politicians sufficient to penetrate into the wicked and pernicious contrivance of that toleration. 6. About thirty years since, it was proposed in the general assembly to call a synod of the congregational churches of the province of Massachusetts-Bay; this was refused or dropped, because by the act of union of Scotland and England, it is provided that the church of England government, in all the English colonies was for ever established. Here the history of New-England church synods must terminate.

All convocations, general assemblies, synods, &c. of clergymen, by their indiscreet zeal or heats, rather increase, than heal the distempers of the church.

In other articles, the New-England Independents become less contracted, and of more extensive charity.

[s] By this general indulgence Popery was craftily to be introduced; the colony of Plymouth unadvisedly sent an address of the same nature.

Although

Although a church properly consisted of no more persons or Christians, than could conveniently meet together in one place, cemented by a holy covenant, and admitted into church-membership by personal public confession; at present they have relaxed of that rigidity, and, 1. In many of their churches, do not require that personal public confessional appearance, in order to be admitted into church-membership; but only a private application to their pastor or minister to be communicated to the church only, if required. 2. They admit occasionally members of other churches to the Lord's supper, by letters of recommendation. 3. A minister may occasionally administer the sacraments to a neighbouring vacant church. 4. The brethren of the church, at the ordination of a minister, do not lay on hands; it is done by the laying on of the hands of the ministers [t] of some neighbouring churches invited for that purpose: this is a considerable festival day in the township or parish. 5. A lay elder may teach and perform all offices, excepting the administration of the sacraments.

At present the Congregationalists of New-England may be esteemed among the most moderate and charitable of Christian professions.

The persecution of sectaries in New-England, particularly of Anabaptists and Quakers, is not minutely related here; as being only local and temporary from the wrong-pointed zeal of the times, without any political wicked design [u].

[t] In a New-England ordination, five distinct personages or parts are required, 1. A preparatory Prayer. 2. A suitable sermon. 3. A charge. 4. Another Prayer. 5. The right-hand of fellowship; some others join in the imposition of hands.

[u] Mankind in a natural unpolished state is *animal superstiosum*: this is the natural reason of the great influence of the clergy. A fiery hot religious zeal, or frantickness, with variety of symptoms or tenets, like other bodily distempers, at times becomes contagious and epidemic, principally amongst the weak constitutions of mind; as bodily ails seize weak constitutions of body: for instance, in Great-Britain,

If by sectaries are meant Dissenters from the general mode of the religion of the country at that time; the church of England worship was formerly a dissension in New-England: the first church of England congregation formed there was in Boston 1679: it still subsists and flourishes; and besides a rector in the election and at the charge of the congregation, there is an annual royal bounty for an assistant minister, sometimes called lecturer: hitherto, excepting in Boston, there is no church of England, but missionaries: at this time, anno 1748 (including Mr. Price for Hopkinton appointed, but not as yet arrived) in the new charter province of Massachusetts-Bay, are seven missionary congregations, and about 200 independent congregations; besides some congregations of Irish Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, and lately some mushroom meetings of Separatists, disciples of Mr. Whitefield, and, as of short duration, scarce deserving mention.

By the articles of union of the two nations of Great-Britain, May 1707, the church of England is established

the Lollards, Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers, Witches: this zeal, if left to nature, after some short time deserveth and subsides; but if used with harsh violent administrations, that is, with persecution, the distemper becomes more intense, more lasting, and more contagious or spreading. In all religious distemperatures, lenitives by long experience are found to be the most efficacious medicines; thus, of the abovementioned, some have disappeared, the Lollards and Witches; the others are become very moderate, tractable, and some of the best members of the commonwealth or civil society.

At present the differences amongst the various communions, communities, or persuasions of Protestants in the British dominions, are not doctrinal, or essential; being only different modes or fashions, in church government, ceremonies of worship and vestments: the Quaker himself, in his old-fashioned formal dress, seems to some, to be as superstitious, as a clergyman of the church of England in his gown, cassock, and other pontifical accoutrements. For this reason, the civil government of Great-Britain tolerates or connives at all Protestant denominations of Christians; there are only the three denominations of Presbyterians, Independents (in New-England they are called Congregationalists) and Anabaptists, who take out toleration licences. Speculative private opinions can never disturb a state.

in perpetuity in all the territories at that time to England belonging; but before this period, in all charters and governors patents, a general toleration for all Christian religious communities (Roman catholics excepted) was the ecclesiastical constitution of our American colonies, without any preference [w].

1. The rigid Brownists [x] are almost extinct; nothing violent, or out of the common course of human reason, can hold long; we have already given some transient hints concerning them; in the infancy of these colonies there were many degrees of rigidity [y], whereof several were puritanic and fanatical, of very short continuance. The Rigids generally [z] seceded from the more moderate [a], and removed with their teachers or ministers without the limits or jurisdiction of the colony. Anno

[w] The ministers of the congregational persuasion, or discipline, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, continue to meet annually about the time of the anniversary provincial election of counsellors (being an annual jubilee, or festival, or concourse from all parts of the colony) not by assuming any ecclesiastical authority, or combination, but only by way of friendly or brotherly intercourse.

[x] True sincere Enthusiasts may be of good civil use, if well pointed; I do not mean Freethinkers and Libertines, who for worldly ends, may act the hypocrite in any shape; but such as make a conscience of religion in general, and of their own way of thinking in particular, and are zealous for making of converts in spite of all perils and fatigue; such may be useful missionaries amongst the heathen, and promote religion and trade with them. This Enthusiasm ought to be encouraged and promoted.

[y] Mr. Locke, in a letter to Mr. Bold, dated Oates, May, 1699, says, "I design to take my religion from the Scripture, and then, whether it suits or suits not any other denomination, I am not much concerned; for I think at the last day it will not be enquired, whether I was of the church of England or Geneva; but whether I sought and embraced truth in the love of it."

[z] Some devotees would sacrifice their king (or any other form of civil government) and country blindly to the enthusiastic superstitious injunctions of their priests and exhorters. The laws of nature and nations require the curbing of these.

[a] The several sects, or communions of Protestants, seem to agree in the essential doctrines of the Christian religion, and differ only in some fanciful modes and external fashions of worship.

1634, Roger Williams, minister of Salem, was banished because of his [*b*] Antinomian and [*c*] fanatical doctrines; after some removes, with his disciples, he settled on the south side of Patucket river and called their settlement Providence plantations, which name it retains to this day; they purchased it of the Indians, or had liberty from them to settle there: an instance of his formality, is a letter from him, dated, Nantigganick 24th of the first month, commonly called March, the second year of our plantation (by way of epocha, or in imitation of the V. C. of the Romans) or planting at Moothifick or Providence.

When the people get into the distemperature, or humour of differing and dividing especially in religion; they proceed to subdivisions, and separations upon separations. Anno 1636, in the summer, some discontented Rigids to the number of about one hundred, went from the townships of Newtown, Dorchester, Watertown, and Rocksbury, under their leaders and teachers, Homes, Hopkins, Ludlow, Hooker, &c. removed westward to a pleasant country upon Connecticut river, and gradually made the settlements of Hartford, Wethersfield, Windsor, Springfield, &c. Those of them who found their settlements without the limits of the Massachusetts-Bay charter, entered into a voluntary association or jurisdiction, which continued until they obtained an ample royal charter in the beginning of the reign of Charles II; as shall be more fully related in the section of Connecticut

[*b*] Antinomians hold, that the law of Moses is unprofitable under the Gospel; that justification is without good works; that morality and good works are no help to salvation, but rather a hindrance: such pernicious doctrines are inconsistent with civil society, and with goodness and honesty, or a private life.

[*c*] The various enthusiastical modes, at their first appearance in the world, were frantic with a violent, indiscreet, religious zeal: they generally agree in two pernicious articles; 1. They disclaim a civil magistracy and temporal punishments; and, 2. Their own wild notions are by themselves called impulses from God.

colony;

colony; those are at present moderate, industrious, well-governed people.

Some of the Separatists were concerned in the settlement of Rhode-island (it was then called Aquatneck, and anno 1644, it was called the Isle of Rhodes or Rhode-island) 1637-8 by a voluntary incorporation of eighteen persons: this belongs to the section of Rhode-island.

2. The Anabaptists, at their first appearance in New-England, were enthusiastically troublesome; they chose among themselves the meanest of the people for their ministers; they call themselves Baptists by way of abbreviation of the name Anabaptists, after the [d] Lollards, who were the first in the Reformation, followed the Lutherans and Anabaptists [e]: some of them vainly imagine, that they ought to be called by that name in a peculiar manner; their baptism being the only scriptural baptism:

[d] The Lollards (so called from Walter Lollard, the author of this sect in Germany in the thirteenth century) were our first Reformers; their name is now lost, the first Reformation being subdivided into many denominations. They first appeared in England, under Wickliff, D. D. of Oxford, about the middle of the fourteenth century; they clamoured against transubstantiation, auricular confession, celibacy of the clergy, hierarchy, and several pecuniary perquisites of the Roman catholic clergy; with some enthusiastical notions, viz. the church consists only of the predestinated, converting of church-effects to other uses is no sacrilege, neither public nor private succession is indefeasible, &c.

[e] The Anabaptists, a particular sort of devotees, first appeared about the time of Luther's Reformation, and prevailed chiefly in the Netherlands and Westphalia; their essential or distinguishing doctrine was, not baptizing of infants, and re-baptizing by dipping such as had been baptized in their infancy: hence is the denomination of Anabaptists; they pretended that infant baptism was not to be found in the Bible: at first they were moderate and orderly: Luther requested the duke of Saxony, that they might be favourably dealt with, because, their notional error excepted, they seemed to be otherwise good men. They soon ran into many pernicious wild doctrines; they condemned all civil administration and magistracy; corporal punishments (as a divine prerogative) they reserved to God Almighty; they despised judicial oaths; disregarded the scriptures, pretending to a personal kind of peculiar illumination, a community of goods, &c. John Buckhold a butcher, a native of Leyden, commonly called John or Jack of Leyden, having embraced the Anabaptistical seditious notions, became very popular, with many followers; the cry or parole was, Repent, and
I they

they would not communicate with persons baptized in infancy only; if occasionally in a congregational meeting, upon a child's being presented for baptism, they withdrew, to the great disturbance of the congregation: fines were enacted; Holmes, because he would not pay his fine, was whipped thirty lashes. Anno 1644 and 1646, laws were made against disturbers of the peace in any church in times of divine service, and against raillery of magistrates; that all who shall condemn or oppose the baptism of infants, or that shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of that ordinance, or that shall deny the order of magistracy; every person continuing obstinate in these, after the proper means of conviction have been used, shall be sentenced to banishment. In the beginning they generally kept the Sabbath with the congregational churches; their first separation to form a peculiar church was at Rehoboth, 1651, and were much persecuted all over New-England: from their church in Swanzey, proceeded a church in Boston, May 28, 1665, which to this day continues a very orderly peaceable christian society: the young vagrant, Mr. Whitfield, by his preachings, or rather strong youthful vociferations, did draw off some of the congregationalists week minds, to an Antinomian, or antimorality separation: this occasioned a separation amongst the Anabaptists, and their Separatists have a distinct congregation under Mr. Bounds, the leather breeches-maker; and two more Separatists, ministers from the Congregationalists, are shortly to be ordained, viz. Mr. Crosswell and Mr. Clark in Boston.

3. The [f] Muggletonian books, anno 1654, by act of Assembly, as being full of blasphemies (they go under

be re-baptized; in his itinerancies, at Munster in Westphalia, he fell into open sedition, and was master of the city for some time: the bishop, by blockade, recovered it, and Buckhold suffered an exemplary painful lingering death, 1534.

[f] Muggleton was a journeyman taylor, he pretended to be a great prophet, and to an absolute power of damning or saving whom he pleased.

the names of John Reeves and Lowdowich Muggleton, who pretended to be the two last prophets and witnesses of JESUS CHRIST) to be brought to the next magistrate to be burnt by the common executioner in the market-place of Boston upon a market-day: penalty ten pound for every book discovered not brought in.

4. The [g] Quakers first appearance in New-England was 1654, from Old-England and Barbadoes: their behaviour was ludicrous and indecent; they copied from the Anabaptists in their most enthusiastic state; the first in Boston, were [b] Mary Fisher and Anne Austin from Barbadoes: they seemed to join with the Antinomians and Anabaptists; they had many converts in [i] Salem, and it was their head-quarters. They impiouly declared, that they were immediately sent from God, and blasphemously asserted they were infallibly assisted by the Holy Spirit; they despised and spake evil of dignities, or civil magistrates, to the great disturbance of civil jurisdiction. By reason of their enormities, some laws were made against the importation of Quakers, and their proceedings; as being obstinate rogues, vagabonds, 1656, 1658, and 1659; and as disturbers of the peace of the

[g] Their first appearance in England was anno 1644: George Fox, a shoe-maker, was their grand apostle, and were called Enthusiasts; anno 1650. they first obtained the name of Quakers from their oscillatory, or vibrating bodily devotional action.

[b] Women (some women are qualified with an agility or glibness of tongue, especially in railing against their superiors and neighbours) have officiated as preachers, further back than history reaches; the Sibyls and other oracle deliverers were women; the oracle church or scheme (a modern word for religious sectaries) of doctrine, the most ancient of Greece, was set up after the model of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon at Thebes in Egypt; the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, was the most celebrated in Greece, and their top preacher was Pythia or Pythonissa a woman. Thus we find that this woman-preaching religion is very ancient: what is lately called by our enthusiasts seeking of the Lord, resembles the consulting of oracles among the ancients.

[i] In Salem and its neighbourhood, enthusiasm, and other nervous disorders, seem to be endemic; it was the seat of the New-England witchcraft, anno 1692; hypochondriac, hysteric, and other maniac disorders prevail there, and at Ipswich adjoining, to this day.

common-

commonwealth, they were subjected to fines, imprisonments, whipping, cropping of ears (1658 three Quakers had their ears cropt) and banishment, and by act of assembly upon their return from banishment, 1659 and 1660, three or four Quakers suffered death: this in course occasioned a national clamour, and the pains of death were exchanged into those of being whipped, only through three towns at the cart's tail; but upon further complaints home, king Charles II, in council, by order, Sept. 9, 1661, required the accused to be sent home for trial, and all penal laws relating to Quakers to be suspended.

The people who are called by the ludicrous name of Quakers are at present noted for a laudable parsimony or frugality, moral honesty, and mutual friendship: they have attained a considerable interest in the commonwealth: peerage like, they are indulged with affirmation, instead of a judicial oath; and in New-England they are exempted from paying rates to the township ministers. As Quakers, they call themselves friends in a peculiar manner: their rejecting that sacred symbol of Christian friendship, "eating and drinking together" in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, is not to be accounted for.

5. As to the witchcraft sectary [*k*], we shall only mention what happened anno 1692, when a most horrid inhuman murder, by colour of law, was perpetrated upon many ignorant maniacs, and other persons affected in their

[*k*] Originally *veneficium*, or witchcraft, did not signify an explicit covenant with the devil; but the study of the poisonous qualities of herbs, and these herb-women were called *veneficæ*, or witches. The witchcraft of our times is a pavid superstition and ignorance; therefore it prevails in Lapland, and other obscure ignorant parts of the world. Some adore what they admire, this is the only true religion; some adore what they fear: free-thinking politicians assert, that devil-worship is better than none, because the firm belief of some invisible superintendency, good or bad, is the only check upon vulgar minds in civil affairs, which cannot allow of civil conviction.

nerves [L], called witches. Anno 1691-2, in February, it began in the family of Mr. Paris, minister of Salem-village; from somewhat endemial to the soil, three persons were affected with nervous disorders, convulsed, and acted as if demented; they were said to be bewitched; and by Mr. Paris's indiscreet interrogatories, they fancied themselves bewitched by his Indian woman, and some neighbouring ugly old woman, who from their dismal aspect were called witches; and by the end of May, 1692, about 100 persons were imprisoned upon that account: about this time Sir William Phipps arrived governor; and June 2, for their trial a special commission of *oyer* and *terminer* was issued to lieutenant-governor Stoughton, major Saltonstall, major Richards, major Gidney, Mr. Wait Winthrop, captain Samuel Sewall, and Mr. Sergeant; thus nineteen were hanged, one pressed to death; some died in prison; in all five men, and twenty-three women had been condemned: not any of the fifty who confessed themselves witches,

[L] It was an endemial distemper of the brain and nerves. 1. Convulsion fit, were a pathognomic sign in this distemper. 2. A bunch like a pullet's egg would rise in their throat; a noted hysterick symptom. 3. Much troubled with incubus, or night-mare, commonly called being hag-rid; for instance, Toothacer deposed, "That being upon his back, he had not power to move hand or foot, till he saw the shape of the witch pass from his breast." 4. Nervous disorders, especially if attended with hysterick convulsions, leave the patients, or afflicted persons, very weak; Mr. C. Mather describes it thus, "When their tormentors had left them for good and all, they left them extreme weak and faint, and overwhelmed with vapours, which would not only cause some of them to swoon away, but also were now and then for a while discomposed in the reasonableness of their thought." This may be called a subsequent hectic of the spirit, from nervous weaknesses; 2. Mr. Edwards of Northampton mentions the same consequential disorder, upon the going off of the pourings out of the spirit, endemial there. The pourings out of the spirit, which have at times been epidemic in Northampton upon Connecticut river, belong to this tribe of nervous disorders, as we shall hereafter evince. The jugillations, that is, the black and blue spots in their skin, were called the devil's nip, pinch, or gripe; whereas they were only scorbutic stains, incident to aged persons.

suffered death. Mr. George Burroughs, minister of Falmouth, who had left his former minister in Salem, was one in this sacrifice, perhaps in resentment; none of the executed confessed guilt; many of them were pious persons. After these twenty dismal deaths, many of the very popular, but very weak ministers or clergy, addressed Sir William Phipps, a very weak governor, with thanks for what was already done, and exhorting to proceed.

The accusers were some persons said to have the spectral sight, and some confessing witches; but over-acting their parts, some of governor Phipps's, and of the Rev. Mr. Mather's relations and friends being accused, as also some of the accused good Christians, and of good estates, arrested the accusers in high actions for defamation; this put a stop to accusations, and in superior court, Jan. 1692-3, of fifty-six bills, which were preferred against witches, the Grand Jury brought in thirty *ignoramus*; and of the remaining twenty-six, the Petty Jury convicted only three, who were afterwards pardoned: accusations were disregarded, and upon Sir William Phipps's going home, at this time about 150 were in prison, and 200 more accused; they were all discharged, paying 30*s.* each, to the attorney-general.

Many of the confessing witches signed a paper, importing that most of their confessions were only assenting to, or repeating, what they were directed to; being weak in mind, and under terror, from the putting to death all persons accused, who did not confess. In December, 1696, a general fast was appointed by the assembly; praying that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people, in a late tragedy raised amongst us by Satan and his instruments. At this fast judge Sewall, and several of the jury, gave in papers signed, heartily asking forgiveness of all, and declaring that they would not do such things again for the whole world. When this persecution ceased, no more witchcraft was heard of.

May those over-zealous provincial mistakes in the warfare against the devils and auxiliaries, be buried in ob-

livion;

livion; especially considering an act of parliament 1736, procured by the late good lord Talbot, has effectually liberated the dominions of Great-Britain from all bugbears of this kind. By this act "no prosecution shall be commenced, or carried on against any person for witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, or conjuration, or for charging another with any such offence: if any person shall pretend to exercise or use any of the above, or tell fortunes, or from occult arts pretend to discover stolen goods; penalty one year imprisonment, and once in every quarter of the said year to stand on some market-day in the pillory."

Perhaps I am already too tedious in the paragraphs concerning the various religious sectaries that have appeared in New-England, therefore shall wave two late religious appearances to the section of Rhode-island, though falling within the period of the new charter of the province of Massachusetts-Bay province; I mean the North-hampton conversions, or pouring out of the Spirit, anno 1735: this enthusiasm must have spread (they were in the tribe of enthusiasts convulsionaries [*m*]) if some *selo de se*, and other flagrant disorders had not exposed them; 2. The followers of Mr. Whitefield, an actor, or personated enthusiast, endued with a proper genius of low action; he first appeared in New-England, anno 1740; his followers hitherto, 1748, are not all returned to their right minds; very lately in the town of Boston was ordained a country shoe-maker, and reinstalled a renegade from a country parish, to encourage this separation, or enthusiastic divisions.

I now proceed to some geographical account of the old colony of Massachusetts-Bay; their mountains or hills, rivers, and sea-ports.

Mountainous parts may be classed into mountains or hills, and continued high springy lands; these, with ri-

[*m*] Such were the Sevennes, or French Prophets, about forty years since; and at present in France the Devotées of l'Abbe Paris.

vers, bays, and promontories, are permanent; therefore a proper basis in the description of a country called its geography; as this with chronology, are the basis of history.

The great Blue Hill, twelve miles S. S. W. from Boston, with a continued ridge of hills running eastward to Boston bay; upon this hill the townships of Milton, Braintree, and Stoughton meet. The summit of this hill is very proper for a beacon in case of any sudden invasion by an enemy; from thence a fire and great smoak may be [n] visible to seven eighths of the province: in a clear day from it are distinctly to be seen, Pigeon-Hill, N. E. easterly about forty miles, a noted land-mark upon Cape-Anne, the northerly promontory of Massachusetts-Bay; the great Watchufet, the great Menadnock [o]; Wateticks, and other noted mountains. The great Watchufet hill in Rutland, lies W. N. W. northerly about fifty miles. The grand Menadnock in waste lands of the province of New-Hampshire, lies about twenty miles farther N. than Watchufets.

From the high lands, at the meeting-house of old Rutland district near the Watchufet hills, are the following bearings.

- Great Watchufet hill, N. E. half N.
- East end of Wateticks, N. N. E. northerly
- Great Menadnock, N. half W.
- Mount Tom in Northampton, W. b. N. half W.
- Mount Tobit in Sunderland, W. N. W.
- Middle of Northfield hills—N. W.

These are only general expressions of what I observed by a pocket-compass; and as a specimen, how with

[n] Some years since, by direction of colonel Byfield of Bristol, from a great smoak made upon this great Blue Hill, Mount-Hope in Bristol was found to bear S by W. and by estimation forty-five miles direct.

[o] The Wateticks are partly in the province of Massachusetts Bay, partly in the province of New-Hampshire, and lie east of a township granted to Ipswich.

proper compasses or needles from several well concerted places of observation, and with actual particular surveys compared and adjusted, an exact plan of the country (for utility or amusement) may be obtained. I have employed some vacant, and sometimes borrowed, time in this affair; which I design as a present to the province.

Upon or near the river Merrimack, there are several mountains or hills on its west side; *viz.* Anahousick, Oncanouit, &c. but are not within the jurisdiction of this province; and, by a late determination of the king in council, they belong to the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire.

Upon or near the great river of Connecticut in this colony, are the following mountains: In Sunderland E. side of Connecticut river, is Mount Tobit, a group of hills; and opposite on the west side of the river, in the south parts of Deerfield, are the two Sugar-loaves, or Pikes of Deerfield—About twelve miles lower upon the east side of this river in Hadley, is Mount-Holyhock, a ridge of mountains, running eight or nine miles N. E. from the river. Here I took the bearings of all the mountains and high lands, so far as the naked eye could reach, which I do not insert, as minuteness is not consistent with the character of a summary. Opposite to this (leaving only a passage or channel for the river) on the west side in Northampton is mount Tom, a short ridge of mountains, running in the same direction. The hills and mountains higher up the river belong to the section of the province of New-Hampshire, as do the mountains noted in Hazen, W. 10 D. N. divisional line between Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire provinces.

At fifteen to twenty miles distance west of Connecticut river is a long ridge of hills called the Westfield Mountains. There is a considerable range of mountains seven miles east of Housatonic river; another ridge seven miles

west of Hausatonick; this last is in the province of New-York. The Westfield and Housatonick mountains render the old road from Boston to Albany not so commodious, as a late projected road, *via* Deerfield.

[p] Much elevated HIGH SPRINGY LANDS; I shall give two instances in this province or colony, where very diffused runs of water originate.

I. In the lands where the townships of Worcester, Leicester, and Rutland join, about fifty miles west from Boston; here spring, 1. Quinepuxet river, which falls into Nashway river; which falls into Merrimack river in Dunstable of the province of New-Hampshire; which empties

[p] Such are, but in a much more extended manner as to courses and great lengths, I. In Europe, in Switzerland of the Alps, within a small compass are the fountains of three great, and very long, rivers; 1. The Danube, which running easterly through the circles of Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria of Germany; through Transylvania, and the Turkish dominions in Europe, empties or disembogues into the Black Sea in Bulgaria of Turkey. 2. The Rhine, which running northerly passes through the lake of Constance, and many principalities of Germany, in some places dividing the German dominions from the French, falls into the German or Northern ocean in Holland, by several mouths called the Yffel, Lech, and Wahaal; the old Rhine, after passing Utrecht and Leyden, is lost in the Duynen or Downs (sands accumulated by the stormy ocean) and does not reach the sea. 3. The rapid Rhosne, running through the lake of Geneva, for a considerable space westward to Lyons; thence southward to the Mediterranean sea, in Provence of France. II. In the northern continent of America, ten or twelve miles west from Hudson's river, and about eighty or ninety miles north from the city of New-York, are the Cat-kil mountains, very lofty, giving springs which extensively run: for, 1. A Branch falls into Hudson's river; thence to the ocean near New-York. 2. A Branch falls into Lake Ontario; thence in the great river of Canada, or St. Laurence, which discharges into the Atlantic ocean, between Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, and Newfoundland. 3. A run falls into the river Ohio or Belle Riviere, which falls into the Mississippi, which empties by many mouths into the bay or gulph of Mexico. 4. A stream heads Delaware river, and falls into the Sesquahana river, which falls into Chesapeake bay, and this enters the Atlantic ocean in Virginia. 5. A run of water falls into Delaware river, which falls into the bay and ocean between Pennsylvania and the Jerseys.

itself

itself into the sea or Atlantick ocean at Newbury of the province of Massachusetts-Bay: upon Quinepuxet and Nashway river, are the townships of Rutland, Holden, Lancaster, Bolton, Harvard, Groton, and Dunstable. 2. Half-way river, which in its progress is called Blackstone and Patuxet river; which empties into Naraganset Bay of Rhode island colony: upon these, are the townships of Worcester, Grafton, Sutton, Uxbridge, Mendon, Attleborough, and Rehoboth of Massachusetts-Bay; and Cumberland, Smithfield, and Providence, of Rhode-island.

