[illegible] Capt. Thomas Wagger
[illegible] on the N.W. Passage to
[illegible] London 1623 4to
1740 8vo

This account printed by King Charles's command
in 1623 contains some remarkable physical
observations respecting the intensity of the
tide and the accumulation of Icebergs
northward of latitude — but no discovery of
[illegible]

Sometimes
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Presented to D. W. Coxe by Charles Smith Esqr

A COLLECTION OF Voyages *and* Travels, IN THREE PARTS.

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With a Large and Judicious

PREFACE,

Proving the Right of the *ENGLISH* to that Country; the Manner of the *French* usurping great Part of it; and the great Danger our Colonies on the Continent will be exposed to, if not timely prevented: With many useful REMARKS regarding our PLANTATIONS in general. Collected from authentick Journals, Travels, *&c.* of the *English* in that Country; the Originals of which are now in the Possession of Dr. *COXE*, at *Richmond* in *SURREY*.

By DANIEL COXE, *Esq*;

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A Large and Accurate MAP of CAROLANA, and of the River *MESCHACEBE*.

Printed for and sold by OLIVE PAYNE, at *Horace's* Head in *Pope's-Head-Alley*, *Cornhill*, opposite the *Royal Exchange*, 1741.
[Price Bound 5 *s.*]

N. B. *Either Part may be had separate,*

TO THE

King's Most Excellent

MAJESTY:

MY being made Choice of for this Imployment, and my Undertaking in it encourag'd by Your gracious Command; I must account the greatest Honour, that ever befel me. Many a Storm, and Rock, and Mist, and Wind, and Tide, and Sea, and Mount of Ice, have I in this Discovery encounter'd with; many a Despair, and Death had, almost, overwhelm'd me, but still the Remembrance of the

Account that I was to give of it to Your Majesty, put me in Heart again, made me not to give Way to my own Fears, or the Infirmities of Humanity. Your Majesty in my Employment, like a true Father of your Country, intended the Good of Your Subjects: And who is not bound to bless God for Your Royal Care in it? Had it been my Fortune to have done my Country this Service, as to have brought Home the News of this suppos'd and long sought for Passage, then would the Merchant have enjoy'd the Sweetness of the hoped for Profit, and the Subject have been sensible of the Benefit of Your Majesty's Royal Intentions in it. I have done my good Will in it, and tho' not brought Home that News; yet I shall here divulge those Observations, which may I hope become some Way beneficial to my Country. The Account of them, I here, with all Humility, offer unto Your most judicious Majesty. Your gracious Acceptance of what I had done, tho' I had not done what

was

was expected, emboldeneth me to do ſo; and ſince Your Majeſty was pleaſed to ſignify Your Deſires, of having a Brief of my Voyage preſented unto You; that Word became a Command unto me, to draw this rude Abſtract of it. Your Majeſty will pleaſe to conſider, That they were rough Elements, which I had to do withal; and will vouchſafe to pardon, if a Seaman's Stile be like what he moſt converſeth with. Therefore, ſince Your Majeſty hath been ſo gracious to me, as to appoint me Your Servant, I am now bound to vow you my Service, and it ſhall be my Honout to be commanded it, and ſhall account no Dangers too great, in going thro' it. Theſe are the Reſolutions of

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble Subject and Servant,

THOMAS JAMES.

To my worthy Friend and Fellow-Templer, Capt. JAMES.

I HAVE perused your Journal. To commend it, were to dispraise it; Good Wine needs no Bush: Mos est fæda coloribus abdere: *Yet this I must needs say, you have shew'd yourself to be a Master of your Art.* The Worth of a Warrior and Pilot is never discovered but in Storms and Skirmishes *; *and how many Skirmishes of Storms and Tempests you have past, this Journal of yours doth sufficiently manifest: Go on then, as you have began well, and when any good Occasion is offer'd, second your good Beginnings with suitable Proceedings, and let not the cold Entertainment you have had in the frozen Seas, freeze up your Affections in undertaking other worthy Employments. So may you deserve, with* Columbus, Drake, *and* Frobisher, *to have the Remembrance of you smell sweetly in the Nostrils of Posterity, when you are in the Dust. Farewell,*

* Miles in acie probatur Gubernator in tempestate dignoscitur.

Inner Temple.

THO. NASH.

Advertisement concerning this Edition.

THE universal good Character this Voyage has among the Judicious for its Integrity and Simplicity, and the great Scarcity of it (having been sold for 15 s. *and a Guinea, in several Auctions) are sufficient Motives for the reprinting of it; likewise we hope it will prove useful and agreeable to the Publick.*

OLIVE PAYNE.

PREPARATIONS

Made for the

VOYAGE

AVING been many Years importun'd, by my honourable and worthy Friends, to undertake the Discovery of that Part of the World, which is commonly call'd, *The North West Passage* into the *South Sea*, and so to proceed to *Japan*, and to round the World to the Westward; being press'd forward withal, by the earnest Desire the King's most excellent Majesty had, to be satisfied thereof; I acquainted my good Friends, the Merchants of *Bristol*, with my Design, who freely offer'd to be at the Charge of furnishing Shipping for that Purpose. And being thus enabled, I address'd myself to the Honourable Sir *Thomas Roe*, Kt. (as the most learned, and the greatest Traveller by Sea or Land, this Day in *England*) who most graciously accepted of the Offer, and encourag'd me by many Favours in my Undertaking. Therefore with all Speed I contriv'd in my Mind, the best Model I could; whereby I might effect my Design. The Adventurers Money was instantly ready,

dy, and put into a Treasurer's Hand, that there might be no Want of present Pay, for any Thing I thought necessary for the Voyage.

I was ever of Opinion, that this particular Action might be better effected by one Ship, than more; because in those icy Seas, so much subject to Fogs, they might be easily separated; I forbear to speak of Storms and other Accidents, as a Rendezvous in Discoveries, cannot surely or without much Hinderance be appointed; and that speedy Perseverance is the Life of such a Business: Therefore I resolv'd to have but one Ship, the Ship-boat, and a Shallop.

A great Ship, as by former Experience I had found, was unfit to be forc'd through the Ice; therefore I made Choice of a well condition'd, strong Ship, of the Burthen of 70 Tons; and in God and that only Ship, to put the Hope of my future Fortune.

The Ship being resolv'd upon, and that in less Time than Eighteen Months our Voyage could not be effected; I next consider'd how our Ship of 70 Tons in Bulk and Weight might be proportioned; in Victuals, and other Necessaries: This was all done, as soon as we could; and the Number of Men it would serve, at ordinary Allowance, for the forementioned Time, was found to be, twenty two, a small Number to perform such a Business, yet double the Number sufficient to sail the Ship.

The Baker, Brewer, Butcher, and others, undertake their Offices upon their Credit; knowing it to be a general Business, and their utter undoing if they fail'd in the Performance, but truly they prov'd themselves Masters in their Arts; and have my Praise for their honest Care: In

them

them consisted great Part of the Performance of the Voyage.

The Carpenters go in Hand with the Ship, to make her as strong and serviceable, as possibly they could.

Every Thing being duly proportion'd, and my small Number of Men known, I began to think of the Quality and Ability they should be of.

Voluntary Loiterers I at first disclaim'd, and publish'd I would have all unmarried, approved, able, and healthy Seamen: In a few Days an abundant Number presented themselves; furnished with Experience in marine Affairs. I first made Choice of a Boatswain; and some to work with him, for fitting the Rigging of the Ship; and as Things went forward shipp'd the Subordinate Crew; and all Things being perfectly ready, I shipp'd the Master's Mates; and last of all, the Master of my Ship, and my Lieutenant. The whole Company were Strangers to me, and to each other; but yet privately recommended by worthy Merchants, for their Ability and Fidelity. I was sought to by divers, that had been in Places of the chief Command in this Action formerly; and others also that had us'd the Northerly Icy Seas; but I utterly refus'd them all; and would by no Means have any with me that had been in the like Voyage, or Adventure, for some private Reasons unnecessary here to be related; keeping thus the Power in my own Hands I had all the Men to acknowledge immediate Dependance upon myself alone, both for Direction and disposing of all, as well of the Navigation, as all other Things whatsoever.

In

In the mean Time, the better to ſtrengthen my former Studies in this Buſineſs, I ſought after *Journals*, *Charts*, *Diſcourſes*, or whatever elſe might help my Underſtanding.

I ſet ſkilful Workmen to make me *Quadrants*, *Staves*, *Semicircles*, &c. as much, namely, as concern the Fabrick of them; not truſting to their mechanick Hands, to divide them; but had them divided by an ingenious Practitioner in the *Mathematicks*. I likewiſe had *Compaſs Needles* made after the moſt reaſonable and trueſt Way that could be thought of; and by the Firſt of *April*, every Thing was ready to be put together into our hopeful Ship.

In the mean Time, I made a Journey to *London*, to know His Majeſty's further Pleaſure, and to make known to him my Readineſs; who calling for the forementioned Honourable Knight, (Sir *Thomas Roe*,) I ſpeedily after receiv'd His Majeſty's Royal Letters, with Directions for proceeding in my Voyage, and my Diſcharge: Whereupon, I had forth the Ship into the Road, expecting a fair Wind to begin the Voyage.

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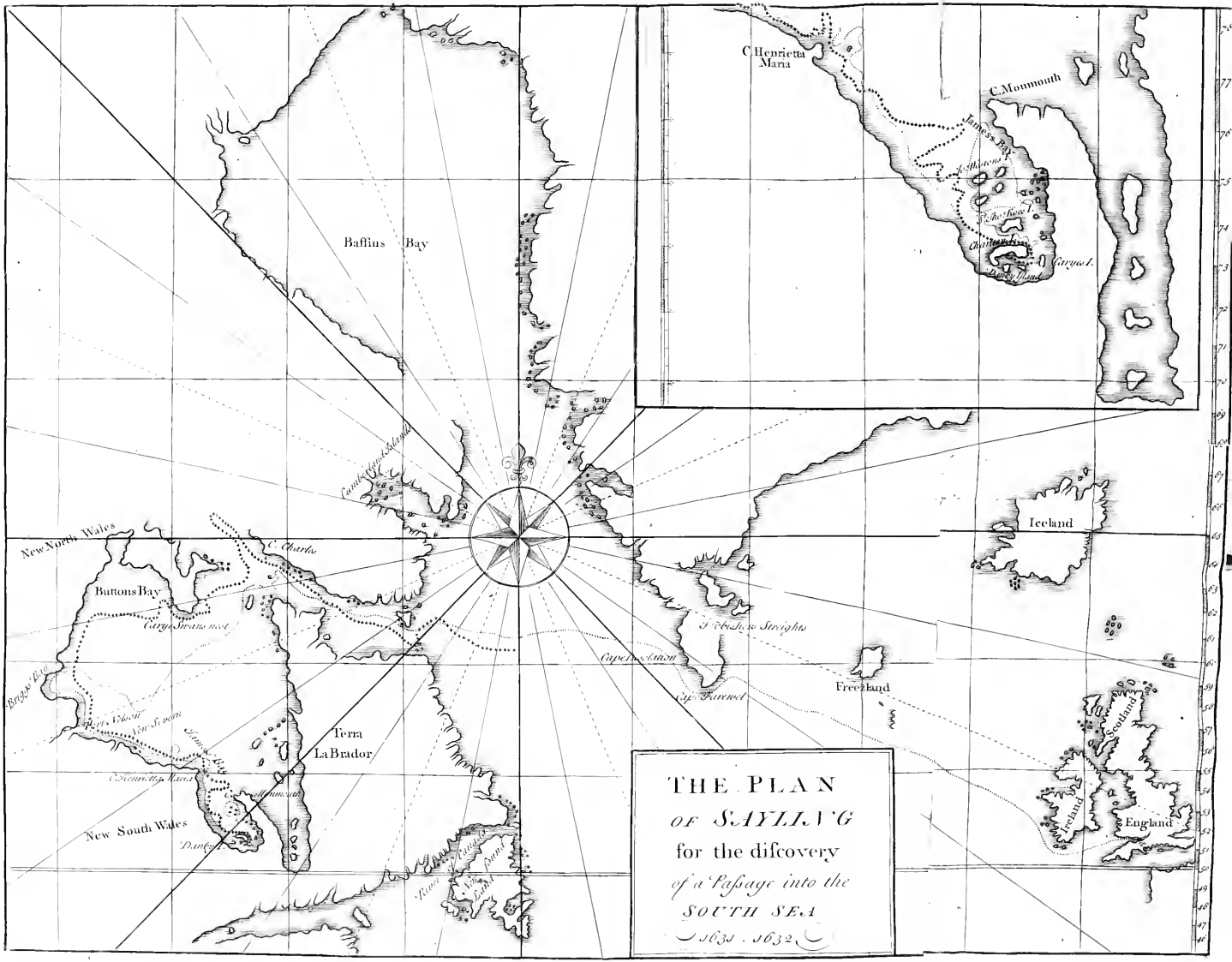
THE PLAN
OF SAYLING
for the discovery
of a Passage into the
SOUTH SEA
1631 . 1632
Baffins Bay
C. Henrietta Maria
C. Monmouth
James's Bay
Carys I.
Dudley Island
Iceland
Freeland
Scotland
Ireland
England
Cape Farewel
Cape Desolation
Frobisher Streights
Terra La Brador
Buttons Bay
New North Wales
C. Charles
Carys Swans mote
Bryes Island
Port Nelson
Nelson River
James Bay
C. Henrietta Maria
Mamacadie
New South Wales
Dantzick
River of Canada
Canibals Island

A

VOYAGE

For Diſcovering a

North Weſt Paſſage

TO THE

SOUTH SEA.

THE Second of *May* 1631, I took my Leave of the Worſhipful Merchant Adventurers in this Action, in the City of *Briſtol:* And being accompanied with the Rev. Mr. *Palmer*, and ſeveral of theMerchants and others, I repaired aboard. Where Mr. *Palmer* made a Sermon, exhorting us to continue brotherly Love amongſt us, and to be bold to profeſs the true Chriſtian Religion where-ever we ſhould happen, in this our Peregrination. After they had receiv'd ſuch Entertainment, as my Eſtate could afford them; they departed for *Briſtol.* This Afternoon, I made a Review of all Things; Clothes, Neceſſaries, and Victuals.

The 3d of *May* (after Prayer for good Succeſs on our Endeavours) about three in the Afternoon we ſail'd down the *Severn*, with little Wind, to the Weſtward of *Lundy*; where the Wind oppoſed us ſo ſtrongly that we were obliged to anchor in *Lundy* Road, the 5th in the Evening; where we remain'd till the 8th in the Morning. Now hoping the Wind would favour us, we ſail'd; but were forc'd to put into *Melford*, where we anchor'd about Midnight. Here we remain'd till the 17th in the Morning; when with the firſt fair Wind, we proceeded and doubled about Cape *Cleer* off *Ireland*. The 22d we were in Lat. 51 : 26, and the Blaſkes did beat off us North-Eaſt, about twelves Leagues off: which Blaſkes is in Lat. 52 : 4. Here I order'd the Courſe that ſhould be kept, which was generally W. N. W. as the Wind would permit; which in this Courſe and Diſtance is very variable. The 4th of *June* we made the Land of *Greenland*; ſtanding in with it to have Knowledge of the trending of it; it prov'd very foul Weather; and the next Day, by two in the Morning, we found ourſelves encompaſſed with Ice, and endeavouring to clear overſelves of it (by Reaſon we could not ſee far about us) we were the more engag'd, and ſtruck many fearful Blows againſt it: At length, we made faſt to a great Piece, (it blowing very hard) and with Poles wrought Day and Night to keep off the Ice; in which Labour we broke all our Poles. The 6th, about two in the Morning, we were beſet with many extraordinary great Pieces of Ice, that came upon us, as it were with Violence, and doubtleſs would have cruſhed us to Pieces, if we had not let fall ſome Sail, which the Ship preſently felt. In eſcaping that Danger, we ran againſt another great Piece, that

that we doubted whether our Ship had not been ſtav'd to Pieces: But pumping, we found ſhe made no Water. The former Pieces of Ice, had cruſh'd our Shallop all to Pieces; wherefore I caus'd our long Boat ſpeedily to be had up from betwixt the Decks, and put over Board: By the Help whereof we recover'd our broken Shallop; and had her upon the Deck, intending to new build her. All this Day, we beat, and were beaten fearfully, amongſt the Ice; it blowing a very Storm. In the Evening, we were incloſed among great Pieces, as high as our Poop: and ſome of the ſharp blue Corners of them, reach'd quite under us. All theſe great Pieces, by Reaſon it was the Outſide of the Ice, did heave and ſet, and ſo beat us, that it was wonderfull how the Ship could indure one Blow of it; (*but it was God's only Preſervation of us, to whom be all Honour and Glory.*) In this Extremity, I made the Men to let fall, and make what Sail they could; and the Ship forc'd herſelf through it, though ſo toſs'd and beaten, as I think never Ship was. When we were clear, we tried the Pumps, and found them ſtanch: Upon which we went inſtantly to Prayer, *to praiſe God for his merciful Delivery of us.*

The 7th and 8th Days, we endeavour'd to double about Cape *Farewell*; being ſtill peſter'd with much Ice.

The 9th, we were in Lat. 59. 00. and we made Account the Cape *Farewell* bare off us due E. and ſome ten Leagues off. The Blaſkes in *Ireland*, is in Lat. 52. 4. and Cape *Farewel* in Lat. 59. 00. The Courſe is W. N. W. and the Diſtance about 410 Leagues: I know very well theſe Latitudes, Courſes and Diſtance, do not exactly agree with mathematical Concluſions:

But thus we found it by Practice. The Variation of the Compaſs in Lat. 52. 30. and 30 Leagues to the Weſtward of *Ireland*, is about 3. 00. to the Eaſtward, in Lat. 57. 00. about 310 Leag. W. N. W. from the Blaſkes, the Compaſs doth vary 9. 00. to the Weſtward: In Lat. 59. 15. ſome 40 Leagues to the Eaſtward, of Cape *Farewel*, the Variation is 14. 45. In this Courſe, I have been obſervant whether there were any Current that did ſet to the N. E. as ſome have written there did, and that as well in calm Weather, as otherwiſe; but I could not perceive any. The Winds here are variable, and the Seas of an unſearchable Depth. We have not ſeen from *Ireland* hitherto, any Whales or other Fiſh; the Weather, for the moſt part, was foggy.

The 10th, all the Morning, was very foul Weather, and a high-grown Sea; altho' we had Ice about us, and ſome Pieces, as high as our Top-maſt-head. Our long Boat which we were fain to tow at Stern, by reaſon we were building our Shallop on our Deck, broke away, and put us to ſome Trouble to recover her again. This we did, and brought her into the Ship, though very much bruiſed, and had two Men much hurt. By eight in the Evening, we were ſhot up as high as Cape *Deſolation*; for finding the Land to trend away N. and by E. we certainly knew it to be the Cape. It ſtands in Lat. 60. 00. and the Land from Cape *Farewel* to it, trends N. W. the Diſtance about 40 Leagues, the Courſe W. half a Point N. The Latitude of the South End of the Iſland, being 61. 20. ſome twelve Leagues to the Weſtward of Cape *Deſolation*, the Variation is 16. 00. In this Courſe, we were much tormented, peſtered and beaten with the Ice; many Pieces being higher than our Top-maſt-Head.

Head. In our Way, we ſaw many Grampuſſes amongſt the Ice; and it ſeemeth the Sea is full of them: The Weather for the moſt Part, a ſtinking Fog, and the Sea very black; which I conceive to be occaſion'd by Reaſon of the Fog.

The 17th at Night, we heard the Track of the Shore, as we thought; but it prov'd to be the Rut againſt a Bank of Ice, that lay on the Shore. It made a hollow and hideous Noiſe, like an Overfall of Water; which made us to reaſon among ourſelves concerning it, for we were not able to ſee about us, it being dark Night, and foggy. We ſtood off from it, till Break of Day, then in again: And about Four in the Morning we ſaw the Land above the Fog, which we knew to be the Iſland of *Reſolution*. This laſt Night was ſo cold, that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen. We endeavour'd to compaſs about the Southern Point of the Iſland; being ſo peſter'd with the Ice, and thick Fog. Here runs a quick Tide into the Streight, but the Ebb is as ſtrong as the Flood: The Fog was of ſuch a piercing Nature, that it ſpoil'd all our Compaſſes, and made them flag, and ſo heavy withal that they would not traverſe. Wherefore I would adviſe any, that ſhall ſail this Way hereafter, to provide Compaſſes of *Moſcow* Glaſs, or ſome other Matter, that will endure the Moiſture of the Weather. As the Fog clear'd up, we could ſee the Entrance of the Streight to be full of Ice cloſe throng'd together. Indeavouring to go forward, we were faſt incloſed among it, and ſo drove to and again with it, finding no Ground at 230 Fath. 4 Leag. from the Shore.