3. Story or French River, which falls into Quenebang river in Thomson parish of Killingsley; which falls into Satucket river in Norwich; and this a little farther falls into Thames river or creek, which falls into Long Island sound at New London. Upon these are the townships of Leicester, Oxford, Dudley of the Massachusetts Bay, and Killingsley; Pomfret, Plainfield, Canterbury, Norwich, Groton, and New London of Connecticut colony.

4. Seven Mile river, which falls into Quenebang river in Brookfield; which falls into Chicabee river in Kingston (a granted but not constituted or incorporated township) called also the Elbows; which falls into Connecticut river in Springfield; which empties at Seabrook into Long Island sound: upon these are the townships of Rutland, Leicester, Brookfield, Western, Kingston, and Springfield of the Massachusetts-Bay. The townships which lie upon the great rivers of Merrimack and Connecticut shall be related, when we give some separate distinct account of these rivers.

II. Lands not appropriated, called Province lands, adjoining to, and N. W. of Hatfield, west of Connecticut river; from thence are branches or runs of water,

1. A branch to Housick river, running west, has upon it fort Massachusetts, a frontier against the French and their Indians, which falls into Hudson's river at Scatcook a village of Indians twenty miles north of Albany. 2. A branch to Housatonick or Westenhoek river, which running

ning south to Stratford in Connecticut, falls into the Long Island sound: upon this river to the townships of Bolton grant No. 3. near New-York line; the property of Jacob Wendell, Esq. of his majesty's council of the province of Massachusetts Bay; Stockbridge, Upper Housatonic, Sheffield of Massachusetts-Bay, Salisbury, Canaan, Sharon, Cornwall, Kent, New-Fairfield, New-Milford, Newtown, Woodbury, Derby, Stratford, and Milford of Connecticut. 3. Farmington river, running through Housatonic No. 4. Housatonic commonage, part of Housatonic No. 3. and part of Bedford in Massachusetts-Bay; through Colebrook, Winchester, Berkhamstead, New-Hartford, Farmington, Simsbury; falls into Connecticut river in Simsbury. 4. Westfield river, with many branchings passes through Naraganset No. 4. Housatonic commonage, part of Blandford, part of Westfield, and falls into Connecticut river in Springfield by the name of Aegawaam near Springfield lower ferry.

RIVERS. The two great rivers of this colony are,

Merrimack river, which comes from the crotch or fork near Endicot's tree, where Pomagewasset river and the discharge of the pond or lake Winipisanket meet, and acquire the name of Merrimack (signifying in the Indian language a sturgeon; this river abounds in sturgeon.) From this fork it runs southerly about fifty miles to Patucket falls, the elbow of the river in Dracut; and thence it runs easterly about thirty miles (round reckoning) to Newbury Bar. Upon this river (these great rivers, though in different provinces, are best understood and comprehended, when delineated without interruption) the townships in a descending order lie thus, 1. Upon the east and north side are Gilman-town, Canterbury, part of Rumford, part of Suncook, Harrys town, Litchfield, Nottingham of New-Hampshire; part of Dunstable, Dracut, Methuen, Haverhill, Amesbury, and Salisbury of Massachusetts-Bay. Upon the west and south side are the townships

townships of Contacook, part of Rumford, part of Suncook, Canada to Gorham and company, Naraganset No. 5. Merrimack, and Dunstable of New-Hampshire; Dunstable, Chelmsford, Tewksbury, Andover, Bradford, and Newbury of Massachusetts-Bay. The bar, at the mouth of this river, has only about ten feet of water, and shifts; it is navigable only about eighteen miles, to Mitchel's (the first falls) falls in Haverhill; here they deal chiefly in ship building, the adjacent country abounding in ship timber; the tide flows to Mitchel's falls; from Mitchel's falls, seven miles higher Bedel's, two miles Peters, six miles to Patucket falls, &c.

The falls in this river are many; excepting Dracut or Patucket falls about thirty miles from the bar, and Amuskeag falls about twenty-five miles higher; all the other falls are passable for floats of timber, and for canoes or small boats in freshes or floods of the river. Many of those called falls are only riplings or veins of scattered great rock stones. There is at times, when the river is low, a fording place a little above Swans ferry, twenty-four miles up from the bar, and a little above Hunt's or Dracut ferry is another fording place. The ferries cross this river are many, I shall not enumerate them. The elbow or flexure of the river, called the horse shoe, is about two miles above Patucket falls.

The rivers and rivulets (small runs I shall not mention) which fall into this great river of Merrimack: 1. On its north and east side, are Powow river in Amesbury from ponds in Kingston, about eight miles above Newbury ferry; east river and west river in Haverhill below Mitchel's falls; Spigot river in Methuen, a little below Bedel's falls; Bever brook from Bever pond in Londonderry comes in between the two falls of Patucket six miles below the horse-shoe; eleven miles above the horse-shoe is Nasumkeag brook in the south parts of Litchfield in the province of New-Hampshire; six miles higher is Little Cohoes brook; one mile farther is Great Cohoes brook,

brook, the outlet of Massabick, a large pond in Chester townships; thence to Amusceag falls are four miles, and four miles higher is Loufy brook in Harries town; thence six miles to Suncook river in the township of Suncook. 2. On the south and west side of Merrimack river, are, Falls river from Boxford, comes into a creek west side of Plumb-Island, and thence to the mouth of Newbury or Merrimack river; Hantichook river about nine miles above Newbury ferry; Catetchuck brook, from a pond of the same name in Andover; Shawskin river enters in Andover, about one mile below the entrance of Spigot river, on the other side; Concord river about one mile below Patucket falls; this Concord river is of a considerable course, and higher is called Sudbury and Framingham river; it springs in Hopkington, upon it lie Hopkington, Framingham, Sudbury, Concord, Bedford, Billerica, and Tewksbury; Stony brook which springs in Harvard passes through Littleton, Westford, and Chelmsford to Merrimack river; Salmon brook from a pond in Groton, discharges into Merrimack in Dunstable of New-Hampshire; a little higher falls in Nashway river, already described page 455; thence to Naticook brook five miles; thence two miles to Souhegen river: upon Souhegen river lie Souhegan east called Naraganset No. 5, Merrimack township, Souhegan west, called Naraganset No. 3. Monson township, some peculiar grants, a township granted to Ipswich, Townsend, and some part of Lunenburg; a little below Amusceag falls is Piscataquaag brook, which waters a township granted to Simpson and others, afterwards purchased by Lane and others of Boston; it waters a Canada township granted to Beverley, and a Canada township to Salem, and another to Ipswich. The southern branch of Contacook river waters Rumford or Pennycook, No. 5, of the double line of barrier towns called Hopkington grant, No. 6, of ditto, called Marlborough grant, some unappropriated lands; a grant to the town of
Concord,

Concord, purchased by Mr. Peter Prescott and others, and Canada to Rowley town: next above Contacook grant is Naamcook brook; and next above that is the fork or beginning of the denomination of Merrimack river.

[7] The other great river is Connecticut, an Indian word signifying a long river. Upon this river lie three of the New England colonies; Connecticut lies upon it about fifty-two miles; thence Massachusetts Bay, by an indent of nine miles, which makes the township of Suffield west side, and Enfield east side of the river, to the W. 9 D. N. imaginary divisional line of Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut: from this divisional line, the province of Massachusetts-Bay lies about forty-seven miles direct northerly; and farther North is New-Hampshire indefinitely, or crown lands annexed to the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire.

From the bar at the mouth of Connecticut river to the boundary imaginary line of Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut are about sixty miles; from this imaginary line, as per a provincial survey by Gardner and Kellock anno 1737, to the great falls in No. 3, [7] about twenty miles direct above fort Dummer, are in Meridian distance seventy-two English statute miles and 120 rods; and these great falls are eighteen miles 140 rods east of the Massachusetts and Connecticut boundary line, where it intersects the river; and above these falls, for about ten or twelve miles, townships are laid out and appropri-

[7] The reader in all such dry accounts which are local, and do not fall under the cognizance of many; must excuse them, as designed for a local benefit, and may be superficially passed over by some, as being of no general concern.

[7] In many articles, by some readers I may be censured as too prolix or minute; my design, I hope, is laudable, to prevent a loss; public records are at times lost by fire. *Et c.* as happened not long since at Williamsbourg in Virginia, and last year at Boston in Massachusetts-Bay province.

ated:

ated: the garrison in No. 4, on the east side of the river, as a frontier against the French and their Indians, is well noted in the New-England history of the present war. The greatest extent of New-England, directly inward, is from Seabrook bar at the mouth of Connecticut river, to this No. 4, being about 150 miles.

This river of Connecticut, from its long course, is subject to sudden floods or freshes, and, *e. g.* at Hartford sometimes rises twenty feet; the tide (the influence of the tide comes so high, or rather the stoppage of the river from the tides below) rises only a few inches. The shoalest water from Suffield first falls to the mouth of the river, is about one mile below Hartford town, being about four feet. This river, as the adjacent people observe, becomes, in process of time, [s] more shallow. From the mouth of this river to about 150 miles up, to the eye it does not alter much in its width (though in that space it receives many considerable streams) being generally from eighty to 100 rods; for instance, from Hadley to Northampton the ferry is about eighty rods, and at medium times runs two or three knots, scowed over in about nine minutes [t]. At the mouth of the river, the tide flows from four to six feet, upon the bar are about ten to twelve feet water; the general course of the river is N. N. E. and S. S. W.; a S. S. E. wind will carry a vessel up all the reaches of this river, so far as it is navigable; it is navigable for sloops near sixty miles; the banks of the river are generally steep and sandy; in different places in process of time, losing on one side, and gaining ground on the other side. Salmon and shad come up this river to spawn, but in smaller quantities and later, and continue a shorter time (about

[s] In new unimproved countries, damps and fogs lodge and form small runs of water; as the land is cleared and laid open, those damps vanish, and the small runs dry up, and some of our water-mills, upon this account, are become of no use; their streams are become quite dry or deficient.

[t] The width of Hartford ferry is 100 rods.

three weeks in May) than in Merrimack river. The rivulets and brooks, where they fall into the great river, are not passable in freshes and floods, because of the back water. Some ferries, where there are no habitations, are kept at the charge of the counties, consisting of a large scow or flat, to carry persons, cattle, and goods, with a canoe-tender; travellers ferry themselves over, always leaving the flat on one side, and the canoe on the other, to fetch the scow upon occasion; an instance of this is in Northfield ferry.

The first falls of this river are about sixty miles from from its mouth, at Devotion island in the south parts of Suffield; the next are about the middle of Suffield, half a mile long; both these are passable by boats in channels: next are the falls in the southerly parts of Northampton, about fifteen miles farther up the river, not passable by boats; the other falls higher, we shall not enumerate.

The townships upon this river are, 1. Upon its east side; in Connecticut colony, Lime, East Hadham, part of Middletown, Glassenbury, part of Hartford, and part of Windsor; in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, Enfield, Springfield, Hadley, Sunderland, farms or peculiarars, and part of Northfield; in the province of New-Hampshire, part of Northfield, Winchester, No. 1, 2, 3, and 4. 2. Upon its west side; in Connecticut colony are, Seabrook, West-Hadham, part of Middletown, Wethersfield, part of Hartford, and part of Windsor; in the province of Massachusetts-Bay are, Suffield, part of Springfield, Northampton, Hatfield, Deerfield, part of Northfield; in the province of New-Hampshire are part of Northfield, 40,000 acres equivalent land belonging to four proprietors (in its S. E. corner upon the river, on a plain and long reach of the river, stands fort Dummer, which, although in the district of New-Hampshire, incapable of defending its long frontier range, is maintained at the charge of the Massachusetts-Bay) No. 1 and 2.

The

The considerable runs of water which fall into Connecticut river, 1. Upon its east side are Salmon river and cove, in East-Hadham, Hocanum river in East-Hartford, Pedant brook and Scantick river in East-Windsor; Fresh Water brook in Enfield; Long Meadow brook, Mill river, and Chicabee river, with its townships enumerated, p. 455, in Springfield; Batchelor's brook and Fort river in Hadley (higher the great river is fordable from Hadley to Hatfield; and a little above Northfield meeting-house or church, carts in a dry time ford the great river) Mohawk's river, and Saw mill brook in Sunderland; in the intermediate farms is Miiler's river very rapid; it is composed of many branches which water Canada to Dorchester, Canada to Ipswich, Ipswich grant, Canada to Rowley, Pequioag, Canada to Sylvester, and Canada to Rocksbury; in Northfield is Patchoag brook, Ashuelot river; its branches water some of the double range of frontier towns, Upper and Lower Ashuelot townships, Canada to Rocksbury, and Winchester. 2. Upon its west side are Roaring brook, and Mill brook in West-Hadham; Middleton river, and Dividend brook in West-Middleton precinct; Goff's brook and Robin's brook in Wethersfield; Hartford river in Hartford; Allen's brook and Heyden's brook in Windsor, with Farmington river described p. 456; Stony brook in Suffield; Agawaam, alias Westfield river in Springfield, described p. 456; Monhan river in Northampton; Hatfield Mill river in Hatfield, Deerfield river, which by its branches waters the Boston grants, No. 1 and 2, the grant to Hunt and others; Falls river, which after watering a township to Gallop and others, and Falls-fight township, falls into the great river in Deerfield: the next considerable run of water is West river, about two or three miles above fort Dummer, considerably higher (information from captain Welles of Deerfield, formerly a Partizan or Ranger against the Indians in governor Dummer's war) Connecticut river forks; one branch comes from near the White Hills easterly in the province of Main, the other

other comes from the northward towards Canada, an Indian travelling branch to Canada.

We shall only mention one river more (in the style of a late historian C— M— D. D. the subject is dry, though watery) Charles River; it is not large and considerable, otherwise than as being referred to, in settling the South line of the late Massachusetts-Bay colony, as is Merrimack river in settling the north boundary line: the words in the old charter are, "As also all and singular those lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the space of three English miles on the South parts of said river called Charles river, or any or every part thereof." Stop river, which rises in Wrentham, was pitched upon as the most southerly branch of Charles river, and at three miles south of the head of this river, the south line of Massachusetts-Bay was delineated; Stop river falls into the main body of Charles river in Medfield. The farthest head of Charles river is in the N. E. parts of Mendon, and upon it lie the townships of Bellingham, Medway, Wrentham, Medfield, Sherburn, Natick an Indian reserve, Dedham, Needham (here are two considerable falls in this river) Newtown, Westown, Waltham, Watertown, Cambridge, and Brooklin. This river falls into the bottom of Massachusetts or Boston bay, and serves to bring down to Boston floats or rafts of ship-timber by the tide from Watertown Barcadier, about nine miles; there is another creek or river, a small way east of this, called Mystick river, of about four miles rafting from the Barcadier of Medford township; from Mystick Barcadier are sent to Boston bricks, tar, and turpentine.

The Promontories remarkable are, only Point Alderton, about nine or ten miles below Boston upon the south side of the bay, over-against the light-house. Here is a good harbour called Hull gut, and the safe road of Nantasket, secured by circumambient islands, where the king's ships and merchant ships outward and inward bound anchor for a time; it lies about six or seven miles

below

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below Boston, and, by act of assembly, is deemed belonging to the harbour of Boston.

Cape-Anne the north side entrance or promontory of Massachusetts-Bay; Thatcher's island lies about two leagues east of this harbour, and a small matter without Thatcher's are rocks called the Salvages: from the Salvages are two leagues to Ipswich bar, a dangerous bay called Ipswich bay, from a great sea and indraught. Cape-Anne harbour is about eleven leagues N. N. E. easterly from Boston; the southern promontory of Massachusetts-Bay, called Cape-Cod, in N. lat. 42 D. 10 M. lies about eighteen leagues E. by S. from Boston: the width of the entrance of this bay, is from Cape-Anne harbour S. W. fourteen leagues, to the hook or harbour of Cape-Cod.

The sea-ports and their principal trade of export and import must be referred to the following article, of the several jurisdictions of New-England, united by a new charter; it is only since the new charter took place, that sea-port districts of preventive custom-houses and branches have taken place. Here we shall only enumerate them; besides small creeks and inlets for timber and firewood in coasting small vessels, and for curing of fish; there are Newberry, a branch of the collection of Portsmouth in New-Hampshire; there are Ipswich, Cape-Anne, Salem, and Marblehead, belonging to the collection of Salem; Charlestown, Boston, and all the other custom-house branches of Massachusetts-Bay belong to the collection of Boston.

ARTICLE VI.

Concerning the present territories as united by the name of the province of Massachusetts-Bay.

AS we before hinted by a charter, October 7, 1691, fundry territories, under several grants and jurisdictions, for their better accommodation and conveniencies, were united by charter into one property and jurisdiction, that is, into one general assembly.

The

The bill for restoring the New-England charters being dropped by the dissolution of the revolution-convention-parliament; the New-England agents were puzzled, whether to stand a trial at law, by a writ of error for reversing the judgments against the old charters, or to accept of a draught of a new charter: at length they acquiesced in the king's pleasure, and the king directed a new charter.

The nature of this union of several colonies into one jurisdiction, the new charter, with a subsequent explanatory charter, and sundry other general affairs, have been by way of anticipation already narrated; see p. 374, &c.

In the general account of British North-America, we omitted the Post-office, a very beneficial institution; and as the present province of Massachusetts-Bay is its most considerable branch, here it may naturally take place.

The Post-office in England was settled by act of parliament 12 Carol. II. In the beginning of this present century, Mr. Hamilton of New-Jersey projected a Post-office for British North-America; this he effected, and obtained a patent for the management and profits of the same. This patent he afterwards sold to the crown, and a few years after the Union, the posts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and America were put under one Director by act of parliament 9 Annæ; constituting one Post-Master-General for all the British dominions; to keep a General-post-office in London, the Post-Master-General may keep one letter-office in Edinburgh, another in Dublin, another at New-York, and other chief offices at convenient places in America and the Leeward Islands, and appoint deputies for managing the particular rates for the postage of letters in the Plantations; requires too much room for a summary, it is referred to Stat. 9 Annæ, Cap. 10. We shall only relate, that all letters from on board any ship, shall be delivered to the Deputy-Post-Master of the place, penalty 5*l.* sterling for every offence; the Post-master paying to the deliverer one penny

sterling per letter. *N. B.* This clause is not much attended to, because the act exempts merchants letters, and those of masters of ships, so as such letters be delivered to the persons to whom they are directed, without receiving any profit for them: and any letters sent by private friends, or by any messenger about private affairs or business.

From Piscataqua or Portsmouth, to Philadelphia, is a regular postage; from thence to Williamsburgh is uncertain, because the post does not proceed until letters are lodged sufficient to pay the charge of the post-riders: from Williamsburgh in Virginia to Charles-Town in South-Carolina, the post-carriage is still more uncertain.

There is a deputy Post-Master General for America, appointed by the Post-Master-General in London; New-York is appointed for his official residence, but by connivance he resides any where, *e. g.* at Penset, in Virginia, Elliot Benger, Esq; formerly Mr. Lodd in South-Carolina.

Here it properly belongs to give an account of the general and frequented travelling roads from Penobscot bay N. lat. 44 D. 30 M. (farther north is D. of York's property and Nova Scotia, no travelling roads) to St. Juan or St. John's river in Florida, N. lat. 31 D. This, by an agreement with Spain anno 1738, is the termination of our property or claim in Florida. This is forty miles N. of St. Augustin, belonging to the Spaniards; from St. Augustin there is a land communication to Moville, and from thence to Mississippi: these belong to the Spanish and French, which properly do not belong to our history.

We shall begin at St. George's Fort and Block-house upon St. George's river, a few miles S. W. of Penobscot bay; from thence

	Miles
Called the East	
To Muscongus or Broad-Bay	12
Frederick's-Fort at Pemaquid	7
Damariscotti falls and mills	10
The settlement on Sheepscot river	5
Arrowick, or George-Town in Sagadahoc bay of Quenebec river, via Wicasset	20

George

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return parts of Massachusetts-Bay.	George fort in Brunswick	22	
	Royal's river in North-Yarmouth	14	
	Presumpscot ferry in Falmouth	9	
	Stroud-Water ferry in Falmouth	4	
	Saco or Winter-Harbour ferry in Biddeford	20	
	Kennebunk ferry in Arundel	10	
	Welles meeting-house	6	
	York ferry	16	
	Kittery ferry over Piscataqua R. to Portsmouth	8	
		<hr/>	
		143	
		<hr/>	
Hamph.	New	Hampton meet-house	14
		Boundary line Hampshire and Massachusetts-Bay provinces	6
		<hr/>	
		20	
		<hr/>	
Of the western division of the province of Massachusetts-Bay.	Merrimack R. F. dividing Salisbury from Newbury	3	
	Ipswich	12	
	Beverly ferry dividing Beverly from Salem	12	
	Winifimet or Chelsea ferry (of 2 M.) to Boston	17	
	Dedham	11	
	Naponset river in Walpole	9	
	Wrentham meeting-house	7	
	Attleborough meeting-house	9	
	Rehoboth, alias Seaconck meeting-house	7	
	Patucket river ferry; boundary of Massachusetts-Bay province and Rhode island colony	2	
		<hr/>	
		89	
		<hr/>	
Rhode-Island colony.	}	Providence town	1
		Through several small and distant settlements to a little west of Pakatuke bridge, Pakatuke river divides the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island.	57
		<hr/>	
		58	

Connecticut colony:	Mythic riv. dividing Stonington from Groton	7
	Thames river ferry, dividing Groton from New London	8
	A rope ferry over Nahantick gut	5
	Saybrook river ferry, dividing Lyme from Saybrook	10
	Killingsworth	10
	Guilford east parish	5
	Guilford west parish	5
	Brentford (generally to be understood) old meeting-house	12
	East Haven parish ferry	8
	New Haven	2
	Milford	12
	Stratford river ferry	4
	Stratfield, a parish	3
	Fairfield	4
	Norwalk	12
	Stamford	10
Greenwich or Horse-Neck	7	
Byram riv. dividing Connecticut from N. York	2	
	<hr/>	126
Province of N. York	Rye	3
	New Rochel	5
	East Chester	4
	King's Bridge to the Isl. of New-York county	6
	Half-way house tavern	9
	City of New-York	9
	Ferry to Staten Island point	15
By land to Elizabeth Point ferry	6	
	<hr/>	57
New	Woodbridge	12
	Brunswick ferry of Raritan river	18
	Prince Town	12
		Trent

Jerseys.	{	Trent Town ferry over De la Ware river divid-	
		ing the province of New Jerseys from Pen-	
		sylvania	10

10

52

Pennsylvania govern- ment.	{	Bristol, opposite to Bridlington or Burlington	10
		Philadelphia	20
		Schuyhkill river ferry	3
		Derby	4
		Chester	9
		Brandewine	14
		Newcastle	6
		Boundary line of Pennsylvania and Maryland	12

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Maryland government.	{	Elk-River	5
		North-east river	7
		Sesquahana river ferry	9
		Gunpowder river ferry	25
		Petapscow river ferry	20
		Annapolis the capital of Maryland	30
		Upper Marlborough	16
		Piscataway	16
		Port Tobacco	16

144

Dominion of Virgi-	{	Potomack fer. dividing Maryland from Virg.	4
		How's ferry	20
		Southern's ferry	30
		Arnold's ferry	36
		Clayborn's ferry	23
		Freneaux ordinary	12
		Williamsburgh the capital	16
		Hog Island	7
		Isle of Wight court-house	18
Nansemond court-house	20		

na.	Bennet's creek (near this is the boundary line between the provinces of Virginia and N. Carolina)	30
	<hr/>	
		215
Province of North-Carolina.	Eden Town, formerly the capital	30
	Chowan Sound ferry	10
	Pimlico	44
	Ferry to Bathtown	5
	Newbern ferry (the present capital) where News river and Trent river meet	32
	Whittock river	20
	New river ferry	30
	Newtown or Wilmington on the forks of Cape Fear river, thirty miles above the bar	45
	Lockwood's folly	15
	Shalot river	8
Little River, boundary line between the two governments of North and South-Carolina	8	
<hr/>		247
Province of South-Carolina and Georgia.	East end of Long-Bay	14
	West end of Long-Bay	25
	Winyaw ferry	30
	Santee ferry	12
	Sewee ferry	20
	Charlestown, the capital; here is a ferry	30
	Port-Royal	60
	Frederica in Georgia, on the south branch of Altamaha river	90
	St. Juan or St. John's river, yielded to Great- Britain by Spain per agreement, anno 1738, it is forty miles N. of Spanish fort, St. Au- gustin	20
<hr/>		301

In the new settlements they reckon by computed, not measured, miles; consequently there may be in several of the distances, an unavoidable error of a mile or two.

This is a road of great extent, well laid out and frequented; it shews the vast extent of the British plantations along the east shore of North-America; the several British provinces and colonies, extend upon this great road as follows:

	Miles
East division of Massachusetts-Bay	143
New-Hampshire	20
West division Massachusetts-Bay	89
Rhode-island	58
Connecticut	126
New-York	57
New-Jerseys	54
Pensylvania	78
Marvland	144
Virginia	215
North-Carolina	247
South-Carolina and Georgia	301
	<hr/>
	1532

The many ferries, and some of them not well attended, are a considerable hindrance in travelling: but by these it appears that the country is well watered, a great advantage in produce and manufactures; and as many of the rivers, sounds, and bays are navigable, a considerable distance inland, they are of great benefit in navigation or trade.

As the constitutions of all the British plantations are nearly the same, being minute in this article, may save repetitions and shorten the following sections; therefore perspicuity and distinctness require this article to be divided into subsections.

§ I. Concerning the Civil Administration.

THIS administration may be divided into the legislative supreme court, called the General Court or General Assembly of the province; and the subordinate executive courts.

The Great and General Court or Provincial Assembly, consists of three Negatives, *viz.* the Governor, the Council, and House of Representatives.

The Governor is by patent or commission from the king *durante beneplacito*, with a book of instructions; which instructions, though binding to the Governor (frequently broke in upon by some Governors) are not so to the House of Representatives, as they have from time to time represented to the Governor: for instance, one of the instructions requires a salary of one thousand pound sterling *per annum*, to be settled upon the Governor; this is always obstinately refused, but they are willing to grant a yearly support, suitable to the dignity of his Excellency, and consistent with the ability of the people their constituents, of which it may be supposed they only are the proper judges.