The 20th in the Morning, we had got about the Southern Point of the Iſland; and the Wind came up at Weſt, and drove both us and the Ice upon the Shore. When we were driven within 2 Leagues of the Shore, we came among the ſtrongeſt Whirlings of the Sea, that poſſibly can be conceiv'd; there were divers great Pieces of Ice aground in 40 Fath. Water, and the Ebb coming out of the broken Grounds of the Iſland, among theſe Iſles of Ice, made ſuch a Diſtraction that we were carried round, ſometimes cloſe by the Rocks, and ſometimes cloſe by thoſe high Pieces, that we were afraid they would fall upon us. We were ſo beaten likewiſe with the encountering of the Ice, that we were in a moſt deſperate Eſtate: We made faſt two great Pieces of Ice to our Side, with our Kedger and Grapnels, that drew 9 or 10 Fath. that ſo they might be aground before us, if ſo be we were driven on the Shore; but that Deſign fail'd us: And now from the Top ſeeing in among the Rocks, I ſent the Boat, (for now we had finiſh'd her) to ſee if ſhe could find ſome Place of Security, but ſhe was no ſooner parted, but ſhe was incloſed, and driven to hale up on the Ice, or elſe ſhe had been cruſh'd to Pieces. They ran her over the Ice from Piece to Piece, and in the mean while with the whirling and encountring of the Ice, the two Pieces brake away from our Sides, and carried away our Kedger and Grapnels: Then we made Signs to the Boat, to make all the Haſte ſhe could to us, which ſhe perceiving did: The Men being with much Difficulty forc'd to hale her over many Pieces of Ice. In the mean time, we made ſome Sail, and got to that Piece of Ice, that had our Grapnel on it, which we again recover'd. By this Time, our Boat was come, and

we

we put a freſh Crew into her, and ſent her to fetch our Kedger, which ſhe endeavour'd with much Danger of Boat and Men. By this Time, the Ship was driven ſo near the Shore, that we could ſee the Rocks under us and about us; and we ſhould be carried by the Whirlings of the Waters, cloſe by the Points of Rocks, and then round about back again; and all this, notwithſtanding the Sail we had aboard; that we expected continually when ſhe would be beaten to Pieces. In this Extremity, I made them to open more Sail, and to force her in among the Rocks and broken Grounds, and where there was many great Pieces of Ice aground. We went over Rocks that had but 12 or 13 Feet Water on them; and ſo let fall an Anchor. This Anchor had never been able to wind up the Ship, but that, by good Fortune, the Ship ran againſt a great Piece of Ice that was aground. This Ruſh broke the main Knee of her Beak Head, and a Corner of it; tore away four of our main Shrouds, and an Anchor that we had at the Bow, faſten'd into it; and ſo ſtopt her Way, that ſhe did wind up to her Anchor. We ſaw the ſharp Rocks under us, and about us; and had but 15 Foot Water; being alſo in the Sides Way, where the Ice would drive upon us; our Boat we could not ſee; which made us doubt ſhe had been cruſhed to Pieces. In her, was the third Part of our Company; but by and by we ſee her come about a Point among the Rocks. She had recover'd our Kedger, which made us ſomething joyful: With all Speed we laid out Hawſers to the Rocks, and every one did work to the beſt of his Strength, to warp her out of this dangerous Place, to the Rocks Sides; where we had 3 Fath. Water, and where under the Shelter of

a great Piece of Ice that was aground, which kept off the Ice, that otherwiſe would have driven upon us. Here we lay very well at the Ebb; but when the Flood came, we were aſſaulted with Pieces of Ice, that every half Hour put us into deſperate Diſtreſs. We did work continually and extremely to keep off the Ice. At full Sea, our great Piece of Ice, which was our Buckler, was afloat; and do what we could, got away from us, and left us in imminent Danger, by Reaſon of the Ice that drove in upon us. But the Ebb being once made, this great Piece of Ice came again aground very favourable to us; and ſhelter'd us all the reſt of the Ebb. All Night we wrought hard, to ſhift our Cables and Hawſers, and to make them faſt aloft on the Rocks, that the Ice might the better paſs under them. All Day and Night it ſnow'd hard, and blew a very Storm at Weſt; which drove in all the Ice out of the Sea upon us. In working againſt the Violence of the Ice, the Flook of our Kedger was broken; two Arms of our Grapnels, and two Hawſers, our Shallop being again very much bruiſed; whereupon to work we go on all Hands to repair it.

This Tide, the Harbour was choak'd full of Ice; ſo that it ſeem'd firm and immoveable; but when the Ebb was made, it mov'd. Some great Pieces came aground, which alter'd the Courſe of the other Ice, and put us on the Rocks. Here, notwithſtanding our utmoſt Endeavours, ſhe ſettled upon a ſharp Rock, about a Yard above the Main Maſt; and as the Water ebb'd away, ſhe hung after the Head, and held to the Offing. We made Cables and Hawſers aloft to her Maſts, and ſo to the Rocks, ſtraining them tough with our Tackles; but ſhe as

the

the Water ebb'd away, ſhe was turn'd over, that we could not ſtand in her. Having now done all to the beſt of our Underſtandings, but to little Purpoſe, we went all upon a Piece of Ice and fell to Prayer; *beſeeching God to be merciful unto us.* It wanted yet an Hour to Low Water, and the Tide wanted a Foot and half to ebb, to what it had ebb'd the laſt Tide. We were careful Obſervers of the Low Waters, and had Marks by Stones and other Things which we had ſet up, ſo that we could not be deceiv'd. The Ship was ſo turn'd over, that the Portleſs of the Fore Caſtle was in the Water, and we look'd every Minute when ſhe would overſet. Indeed at one Time, the Cables gave Way, and ſhe ſunk down half a Foot at that Slip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and ſenſibly we perceiv'd the Water to riſe apace, and the Ship withal. Then was our Sorrow turned to Joy, and we all fell on our Knees, *praiſing God for his Mercy*, in ſo miraculous a Deliverance.

As ſoon as ſhe was freed from this Rock, we wrought hard to get her further off. All the Flood we were pretty quiet from the Ice, but when the Ebb was made, the Ice came all driving again upon us, which put us to great Extremity. We got as many Pieces between us and the Rocks as we could, to fence us from the Rocks. There came a great Piece upon our Quarter, which was above 300 of my Paces about, but it came aground. Thus did divers great Pieces beſides, which was the Occaſion, that this Tide the Harbour was quite choak'd up; ſo that a Man might go any Way over it, from Side to Side. When it was three Quarters Ebb, theſe great Pieces that came aground, began to break with a moſt terrible thundering

Noiſe,

Noiſe, which put us in great Fear, that thoſe about us would break us all to Pieces; *but God preſerved us.*

This Morning the Water veer'd to a lower Ebb then the laſt Tide it had done, by 2 Foot; *whereby we ſaw God's Mercies apparent to us in our late Extremity.* That Flood, we had ſome Reſpite from our Labours; but after full Sea, our Hopes ebb'd too. The great Piece that was by us, ſo ſtopp'd the Channel, that the Ice came all driving upon us; ſo that now, undoubtedly, we thought we ſhould have loſt our Ship. To work thereupon we go, with Axes, Bars of Iron, and any Thing proper for ſuch a Purpoſe, to break the Corners of the Ice, and to make Way for it to go from us. *It pleaſed God to give good Succeſs* to our Labours, and we made Way for ſome, and ſended off the reſt, and got ſo much of the ſofter Sort of the Ice betwixt us and the Rocks that we were pretty ſecure. But at Low Water thoſe Pieces that were aground, breaking, kept a moſt thundering Noiſe about us. This Day I went aſhore, and built a great Beacon with Stones upon the higheſt Place of the Iſland, and put a Croſs upon it, and nam'd the Harbour, *The Harbour of God's Providence.* In the Evening, the Harbour was fuller of Ice than ever it been ſince we came thither; and the greater Pieces grounded, and ſtopp'd the reſt, that none went out the Ebb, but the Ship lay, as if ſhe had lain in a Bed of Ice.

The 23d in the Morning, with the Flood, the Ice drove up among the broken Grounds; and with the Ebb drove all out (it being very calm) except one extraordinary great Piece, which coming aground not far from us, ſettled itſelf in ſuch a Manner that we much fear'd it.

But

But there came no more great Ice after it: otherwiſe, we muſt have expected as great Danger, as at any Time heretofore. I took the Boat, and went aſhore upon the Eaſtern Side, to ſee if I could find any Place freer from Danger than this unfortunate Place, where among the Rocks I deſcried a likely Place. From the Top of the Hill where I was, I could ſee the Ship. It was now almoſt Low Water, at which Inſtant the forementioned Piece of Ice brake with a terrible Noiſe into four Pieces, which made me afraid it had ſpoil'd the Ship; it being full half Maſt high. I made what Haſte I could to the Boat, and ſo to the Ship, to be ſatisfied, where I found all well, *God be thank'd*, for the Ice had broken from the Ship-ward. I inſtantly ſent away the Boat to ſound the Way to a Cove that I had found, which was a very dangerous Paſſage for the Boat. At her Return, we unmoor'd the Ship, and with what Speed poſſible warpt away from among this terrible Ice. We were not a Mile from them before they brake all to Pieces, and would ſurely have made us bear them Company, *but that God was more merciful to us.* We got about the Rocks, and ſo into this little Cove, which I had ſo newly diſcover'd. Here we made faſt to the Rocks, and thought ourſelves in indifferent Safety; which being done, I went aſhore again, to wander up and down, to ſee what I could diſcover. I found it all broken rocky Ground, and not ſo much as a Tree, Herb, or Graſs upon it: Some Ponds of Water there were in it, which were not yet thaw'd, and therefore not ready for the Fowl: We did not find in the Snow any footing of Deer, or Bears, but Foxes we ſaw one or two.

We

We found where the Savages had been, but it was long ſince. They had made five Hearths, and we found a few Firebrands about them, and ſome Heads of Foxes, and Bones of Foxes, with ſome Whale-bones. I could not conceive, to what Purpoſe they ſhould come thither; for we could find none or very little Wood on the Shore Side, and no Fiſh at all; tho' we daily endeavour'd to take ſome: But it may be, the Seaſon was not yet come. I nam'd this Cove by the Maſter's Name of my Ship, *Price*'s *Cove*. The Latitude of it is 61. 24. the Variation. The Firebands and Chips which I ſpake of, had been cut with ſome Hatchet, or other good Inſtrument of Iron: From the Top of the Hills, we could ſee the Iſlands that are on the South Shore, commonly called, Sir *Thomas Button*'s Iſles: They did bear S. and by E. half a Point Eaſterly: Some 14 or 15 Leagues diſtant upon the Change-Day, it flows here Seven o'Clock and a half, and the Tide higheſt at moſt 3 Fathoms. The Flood comes from the Eaſtwards, and thither it returns. I have been obſervant from the Top of the Hills, whence I might deſcry the great Pieces of Ice, 2 or 3 Leagues from the Shore, drive to and again with the Flood and Ebb indifferently. Hence I collected that aſſuredly there is no Current ſets in here, but that it is a mere Tide. Near the Shore, the Eddies whirl in twenty Manners, when the Ebb is made; which is, becauſe it comes out of the broken Ground amongſt the Ice that is aground near the Shore: Beſides which Reaſon, there be divers Rocks lying under Water; on which you ſhall have now 30, then 12, and anon but 8, and then 20 Fathoms: And theſe Uncertainties, occaſion ſuch Diſtractions. I would therefore

fore advise no one to come too near those dangerous Shores, for Fear he lose his Ship, and so by Consequence all: The last Night, we took better Rest than we had done in ten Nights before.

And this Morning being the 24th, there sprung up a fair Gale of Wind at East; and after Prayer we unfasten'd our Ship, and came to Sail, steering betwixt great Pieces of Ice, that were aground in 40 Fathoms, and twice as high as our Top-mast Head.

We went forth of this Cove, upon the Flood, and had none of those Whirlings of the Waters, as we had at our going into it. We endeavoured to gain the North Shore; kept ourselves within a League of the Shore of the *Island of Resolution*, where we had some clear Water to sail through. In the Offing, it was all thick throng'd together, as might be possible. By 12 o'Clock, we were fast inclosed, and notwithstanding it blew very hard at E. yet we could make no Way through it: But the hard Comers of the Ice grated us with that Violence, that I verily thought it would have grated the Planks from the Ship's Sides. Thus we continued in Torment, till the 26th Day, driving to and again in the Ice; not being able to see an Acre of Sea from Top-mast Head. This 26th was calm Sun-shine Weather, and we took the Latitude and Variation. The Latitude is , the Variation we sounded, and had Ground at 140 Fath. small white Sand. I caused the Men to lay out some fishing Lines, but to no Purpose; for I could not perceive the Bait had been so much as touch'd. The Nights are very cold; so that our Rigging freezes; and fresh Ponds of

Water

Water ſtand upon the Ice, above half an Inch thick.

The 27th there ſprung up a little Gale at S. E. and the Ice did ſomething open. Hereupon we let fall our Fore-Sail, and forc'd the Ship through the Throng of Ice. In the Evening, the Wind came contrary, at W. N. W. and blew hard, which caus'd us to faſten to a great Piece, to which we remain'd moor'd till the 29th.

I am ſatisfy'd here is no Current, by many Experiments I have made. Namely, by making Marks on the Land; and noting our Drift to and again, with the Ebb and Flood, for many Days together; as well in calm Weather, as otherwiſe. By all theſe Experiments I found exactly, that the Tide was no ſtronger there, than that betwixt *England* and *France*.

This Morning, there ſprung up a fine Gale at E. and the Ice open'd ſomething, ſo that we forc'd the Ship through it with her Fore-Sail. By 12 o'Clock, we were got into ſome open Water, with a fine Gale of Wind at Eaſt, and ſo clear Weather, that we could ſee the *Iſland of Reſolution*. The N. End did bear off us E. N. E. ſome 12 Leagues off.

From this 29th, till the 5th of *July*, we ſailed continually through the Ice, with variable Winds and Fogs, and ſometimes calm. The 5th at Noon, we had a good Obſervation, and were in Lat. 63 : 15, and then we ſaw *Saliſbury Iſland*, bearing W. by N. ſome 7 Leag. off, with much Ice betwixt it and us; to weather which we were driven to ſtand to the Northward. Soon after, we ſaw, *Prince* Charles's *Cape*, and *Mill Iſland:* And to N. N. W. (and indeed, round about us) the Sea moſt infinitely peſter'd

peſter'd with Ice. This griev'd me very much, for as I had determin'd to proſecute the Diſcovery to the N. Weſtward, I ſaw it was not poſſible this Year. We were moreover driven back again with contrary Winds, ſtill cloſed and peſtered with Ice; and with all the Perils and Dangers, incident to ſuch Adventures; ſo that we thought a Thouſand Times, that the Ship had been beaten to Pieces.

By the 15th Day of *July*, we were got betwixt *Digge*'s *Iſland*, and *Nottingham*'s *Iſland*; not being able to get more Northward. There for an Hour or two, we had ſome open Water.

But before I proceed further, it were not amiſs in ſome Manner to deſcribe the Streight, which begins at the *Iſland of Reſolution*, and ends here at *Digge*'s Iſland. If you go down into the Bay, the Streight is about 120 Leag. long, and trends W. N. W. and E. S. E. generally. In the Entrance, it is about 15 Leag. broad; and then on the Southward Side, is a great Bay. About the middeſt, it is likewiſe about 15 Leag. broad, and then the Land opens ſomething wider; ſo that betwixt *Digge*'s Iſland, and Cape *Charles*, it is about 20 Leag. broad. Betwixt which two ſtands *Saliſbury* Iſland, and *Nottingham* Iſland. If it be clear Weather, you may ſee both the S. and the N. Shores: Ordinarily, the Depth in the Middle of the Streight, is 120 Fathoms, white Sand. A certain Tide runs in it, and no Current. The North Shore is the ſtraiteſt and the cleareſt from Ice. Along the North Shore, you have many low ſmall Iſlands; which cannot be ſeen far off from the Land, and in many Places, the Land makes as if it had ſmall Sounds into it. The

main

main Land on both Sides, is indifferent high Land. And ſo much for Diſcourſe may ſuffice.

Being now convinc'd of the Impoſſibility of doing any Thing to the N. Weſtward, for the Reaſons aforeſaid: I gave Order to the Maſter of my Ship to ſteer away, W. S. W. to have a Sight of *Mansfield* Iſland, which the next Day by three o'Clock in the Afternoon, we had: having had ſo much dangerous foul Weather among the Ice, we ſtruck more fearful Blows againſt it, than we had ever yet done. This was the firſt Day that we went to half Allowance of Bread on Fleſh Days: and I order'd Things as ſparingly as I could. Two of our Men complain likewiſe of Sickneſs, but ſoon afterward recover'd. In the Evening we came to an Anchor, and ſent the Boat aſhore to try the Tides. They brought me Word, that whilſt the Boat was aſhore, it flow'd about ſome 3 Foot, as we found by the Ship, and by the Ice; the Water at that Time came from the W. S. W. and that the higheſt Tides, ſo far as they could perceive, had not ſwell'd above 2 Fath. They found that the Savages had been upon it, by certain Fires which they found, and Heaps of Stones, Tracks of other Beaſts, but Foxes they could not find. The Wind was ſo contrary, and the Weather ſo foggy, that we were fain to ſpend ſome Powder to recover our Boat again.

Next Morning being the 17th, the Wind came ſomething favourable, and we weighed. The Shore being ſomething clear of Ice, tho' very thick all to the Offing, we ſtood along it S. and S. by W. ſome 10 Leag. In the Afternoon, the Wind came contrary, and we came again to an Anchor, within a Mile of the Shore,

for

for to Sea-board was all thick Ice, and impaſſable. I went aſhore myſelf, to be reſolv'd of the Tide, and found whilſt I was aſhore, that it flow'd two Foot: And at that Time the Flood came from the S. W. by W. I doubted it was a half Tide, which afterwards I found to be true. I found where the Savages had been upon the Iſland; but could find little or no Drift Wood on the Shore; no Beaſts on the Iſland, nor Fiſh in the Sea. It flows on the Change Day, about 11 o'Clock. We ſaw ſome Fowl on it; whereof we kill'd one, and return'd aboard. This Iſland is very low Land; little higher than a dry Sand-bank. It hath Ponds upon it of freſh Water, but no Graſs; and is utterly barren of all Goodneſs.

The 18th in the Morning, the Wind came ſomething favourable; we weigh'd and came to Sail; for the Ice was all come about us. We endeavour'd to proceed to the Weſtward; intending to fall with the Weſtern Land, about the Latitude 63. 00. By 12 o'Clock, having been much peſter'd, we were come to a firm Range of Ice; *but it pleas'd God that the Wind larged*, and we ſtood away S. S. W. At Noon in Lat. 62. 00. by 4 in the Evening, having eſcap'd dangerous Blows, we were come, as we thought, into an open Sea, and joyfully ſteer'd away W. and W. by N. altho' that Joy was ſoon quell'd. For by 10 o'Clock at Night, we heard the Rut of the Ice; and it grew a thick Fog, and very dark with it; nevertheleſs we proceeded, and the nearer we came to it, the more hideous Noiſe it made.

By three in the Morning, the 19th, we were come to it, and as it clear'd a little, we could ſee the Ice; which were as thick Rands of Ice,

as any we had yet seen. These being impassable, and moreover the Wind at N. W. we stood along it, hoping to weather it to the Southward, but at last, we became so blinded with Fog, and so encompass'd with Ice, that we could go no further.

The 20th in the Morning, notwithstanding the Fog, we endeavour'd to get to the Westward; our Ship beating and knocking all this while most fearfully.

In this Wilfulness we continu'd till the 21st, when being fast among the Ice, I observ'd we were in Lat. 60. 33. and then looking what Damage our Ship might have receiv'd, we could perceive that below the Plate of Iron, which was before her Cut-water, she was all bruis'd and broken; the two Knees she had before, to strengthen her, spoil'd and torn; and many other Defects, which we could not by any Means come to mend. Notwithstanding all this, and the extraordinary thick Fog, that we could not see a Pistól shot about us, we proceeded with the Hazard of all.

Till the 27th, which was the first Time we had clear Weather to look about us: The Wind withal came up at South, and the Ice did open something; so that we made some Way thro' it to the Westward. In the Evening we were fast again, and could go no farther; the Wind veering from the South to the East, and blowing a fresh Gale. This occasion'd our Grief the more, that with a good Wind we could not go forward; putting therefore a Hawser upon a Piece of great Ice, to keep the Ship close to it, we patiently expected for better Fortune. Since we came from *Mansfield*'s Island, our Depth was commonly 110 and 100 Fath. oozy Ground.

Ground. Now the Water begins to ſhallow; for this preſent 27th driving faſt to and again in the Ice, we have but 80 Fath. Ground as before.

The 28th and 29th, we were ſo faſt inclos'd in the Ice, that notwithſtanding we put aboard all the Sail that was at Yards; and it blew a very hard Gale of Wind; the Ship ſtirr'd no more than if ſhe had been in a dry Dock. Hereupon we went all boldly out upon the Ice, to ſport and recreate ourſelves, letting her ſtand ſtill, under all her Sails. It was flat extraordinary large Ice; the worſt to deal withal that we had yet found. I meaſur'd ſome Pieces, which I found to be 1000 of my Paces long. This was the firſt Day that our Men began to murmur, thinking it impoſſible to get either forwards or backwards. Some were of Opinion, that it was all ſuch Ice, betwixt us and the Shore. Others, that the Bay was all cover'd over; and that it was a Doubt whether we could get any Way, or to any Land, to winter in. The Nights were long, and every Night it freez'd ſo hard, that we could not ſail among the Ice by Night, nor in the thick foggy Weather. I comforted and encourag'd them, the beſt I could: and to put away thoſe Thoughts, we drank a Health to his Majeſty on the Ice; not one Man in the Ship, and ſhe ſtill under all her Sails. I muſt confeſs, that all their Murmuring was not without Reaſon; wherefore doubting that we ſhould be frozen up in the Sea, I ordered that Fire ſhould be made but once a Day, and that with but a certain Number of Shides, that the Steward ſhould deliver to the Cook by Tale, the better to prolong our Fewel whatſoever ſhould happen.

The 30th we made some Way thro' the Ice; we heaving the Ship with our Shoulders, and with Mawls and Crows of Iron, breaking the Corners of the Ice, to make Way. As we got forwards, the Water shoal'd apace; so that I believ'd it to be some Island. At Noon, we observ'd thro' the Fog, with the Quadrant, upon a Piece of Ice, and were in Lat. 58. 54, our Depth 30 Fath. We put out Hooks, to try to catch some Fish, but to no Purpose; for there is not any in this Bay.

The 31st, we labour'd as aforesaid, and got something forward. At Noon we were in Lat. 58. 40, our Depth 23 Fath. It was very thick hazy Weather, or else I think we should have seen the Land.

The 1st of *August*, the Wind came up at W. which drove us to the Eastward, where our Depth increas'd to 35 Fath. At Noon, by Observation with the Quadrant on the Ice, we were in Lat. 58. 45. At 6 o'Clock this Evening, we might perceive the Ice to heave and set a little, which was occasion'd by a swelling Sea, that came from S. W. This did comfort us very much, hoping shortly we should get out of the Ice.

The 2d, it blew hard at S. W. and yet we could not feel the forementioned swelling Sea; which did again quench the Hopes we had formerly conceiv'd.

The 3d, we saw a little open Water to the North-Westward, and felt a Sea from the West, which doth assure us, that there is an open Sea to the Westward.

The 5th, we saw the Sea clear, but could by no Means work ourselves to it with our Sails; wherefore about 6 in the Evening, we let fall an Anchor

Anchor in 50 Fath. Water, and ſtood all with Poles and Oars to fend off the Ice, and let it paſs to Leeward. We continu'd this Labour all Night.

In the Morning, the Wind came up at N.W. and we weigh'd with much Joy, as hoping now to get into an open Sea to the Southward. This by Noon we had done, and were in Lat. 58. 28. very free of Ice. The Wind did large upon us, ſo that we ſtood away N. W. to get up as high to the Northward as we could, and ſo to come coaſting to the Southward. *We went to Prayer, and to give God Thanks for our Delivery out of the Ice.*

The 9th, being in Lat. 59. 40, we came again to the Ice, which lay very thick to the N. Since we came out of the Ice, our Depth increaſed to 110, and now decreas'd again: So that I think we approach'd towards the Shore.

The 10th prov'd very thick foggy Weather, the Wind contrary, and the Water ſhallowing apace, we came to an Anchor in 22 Fath.

The 11th in the Morning, we weighed, and made in for the Shore, and about Noon ſaw the Land, our Depth being 16 Fath. in Lat. 59. 40. The Land to the N. of us did trend N. by E. and ſo made a Point to the Southward, and trended away W. by S. which we follow'd, taking it for that Place, which was formerly call'd *Hubbert*'s Hope. And ſo it prov'd indeed, but it is now hopeleſs.

Two or three Words now, concerning the Bay that we have paſt over. It is from *Digge*'s Iſland, to this Weſtern Land, in Latitude aforeſaid, about 160 Leag. the Courſe W. S. W. the Variation

The Tides set in the Middle of the Bay E. and W. as we have often tried by our Lead aground, but nearer the Shore, as they are forc'd by the Land. I am of Opinion, that in the Ocean, or in large Bays, the Tides naturally set E. and W. and that this gives little Hope of a Passage. The greatest Depth we had in the Bay, was 110 Fathoms, and so shoaling, as you approach to Land, we coasted round this forementioned little Bay; which is some 18 Leag. deep in 8 and 6 Fath. and in the Bottom of it, we were two Fath. and a half Water, and saw the firm Land almost round about us. Then we proceeded to the Southward 6 and 7 Fath. Water, within Sight of the Breach of the Shore, keeping the Lead continually going, and in the Night we would come to an Anchor. This Night having little Wind, we came to an Anchor with our Kedger; but in weighing of him, we lost him, having no more aboard us.

The 12th, we were in Lat. 58. 46. some two Leag. from the Shore. The Variation is about 17 Deg.

The 13th in the Afternoon, it being something hazy, we saw some Breaches ahead us: our Depth was 9 and 10 Fath. and looffing to clear ourselves of them, we suddenly struck upon the Rocks, the Ship then being under our 2 Top-sails, Fore-sail and Sprit-sail, with a fresh Gale of Wind. In this fearful Accident, we struck all our Sails amain; *and it pleas'd God to send two or three good swelling Seas*, which heav'd us over the Rocks into 3 Fath. and presently into 3 Fath. and an half, where we chop'd to an Anchor, and tried the Pumps; but we found she made no Water, altho' she had three such terrible Blows, that we thought her Mast would have shiver'd

shiver'd to Pieces, and that she had been assuredly bulg'd. We hoist'd the Boat over-board, and double mann'd her, to go seek and found a Way, out of this perilous Place. She was no sooner gone, but there arose a Fog; so that we were oblig'd to spend some Powder, that she might hear whereabouts we were. The Wind dull'd something; otherwise, it had been doubtful whither she could ever have recover'd us again. After she had been absent 2 or 3 Hours she brought us Word, that it was all Rocks and Breaches round about us; and that withal she had found a Way, where there was not less than 2 Fath. and a half; and that afterwards the Water deepen'd. We presently weigh'd and follow'd the Boat and pass'd over two Ledges of Rocks, on which there was 14 Foot Water. Then it deepen'd to 3, 4, and so to 14 Fath. then it shoal'd again to 9. It being now Night, we came to an Anchor; where we rid indifferent well all the Night. In the Morning, the Wind came contrary; so that we could not go that Way we intended to clear ourselves: And therefore we went to work; to fit our Holds, to splice our Cables; and made ready 2 Shot, and so plac'd them in the Hold, that they might upon all Occasions run clear; the Ends of them being fasten'd to the Main Mast. We likewise look'd to our Anchors, and fitted our spare Ones. We got out our long Boat from betwixt the Decks, which was very broken and bruis'd. The Carpenter went to work to fit her; for I intended to tow the Shallop at Stern, and so to have the Boats ready at an Instant, either to lay out Anchors, or to be serviceable *to what God should be pleas'd to try our Faith and Patience with; for in him was our only Trust and Hope.* At Noon, in Lat. 57. 45. we could see

the Land from the N. W. to the S. E. by E. with Rocks and Breaches; and the Rocks that we came over dry above Water; whereby I knew it flows here 2 Fath. at least. At Noon, I sent the Boat off to sound to the Eastward; because the Water shallow'd when we came to an Anchor. She brought us Word, the shallowest Water she had been in, was 7 Fath. We intending thereupon to weigh, the Wind came Easterly; so that we could not budge, but lay here the 14th all Night, with a stiff Gale of Wind.

The 15th in the Evening, our Cable rubb'd off; by Reason of which perilous and sudden Accident, in which we had not Time to put a Buoy to it, we lost our Anchor, and were driven into 4 Fath. Water, before we could set our Sails. When we had done, we stood S. S. E. the Wind being at E. but the Water shallow'd to 3 Fath. Then we stood N. N. E. and it deepen'd by Degrees to 10 Fath. and because it grew dark, we came to an Anchor, and rid a good Stress all Night.

The 16th in the Morning, the Wind came up at N. a fresh Gale; and we weigh'd and came to Sail. By 9 o'Clock it grew to be a very Storm, and we turn'd to and again, in 10 Fath. Water. In the Evening, the Wind dull'd, and we stood S. W. to have a Sight of Port *Nelson*; which Course we stood all Night, by the Stars, being in Lat. 57. 25, the Variation about 17 Degrees.

The 17th in the Morning we stood S. and our Depth decreas'd by Degrees to 8 Fath. At Noon we had good Observation, being in Latitude 57. 15. and we make Account that we are some 6 or 7 Leag. of the Southern Side of Port *Nelson*. Here the Colour of the Water changed,

ed, and was of a ſandy red Colour. We ſtood in to 6 Fath. and could not ſee the Land from Top-maſt-Head; ſo Night coming on, and it beginning to blow hard at E. by S. we ſtood off again into 10 and 12 Fath. where the Water was again of the Colour of the Sea.

The 18th, as the Wind and Weather favoured us, and the Storm was broken up, we ſtood in again S. and came again into thick puddleiſh Water; into 8, 7, and 6 Fath. and then off again; for it grew thick foggy Weather, keeping our Lead continually going, Night and Day.

The 19th, being fine clear Sun-ſhine Weather; we ſtood in again into the thick puddliſh Water, into 8 Fath. where we came to an Anchor, to try the Tides; for from Top-Maſt Head we could not ſee the Land. We were at Noon, by good Obſervation, in Lat. 57. 20. and the Tide ſet N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. It ran two Knots and an half in two Glaſſes; I perceiv'd, that there were nothing but Shoals to the Land. In the Afternoon it began to ſnuffle and blow; ſo that we had much ado to get up our Anchor. This being done, we ſtood E. S. E. but the Water ſhallow'd apace. Then we ſtood E. and deepen'd a little: In the Evening, the Wind came up at Weſt; and then we ſtood E. S. E. into 10 and 8, and afterwards S. E. as our Depth did guide us by our Lead, and the Colour of the Water into 7 and 6 Fath.

The 20th at 6 in the Morinng, we ſaw the Land; it being a very low flat Land. We ſtood into 5 Fath. to make it the better, and ſo ſtood along it. At Noon we were in Lat. 57. 00. We nam'd it, *The Principality of* South Wales; and drank a Health in the beſt Liquor we had to His Highneſs, Prince *Charles*, whom God preſerve.

preserve. We stood along it, and came to a Point where it trends to the Southward, near to which Point there are two small Islands. In the Evening it was calm, and we came to an Anchor: The Tide sate as aforesaid. There we rid all that Night, and the next Day; by Reason the Wind was contrary. There went a chopping short Sea, and the Ship labour'd at it, exceedingly leaping in Sprit-Sail Yard, Fore-Castle, and all; for as yet we had not trimm'd her well, to ride. About 9 at Night, it was very dark, and it blew hard. We perceiv'd by the Lead the Ship drove, wherefore bringing the Cable to Capstang, to heave in our Cable, for we thought we had lost our Anchor, the Anchor hitch'd again, and upon the Chopping of a Sea, threw the Men from the Capstang. A small Rope in the Dark had gotten foul about the Cable, and about the Master's Leg too: *But with the Help of God he clear'd himself*, tho' not without sore bruising. The two Mates were hurt, the one in the Head, the other in the Arm. One of our lustiest Men was struck on the Breast with a Bar, that he lay sprawling for Life; another had his Head betwixt the Cable, and hardly escap'd. The Rest were flung where they were sore bruis'd; but our Gunner, an honest and diligent Man, had his Leg taken betwixt the Cable and the Capstang, which wrung off his Foot and tore all the Flesh off his Leg, and crush'd the Bone to Pieces, and sorely bruis'd his whole Body: In which miserable Manner he remain'd crying till we had recover'd ourselves, our Memory and Strengths to clear him. Whilst we were putting him and the rest down to the Chirurgeon; the Ship drove into shallow Water, which put us all in Fear, we being so sorely weaken'd

weaken'd by this Blow, which had hurt eight of our Men. *It pleas'd God*, that the Anchor held again, and ſhe rid it out all Night. By Midnight, the Chirurgeon had taken off the Gunner's Leg at the Gartering Place, and dreſs'd the others that were hurt and bruis'd; after which we comforted each other as well as we could.

The 22d, we weigh'd, and ſtood a little off into deeper Water; expecting a better Wind. Which in the Afternoon favour'd us. We ſtood in again for the Shore, and along it we proceeded: It is very ſhallow about 4 Leag. off, and full of Breaches.

The 23th at Noon, we were in Lat. 56. 28. In the Evening, the Wind came contrary; and we were fain to turn to and again. All this Month, the Wind was very variable, and continued not long upon one Point; yet it happened ſo, that we could get but little forward.

The 26th, there ſprung up a fine Gale at W. but thick Weather; nevertheleſs we ſtood into 7 and 6 Fath. the Water very thick. At Noon, it clear'd; and we could ſee that we were in a little Bay: The Land being almoſt round about us. We ſtood out of it, and ſo along it, in Sight; till the 27th in the Morning, when we came to higher Land than any we had yet ſeen, ſince we came from *Nottingham* Iſland. We ſtood into it, and came to an Anchor in 5 Fathoms. I ſent off the Boat, well mann'd and arm'd; with Order in Writing what they were to do: and a Charge to return again, before Sun-ſet: The Evening came, and no News of our Boat: We ſhot and made falſe Fires, but had no Anſwer; which did much perplex us, fearing there had ſome Diſaſter befallen her, thro'

Care-

Carelesness, and in her we should lose all. We aboard, at present, were not able to weigh our Anchor, nor sail the Ship. At last we saw a Fire upon the Shore, which made us the more doubtful, because they did not answer our Shot, nor false Fires with the like. We thought withal, that it had been the Savages, that did triumph in their Conquest. At length they came, all safe and well, and excus'd themselves, that upon their coming ashore, it ebb'd so suddenly, that a Bank of Sand was presently dry without them, as they could not come away, till that was cover'd again; and with that they pacified me: They reported, that there was great Store of Drift Wood, on the Shore; and a good Quantity growing on the Land. That they saw the Tracks of Deer and Bears; good Store of Fowl; of which they had kill'd some; but no Sign of People. That they pass'd over two little Rivers, and came to a third; which they could not pass: That it flow'd very near 3 Fath. sometimes, as appear'd by the Shore. That it was Low Water at 4 o'Clock; that the Flood came from the N. W. and that it flow'd half Tide; which both they and we had perceiv'd by the Ship. At Low Water, we had but 3 Fath. where we rid. The Wind began to blow hard at E. whereupon we weigh'd and stood to the Northward till Midnight: Then in again, and in the Morning we saw the Land; and then it began to blow hard, and as we stood off, it increas'd to a very Storm; so that at length we could not maintain a Pair of Courses; but tried under our main Course, all Day and Night: sometimes turning her Head, to the Landward, sometimes to the Offing.

The

The 29th in the Morning, we made Account we had driven back again, ſome 16 or 18 Leag. and in the Morning, as it clear'd, we ſaw a Ship to Leeward of us 3 or 4 Leag. ſo we made Sail, and bore up with her. She was then at Anchor in 13 Fath. It was his Majeſty's Ship, commanded by Captain *Fox*.

I ſaluted him according to the Manner of the Sea, and receiv'd the like of him. So I ſtood in to ſee the Land, and thought to tack about, and keep Weather of him, and to ſend my Boat aboard of him; but the Wind ſhifted, ſo that for that Time I could not. In the Evening, I came to Weather of him, who preſently weighed, and ſtood off with me till Midnight; and then we ſtood in again.

In the Morning, Capt. *Fox* and his Friends came aboard of me, where I entertain'd them in the beſt Manner I could, and with ſuch freſh Meat as I had gotten from the Shore. I told him, that I had nam'd the Land, *The Principality of* South Wales. I ſhew'd him how far I had been to the Eaſtward, where I had landed, and in brief, I made known to him all the Dangers of this Coaſt, as far as I had been. He told me, he had been in Port *Nelſon*, and had made but a curſory Diſcovery hitherto; and that he had not landed, nor had not many Times ſeen the Land. In the Evening, after I had given his Men ſome Neceſſaries, with Tobacco and other Things which they wanted, he departed aboard his Ship; and the next Morning ſtood away S. S. W. ſince which Time, I never ſaw him. The Wind ſomething favouring me, I ſtood in for the Shore; and ſo proceeded along it in Sight.

This

This Month of *August* ended with Snow and Hail; the Weather being as cold, as at any Time I have felt in *England.*

Sept. 1. We coasted along the Shore in 10 Fath. when it clear'd, in Sight of Land. At length the Water shallow'd to 6 and 5 Fath. and as it clear'd, we saw it all Breaches to Leeward; so we hull'd off, N. N. E. but still rais'd Land. By Night, we had much ado to get out of this dangerous Bay. At Midnight, the Wind came up at S. and so we took in our Sails, and let the Ship drive to the Northward into deeper Water. This Day was the first Time the Chirurgeon told me, that there were divers of the Men tainted with Sickness. At Noon, we were in Lat. 55. 12.

The 2d, we stood in again for the Shore, but as we came in to shallow Water, it began to blow; the Weather being winterly and foul, threatning a Storm; wherein we were not deceiv'd, for in standing off, we had a violent one. By Midnight it broke up; and the 3d in the Morning, we stood in again; and by 11 we saw it. Here we found the Land to trend S. S. E. and S. so that we knew, that we were at a Cape Land; and nam'd it, Cape *Henrietta Maria*; by her Majesty's Name; who had before nam'd our Ship. At Noon, we were in Lat. 55. 05, and that is the Height of the Cape.

From Port *Nelson* to this Cape, the Land trends generally E. S. E. but makes with Points and Bays; which in the Particulars doth alter it a Point, 2 or 3. The Distance is about 130 Leag. the Variation at this Cape taken by Amplitude is about 16 Degrees. A most shallow and perilous Coast, in which there is not one Harbour to be found.

The

The 3d Day in the Afternoon, we had a tearring Storm at N. which continu'd till Midnight, in extreme Violence.

The 4th in the Morning, the Storm being broke up, we stood in again, S. W. The Weather was very thick, and we sounded continually; but by Noon it clear'd, and we saw the Land. Here it did trend S. by E. and the Tides did set along it, with a quick Motion. In the Evening, there came a great rolling Sea out of the N. N. E. and at 8 o'Clock it blew very hard at S. E. and by Reason of the Encounter of the Wind and this great Sea, the Sea was all in a Breach; and to make up a perfect Tempest, it did so lighten, snow, rain, and blow, all the Night long, that I was never in the like: We shipp'd many Seas, but one most dangerous; which rack'd us Fore and Aft; that I verily thought it had sunk the Ship; it struck her with such Violence. The Ship did labour most terribly in this Distraction of Wind and Waves; and we had much ado to keep all Things fast in the Hold, and betwixt Decks.

The 5th in the Morning, the Wind shifted S. W. but chang'd not his Condition; but continued in his old Anger and Fury. In the Afternoon, it shifted again to the N. W. and there show'd his utmost Malice; and in that tearing Violence, that not I, nor any that were then with me, ever saw the Sea in such a Breach. Our Ship was so tormented, and did so labour; with taking it in on both Sides, and at both Ends, that we were in a most miserable Distress, in this so unknown a Place. At 8 o'Clock in the Evening, the Storm broke up, and we had some Quietness in the Night following; not one having slept one Wink in 30 Hours before. If

this

this Storm had continu'd Easterly, as it was at first, *without God's Goodness we had all perish'd.*

The 6th, the Wind was at S. W. so that we could do no Good to the Westward. We spent the Time therefore, in trimming of our Ship; we brought all our Coals, which for the most Part was great Coal, aft; as we also did some other Things; and all to lighten her afore. Others pick'd our Bread; whereof there was much wet; for do what we could, we shipp'd Abundance of Water betwixt Decks, which ran into the Hold, and into our Bread-Room; for the Sea, indeed, so continually over-rack'd us, that we were like *Jonas* in the Whale's Belly: We overlook'd our Tacks and Shoots, with other Riggings of Stress; because that henceforward, we were to look for no other but Winter Weather. This Evening our Boatswain, a painful Man, and one that had labour'd extremely these 2 or 3 Days, was very sick; swooning away 3 or 4 Times; insomuch that we thought verily, he would presently have died.

The 7th in the Morning, the Wind came up at S. W. and we stood away S. W. under all the Sail we could make. In this Course, we saw an Island and came close aboard it; and had 20 Fath. Water, which was some Comfort to us; for hitherto, we could not come at 4 or 5 Leag. to the Shore, at that Depth. This Island stands in 54. 10. The Afternoon we stood away S.W. and in the Evening had the Shallowing of the Western Shore, in 10, 8, and 7 Fath. but it was so thick, that we could not see the Land. It is about 14 Leag. betwixt this Island and the Main.

The 8th was thick, foggy, and calm; which so continu'd till the 9th in the Moruing. The Wind

Wind then coming up at S. S. W. though very foggy, we stood to the Eastward; keeping our Lead going continually. In the Evening, the Water shallow'd to 10 and 9 Fath. wherefore we stood off and on, all Night.

The 10th we made it, finding it an Island, of about 8 or 9 Leag. long. It stands in Latitude 53. 5. and about 15 Leag. from the Western Shore. The Part of it, that we coasted, trends W. N. W. I nam'd it my Lord *Weston*'s Island: We stood still away to the Eastward; it being broken foggy Weather. In the Afternoon, we descried Land to the Eastward of us; which made like three Hills, or Hummocks: Towards them we sail, keeping our Lead still going; and very circumspect. At length we also saw Land to the Southward of us; whereupon we loof up, and now make for that; by Course as we had set it in the thick dark Fog. We came in among such low broken Grounds, Breaches, and Rocks, that we knew not which Way to turn us: *But God be thank'd* it was but little Wind, and so we came to an Anchor. Soon after it clear'd; at which Time we could see nothing but Sands, Rocks, and Breaches, round about us, that Way only excepted, which we came in. I sent presently the Boat to sound among the Shoals and Rocks, that if we should be put to Extremity, we might have some Knowledge which Way to go. This Night prov'd calm and fair Weather, and we rid quietly.