The military government by sea and land, is sole in the King's Governors; they grant all commissions in the militia, which gives the Governors a vast influence; people in the Plantations are readily bribed by distinguishing titles.—The Governors in the Plantations have that considerable power of negating or suspending counsellors without assigning reasons; governor Belcher at one time negated thirteen counsellors in the pernicious Land-bank interest; this management of Mr. Belcher's was in a high manner approved of by the passing an act of the British parliament soon after; this Land-bank is designed in the words of the act, "mischievous undertakings in America, and unlawful undertakings;" but so it is, that this act of parliament is not fully put in execution at this day, Christmas, 1748. They nominate *durante beneplacito* all Judges, Justices and Sheriffs, which
being,

being, with the militia-officers of the several townships, a great majority in the lower House, gives the Governor a very great influence there: the power of negating the members of the upper House makes his influence there so considerable, that he has, in a great measure, two Negatives in the legislature; the king at home cannot negative or suspend any member of the upper House, called the House of Lords.

The Governor has the opportunity of recommending to the House, agents or provincial attornies, his friends or creatures: to manage their affairs and his own at the court and boards in Great-Britain, and to procure for them handsome gratuities: for instance, the Governör, in a message to the Assembly, March 16, 1743 4, recommends a generous allowance to Mr. Kilby; he having served the province upon particular orders of this court, with great industry, faithfulness and success. A Governor by frequent and long speeches and messages to the House of Representatives (sometimes near one half of the Journal or Votes of the House of Representatives consists of these speeches and messages) seems to act as a member of that House, or rather as the Speaker or Orator (a French expression) of the House; sometimes Governors proceed farther; for instance, anno 1744, the Governor desires of the House of Representatives, that in the recess of the General Assembly (which must be short intervals, because of late years, the General Assembly at a great charge to the province have had very frequent and long sittings) upon any sudden emergency, the Governor and his council may be impowered to draw upon the Treasurer. The Governor has a Negative not only in all bills of assembly, but also in all their elections, that of a Speaker not excepted.

Thus the Governor commissions all militia, and other military officers, independently of the council or assembly; he nominates all civil officers, excepting those concerned in the finances or money-affairs, and, with consent of the council, they are accordingly appointed.

He

He calls, dissolves, prorogues, adjourns, removes, and otherways harrasses the General Assembly at pleasure; he frequently refuses his assent to bills, resolves, and orders of the General Court; whereas our Sovereign in Great-Britain, excepting upon very extraordinary occasions, does not exert this prerogative: thus we see a delegated power assuming more than the sovereign constituent authority chuses to venture upon.

His just pecuniary perquisites are considerable: an allowance or grant of 1000*l*. sterling or nearly its value *per annum*; has one third of all Custom-house seizures; the naval office belongs to him, and many fees of various natures. In time of war there are fees for granting letters of mart or mark to private men of war, called privateers, and many emoluments arising from multiplied expeditions.

Notwithstanding this great authority, a Governor's station is very slippery; upon frivolous, and sometimes false, complaints, he is liable to be called to account, superseded by some expectant at court; and if the mal-administration is notorious, he is also mulcted.

By charter the Governor cannot impress men into the military service, to march out of the province, without an act or resolve of the General Court; the Governor, by his 11th instruction, is not to give his assent to any act for repealing any of the standing laws of the province, without a suspending clause, that is, until a copy thereof be transmitted and laid before the king. By the 12th instruction the Governor is restrained to 30,000*l*. sterling *per annum*, emissions of public paper credit; but upon account of unforeseen incidents in the time of the late war with Spain and France, he was in this article left at large. This gave a handle for unlimited ruining emissions, a privilege, said to be by his Majesty's indulgence; the Governor, in his speech, July 2, says, "I am freed now from the chief restraints I was under, whereby depreciations ensued to the great sinking of all the personal estates in the province, specialties ex-
cepted."

Some

Some account of the Governors, from the arrival of the new charter, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay.

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS [u], son of a blacksmith, born anno 1650, at a despicable plantation on the river Quenebeck, after keeping of sheep some years, was bound apprentice to a ship-carpenter for four years; afterwards went to Boston, learned to read and write, followed the carpenter's trade, and married the widow of Mr. John Hull, merchant. Upon advice of a Spanish wreck about the Bahamas, he took a voyage thither, but without success; anno 1683, in a king's frigate, the Algier Rose, he was fitted out upon the discovery of another Spanish wreck near Port de la Plata upon Hispaniola, but returned to England unsuccessful. Soon after 1687, he prevailed with the duke of Albemarle, at that time governor of Jamaica, and some other persons of quality, to fit him out with a royal patent or commission to fish upon the same Spanish wreck which had been lost about fifty years since; by good luck in about seven or eight fathom water, he fished the value of near three hundred thousand pound sterling (the Bermudians found good gleanings there after his departure) whereof he had about 16,000 *l.* sterling for his share, and the honour of knighthood; and obtained of king James II, by purchase, to be constituted high Sheriff of New-England, but was never in the execution of this patent, and returned to England, 1688, (*N. B.* he had not received baptism until March 1690, *Æt.* 40) and soon after came back to New-England. Upon the breaking out of the Indian war 1688, he solicited an expedition against Nova Scotia, May 1690, and had good success against the French; but his subsequent expedition in autumn, against Canada, the same year, was disastrous, as has been already narrated, and, in the words of Mr. Mather, "Though used to diving for plate, this was an affair too deep for him to dive into." Amongst other bad consequences of this ill-

[u] This account is mainly taken from Cotton Mather, D. D.

contrived and worse managed Canada expedition, was the introducing of a pernicious, fraudulent paper-currency, or bills of public credit, to pay the charges or debt incurred; the operation of this injurious currency is such, that all personal estates (specialties excepted) are reduced to one for eight, reckoning by heavy pieces of eight (or seven eighths of an ounce of silver) at 6s.; the loss of men was of very bad consequence to an infant colony, which was not by the enemy, but by a camp fever, the small-pox, and disasters in returning home; notwithstanding, as Dr. Mather expresses it, "the wheel of prayer for them in New-England was kept constantly going round." Soon after his return to Boston he went for London, to petition the court of England (notwithstanding former disasters, and his own incapacity to manage the affair) to encourage another expedition against Canada. Upon obtaining a new charter dated Oct. 7, 1691, at the desire of the New-England agents, Sir William Phips was appointed governor of the province of Massachusetts-Bay and territories thereto belonging; he arrived with the new charter May 14, 1692; and June 8, the assembly under the new charter, met for the first time. He was ordered home to answer some complaints, and sailed from Boston, Nov. 17, 1694, and died of a malignant fever in London, Feb. 18, following [w]. If he had been dismissed from his government,

[w] Mr. Mather, his advocate, writes, "Nor indeed had the hunger of a salary, any such impression upon him, as to make him decline doing all possible service for the public—That he was not to be reckoned amongst those who were infamous for infinite avarice and villainy." *Magnalia*, Book II.—He was not ashamed of his former low circumstances; once in sailing with a considerable command in sight of Quenebeck; he said to those under his command, "Young men, it was upon that hill that I kept sheep a few years ago; you don't know what you may come to."—Upon his death Dr. C. Mather wrote an elegy, beginning thus:

*And to mortality a sacrifice
Falls he, whose deeds must him immortalize.*

This is not very fluent, but meant well.

he designed to have gone upon another Spanish wreck, which had governor Broadille aboard.

William Stoughton Esq; lieutenant-governor, was commander in chief from governor Phip's going home in the Autumn 1694, until the arrival of governor lord Bellomont in June 1699; after a few months lord Bellomont returning to New-York, Mr. Stoughton was again in the chair, and continued till his death in May 1702. In honour to his memory a township is called by his name.

In May 1702, upon the absence of the governor and death of the lieutenant-governor, conform to charter, the majority of the council assumed the government until the arrival of governor Dudley, June 11, 1702.

Earl of Bellomont in Ireland, being appointed governor-general of New-York, Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire; in his passage to America in the end of the year 1697, from this bad winter coast, he was obliged to bear away to Barbadoes; he did not arrive in New-York until May 1698. In the summer 1699, he met our assembly in Boston; his being a new governor, cunning, complaisant, and of quality, ingratiated him very much with the people; he was allowed 1000*l.* salary, and 500*l.* gratuity: In the Autumn he returned to New-York, and died there in February, 1700-1.

Joseph Dudley, Esq; arrived governor June 11, 1702, He was son to governor Thomas Dudley, see p. 429; he was chosen assistant (that is of the council) 1682; upon the charter being in danger, he was sent home jointly with Mr. Richards as colony-agents: being a native of the country, a good politician, and cunning man, *i. e.* of subtilty, the court of England deemed him a proper person to introduce or facilitate a change in the administration of the colony; accordingly upon the charter's being vacated, he was appointed president or

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pro tempore commander in chief April 1686, and arrived at Boston the June following: In December of the same year arrived Sir Edmund Andros as governor, Nicholson lieutenant-governor, and two independent companies of soldiers; Mr. Dudley is appointed chief justice, but was outed in the New-England Revolution, April 1689.

Anno 1690, he was appointed chief justice of New-York. Upon going home he was chosen, anno 1701, member of parliament for Newtown of the Isle of Wight, which introduced him to the government of the province of Massachusetts-Bay his native country. King William died before he set out, but his commission was renewed to queen Anne; he continued governor until Nov. 1715, when colonel Tailer was appointed lieutenant-governor under colonel Burgefs appointed governor; colonel Tailer produced an exemplification of colonel Burgefs's commission or patent, and as lieutenant-governor under him assumed the government Nov. 9. *N. B.* queen Anne died August 1, 1714, Mr. Dudley continued in government according to the act of parliament for continuing officers for six months after the demise of a Sovereign, that is, until Feb. 1: the six months being expired, the council, in conformity to the charter, took upon themselves the administration; but Mr. Dudley having, March 21, via New-York, received the king's proclamation for continuing all officers till further orders, he reassumed the government, and continued governor to November, as above: he died at his house in Rocksbury near Boston, anno 1720, *Æt.* 73; he left surviving sons, Paul, at present chief justice of the province, see p. 429, and William, who served in the successful expedition against Port-Royal of L'Acadie, now Annapolis-Royal of Nova Scotia: he was afterwards appointed a judge, and for many succeeding years elected one of the council, as being the best acquainted with the property of lands and other provincial affairs; he died a few years since, a great loss to this country.

William

William Tailer, Esq; who had served as a colonel of a New-England regiment in the reduction of the aforesaid Port-Royal; for this his good service, he was appointed lieutenant-governor under governor Dudley, and arrived in Boston from England, Oct. 3, 1711: 1715, he assumed the command in chief, as lieutenant-governor under governor Burges. Colonel Burges did not come over to his government, and was superseded by colonel Samuel Shute; upon Mr. Shute's arrival in Boston, Oct. 4, 1716, Mr. Tailer's command in chief devolved upon colonel Shute, and as lieutenant-governor he was superseded by William Dummer, Esq; he alternately superseded Mr. Dummer as lieutenant-governor under governor Belcher 1730; he died at his house in Dorchester near Boston 1732. He was a generous, facetious, good-natured gentleman.

Samuel Shute, a military man, brother to lord Barington, was appointed governor March 14, 1715-16, by the solicitation of Jonathan Belcher, Esq; a very noted merchant of New-England, and afterwards governor there: colonel Shute arrived in Boston Octob. 4, 1716, Mr. Dummer (I cannot avoid heaping encomiums upon him) was his lieutenant-governor; Mr. Dummer an honest man, his knowledge in politicks did not bias him; he was a natural patron of his country, and his good management in the Indian war during his administration, with small expence, will perpetuate his memory with all true lovers of New-England. Colonel Shute, being a good-natured easy governor, some ill-natured designing men in the house of Representatives, attempted, by way of precedent (if passed) to encroach upon the prerogative; colonel Shute, instead of sending home, was well advised to carry home complaints [x], and back them there,

[x] Governors and other royal officers when complaints are lodged, or to be lodged, at the boards in Great-Britain, pro or con; these officers appearing at home in person, always turns to their best accounts. Attorneys or agents do not answer so well; many instances may be produced, but the case is notorious.

which

which accordingly he did, Nov. 1722; being seven complaints against the house of representatives encroaching upon the royal prerogative, see p. 379; he obtained a redress of all these complaints; being aged not fit to go abroad, for his good services he obtained a pension of 400*l.* sterling *per annum* for life.

Upon governor Shute's going home, the chief command in the administration, devolved upon lieutenant-governor Dummer, whose administration is universally celebrated, and requires no encomium of mine: he is alive and in good health at this present writing; he continued commander in chief till the arrival of governor Burnet in Boston, July 19, 1728; upon governor Burnet's death, Sept. 7, 1729, he was again in the chair, until the arrival of governor Belcher, April 8, 1730.

William Burnet, Esq; a son of the celebrated Bishop Burnet of Salisbury, a noted divine, politician, antiquary, and historian; this Mr. Burnet was Comptroller-general of the customs in Great-Britain, with a salary of 1200*l.* sterling *per annum*; he exchanged with governor Hunter of New-York, whose health required his going home.— Upon the accession of our present king GEORGE II, Colonel Montgomery, a favourite, was appointed governor of New-York, and Mr. Burnet, in Nov. 1727, was appointed governor of the province of Massachusetts-Bay; he arrived in Boston, July 13, 1728; he died there Sept. 7, 1729, much lamented. When in the government of New-York, he was useful in promoting natural history: by a quadrant of a large radius, and well divided; by a good telescope of eighteen feet; and by a second pendulum of large vibrations, he made several good astronomical observations, towards ascertaining latitudes, longitudes, &c. in that province.

Lieutenant-governor Dummer, upon Mr. Burnet's death, was chief in the administration for several months, until the arrival of governor Belcher, Aug. 8, 1730. Jonathan

than Belcher, Esq; a native of New-England, of a good clear paternal estate, and consequently of a true natural interest in the country; in his younger days had a very liberal and polite education, having visited many courts in Europe, and particularly was well received at the court of Hanover. During his government he religiously adhered to his instructions: If he had been continued two or three years longer in the administration, our pernicious fraudulent paper-currency would have all been cancelled; whereas ever since his dismissal it has peyorated. He was superseded by governor Shirley's commission for governor, which arrived August 14, 1741. There were by artifice several complaints against governor Belcher sent home partly from New-England, and partly hatched in London; which have since been discovered to be false and forged. I shall mention a few of them: 1. That he was a friend to the fraudulent Land-Bank scheme; whereas it has since evidently appeared, that he was offered by the Land-Bank managers, a retaining fee of some thousands of pounds (appropriated for himself, or a subsequent governor) to conciliate his countenance in the affair, and to promote the managers to offices of honour, profit and trust; with a Land-Bank promise to promote the governor's interest in the house of Representatives, (being a Land-Bank or debtor's house) as to salary and perquisites. Mr. Belcher rejected this proffer with disdain, and at one time negatived thirteen of their elected counsellors (here was a projection for debtors in a legislative capacity to defraud their creditors, by depreciating the debt) and disqualified many Justices of the Peace, promoters of these unwarrantable schemes, and mischievous unlawful undertakings, as expressed in the act of parliament, 1741. 2. A letter signed by five forged hands, to Sir Charles Wager first Lord of the Admiralty-Board, intimating, that Mr. Belcher countenanced the timbermen, in cutting off masting white pine trees, to be converted into logs for deal-boards. 3. A spurious letter under a supposititious cover of Benjamin Colman,

D. D. to Mr. Holden (a dissenter) a director of the Bank of England, and of great influence; this letter says, that the concerned, are many of the principal ministers of the Presbyterian and Congregational persuasion in New-England. No signers to this letter, alledging, that their signing might be the occasion of their utter ruin by Mr. Belcher, but promise, upon Mr. Belcher's being superseded, to publish all their names. This letter intimates that governor Belcher, by his intimacy and frequent conferences with the Rev. Commissary P—e and Dr. C—r, Ministers of the church of England, was contriving the ruin of the dissenting interest in New-England—These with some other villainous complaints and suggestions, occasioned the removal of Mr. Belcher. Upon his going home, he evinced all these complaints to be forged, false, or frivolous; and the court, in the interim conferred upon him the government of the New Jerseys, where he is at present, happy in the affections of the people. A short account of the abandoned contrivers and managers of Mr. Belcher's affair, is referred to the Appendix.

William Shirley, Esq; a gentleman of the law, who had resided and practised law in New England for some years, succeeded Mr. Belcher, in August, 1741, and continues governor at this writing, December, 1748. A gentleman in the administration (*ante obitum nemo*, that is, before his political death) is not to be used with freedom; it is a trespass against the subordination, requisite in society: therefore I must defer the short account of this gentleman's personal character and administration to the Appendix; lest, if applauded, it might be deemed adulation and flattery; or, if censured, may be construed into insult, detraction, and resentment, which are not consistent with the character of an impartial historian—Our present lieutenant-governor, successor of colonel Tailer, is Speneer Phips, Esq; a country-gentleman, adopted name and heir-by act of assembly to Sir William Phips.

These

These are the governors and lieutenant or deputy-governors appointed at home, from the date of the new charter 1691, to December, 1748; the other royal officers, reserved by charter, to be appointed by the court of Great-Britain are the secretary, and judge of vice-admiralty: It may not be improper here to annex a short account of their succession.

SECRETARIES. Isaac Addington, Esq; the first Secretary was appointed by the charter, during pleasure; he was a person of great integrity; he died 1715, and was succeeded by captain Woodward, a military man, and of good learning; Mr. Woodward resigned 1717, in favour of Mr. Willard, an honest, upright, and pious gentleman; he continues Secretary at this present writing.

The charter reserves to the crown the exercise of any Admiral court or jurisdiction, by commissions to be issued under the great seal of Great-Britain, or under the seal of the High Admiral, or of the Commissioners for executing the office of High Admiral. This court of Vice-Admiralty consists of a judge, a King's Advocate, a Register, and a marshal. A sole Judge without a Jury, in cases of high consequence; and this Judge too frequently appointed at random, seems to be an error in the constitution: it is true, there may be an appeal to a court of Delegates in Great-Britain.

The succession of Judges, was, *viz.*

Wait Winthrop, Esq; May 22, 1699, appointed Judge of Admiralty for New-York, Massachusetts-Bay, Connecticut, Rhode-island, and New-Hampshire.

Mr. Atwood, Judge of Admiralty for the colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-island, Connecticut, New-York, and the Jerseys; being the Northern district of Custom-house officers. He appointed, Nov. 10, 1701, Mr. Newton his deputy.

Roger Monpeffon, Esq; April 1, 1703, had a commission as Judge for New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-

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Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, and the
Jerseys.

Nathanael Byfield, Esq; Dec. 13, 1707, had the like
commission.

John Menzies, Esq; of the faculty of Advocates in
Scotland, appointed Judge, Aug. 26, 1715, for New-
Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, and Rhode-Island.

Upon the death of Judge Menzies, 1728, Robert
Auchmuty, Esq; was appointed, by governor Burnet,
Judge *pro tempore*.

Nathanael Byfield (formerly the Judge of Admiralty)
was appointed Judge by governor Burnet; and confirm-
ed from home, Nov. 5, 1728, as Judge for New-Hamp-
shire, Massachusetts-Bay, and Rhode-Island.

The abovesaid Robert Auchmuty, Esq; succeeded him
Sept. 6, 1733.

Mr. Auchmuty was superseded by Chambers Russel,
Esq; September, 1747.

All the officers of this court of Vice-Admiralty have
a power of substituting or deputizing. The present
Deputy-Judge is George Cradock, Esq; of many years
experience in this court.

Besides this court of Vice-Admiralty, in each of the
provinces and colonies, there is a Justiciary Court of Ad-
miralty for trial of piracies and other crimes committed
upon the High Seas: the Members of this court are
various in the various colonies; in the province of Mas-
sachusetts-Bay, the Judges are, the Governor, the Coun-
cil, the Secretary, the Judge of Vice-Admiralty, the Cap-
tain of the King's station ships of war, the Surveyor-
General of the northern district of customs, and the Col-
lector of the Customs for the Port of Boston.

The survey of the royal timber, especially of mast-
ing trees, extends over the Northern Provinces and Co-
lonies: the officers are appointed from home, and are
a Surveyor-General, with four subordinate Surveyors;
the whole charge of this survey is 800 *l. sterl. per annum*,
with

with considerable riding charges, paid by the Navy-Office.

The officers belonging to the collections of customs are from home appointed by the Treasury-Board, and warranted by the commissioners of the customs in Great-Britain. In this province there are but two collections, Boston and Salem.

A Deputy-Auditor, is commissioned by the Auditor-General in Great-Britain, to audit the Treasurer's provincial accounts; but anno 1721, this was declared by the General Assembly of the Province, to be inconsistent with their charter; it never is put in execution.

Some account of the second negative in the legislature of the province of Massachusetts-Bay; that is, of the King's or Governor's Council, called the Honourable-Board.

THIS Council consists of twenty-eight assistants or counsellors, to be advising and assisting to the Governor, and to constitute one negative in the legislature, analogous to the House of Lords in Great-Britain. The first set were appointed in the charter, and to continue until the last Wednesday in May, 1693, and until others shall be chosen in their stead. I do here insert the names of the twenty-eight counsellors appointed by charter, whereof there are none surviving at this present writing, as it is an honour to their families or posterity.

Simon Broadstreet

John Richards

Nathanael Saltonstall

Wait Winthrop

John Phillips

James Russel

Samuel Sewall

Samuel Appleton

Bartholomew Gidney

John Hathorn

Elisha Hutchinson

Robert Pike

Jonathan Curwin

John Joliffe

Adam Winthrop

Richard Midlecot

John Foster	William Bradford
Peter Serjeant	John Walley
Joseph Lynde	Barnabas Lothrop
Samuel Heyman	John Alcot
Stephen Mafon	Samuel Daniel
Thomas Hinkley	Sylvanus Davis, Esqrs.

“ Yearly once in every year hereafter, the aforesaid
 “ number of twenty-eight counsellors shall be, by the ge-
 “ neral court or assembly, newly chosen, *i. e.* of the pro-
 “ prietors or inhabitants in the old colony of Massachu-
 “ setts-Bay, eighteen; formerly New-Plymouth, four;
 “ formerly the province of Main, three; Duke of York’s
 “ former property, lying between Sagadahock river and
 “ Nova Scotia, one.” Two counsellors more to be
 chosen at large.

The counsellors are annually chosen last Wednesday of May, by a joint vote of the last year’s counsellors, and the new house of representatives. This negative is called The Board.

There seems to be some inconveniencies in the constitution of this negative; they may be INTIMIDATED by the first negative, the Governor, as he has a power of negating any counsellor’s election, without alledging reasons; they stand in AWE of the members of the third negative, as to their election by the house of representatives: thus they appear not to be FREE agents,

The Council are assisting to the Governor (seven makes a board) by their advice and consent in appointing of all civil officers, excepting those of the Finances.

The Governor and Council have the probate of wills, of granting administrations, and of divorces; they appoint a subordinate judge of probates in each county.

The Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, nominates and appoints judges, commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other officers to our Council and courts of justice belonging; provided that no such appointment be made
 without

without summons issued out seven days before such nomination or appointment, unto such of the said counsellors, as shall be at that time residing within our said province.

Formerly, under the old charter the counsellors or assistants were elected by the votes of the freemen of the colony, as is the present practice of the neighbouring colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-island; but under the new charter (as beforementioned) they are annually chosen by a joint vote of the majority of the old board of counsellors, and of the new house of representatives. — Although their election is annual, the former counsellors are generally continued; last election 1748, they were all continued.

When the new charter first took place, the allowance or wages of a counsellor was 5*s.* per day, exchange with London, 133*l.* New-England for 100*l.* sterling; at present their wages are 30*s.* per day, exchange with London, eleven hundred pounds New-England, for one hundred pounds sterling, Christmas 1748. In this proportion a multiplied public paper-credit in bills has depreciated the New-England currency; a vast progressive loss in all personal estates, specialties excepted [y].

[y] We must not reckon depreciations indifferently by public allowance advanced, because the variation does not observe every where the same proportion, e. g. the first allowance to counsellors was 5*s.* currency per day, at present it is 30*s.* which is six for one, depreciation allowance: the governor's allowance was 500*l.* common currency *per annum*; at present it is 9,600*l.* old tenor, or common currency, which is about nineteen for one; so much the governor is at present favoured by the house of representative, while they themselves accept of 20*s.* present currency old tenor, for the original 3*s.* per day, which is only six and two thirds for one. This difference in proportions, is easily accounted for, and, if requisite, shall be taken notice of in the Appendix.

Some account of the third Negative in the legislature of the province of [z] Massachusetts-Bay; called the Honourable House of Representatives.

THE province of Massachusetts-Bay is represented in their lower house, not by a deputation from counties, cities and boroughs, as in Great-Britain, and in some of the British colonies; but from certain districts of land or country, incorporated by the names of townships, very unequal in extent; thus Springfield contains upwards of 100,000 acres; Medford does not exceed 2000 acres; but generally they are the value of six miles square, being nearly 23,000 acres: their number of inhabitants is as various, and consists of one to five parishes.

The charter declares "each of the said towns and places, being hereby impowered to elect and depute two persons and no more, to serve for and represent them respectively in the said great general court or assembly. "To which great general court or assembly, to be held as aforesaid, we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full power and authority, from time to time, to direct, appoint, and declare, what number each county, town, and place, shall elect and depute, to serve for, and represent them respectively, in the said great and general court or assembly."

This last clause gives a very great latitude to our general assemblies to regulate the representation of the country. 1. The charter says, each place is impowered to depute two persons and no more; Boston is allowed to send four; it is true, that equitably, considering their taxes and number of inhabitants in proportion to the whole colony representation, they might be allowed to send twenty; but such proportions are not observed in Great-Britain our mother-country, perhaps for reasons

[z] So called, from the name of the tribe of Indians living thereabouts, when the English first began settlements there.

of state. 2. By acts of assembly all townships under 120 qualified voters are restricted to send one and no more, whereas by charter any township may send two. 3. The charter does not limit the number of qualified voters in any township or place constituted, to enable them to send representatives; they seem to be limited by acts of assembly, but with this reasonable qualification, that no township, consisting of less than eighty legal voters shall be obliged, that is, fined for the not sending of a representative. 4. Lately (by instruction to the governor, or otherways, I am not certain) this province hath constituted townships, with all town or corporation privileges, excepting that of deputing representatives to the general assembly; though the charter expressly says, that they all may send representatives: it is true, that the multiplying of townships, especially by subdividing old large well-regulated townships, into many small jangling townships, has been, not many years ago, practised with particular views; but has occasioned an [a] INCONVENIENT number of representatives: the small townships, under eighty voters, being qualified to send, but not obliged to send representatives; upon the emergency of a governor's, or any designing party interest, they are prompted to send a deputy to forward some party affair.

Incorporating of townships with all other town privileges, excepting that of sending representatives, seems to be inconsistent with that privilege essential to the constitution of Great-Britain, *viz.* that all freeholders

[a] Massachusetts Bay government, though lately curtailed, at present summon about 150 representatives, being more than all of the following five provinces:

New-York	27
East and West New Jerseys	22
Pensylvania proper or higher	30
The three lower counties	18
South-Carolina	42

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of

of 40*s.* *per annum* income, and others legally qualified are to be represented in the legislature and taxation; as in New-England there are no county representations, and as they are not in the humour of being represented by counties, though agreeable to charter; it seems consonant to the constitution, and will, at the same time, obviate the above inconveniencies, that is, that two, three, four, or more of these new or small Townships, be joined in sending one or two representatives, after the model, settled by the articles of Union in Great-Britain, for the small Parliament-Towns in Scotland or North-Britain [b].

[b] Our Plantations in America, New-England excepted, have been generally settled, 1. By mal-contents with the administrations from time to time. 2. By fraudulent debtors, as a refuge from their creditors. 3. And by convicts or criminals, who chose transportation rather than death. These circumstances make the just civil administration in the colonies a difficult performance. An indebted, abandoned, and avaricious governor, in collusion with such miscreants or villains, is capable of doing great iniquity and damage in a province; therefore the court of Great-Britain ought to be very circumspect, and appoint men of probity and wisdom for governors, the only checks; the recommending minister, may be interrogated: Is this candidate, or his wife, any relation, particular friend, or amica? But we must not insist upon Utopian governments.

The incident difficulties which may arise between a governor in high power, and a licentious people, are problems not easily solved; liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery: to support a coercive power over a giddy people, and to secure the people against the abuse of this power, are difficult problems.

When the generality of a province are disgusted with their governor, let the occasion of this disgust be any how; perhaps it may be adviseable to supersede him by another of equal or more virtue and qualifications for government, especially where a governor's avarice and villainy are notorious: we gave instances in Lowther and Douglass.

All numerous combinations, associations, or partnerships, in an absolute sovereignty or depending provinces, tend to the subversion, ruin, or, at least, confusion of the society; we have a notorious instance of this in the province of Massachusetts-Bay of New-England. Anno 1740, a combination of DESPERATE DEBTORS, by the bubble name of Land-Bank, had formed a prevailing party, which, notwithstanding

By custom, all elections, provincial, county, or town, are determined not by the major vote, but by the majority of voters; because where there are more than two candidates, a person may have a major vote, though not a majority of the voters.

The votes or journal of the house of representatives, is regularly printed at a public charge, one copy for each township, and one copy for each member.

The house of representatives insist upon several privileges; I shall mention a few, 1. The governor's in-

their being timely stigmatized and damned by an act of the British parliament, their influence in the assembly continues to prevail to this time 1749; in a lucid interval anno 1746, Journal, p. 246. the house of representatives, say, "We have been the means of effectually bringing distress, if not ruin upon ourselves." And in summer 1748, at the desire of the house of representatives, a fast is appointed, "Upon account of the extreme drought, a punishment for many public sins we have been guilty of." This seems borrowed from the account of a general fast appointed by the assembly, praying God, "That he would pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy (meaning the affair of Salem witchcraft) raised amongst us by Satan and his instruments."

Here is an obvious political observation, that, notwithstanding the proceedings of a community, may be much perverted or vitiated; there are certain boundaries, which humanity and the natural affection which mankind bear to their progeny cannot exceed: I shall give some few late instances of it in this provincial government.—1748, June 3, the board of council and house of representatives, in a joint message to the governor, say, "The great loss of inhabitants for husbandry, and other labour, and for the defence of an inland frontier of about 300 miles; the vast load of debt already contracted; and the unparalleled growing charge. The annual charge of Connecticut government, at this time is about 4000*l.* to 5000*l.* old tenor; whereas Massachusetts-Bay government, only about one third larger, is at the annual charge (meaning the present year) of 400,000*l.* old tenor. Moreover, Connecticut is almost out of debt, and we are almost two millions in debt; INSUPPORTABLE DIFFICULTIES!" In the same Journal, the house of representatives complain, that many thousands of inhabitants have been carried off from us, by the expedition against the Spanish West-Indies; by the expedition against Louisbourg; by forming and recruiting the two American regiments at Louisbourg; the protection of Nova Scotia; the maintaining of provincial privateer vessels; and the defence of our frontiers.

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structions from the secretary of state, of the department, are recommendatory, but not obligatory upon the representatives of the people. New-England was no military acquisition or conquest of the crown (such acquisitions, until formerly annexed to the dominions of Great-Britain, are by the prerogative absolutely under direction of the crown) but originally and essentially belonging to the dominions of England; and therefore acts of parliament only are obligatory; and no instruction pecuniary, procured by the patron, the friend, or the money of a governor, with an arbitrary (perhaps) annexed penalty, *of incurring the displeasure of the Crown*, is strictly observed. A noted and repeated instance of this we have in the instruction for a settled salary upon the governor; moreover, they assert, "That they are at liberty to vary from any former grants to governors, &c. governor Shute, a good inoffensive man, was reduced from an allowance of 1200*l.* *per annum* common currency, to 1000*l.* 2. That the council may only concur or not concur in a tax or any other money-bill,

Anno 1747, the governor insisting upon a further emission of these depreciating bills; the representatives, though a paper-money making house, could not avoid remonstrating, "If we emit more bills, we apprehend it must be followed by a great impair, if not utter loss of the public credit, which already has been greatly wounded."

June 16, the board of council remonstrate, "The neighbouring provinces have been at little or no expence of money or men; while this province is reduced to the utmost distress, by bearing almost the whole burden of the wars."

"With public taxes, we are burdened almost to ruin."—"The province is at a prodigious daily charge, beyond their strength," "Which has involved us in a prodigious load of debt, and, in a manner, exhausted our substance."—1746-7, March 14, the house of representatives resolve, "That not only from the immense debt the province is loaded with from the Cape Breton expedition, but also from the decrease of the inhabitants; they will make no establishment the present year, for any forces which shall not be posted within the bounds of the province."—"Should the whole sum expended in the late expedition against Cape-Breton, be reimbursed us, we have still a greater debt remaining, than ever lay upon any one of his majesty's governments in the plantations."

but

but may make no amendment; the affair of supplying the treasury always originates in the House of Representatives. 3. Not long since all accounts of public charges, some very trifling, were rendred, audited, and passed by the House of Representatives; not only at a great unnecessary charge (our assembly-men are all in pay) of upwards of 100*l.* per day, at that time, for passing a controverted account of a few pounds; but contrary to charter; the words of the charter are, "The assembly to impose and levy proportionable and reasonable assessments, rates, and taxes; upon the estates and persons of all and every the proprietors or inhabitants of our said province or territory; to be issued and disposed of, by warrant under the hand of the governor of our said province for the time being, with the advice and consent of the council." Some years since, upon complaint home, the king in council has explained this affair.

In this article we shall have frequent occasion to mention money-affairs, *viz.* emission of public provincial bills of credit, called paper-money; supplies of the treasury, annual taxes, salaries, and other government charges; all which at various times have been expressed in various tenors; *viz.* Old tenor, middle tenor, new tenor first, new tenor second, which, in the face of the bill, is about 12 *per cent.* worse than new tenor first, but from the inaccuracy of our people, and an abandoned neglect of a proper credit, pass indifferently at the same value. But that I may be the more easily understood, I shall, by means of a small table (which is the most concise and distinct manner of representing such things) reduce all tenors to their value in old tenor the original, and to this time 1749, the denomination of common currency: and to prevent the reader's trouble in reducing the value of our old tenor from time to time (as it has been generally in a progressive state of depreciation or pejoration) to a pro-
per

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 per standard of exchange with London, or value per
 oz. Mexico silver. The exchange with London, is 100/
 sterling for—I have added the accessions of governors,
 for the last half century, to make it apparent how much
 our paper currency has depreciated in their respective
 administrations.

Periods	Exc. with Lond.	1 oz. Silv.	Acces. of Gov.
A.D. 1702	133	6 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$	Dudley
1705	135	7 s.	ditto
1713	150	8 s.	ditto
1716	175	9 s. 3 d.	Taylor and Shute
1717	225	12 s.	ditto
1722	270	14 s.	Dummer
1728	340	18 s.	Burnet
1730	380	20 s.	Belcher
1737	500	26 s.	ditto
1741	550	28 s.	Shirley
1749	1100	60 s. [c]	ditto

Exchange continues to rise rather than fall, notwith-
 standing the generous reimbursement granted by the
 British parliament, towards paying off our provincial
 debts incurred by a private corporation adventure, in
 the Cape-Breton expedition: perhaps the merchants and
 others are diffident, and suspect that some subsequent
 general assembly (with the countenance of a suitable

[c] That we may the better estimate the differences of Massachusetts
 present currency from the present value of currencies in the other
 British plantations, colonies, and provinces; we exhibit their present
 (1748) exchanges with London.

Currency			
For 100 l. sterl.	New-England 1100	North-Carolina	1000
	New-York 190	South-Carolina	750
	East-Jerseys 190	Barbadoes	130
	West-Jerseys 180	Antigua	170 to 180
	Pensylvania 180	St. Christopher's	160
	Maryland 200	Jamaica	140
	Virginia 120 to 125		

governor)

governor) worshipers of that wicked idol, the iniquitous, bubbling paper currency, may pervert the proper application of this bounty or donation. Something of this kind has lately been a remora at home, and has prevented the province from receiving it by their agents hitherto.

June 15, at the commencement of the new charter jurisdiction, 1692, was enacted, A continuance of the local and municipal laws of the old charter jurisdiction, if not repugnant to the laws of England, until Nov. 10, following.—The fundamental law or general political principle of the colonies of New-England, is, that natural and salutary maxim, *Salus populi est suprema lex*; they do not countenance the slavish doctrines of non-resistance, passive obedience, hereditary indefeasible right, and the like.

The present enacting style is, Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and House of Representatives.

Thanksgivings and fasts, ever since governor Shute's complaints, have been appointed by the governor and council, at the desire of the House of Representatives.

Because all acts of assembly are required by the charter to be sent home for allowance or disallowance, therefore many things are done by the name of Order or Resolve.

Late years, the governors are directed by their instructions not to consent to bills of sundry kinds, until they be sent home for approbation—Thus it is in the parliament of Ireland.

The general assembly, by their accepting of an explanatory charter upwards of thirty years since, have curtailed the house of representatives, from the privilege of electing their own Speaker absolutely; that is, a power is reserved to the governor, or any other commander in chief, to negative or disapprove any Speaker elected and presented; and that the representatives so assembled, shall forthwith elect any other person to be Speaker, to be approved or disapproved, in manner as aforesaid:

as

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as also from adjourning of themselves, not exceeding two days at a time, without leave from the governor, or any other commander in chief of the province.

When a joint committee of both houses is appointed, generally one third is from the council, and two thirds from the representatives.

Although the military, are the absolute prerogative of the king, and of his representative the governor; the assembly, especially the House of Representatives, do, upon extraordinary occasions, in faithfulness to their constituents, complain, and, in some measure, admonish the governor. We shall produce a few late instances.—1746, The house, by message to the governor, say, that they suspect the governor's inlisting men for his Louisbourg regiment, out of the impressed frontier forces: the governor denies this, but acknowledges that he had allowed the frontier soldiers to be enlisted in the Canada expedition, and to impress men in their place.—It does not appear to us necessary or convenient, for this government, any ways to concern themselves in building a fort at the great carrying-place from Hudson's river to Wood Creek in the government of New-York.—The forces, particularly upon the eastern frontiers, have been very negligent in scouting, and all other military services; there have been many ineffectives; inhabitants of several townships, to do duty in their own townships, have been enlisted, paid, and victualled, though they only followed their own private business: “This is very abusive to the government, as well as injurious to these exposed parts.”—1747, The assembly represent “the husbandry, manufactures, and navigation of the province; have suffered much by multiplied expeditions.”—“We have, by our past actions, proved ourselves zealous for his majesty's service; but our unhappiness is, that although the same disposition remains, yet we are in a manner incapacitated to promote it for the future.

The house of representatives frequently complain of their being involved in unnecessary and improper charges. 1747, April 21, "We apprehend that we have made considerable grants for the protection and encouragement of the six Indian nations of New-York government, beyond what has been done by New-York itself, in whose borders these Indians are situated.

There are many altercations amongst the three negatives; when this happens in the parliament of Great-Britain, as it is very seldom, it is as a prodigy; such differences lessen the respect due from the people to each negative in the legislature. Each of those negatives, moreover, at times vary [d] from themselves, by contra-

[d] Our G—r—r, for certain political reasons, which we shall not now dive into, sees meet to vary from time to time. — Soon after his accession, June, 1742, in a message to the house, he gives wholesome paternal advice, 1. That long sessions are very expensive to the province. 2. He entreats them to keep the province clear of debt, which, instead of decreasing, will continually increase their incumbrances.—3. 1741, August 17, in his first speech, "A creditor, who has the misfortune of having an out standing debt, of the value of 1000*l.* sterl. contracted anno 1730, can now receive no more in our courts of judicature (unless in a case of specialty) than the value of about 650*l.* sterl. the great injustice and oppression of which, upon the creditor, has a great tendency to introduce a spirit of dishonesty into this community."—4. 1741, Oct. 14, "Restraints upon emissions, which his majesty has been graciously pleased, out of his paternal affection to his people to do, and has thereby saved this province from greater ruin"—"It is the injustice of those bills, which has plunged us into those difficulties—in some subsequent assemblies the securing to every creditor the just value of his debt, is a piece of justice hitherto unknown to your laws, or courts of judicature."—5. "The province being so long accustomed, to estimate province bills of public credit, according to their nominal value, is grown quite insensible of their real value."—1744, Nov. 29, he well observes in his speech with regard to multiplying paper-currency. "And can such a proceeding be thought beneficial to the country? Can it possibly be deemed either prudent with respect to yourselves, or just with regard to your posterity?"—1747-8, Feb. 3, "The general distress of the province, arising from the extraordinary emissions of paper-money, whereby the value thereof, for all occasions of life, is sunk so low, and is still sinking; and thereby the estates of orphans and

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dictory speeches, messages, and reconsidering of their votes. I write with the liberty and freedom which is essential to the British constitution.

“widows, and of many others who have no remedy in their power,
“against this growing evil, daily diminishing; which must, in very
“little time, bring many good families to ruin.”

On the other side of the question; we may observe, that, 1. Of late years, the sessions of assembly, are longer and more frequent, than ever; for instance, the annual assembly of 1746, sat about thirty weeks at the daily charge (our assembly-men are all in pay) of near 150*l*. — 2. Our provincial debt, 1741, when Mr. Belcher was superseded, was about 130,000*l*. at present 1749, it is about two millions. — 3. “The great and sudden depreciations of province-bills, is owing to the immoderate price of exchange and silver.” — 4. Jan. 15, 1741-2, “The instruction, containing a restraining clause in emitting bills of credit, is remitted: as this is an alteration, which, I am persuaded (speech to the assembly) will be very agreeable unto you, and has been occasioned through my accession to the government; I mention it to you with no small satisfaction.” — 5. In a speech to the assembly, “From 1718 to 1743, in constant practice all debts upon book, note, bond, or mortgage, were discharged in province bills penny for penny, that is, in the nominal sum; which he deems to be equitable, because both creditor and debtor, tacitly run the chance of the rising or falling of those bills.” *N. B.* This was the common cant of the land bank managers and other debtors; the forbearance and indulgence of creditors is ridiculed, as much, as if a person intrusted by another with money or goods, should turn bankrupt, and laugh at his friend for his trust; alledging, that it was in his option, to trust or not trust him. How provoking is this to an honest man, for his good nature and compassion, to have his estate first by a private, and afterwards by a more open and daring combination of the debtors, reduced in a reverse proportion of 12*s*. to 30*s*. the price of silver from anno 1718 to 1743, and from 30*s*. to 60*s*. as it is anno 1749; and afterwards be laughed at as a silly fool.

And in fact, how could a person remedy himself with the strictest sagacity in the following cases? A man lets out money upon mortgage. May, 1745, exchange with London 650*l*. currency for 100*l*. sterl. in the space of three years, May, 1748, exchange is 1100*l*. currency for 100*l*. sterl. — a creditor all this time cannot recover his money, because by the laws of the province, near one year (by appeals and reviews) is required to bring a bond to final judgment, and the equity of redemption is three years more: moreover, the public loans, and the private bank loans were conditioned at ten to fifteen years

Upon

Upon the arrival of the new charter of the province of Massachusetts-Bay; their first general assembly,

forbearance, which, with the abovesaid four years additional, makes an unavoidable forbearance of fourteen to nineteen years: further, some of the loan 1716 (a great damage to the public) is not sued out at this present writing. How is it possible to provide against the continued great depreciations during so many years?

As it does not belong to any provincial assembly, to explain acts of parliament, because they may be deemed sufficient to execute themselves, under the agency of the colony executive courts; I do not pretend to be a statesman sufficient, to account for a bill brought into our court of legislature yearly, for these eight years last past; entitled, "A Bill for the more speedy finishing of the Land-Bank scheme:" as it is never brought to an issue, perhaps some may call it, rather a Bill of Grace.

Governor Shirley, in his speech, October 14, 1741, "Nothing is more easy, than to secure to every creditor his just due, let the bills depreciate never so much, by enabling the king's judges to do justice to every creditor in that particular—It is the injustice of our bills which has plunged us into these difficulties." But as this advice has not been followed or repeated, the creditors have generally suffered in the reverse proportion of sixty to thirty in a few years; such is the malignant nature of this depascent ulcer, that nothing but the extirpation or excision of this, can save our body politic. *Delenda est.*

I desire readers, not affected with paper-currencies, may excuse prolixity; when this vile chimera, or monster, comes in my way, I cannot contain myself.

This scheme for fraudulent debtors to cheat their creditors, was first projected, anno 1714, by J. C. The maxim, or basis was, by multiplied emissions, to depreciate the nominal value of our currency: thus the difference between the nominal value, at any time when paid, and its real value when lent or contracted for; was a fraudulent gain to the debtor, and a very injurious loss to the honest creditor; for instance, anno 1713, exchange with London 150*l.* currency for 100*l.* sterl.—At present 1749, by depreciations we are at 100*l.* currency for 100*l.* sterling, that is, in successive dealings, the creditor has lost six in seven of his debts or contracts, which is the debtor's crafty gain. There were various essays made from time to time to arrive to this depreciation; the last was miraculously the most successful. 1. Emitting bills of public credit, not only for the ordinary and necessary charges of government, but for public loans to private persons, viz. anno 1714, 50,000*l.* anno 1716, 100,000*l.* anno 1721, 50,000*l.* anno 1727, 60,000*l.* at long credit; this had a considerable effect in favour of debtors, but some inconveniencies and instructions put a stop to it. 2. Postponing the cancelling of emissions: thus emis-

or legislature, convened in June, 1692; in the first place they continued the municipal laws (not repugnant to

sions yearly multiplied, and the cancelling of them delayed, increased this flood of a bale currency. 3. Notes of private associations designed to be upon a par, current with public bills of credit, would have multiplied this false currency immensely; but from private complaints sent home, this was crushed in embryo, by act of the British parliament, 1741. 4. At length, by multiplied expensive expeditions, they compassed their designs to the greatest extent, or to a *ne plus ultra*, which, it is to be hoped, the parliament of Great-Britain, in their wonted goodness, will rectify in their present session.

I am sorry that, upon any occasion, or in any respect, I should give offence to any particular person, or to any number of men: it is not from malice or resentment: it cannot be imagined, that in course, writing unavoidable historical truths, I should designedly and maliciously reflect upon the country and its municipal jurisdiction; this is my *altera patria*, from upwards of thirty years residence.

However, the creatures of any ministry at home may, from time to time, find fault with the liberty of the press, which they represent as licentious; the courts of judicature, which, by good Providence, are independent of the ministry, vindicate the press, if not too licentious, and find fault with their despotic accusers.

While I write mere facts with proper vouchers, and in a good light, I use only that liberty (not licentiousness) of the press, which seems sacred and essential to the British constitution; as we have no general intendants as in the French constitution, every historical writer with us, may be a sort of intendant or check upon provincial administration; for instance, as the house of representatives are the grand inquest of the province, especially as to misdemeanors in the administration: may I not take a hint from their journals, *e. g.* although, as above, the colony of Connecticut are to this province as two to three; Connecticut is almost out of debt, and we are about two millions currency in debt: the annual public charges of Connecticut are from 4000 to 5000 *l.* currency, those of Massachusetts Bay are about 400,000 *l.* which vast proportional difference, is said to be owing to the differences in the frugality and integrity of their respective administrations. 2. The representatives in their journals seem to complain of universal infectious corruption, *viz.* That officers, from the highest to the lowest, were iniquitous in their perquisites: the field officers, captains, and others were complained against for extorting money from the private men, as a commission of receiving their wages, and for certifying their time of service; for buying their wages, or pay, at a great discount; for taking money in the discharge or exchange of impressed men; and for false incomplete muster-rolls. These things are all wisely provided against by the general assembly, but the executive part

the laws of England) of the old charter administration, for a few months, until a small body of new laws could be formed.

By this new charter, see p. 374. of this Summary, the house of representatives is constituted in this manner, viz. Every year, and for ever, upon the last Wednesday of May, and at all other times as the governor shall think fit, shall be held a general court or assembly; the freeholders and other inhabitants of the respective towns and places are impowered to depute two persons, and no more, to represent them in the general assembly. The qualification of an elector is 40 s. at least *per ann.* freehold, or other estate, to the value of 50 l. sterling.

The present practice by acts or resolves of the general assembly, and by custom. Boston sends four deputies or representatives; Salem, Ipswich, Newbury, Marblehead and Charlestown, generally send two each: from the other towns which send representatives, each sends one. We have not got into the method directed by charter for two or more small townships joining, to send a representation, which would prevent the inconveniency of multiplying representatives, and would restore to the constituted, incorporated townships (by charter qualified, and by the British constitution privileged to be represented) that privilege of which they are abridged by being refused to send a representative, as we have no general county elections.

By act of assembly, first year of the charter 1692, each town, consisting of thirty to forty qualified electors, may (at their option) send, or not send, one representative; each town of forty qualified are enjoined to send one representative; each town of 120 qualified may send

of the administration seems to connive; for instance, by a late act, "if any person authorized, shall exact or take any reward, to discharge or spare any (soldiers) from the said service, he shall forfeit ten pounds for every twenty shillings he shall so exact or take." In this case many officers have been notoriously guilty, but not called to account.

two representatives; no town, Boston excepted (which may send four) is at any time to send more than two representatives. Writs for calling a general assembly to issue from the Secretary's office thirty days before their meeting, directed to the Select men, as returning officers; the returns to be made into the Secretary's office one day at least before the time prefixed for the meeting of the general assembly—Forty representatives to constitute a house—Penalty for non-attendance 5*s.* per day. All representatives, with one son or servant each, to have personal protection during their sessions, excepting in cases of treason or felony.

By act of assembly 1693, the qualifications of a voter, for a representative, is reduced from the charter qualification of 50*l.* sterling, principal estate to 40*l.* sterling.—Representatives must be freeholders and residents in the town for which they are chosen.

Anno 1726, no town, under the number of sixty qualified electors, to be obliged to send a representative—1730, No town, under the number of eighty qualified electors, to be obliged to send a representative—About one third of the townships, which have precepts sent them, send no representatives.

Here we shall insert by way of table, the number of precepts issued out, and the number of members returned to the house of representatives, from ten years to ten years (to mention every year would be tedious, and of no use) in each county.

The whole legislature, for reasons best known to themselves, do at times jointly vary from their former notions of affairs: A noted instance of this was anno 1741, a sum of 127,125*l.* in public bills of credit to be cancelled by taxes, conform to the emitting acts of assembly; so high a tax was judged inconvenient, and it was divided amongst the three subsequent years: anno 1748, the province being poorer by expedition, losses of working men, and by ship-building, and other articles of trade failing, the province tax for the year is enacted, at upwards of 400,000*l.* The reimbursements granted by parliament were designed to pay off the public bills of credit, that is, the provincial debt contracted by the Cape-Breton expedition.

A list of Precepts sent, and of Returns made 1708 to 1748.

	1708		1718		1728		1738		1748	
	Precepts.	Returns.	Precepts.	Returns.	Precepts.	Returns.	Precepts.	Returns.	Precepts.	Returns.
Suffolk	19	13	14	15	16	17	17	17	18	16
Essex	17	17	20	19	19	18	20	20	19	18
Middlesex	22	18	20	20	28	20	33	22	32	25
Hampshire	8	6	7	7	11	7	12	7	17	9
Worcester							18	8	22	5
Plymouth	7	5	8	8	10	9	13	10	13	8
Barnstap.	6	4	5	5	8	6	9	6	6	6
Bristol	11	7	10	9	12	11	15	10	11	8
York	3	2	3	3	7	5	10	7	11	5
D. county	3	1	2	3	3		13		3	
Nantuck.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	97	74	91	88	115	94	151	108	153	101

N. B. Anno 1731, some townships were taken from the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Hampshire; and formed into a new county called the county of Worcester.

As this history seems to swell too much for the perusal of the people in our infant colonies, who in general are not bookish, and do not apply themselves to read books of any considerable bulk; I must forbear inserting the long list of the townships in Massachusetts-Bay province.