The 11th in the Morning, I went in the Boat ashore myself; and whilst I was on Land, I sent the Boat about among the broken Grounds, to sound. I found the Land utterly barren of all Goodness, yea of that which I thought easily to have found; which was Scurvy-grass, Sorrel, or

some Herb or other, to have refresh'd our sick People. I could not perceive, that the Tide flow'd here, ordinarily, above two Foot. There was much Drift Wood on the Shore, and some of it drove up very high, on the N. Side of the Island; whereby I judg'd that the Storms were very great at N. in the Winter. Thus I returned aboard; and sent many of our sick Men to another Part of the Island, to see if they themselves could fortunately find any Relief for their Grief. At Noon, by good Observation, we were in Latitude 52. 45. In the Evening, our Men return'd comfortless; and then we weigh'd and stood to the Westward, coming to an Anchor under another Island, in 20 Fath.

The 12th in the Morning, it began to blow hard at S. E. which was partly of the Shore; and the Ship began to drive; it being soft oozy Ground. We heav'd in our Anchor thereupon, and came to Sail under two Courses. Whilst the most were busy in heaving out of Top-sails: Some, that should have had special Care of the Ship, ran her ashore upon the Rocks, out of mere Carelessness, in looking out and about, or heaving of the Lead, after they had seen the Land all Night long, and might even then have seen it, if they had not been blind with Self-conceit, and been enviously opposite in Opinion. The first Blow, struck me out of a deep Sleep, and I running out of my Cabbin, thought no other at first, but I had been waken'd, when I saw our Danger, to provide myself for another World.

After I had controul'd a little Passion in myself, and had check'd some bad Counsel that was given me, to revenge myself upon those that had committed this Error: I order'd what should be done

done to get off these Rocks and Stones. First, we hal'd all our Sails aback; but that did no Good, but made her Beat the harder. Whereupon we struck all our Sails amain, and furl'd them up close, tearing down our Stern, to bring the Cable thro' the Cabbin to Capstang; and so laid out an Anchor to heave her astern. I made all the Water in Hold to be stav'd; and set some to the Pumps to pump it out, and intended to do the like with our Beer: Others I put to throw out all our Coals, which was soon and readily done. We coil'd out our Cables into our Long-Boat; all this While, the Ship beating so furiously that we saw some of the Sheathing swim by us. Then stood we, as many as could, to the Capstang; and heav'd with such a good Will, that the Cable broke, and we lost our Anchor. Out, with all Speed, therefore, we put another. We could not now perceive whether she leak'd or no; and that by Reason we were employ'd in pumping out the Water, which we had bulg'd in Hold, tho' we much doubted, but she had receiv'd her Death's Wound: Therefore we put into the Boat the Carpenter's Tools, a Barrel of Bread, a Barrel of Powder, six Muskets, with some Match; and a Tinder-Box, Fish, Hooks and Lines, Pitch and Ockam: And to be brief, whatever could be thought on in such an Extremity. All this we sent ashore, to prolong a miserable Life for a few Days. We were five Hours thus beating, in which Time she struck 100 Blows; insomuch that we thought every Stroke had been the last that it was possible she could have endur'd. The Water, we could not perceive, in all this Time, to flow any Thing at all. At length, *it pleas'd God*, she beat over all the Rocks, tho' yet we knew not whether she was

ſtanch. Whereupon, to pumping we go on all Hands, till we made the Pumps ſuck; and then we ſaw how much Water ſhe made in a Glaſs. We found her to be very leaky; but we went to Prayer, and *gave God Thanks it was no worſe*; and ſo fitted all Things again, and got further off and came to an Anchor. In the Evening, it began to blow very hard at W. S. W. which if it had done whilſt we were on the Rocks, we had loſt our Ship without any Redemption. With much ado, we weigh'd our Anchor, and let her drive to the Eaſtward among the broken Ground and Rocks; the Boat going before, ſounding. At length, we came among Breaches; and the Boat made Signs to us that there was no going further. Among the Rocks therefore we again came to an Anchor, where we rid all Night; and where our Men which were tir'd out with extreme Labour, were indifferent well refreſh'd. Here I firſt noted, that when the Wind was at S. it flow'd very little or no Water at all; ſo that we could not bring our Ship aground to look to her: for we pump'd almoſt continually.

The 13th at Noon we weigh'd, and ſtood to the Weſtward: But in that Courſe, it was all broken Ground, Shoals, and ſunken Rocks; ſo that we wonder'd, how we came in among them in a thick Fog. Then we ſhap'd our Courſe to the Northward: And after ſome Conſultation with my Aſſociates, I reſolv'd to get about this Land, and ſo to go down into the Bottom of *Hudſon*'s Bay; and ſee if I could diſcover a Way into the River of *Canada*; and if I fail'd of that, then to winter on the main Land; where there is more Comfort to be expected, than among the Rocks, or Iſlands. We ſtood along the

the Shore, in Sight of many Breaches. When it was Night, we ſtood under our Fore-Sail; the Lead ſtill going. At laſt, the Water ſhallow'd upon us, to 10 Fath. and it began to blow hard. We tack'd about, and it deepen'd to 12 or 14 Fath. but by and by it ſhallow'd again to 8 Fath. Then we tack'd about again; and ſuddenly it ſhallow'd to 6 and 5 Fath. ſo we ſtruck our Sail amain, and came to an Anchor; reſolving to ride it for Life and Death. We rid all Night a great Streſs; ſo that our Bitts did riſe, and we thought they would have been torn to Pieces.

At Break of Day, the 14th, we were joyful Men; and when we could look about, we deſcried an Iſland ſome 2 Leag. off, at W. by N. and this was the Shoal that lay about it. Here ran a diſtracted, but yet a very quick Tide: Of which we taking the Opportunity, got up our Anchor, and ſtood N. W. to clear ourſelves of this Shoal. In the Afternoon, the Wind came up at N. E. and we ſtood along the Eaſtern Shore, in Sight of a Multitude of Breaches. In the Evening, it began to blow a Storm, not Sail-worthy; and the Sea went very high, and was all in a Breach. Our Shallop, which we now tow'd at Stern, being moor'd with two Hawſers, was ſunk; and did ſpin by her Moorings, with her Keel up, 20 Times in an Hour. This made our Ship to hull very broad; ſo that the Sea did continually over-rake us; yet we endur'd it, and thought to recover her. All Night, the Storm continu'd with Violence, and with ſome Rain in the Morning; it then being very thick Weather. The Water ſhoal'd apace, with ſuch an over-grown Sea withal, that a Sail was not to be endur'd; and what was worſe, there was no truſt-

ing to an Anchor. Now therefore we began to prepare ourselves, how to make a good End, of a miserable tormented Life. About Noon, as it clear'd up, we saw two Islands under our Lee; whereupon we bore up to them, and seeing an Opening betwixt them, we endeavour'd to get into it before Night; for that there was no Hope of us, if we continu'd out at Sea, that Night. Therefore come Life, come Death, we must run this Hazard. We found it to be a good Sound, where we rid all Night safely, and recover'd our Strengths again, which were much impair'd with continual Labour. But before we could get into this good Place, our Shallop broke away, being moor'd with 2 Hawsers, and we lost her to our great Grief: Thus now we had but the Ship-Boat, and she was all torn and bruis'd too. This Island was the same that we had formerly coasted the Western Side of; and had nam'd my Lord *Weston*'s Island. Here we remain'd till the 19th, in which Time it did nothing but snow and blow extremely, insomuch that we durst not put our Boat overboard.

This 19th, the Wind shifted N. N. E. and we weigh'd and stood to the Southward, but by Noon the Wind came up at S. and so we came to an Anchor under another Island, on which I went ashore, and nam'd it, *The Earl of* Bristol'*s Island.* The Carpenter wrought hard in repairing our Boat, whilst I wander'd up and down on this desart Island. I could not perceive, that ever there had been any Savages on it; and, in brief, we could find neither Fish, Fowl, nor Herb upon it; so that I return'd comfortless again. The Tides high about some 6 Foot; now the Wind is Northerly. The Flood comes from the N. and it flows half Tide: The full Sea, this

this Day, was at One o'Clock. Here, seeing the Winds continue so Northerly, that we could not get about to go into *Hudson*'s Bay; we consider'd again what was best to do, to look out for a wintering Place. Some advis'd me to go for Port *Nelson*; because we were certain that there was a Cove, where we might bring in our Ship. I lik'd not that Counsel; for that is a most dangerous Place, and it might be so long e're we could get thither, that we might be debarr'd by the Ice. Moreover, seeing it was so cold here, that every Night our Rigging froze; and sometimes in the Morning, we shovel'd away the Snow half a Foot thick off our Decks; and in that Latitude too: I thought it far worse than the other Place. I resolv'd thereupon, to stand again to the Southward, there to look for some little Creek, or Cove, for our Ship.

The 21st, the Wind came up at N. and we weigh'd, altho' it was a very thick Fog, and stood away S. W. to clear ourselves of the Shoals that were on the Point of this Island. This Island is in Lat. 53. 10. When we were clear, we steer'd away S. At Noon the Fog turn'd into Rain; but very thick Weather, and it thunder'd all the Afternoon, which made us fear a Storm; yet we ventur'd to proceed. In the Evening, the Wind increas'd, and blew hard; therefore we took in all our Sails, and let her drive to the Southward, heaving the Lead every Glass. Our Depth, when we took in our Sails, was 30 Fath. and it increas'd to 45. which was a great Comfort to us in the Dark. At Midnight, our Depth began suddenly to decrease; and as fast as the Lead could be heav'd, it shoal'd to 20 Fath. wherefore we chopt to an Anchor, and trimm'd our Ship Aft, to mount to the Sea, and fitted all

Things to ride it out. There was no Need to bid our Men watch; not one of them put his Eyes together all Night long. We rid it out well all the Night, altho' the Sea went very lofty; and it blew very hard.

The 22d in the Morning, when we could look about us, we ſaw an Iſland under our Lee ſome Leagues off; all being Shoals and Breaches betwixt us and it. At Noon, with the Help of the Windward Tide, we attempted to heave up our Anchor, altho' the Sea went very lofty. Joining all our Strengths therefore, with our beſt Skills, *God be thank'd*, we had it up; but before we could ſet our Sails, we were driven into 9 Fathoms. Indeavouring, thereupon, to double a Point, to get under the Lee of this Iſland; the Water ſhoal'd to 7, 6, and 5 Fath. but when we were about, it deepen'd again, and we came to an Anchor in a very good Place; and it was very good for us, that we did; for the Wind increas'd to a very Storm. Here we rid well all Night, took good Reſt, and recover'd our ſpent Strengths again. The laſt Night, and this Morning, it ſnow'd and hail'd, and was very cold; nevertheleſs I took the Boat and went aſhore to look for ſome Creek, or Cove, to have in our Ship; for ſhe was very leaky, and the Company become ſickly and weak, with much pumping, and extreme Labour. This Iſland, when we came to the Shore, was nothing but Ledges of Rocks and Banks of Sand; and there was a very great Surf on them. Nevertheleſs I made them row thro' it, and aſhore I got with two more, and made them row off without the Breaches, and there to come to an Anchor and ſtay for me. I made what Speed I could to the Top of a Hill, to diſcover about; but could not

ſee

ſee what we look'd for: And becauſe it began to blow hard, I made haſte towards the Boat again. I found that it had ebb'd ſo low, that the Boat could not by any Means come near the Shore for me; ſo that we were forc'd to wade through the Surf and Breaches to her; in which ſome took ſuch a Cold, that they complain'd of it to their dying Day. But now it began to blow hard, ſo that we could not get but little to Windward toward our Ship; for the Wind was ſhifted ſince we went aſhore, and return to the Shore we could not, by Reaſon of the Surf. Well: we row for Life, they, in the Ship, let out a Buoy by a long Warp; and by *God's Aſſiſtance* we got to it, and ſo hal'd up to the Ship, where we were well welcom'd, and we all rejoyced together. This was a Premonition to us, to be careful how we ſent off the Boat; for that it was Winter Weather already. I nam'd this Iſland, Sir *Thomas Roe*'s Iſland. It is full of ſmall Wood, but in other Benefits not very rich, and ſtands in Lat. 52. 10. At Noon, we weighed; ſeeing an Iſland that bare S. S. E. of us, ſome 4 Leag. off, which was the higheſt Land we had yet ſeen in this Bay; but as we came near it, it ſuddenly ſhoal'd to 6, 5. and 4 Fathoms. Wherefore we ſtruck our Sails amain, and chopt to an Anchor; but it was very foul Ground, and when the Ship was winded up, we had but three Fath. at her Stern. As it clear'd, we could ſee the Breaches all along under our Lee; holding it ſafe therefore to ſtay long here; we ſettled every Thing in Order, for the Ship to fall the right Way. We had up our Anchor, got into deeper Water, and ſtood over again for Sir *Thomas Roe*'s Iſland, which by Night we brought in the Wind of us; ſome 2 Leag. off, which did well ſhelter us.

us. The Tides run very quick here among these Shoals, and their Times of running Ebb, or Flood, be very uncertain: Their Currents are likewise so distracted, that in the Night there is no sailing by the Compass; therefore we were fain to seek every Night some new Place of Security to come to an Anchor.

The 24th, in the Morning, it lower'd, and threaten'd a Storm, which made us, with the Windward Tide, weigh to get nearer under the Island. It was very thick foggy Weather, and as we stood to the N. Eastward, we came to very uncertain Depths: At one Cast, 20 Fath. the next 7, then 10, 5, 8, and 3; and coming to the other Tack, we were worse than we were before, the Currents making a Fool of our best Judgments, in the thick Fog when we could see no Landmarks. *It pleas'd God*, that we got clear of them; and endeavour'd to get under the Lee of the Island. This being not able to do, we were oblig'd to come to an Anchor in 35 Fath. some 2 Leag. off the Shore: All this Afternoon, and indeed all Night too, it snow'd and hail'd, and was very cold.

The 25th, we weigh'd, and thought to get to the Eastward; but as we tack'd to and again, the Wind shifted so in our Teeth, that it put us within a Quarter of a Mile of the very Shore; where we chopt to an Anchor, and rid it out for Life and Death. Such Miseries as these, we endur'd among the Shoals and broken Grounds; or rather more desperate than I have related, (very unpleasant perchance to be read) with Snow, Hail, and stormy Weather, and colder than ever I felt in *England* in my Life. Our Sheet-Anchors was down twice or thrice in a Day, which extreme Pains made a great Part of our Company

ny sickly. All this lasted with us, untill the 30th of this Month *September*, which we thought would have put an End to our Miseries; for now we were driven among Rocks, Shoals, Overfalls, and Breaches round about us; that which Way to turn, we knew not; but there rid among them, in Extremity of Distress. All these Perils, made a most hideous and terrible Noise, in the Night Season.

The 1st of *October* was indifferent fair Weather; and with a Windward Tide, out went our Boat, to sound a Channel to help us out of this dangerous Place. The Boat, within two Hours return'd, and told us, how she had been a Way where there were not less than 10 Fath. We presently, thereupon, weigh'd, but found it otherwise; and came among many strange Races, and Overfalls, upon which there went a very great and breaking Sea: As we proceeded, the Water shoal'd to 6 Fath. Well! there was no Remedy, we must go forward; seeing there neither was any Riding; and as little Hope to turn any Way with a Sail, but that there appear'd present Death in it. *It pleas'd God so to direct us*, that we got thro' it; having no less than five several, and all very ancient Depths. The Water, sometimes deepen'd to 20 Fath. then upon a Sudden, it shoal'd to 7, 6, and 5 Fath. so we struck all our Sails amain, and chopt to an Anchor, where we rid till Midnight, for Life and Death; it blowing a mercileſs Gale of Wind, and the Sea going very lofty, and all in a Breach. The Ground was foul Ground too, insomuch that we doubted our Cable every Minute.

The 2d, in the Morning, was little Wind: Wherefore taking the Opportunity of the Tide, the Boat went forth to sound; which returning, again

again in two Hours, told us, how they had ſounded about that Shoal, and had found a Place of ſome Safety to ride in; and had been in no leſs Water than 5 Fath. We weigh'd, and found our Cable gall'd in two Places; which had ſoon fail'd us, if the foul Weather had continu'd. We ſtood the ſame Way that the Boat directed us; but it prov'd ſo calm, that we came to an Anchor in 18 Fath. I took the Boat, and went aſhore on an Iſland, that was to the Southward of us; which I nam'd, *The Earl of* Danby'*s Iſland*. From the higheſt Place in it, I could ſee all broken Grounds and Shoals to the Southward; and rather worſe, than any Thing better, than that which I had been in. I found that the Savages had been upon it, and that it was full of Wood. I made Haſte to the Boat to ſound the Bay, for Fear of Shoals and ſunken Rocks; but found it indifferent Good. Toward the Evening, it began to blow hard; wherefore we made towards the Ship. She put forth a Buoy and a Warp; and we rowing for Life to recover her, were put to Leeward of her; but by getting hold of the Warp, we hal'd up to her. The Boat we left half full of Water; ourſelves being as wet as drown'd Rats; and it made us the more rejoice, that we had eſcap'd this great Danger. All Night, we had a very hard Rode-ſteed, it blowing a moſt violent Gale of Wind, with Snow and Hail.

The 3d about Noon, the Wind dull'd; and we had up our Anchor, ſtanding in further into the Bay into 4 Fath. and half Water. Here we came again to an Anchor, with our ſecond Anchor; for many of our Men are now ſick, and the reſt ſo weaken'd, that we can hardly weigh our Sheet-Anchor; I took the Boat, and went

preſently

preſently aſhore to ſee what Comfort I could find. This was the firſt Time, that I put Foot on this Iſland; which was the ſame that we did after winter upon. I found the Tracks of Deer, and ſaw ſome Fowl; but that which rejoic'd me moſt, was, that I ſaw an Opening into the Land, as if it had been a River. To it we make with all Speed, but found it to be barr'd; and not 2 Foot Water, at full Sea, on the Bar; and yet within, a moſt excellent fine Harbour, having 5 Fath. Water. In the Evening, I return'd aboard, bringing little Comfort for our ſick Men, more than Hopes.

The 4th, it did ſnow and blow very hard; yet I got aſhore, and appointed the Boat to go to another Place, (which made like a River,) and to ſound it. In the mean Time, I went with four more, ſome 4, or 5 Miles up into the Country, but could find no Relief all that Way for our Sick, but a few Berries only. After we had well wearied ourſelves in the troubleſome Woods, I return'd to the Place I had appointed the Boat to tarry for me; where at my coming I ſtill found her, ſhe having not been where I had order'd her; for it had blown ſuch a fierce Gale of Wind, that ſhe could not row to Windward. Thus we return'd aboard, with no good News. It continu'd foul Weather, with Snow and Hail, and extreme Cold, till the 6th, when, with a favouring Wind, we ſtood in nearer to the Shore, and here moor'd the Ship.

The 7th, it ſnow'd all Day; ſo that we were fain to clear it off the Decks with Shovels; and it blew a very Storm withal. It continu'd ſnowing, and very cold Weather, and it froze ſo, that all the Bows of the Ship, with her Beak-

Head,

Head, was all Ice: About the Cable, also, was Ice as big as a Man's Middle. The Bows of the Boat were likewise frozen half a Foot thick, so that we were fain to hew and beat it off. The Sun shin'd very clear, and we tore the Topsails out of the Tops, which were hard frozen in them, into a Lump; so that there they hung a Sunning all Day, in a very Lump; the Sun not having Power to thaw one Drop of them. After the Boat was fitted, we row'd towards the Shore; but could not come near the Place where we were used to land, for that it was all thicken'd Water with the Snow, that had fallen upon the Sands, that are dry at Low Water. This made it so difficult to row, that we could not get through it with 4 Oars, yet something higher to the Westward, we got ashore. Seeing now the Winter to come thus extremely on upon us, and that we had very little Wood aboard, I made them fill the Boat, and went aboard, and sent the Carpenter and others to cut Wood; others to carry it to the Water Side; whilst the Boat brought it aboard, for I doubted, that we were likely to be debarr'd the Shore, and that we should not go to and again with the Boat. It was miserable and cold already aboard the Ship, every Thing froze in the Hold, and by the Fire Side: Seeing therefore that we could no longer make Use of our Sails, which are the Wings of a Ship, it rais'd many Doubts in our Minds, that here we must stay and winter. After we had brought so much Wood aboard, as we could conveniently stow, and enough as, I thought, would have lasted 2 or 3 Months. The sick Men desir'd, that some little House, or Hovel, might be built ashore, whereby they might be the better shelter'd, to recover their Healths. I took the Carpenter, and

others, whom I thought fit for ſuch a Purpoſe, and chuſing out a Place, they went immediately to work upon it. In the mean Time, I accompanied with ſome others wander'd up and down in the Woods, to ſee if we could diſcover any Signs of Savages, that ſo we might the better provide for our Safeties, againſt them. We found no Appearance that there was any on this Iſland, nor near unto it: The Snow, by this Time, was half Leg high; and ſtalking thro' it, we returned comfortleſs to our Companions, who had all this Time wrought well upon our Houſe. They aboard the Ship, took down our Topſails the mean while, and made a great Fire upon the Hearth in the Hatch Way; ſo that having well thaw'd them, they folded them up, and put them betwixt Decks, that if we had any Weather, they might bring them again to Yard: Thus in the Evening we return'd aboard.

The 12th, we took our Main Sail from the Yard, which was hard frozen to it, and carried it aſhore, to cover our Houſe withal; being firſt fain to thaw it by a great Fire: By Night they had cover'd it, and had almoſt hedg'd it about; and the Six Builders deſir'd to lie in it aſhore that Night, which I condeſcended unto, having firſt fitted them with Muſkets and other Furniture: and a Charge to keep good Watch all Night. Moreover, they had aſhore two Greyhounds, (a Dog and a Bitch) which I had brought out of *England*, to kill us ſome Deer, if happily we could find any.

By the 13th at Night, our Houſe was ready, and our Six Builders deſir'd they might travel up into the Country to ſee what they could diſcover.

The

The 14th, betimes in the Morning, being fitted with Munition, and their Order to keep together, but especially to seek out some Creek, or Cove, for the Ship, they departed. We aboard took down our two Top-masts, and their Rigging; making Account, if we remov'd, to make Use of our Foresail and Mizzen.

The 15th, in the Evening, our Hunters return'd very weary, and brought with them a small, lean Deer, in four Quarters; which rejoic'd us all, hoping we should have had more of them, to refresh our sick Men withal. They reported, that they had wander'd above 20 Miles, and had brought this Deer above 12 Miles, and that they had seen 9 or 10 more. The last Night they had a very cold Lodging in the Woods, and so it appear'd, for they look'd all almost starv'd, nor could they recover themselves in 3 or 4 Days after. They saw no Sign of Savages, nor of any ravening wild Beasts, nor yet any Hope of Harbour.

The 11th, my Lieutenant, and 5 more, desir'd they might try their Fortunes in travelling about the Island. But they had far worse Luck than the others, altho' they endur'd all Night, and had wander'd very far in the Snow, (which was now very deep) and return'd comfortless and miserably disabled with the Coldness. But what was worse than all this, they had lost one of their Company, *John Barton*; namely, our Gunner's Mate; who being very weary, merely to save the going about, had attempted to go over a Pond that was a Quarter of a Mile over; where, when he was in the very Middle, the Ice brake and closed upon him, and we never saw him more. Considering these Disasters, I resolv'd to fish no more with a golden Hook, for Fear,

Fear, I weaken'd myself more with one Hunting, than 20 such dear Deers could do me Good. Being now assur'd, that there were no Savages upon the Island, nor yet about us on the other Islands; no, nor on the Main neither, as far as we could discover, (which we further prov'd by making of Fires,) and that the cold Season was now in that Extremity, that they could not come to us, if there were any; we comforted and refresh'd ourselves, by sleeping the more securely. We chang'd our Island Garrison, every Week; and for other refreshing we were like to have none till the Spring.

From this 10th to the 29th, it did (by Interims) snow and blow so hard, that the Boat could hardly venture ashore, and but seldom land, unless the Men did wade in the thick congeal'd Water, carrying one another. We sensibly perceiv'd withal, how we daily sunk into more Miseries. The Land was all deep cover'd with Snow; the Cold multiply'd, and the thick Snow Water increas'd; and what would become of us, *our most merciful God and Preserver knew only*.

The 29th, I observ'd an Eclipse of the Moon, with what Care possibly I could, both in the Trial of the Exactness of our Instruments, as also in the Observation: I refer you to the Observation, in the latter End of this Relation; where it is at large describ'd. This Month of *October* ended with Snow and bitter cold Weather.

The 1st of *November*, I cast up Accounts with the Steward concerning Victuals; the third Part of our Time being this Day out. I found him an honest Man; for he gave me an Account every Week what was spent; and what was still in the Hold remaining under his Hand: I would

take no Excuse of Leakage or other Waste, unless he daily shew'd it me. Every Month, I made a new Survey; and every 6 Months, put what we had spar'd, by itself; which now was at least a Month's Provision of Bread, and a Fortnight's of Pease, Fish, *&c.*

The 3d Day, the Boat endeavour'd to get ashore, but could not get thro' the thick congealed Water.

The 4th, they found a Place to get ashore: and so once in 2 or 3 Days, till the 9th, bringing Beer to our Men ashore in a Barrel, which would freeze firmly in the House in one Night. Other Provision they had Store. The Ice Beer, being thaw'd in a Kettle, was not good; and they broke the Ice of the Ponds of Water, to come at Water to drink. This Pond-Water had a most loathsome Smell with it; so that doubting lest it might be infectious, I caus'd a Well to be sunk near the House. There we had very good Water, which tasted, as we flatter'd ourselves, like Milk.

The 10th, having Store of Boards for such a Purpose, I put the Carpenter to work, to make us a little Boat, which we might carry, (if Occasion were) over the Ice, and make Use of her, where there was Water. At Noon, I took the Latitude of this Island, by two Quadrants; which I found to be 52. 00. I urg'd the Men to make Traps to catch Foxes; for we daily saw many. Some of them were pied, black and white: whereby I gather'd, that there was some black Foxes, whose Skins, I told them, were of great Value; and I promis'd, that whosoever could take one of them, should have the Skin for his Reward: Hereupon, they made divers Traps, and

and waded in the Snow, which was very deep, to place them in the Woods.

The 12th, our Houſe took Fire, but we ſoon quench'd it: We were oblig'd to keep an extraordinary Fire, Night and Day; and this Accident made me order a Watch to look to it continually; ſeeing, that if our Houſe and Clothing ſhould be burnt, that we ſhould be in a woful Condition. I lay aſhore till the 17th; all which Time our Miſeries increas'd. It ſnow'd and froze extremely. At which Time, we looking from the Shore towards the Ship, ſhe look'd like a Piece of Ice, in the Faſhion of a Ship; or a Ship reſembling a Piece of Ice. The Snow was all frozen about her, and all her Fore-part firm Ice; and ſo ſhe was on both Sides alſo. Our Cables froze in the Hawſe, wonderful to behold. I got me aboard, where the long Nights I ſpent, with tormenting Cogitations; and in the Day-time, I could not ſee any Hope of ſaving the Ship. This I was aſſur'd of, that it was impoſſible to endure theſe Extremities long. Every Day the Men muſt beat the Ice off the Cables, while ſome within Board, with the Carpenter's long Calking Iron, digg'd the Ice out of the Hawſes: In which Work, the Water would freeze on their Cloaths and Hands, and would ſo benumb them, that they could hardly get into the Ship, without being heav'd in with a Rope.

The 19th, our Gunner, (who, as you may remember, had his Leg cut off) languiſh'd irrecoverably, and now grew very weak; deſiring, that, for the little Time he had to live, he might drink Sack altogether; which I order'd he ſhould.

The 22d, in the Morning, he died. An honest and a strong-hearted Man. He had a close boarded Cabbin in the Gun-room, which was very close indeed; and as many Cloaths on him, as was convenient, (for we wanted no Cloaths) and a Pan with Coals, and a Fire continually in his Cabbin. Notwithstanding which Warmth, his Plaister would freeze at his Wound, and his Bottle of Sack at his Head. We committed him, at a good Distance from the Ship, unto the Sea.

The 23d, the Ice increas'd extraordinarily; and the Snow lay on the Water in Flakes, as it fell; much Ice also drove by us: yet nothing hard all this while. In the Evening, after the Watch was set, a great Piece came athwart our Hawse; and four more follow'd after him; the least of them a Quarter of a Mile broad, which in the Dark very much astonish'd us, thinking it would carry us out of the Harbour, upon the Shoal's Eastern Point, which was full of Rocks. It was newly congeal'd, a Matter of two Inches thick; and we broke thro' it, the Cable and Anchor enduring an incredible Stress, sometimes stopping the whole Ice. We shot off three Muskets, signifying to our Men ashore, that we were in Distress; who answer'd us again, but could not help us. By 10 o'Clock, it was all pass'd; nevertheless we watch'd carefully; and the Weather was warmer than we had felt it any Time this Month. In the Morning by Break of Day, I sent for our Men aboard, who made up the House, and arriv'd by 10, being driven by the Way, to wade thro' the congeal'd Water; so that they recover'd the Boat with Difficulty. There drove by the Ship many Pieces of Ice, tho' not so large as the former, yet much thicker;

er: One Piece came foul of the Cable, and made the Ship drive.

As ſoon as we were clear of it, we join'd our Strengths together, and had up our Eaſtermoſt Anchor; and now I reſolv'd to bring the Ship aground; for no Cables nor Anchors would hold her: But I will here ſhew you the Reaſons, why I brought her no ſooner aground. Firſt, it was all ſtony Ground: Some Stones lying dry, 3 or 4 Foot above Water; ſo that it was to be ſuſpected, that it was the like about us. Secondly, it ordinarily flow'd but 2 Foot and a half here; and if ſhe ſhould bed deep in the Sands, we could not ever come to dig her out again; for that ſhe would not be dry, by 4 or 5 Foot. Thirdly, it was a looſe Sand which might riſe with the Surf, or ſo mount about her, that all our weak Powers could not heave it away in the next Spring Time. Fourthly, we doubted the Tides would not high ſo much in the Summer, as they did now. Fifthly, we could not bring her out of the Tide's Way, which ran ſomething quick here; and the Ice, beſides, might drive and mount up upon her, and ſo overſet her, or tear her, and carry away her Planks, Iron-Works, and all; ſo that we ſhould have nothing left to finiſh our Pinnace with. Sixthly, if it blew a Storm at N. W. or thereabouts; the Water would flow ten Foot, and upwards; and that Wind being of the Shore, it would blow away all the Ice, and there would come in an extraordinary great Surf about the Shoal to the Eaſtern Point; which was occaſion'd by a deep Overfall. Moreover, ſhe would beat extremely; and if ſhe were put up by the Sea, or that Surf, it was very doubtful that we ſhould never have her off again. For theſe Reaſons, we en-

dur'd all the Extremity; still hoping upon some good and fortunate Accident. But now all our provident Designs we saw to become Foolishness, and that a great deal of miserable Labour had been spent in vain by us. With the Flood, we weigh'd our Westermost Anchor, *perceiving God's Assistance manifestly*; because it happen'd to be fine warm Weather, otherwise we had not been able to work. The Wind was now S. which blew in upon the Shoar, and made the lowest Tides. We brought the Ship into 12 Foot Water, and laid out one Anchor in the Offing, and another in Shoal Water, to draw her on Land at Command. Our Hope also was, that some Stones that were to the Westward of us, would send off some of the Ice. We then being about a Mile from the Shore, about 10 o'Clock in the dark Night, the Ice came driving upon us, and our Anchors came home. She drove some 2 Cable's Length, and the Wind blowing on the Shore, by 2 o'Clock she came aground, and stopt much Ice; yet she lay well all Night, and we took some Rest.

The 25th, the Wind shifted Easterly; and put Abundance of Ice on us. When the Flood was made, we encourag'd one another, and to work we go; drawing home our Anchor by main Force, under great Pieces of Ice, our Endeavour being to put the Ship to the Shore. But to our great Discomfort, when the half Tide was made; (which was two Hours before High Water) the Ship drove among the Ice to the Eastward, do what we could, and so would have on the Shoal Rocks. As I have said before, these two Days and this Day was very warm Weather; and it rain'd, which it had not yet but once done, since we came hither; otherwise, it had been impossible

ſible we could have wrought. Withal, the Wind ſhifted alſo to the S. and at the very Inſtant blew a hard Puff; which ſo continu'd half an Hour. I caus'd the two Topſails to be had up from betwixt Decks, and we hoiſt'd them up with Ropes in all Haſte, and we forc'd the Ship aſhore, when ſhe had not half a Cable's Length to drive on the rocky Shoals. In the Evening, we broke Way thro' the Ice, and put an Anchor to Shoreward in 5 Foot Water, to keep her to the Shore, if poſſible. Here Sir *Hugh Willoughby* came into my Mind, who, without Doubt, was driven out of his Harbour in this Manner, and ſo ſtarv'd at Sea. *But God was more merciful to us.* About 9 at Night, the Wind came up at N. W. and blew a very Storm. This Wind was of the Shore, which blew away all the Ice from about us, long before we were afloat. There came in a great rolling Sea withall, about the Point; accompanied with a great Surf on the Shore. And now were we left to the Mercy of the Sea, on the Ground. By 10, ſhe began to roll in her Dock, and ſoon after began to beat againſt the Ground. We ſtood at the Capſtang, as many as could; others at the Pumps, for we thought that every fifth or ſixth Blow would have ſtav'd her to Pieces. We heav'd to the uttermoſt of our Strengths, to keep her as near the Ground as we could. By Reaſon of this Wind, it flow'd very much Water, and we drew her up ſo high, that it was doubtful, if ever we ſhould get her off again. She continu'd thus beating, till two o'Clock the next Morning, and then ſhe ſettled again. Whereupon we went to ſleep, to reſtore Nature; ſeeing the next Tide we expected to be again tormented.

The 26th, in the Morning Tide, our Ship did not float, whereby we had some Quietness. After Prayers, I call'd a Consultation of the Master, my Lieutenant, the Mates, Carpenter, and Boatswain; to whom I propos'd, that now we were put to our last Shifts; and therefore they should tell me what they thought of it: Namely, whether it were not best, to carry all our Provision ashore; and when the Wind should come Northerly, it were not safest to draw her further off, and sink her. After many Reasonings they allow'd of my Purpose, and so I communicated it to the Company, who all willingly agreed to it. And so we fell to getting up of our Provisions: first, our Bread, of which we landed this Day two Dryfats with a Hogshead of Beef; having much ado to get the Boat through the thick congeal'd Water. In the Evening, the Wind came up at N. E. and E. and fill'd the Bay full of Ice.

The 27th, the Bay continu'd full of Ice, which I hop'd would so continue and freeze, that we should not be forc'd to sink our Ship. This Day we could land nothing.

The 28th, at Break of Day, three of our Men went ashore over the Ice, unknown to me; and the Wind coming up at W. drove the Ice from betwixt us and the Shore, and most Part of the Bay also: And yet not so, but the Boat could go ashore for any Thing. I made the Carpenter fit a Place against all sudden Extremities; for that with the N. W. or Northerly Wind, I meant to effect our last Project. In the Run of her, on the Starboard Side; he cut away the Cieling and the Plank to the Sheathing, some 4 or 5 Inches square; some 4 Foot high from the Keel of her, that so it might be bor'd out, at an Instant. We brought

brought our Bread, which was remaining in the Bread Room, up into the great Cabbin; and likewiſe all our Powder, ſitting much of our light dry Things betwixt Decks.

The 29th, at 5 in the Morning, the Wind came up at W. N. W. and began to blow very hard. It was ordinary for the Wind to ſhift from the W. by the N. round about. So firſt, I order'd the Cooper to go down in Hold, and look to all our Caſks; thoſe that were full, to mawl in the Bungs of them; thoſe that were empty, to get up, or if they could not be gotten up, to ſtave them. Then to coil all our Cables upon our lower Tire, and to lay on our ſpare Anchors, and any Thing that was weighty, to keep it down from riſing. By 7 o'Clock, it blew a Storm at N. W. our bitter Enemy. The Ship was already bedded ſome two Foot in the Sand, and whilſt that was a flowing, ſhe muſt beat. This I before had in my Conſideration; for I thought ſhe was ſo far driven up, that we ſhould never get her off. Yet we had been ſo ferrited by her laſt beating, that I reſolv'd to ſink her right down, rather than run that Hazard. By 9, ſhe began to roll in her Dock, with a moſt extraordinary great Sea that was come; which I found to be occaſion'd by the forementioned Overfall. And this was the fatal Hour that put us to our Wits End. Wherefore I went down into the Hold with the Carpenter, and took his Auger and bor'd a Hole in the Ship, and let in the Water. Thus, with all Speed, we began to cut out other Places, to bore through, but every Place was full of Nails. By 10, notwithſtanding, the lower Tire was cover'd with Water, for all which, ſhe began ſo to beat in her Dock more and more, that we could not work, nor ſtand to

do

do any Thing in her. Nor would she sink so fast as we would have her, but continu'd beating double Blows; first abaft, and then before, that it was wonderful, how she could endure a Quarter of an Hour with it. By 12, her lower Tire rose, and that did so counterbeat on the Inside, that it beat the Bulk Heads of the Bread-room, Powder-room, and Fore-piece, all to Pieces; and when it came betwixt Decks, the Chests fled wildly about, and the Water did flash and fly wonderfully; so that now we expected every Minute, when the Ship would open and break to Pieces. At one, she beat off her Rudder, and that was gone, we knew not which Way. Thus she continu'd beating till 3; and then the Sea came up on the Upper Deck; and soon after, she began to settle. In her, we were fain to sink the most Part of our Bedding and Cloaths; and the Chirurgeon's Chest with the rest. Our Men that were ashore, stood looking upon us, almost dead with Cold, and Sorrows to see our Misery, and their own. We look'd upon them again, and both upon each other with woful Hearts. Dark Night drew on, and I order'd the Boat to be hal'd up, and commanded my loving Companions to go all into her; who express'd their faithful Affections to me, as loath to part from me. I told them, that my Meaning was to go ashore with them. And thus, lastly, I forsook the Ship.

We were 14 poor Souls, now in the Boat, and we imagin'd, *that we were leap'd out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire.* The Ebb was made, and the Water extraordinary thick congeal'd, with Snow; so that we thought assuredly, it would carry us away into the Sea. We thereupon double mann'd 4 Oars; appointing 4 more to sit

ready

ready with Oars; and so with *the Help of God we got to the Shore*, haling up the Boat after. One Thing was most strange in this thick Water, that there went a great swelling Sea. Being arriv'd upon the Land, we greeted our Fellows the best we could; At which Time they could not know us, nor we them by our Habits and Voices; so frozen all over we were, Faces, Hair, and Apparel. And here I mean to take Breath awhile, after all this long and unpleasant Relation of our miserable Endeavours; craving leave first of all to speak a Word or two in general.

The Winds, since we came hither, have been very variable and inconstant; and till within this Fortnight, the Southerly Wind was the coldest. The Reason I conceive to be, that it blew from the Main Land; which was all cover'd with Snow; and the North Winds came out of the great Bay which hitherto was open: So that; we were under a S. Bank that shelter'd us; so that we were not so sensible of it.

A N. W. a N. W. by N. and N. N. W. Wind, if it blew a Storm, would raise the Tides extraordinarily; and, in brief, from the W. N. W. to the N. N. E. would raise the Tides in Proportion, as it blew from the Middle Point: The Wind being on the opposite Points, if it blew, it would flow very little at all. The harder it blew, the less Water it would flow. If it were little Wind, or Calm, it would flow indifferently. The Tides do high ordinarily, without being forc'd, about 3 Foot; but being forc'd with the forementioned Winds, upward of 10 Foot. I could perceive no Difference between Neap and Spring Tides: It flows half Tide; that is, the Flood comes from the Northward, and

and thither returns again, two Hours before high Water; and it is commonly so seen in most Bays or Inlets.

An Account *of the Manner of our passing the* Winter.

AFTER we had hal'd up the Boat, (on the 29th of *November*,) we went along the Breach Side in the Dark, towards our House, where we made a good Fire, and with it, and Bread and Water, we comforted ourselves, beginning after that to reason one with another, concerning our Ship. I requir'd that every one should speak his Mind freely. The Carpenter, especially, was of Opinion, that she was founder'd, and would never be serviceable. He alledg'd, that she had so beaten, that it was not possible, but that all her Joints were loose, and Seams open; and that by Reason it flow'd so little Water, and no Creek, nor Cove, being near, wherein to bring her aground, he could not devise how he might come to mend it. Moreover, her Rudder was lost, and he had no Iron-work to hang on another. Some alledg'd, that we had heav'd her up so high on the Sands, that they thought we should never have her off again, and that they were assur'd she was already dock'd 3 Foot. Others, that she lay in the Tide's Way, and that the Tides might tear her to Pieces off the Ground; besides which, two of our Anchors we could not now get from under the Ice, which when the Ice brake (which would be of great Thickness by the Spring) would break our Anchors to Pieces, and then we should have no Anchors

chors to bring us Home withal; provided we got off the Ship, and that she prov'd sound also. I comforted them the best I could with such like Words: My Masters, and faithful Companions, be not dismay'd for any of these Disasters, but let us *put our whole Trust in God.* It is he that giveth, and he that taketh away; he throws down with one Hand, and raiseth up with another. His Will be done. If it be our Fortunes to end our Days here, we are as near Heaven, as in *England*; and we are much bound to *God Almighty* for giving us so large a Time of Repentance, who, as it were, daily calls upon us, to prepare our Souls for a better Life in Heaven. I make no doubt, but he will be merciful to us, both here on Earth, and in his blessed Kingdom; he doth not in the mean Time deny, but that we may use all honest Means to save and prolong our natural Lives withal; and in my Judgment, we are not yet so far past Hope of returning into our native Country, but that I see a fair Way, by which we may effect it. Admit the Ship be founder'd, (which God forbid, I hope the best) yet have those of our own Nation, and others, when they have been put to these Extremities, even out of the Wreck of their lost Ship, built a Pinnace, and recover'd to their Friends again. If it be objected, that they have happen'd into better Climates, both for Temperateness of the Air, and for pacifick and open Seas; and provided withal, of Abundance of fresh Victuals; yet there is nothing too hard for couragious Minds: Which hitherto you have shewn, and I doubt not will still do, to the utmost of your Power.

They all protested to work to the utmost of their Strength, and that they would refuse nothing

thing that I should order them to do, to the utmost Hazard of their Lives. I thank'd them all; and to the Carpenter for his chearful Undertaking, I promis'd to give him so much Plate presently, as should be worth 10 *l.* and if so be I went to *England* in the Pinnace, I would give her him freely, and 50 *l.* in Money over and above, and would moreover gratify all them, that I should see industrious. Thus we resolv'd, to build us a new Pinnace, with the Timber we should get upon the Island; that so in the Spring, if we found the Ship not serviceable, we might tear her up, and plank her with the Ship's Planks. And so for this Night we settled ourselves close about the Fire, and took some Rest till Day-light.