We shall here only observe, that our townships or districts of lands, may be distinguished into four sorts. 1. Incorporated townships, which are served with precepts, and generally send representatives; this year they are in number ninety-five. 2. Incorporated townships, which are served with precepts, but generally do not send representatives; this present year they are fifty-eight: their number being so large, is occasioned by their poverty, which proceeds from their labouring young men being taken away, that is, depopulated by multiplied expeditions, and their being peculated by multiplied taxes. Formerly our province tax was from six thousand

to (in great exigencies) forty thousand pounds *per annum*; whereas this present year 1748, the provincial tax upon polls and estates is three hundred seventy-seven thousand nine hundred ninety-two pounds, and excises doubled: thus they cannot well spare 30 s. a day, the present wages of a representative. 3. Townships incorporated, but in express words debarred from sending representatives; these are but few in number, because lately introduced. This seems anti-constitutional (that as we have no county-representatives) persons of good estates real and personal should in no manner be represented, as if they were aliens, servants, or slaves. 4. Townships or districts granted to a number of proprietors, but as the conditions of the grant, particularly the settling of a certain number of families in a limited space of time, are not fully performed, they are not as yet qualified to be constituted, by act of assembly, with all town privileges; of those there are many, especially in those lands which lately were taken from the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and annexed to the crown in property, and to the province of New-Hampshire in jurisdiction. *N. B.* This late boundary line cut off from Massachusetts-Bay province, the constituted, but not represented townships of Rumford and Litchfield upon Merrimack river; of Winchester upon Connecticut river; with part of the constituted townships of Nottingham and Dunstable, upon Merrimack river; part of Groton and Townshend; part of Northfield upon Connecticut river: the other districts or grants not incorporated annexed to New-Hampshire, were, Herrys town, Contacook, the nine townships commonly called the double row of frontier towns against the French and their Indian auxiliaries, the row of four townships upon the east side of Connecticut river, the row of two townships west side of Connecticut river, [*e*] Canada to Gallop and others, Canada

[*e*] About twenty years since, and for some following years, the general assembly of the province were in the humour of dividing and appropriating most of the then reckoned provincial or unoccupied

to Sylvester and others, Lower Ashuelot, Upper Ashuelot, Canada to Rowley, Canada to Ipswich, Canada to Salem, Canada to Beverley, Naraganset No. 3, Naraganset No. 5, Lanes New-Boston, township to Ipswich; in all twenty-nine grants transferred to New-Hampshire jurisdiction: the other granted, but not constituted townships, which remain in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, are, in the province of Main, township to Cape-Anne or Gloucester, township to Powers and others, township to Marblehead, Naraganset No. 7, Naraganset

lands: that in case of future claims by the crown, &c. by possession they might retain at least the property. This was provident and good policy, and accordingly upon settling the line between the two provinces, the property of the abovesaid districts, was in the commission reserved to these possessors; but lately the heirs and assigns of Mr. Mason, original grantee of New-Hampshire, have intimidated the Massachusetts proprietors, and brought sundry of them to compound for a valuable quit-claim; whereas, if by contribution of the present proprietors (a mere trifle to each of them) they, by petition, had carried the affair before the king in council, they would have been quieted in their property, and obviated any further claims, such as the claims of colonel Allen's heirs, Mr. Mason's general assignee, and of the claims of the million purchase lately revived, which may likewise be converted into bubbles.

Our general assembly at that time were in such a hurry to appropriate the vacant lands, that several old townships were encouraged to petition for an additional new township: and when they were fatiated, the assembly introduced by way of bounty to the descendents of the soldiers in the Indian war of king Philip (so called) 1675, and of the soldiers in Sir William Phipp's expedition against Canada, anno 1690. Thus nine townships were granted to each of these expeditions; thus no lands (excepting in the inland back wilderness of the province of Main) were left to recompence the descendents of the particular sufferers (the province in general was an unaccountable sufferer) in the unforeseen and inconceivable (because rash) expedition against Louisbourg; our administration perhaps did not understand the doctrine of chances; but by good providence, though the chance was upwards of a million to one against us, we gained the prize, not by playing away men (as is the phrase in Flanders) in being killed, but by the poltroonry of the French garrison. This must not be understood as detracting from the New England militia troops, who are noted for their courage as bull-dogs (excuse the expression) where they fix, they never quit hold, until they conquer, or are cut to pieces.

No.

No. 1, and Philips's town upon Salmon Falls river; between Merrimack river and Connecticut river are Canada to Dorchester, Canada to Ipswich, Canada to Rockbury, township to Welles and others, township to Salem, Nichawoag, Pequioug, Naraganset No. 6, Naraganset No. 2, Townshend. On the west side of Connecticut river, are the grants of Fall sight township, of Canada to Hunt, and others; Naraganset No. 4, townships to Boston, No. 1, 2, 3, Upper Housatonick, four more Housatonicks, and Bedford: making in all grants not incorporated, twenty-eight in the province of Massachusetts Bay not alienated; and twenty-nine transferred as to jurisdiction, to the province of New-Hampshire.

The affair of the above townships is variable, and of no permanent use; but this may serve a future curious historian, as an accurate account for the state of the year 1749.

There are a few things, in which the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England (which, in all respects, is the principal British colony) vary from the practice of the House of Commons in Great-Britain. I shall mention two, which must not be deemed constitutional, as being only by fundry acts of the general assembly, and consequently if inconvenient, may be repealed or altered by some subsequent act.

1. That a representative must be a [f] resident in the township for which he is elected. As the representative of a district or township so called, is not a peculiar agent for that township, but is their quota of representation of the whole province in the general assembly;

[f] It is said, that anno 1693, there were some Boston gentlemen representatives for some of the out-towns, but not agreeable to the then Rev. I. M—th—r; Mr. B—f—d for Bristol is mentioned; Mr. M—, of great interest with the weak governor Phipps, and with the devotionally bigotted house, procured this act.

a gentle-

a gentleman of good natural interest and resident in the province; a man of reading, observation, and daily conversant with affairs of policy and commerce, is certainly better qualified for a legislator, than a retailer of rum and small beer called a tavern keeper, in a poor obscure country town, remote from all business. Thus this countryman will not be diverted from the most necessary and beneficial labour of cultivating the ground, his proper qualification, to attend state affairs, of which he may be supposed grossly and invincibly ignorant: thus the poor townships, by gentlemen at large serving gratis or generously as the quota of the township, will be freed from the growing (in one year, from anno 1747 to 1748, this charge was advanced from 20*s.* to 30*s.* per day) charge of subsisting an useless representative: therefore, if this clause of residence in the act of assembly 1693, is not absolutely repealed, may it not be qualified in this manner? *viz.* The representative, if not a resident in the township, being a resident in the province, shall have a rent roll of **** *per annum* in the place, or shall be the proprietor of **** hundred acres in the township for which he is elected.

2. That counsellors and representatives do serve their country upon wages. The honour and pleasure of doing good, is recompence sufficient to a patriot: thus the province will [g] save a very considerable part of

[g] As savings, that is frugality, in private oeconomy is a considerable lucration, so it is in the public charges of government; for instance, the taking and maintaining the fort of Louisbourg in the island of Cape-Breton cost Great-Britain; considering other unavoidable vast charges, not conveniently able to afford such an extra charge upon a place which must in policy unavoidably be restored, to the great disgust of the brave New-England men, who in loyalty, and patriotism to the British nations, ventured not only their lives to the number of upwards of 2000 of an infant colony, dead, but their fortunes (that is their country, notwithstanding the generous reimbursement of the British parliament, reduced to great distress) I say it cost about

taxation

taxation; for instance, this present year 1748, the province would have saved about 25,000*l.* The whole annual provincial charge from the commencement of the charter, fell short of this sum, until anno 1735; that year, the rates were 31,000*l.* old tenor: thus in time to come two of the negatives would be under no temptation of having their wages augmented by collusion with the third negative; the governor's allowance being by them immoderately advanced [*b*].

The allowances or pay of the three negatives for their services, are settled by themselves from time to time; therefore they do not suffer by the depreciation of their own public bills of credit. I shall here annex a table (tables contract things into a more easy, less diffused, and therefore more distinct view) of the pay of the three negatives in some successive periods, and of the province rate: the province polls in these respective years, see afterwards, as taken from the valuation acts: in about seven years period, a valuation or census is made for proportioning the assessments of each township or district towards the provincial rate or charge.

A. D.	1702	1720	1730	1740	1743	1745	1747	1748
Govers. } Dudley	Shute	Belcher	ditto	Shirley	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
pr. An. } 600	1200	2400	3600	5400	6000	7600	9600	
Counf. } 5 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>s.</i>	10 <i>s.</i>	15 <i>s.</i>	18 <i>s.</i>	18 <i>s.</i>	30 <i>s.</i>	40 <i>s.</i>	
Repre. } 3 <i>s.</i>	4 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>s.</i>	10 <i>s.</i>	12 <i>s.</i>	12 <i>s.</i>	20 <i>s.</i>	30 <i>s.</i>	
pr. Day } Rates.	6000	6000	8000	39000	60000	120000	168324	381672

200,000*l.* sterling, a dead loss to Great-Britain; whereas a small additional charge in the better garrisoning of Annapolis, Placentia, and St. John's, with a few additional ships of war from Great-Britain, under the direction of an active commander, such as Sir Peter Warren or Mr. Knowles, would have not only secured our northern colonies and their trade against all French armaments, the French being at that time notoriously weak at sea, but also would have cut off all communication between Old France, and New France or Canada.

[*b*] By act of assembly, governors are exempted from rates or taxes; therefore some governors easily consent to and laugh at a high tax.

Any

Any well-disposed person without doors may submit-ly offer advice or proposals, even after a bill is enacted, because acts are frequently explained or altered by subsequent acts for the public good: all legislatures and their laws ought to be sacred and tenderly, used, without cavilling or censuring. Thus in Great-Britain it has been a practice time out of mind for writers not of the legislature, freely and decently to give their advice and schemes. As the affair I mean is only temporary, I shall subjoin it among the annotations [z].

[z] It is arrogant, in some measure seditious, and a great sin against the divine institution of society, for any person or persons, to exclaim against the acts of legislature; the following are only some private speculations, concerning the negotiating of the late Cape-Breton expedition reimbursement money, and the sudden transition from an immense base paper-currency, to that good and universal medium of silver-money.

1. The late act for receiving and negotiating our *reimbursement* money, granted by the parliament of Great Britain, impowers Sir Peter Warren, Mr. Bollan, and Mr. Palmer, or two of them, the said Bollan to be one; perhaps the giving of a negative to Mr. Bollan, may disgust the other two gentlemen, so as to prevent their acting, and consequently occasion a further delay of the *reimbursement*; did not Mr. Bollan's being formerly appointed sole agent in this affair, disgust his fellow provincial agent Mr. Kilby, a gentleman of knowledge and spirit in transacting of business; and occasion a memorial of merchants and others, Sept. 21, 1748, to the treasury of Great-Britain, to delay the remittance of the *reimbursement* money, for reasons therein specified? This delay is a damage to the country after the rate (I mean the interest of the money) of 11,000 *l.* sterling, or 110,000 *l.* old tenor *per annum*; as if some debtors managers, studied methods to delay the *mellioration* of the denominations of our currencies, by clogging the affair.

2. The amount of our provincial debt (that is, of our public bills, or paper currency) anno 1748, was about 2,405,000 *l.* old tenor; by this act, a part of it 712,000 *l.* is to be sunk by very heavy rates upon a reduced poor people, in the years 1748 and 1749; and the remaining 1,693,000 *l.* old tenor, to be redeemed or exchanged by the reimbursement silver; commissions, freight, insurance, and some petty charges being first deducted.

I use the words, a poor reduced people, 1. In conformity to sundry expressions used at several times by the House of Representatives, in their messages to the Governor, "With public taxes we

In

In this province there seems to be a standing faction consisting of *wrong heads* and *fraudulent debtors*; this

“are burdened almost to ruin.”—“The province is at a prodigious daily charge beyond their strength, which has involved us in a prodigious load of debt, and in a manner exhausted our substance.”—“Although the same disposition remains, yet we are in a manner incapable to promote it (the British interest) for the future.” 2. The loss of about 3000 robust, labouring young men by expeditions; major Little, lately commander of the Massachusetts-Bay reinforcements, sent to Annapolis in Nova Scotia, in his book published in London 1748, concerning the nature of the present trade of our northern colonies, writes, that by multiplied expeditions they had lost 7000 men, and many thousands perverted to idleness. Here I may, by way of amusement, observe, that according to the estimates of political arithmeticians, in all well settled countries the numbers of males and females are nearly equal (some are very particular, and suppose eighteen male births, to seventeen female births) therefore as we have lately by expeditions lost about three thousand young men, there remains with us a balance of three thousand young women, good breeders, but idle in that respect; the balance may be transferred to settle Nova Scotia, under the cover of some regiments of soldiers that must be disbanded, which, in the interim, may be transported to Nova Scotia, cantoned, and continued in pay for two or three years, with portions of land, at an easy quit-rent; thus the French settlers, our perfidious subjects, may be elbowed out. 3. The inconceivable decay of our trade and business: fishery and ship-building are the most considerable articles. Formerly from Marblehead, our principal cod-fishery-port, there were about 160 fishing schooners; at present, 1748, only about sixty schooners: formerly there have been upon the stocks in Boston 7000 ton of top sail vessels; at present, not much exceeding 2000 tons. 4. Some of our townships, and consequently their proportion of taxes, have lately, by the determination of the king in council, been set off to the neighbouring governments of New-Hampshire and Rhode-Island. 5. The late sudden and considerably enhanced pay of the three negatives of the legislature, notwithstanding exchange, silver, and necessaries of life (cloathing growing cheaper) being nearly at the same price anno 1747 and 1748.

3. Our combination of debtors, who formerly were for postponing of paper-money, all of a sudden, inconsistently with their proper character, *quidquid id est timeo*, are for sinking all paper currency in the space of a year or two; we may without breach of charity, suspect their hurrying the province into a state of confusion, that they may fish in troubled waters; perhaps as paper-currency arrived by de-

faction

faction endeavours to persuade us, that one of our *invaluable* charter privileges, is, *A liberty to make paper-*

grees to a vast sum, and great depreciation; it would be more natural to sink it gradually in the space of half a dozen, or half a score of years; and by act of parliament (not by precarious instructions) no more paper-money to be emitted, a governor consenting to any such emissions to be rendered incapable, and mulcted. Notwithstanding that I always was a professed enemy to all paper, as being a base, fallacious, and fraudulent contrivance of a currency, I cannot avoid thinking, that this is the most salutary method.

4. The honest and honourable way of paying a bill, is, according to the face of the bill; that is, all bills with us of 6*s.* in the face of the bills, should be paid in a piece of eight; whereas, by the act 1748, a piece of eight shall be received in payments for 11*s.* 6*d.* new tenor; thus these bills in their own pernicious nature, from anno 1742 to 1748, have suffered a discount of about 10*s.* in the pound. Mr. S—y, in a speech or message in relation to the first emission of these new tenor bills, insinuates, that he had contrived bills which could not depreciate: but notwithstanding, these bills have greatly depreciated in passing through several hands; and as it is impossible to adjust the proportion of depreciation in each of these heads, it is unreasonable that the last possessor should have the allowance of the successive depreciations: therefore the assembly in equity have allowed the possessor only the current value. But here the assembly seem to allow themselves to be bankrupts at the rate of 10*s.* in the pound, from 1742 to 1748. Perhaps, if a piece of eight had been in the new projection enacted equal to 12*s.* new tenor, which is 48*s.* old tenor, the general price amongst merchants; it would have been no injustice to the possessor, it would have prevented their being hoarded up, and the reimbursement money would have paid-off about 6*per cent.* more of our debts, that is, cancelled so much more of our iniquitous currency. *N. B.* Perhaps, the stating of a piece of eight (seven eighths of an ounce of silver) at 6*s.* currency, and one ounce of silver at 6*s.* 8*d.* is out of proportion: the true proportion is 6*s.* 10*d.* two sevenths.

5. In place of sending over the reimbursement in foreign silver-coin, if the provincial treasurer were empowered from home and here, to draw partial bills for the same upon the British treasury, or where else it may be lodged; this would save commissions, insurance, freight, and small charges, to the value of about 12,000*l.* sterling upon the 183,000*l.* reimbursement, sufficient to discharge 120,000*l.* old tenor, of our debts. I shall not say that private pecuniary views, but not economy are in the case.

Upon the supposition of this reimbursement money being remitted

by bills of exchange, consulting the best advantage of the province; perhaps by appropriating one half of the reimbursement for that end, 910,000*l.* O. T. of our debt or bills would in the most expeditious manner be instantly sunk; all merchants, shop keepers, and others would gladly purchase with our paper such good and punctual bills preferable to any other private bills of exchange: the other half of the reimbursement to be by the like bills of exchange purchased here by silver to introduce a silver currency, the *only proper commercial medium*; providentially in favour of this purpose, we have lately had imported a capture from the Spaniards of fifty-four chests of silver, which the owners would gladly have exchanged for such bills. All merchants and others in New-England and the adjacent provinces who send pieces of eight home as returns, or to purchase fresh goods, would be fond of bringing their silver to purchase such good bills free from all the charges of other remittances. Thus besides a silver currency commencing, of 910,000*l.* old tenor value, we shall have a remaining paper-currency of 1,495,000*l.* to be cancelled gradually by rates and other taxes, suppose in ten years, is about 150,000*l.* old tenor, or 37,500*l.* new tenor *per annum*; thus the two years 1748 and 1749, perhaps oppressively loaded, will be much eased, and the insatuated paper-currency men made easy by sinking of it gradually; with the proviso of an act of parliament prohibiting, *for ever* hereafter, any more public bills of credit to be emitted.

This remaining 1,495,000*l.* paper-currency, abstracting from the 910,000*l.* silver, part of the reimbursement, is more than a sufficient medium for trade and business, in a quick circulation, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay. Let us recollect, that in the latter part of governor Belcher's administration, 1741, immediately preceding governor Shirley's accession, this province in its full vigour and extent of trade, seemed to be sufficiently supplied, by a sum not exceeding 160,000*l.* a fund for taxes not assessed, for taxes assessed but not collected, and for arrears of loans; let us suppose a like sum of 160,000*l.* from the neighbouring governments, obtained a credit of circulation with us (the four colonies of New-England hitherto as to currencies have been as one province) makes 320,000*l.* at that time silver was at 29*s.* per ounce, at this time, 1748, it is 58*s.* per ounce; therefore upon this foundation we must suppose 640,000*l.* old tenor value, the medium sufficient or requisite for our trade and business; whereas we have allowed 1,495,000*l.* old tenor value, being more than double that sum, to remain for a paper currency.

3. By charter all vacant or not claimed lands were vested in the collective body of the people or inhabitants; and their Representatives in General Court assembled, with consent of the Governor and Council, make grants of their provincial lands to a number of private persons, to be incorporated, upon certain conditions, into townships: there are also some peculiar grants which, after some years, are by acts of assembly annexed to some neighbouring township.

If, in granting these lands, they had been subjected to any easy quit-rent to the province, these lands would have settled compactly, and improved sooner; whereas, at present, some proprietors of large tracts of lands do not settle or sell, because being at no charge of quit-rent, and not in the valuation of rates or taxes for the provincial charge of government; they chuse to let them lie unimproved many years, for a market. That this might have been practicable, appears by lands in the township of Hopkinton subjected to an annual quit-rent for the benefit of our provincial seminary, called Harvard-College; which, notwithstanding of quit-rent, is well settled and improved; the Rev. Mr. Commissary Price is their present missionary minister, and is a considerable proprietor there under quit-rent.

The townships are generally granted in value of six miles square (some old grants of townships are much larger) to be 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

A stranger may think it unaccountable, that in the beginning of governor Shirley's administration, anno 1741, the projected speedy cancelling of about 130,000 *l.* old tenor bills by the taxes for 1741, should be judged too oppressive for one year, and was therefore divided amongst three subsequent years; whereas the 103,000 *l.* new tenor, or 412,000 *l.* old tenor, taxes of 1748 (although we have the reimbursement money to alleviate this grievous weight) towards the end of his administration, is not lightened.

or families, who shall, within five years from the grant, erect a dwelling-house of seven feet stud, and eighteen feet square, with seven acres cleared and improved, fit for mowing or ploughing; to erect a house for public worship in five years, and maintain an orthodox minister. Every township of fifty, or upwards, householders, to be constantly provided with a school-master, to teach children and youth to read and write; penalty for neglect 20*l.* *per annum*: as also if consisting of 100 or upwards householders, they are to maintain a grammar-school; penalty 30*l.* *per annum*, if consisting of 150 families; penalty 40*l.* if consisting of 200 families; and higher penalties *pro rata*.

In each township, by a general act of assembly, there are constituted certain town-officers to be elected at a town-meeting annually in March. I shall instance Boston; for the year 1748 were chosen the following officers:

Town-Clerk	Hayward
Seven Select-Men	Ten Cullers of staves
Town-Treasurer	Ten Viewers of boards,
Twelve Overseers of the poor	shingles, &c.
Seven Assessors	Four Hogreeves
Ten Firewards	Twelve Clerks of the market
Five Sealers of leather	Two Assay-Masters
Six Fence-Viewers	Six Collectors of taxes
A Surveyor of hemp	Twelve Constables.
Informers of deer	

Any man rateable for 20*l.* principal estate to the province-tax, poll not included, is qualified to vote in town-meetings, excepting in the choice of representatives, which requires a qualification of 40*s.* *per annum* freehold, or 40*l.* sterling personal estate.

Sometimes portions of adjoining townships are by acts of assembly incorporated into a parish or precinct, for the better conveniency of attending divine service;

but in all other respects, excepting in ministerial rates, they belong to their original townships.

The plantations and farms in the old townships near Boston, are generally become small, occasioned by a provincial act of assembly, which divides the real, as well as the personal, estate of intestates, amongst all the children or collaterals: our people are much bigotted to this province-law, and choose to die intestate. This humour is not without its advantages, *e. g.* where a farm thus becomes small, the possessor cannot live by it, and is obliged to sell to the proprietor of some adjoining farm, and move farther inland, where he can purchase waste land in quantities at an easy rate, to the enlarging of our country improvements. Thus in the former townships, which now compose the county of Worcester, about forty years since, there were not exceeding 200 families; whereas in the last valuation 1742, there were found in that county about 3200 taxable white male persons; but our multiplied expeditions since that time, have diminished them much.

The civil officers annually chosen by a joint vote of the Board or Council, and House of Representatives, and with the consent of the governor are appointed.

The Treasurer or Receiver-General.

The General Impost-Office.

The General Commissary for soldiers, their provisions and stores, and for Indian trade.

The Attorney-General.

Collectors of Excise, one for each county.

Public Notaries for the ports of

Boston	Newbury	Casco-Bay
Salem	Plymouth	York County
Marblehead	Barnstable	Duke's-County
Gloucester	Kittery	Nantucket.

N. B. The Attorney-General is annually chosen; the Governor and Council pretend to have the sole privilege of appointing him; the House of Representatives hi-

therto have not given up this point, but the person appointed by the Governor and Council is the acting officer.

Because all acts of assembly are required to be sent home for allowance or disallowance; therefore some transactions formerly have passed by way of Order or Resolve only.

A member of the House of Representatives is fined 20 s. old tenor, for every day's absence, without leave or good excuse.

Every session there is a committee appointed to prepare a list of the travel (twenty miles travel is the same with one's days attendance) and attendance of the members of the house for the sessions.—Their wages are paid out of the general provincial supply or bills of public credit, emitted for the ordinary and extraordinary charges of the province for the year; the bills of this article are drawn in again not by a general provincial rate or tax, but by a peculiar rate imposed upon the several towns who send representatives.

The townships that have precepts sent to them, but make no returns, are liable to be fined at the discretion of the House; but are generally excused, and perhaps out of fifty delinquents (some are excused by law, as being under the number of eighty families) very few are fined. This article, though very small, is one of the articles for calling in the public bills of credit from year to year.

Perhaps an assembly grant, as is the present practice, in the beginning of every year's administration of a Governor for his services to be done during the next subsequent year, may be thus qualified; to be paid after twelve months, if the present Governor's life or administration continue so long, otherwise in proportion to the time of service. We have a remarkable instance of this in the worthy Governor Burnet; some short time before his death, there was a vote of 6000*l.* for the last year and current year's service, which, for want of concurrence, did not take place; soon after the commence-
ment.

ment of the then current year, Governor Burnet died, and his heirs received only 3000*l.* old tenor, for all his services, being for about thirteen months: thus the province honestly saved about 3000*l.*

The Executive Courts.

BY charter the General Assembly are allowed to erect judicatories, to hear and determine concerning pleas, whether real, personal, or mixt; and all manner of crimes capital or not capital.

In personal actions, where the matter in difference doth exceed the value of 300*l.* sterling appeals are allowed to the king in Privy Council, providing such appeal be made in fourteen days after judgment given; and that before such appeal be allowed, security be given by the appellants in the value of the matter in difference, with costs and damages, but execution not to be staid.

See the present charter, pag. 375.

Our judicatories in civil actions are thus constituted:
 1. All actions under 10*l.* old tenor, which may at present be about 20*s.* sterling are at first instance cognizable by a [k] Justice of Peace. 2. From thence lies appeal to an inferior court, or country court of common pleas; this court seems to be of no great [l] consequence, and generally serves, without much pleadings, only to transmit it to the superior or provincial court, perhaps the most upright of any in our national plantations or

[k] It has hitherto been too much a practice to multiply the number of the Justices of the Peace: This, amongst other inconveniencies (as an old country Justice well observed) “ depreciates the former credit of a Justice, as the multiplying of our public bills of credit depreciates our currency.” May not acts of assembly be made from time to time, to limit the number of Justices in each county, and their qualifications be under some regulation?

[l] The smallness of court-fees multiplies law-suits, and is a snare for poor people to become litigious.

colonies: all actions not exceeding the value as above, must originate in the inferior courts. 3. From the inferior court of common pleas, there is appeal to a superior or provincial court in their circuits; this is also a court of *oyer* and *terminer* in criminal affairs. 4. From this court there is a review to the same court of Judges, but of another jury. 5. There lies a privilege of petitioning the General Assembly, as a court of error, upon proper allegations, to order a rehearing before the same superior court: perhaps a court of delegates would have founded better.

The courts of general quarter-sessions, and inferior court of common pleas, are held at the same place and time, and according to the last general appointment 1743, are as follow, per counties :

Suffolk	{	At Boston. First Tuesday of January, April, July, and October.
		Salem. Second Tuesday of July; last Tuesday in December.
Essex	{	Newbury. Last Tuesday in September.
		Ipswich. Last Tuesday in March.
Middlesex	{	Cambridge. Third Tuesday in May.
		Charlestown. Second Tuesday in December and March.
		Concord. Last Tuesday in August.
Hampshire	{	Springfield. Third Tuesday in May; last Tuesday in August.
		Northampton. Second Tuesday in February and November.
Worcester	{	Worcester. First Tuesday in November and February, Second Tuesday in May, Third Tuesday in August.
Plymouth		Plymouth. First Tuesday in March, Third Tuesday in May, September, and December.
Barnstable	{	Barnstable. Last Tuesday in June, Third Tuesday in March, October, and January. Bristol

Bristol	}	Bristol. Second Tuesday in March, June, September, and December.
York		York. First Tuesday of April, July, October, and January.
	}	Falmouth. First Tuesday in October.
Duke's-County		Edgartown. First Tuesday in March; last Tuesday in October.
Nantucket	}	Sherburne. Last Tuesday in March, first Tuesday in October.