The 30th, betimes in the Morning, I caus'd the Chirurgeon to cut the Hair of my Head short, and to shave away all the Hair of my Face; for it was become intolerable; and because it would be frozen so great with Ice-Sickles.

November. The like did all the Rest, and we fitted ourselves to work. The first Thing we were to do, was to get our Cloaths and Provisions ashore; and therefore I divided the Company. The Master, and a convenient Company with him, were to go aboard; and to get Things out of the Hold. The Cock-swain, with his Gang, were to go in the Boat, to bring and carry Things ashore. Myself, with the rest, to carry it Half a Mile thro' the Snow, unto the Place where we intended to build a Storehouse; as for the heavier Things we purposed to lay them upon the Beach. In the Afternoon, the Wind was at S. S. W. and the Water veer'd to so low an Ebb, that we thought we might get something

out

out of our Hold; we lanch'd out our Boat therefore, and with Oars got thro' the thick congeal'd Water. It froze extreme hard, and I stood on the Shore with a troubl'd Mind, thinking verily that with the Ebb the Boat would be carried into the Sea; and then we were all lost Men. But *by God's Assistance*, they got safely to the Ship, and made a Fire there, to signify their Arrival aboard. They fell presently to work, and got something out of the Hold, upon the Decks; but Night coming on, they durst not venture to come ashore, but lay on the Bed in the great Cabbin, being almost starved.

The 1st of *December* was so cold, that I went the same Way over the Ice to the Ship, where the Boat had gone Yesterday. This Day we carried upon our Backs in Bundles 500, of our Fish; and much of our Bedding and Cloaths; which we were fain to dig out of the Ice.

The 2d was mild Weather, and some of the Men going over the Ice, fell in, and very hardly recover'd; so that this Day we could land nothing, neither by Boat nor Back: I put them therefore to make us a Storehouse ashore. In the Evening, the Wind came up at W. and the Ice broke and drove out of the Bay; it was very deep and large Ice, that we were afraid it would have spoil'd the Ship.

The 3d Day, there were divers great Pieces of Ice that came athwart the Ship, and she stopp'd them, yet not so as we could go over them. We found a Way for the Boat; but when she was loaden, she drew 4 Foot Water, and could not come within a slight Shot of the Shore. The Men therefore must wade thro' the thick congeal'd Water, and carry Things out of the Ship upon their Backs. Every Time they waded in the

in the Ice, 'twas most lamentable to behold. In this extreme cold Evening, they cut away as much Ice from about the Boat as they could, and picked it with Hand-spikes out of her, and endeavouring to hoist her into the Ship. There being small Hope, that she could go to and again any more. But use what Means they could, she was so heavy, that they could not hoist her in; but were fain to leave her in the Tackles by the Ship's Side.

The 4th being *Sunday*, we rested; and perform'd the Sabbath Duties of Christians.

The 5th and 6th were extreme cold, and we made Bags of our Store Shirts; and in them we carried our loose Bread over the Ice ashore upon our Backs. We also digg'd our Cloaths and new Sails with Hand Spikes of Iron, out of the Ice, and carried them ashore, which we dry'd by a great Fire.

The 7th Day was so extremely cold, that our Noses, Cheeks, and Hands, did freeze as white Paper.

The 8th and 9th, it was extreme cold, and it snow'd much, yet we continu'd our Labour; in carrying and rolling Things ashore. In the Evening, the Water rais'd the Ice very high, and it broke two Thawghts of our Boat, and broke in the Side of her; but for that Time we could not help it.

The 10th, our Carpenter found Timber to make a Keel, and a Stern, for our Pinnace; the rest wrought about our Provisions, until the 13th Day; and that we spent in digging our Boat out of the Ice, which we were fain to do to the very Keel; and dig the Ice out of her, and then we got her up on the Ice: In doing which, many had their Noses, Cheeks and Fingers, frozen as white

white as Paper. The Cold now increas'd most extremely. By the 19th, we could get no more Things out of our Hold; but were fain to leave five Barrels of Beef and Pork, all our Beer, and divers other Things; which were all firm frozen in her.

The 21st was so cold, that we could not go out of the House.

The 23d, we went to have our Boat ashore, running her over our Oars; but by 10 o'Clock there came such a thick Fog, that it was as dark as Night. I made them give over, and make what Haste we could to the Shore, which we had much ado to find, for the Time, losing one another. At the last, we met all at the House, the miserablest frozen that can be conceiv'd. Upon divers, the Cold had rais'd Blisters as big as Wallnuts. This we imagin'd to come, by Reason that they came too hastily to the Fire. Our Well was now frozen up; so that dig as deep as we could, we can come by no Water. Melted Snow-Water is very unwholsome, either to drink or to dress our Victuals. It made us so short-breath'd, that we were scarce able to speak. All our Sack, Vinegar, Oil, and every Thing else that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a Piece of Wood, and we must cut it with a Hatchet. Our House was all frozen on the Inside, and it froze hard, within a Yard of the Fire Side. When I landed first upon this Island, I found a Spring under a Hill's Side; which I then observing, I caus'd some Trees to be cut for Marks to know the Place again by. It was about three Quarters of a Mile from our House. I sent three of our Men which had been formerly with me, thither upon the 24th. These wading thro' the Snow, at last found the Place, and shovelling

away the Snow, they made Way to the very Head of it. They found it spring very strongly, and brought me a Can of it, for which I was right joyful. This Spring continu'd all the Year; and did not freeze; but that we could break the Ice, and come to it. We labour'd very hard, these 3 or 4 Days, to get Wood to the House, which we found to be very troublesome, thro' the deep Snow.

We then settled our Bedding and Provisions, providing to keep *Christmas* Day holy, which we solemniz'd in the joyfullest Manner we could: So likewise did we St. *John*'s Day: Upon which we nam'd the Wood we did winter in, in Memory of that Honourable Knight, Sir *John Winter*, *Winter*'s Forest. And now instead of a *Christmas* Tale, I will here describe the House that we did live in, with those adjoyning.

When I first resolv'd to build a House, I chose the warmest and convenientest Place, and the nearest the Ship withal. It was among a Tuft of thick Trees, under a South Bank, about a slight Shot from the Sea Side. True it is, that at that Time we could not dig into the Ground, to make us a Hole, or Cave, in the Earth, which had been the best Way, because we found Water digging within two Foot; and therefore that Project fail'd. It was a white light Sand; so that we could, by no Means, make up a Mud-Wall. As for Stones, there were none near us; moreover, we were all now cover'd with the Snow. We had no Boards for such a Purpose; and therefore we must do the best we could, with such Materials as we had about us.

The House was square, about 20 Foot every Way; as much namely, as our Main Course could well cover: First, we drove strong Stakes into

into the earth, round about: which we wattel'd with Boughs, as thick as might be, beating them down very cloſe. This our firſt Work was ſix Foot high on both Sides, but at the Ends, almoſt up to the very Top. There we left two Holes, for the Light to come in at; and the ſame Way the Smoke did vent out alſo. Moreover, I caus'd at both Ends, three Rows of thick Buſh Trees, to be ſtuck up, as cloſe together as poſſible. Then at a Diſtance from the Houſe, we cut down Trees; proportioning them into Lengths of 6 Foot, with which we made a Pile on both Sides, 6 Foot thick, and 6 Foot high; but at both Ends, 10 Foot high, and 6 Foot thick. We left a little low Door to creep into, and a Portal before that, made with Piles of Wood, that the Wind might not blow into it. We next faſten'd a rough Tree aloft over all: Upon which we laid our Rafters; and our Main Courſe over them again, which lying thwartways over all, reach'd down to the very Ground, on either Side. And this was the Fabrick of the Outſide of it. On the Inſide, we made faſt our Bonnet Sails round about. Then we drove in Stakes, and made us Bedſtead Frames; about 3 Sides of the Houſe, which Bedſteads were double, one under another, the lowermoſt being a Foot from the Ground: Theſe, we firſt fill'd with Boughs, then we laid our ſpare Sails on that, and then our Bedding and Cloaths. We made a Hearth, in the Middle of the Houſe, and on it made our Fire: Some Boards we laid round about our Hearth, to ſtand upon, that the cold Damp ſhould not ſtrike up into us. With our Waſte Cloaths, we made us Canopies and Curtains; others did the like with our ſmall Sails. Our ſecond Houſe was not paſt 20 Foot

distant from this, and made for the Wattling much after the same Manner, but it was less, and cover'd with our Fore-Course: It had no Piles on the South Side; but in Lieu of that, we pil'd up all our Chests, on the Inside: And indeed the Reflex of the Heat of the Fire against them, did make it warmer than the Mansion House. In this House, we dress'd our Victuals; and the subordinate Crew did refresh themselves all Day in it. A third House, which was our Storehouse, about 29 Paces off from this; for fear of firing. This House was only a rough Tree fasten'd aloft, with Rafters laid from it to the Ground, and cover'd over with our new Suit of Sails. On the Inside, we had laid small Trees, and cover'd them over with Boughs; and so stored up our Bread, and Fish in it, about 2 Foot from the Ground, the better to preserve them. Other Things lay more carelesly.

Long before *Christmas*, our Mansion House was cover'd thick over with Snow, almost to the very Roof of it. And so likewise was our second House; but our Storehouse all over; by Reason we made no Fire in it. Thus we seem'd to live in a Heap, and Wilderness of Snow; forth of our Doors we could not go, but upon the Snow; in which we made us Paths middle deep in some Places; and in one special Place, the Length of ten Steps. To do this, we must shovel away the Snow first; and then by treading, make it something hard under Foot: The Snow in this Path, was a full Yard thick under us. And this was our best Gallery for the sick Men; and for mine own ordinary Walking. And both Houses and Walks, we daily accommodated more and more, and made fitter for our Uses.

The

The 27th, we got our Boat aſhore; and fetched up ſome of our Proviſions from the Beach Side into the Storehouſe; and ſo by Degrees did we with the reſt of our Proviſions: with Extremity of Cold and Labour, making Way with Shovels thro' the deep Snow; even from the Sea Side unto our Storehouſe. And thus concluded we the old Year, 1631.

The 1ſt of *January* 1632, and for the moſt Part all the Month, was extreme cold.

The 6th, I obſerv'd the Latitude, with what Exactneſs I could, it being clear Sunſhine Weather, which I found to be 51. 52. This Difference, is by Reaſon that here is a great Refraction.

The 21ſt, I obſerv'd the Sun to riſe like an Oval, along the Horizon: I call'd three or four to ſee it, the better to confirm my Judgment, and we all agreed, that it was twice as long as it was broad. We plainly perceiv'd withal, that by Degrees as it got up higher, it alſo recover'd its Roundneſs.

The 30th and 31ſt, there appear'd in the Beginning of the Night, more Stars in the Firmament, than ever I had before ſeen by two thirds. I could ſee the Cloud in *Cancer*, full of ſmall Stars; and among the *Pylades*, a great many ſmall Stars. About 10 o'Clock, the Moon roſe; and then a Quarter of them was not to be ſeen. The Wind for the moſt Part of this Month, hath been Northerly, and very cold: The warmeſt of which Time we employ'd ourſelves in fetching Wood, working upon our Pinnace, and other Things that happen'd. In the Beginning of this Month, the Sea was all firmly frozen over, ſo that we could ſee no Water any Way. I hope it will not ſeem tedious to the Readers, if I here

deliver my Opinion, how this Abundance of Ice comes to be ingender'd.

The Land that encircles this great Bay, (which lies in a broken irregular Form, making many little Shoal Bays, and Guts; being, moreover, full of Islands and dry Sands) is for the most Part low and flat, and hath flat Shoals adjoyning to it, half a Mile or a Mile, that are dry at low Water. Now you must know, that it flows half Tide, (as I have often experienc'd) that is, from whence the Flood cometh, the Water thither returneth, 2 Hours before it is High Water, or full Sea. It seldom rains, after the Middle of *September*, but snows; and that Snow will not melt on the Land nor Sands: At Low Water when it snows, (which it doth very often) the Sands are all cover'd over with it, which the half Tide carries officiously, twice in 4 Hours, into the great Bay, which is the common Rendezvous of it. Every Low Water, the Sands are left clear, to gather more to the Increase of it. Thus doth it daily gather together in this Manner, till the latter End of *October*, and by that Time hath it brought the Sea to that Coldness, that as it snows, the Snow will lie upon the Water in Flakes without changing his Colour; but with the Wind is wrought together; and as the Winter goes forward, it begins to freeze on the Surface of it, 2 or 3 Inches, or more, in one Night: which being carried with the half Tide, meets with some Obstacle, as it soon doth, and then it crumples and so runs upon itself, that in a few Hours, it will be 5 or 6 Foot thick. The half Tide still flowing, carries it so fast away, that by *December* it is grown to an infinite Multiplication of Ice. And thus by this Storing of it up, the Cold gets the Predomination in the Sea, which also

furnisheth.

furnisheth the Springs and Water, in the low flat Lands, that it cools it like itself. This may appear by our Experience, though in all this, I freely submit myself to the more learned. Our Men found it more mortifying cold to wade thro' the Water in the Beginning of *June*, when the Sea was full of Ice, than in *December*, when it was increasing. Our Well, more-over, out of which we had Water in *December*, we had none in *July*.

The Ground, at 10 Foot deep, was frozen. The Quantity of the Ice, may very easily be made to appear, by Mathematical Demonstration: And yet I am not of the Opinion, that the Bay doth not freeze all over. For the 21st, the Wind blowing a Storm at North, we could perceive the Ice to rise something in the Bay.

Feb. 1632. The Cold was extreme this Month, as at any Time we had felt it this Year; and many of our Men complain'd of Infirmities. Some, of sore Mouths; all the Teeth in their Heads being loose, their Gums swoln, with black rotten Flesh, which must every Day be cut away. The Pain was so sore on them, that they could not eat their ordinary Meat. Others complain'd of Pain in their Heads, and their Breasts: Some of Weakness in their Backs; others of Aches in their Thighs and Knees: And others, of Swellings in their Legs. Thus were two thirds of the Company, under the Chirurgeon's Hand. And yet, nevertheless, they must work daily; and go abroad to fetch Wood and Timber, notwithstanding the most of them had no Shoes to put on. Their Shoes, upon their coming to the Fire, out of the Snow, were burnt and scorch'd upon their Feet, and our Store-Shoes were all sunk in the Ship. In this Necessity they would

make this Shift: To bind Clouts about their Feet, and endeavour'd by that poor Help, the best they could to perform their Duties. Our Carpenter likewise is, by this Time, fallen sick to our great Discomforts. I practised some Observations, by the Rising and Setting of the Sun, calculating the Time of his Rising and Setting, by very true Running Glasses. As for our Clock and Watch, notwithstanding we still kept them by the Fire Side, in a Chest wrap'd in Cloaths, yet were they so frozen, that they could not go. My Observations by these Glasses, I compar'd with the Stars coming to the Meridian. By this Means we found the Sun to rise 20 Minutes before it should: And in the Evening to remain 20 Minutes, or thereabouts, longer than it should do. And all this by Reason of the Refraction.

Since now, I have spoken so much of the Cold, I hope it will not be too coldly taken, if I, in a few Words, make it some Way to appear unto our Readers.

We made three Differences of the Cold, all according to the Places. In our House, in the Woods, and in the open Air, upon the Ice, in our going to the Ship.

For the last, it would be sometimes so extreme, that it was almost indurable: no Cloaths were Proof against it; no Motion could resist it. It would, moreover, so freeze the Hair on our Eyelids, that we could not see: and I verily believe, that it would have stifled a Man, in a very few Hours. We daily found by Experience, that the Cold in the Woods would freeze our Faces, or any Part of our Flesh that was bare; but it was yet not so mortifying as the other. Our House on the Out-side, was cover'd two third Parts with Snow; and on the Inside frozen, and hung with

Icesickles.

Icesickles. The Cloaths on our Beds would be cover'd with Hoar Frost, which, in this little Habitation, was not far from the Fire. But let us come a little nearer to it. The Cook's Tubs, wherein he water'd his Meat, standing about a Yard from the Fire, and which he all Day ply'd with melted Snow Water: yet in the Night Season, whilst he slept but one Watch, would they be firm frozen to the very Bottom. And, therefore, he was forc'd to water his Meat in a Brass Kettle close adjoyning to the Fire; and I have many Times, both seen and felt by putting my Hand into it; that Side, which was next the Fire, was very warm, and the other Side an Inch frozen; I leave the rest to our Cook, who will almost speak Miracles of the Cold. The Surgeon, who had hung his Bottles of Sirrups, and other liquid Things, as conveniently as he could, to preserve them, had them all frozen: Our Vinegar, Oil, and Sack, which we had in small Casks in the House, was all firm frozen. It may further in general be conceiv'd, that in the Beginning of *June*, the Sea was not broken up; and the Ground was yet frozen; and this we found by Experience, in the burying of our Men; in setting up the King's Standard towards the latter End of *June*; and by our Well, at our coming away in the Beginning of *July*: At which Time upon the Land, for some other Reasons, it was very hot Weather.

March 1632. The 1st of this Month, being St. *David*'s Day, we kept Holiday, and solemnized it in the Manner of the Ancient *Britons*; praying for the Happiness of His Royal Highness, *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*.

The 15th, one of our Men thought he had seen a Deer; whereupon, he with two or three more

more desir'd that they might go to see, if they could take it. I gave them Leave; but, in the Evening, they return'd so disabled with Cold, which did rise up in Blisters under the Soles of their Feet, and upon their Legs, to the Bigness of Walnuts; that they could not recover their former Estate, which was not very well, in a Fortnight after.

The 26th, three more desire that they also might go out to try their Fortunes; but they return'd worse disabled, and even almost stifl'd with the Cold.

This Evening, the Moon rose in a very long Oval along the Horizon.

By the last of this Month, the Carpenter had set up 17 Ground Timbers, and 34 Staddles: And, poor Man, he proceeded the best he can, tho' he be forc'd to be led to his Labour.

In short, all this Month hath been very cold. The Wind about the N. W. The Snow as deep as it has been all this Winter: But to answer an Objection that may be made; You were in a Wood, (some Men may say unto us) and therefore you might make Fire enough to keep you from the Cold. It is true, we were in a Wood, and under a South Bank too; or otherwise, we had all starv'd. But I must tell you withal, how difficult it is to have Wood in a Wood. And, first, I will make a Muster of the Tools we had: The Carpenter, in his Chest, had two Axes indeed; but one of them was spoil'd in cutting down Wood to pile about our House before *Christmas*: When we first landed we had but two whole Hatchets, which, in a few Days, broke 2 Inches below the Sockets. I call'd for three of the Cooper's Hatchets: The Carpenter's Ax, and the Cooper's best Hatchet, I caus'd to be

lock'd

lock'd up; the other two Hatchets to be new helv'd, and the Blades of the two broken Hatchets, to be put into a cleft Piece of Wood, and then to be bound about with Rope Yarn as fast as might be; which must be repair'd every Day. And these were all the cutting Tools we had: Moreover, the 6th of *February*, the Carpenter had out his best Ax, about something, and one of the Company in his Absence, by his indiscreet Handling of it, broke that too, two Inches below the Socket: We must henceforth order these Pieces of Tools the best we could: Wherefore I gave Order, that the Carpenter should have one of the Cooper's Hatchets; they that look'd for Timber in the Woods, the other: And they that cut down Wood to burn, were to have the two Pieces. And this was before *Christmas*.

The three that were appointed to look crooked Timber, must stalk and wade, sometimes on all four, thro' the Snow: And where they saw a Tree likely to fit the Mould, they must heave away the Snow, and then see if it would fit the Mould; then they must make a Fire to it, to thaw it; otherwise it could not be cut. Then cut it down, and fit it to the Length of the Mould; and then with other Help, get it Home, a Mile thro' the Snow.

Now for our Firing. We could not burn green Wood, it would so smoke, that it was intolerable; yea, the Men had rather starve without in the Cold, than sit by it. As for the dry Wood, that also was bad enough in that Kind: for it was full of Turpentine, and would send forth such a thick Smoke, that would make Abundance of Soot: Which made us all look, as if we had been free of the Company of Chimney-Sweepers.

Our

Our Cloaths were quite burnt to Pieces about us: And for the most Part, we were all without Shoet: But to our Fuellers again. They must first, as the former, go up and down in the Snow, till they saw a Tree standing; for the Snow cover'd those that were fallen. Then they must hack it down with their Pieces of Hatchets; and then others must carry it Home through the Snow. The Boys with Cutlasses, must cut Boughs for the Carpenter; for every Piece of Timber that he work'd, must first be thaw'd in the Fire; and he must have a Fire by him, or he could not work. And this was our continual Labour, throughout the forementioned Cold: Besides our tending of the Sick, and other necessary Imployments.

April 1632. The 1st of this Month being *Easter*-Day, we solemniz'd it as religiously as God gave us Grace to do. Both this Day, and the two following Holidays were extreme cold: And now sitting all about the Fire, we reason'd and consider'd together upon our Estate: We had five Men, whereof the Carpenter was one, not able to do any Thing. The Boatswain and many more, were very infirm; and of all the rest, we had but five, that could eat of their ordinary Allowance. The Time and Season of the Year came forwards apace; and the Cold very little abated: Our Pinnace was in an indifferent Forwardness; but the Carpenter grew worse and worse: The Ship, as we then thought, lay all full of solid Ice, which was Weight enough to open the Seams of any new and sound Vessel; especially of one that had lain so long upon the Ground as she had done. In short, after many Disputations, and laying open of our miserable and hopeless Estates, I resolv'd upon this Course; that

that notwithſtanding it was more Labour, and we weaker and weaker; yet with the firm warm Weather, we would begin to clear the Ship; that we might have the Time before us, to think of ſome other Courſe. This being order'd, we look'd to thoſe Tools we had, to dig the Ice out of her; we had but two Iron Bars aſhore; the reſt were ſunk in the Ship, and one of them was broken too. We fell to fitting of thoſe Bars, and four broken Shovels that we had: which we intended, as afterwards we did, to dig the Ice out of her; and to lay that Ice on a Heap, upon the Larboard Bow, and to ſink it down to the Ground ſo faſt, that it ſhould be a Barricado to us, when the Ice broke up, which we fear'd would tear us to Pieces.

The 6th, was the deepeſt Snow we had all this Year; which fill'd up all our Paths and Ways, by which we were uſed to go unto the Wood: This Snow was ſomething moiſter and greater, than any we had had all this Year; for formerly it was as dry as Duſt, and as ſmall as Sand, and would drive like Duſt with the Wind.

The Weather continu'd with this Extremity, till the 15th, at which Time our Spring was harder frozen, than it had been all the Year before. I had often obſerv'd the Difference betwixt clear Weather and miſty Refractious Weather, in this Manner. From a little Hill, which was near adjoining to our Houſe, in the cleareſt Weather, when the Sun ſhone with all the Purity of Air, that I could conceive, we could not ſee a little Iſland, which bore off us S. S. E. 4 Leag. but if the Weather was miſty, as aforeſaid, then we ſhould often ſee it, from the loweſt Place. This little Iſland I had ſeen the laſt Year, when I was on *Danby* Iſland: The 13th, I

took

took the Height of it instrumentally; standing near the Sea-side: which I found to be 34 Minutes, the Sun being 28 Degrees high. This shews, how great a Refraction here is. Yet this may be noted by the Way; that I have seen the Land elevated, by Reason of the Refractious Air; and nevertheless, the Sun hath risen perfect round.

The 16th, was the most comfortable Sunshine Day, that came this Year; and I put some to clear off the Snow from the upper Decks of the Ship; and to clear and dry the great Cabbin, by making Fire in it. Others I put to dig down thro' the Ice, to come by our Anchor, that was in Shoal Water, which the 17th, in the Afternoon we got up, and carried aboard.

The 18th, I put them to dig down thro' the Ice, near the Place where we thought our Rudder might be. They digg'd down, and came to Water; but no Hopes of finding of it; we had many Doubts, that it might be sanded: Or that the Ice might have carried it away already, the last Year: Or if we could not recover it by digging before the Ice broke up, and drove, there was little Hopes of it.

The 19th, we continu'd our Mining Work aboard the Ship, and return'd in the Evening to Supper ashore. This Day, the Master and two others desired that they might lie aboard; which I agreed to: for indeed they had lain very discommodiously all the Winter, and with sick Bedfellows, as I myself had done; every one in that Kind taking their Fortunes. By lying aboard, they avoided the hearing of the miserable Groanings, and Lamentings of the sick Men all Night long; enduring, poor Souls, intolerable Torments.

By

By the 21st, we had labour'd so hard, that we came to the Sight of a Cask; and could likewise perceive, that there was some Water in the Hold. This we knew could not be thaw'd Water; because it froze Night and Day very hard aboard the Ship, and on the Land also.

By the 23d in the Evening, we came to pierce the forementioned Cask; and found it full of very good Beer, which much rejoyc'd us all; especially the sick Men, notwithstanding it tasted a little of bulg'd Water. By this we thought that the Holes we had cut to sink the Ship were frozen, and that this Water had stood in the Ship all the Winter.

The 24th, we went betimes in the Morning to work; but we found that the Water was risen above the Ice where we had left Work, about two Foot; for the Wind had blown very hard at N. the Night before. In the Morning, the Wind came about S. and blew hard, and altho' we had little Reason for it, we yet expected a lower Veer of the Water. I thereupon put them to work on the Outside of the Ship, that we might come to the lower Hole, which we had cut in the Stern-Shoots. With much Labour by Night, we digg'd down thro' the Ice to it; and found it unfrozen, as it had been all the Winter, and to our great Comforts, we found that on the Inside, the Water was ebb'd within the Hole, and that on the Outside, it was ebb'd a Foot lower. Hereupon I caus'd a Shotboard to be nail'd on it, and to be made as tight as might be, to try if the Water came in any other Way. To the other two Holes, we had digg'd on the Inside, and found them frozen. Now I did this betimes, that if we found the Ship founder'd, we might resolve on some Course to save, or

prolong

prolong our Lives, by getting to the Main before the Ice were broken up: As for our Boat it was too little, and bulg'd, besides that. Our Carpenter was by this Time past Hopes, and therefore little Hope had we of our Pinnace. But which was worst of all, we had not four Men able to travel thro' the Snow over the Ice, and in this miserable State where we at this present.

The 25th, we satisfied our Longing; for the Wind now coming about Northerly, the Water rose by the Ship's Side, where we had digg'd down, a Foot and more above the Hold: and yet did not rise within Board. This so incouraged us, that we fell lustily to digging, and to heave the Ice, out of the Ship. I put the Cook and some others, to thaw the Pumps; who by continual pouring of hot Water into them; by the 27th in the Morning they had clear'd one of them: Which, we proving, found it deliver'd Water very sufficiently. Thus we fell to Pumping, and having clear'd two Foot Water, we left the other to a second Trial. Continuing our Work thus, in digging the Ice; by the 28th, we had clear'd our other Pump; which we also found to deliver Water very well. We found likewise, that the Water did not rise any Thing in the Hold.

The 29th, it rain'd all Day long, a sure Sign to us, that Winter was broken up.

The 30th, we were betimes aboard at our Work: Which Day, and the 31st, were very cold, with Snow and Hail; which pinch'd our sick Men more than any Time this Year. This Evening being *May* Eve; we return'd late from our Work to our House, and made a good Fire, and chose Ladies, and ceremoniously wore their Names in our Caps; endeavouring to revive ourselves

ſelves by any Means. And becauſe you hear us in this merry Humour; I will make known to you, what good Cheer we kept at *Chriſtmas* and *Eaſter*; and how we had dieted ourſelves all the Winter.

At our Coming from *England*, we were ſtor'd with all Sort of Sea Proviſions, as Beef, Pork, Fiſh, *&c.* but now as we had little Hope of recruiting, our Cook order'd it in this Manner.

The Beef, which was to ſerve on *Sunday* Night to Supper; he boil'd on *Saturday* Night, in a Kettle full of Water, with a Quart of Oatmeal, about an Hour; then taking the Beef out, he boil'd the reſt till it came to half the Quantity: And this we call'd Porrage, which we eat with Bread, as hot as we could; and after this we had our Ordinary of Fiſh. *Sunday* Dinner, we had Pork and Peaſe; and at Night the former boil'd Beef made more Porrage. In this Manner, our *Tueſdays* Beef was boil'd on the *Monday* Nights; and the *Thurſdays* upon the *Wedneſdays*. And thus, all the Week, except *Friday* Night, we had ſome Thing warm in our Bellies, every Supper. And ſurely this did us a great deal of Good. But ſoon after *Chriſtmas* many of us fell ſick, and had ſore Mouths; and could neither eat Beef, Pork, Fiſh, nor Porrage. Their Diet was only this. They would pound Bread, or Oatmeal, in a Mortar, to Meal; then fry it in a Frying Pan, with a little Oil, and ſo eat it. Some would boil Peaſe to a ſoft Paſte, and feed as well as they could, upon that. For the moſt Part of the Winter, Water was our Drink. In the whole Winter we took not above a Dozen Foxes; many of which would be dead in the Traps, two or three Days, oftentimes; and then when the Blood was ſettled, they would be unwholſome. But if we took

one alive, that had not been long in the Trap, him we boil'd, and made Broth for the weakest sick Men; the Flesh of it being soft boil'd they eat also.

Some white Partridges we kill'd; but not worth mentioning.

We had three Sorts of sick Men. Those that could not move nor turn themselves in their Beds, who must be tended like an Infant. Others that were as it were crippl'd with scummy Aches, and others that were something better; most had sore Mouths. You may now ask me, How these infirm Men could work? I will tell you: Our Surgeon, who was a diligent, and sweet condition'd Man, as ever I saw, would be up betimes in the Mornings; and whilst he pick'd their Teeth, and cut away the dead Flesh from their Gums, they would bath their Thighs, Knees, and Legs. The Manner of it was this: There was no Tree, Bud or Herb; but we made Trial of it: And this being first boil'd in a Kettle, and then put in a small Tub, and Basons; they put it under them, and covering themselves with Cloaths upon it; this would so mollify the grieved Parts, that tho', when they rise out of their Beds, they would be so crippl'd, that they could scarce stand: Yet after this was done half an Hour, they would be able to go (and go they must) to Wood, thro' the Snow, to the Ship, and about other Business. By Night, they would be as bad again; and then they must be bathed, anointed, and their Mouths dress'd again, before they went to Bed. And with this Diet, and in this Manner, we went thro' our Miseries.

I was always afraid, that we should be weakest in the Spring; and therefore I reserv'd a Tun of *Alicant* Wine unto this Time. Of this, by putting

ting seven Parts of Water, to one of Wine, we made some weak Beverage: Which, by Reason that the Wine had been frozen, had lost his Vertue, was little better than Water. The sicker Sort had a Pint of Alicant a Day, by itself; and of such poor Aqua vitæ too, as we had, they had a little Dram allow'd them next their Hearts every Morning: And thus we made the best Use of what we had, according to the Seasons.

May 1632. The first, we went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice.

The 2d, it did snow and blow, and was so cold, that we were forc'd to keep House all Day. This unexpected Cold, at this Time of the Year did so vex our sick Men; that they grew worse and worse: We cannot now take them out of their Beds, but they would swoon: And we had much ado, to keep Life in them.

The 3d, those that were able, went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice. The Snow was now melted in many Places upon the Land, and stood in Plashes: And now there came some Cranes, and Geese to it.

The 4th, while the rest wrought aboard, I and the Surgeon went with a Couple of Pieces, to see if we could kill any of these Fowl for our sick Men, but never did I see such Wild Fowl: They would not indure to see any Thing move. Wherefore we return'd within two Hours, not being able to indure any longer stalking through the Snow, and the wet Plashes. I verily thought that my Feet and Legs would have fallen off, they so tormented me with aching.

The 6th, *John Wardon*, the Master of my Ship's chief Mate died, whom we buried in the Evening, in the most Christian-like Manner we

could, upon the Top of a bare Hill of Sand; which we call'd *Brandon* Hill.

The Weather continu'd very cold; freezing so hard in a Night, that it would bear a Man.

By the 9th, we were come to, and got up our five Barrels of Beef and Pork, and had found four Butts of Beer, and one of Cider, which God had preserv'd for us: It had lain under Water all the Winter; yet we could not perceive that it was any Thing the worse. God make us ever thankful for the Comfort it gave us.

The 10th, it snow'd and blew so cold, that we could not stir out of the House; yet nevertheless by Day the Snow vanisheth away apace on the Land.

The 11th, we were aboard betimes, to heave out Ice. By the 12th, at Night, we had cleared out all the Ice, out of the Hold, and found likewise our Store-Shooes, which had lain soak'd in the Water all the Winter; but we dried them by the Fire, and fitted ourselves with them. We struck again our Cables into the Hold; there stood a But of Wine also, which had been all the Winter on the upper Deck, and continu'd as yet, all firm frozen. We fitted the Ship also, making her ready to sink again, when the Ice broke up. We could hitherto find no Defect in her; and therefore well hop'd that she was stanch. The Carpenter, nevertheless, argu'd to the contrary; alledging, that now she lay on the Ground, in her Dock, the Ice had fill'd her Defects, and that the Ice was the Thing that kept out the Water; but when she should come to labour in the Sea, she would certainly open. And indeed we could now see quite thro' her Seams, betwixt Wind and Water. But that which

which troubl'd us moſt, was the Loſs of her Rudder, and ſhe now lay in the very Strength of the Tide: Which, whenever the Ice drove, might tear her in Pieces. But we ſtill hop'd the beſt.

The 13th, being the *Sabbath* Day, we ſolemnized it; giving God Thanks for thoſe Hopes and Comforts we daily had: The Weather in the Day-time was pretty warm; but it froze by Night; yet now we could ſee ſome Land.

The 14th, we began a new Sort of Work. The Boatſwain, and a convenient Number ſought aſhore the reſt of our Rigging, which was much ſpoil'd by pecking it out of the Ice, and this they now fell to fitting. I ſet the Cooper to fit our Caſk, altho', poor Man, he was very infirm; my Intent being, to paſs ſome Cables under the Ship, and ſo to buoy her up with theſe Caſks; if we could not get her off otherwiſe. Some others, I order'd to go ſee, if they could kill ſome Wild Fowl for our ſick Men, who now grew worſe and worſe. But this is to be remembred, that we had no Shot, but what we made of the Aprons of our Guns, and ſome old Pewter that I had; for the Carpenters Sheet Lead, we durſt not uſe.

The 15th, I manur'd a little Patch of Ground that was bare of Snow, and ſow'd it for Peaſe; hoping to have ſome ſhortly to eat; for as yet we could find no green Thing to comfort us.

The 18th, our Carpenter *Willam Cole* died, a Man belov'd of us all; as much for his innate Goodneſs, as for the preſent Neceſſity we had of a Man of his Quality. He had indur'd a long Sickneſs, with much Patience, and made a very godly End. In the Evening, we buried him by Mr. *Wardon*, accompanied with as many as could

go; for three more of our principal Men lay then expecting a good Hour. And now were we in the most miserable State, that we were in all the Voyage. Before his extreme Weakness, he had brought the Pinnace to that Pass, that she was ready to be boulted, *&c.* and to be joyn'd to receive the Plank; so that we were not so discourag'd by his Death, but that we hop'd ourselves to finish her; if the Ship prov'd unserviceable.

This Pinnace was 27 Foot by the Keel, 10 Foot by the Beam, and 5 Foot in the Hold: She had 17 Ground Timbers, 34 principal Staddles, and 8 short Staddles. He had contriv'd her with a round Stern, to save Labour; and indeed she was a well proportion'd Vessel. Her Burthen was 12 or 14 Tons.

In the Evening, the Master of our Ship, after the Burial, returning aboard, and looking about her; discover'd some Part of our Gunner, under the Gun Room Ports. This Man, we had committed to the Sea, at a good Distance from the Ship, and in deep Water, near Six Months before.

The 19th, in the Morning, I sent Men to dig him out, he was fast in the Ice, his Head downwards, and his Heel upward, for he had but one Leg, and the Plaister was yet at the Wound: In the Afternoon, they had digg'd him clear out; and he was as free from Noisomeness, as when we first committed him to the Sea. This Alteration had the Ice and Water, and Time only wrought on him, that his Flesh would slip up and down upon his Bones, like a Glove on a Man's Hand. In the Evening, we buried him by the others. This Day, one *Geo. Ugganes*, who could handle a Tool best of us all, had pretty well repair'd our Boat, and so we ended

this

this mournful Week. The Snow was by this Time pretty well wasted in the Woods; and we having a high Tree, on the highest Place of the Island, which we call'd our Watch-Tree; from the Top of it we might see into the Sea, but found no Appearance of breaking up yet.

This 20th, being *Whitsunday*, we sadly solemnized it, and had some Taste of the Wild Fowl, but not worth the writing.

The 21st, was the warmest Sun-shine Day, that came this Year. I sent two a fowling, and myself, the Master, Surgeon, and one more, with our Pieces and Dogs, we went into the Woods to see what we could find. We wandered from the House 8 Miles, and search'd with all Diligence; but return'd comfortless, not an Herb nor Leaf eatable, could we find. Our Fowlers had as bad Success. In the Woods, we found the Snow partly wasted away, so that it was passable. The Ponds were almost unthaw'd, but the Sea we could see firm frozen.

The Snow does not melt away here with the Sun or Rain, and so make Land Floods, as in *England*; but is exhal'd by the Sun, and suck'd full of Holes, like Honey-combs; so that the Sand whereon it lies will not be at all wetted. The like Observation we also made, that let it rain ever so much, you shall see no Land Floods after it.

The 22d, we went aboard the Ship, and found she had made so much Water, that it was risen above the Ballast, which made us doubt again of her Soundness. We fell to pumping, and pump'd her quite dry. And now by Day sometimes, we have such hot Glooms, that we cannot endure in the Sun, and yet in the Night it would freeze very hard. This Unnaturalness of the Season,

tormented our Men, that they now grew worse and worse daily.

The 23d, our Boatswain, a painful Man, having been long sick, which he had heartily resisted, was taken with such a painful Ach in one of his Thighs, that we verily thought he would have died presently. He kept his Bed all Day in great Extremity, and it was a Maxim among us, that if any one kept his Bed two Days, he could rise no more. This made every Man to strive to keep up, for Life.

The 24th was very warm Sun-shine, and the Ice consum'd by the Shore's Side, and crack'd all over the Bay, with a fearful Noise. About three in the Afternoon, we could perceive the Ice with the Ebb to drive by the Ship. Whereupon I sent two, with all Speed to the Master, with Order, to beat out the Hole, and to sink the Ship; as likewise to look for the Rudder betwixt the Ice. This he presently performed, and a happy Fellow, one *David Hammon*, pecking betwixt the Ice, struck upon it, and it came up with his Lance; who crying that he had found it, the rest came and got it up on the Ice, and so into the Ship. In the mean Time, with the little Drift that the Ice had, it began to rise and mount into high Heaps against the Shoal Shores, and Rocks, and likewise against the Heap of Ice, which we had put for a Barricado to our Ship; but with little Harm to us; yet we were forc'd to cut away 20 Fath. of Cable, which was frozen in the Ice. After an Hour, the Ice settled again, not having any Vent outwards. Oh! this was a joyful Day to us all, and we gave God Thanks for the Hopes we had of it.

The

The 25th, was a fine warm Day, and with the Ebb the Ice drove againſt the Ship, and ſhook her ſoundly.

The 26th, I took the Chirurgeon with me, and went again to wander the Woods, and went to that Bay, where laſt Year we had loſt our Man *John Barton*. But we could find no Sign of him, nor of other Relief.

By the 28th, it was pretty clear, betwixt the Ship and the Shore, and I hop'd the Ice would no more dangerouſly oppreſs us. Wherefore I caus'd the lower Hole to be firmly ſtopt; the Water then remaining three Foot above the Ballaſt.

The 29th, being Prince *Charles*'s Birth Day, we kept Holy Day, and diſplay'd his Majeſty's Colours, both on Land and Aboard, and nam'd our Habitation, *Charles Town*; by Contraction, *Charlton:* and the Iſland, *Charlton* Iſland.

The 30th, we lanch'd our Boat, and had Intercourſe ſometimes betwixt the Ship and the Shore by Boat, which was News to us.

The laſt of this Month, we found on the Beach ſome Vetches, to appear out of the Ground; which I made Men to pick up, and boil for our ſick Men.

This Day, we made an End of fitting all our Rigging and Sails; and it being a very hot Day, we dried, *&c.* our Fiſh in the Sun, and air'd all our other Proviſions. There was not a Man of us at preſent, able to eat of our Salt Proviſions, but myſelf, and the Maſter of my Ship. It may be remembred, that all this Winter we had not been troubl'd with any Rheums, nor phlematick Diſeaſes. All this Month the Wind hath been variable, but for the moſt Part Northerly.

June 1632. The four first Days, it snow'd, hail'd, and blew very hard, and it was so cold, that the Ponds of Water froze over, and the Water in our Cans froze in the very House; our Cloaths also that had been wash'd and hung out to dry, did not thaw all Day.

The 5th, it continu'd blowing very hard on the Broad Side of the Ship, which made her swag and wallow in her Dock, notwithstanding she was sunk, which shook her very much. The Ice withal drove against her, and gave her many fearful Blows. I resolv'd to endeavour to hang the Rudder; and when God sent us Water, notwithstanding the Abundance of Ice that was yet about us, to have her further off: In the Afternoon, we under-run our small Cable to our Anchor, which lay astern in deep Water; and so with some Difficulty got up our Anchor. This Cable had lain slack under Foot, and under the Ice, all the Winter; and we could never have a clear Slatch from Ice, to have it up, before now; we found it not a Jot the worse. I put some to make Colrakes, that they might go into the Water, and rake a Hole in the Sands to let down our Rudder.

The 6th, we went about to hang it, and our young lustiest Men took it by Turns, to go into the Water, and to rake away the Sand; but they were not able to indure the Cold half a Quarter of an Hour, it was so mortifying; yea, use what Comforts we could, it would make them swoon and die away. We brought it to the Stern Post; but were then forc'd to give it over, being able to work at it no longer. Then we plugg'd up the upper Holes aboard, and fell to pumping the Water out of her again.

The

The 7th, we wrought about our Rudder, but were again forc'd to give over; and to put our Cables over-board, with Meſſengers unto them, the Anchor lying to that Paſs, that we might keep her right in her Dock, when we had brought her light.