The superior courts of Judicature and Assizes.

Suffolk	}	Boston. Third Tuesday in August and February.
Essex		Salem. Second Tuesday in November. Ipswich. Second Tuesday in May.
Middlesex	}	Cambridge. First Tuesday in August. Charlestown. Last Tuesday in January.
Hampshire		Springfield. Fourth Tuesday in Sep- tember.
Worcester	}	Worcester. Third Tuesday in Sep- tember.
Plymouth		Plymouth. Second Tuesday in July.
Barnstable and Duke's-County	}	Barnstable. Third Tuesday in July.
Bristol		Bristol. Fourth Wednesday in October.
York	<	York. Third Wednesday in June.

By act of assembly, occasionally, but not stately, the times of the sitting of these several courts are varied. And, in general, as these courts may from time to time be varied by acts of the provincial general assembly, the above is only a temporary account.

The Juries never were appointed by the Sheriffs of the counties; every township of the county at a regularly called town-meeting, elected their quota for the county; but as some evil, designing men, upon particular occasions, officiously attended these township-meet-

ings, in order to obtain a packt or partial Jury; lately the Jurors are by lot, being partly by chance, partly by rotation. *N. B.* The privilege of Juries seems to give the people a negative, even in the executive part of the civil government.

In each county the Governor and Council appoint one High-Sheriff with a power of deputizing, and any number of Coroners.

The Judges of the several courts, appoint the Clerks of their several courts, but generally conform to the recommendation from the Governor. *N. B.* Judges should be independent of, and in no respect under, the direction of a king or of his Governor.

The other civil courts; some are appointed immediately by charter; a court for probate of wills, and granting administrations, which is vested in the Governor and Council; they appoint a substitute, called the Judge of Probate, with a Register or Clerk in each county, from which there lies an appeal to the Ordinary, the Governor and Council. 2. In time of war, a Court-Martial by commission from the Governor, with consent of the Council, to exercise the Law-Martial upon any inhabitants of the province.—Some are by commission from the court and boards in Great-Britain; 1. A court of Vice-Admiralty, see p. 483. 2. A judiciary Court of Admiralty for trial of pirates, &c. see p. 484. All these have occasionally been formerly mentioned.

Generally in all our colonies, particularly in New-England, people are much addicted to quirks in the law; a very ordinary country man in New-England is almost qualified for a country-attorney in England.

In each county, besides the civil officers appointed by Governor and Council, and the military or militia officers appointed by the Governor as Captain-General, there is a County-Treasurer and County-Register, or Recorder of deeds or real conveyances; these are chosen by a joint written vote of the qualified voters in each town-ship of the county, and sorted in the next subsequent quarter sessions

sessions for the county. The County-Treasurers yearly render and pass their accounts with a committee of the General-Assembly.

Taxes and Valuations.

THE provincial taxes of Massachusetts-Bay, consist of three articles, Excise, Impost, and Rates.

1. Excise. By act of Assembly, after June 29, 1748, for the space of three years (the excise [1] is farmed for three years) the following duties, old tenor, shall be paid, being double of the former excise.

Every gallon of brandy, rum, and other spirits distilled, 2 s.

Wine of all sorts, 2 s.

Every hundred of lemons or oranges, 20 s.

Limes, 8 s.

The vender or retailer to swear to the account by him rendered to the farmer; 20 per cent. for leakage to be allowed duty free.—Penalty for retailing without licence 12 l. *toties quoties*; retailers are deemed such as sell smaller quantities than a quarter-cask or twenty gallons; the taverners, innholders, and other retailers, are not to plead their licence for vending in any other house, besides that wherein they dwell. Formerly the Collectors were chosen by the General Assembly; at present the Farmers are the Collectors.—Licences are from the quarter-sessions of the county, by the recommendation of the select men of the town-ship, where the taverner or retailer lives.—The Farmer is accountable to the Treasurer once every year.

The excise for three successive years from 1748, is doubled; this with the increase of our rioting and drunkenness, introduced partly by our idle military expeditions, has increased the revenue of impost upon liquors

[1] Boston, with the rest of the county of Suffolk's excise, is farmed for 10,000 l. old tenor, being about 1000 l. sterling *per annum*.

imported,

imported, and excise upon home consumption, but much to the damage of private families, and the oeconomy of the country in general.

The impost and excise of 1710, 1711, 1712, did not exceed a sum of 7000 *l.* old tenor.

1715 were estimated at 7000 *l.* old tenor.

1726 impost 5200 *l.* Excise 3600 *l.*

1747 Excise, impost, and tonnage 17,616 *l.*

1748 33,480 *l.*

2. Impost the tonnage by act of Assembly, June 1748: for one year; salt, cotton-wool, provisions, the growth and produce of New-England; prize-goods condemned in any part of the province, and goods from Great-Britain, are exempted from impost.

The impost payable, is

Wines from the Western Islands per pipe 4 *l.* old tenor,

Madeira, and other sorts 5 *l.*

Rum per hoghead of 100 gallons 4 *l.*

Sugar 2 *s.*

M.asses 16 *d.*

Tobacco 2 *l.*

Logwood per ton 3 *s.*

All other goods 4 *d.* for every 20 *s.* value.

Foreign goods imported from other places, than that of their growth and produce, to pay double impost.

Upon re-shipping for exportation to be drawn back

per pipe of Western Islands wine 3 *l.*

Madeira and other sorts 3 *l.* 12 *s.*

per hoghead of rum 3 *l.*

For liquors allowed 12 *per cent.* for leakage, and decayed liquors, or where two thirds are leaked out, shall be accounted as outs free of duty—Stores may be allowed to the master and seamen, not exceeding 3 *per cent.* of the lading.

The general Impost-Officer or Receiver may appoint Deputies in the out-ports; the general Impost-Officer, his salary is 200 *l.* old tenor; and to each Deputy in the out-ports, not exceeding 40 *l.* old tenor *per annum.*

All

All forfeitures are one half to the province, and half to the informer; the informer's part to bear the charges of suit—The fee to the Impost-Officer, for every single entry, is 2*s*.—Masters of vessels to report their vessels and cargoes within the space of twenty-four hours.

All vessels not belonging to Great-Britain, Pennsylvania, East and West Jerseys, New-York, Connecticut, New-Hampshire, and Rhode-island, or any part of a vessel not belonging as above, shall pay every voyage a pound of good pistol powder per ton, called tonnage.

The naval officer is not to give letpasses to any vessel outward bound, 'till impost and tonnage is certified as paid.

3. Rates are taxes upon polls and estates; polls are all white men of 16 *Æt.* and upwards; estates are real, personal, and faculty, or income arising from their trade and business.

At the commencement of the new charter, the taxation was by—number of rates; a single rate was 12 *d.* poll, and 1*d.* upon 20*s.* principal estate; six years income of estate real, personal, and faculty, is deemed as the principal. Anno 1692, to pay off Sir William Phipp's unsuccessful Canada expedition, a tax of 10*s.* poll, and one quarter value (is 5*s.* in the pound) of one years income of estate, real, personal, and faculty, was computed to raise 30,000*l.* [*m*]. At this time the poll is generally 3*d.* upon every 1000*l.* rate, and for every 12*d.* poll, 1*d.* rate.

[*m*] About twenty years after the New-England revolution, anno 1710, towards the charges of the expedition against Port-Royal, now Annapolis-Royal, the quotas of the four New-England colonies for every 1000*l.* was in this proportion.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Massachusetts-Bay	638	7	9
Connecticut	194	14	3 half-penny
Rhode-island	111	5	3 half-penny
New-Hampshire	55	12	6

At present, 1749, Connecticut much exceeds that proportion in men, and Rhode-island much exceeds that proportion in effects.

Affessors

Assessors are to estimate houses and lands at six years income, as they are or may be let, Negro, Indian, and Mulatto slaves, proportionably as other personal estate; an ox of four years old and upwards at 8 *l.* old tenor; a cow of three years old and upwards at 6 *l.*; a horse or mare of three years old and upwards at 8 *l.*; a swine of one year old and upwards at 32 *s.*; a sheep or goat of one year old and upwards at 12 *s.*

As townships, in like manner as private persons in process of time, alter their circumstances; for the more equal adjustment of their quotas of taxes, there is after a number of years (generally once in seven years) a lustration or census, called a valuation, made throughout the province; there is, anno 1749, a valuation on foot, last valuation was 1742; there were valuations 1734, 1728, &c. We shall here insert the valuations of each county, and of some of the townships the highest and the lowest valued, as a sample of the whole; being their proportions in every 1000 *l.* rate.

	Before 1278	Since 1742,	Before 1728,	Since 1742, An. 1734.	
Counties of Suffolk	287	268	Boston 185	743	180
Effex	198	196	Salem 27	28	30
Middlesex	171	138	Ipswich 26	28	27
Hampshire	55	54	Newberry 22	23	26
Pl. mouth	77	79	Marbleh. 20	20	19
Bristol	95	96	Charlest. 17	19	13
Barnstaple	66	42	Dartm. 16	14	15
York	37	53	Hadley 5	5 & half	5
Duke's County	11	6	Stow 3	3	2 half
Nantucket	13	6	Bellingham	2	1
Worcester		60	Townshend		half

Worcester, July 10, 1731, was taken out of the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Hampshire.

The Assessors may abate or multiply upon particular rates, so as make up the sum set upon each town or district.

The exempted from polls and rates, are, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and their families; the President, Fellows,

Fellows, and Students of Harvard-college; settled ministers and grammar school-masters; and persons by age, infirmities, and extreme poverty, to be deemed as invalids.

Taxes may be paid, not only in public bills, emitted, but in certain species [*n*] of goods, formerly called stock in the Treasury; but as these goods are receivable in the Treasury, at a value not exceeding half their market-price, it cannot be supposed, that these goods will be brought into the Treasury: these goods are, coined silver and gold, merchantable hemp, merchantable isle of Sable cod-fish, bar iron, bloomery iron, hollow iron ware, Indian corn, winter rye, winter wheat, barley, barrel pork, barrel beef, duck, long whale bone, merchantable cordage, train oil, bees wax, bayberry wax, tried tallow, pease, sheeps wool, and tanned sole-leather.

The ways and means are apparently very easy, but in consequence ruinous, being only a manufacture of public bills of credit, without limitation of quantity, not incumbered with any interest, and not to be redeemed till after many years; that strangers may have a distinct view of our depreciating œconomy, I shall annex a table of our present currency in bills, which is our only fund, as they stood Christmas 1748. The lateral left-hand column, is the times when they were emitted; the top line is the periods at which they are redeemable.

[*n*] In the first years after the New-England revolution, at the first emission of the fraudulent public bills of credit, as a currency; their tenor was—*This indented bill of ***** due from the Massachusetts-Colony to the possessor shall be in value equal to money; and shall be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer, and Receivers subordinate to him, in all public payments, and for any stock at any time in the Treasury, Boston in New-England, February the third, 1690; By order of the General Court.* At that time the ways and means to supply the annual charges of government was by so many single rates (as in Germany by Roman months, and in Scotland by months cefs) whereof a certain proportion was receivable at the Treasury in money, and a certain proportion in produce and goods enumerated, and at a fixed price, which were called stock in the Treasury to be sold for provincial bills.

Emitted.

To be drawn in by Rates, to be cancelled.

	£.	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760
1747 Feb	200000	82800												
[a] April	200000	- - -	100000	100000										
[b] July	280000	- - -	- - -	- - -	135200	135200								
August	280000	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	140000	140000						
December	200000	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	100000	100000				
1746 March	80000	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	40000	40000				
[c] June	328000	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	80000	80000	80000	80000
July	100000	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	25000	25000	25000	25000
August	80000	- - -	40000	40000	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
[d] Septemb.	40000	20000												
November	80800	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	20200	202000	20200	20200
1747 [e] Feb.	32800	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
[f] April	80000	39000												
June	32000	32000												
October	136000	136000												
1748 Feb.	100000	100000												
June	400000	- - -	40000											
Total		409800	540000	140000	135200	135200	140000	140000	140000	140000	125000	125200	125200	125000

[a] Part of this was cancelled by the taxes of 1747.

[b] Of this 9600 l. for representatives, was cancelled by the representatives tax in the Year 1746.

[c] The 8000 l. for representatives, was cancelled 1747.

[d] This was cancelled 1747 in Part.

[e] This was cancelled 1747.

[f] This in part was cancelled 1747.

[g] Here is some small error.

This

This table is reduced to old tenor, because our current way of computing is by old tenor; the denominations of middle tenor and new tenor, are too whimsical and captious to take place. Thus the debt of the province, *excunte* 1748 was 2,466,712*l.* contracted in the space of four years, by projecting whimsical expeditions (lucrative to the projectors, but pernicious to the province) from certain applications, not rejected at home by the ministry, because the populace are pleased and amused with expeditions.

There must be a considerable addition to the taxes of every year, subsequent to 1748, for the annual charges of government.

The cancelling of bills each year is by four different funds; thus the sum of 415,512*l.* bills of old tenor is brought in.

But excise, impost, and tonnage	£. 33,480
Fines of townships delinquent in representatives	360
Polls and rates	364,000
Townships tax for representatives of last year	17,672

Total 415,512

The town of Boston paid of that year's tax

£. 65,520

Our annual supplies or appropriations are in sundry articles; thus of the 400,000*l.* old tenor emission anno 1748.

For garrisons, armed vessels, forces upon the eastern and western frontiers

£. 160,000

Warlike stores and commissaries disbursements

136,000

Allowances and grants

72,000

Expended where no establishment

12,000

Contingencies

2,000

Representatives wages

18,000

Total £. 400,000

Not

Not long since there were extra (immensely chargeable) articles of expeditions to Cape-Breton, Canada, &c. [o].

In gratitude, we ought not to forget the compassionate goodness of the parliament of Great-Britain, the parent of all our colonies. The expences of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, in taking, repairing and securing of Louifbourg on Cape-Breton, till May 1746,

[o] To represent at one view the vast depreciated promiscuous paper currency, or rather public debt of the colonies of New-England, as it is at present.

Emitted by Massachusetts-Bay	£. 2,466,712
Connecticut about	281,000
Rhode-Island about	550,000
New-Hampshire about	450,000

Thus the present depreciated (10 for 1 sterling in round numbers) New-England paper currency is about 3,748,000 *l.*

The parliament reimbursements on account of the reduction of Louifbourg, when received will cancel to Massachusetts-Bay about

	£. 1,836,490
Connecticut	280,000
Rhode-Island	63,000
New Hampshire	163,000

£. 2,342,390

There will remain about 1,405,000 *l.* New-England currency; to this must be added about 5 *per cent.* deducted from the reimbursement money for charges of receiving and transmitting about 117,000 *l.* is nearly one million and a half remaining currency.

Connecticut (that colony is managed by men of wisdom and probity) has not much more outstanding public bills of credit, than their reimbursement grant from the parliament may redeem.

New-Hampshire has about 450,000 *l.* old tenor value; their reimbursement, may sink in round numbers, about 150,000 *l.* there will remain about 300,000 *l.* About one third of the whole was lent to the inhabitants upon mortgages to the government at a long period; the remainder, excepting some small sums for the charges of government, was issued towards the late abortive Canada expedition, and has no other fund for drawing it in again, besides some expectations of being reimbursed the Canada expedition charges.

Rhode-Island may have about 550,000 *l.* old tenor, whereof 75,000 *l.* will be sunk by bills of exchange drawn on their agent, on account of the Canada expedition; 60,000 *l.* will be sunk by the Cape Breton reimbursement; there will remain about 415,000 *l.* lent upon mortgages (of long periods, reaching so far as anno 1763) to the government.

when

when his majesty's regular troops arrived there to defend it, amounted to 261,700*l.* new tenor paper New-England currency, which, according to the exchange of that time, amounted to 183,649*l.* sterling; but when the accounts were sent home, our currency was so much depreciated, that the 261,700*l.* new tenor, was in value equal only to 104,680*l.* sterling; making a difference of 78,969*l.* sterling. This produced a question at court and in parliament; whether the said province ought to be paid a sterling sum, equal in value, to the sum in bills of credit, expended upon the expedition, according to the value of these bills at the time the expence was contracted, or only a sterling sum, equal to the value of these bills in their present depreciated state? In goodness they determined according to the favourable side of the question, and allowed us the full sum of 183,649*l.* sterling.

Number of inhabitants, produce, manufactures, trade, and miscellanies.

INSTEAD of imaginary estimates, I conceived it might be of better credence to adduce loose records and public accounts of things.

Before I proceed, I must make this general remark; that our forwardness towards expeditions may have occasioned the court of Great-Britain to deem us self-sufficient; from 1739 to 1749, in the Spanish and French war, Great-Britain sent us only the Success, a sixth rate man of war for a few months; whereas in times of the profoundest peace we had a constant stationed man of war from Great-Britain. Our provincial armed vessels at a great charge, besides their serving as tenders to the British squadrons in the affair of Cape-Breton, their only service seems to have been the easy capture of a French privateer sloop captain De la Brotz, no man killed on either side; the fault was not in the New-England men (they are always forward in service) but in the management perhaps.

Anno 1656, we had three regiments militia, Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex; anno 1671, three more regiments were formed, *viz.* Norfolk or Piscataqua, Yorkshire or province of Main, and Hampshire upon Connecticut river; Piscataqua regiment is now in the province of New-Hampshire, the other two continue undivided large regiments (perhaps Yorkshire regiment has lately been divided) anno 1748, Hampshire regiment, colonel Stoddard, was about 2600; York regiment, Sir William Pepperell, 2755; these, with Boston regiment colonel Wendell of 2500 men, are large enough to be subdivided into battallions.

Anno 1706, the militia of Massachusetts-Bay in their address to the queen call themselves twelve regiments.

Anno 1711, Admiral Walker upon the Canada expedition, demanded of the government of Massachusetts-Bay, a supply of sailors; the governor and council represented, that their ordinary garrisons, forces upon the inland frontiers, and men detached for the Canada expedition, were upwards of 2000 men, which are more than one fifth of the fencible men of the province.

In the spring anno 1722, the small-pox being over, by order of the Select-men, Mr. Salter made a perustration of the town of Boston; he reported 10,670 souls; this small-pox time 5980 persons were seized with this distemper whereof 844 died, and about the same number fled from Boston: thus we may estimate about 12,000 people in Boston at the arrival of the small-pox. After twenty years anno 1742, by a new valuation, there were reported 16,382 souls in Boston, add to these some men lately gone upon the Cuba expedition, several sons and apprentices designedly overlooked to ease the quota of Boston's provincial tax, we may reckon about 18,000 inhabitants at that time; thus in the space of twenty years, from 1722 to 1742, Boston inhabitants had increased one third, or 6000. Taking this in another view; anno 1720, a year of middling health, and immediately preceding the small-pox, the burials in

Boston

Boston were nearly 345; by philosophical and political arithmeticians it is estimated that in a healthful country (such is Boston) [*p*] in thirty-five dies *per annum* is nearly 12,000 inhabitants; anno 1742, a year of middling health in Boston, were buried about 515; by thirty five, makes nearly 18,000 inhabitants. In the valuation of 1742, of those in Boston were 1200 widows, 1000 of them poor; in the alms-house 111, in the work-house thirty-six, Negroes 1514; dwelling-houses 1719, warehouses 166, horses 418, cows 141.

1722, Governor Shute returned to England; in his report to the Board of Trade and Plantations, he says, that in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, where 94,000 people, whereof 15,000 were in the training list (the alarm list males from 16 *Æt.* and upwards, is about one third more than the training list, because many are excused from impresses and quarterly trainings) disposed into sixteen regiments of foot, and fifteen troops of horse. About 25,000 ton of shipping in the two collections of Boston and Salem at that time.

In the valuation of anno 1728, for Boston were about 3000 rateable polls, males from 16 *Æt.* and upwards, which is nearly the same with the alarm list: For instance, anno 1735 the rateable polls in Boston were 3637; anno 1733 the alarm list was about 3500, which allowing for two years increase is nearly the same. *N. B.* about this time, captain Watson, one of the Assessors, in curiosity examined the books; he found the church of England people charged not exceeding one tenth of the rates or taxes in the town of Boston.

1735, The provincial valuation was 35,427 polls (white men of 16 *ætat.* and upwards) 2600 Negroes, 27,420 horse kind of three years old and upwards, 52,000 neat cattle of three to four years old and upwards, 130,000 sheep of one year old and upwards.

1742, In the valuation were 41,000 white men's polls.

[*p*] From the estimates of Drs. Halley and Newman, of thirty-five births, eighteen are boys, seventeen are girls.

1749, A valuation is on foot, but not finished; here will be considerable deductions. 1. Trade much decayed, and taxes insupportably high has obliged many to leave the province. 2. Men annexed to New-Hampshire and Rhode-island. 3. Deaths occasioned by the Cape-Breton expedition. 4. Lost in the Minas of Nova Scotia French massacre. 5. Killed and captivated upon our frontiers by the French and Indians.

1747, The house of representatives, in a message to the governor, say, that 3000 is about one twelfth of our fencible men.

As by charter the general assembly of the province is impowered to create judicatories for trying all cases civil or criminal, capital or not capital; accordingly by act of assembly in the beginning of the French war, August 1744; the commanders in chief, may at any time call a Court martial, which, for mutiny or desertion, may inflict death.

Although in succession of years, things vary much; we shall for the information of the curious of after times, insert the present oeconomy of our officers civil, land military, and sea military. *N. B.* Exchange being ten to eleven, New-England old tenor currency for one sterling.

Allowances old tenor to civil officers for 1748.

To the Governor	9,600
Secretary with extras	800
Five Judges of superior court	4000
Treasurer with extras	1400
Commissary with extras	1600
Prefident of College	1400
Professor of Divinity	300
Clerk to Representatives	480
Door-keeper	320
Two Chaplains	80

The

The land military establishment for Cape-Breton, 1745.

	l.	s.
To the Lieutenant-General per month	60	
Colonel	48	
Lieutenant-Colonel	40	
Major	34	
Captain of forty to fifty men	18	
Lieutenant	12	
Second Lieutenant or Ensign	8	
Adjutant-General	18	
Adjutant to a regiment	12	
Serjeant	6	8
Corporal	5	12
Clerk	6	8
Quarter-Master-General	16	
Surgeon-General	28	
Surgeon of a regiment	25	
Surgeon's mate	18	
Drum Major	6	8
Common drum	5	12
Chaplain	24	
Armourer of a regiment	10	
Commissary of ditto	12	
Three thousand centinels, each	5	

The artillery establishment for Cape-Breton.

	l.
To the First Captain per month	36
Engineer	34
Second Captain	20
First Lieutenant	16
Three Lieutenants, each	8
First Bombardier	34
Three ditto, each	8
Four assistants, each	8
Thirty Gunners, each	8

The artificers for the train were twelve house-carpenters, and four ship-carpenters, commanded by captain Barnard.

The General was allowed 2000*l.* for extraordinary contingent services, to be accounted for.

The encouragement to private men for enlistment was 4*l.* bounty, one month's advance wages, a blanket, 20*s.* subsistence, which was afterwards advanced to 30*s.* per week; their firelocks to be deducted out of their wages.

By solicitation from hence, orders came from home to raise two regiments of 1000 men, regular troops, each for Louisbourg garrison; but by a good providence in favour of the country, they never could be rendered effective, and probably upon Louisbourg's being evacuated, these men may return to their labour, for the benefit of this country.

To the sea military establishment, 1745.

To the Captain per month	22	4
Lieutenant	14	8
Master	12	8
Surgeon	12	8
Chaplain	12	8
Gunner	10	
Boatwain	10	
Mate	10	
Boatwain's Mate	9	
Steward	9	
Cook	9	
Gunner's Mate	9	
Pilot	11	4
Carpenter	11	
Cooper	9	
Armourer	9	
Coxswain	9	
Quarter-Master	9	
Midshipmen	10	10
Common sailors	8	

N. B. Anno 1745, in the time of the Cape-Breton expedition, exchange with London was seven and a half for

one;

one; afterwards, as our currency depreciated, sailors could not be got at these nominal wages, and a common sailor's wages was set at 10*l.* per month.—In the winter months, when our armed vessels are laid up, the Captain, Gunner, Boatswain, and three common sailors only are kept.—Our inland frontier summer forces (in time of war) are reduced to one third of their complement in winter.

Anno 1743, the year preceding the French and Indian war, our military charges were very small.

	Men
Castle William in Boston bay	40
Richmond fort on Quenebec river	10
Brunswick fort on Amarecogin river	6
Pemaquid fort east of Sagadadock	6
St. George's fort near Penobsco	13
Saco river fort	13
Fort Dummer on Connecticut river	16
Province store sloop	10
	<hr/>
	114

The parties in Massachusetts-Bay at present, are not the Loyal and Jacobite, the governor and country, Whig and Tory, or any religious sectary denominations, but the Debtors and the Creditors. The Debtor side has had the ascendant ever since anno 1741, to the almost utter ruin of the country.

Our late bad œconomy is very notorious; for instance, anno 1725, Castle William in Boston harbour was victualled at 7*s.* per man, per week; anno 1748, victualling was 38*s.* per week, because of depreciations. By expeditions, we lost many of our labouring young men; this made labour so dear, that in produce or manufacture any country can undersell us at a market.

For many years, in the land-service, the allowance of provisions to each man was; garrison allowance

one pound of bread per day, half a pint of pease per day, two pounds of pork for three days, and one gallon of molasses for forty-two days; marching allowances per day, one pound of bread, one pound of pork, and one gill of rum. A centinel or private soldier's pay per month was, anno 1742, 30*s.* old tenor; anno 1744, at the breaking out of the French and Indian war, it was advanced to 5*l.* anno 1747, 6*l.* 5*s.* anno 1748, 8*l.* A Captain's wages were double, and the other officers in proportion.

The encouragement for privateers commissioned by the governor, was 10*l.* old tenor per head, for each enemy killed or taken prisoner; and captures made by the provincial armed vessels were to be distributed, to the Captain two eighths, to the Lieutenant and Master one eighth, to the warrant officers one eighth, to the petty officers one eighth, to the common sailors three eighths; aboard the provincial privateers, the victualling allowance was to each man per week, seven pounds of bread, seven gallons of beer, three pounds of beef, four pounds of pork, one quart of pease, and one point of Indian corn.

The Captains are to make up their muster rolls; and the Commissaries their accounts before the men are paid off.

The alacrity of the New-England militia may be observed, by the alarm from d'Anville's Brest French squadron, end of September 1746; in a very short time 6400 men from the country, well armed, appeared in Boston common, some of them (*e. g.* from Brookfield travelled seventy miles in two days, each with a pack (in which was provision for fourteen days) of about a bushel corn weight: Connecticut was to have sent us 6000 men, being one half of their training list; these men were paid by the province for their travel and attendance.

The section concerning the province of Massachusetts-Bay, is swelled so much, that some heads in common to all New-England, shall be deferred to the following New-England section, and at present only mention

Timber

Timber of many sorts. Many kinds of pine trees : whereof the principal are the white pine, a beautiful tree of the best use for masting, and joiners work ; and the pitch pine, the mother of turpentine, tar, pitch, oil of turpentine and resin. Various kinds of oaks ; the principal for ship-building, and other constructions, are the white oak, the best, the swamp oak, and the black oak.

[7] Grain of various sorts : scarce any of them are natives or spontaneous. Indian corn is the principal ; rye thrives tolerably ; as do likewise phaseoli or kidney beans of several sorts, called Indian or French beans ; all the varieties of English grain are sown, but do not grow kindly. Apples are very natural to the soil and climate ; flax grows well ; and lately the people from the north of Ireland have improved the fabrick of linen and all other spinning work. The soil seems not strong enough for hemp ; many trials have been made.

Fishery, see p. 294 : whaling, I mean fish oil and whale bone, have at present [r] failed us much, and our cod-fishing ; fishing schooners are not half so many as a few years since ; anno 1748 only fifty-five fishing schooners at Marblehead.

Cape-Anne	20
Salem	8
Ipswich	6

Those schooners of about fifty ton, fish in deep water (the deeper the water, the larger and firmer are the cod)

[g] Our continent southern colonies are peculiarly adapted for grain, tobacco (in South-Carolina they are making trials for indigo, cotton, and silk) and deer skins. Our northern continent-colonies produce kindly pasturage, cyder, fishery, furs, naval stores, and other timber.

[r] Within these few years, our cod-fishery, whaling, and ship-building have failed much ; and by speculation and depopulation, we were like to have been carried into ruin ; but it is to be hoped we may have better times. At present our trade is not half so much, and our taxes from thirty to forty times more, than they were a few years ago.

seven hands to each schooner, *communibus annis*, they make 600 quintals per schooner; generally five fares a year; two fares are to the banks of the Island of Sable, the other three fares are to Banquero, and to the other banks along the Cape-Sable shore. The merchantable dry cod are carried to the markets of Spain, Portugal, and Italy; the refuse cod are shipped off for the West-India islands to feed the Negro slaves. Concerning the small fish, see p. 303. A sturgeon fishery in the several branches of Sagadahock, some years since, was encouraged by a society of fishmongers in London, but from the mismanagement of the undertakers, especially as to proper vinegar, it turned to no account, and was neglected ever since Mr. Dummer's Indian war.

Our provincial stores in the truck-houses for Indian trade has always been very small; anno 1746, when the Indian trade ceased because of the war, the Commissary for that trade reported, that he was accountable to the province for a balance of 13,324*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* old tenor, in his hands. In New-England, beaver, other furs, and deer skins, are become so inconsiderable, they are scarce to be reckoned an article in our trade; see p. 176.

To give a general view of the navigation of Massachusetts-Bay, we may observe, that in this province are two collections or custom-houses, Boston and Salem. At Boston custom-house, from their quarterly accounts, Christmas 1747 to Christmas 1748, foreign vessels cleared out 540, entered in 430; about ten years ago nearly the same number: from the quarterly accounts of Boston district naval-office, on foreign voyages, Michaelmas 1747 to Michaelmas 1748, cleared out 491 vessels, *viz.*

Ships	51	Sloops	249
Snows	44	Schooners	93
Brigs	54		—
			491

Exclusive of fishing and coasting vessels of the provinces and colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire,

shire, Connecticut, and Rhode-island. This custom-house returns *communibus annis*, 200 *l.* sterling for Greenwich hospital.

Salem collection includes the ports of Salem, Marblehead, Cape-Anne, Ipswich, and Newbury. *N. B.* By a mistake p. 456. Newbury was said to be a branch of the collection of New-Hampshire. From the custom-house quarterly accounts of Salem, from Michaelmas 1747 to Michaelmas 1748, cleared out vessels upon foreign voyages 131, entered in ninety-six; *viz.*

Cleared out, Ships	4	Entered in, Ships	1
Snows	12	Snows	11
Brigs	21	Brigs	11
Sloops	31	Sloops	18
Schooners	63	Schooners	55
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	131		96

In which were shipped off to Europe 32,000 quintals of dry cod-fish, to the West-India islands 3070 hogheads (at six to seven quintals refuse cod-fish per hoghead) for Negro provision. New-England ships off no pickled cod-fish.

Mr. Blanchandin, in anno 1721, of the custom-house district of Salem, says, That in the course of several years preceding, *communibus annis*, he cleared out about eighty vessels upon foreign voyages *per annum*.

Ship-building is one of the greatest articles of our trade and manufacture: it employs and maintains above thirty several denominations of tradesmen and artificers; but as in all other articles, so in this more particularly for a few late years, this country has the symptoms of a galloping (a vulgar expression) consumption, not so desperate but by the administration of a skilful physician, it may recover an athletic state of health; *sublata causa tollatur effectus*. I shall illustrate the gradual decay of ship-building, by the ship-building in Boston, meaning top-sail vessels.

Anno 1738 on the stocks 41 vessels of 6324 tons.

1743 30

1746 20

1749 15 2450

As to the decay of our cod-fishery, I shall only mention, that anno 1716, upon my first arrival in New-England, by the books of the two Custom-house districts of Massachusetts-Bay, were exported 120,384 quintals; anno 1748, exported about 53,000 quintals.

Rum is a considerable article in our manufactures. It is distilled from molasses imported from the West-India islands; it has killed more Indians than the wars and their sicknesses; it does not spare white people, especially when made into flip, which is rum mixed with a foul small beer, and the coarsest of Muscovado sugars; it is vended to all our continent colonies to great advantage.

Hats manufactured and exported to all our colonies, are a considerable article.

Iron is a considerable article in our manufactures; it consists of these general branches: 1. [s] Smelting-furnaces, reducing the ore into pigs; having coal enough and appearances of rock ore. In Attleborough were erected at a great charge three furnaces, but the ore proving bad and scarce, this projection miscarried as to pigs: they were of use in casting of small cannon for ships of letters of marque, and in casting cannon-balls and bombs towards the reduction of Louisbourg. 2. Refineries, which manufacture pigs imported from New-York, Pennsylvania and Maryland furnaces, into bar-iron. 3. Bloomeries, which from [t] bog or swamp ore, without any furnace, only by a forge hearth, reduce it into a

[s] 120 bushels of charcoal are sufficient to smelt rock ore into one ton of pigs; the complement of men for a furnace is eight or nine, besides cutters of the wood, coalers, carters, and other common labourers.

[t] Bog or swamp-ore lies from half a foot to two feet deep; in about twenty years from digging, it grows or gathers fit for another digging; if it lies longer it turns rusty, and does not yield well: three tons of swamp-ore yield about one ton of hollow ware.

bloom

bloom or semiliquidated lump to be beat into bars, but much inferior to those from the pigs or refineries. 4. Swamp [u] ore furnaces; from that ore smelted, they cast hollow ware, which we can afford cheaper than from England or Holland.

Oil of turpentine distilled from the New-England turpentine, which yields the most and best oil, and from Carolina turpentine; as also resin or its residuum; we defer to a digression concerning naval stores in the New-Hampshire section.

Miscellanies. The light-house at the entrance of Boston harbour was erected anno 1715; cost 2385*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* currency. Light-house money was 1*d.* in, and 1*d.* out, per ton. Anno 1742, it was enacted at 2*d.* old tenor in, and as much out, per ton, in foreign voyages. Coasters from Canso in Nova Scotia to North-Carolina, 4*s.* per voyage.

In castle William, of the harbour of Boston, are 104 cannon, besides mortars; whereof twenty cannon of 42 lb. ball, and two mortars of thirteen inches shell arrived anno 1744; with all stores, excepting gun-powder, at the charge of the ordnance.

1711, Oct. 2. In Boston, the provincial court-house, and senior congregational meeting-house, with many other good houses, were burnt down; 1747, Dec. 9, the provincial court-house was burnt; most of the records in the secretary's office were consumed; the county records of land conveyances were saved.

There is a public grainery in Boston, for supplying poor families with small parcels of grain and meal, at 10 *per cent.* advance, for charges and waste; this grainery is sufficient for 10 to 12,000 bushels of grain at a time.

[u] Colonel Dunbar, anno 1731, informs the Board of Trade and Plantations, that in New-England were six furnaces, meaning hollow ware furnaces and nineteen forges, meaning bloomeries, not refineries; at that time we had no pig furnaces, nor refineries of pigs.

In New-England the people are generally Congregationalists. Many of the congregational churches have laid aside public relations of their converting experiences, which formerly was required previous to the admission of their infant progeny to baptism, and of themselves to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; giving satisfaction to the minister, of their faith and good life, is deemed sufficient. In Massachusetts-Bay are 250 congregational churches; in Connecticut about 120; in New-Hampshire about thirty; in Rhode-Island only six or seven, being generally Anabaptists, Quakers, and of some other sectaries.

The several religious societies in the town of Boston, anno 1749, are three churches of England, one North of Ireland Presbyterians, nine Congregationalists, one French Huguenots, who by length of time have incorporated into the several English congregations, and at present are no separate body, and have lately sold their church-building to a congregation of Mr. Whitfield's disciples; two Anabaptists, viz. one original, and one separatist, one Quaker-meeting very small, Whitfield's separatist, and a separatist of separatists.

The ability and numbers in the several religious societies in Boston, may be gathered from a Sunday's contribution for charity to the poor of the town much distressed by want of fire-wood in the hard winter, February, 1740-1, viz.

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>				<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Dr. Cutler	} Church of England		72	14	2	Mr. Welsteed			58	0	0
Mr. Price			134	10	0	Mr. Hooper			143	0	0
Mr. Davenport			133	3	3	Mr. Foxcroft			95	0	0
						French church			14	11	3
Dr. Colman	- -		164	10	0	Anabaptist			14	2	0
Dr. Sewall	- -		105	0	0	Irish meeting			27	5	0
Mr. Webb	- - -		105	0	0	Mr. Checkley			72	12	0
Mr. Gee	- - - -		71	10	5	Mr. Byles			40	2	0

Harvard

Harvard-College [w] in Massachusetts Bay.

ANNO 1636, Winthrop governor, Dudley deputy-governor, and Bellingham treasurer; the general assembly granted 400 *l.* towards a collegiate school, but afterwards called a college: this was not then applied; it received the addition of 779 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* a donation bequeathed 1638 by Mr. Harvard, minister of Charlestown; the name of the college perpetuates his memory; it is situated in a healthful soil (not above 1 *per cent.* of the scholars die *per annum*) formerly a district of Newtown, and constituted a township by the name of Cambridge. 1640, The income of the ferry between Bolton and Charlestown was granted to the college; it is now lett at 600 *l.* New-England currency, or 60 *l.* sterling *per annum*; this ferry is about three miles from Cambridge.

Anno 1642, the general assembly appointed Overseers of this college, *viz.* the governor, deputy-governor, the council called Magistrates, and the ordained ministers of the six adjoining towns of Cambridge, Water-town, Charlestown, Boston, Rocksbury, and Dorchester.

Their charter bears date, May 31, 1650; the corporation to consist of a president, five fellows, and a treasurer or burser, to elect for vacancies, and to make by-laws; the Overseers have a negative.

The college-building consists of a court built on three sides, the front being open to the fields; the building on the first side was by a contribution, 1672, through the whole colony of 1895 *l.* 2 *s.* 9 *d.* whereof from Bos-

[w] In the continent of North-America, we have four colleges, whereof two are by charters from home; that of Virginia is dated anno 1692, that for the New-Jerseys is dated October 22, 1746: the other two are by provincial or colony charters; Harvard or Cambridge college of Massachusetts Bay, and Yale college of Connecticut. They do not assume the names of universities or seminaries of universal learning; perhaps the first design of the college in Massachusetts-Bay, was as a seminary for a succession of able and learned gospel-ministers.

ton about 800*l.* it was called by the former name Harvard-College; the building on the bottom side was erected anno 1699, at the charge of lieutenant-governor Stoughton, and is called Stoughton-College, consisting of sixteen chambers, garret-chambers included; the third side was built anno 1720, at the charge of the province, and is called Massachusetts-Hall, consisting of thirty-two chambers. Besides this court, there is a house for the president at some distance from the court, and at a small distance behind the Harvard side of the court is a neat chapel, the gift of Mrs. Holden of London, widow of Mr. Holden, a late director of the bank of England.

The resident instructors of youth, are a President or Supervisor, four Tutors or Philosophy Professors, the Hollisian Professor of Divinity, the Hollisian Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and a Professor of Hebrew. The income or revenue of the college is [*] not sufficient to defray its charge. Some of that body have an additional province allowance; the ingenious and reverend Mr. Holyoke, president besides the rents of the building called Massachusetts-Hall, was voted, 1748, out of the province treasury 1400*l.* old tenor; the Rev. Edw. Wigglesworth, D. D. Hollisian Professor of Divinity, besides the 80*l.* New-England currency, the Hollis donation, lately to prevent depreciations, the bonds at interest, which are a fund for these Hollis salaries, are reduced to specialties, and thereby become more in the present nominal currency; he has, anno 1748, an additional allowance of 300*l.* old tenor. The Hollisian Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, is upon the same footing and salary with the Hollisian Professor of Divinity; though this branch is the most useful of all sciences; the present incumbent, the in-

[*] The college never had any remarkable misfortune; the Rev. Mr. Cotton Mather writes, that once, providentially, short public prayers (I do not know, that hereby he intended to recommend short prayers) by dismissing the students in good time, discovered the fire, and prevented a conflagration of the college-buildings.

genious and industrious (observations and experimental trials are industry) Mr. Winthrop has no additional provincial allowance or encouragement. The Professor of the Hebrew language is Judah Monis, formerly a Jew, and publickly christianized, or baptized, in the college-hall, May 27, 1722: he has petitioned for a provincial allowance, from time to time, but without effect. The four tutors commonly called Professors of philosophy, have each from the income of the college 300 to 400 *l.* old tenor *per annum*, with some small perquisites; there are about ten Hollisian poor scholars at about 10 *l.* old tenor *per annum*.

Several well-disposed persons have, from time to time, forwarded the affair of the college; besides the grants from the provincial general court, and the donations of Mr. Hollis and Hopkins.

This seminary at first consisted of a Preceptor, two Ushers, and a treasurer; Mr. Eaton was the first preceptor; he was a man of learning, too severe in his discipline; the general assembly dismissed him, and Mr. Dunster [y] was appointed president anno 1640, being an Anabaptist (a sect at that time hated in New-England) he was advised to resign 1654. Mr. Chauncy, minister of Scituate, formerly a Church of England minister, succeeded him, and died 1671, *Æt.* 82. He was succeeded by Hoar, a doctor of Physic from the university of Cambridge in Old-England; in his time the scholars [z] deserted the college, and he resigned 1675. He was succeeded by Urian Oakes, a man of good accomplishments, and minister of Cambridge; he died 1681. Was succeeded by Mr. Rogers of Ipswich, physician; he died 1684. Was succeeded by Mr. Increase Mather; he was

[y] The New-England Psalms in present use, are a just strict version, but not an elegant loose paraphrase; they were composed by Mr. Elliot of Rockbury, Mr. Mather of Dorchester, and Mr. Weld; printed anno 1640, and afterwards corrected by Mr. Dunster and Mr. Lyons, tutor to Mr. Mildmay.

[z] Anno 1672, there were no Scholars to commence.

President or Rector [a] for about twenty years; Mr. Mather, upon the arrival of governor Andros, went a voluntier, agent to the court of England; he left the college under the direction of two tutors, Leverett and Brattle; he came over to New-England 1692, in company with the new charter; and for his good services at home had the degree of a Doctor in divinity conferred upon him; the first and sole instance of a Doctor's degree conferred in Harvard-college: he was [b] teacher of a congregation in Boston; his acquaintance with Mr. Hollis in London, followed by the sollicitations of Benjamin Colman, D. D. a minister in Boston, procured the generous Hollisian donations. Dr. Mather was succeeded by Mr. Willard, a minister in Boston. This was succeeded by Mr. Leverett, a judge in the superior court, and afterwards a worthy and most deserving president of this college; his salary from the province was 150 *l. per annum*; he died 1724; was succeeded by Mr. Wadsworth, a minister of Boston; his too easy discipline was faulted; he died 1737; and the presidentship continued vacant some time. The present president is the learned and ingenious Mr. Holyoke, a minister from Marblehead.

Protestants of any denomination may have their children educated and graduated here. At admission, the scholars subscribe the college laws: the manner of this college is, after four years residence, they are admitted to a Bachelor's degree in these words, *Admitto te ad primum gradum in artibus, pro more academiarum in Anglia*: after three years more (residence not required) they are admitted to the degree of Master of Arts, in these words, *Admitto te ad secundum gradum in artibus, pro more acade-*

[a] When Mr. Dudley was President of New England, for distinction the President of the college was called Rector.

[b] There have been pastors in the north Church or Congregation of Boston, a regular succession of father, son, and grandson; the grandson, upon some party differences in the old Congregation, has formed a new distinct unanimous Church.

miarum in Anglia. They generally become ministers; the proverbial saying amongst some strangers, that all the men of note in New-England have been preachers, is not just. The public act of commencement is on the first Wednesday of July annually: they began to confer academical degrees anno 1642; that year nine scholars commenced batchelors; the greatest commencement was, anno 1725, of forty-five batchelors, in the administration of Mr. Dummer; the college lately is upon the decline, as are the servile arts and sciences; anno 1746, only twelve students commenced batchelors.

Besides provincial grants and the legacy of Mr. Harvard already mentioned, there have been many liberal contributions towards the revenue of the college, its edifices, library, experimental philosophy, instruments, &c. which the nature of the Summary does not require to be minutely related; I shall only mention the donations of Hopkins, and Hollis, and Holden; Samuel Sewall, John Leverett, Thomas Fitch, and Daniel Oliver Esqrs; a committee of the Trustees appointed in his Majesty's Court of Chancery, to purchase houses or lands to perpetuate the charity of Edward Hopkins, Esq; purchased province lands now called Hopkinton township of 22,500 acres, including a few peculiar farms formerly granted. At a meeting April 19, 1716, these Trustees agreed, that 12,500 acres of the lands should be laid out in lots and leased at 3 *d.* New-England currency *per annum* quit-rent per acre for ninety-nine years; the leases to commence March 25, 1723, and upon the expiration of ninety-nine years, the leases to be renewed from time to time, so as never to exceed 9 *d.* per acre, and the Trustees to save the termors or tenants from paying any provincial tax, for three quarters of their lands; but by continued depreciations of that pernicious paper-currency of New-England, the value of these lands was in a progressive sinking to the great damage of the college. To check this the general assembly ascertained those rents to a sterling value; 1741, by act of assembly the quit-rents

were converted into 1 *d.* sterling per acre *per annum*, until anno 18 3, and 3 *d.* sterling after, the termors paying all the provincial taxes of these lands; and to enable these tenants to pay those province taxes, the common lands (being about 8000 acres) to be divided amongst them clear of any quit-rent.

Mr. Thomas Hollis of London merchant, made a donation of about 300 *l.* *per annum* New-England currency, as encouragement for a Professor of Divinity, for a Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and exhibitions for the education of poor scholars, with some allowance to the college-treasurer for managing this charity; anno 1721, he had the thanks of the general assembly for his donations. He made an addition of many valuable books to the library; gave an *apparatus* for philosophical experiments to the value of 115 *l.* sterling; he sent Hebrew and Greek types; he was a benefactor to the Housatonic Indians.

Samuel Holden, Esq; late Director of the bank of England, bestowed charities in New-England to the value of 4847 *l.* New-England currency. His widow and daughters built a chapel in Harvard-College, with other benefactions to the value of 5585 *l.* New-England currency.

Some account of the Wars, or rather of the Incursions and Depredations of the Canada French and their Indians, against the governments or people of New-England and Nova Scotia, from the Revolution, anno 1688 to anno 1749.

AS no writer of observation and leisure, has hitherto given us a distinct account of these affairs, we offer this short history, referring the reader to some previous accounts mentioned in this Summary; see p. 160. We shall begin with some general observations.

The

The Indians, in their transactions and conferences, run much into similitudes and allegories [c].

[d] The general characters of our Indians, are to decline open engagements; bush-fighting, or skulking, is their discipline; they are brave when engaged; great fortitude in enduring tortures and death; love of liberty; affection to their relations; implacably revengeful [e]; inhumanly cruel; in all their festivals and other dances, they relate what successes they have had, and what damages they have received in their late wars.

Every nation or tribe is an absolute republic or strict democracy; their chief families have a kind of succession as to property, but in no other respects; wise conduct, courage, and personal strength, are the chief recommendations for war captains [f], &c.

When the Indians break out, they seldom make any onset in large bodies; but, after a general rendezvous, they divide into small skulking parties: the whole art of war amongst the Indians, is the managing of small parties, and, like carnivorous beasts of the forest (the French, with good propriety, term them, *Les hommes des bois*) commit rapines and most cruel murders, without regard to age or sex [g].

[b] As formerly amongst the Israelites, so it is at pre-

[c] Their language is not copious, because their knowledge of things not extensive; they seem to avoid labial letters.

[d] See p. 191.

[e] The Indians are the most implacably vindictive people upon earth; they revenge the death of a relation, or any great affront, when occasion presents, let the distance of time or place be never so remote.

[f] The delegates of the Indian nations, after agreeing upon articles with neighbouring powers, are obliged to go home and persuade their young men to concur.

[g] The Barbarians ground all their wars upon personal or national enmity; whereas the ruptures in Europe depend more upon interest than upon pure revenge. To set the Indians at variance one nation against another nation, is of no advantage to the colonies from Europe; it prevents their beaver-hunting, and other branches of the Indian trade.

[b] As man is a gregarious animal, the American Indians associate

sent with our Indians [*i*]; he is a mighty prince, or Sagamore, who leads 100 or 200 fighting men. The Indians reckon it a bloody battle, where they lose ten or twelve men. Formerly, their instruments of war were arrows and darts; at present our neighbouring Indians use fire arms, that is, muskets and fuzils, a hatchet, and long sharp-pointed knives [*k*]. Lately in winter, in war times, they do not travel, lest the English scouts should trace them. All the incursions and rapines of the Indians are concerted, encouraged, and conducted by our perfidious neighbours the French of Canada [*l*].

The most successful manner of managing a war against the Canada French and their Indians, is by scouting [*m*]

in herds or hords, but not in a progressive wandering manner, as the Tartars at this time, and as the Israelites of old in the wildernesses of Arabia.

[*i*] See p. 157 and 184.

[*k*] The far Indians use only arrows and clubs.

[*l*] The French with their Indians may plunder. but cannot keep possession of any of our North-America continent colonies; our colonies join, and are well peopled. The French Canada and Cape-Breton colonies have not this advantage.

Narrow rivers are the best canoe travelling, because in lakes, or wide rivers, any considerable degree of wind obliges them to go ashore.

[*m*] Mr. Dummer, a wise patriot, by continued scouts and rangers to the Indian head quarters, their clambanks, ponds which the Indians frequented for fishing, fowling, and hunting, and their travelling carrying places, kept the Indians at a distance, and by harrassing of them, brought them to a happy peace. The House of Representatives have frequently voted, that our inland frontiers are best secured by scouting parties in time of war. 1744, They voted that the scouts on the frontiers have not been employed in ranging according to their votes—small scattering garrisons, without making excursions into the Indian country, avail nothing: this war we had upwards of fifty such at a time.

The House of Representatives at times find fault with the management in our last war. 1747, Feb. 6, it being represented to the House of Representatives, that many of the soldiers raised for the Canada expedition, as well as those raised for the immediate service of the province, labour under divers grievances proper for the consideration of this house; therefore a committee is appointed: when the levies for the Cape-Breton expedition were daily coming to Boston,
and

and ranging parties farther than our frontiers: thus they are kept at a distance from our settlements; they are intimidated, and subjected to the inconveniencies of sickness, hunger-starved, and cold-starved by continued harrassing.

This last French and Indian war, we have practised, the cantoning of our frontier forces in many small parcels, and very little scouting: but luckily the Indians were much reduced by former wars, and by their intemperance in the use of rum; and of the small remainder some were called off by the Canada French to Crown-Point, and some to Nova Scotia. The only considerable appearance of the French and Indians upon our frontiers this war, was in summer. 1746, June 19, a large party appeared against No. 4 [n], upon Connecticut river; captain Stevens, with fifty men (doubtless private property conduced to animate them) made a gallant and successful defence against a large party of the enemy. Aug. 19, a party of the enemy, commanded by M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, appeared before fort Massachusetts; the garrison surrendered prisoners to be relieved the first opportunity; the enemy plundered the fort, and burnt it. This fort was by the assembly designed and allowed to be the best supplied with forces and stores, because it flanks our frontier, being in its N. W. corner, and the

the representatives by message desire that the forces may be sent on board the transports, and other forces prevented from coming in, lest they should be infested with the small-pox.---1746, June 13, voted that a committee be appointed, to enquire into the complaints of the soldiers in the eastern and western frontiers, with respect to the supply of provisions.---And a committee to prevent children under 16 *Æt.* from inlisting.---1746, July 16, the House in a message represent, that by inducing of the men impressed for the frontiers into other military service, there was a great distress upon the people, as requiring further impresses; this may discourage future houses from shewing their zeal in like manner as this house has done.

[n] Phineas Stephens and others, having made good improvements in No. 4, a little above the great falls of Connecticut river in the province of New-Hampshire; to maintain their settlements, built a fort which was afterwards garrisoned by the province of Massachusetts-Bay.

nearest to Crown-Point French fort; in Massachusetts fort were only three women, five children, twenty-two men, whereof only eight were in health; a serjeant was the commanding officer; they were short of ammunition, had only remaining three or four pounds of powder and as much lead. The design of a barrier against the Canada French and Indians, perhaps would have better been answered by four strong places well fitted, *viz.* one on Quenebec river, a little above Richmond fort; another high up Nawichawanock, or Salmon falls river; a third at the [o] crotch, or fork of Merrimack river; and the fourth at No. 4, on Connecticut river: these forts to serve as places of arms for rendezvous, and as magazines for provisions and other stores; 200 effective men to be allowed to each of them (may be reinforced upon occasion) not [p] impressed men, excepting for occasional reinforcements, but voluntiers in good pay, with generous scalp and captive premiums; one half of the men alternately to be abroad in the wilderness at a considerable advanced distance from the barrier, ranging and scouting; the other half to remain in garrison. In this situation offensive and defensive, no skulking parties would venture to attempt our settlements, and our outplantations or farms would uninterruptedly continue under cultivation for the general good of the province, as well as for the private interest of the proprietors.

Besides the ordinary forts of George's, Pemaquid, Richmond, Saco, and fort Dummer, there were additional new forts or block-houses in the western parts, fort Massachusetts, Pelham, Shirley, Coleraine, Fall-town, Dinsdale, Northfield, Deerfield, Road-town, New-Salem, Winchester, Lower Ashuelot, Upper Ashuelot, No. 4, Pequigog, Nashawog, Naraganset, No. 2, Browns, Leominster,

[o] Here we suppose Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire acting in concert.

[p] Impressed men cannot be long detained from their families and business, consequently must be frequently relieved by a rotation of raw men, not accustomed to this duty.

Lunenburg, Townshend, Groton, New-Ipswich, Salem, Canada, Souhegan West, New-Hopkinton, Great Meadows, Contacook, Rumford, Suncook; in the eastern parts were Philips Town, Berwick, Kittery, York, Wells, Arundel, Biddeford, Scarborough, Falmouth, Sacarippee, Naraganset No. 7, or Gorham's, New-Marblehead, North Yarmouth, Topfom, Wischaffet or Unkschufet, Rices of Charlemont, George Town or Arrowfick, Wischaffet, Sheepscot, Damarascotti, and East George's; being in all fifty-six, generally insufficient cantonments; whereof fifteen are in another province.

In the inland frontiers many of the out farm houles have jets in their corners, with loop holes for small arms, and may be called casernes.

For the several tribes of the New-England or Abnauqui Indians [q]. In the late wars with the English, by cold and hunger, by sickness, and by immoderate use of spirits, these Indians decrease fast. It is true, that in the late wars with the Indians, we lost more people than the Indians; because we had more people to lose, and because the Indians know better where to find us, than we know where to find them.

The variety of ensigns or signatures of the Indians of North-America, are the Tortoise, Bear, and Wolf.

We have given some account [r] of the New-England Indian wars or incursions down to the Revolution, and from thence we now proceed. King William's Revolution in England was November, 1688; in New-England the Revolution happened in April, 1689: from that time to anno 1749, in the space of sixty years, we have had four Indian wars.

1. In the administration of governor Phipps and lieutenant-governor Stoughton, from 1688 to January 7, 1698-9.

2. Under governor Dudley, from August 10, 1703 to July 17, 1713.

[q] Pag. 183.

[r] Pag. 189, &c.

3. Under

3. Under lieutenant-governor Dummer, from July 25, 1722 to December 15, 1725.

4. Under governor Shirley, from November 1744 to 1749.

We shall take no notice of the Spanish war, which was proclaimed in London, October 1739, and in Boston of New-England April 1740, because it did not in the least affect our inland frontier, nor our sea coast; the expedition against the Spanish West-India settlements, commonly called the Cuba expedition, ordered from home, was a very great disadvantage to our young colonies of North-America; the American regiment, divided into four battallions, consisting of about 3600 men, whereof scarce any returned, depopulated our plantations very much; of the 500 men sent from Massachusetts-Bay, not exceeding fifty returned. The New-England men composed the third battallion, excepting the two Rhode-island companies that were incorporated into the first battallion in place of two North-Carolina companies incorporated in the third battallion. The several colonies were at the charge of levy money, of provisions, and of transports for their respective quotas; they were paid off or dismissed Octob. 24, 1742, and allowed to keep their cloathing and firelocks. The 500 men from Massachusetts-Bay for the Cuba expedition cost us about 37,500*l.* old tenor, which at that time was equal to 7000*l.* sterling.

I. Phipps and Stoughton's Indian war. Anno 1688, a general war began to be hatched in Europe; and the eastern Abnaquie Indians, by instigations of the Canada French, upon pretence of the English encroaching upon their lands and cheating them in trade, became uneasy, and began an open rupture by depredations at North Yarmouth and Sheepscot, when governor Andros was in his other government of New-York; captives were made on both sides; Andros upon his return from New-York returned the Indian prisoners, without receiving from

from the Indians the English which they had captivated. In the spring 1689, at Quochecho in New-Hampshire, a large party of Indians killed major Waldron, and about twenty people more; they carried away about as many captives. The preceding winter, governor Andros, with 1000 men, marched to the eastern parts, and built small forts at Pemaquid, Sheepscot, and Pejepsco. Nov. 1689, our army went into winter quarters, and left garrisons in Wells, York, Berwick, and Quochecho.

Anno 1690, Massachusetts-Bay sent 160 men to Albany in New-York government for their protection against the Canada French and Indians.

Anno 1692, Sir William Phipps, with 450 men marches to the eastward, and built a good fort at Pemaquid east of Quenebec river; in August 1696, at Pemaquid, the French landed a few men to join the Indians; captain Chub, who had succeeded captain Church in the command of the fort, with ninety-five double armed, basely surrendered; the French demolished the fort; in this fort were fourteen cannon mounted, whereof six were eighteen pounders.

Anno 1693, June 12, arrived at Boston Sir Francis Wheeler's Squadron, fitted out to distress the French colonies in America; he made some vain attempts upon Martinico and Guadaloupe. Pursuant to instructions Sir Francis proposes to the governor and council, the attempting of Quebec in Canada, to sail by the beginning of July with a recruit of 4000 men, and four months provisions. This could not be complied with upon so short notice, the Squadron imported a malignant, ill conditioned fever, which destroyed many of our people, and sailing from Boston August 3, attempted Placentia of Newfoundland in vain; arrived in England October 12, with hands scarce sufficient to bring the ships home. How inhumanly do sovereignties play away their men!

The Canada French not capable to supply the Indians with provisions and ammunition, occasioned a submission of the Penobscot, Quenebec, Amarefcogin, and Saco Indians,

dians, by a treaty at Pemaquid, August 12, 1693; the articles were, 1. To abandon the French interest. 2. To deliver all captives. 3. A free trade. In some short time Canada received from France considerable supplies, and the Canada French persuaded the Indians to break out again July 18, 1694, by killing and captivating many of our people upon the frontiers; and afterwards many scuffles of no consequence.

Anno 1697, a squadron from France was designed to make a descent upon New-England, but were dispersed in a storm.

Soon after the French peace of Ryswick 1697, our eastern Indians submitted Jan. 7, 1698-9.

2. Dudley's Indian war. About seven weeks after an insidious congress at Casco, with the Penobscot, Norridgewoag, Amerasconti, Pigwocket, and Penacook Indians, August 10, 1703, M. Bobassier, with about 500 French and Indians in several divisions, by surprize invaded a frontier of about forty miles extent from Casco to Wells and York, and made a most barbarous havoc (a French missionary massacre) sparing neither age nor sex; about 200 men, women, and children were murdered. (The assembly voted 40*l.* premium for each Indian scalp or captive; in the former war the premium was 12*l.*) This massacre was soon after the congress with the Indian delegates in June 20, 1703; the Indians then made great professions of friendship; they received our presents, trading places and prices of commodities were agreed upon. All this war, the five nations called the New-York Indians stand neuter; and by this stratagem the Dutch of Yew-York, by means of these Indians, carried on an advantageous trade with the French of Canada.

Anno 1703-4, Feb. 29, the French and Indians, about 250, commanded by M. Arteil, made a most barbarous inhuman incursion upon Deerfield; they killed about sixty persons; captivated about 100, with Mr. Williams

their minister; of the captives they killed at times about twenty-one when unfit for travel.

Anno 1704, June, Caleb Lyman, at Cowassuck on Connecticut river, with one Englishman and five Mohegan Indians, killed eight enemy Indians out of nine; our assembly gave them a reward of 31*l*. Major Church, with 550 voluntiers, visits Penobscot, Mount Desert, Pesamaquady, and Minas of Nova Scotia, but made no attempt upon Port-Royal; he brought away many prisoners. M. Boocore, with two missionaries and 700 French and Indians, designed an incurfion upon New-England, but from differences amongst themselves they dispersed; some of them consorted and did damage at Lancaster, Groton, Amesbury, Haver-hill, Exeter, Oyster-river, Dover, &c. In the winter, colonel Hilton, with 270 men, visits Noridgwoag, but found no Indians. In the winter seasons the Indians do not so much damage as formerly; the English having got into the use of raquettes or snow-shoes. A French privateer shallop was cast away upon Plymouth shore; a storeship for Canada was taken by an English Virginia fleet. The French from Placentia do damage, 1704 and 1705, in several English harbours in Newfoundland [s]. Captain Crapoa, in a French privateer, carries eight of our fishing-vessels to Port-Royal of Nova Scotia.

Anno 1706, the Indians do damage at Oyster-river, in April. In July, 270 French and Indians made incurfions at Dunstable, Amesbury, Kingston, Chelmsford, Exeter, Groton, Reading, and Sudbury. Captain Rous, with a flag of truce, was sent to Port-Royal of Nova Scotia to negotiate prisoners; his management was faulted [s]. Mr. Shelden was sent to Canada twice to redeem captives. Colonel Hilton, with 220 men, ranges the eastern frontiers, and killed many Indians. About this time the premiums for Indian scalps and

[s] See p. 290. [s] See p. 307.

captives

captives were advanced by act of assembly, viz. per piece to impressed men 10*l.* to volunteers in pay 20*l.* to volunteers serving without pay 50*l.* with the benefit of the captives and plunder.

Anno 1707-8, March 13, from Boston sailed colonel Church, with two New-England regiments, upon an expedition against Port-Royal, Subercaffe governor; he returned *re infecta* [u].

Anno 1708, in the spring, a body of 800 French and Indians was formed, with design to invade the inland frontiers of New-England, but differing amongst themselves they separated; 150 of them concerted and made an incursion upon Haver-hill, killed the minister Mr. Rolfe and many others. Colonel Hilton, with 170 men, visits Amaraconti and Pigwocket.

Anno 1709, in April and June, Deerfield was harrassed by 180 French and Indians commanded by M. Revel, son-in-law to M. Arteil. Colonel Nicholson and captain Vetch, at the court of Great-Britain, propose a conquest of Canada by sea and land forces [w]: this in appearance or semblance was encouraged by the court, and instructions were sent to the several provinces to furnish certain quotas, to be cloathed, armed, and paid at a British charge; but by political management at court, after a considerable expence, this was dropped, and an expedition against Port-Royal of Nova Scotia was directed for the following year [x].

Anno 1711, near Exeter, the Indians kill several people; colonel Hilton and others were killed, and some captivated: in Chelmsford major Tyng and some others were killed; and westward, some were killed at Marlborough, Brookfield, Simsbury, and Waterbury. In winter, colonel Walton ranges the Clambank shores eastward. The abortive scheme for reducing Quebec and Placentia, consequently all Canada and Newfoundland, by an expedition under general Hill and admiral Walker [y]. In April, the Indians do damage eastward.

[u] See p. 308. [w] Ibid. [x] Ibid. [y] See p. 31^t.

We lost twenty fishing vessels on the Cape-Sable shore, by the negligence of our Guarda la Costas. Captain Carver takes a French privateer from Placentia of forty-five men. Upon the frontier of Virginia, the French and their Indians murder many inhabitants.

Upon advice of a suspension of arms between Great-Britain and France in Europe, the Indians applied for an accommodation by submission; accordingly at Portsmouth of New-Hampshire, July 11, 1713, the Indian delegates had a congress with the commissioners of the New-England colonies; the basis of the submission was the treaty at Penobscot, Aug. 11, 1693, and that any difference between a Briton and Indian, shall be issued in a British court of judicature. These Indians were called of the rivers of St. John's, Penobscot, Quenebec, Amerecogin, Saco, and Merrimack; Mauxis was their chief.

3. Governor Shute and lieutenant-governor Dummer's Indian war [z]. The Canada missionaries, 1717, persuaded the Indians, with threatenings, to claim some lands settled by the English; this was compromised at Arrowfick in August. Anno 1719, the Indians were moved by the Canada French to renew the same claims, but a small scout of sixty men kept them in awe. Anno 1720, the Indians were advised by the French to be more insolent, by killing cattle, and threatening the lives of the inhabitants; colonel Walton, with 200 men, brought them to submission, and received four Indian hostages for their future good behaviour. The Canada French continuing uneasy because of our enlarged settlements; anno 1721, M. Croizer from Canada, M. St. Casteen from Penobscot, Rolle, and De la Chasse French missionaries, with about 300 Indians, make a general appearance at Arrowfick, an island of Sagadahock, threatening, that if the English did not remove from the claimed Indian lands in three weeks, they would kill the people, burn

[z] See some anticipating accounts, p. 199 and 317.

the houses, and destroy their cattle; accordingly at Merry-meeting bay of Quenebec river, June 13, 1722, the Indians made a beginning, and captivated Love, Hamilton, Hansard, Trescot, and Edgar. July 5, 1722, in Boston these Indians were proclaimed enemies and rebels. Captain Herman, with a scout, killed several Indians upon Quenebec river. A body of Indians, at Arrowfick, kill some people, burnt sixty dwelling-houses, and destroyed fifty head of cattle; they in vain attempted Richmond fort upon Quenebec river, and St. George's fort near Penobscot; they seized an English sloop at Pesamaquady; [a] in vain attempted Annapolis of Nova Scotia; they surprized sixteen of our fishing vessels near Canso [b]. Lovel, with his scouting party of voluntiers, was of great service, but at last unfortunate. The great havock of Indians by a large scouting party made at Noridgwoag [c]. At Noridgwoag a scouting party, some time before this, seized some letters from the Governor-General of Canada to missionary Ralle, exhorting all the French missionaries, notwithstanding the profound peace between Great-Britain and France, to incite the Indians to act vigorously against the English. The Indians at times did some small damages upon our frontiers; they invested fort St. George near Penobscot, thirty days without success.

Anno 1723, Aug. 21, arrived in Boston sixty-three Indians of the Six New-York nations, with a sham proposal of alliance against our Eastern Indians; their real project was only to receive presents; they returned home without stipulating any succours.

Anno 1723, Nov. 17, arrived in Boston a message from the general of Canada, by capt. Le Ronde Denie and lieut. De Ramsay de troupes marines. 1725, In January, col. Thaxter and Dudley from Massachusetts-Bay, and Mr. Atkinson from New-Hampshire, set out with a message to expostulate with the French govern-

[a] See p. 317.

[b] Ibid.

[c] See p. 199.

ment of Canada, concerning their inciting and assisting our rebellious Indians.

The Indians much harrassed by our frequent scouts to Penobscot, Noridgwoag, White Hills, &c. and by our rangers visiting their carrying-places, clam-banks, fishing, fowling, and hunting grounds; submitted to our own terms, [d] Boston, Dec. 25, 1725; which was afterwards ratified at Casco, Aug. 5, 1726. By this Indian war, these Indians were so much reduced, that, in the late French and Indian war from 1744 to 1749, we suffered very little upon our frontiers. All the supplies from 1720 to 1725 inclusive, did not exceed 242,000 *l.* whereof 10,000 *l.* old tenor *per annum* defrayed the ordinary charges of government, a notorious instance of honesty, frugality and good management. The forces were allowed per week, 10 *s.* pay, and 6 *s.* provision.

4. Governor Shirley's French and Indian war. The war against France was proclaimed in Boston, June 2, 1744; and to guard against the French and Indian incursions, 500 men were impressed; whereof 300 for the eastern frontier, *viz.* 50 from each of the militia regiments of Pepperell, Gerrish, Berry, Plaisted, Saltonstall, and Phipps; and 200 men for the western frontier, *viz.* fifty from each of the regiments of Chandler, Ward, Willard and Stoddard; twenty-five men from each regiment of Wendell at Boston, and Gouge, for reinforcing the ordinary standing garrisons, *viz.* George's fort to forty men, Pemaquid to twenty-four, Richmond to twenty-five, Brunswick to twelve, Saco to twenty men; no detachments were made from the militia of the old colony of Plymouth. Ninety-six barrels of gunpowder sent to the several townships, to be sold to the inhabitants at prime cost, including charges.

In summer 1744, upon the breaking out of the French war, the President colonel Mascarene, and council of

[d] See p. 200.

Nova Scotia, represent the weak state of the garrison of Annapolis, and ill condition of its fortifications; the assembly of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, generously sent them a reinforcement of 200 men in four companies, allowing 25 *l.* levy-money per man (the men to find their own arms) and three months provision; their pay and further victualling was from Great-Britain; they continued about eighteen months in pay, and were of good service against M. Lutre and Duvivier's attempts upon Annapolis [e].

The Cape-Sable, and St. John's Indians of Nova-Scotia, having in summer, under M. Lutre, made an attempt upon Annapolis; they were proclaimed rebels and enemies at Boston, November 1744, from three miles east of Pasamaquady river; and 400 *l.* old tenor granted a premium for each scalped or captivated Indian. When it was found that the Penobscot and Noridgwoag Indians had joined them, the declaration of war was extended to these, August 23, 1745; these Indians having burnt a fort at St. George's, some houses, and killed many cattle.

This war, so far as it relates to Nova Scotia, has already been mentioned [f]. 1. M. Lutre, with 300 Cape-Sable and St. John's Indians, did attempt the fort of Annapolis in June 1744. 2. Duvivier, with the same Indians and some regular troops from Louisbourg, in all about 800 men, in September, invested and summoned the fort, and after three weeks retired to Minas. 3. M. Marin from Canada, with about 900 French and Indians in May, 1745, made a short appearance before the fort, and retired to Minas, thence to proceed towards the relief of Louisbourg; they were intercepted. 4. M. de Ramsay, with about 1600 men French and Indians from Canada, arrives at Minas in summer 1746, designed to join Duke d'Anville's armament at Chebucto; towards the end of September, he came before Annapolis, but made no assault; being advised of the return of the French fleet

[e] See p. 319.

[f] Ibid.

for France, he retired to Minas and Chichanecto, and from thence next summer to join a French fleet and land forces towards reducing of Annapolis. In the winter 1746-7, about 500 to 600 of De Ramfay's men from Chichanecto, surprized the New-England forces cantoned at Minas, and did much havock [g]. The French return to Chichanecto waiting the arrival of la Jonquiere's squadron from France, but upon advice of this fleet being destroyed in Europe, De Ramfay returns to Canada, and Nova Scotia suffered no further disturbance.

Those 500 men, of the Canada levies, were the second reinforcement sent by Massachusetts-Bay to Nova Scotia; they were about twelve months in pay, and the remains of them returned to Boston in Autumn 1747.

Octob. 31, 1747, all the Canada levies were dismissed, and next day, November 1, about 270 of them, in six companies, listed as a third reinforcement for Nova Scotia; they were allowed British pay, and a full cloathing, but soon wore out; they were ordered home in the feverity of winter, 1748-9, and in rags; but by kind Providence, they generally arrived safe, and were dismissed February 24, 1748-9.

For the three Canada expeditions that have been projected, but not effected since the Revolution; see p. 309, &c. The Canada levies of 1746, were under the direction of Sir Peter Warren and Mr. Shirley, with an instruction to employ them occasionally, as in discretion they might think proper; accordingly, late in the year, when the river of St. Laurence was become impracticable, they cantoned 900 of them, part of the Crown-Point destination (2000 under Waldo and Dwight were the whole) along the frontiers in double pay, national and provincial, and 500 were sent to Nova Scotia. In autumn, 1747, Knowles and Shirley, by instructions from home, had the direction of Nova Scotia.

For the affair of Cape-Breton, a miraculously success-

[g] See p. 324.

ful expedition [b], our colony people love frolics; they continued in pay about eighteen months.

For the North-America sea campaigns of 1744, 1745, 1746, and 1747 [i]; to these we may add, that in the winter 1748-9, all the station ships of North-America were called off, to form a squadron against St. Jago de Cuba, but in vain. The French and Spanish privateers improved this opportunity of a naked coast, took many of our vessels, impuné they sailed up Delaware river to within a few miles of Philadelphia, and many leagues up Chesapeake bay of Virginia, and up Cape-Fear river of North-Carolina.

Towards the Crown-Point expedition, 1746, we sent by water to Albany four months provisions for 1500 men with tents, a thirteen inch mortar, and — barrels of gunpowder; the sicknesses at Albany, and the alarm from d'Anville's squadron luckily put a check.

In the summer, 1748, notwithstanding a cessation of arms in Europe being notified, some associated banditti Indians in the French influence, did damage at Saratogo at fort Massachusetts, in our eastern country; and at St. John's river of Nova Scotia, they killed some men belonging to the Anson and Warren of the ordnance.

There are several miscellany affairs belonging to this article, to be related in a short loose manner; which may serve as common place for future historians.

The six Indian nations of New-York, by the Dutch trading influence, did amongst them resolve to stand neuter; the Oneidas and Cayugas, French priest-rid, refused a meeting of delegates desired by governor Clinton. In August and September 1746, Massachusetts-Bay sent commissioners to confer with these Indians at Albany; and 1748, Massachusetts sent their governor and other commissioners there to concert war affairs when the war was over.

1746, The French and their Indians from Crown-Point commit many barbarous murders and depredations

[b] See p. 335. 345

[i] See p. 338, &c.

at Saratogo near Albany. 1747, The militia garrison of Saratogo carry off the ordnance and stores, and burnt the fort, without orders from the governor or government, as it is said.

In the spring, 1744, arrive in Boston the King's gift to Castle-William of 20 cannon of 42 pound ball, and 2 mortars of thirteen inches, with all stores, excepting gunpowder.

Anno 1744, the provincial assembly voted a range of forts to be built between Connecticut river and New-York boundary line, viz. Fall-sight, Colerani, Sherley, Pelham, and Massachusetts.

In the spring, 1745, the province frigate Massachusetts was launched; the fund was 6*d.* per ton each voyage upon vessels in foreign voyages, and 6*d.* per ton *per annum* on fishing and coasting vessels of the province.

For the years 1745, 1746, and 1747, the premium for Indian scalps and captives 1000*l.* old tenor per head to volunteers, and 400*l.* to impressed men; their wages and subsistence-money to be deducted.

1747, August, arrives in Boston, twenty-one days passage from Quebec in Canada, a French flag of truce with 172 prisoners and captives British; seventy of the British died in Quebec; their allowance there per day was one pound and a half bread, half a pound beef, one gill of pease, with spruce beer.

1747, We sent a flag of truce, August 1, from Boston with sixty-three French prisoners, delivered at L'Isle de Basque, thirty-five leagues below Quebec, and received sixteen British prisoners; returned to Boston October 3.

On our eastern and western frontier, and in the intermediate province of New-Hampshire, besides ordinary garrisons, there were, anno 1745, about 747 men for summer; 1746, about 1270 men for summer, and 315 for winter; 1747, about 1676 men (the Canada 900 levies included) for the summer, and 509 for winter; 1748 (including 200 men from Connecticut) 1410 men for

for summer, and 524 for winter, fifty from Connecticut included.

1749, Beginning of February, the peace which had been signed at Aix-la-Chapelle the 7th of October, 1748, was proclaimed in London, and in Boston May 10th following.

After the conclusion of the peace with France and Spain; by order of the general of Canada, a considerable number of people, consisting of (as it is said) some regular troops, Canadians and Indians, made a short appearance near Bay Verte of Nova Scotia; they pretended that their business was to cut fire-wood for the expected French troops to garrison Louisbourg, but the real design seems to have been, to keep up their claim to some part of Nova Scotia, lest Great-Britain in after times should claim prescription from an uninterrupted possession; some short time after this, the Governor-general of Canada by a formal letter to the Government of Nova Scotia, put in a French claim to the northern parts of Nova Scotia [k].

Peace being now fully settled, the court of Great-Britain seems to be in earnest (since the peace of Utrecht neglected) in settling of Nova Scotia, as appears by the following extract from the original piece.

Whitehall, March 7, 1748-9.

A Proposal having been presented unto his Majesty, for the establishing a civil government in the province of Nova Scotia in North America; as also for the better peopling and settling the said province, and

[k] The General of Martinico's French claim last winter to the island of Tobago, forty leagues south from Barbadoes, and comprehended in the commission of the governor of Barbadoes, was something of this nature.

It is probable, that claims of this kind will be brought before the commissaries or commissioners usually appointed to settle some concerns, which otherwise would have protracted the negotiations for a general peace.

extending and improving the fishery thereof, by granting lands within the same, and giving other encouragements to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed his majesty's land and sea service, as shall be willing to settle in the said province: and his majesty having signified his royal approbation of the purport of the said proposals, the Right Hon. the lord commissioners for Trade and Plantations do, by his Majesty's command, give notice, that proper encouragement will be given to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed his Majesty's land and sea service, and to artificers necessary in building and husbandry, as are willing to accept of grants of land, and to settle with or without families in the province of Nova Scotia.

To the settlers qualified as above, 1. Will be granted passage and subsistence during their passage; as also for the space of twelve months after their arrival. 2. Arms and ammunition, as far as will be judged necessary for their defence, with proper utensils for husbandry, fishery, erecting habitations, and other necessary purposes. 3. A civil government, to be established with all the privileges of his Majesty's other colonies or governments in America, and proper measures will be taken for their security and protection.

The lands granted shall be in fee-simple, free from the payment of any quit-rents, or taxes, for the term of ten years; at the expiration whereof no person to pay more than one shilling sterling *per annum*, for every fifty acres so granted: the lands are to be granted with the following qualifications and proportions.

Fifty acres to every private soldier or seaman, and ten acres over and above to every person (including women and children) of which his family shall consist, and further grants to be made to them; as their families shall increase.

Eighty acres to every officer under the rank of an ensign in the land service, and that of a lieutenant in the sea service, and fifteen acres to every person belonging to the family.

200 Acres to every ensign, 300 to a lieutenant, 400 to a captain, 600 to any officer above the rank of a captain in the land service; in the sea service, 400 acres to a lieutenant, 600 acres to a captain; thirty acres to every person belonging to such families. Reputed surgeons, whether they have been in his Majesty's service, or not, shall be in the capacity of ensigns.

All persons desirous to engage, are to enter their names in the month of April, 1749, at the Trade and Plantation office, or with the Commissioners of the Navy residing at Portsmouth and Plymouth.

N. B. This volume begins January 1746-7, and ends May 1749. The Reader therefore will make Allowances for what Alterations have been made in the English Settlements since that time.

End of the First Volume.