By the 8th, at Night, we had pump'd all the Water out of her; and ſhe a High Water would float in her Dock, tho' ſhe were ſtill dock'd in the Sands, almoſt 4 Foot. This made us conſider what was to be done. I reſolv'd to heave out all the Ballaſt, for the Bottom of her being ſo ſoak'd all the Winter, I hop'd was ſo heavy, that it would bear her. If we could not get her off that Way, I then thought to cut her down to the lower Deck, and take out her Maſts; and ſo with our Caſks to buoy her off.

The 9th, betimes in the Morning, we fell to Work. We hoiſted out our Beer and Cyder, and made a Raft of it, faſtening it to our Shore-Anchor. The Beer and Cyder ſunk preſently to the Ground, which was nothing ſtrange to us; for any Wood or Pipe Staves that had lain under the Ice all the Winter, would alſo ſink down as ſoon as ever it was heav'd overboard: This Day we heav'd out 10 Ton of Ballaſt. And here I am to remember God's Goodneſs towards us, in ſending thoſe forementioned green Vetches. For now our feeble ſick Men, that could not for their Lives ſtir theſe 2 or 3 Months, can indure the Air and walk about the Houſe; our other ſick Men gather Strength alſo: And it was wonderful to ſee how ſoon they were recover'd. We uſed them in this Manner: Twice a Day we went to gather the Herb, or Leaf of theſe Vetches, as they firſt appear'd out of the Ground; then we waſh'd and boil'd them, and ſo with Oil and Vinegar,

Vinegar, that had been frozen, we eat them: It was an excellent Sustenance and Refreshing; the most Part of us eat nothing else. We likewise bruis'd them, and took the Juice of them, and mix'd it with our Drink; we eat them raw also, with our Bread.

The 11th, was very warm Weather, and we hung our Rudder. The Tides now very much deceiv'd us; for a Northerly Wind would very little raise the Water. This made us doubt of getting off our Ship.

The 13th, I resolv'd to know the Latitude of this Place; so, having examin'd the Instruments, and practis'd about it this Fortnight, I now found it to be in 52 Deg. and 3 Min.

The 14th, we had heav'd out all the Ballast, and carried all our Yards, and every Thing else of Weight ashore, so that we now had the Ship as light as possible it could be.

The 15th, we did little but exercise ourselves. By this Time, our Men that were most feeble, are now grown strong, and can run about. The Flesh of their Gums became settled again, and their Teeth fasten'd; so that they can eat Beef with their Vetches.

This Day, I went to our Watch-Tree; but the Sea, for any Thing I could perceive to the contrary, was still firm frozen, and the Bay we were in, full of Ice; having no Way to vent it.

The 16th, was wondrous hot, with some Thunder and Lightning; so that our Men went into the Ponds ashore, to swim and cool themselves; yet the Water was very cool still. Here had lately appear'd divers Sorts of Flies; as Butterflies, Butchers-flies, Horse-flies; and such an infinite Number of blood-thirsty Muskitoes, that

we

we were more tormented with them, than ever we were with the cold Weather. Theſe, I think, lie dead in the old rotten Wood all the Winter, and in Summer they revive again. Here are likewiſe an infinite Company of Ants, and Frogs in the Ponds, upon the Land; but we durſt not eat of them; they look'd ſpeckled like Toads. By this Time there are neither Bears, Foxes nor Fowl to be ſeen: they are all gone.

The 17th, the Wind came Northerly, and we expecting a high Tide, in the Morning betimes, put out our ſmall Cable aſtern, out at the Gun Room Port; but the Morning Tide we had not Water by a Foot. In the Evening, I had laid Marks, by Stones, *&c.* and I thought the Water flow'd apace. Making Signs therefore for the Boat to come aſhore, I took all that were able to do any Thing with me aboard; and at High Water, altho' ſhe wanted ſomething to riſe clear out of her Dock, yet we heav'd with ſuch a good Will, that we heav'd her thro' the Sand into a Foot and a half deeper Water; and further we durſt not yet bring her, for the Ice was all thick about us. After we had moor'd her, we went all to Prayers; and gave God Thanks, that he had given us our Ship again.

The 18th, we were up betimes; the Cooper, and ſome with him, to fill freſh Water; myſelf, with others, to gather Stones at Low Water; which we piling up in a Heap, at High Water, the Cockſwain and his Gang, fetch'd them aboard; where the Maſter with the reſt ſtowed them. The Ship at Low Water had a great Luſt to the Offing; by which Means we could the better come and ſtop the two upper Holes firmly: After which, we fitted other convenient Places, to make others to ſink her, if Occaſion were.

The

The 19th, we were all up betimes to work, as afore specified: These two Days, our Ship did not float; and it was a happy Hour, when we got her off, for we never had such a high Tide all the Time we were here. In the Evening, I went up to our Watch-Tree; and this was the first Time I could see any open Water, any way, except that little by the Shore Side, where we were. This put us in some Comfort, that the Sea would shortly break up, which we knew must be to the Northward; seeing that Way we were certain, there were above 200 Leagues of Sea.

The 20th, we labour'd as aforesaid. The Wind at N. N. W. The Tide rose so high, that our Ship floated, and we drew her further off, into into a Foot and a half deeper Water. Thus we did it by little and little; for the Ice was still wonderful thick round about us.

The 22d, there drove much Ice about us, and within us, and brought Home our Stern-Anchor. At High Water, notwithstanding all the Ice, we heav'd our Ship further off; that so she may lie afloat at Low Water.

The next Low Water, we sounded all about the Ship; and found it very foul Ground, we discover'd Stones 3 Foot high, above the Ground, and two of them within a Ship's Breadth of the Ship; whereby did more manifestly appear God's Mercies to us; for if when we forc'd her ashore, she had struck one Blow against those Stones, it had bulg'd her. Many such Dangers were there in this Bay; which we now first perceiv'd, by the Ice's grounding and rising against them. In the Evening, we tow'd off the Ship, unto the Place she rid the last Year, and there moor'd her. Sheering the Ship, Night and Day, Flood and Ebb,

Ebb, among the dispers'd Ice that came athwart of us.

The 23d, we labour'd in fetching our Provisions aboard: Which to do, we were forc'd to wade to carry it to the Boat a full Flight Shot; and all by Reason the Wind was Southerly. This Morning, I took an Observation of the Moon's coming to the S. by a Meridian Line of 120 Yards long, which I had rectified many Weeks before-hand.

The 24th, I took another Observation of the Moon's coming to the Meridian; for which I refer you to Observations in the latter End of this Journal.

I had formerly cut down a very high Tree, and made a Cross of it: To it, I now fasten'd uppermost the King and Queen's Pictures, drawn to the Life; and doubly wrapt in Lead, and so close, that no Weather could hurt them. Betwixt both these, I affix'd His Majesty's Royal Title: *viz.* Charles *the First*, *King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland: *As also of* Newfoundland, *and of these Territories*, *and to the Westward*, *as far as to* Nova Albion, *and to the Northward to the Lat. of* 80 *Deg.* &c.

On the Outside of the Lead, I fasten'd a Shilling, and a Six Pence of His Majesty's Coin: Under that, we fasten'd the King's Arms, fairly cut in Lead; and under that, the Arms of the City of *Bristol*. And this being Midsummer-Day, we rais'd it on the Top of the bare Hill, where we had buried our dead Fellows; formally by this Ceremony taking Possession of these Territories, to His Majesty's Use.

The Wind continuing Southerly, and blowing hard, put all the Ice upon us; so that the Ship now rid among it, in such apparent Danger, that

that I thought verily we ſhould have loſt her. We labour'd, Flood and Ebb, both with Poles and Oars, to heave away and part the Ice from her. But it was God that protected and preſerved us; for it was paſt any Man's Underſtanding, how the Ship could indure it, or we by our Labour ſave her. In the Night, the Wind ſhifted to the Weſtward, and blew the Ice from us; whereby we had ſome Reſt.

The 25th, in the Morning, the Boatſwain with a convenient Crew with him, began to rig the Ship; the reſt fetching our Proviſions aboard. About 10 o'Clock, when it was ſomething dark, I took a Lance in my Hand; and one with me with a Muſket and ſome Fire, and went to our Watch-Tree, to make a Fire on the eminenteſt Place of the Iſland; to ſee if it would be anſwered: Such Fires I had formerly made to have Knowledge, if there were any Savages on the Main, or the Iſlands about us. Had there been any, my Purpoſe was to have gone to them, to get ſome Intelligence of ſome Chriſtians, or ſome Ocean Seas thereabouts. When I was come to the Tree, I laid down my Lance, and ſo did my Conſort his Muſket; whilſt I myſelf climb'd up to the Top of the Tree, I order'd him to put Fire to ſome low Tree thereabouts. He, unadviſedly, put Fire to ſome Trees that were to Windward; ſo that they, and all the reſt too, by Reaſon it had been very hot Weather, being dry, took Fire like Flax or Hemp; and the Wind blowing the Fire towards me, I made Haſte down the Tree. But before I was half Way down, the Fire took in the Bottom of it, and blaz'd ſo fiercely upwards, that I was forc'd to leap off the Tree, and down a ſteep Hill; and, in ſhort, with much ado, eſcap'd burning.

ing. The Moſs on the Ground was as dry as Flax, and it ran moſt ſtrangely, like a Train along the Earth. The Muſket and Lance were both burnt. My Conſort at laſt came to me, and was joyful to ſee me; for he thought verily I had been burnt. And thus we went homeward together, leaving the Fire increaſing, and burning moſt furiouſly. I ſlept but little all Night after; and at Break of Day, I made all our Powder and Beef, to be carried aboard. This Day, I went to the Hills, to look to the Fire; where I ſaw it ſtill burn moſt furiouſly, both to Weſtward, and Northward: Leaving one upon the Hills to watch it, I came Home immediately, and made them take down our new Suit of Sails, and carry them to the Sea Side, ready to be caſt in, if Occaſion were, and to make Haſte to take down our Houſes. About Noon, the Wind ſhifted Northerly; and our Sentinel came running Home, bringing us Word that the Fire follow'd him at his Heels, like a Train of Powder. There was no Occaſion to bid us to take down and carry all to the Sea Side. The Fire came towards us with a moſt terrible rattling Noiſe; bearing a full Mile in Breadth; and by that Time we had uncover'd our Houſes and going to carry away our laſt Things, the Fire was come to our Town, and ſeiz'd it; and, in a trice burnt it down to the Ground. We loſt nothing of any Value, for we had brought all away into a Place of Security. Our Dogs, in this Combuſtion, would ſit down on their Tails, and howl, and then run into the Sea, on the Shoals, and there ſtay. The Wind ſhifted Eaſterly, and the Fire rang'd to the Weſtward, ſeeking what it might devour. This Night, we lay altogether

aboard the Ship, and gave God Thanks, who had been thus merciful unto us.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th, we wrought hard, in fetching our Things aboard, as likewise our Water, which we must tow off with the Ebb, and bring it to the Ship with the Flood: Moreover we must go about the Eastern Point for Drift Wood; for the Tools were all so spent, that we could cut none. Therefore, about three Days ago, I had caus'd our Pinnace to be saw'd to Pieces, and with that we stow'd our Cask, intending to burn it at Low Water, and such other Times, as we could not work in carrying Things aboard. I employ'd the Men in fetching Stones, and we built three Tombs over our three dead Fellows; filling them with Sand in a decent and handsome Fashion. The least Tomb, had two Tons of Stones about it.

The 30th, we most earnestly continu'd our Labour, and brought our Sails to Yard; and by 11 o'Clock at Night had made a pretty Ship; meaning to have finish'd our Business with the Week and the Month, that so we might the better solemnize the Sabbath ashore to Morrow, and so take Leave of our wintering Island.

The Wind had been variable a great While, and the Bays so clear of Ice, that we could not see a Piece of it; for it was all gone to the Northward. Hoping that it may give Content to some Readers, I will relate the Manner of the breaking of it up. It is first to be noted, that it doth not freeze naturally above 6 Foot; the rest, is by Accident. Such is that Ice that you may see here, 6 Fath. thick. This we had manifest Proof of, by our digging the Ice out of the Ship; and by digging to our Anchors, before the Ice broke up.

In

In *May*, when the Heat increaſeth, it thaws firſt on the Shoal by the Shore Side; which when it hath done round about, then the Courſes of the Tides, as well by the Ebb and Flood, as by their Riſing and Falling, do ſo ſhake the main Ice, that it cracks and breaks it. Thus, when it hath got Room for Motion; then runs one Piece of it upon another, and ſo bruiſes and grinds itſelf againſt the Shoals and Rocks, that it breaks ſo, that a Ship may paſs thro' it. Beſides this; much of it is thruſt upon the Shoals, where it is conſum'd by the Heat of the Sun. The Seaſon in this Climate, is moſt unnatural; for in the Day Time, it will be extreme hot; yea intolerable, by Reaſon it is a ſandy Country. In the Night again, it will freeze an Inch thick in the Ponds, and in the Tubs about and in our Houſe: And all this, towards the latter End of *June*.

The Muſkitoes upon our coming away, were moſt intolerable. We tore an old Flag in Pieces, and made us Bags of it to put our Heads in; but it was no Fortification againſt them. They would find Ways and Means to ſting us, that our Faces were ſwoln hard out in Pimples, which would ſo itch and ſmart, that we muſt needs rub and tear them. And theſe Flies, indeed, were more tormenting to us, than all the Cold we had heretofore endured.

July 1632. The 1ſt of this Month being *Sunday*, we were up betimes. And I caus'd our Ship to be adorn'd the beſt we could; our Flag on the Poop, and the King's Colours in the main Top. I had provided a ſhort Account of all the Paſſages of our Voyage to this Day: I likewiſe wrote in what State we were at preſent, and how I intended to proſecute the Diſcovery, both to

the Weſtward, and to the Southward, about this Iſland. This brief Diſcourſe I had concluded, with a Requeſt to any noble-minded Traveller that ſhould take it down, or come to the Notice of it; that if we ſhould periſh in the Action, then to make our Endeavours known to our Sovereign Lord the King. And thus with our Arms, Drums and Colours, Cook and Kettle, we went aſhore, and firſt we march'd up to our eminent Croſs, adjoining to which we had buried our dead Fellows. There we read Morning Prayer, and then walk'd up and down till Dinner Time. After Dinner, we walk'd to the higheſt Hills, to ſee which Way the Fire had waſted. We deſcried, that it had conſum'd to the Weſtward, 16 Miles at leaſt, and the whole Breadth of the Iſland: Near our Croſs and Dead, it could not come; by Reaſon it was a bare ſandy Hill. After Evening Prayer, I happen'd to walk along the Beach Side; where I found an Herb reſembling Scurvy Graſs. I had ſome gather'd, which we boil'd with our Meat to Supper. It was moſt excellent good, and far better than our Vetches. After Supper we all went to ſeek for more of it; which we did, to the Quantity of two Buſhels, which did afterwards much refreſh us: And now the Sun was ſet, and the Boat come aſhore for us: Whereupon we aſſembl'd ourſelves together, and went up to take the laſt View of our Dead, and to look unto their Tombs, and other Things.

So faſtening my Brief, which was ſecurely wrapp'd up in Lead, to the Croſs, we preſently took Boat and departed, and never put Foot more on that Iſland. This Iſland, and all the reſt, as likewiſe the Main, is a light white Sand; cover'd over with a white Moſs, and full of

Shrubs

Shrubs and low Bushes; excepting some bare Hills, and other Patches. In these bare Places, the Sand will drive with the Wind like Dust. It is very full of Trees, as Spruse and Juniper; but the biggest Tree I saw, was but a Foot and a half over. At our first coming hither we saw some Deer and kill'd one, but never any since. Foxes, all the Winter we saw many, and kill'd some Dozen of them; but they went all away in *May*. Bears we saw a few, but kill'd none; we saw some other little Beasts. In *May* there came some Fowl, as Ducks and Geese; of which we kill'd very few. White Partridges we saw, but in small Quantities; nor had we any Shot to shoot at them. Fish, we could never see any in the Sea, nor no Bones of Fish on the Shore Side, excepting a few Cockle Shells, and yet nothing in them neither. Other Things remarkable I have before mention'd.

Our Discovery, and Return Home.

SUNDAY, being the Second of *July* 1632. we were up betimes, about Stowing and Fitting our Ship, and Weighing of our Anchors, which when the last was a-trip, we went to Prayer, beseeching God to continue his Mercies to us, and rendering him Thanks for having thus restor'd us. Our Ship we found no Defect in; we had Abundance of such Provisions, as we brought out of *England*; and we were in indifferent Health, and gather'd Strength daily. This being done, we weighed, and came chearfully to sail. The Wind at N. W. bad to get away. Wherefore we stood over to *Danby* Island, to take in more Wood; and there to be ready to

take the Opportunity of a fair Wind. I went ashore with the Boat, for some of the Company had told me, they had seen some Stakes the last Year driven into the Ground. When we came ashore, whilst some gather'd Wood, I went to the Place; where I found two Stakes, drove into the Ground a Foot and half, and Firebrands, where a Fire had been made by them. I pull'd up the Stakes, which were about the Bigness of my Arm; and they had been cut sharp at the Ends, with a Hatchet, or some other good Iron Tool, and driven in as it were with the Head of it. They were distant about a Stone's Throw, from the Water Side. I could not conceive, to what Purpose they should be there set; unless it were for some Mark for Boats. This did augment my Desire, to speak with the Savages; for without Doubt they could have given Notice of some Christians, with whom they had some Commerce. About 4, in the Evening, I return'd aboard with a Boat's Lading of Wood: And the Wind something favouring, we weigh'd; with our Lead seeking out a Channel amongst these dangerous Shoals. In the Evening, the Wind opposing itself; we came to Anchor betwixt *Charlton* Island, and that Island we nam'd the last Year, in Memory of that Honourable Gentleman, Master *Thomas Cary*, one of the Bed-Chamber to the King, *Cary*'s Island; where we rid all Night.

The 3d, at Break of Day, we weigh'd with a bare Wind, and sounding up and down for a Channel; we were many Times in 5 and 4 Fathom Water. The Wind larging upon us, we stood away West; by Noon, we saw all the Ice Northward of us. Indeavouring, therefore, to compass about the Western Point of *Charlton* Island;

Iſland; and ſo to ſeek to the Southward. We found it all Shoals, Rocks and Breaches. By 4 in the Afternoon, we ſaw the Weſtern Land; but all full of Ice: Whereupon, as the Wind favour'd us, we ſtood along it in Sight to the Northward.

The 4th was calm, but ſo very thick Fog withal, that we could not ſee a Piſtol Shot about us. Wherefore we came to an Anchor, and there rid all this Day, and the next Night.

The 5th, at Three in the Morning, we weighed; but the Ice being all about us, we knew not which Way to turn us. Now, to avoid telling the ſame Thing twenty Times, we were continually, till the 22d, ſo peſter'd and tormented with Ice, that it would ſeem incredible to relate it; ſometimes we were ſo blinded with Fog, that we could not ſee about us: And we did ſo ſtrike againſt the Ice, that the fore Part of the Ship would crack again; and make our Cook and others to run up all amaz'd, and think the Ship had been beaten all to Pieces. Indeed, we did hourly ſtrike ſuch unavoidable Blows, that we left the Hatches open, and twenty Times in a Day, the Men would run down into the Hold, to ſee if ſhe were bulg'd.

Sometimes, when we had made her faſt in the Night, to a great Piece of Ice; we ſhould have ſuch violent Storms, that our Faſtening would break, and then the Storm would beat us from Piece to Piece moſt fearfully. Other Times we ſhould be faſt incloſed among great Ice, as high as our Poop. This was made, as I have formerly ſaid, by one Piece running upon another; which made it draw 8 or 10 Fath. Water. Beſides which, the lowermoſt would riſe from underneath, and ſtrike us under the Bulge, with

Pieces of 5, 6, yea of 8 Tuns, that many times we have pump'd clear Water for an Hour together, before we could make the Pump suck. Among these several and hourly Dangers, I over heard the Men murmur, and say, that they were happy that I had buri d; and that if they had a Thousand Pounds they would give it, so they lay fairly by them; for we, say they, are destin'd to starve upon a Piece of Ice. I was forc'd to suffer all this with Patience, and to comfort them again, when I had them in a better Humour.

The 22d, having been vex'd with a Storm all last Night, and this Morning with a thick Fog, we drove in 13 Fath. Water. About Noon, it clear'd, and we saw the Land; and at that Instant had a good Observation, whereby we knew it to be Cape *Henrietta Maria*. I made the Master stand in with it, and in the mean Time we fitted a Cross, and fasten'd the King's Arms, and the Arms of the City of *Bristol* to it: We came to an Anchor within a Mile of the Shore, in 6 Fath. Water; so we hoist'd out our Boat, and took our Arms and our Dogs, and went ashore. Upon the most eminent Place we erected the Cross; and then seeking about, we soon saw some Deer, and by and by more and more. We stole to them with the best Skill we had, and then put our Dogs on them; but the Deer ran clear away from them at Pleasure. We tir'd the Dogs, and weary'd ourselves, but to no Purpose; neither could we come to shoot at them. I saw in all, about a Dozen, old and young, very goodly Beasts. We took half a Dozen young Geese, on the Pools, by wading into them; and so return'd to our Boat vex'd, that we had found a Place where there was Refreshment, and we could get none of it. Whereas, we had kept our

Dogs

Dogs, with a great Deal of Inconvenience aboard the Ship, all the Winter, and had pardoned them many Misdemeanors; (for they would steal our Meat out of the Steeping Tubs) in Hopes they might hereafter do us some Service; and seeing they now did not, and that there was no Hope they could hereafter, I caus'd them to be left ashore. They were a Dog and a Bitch; Buck Dogs, of a very good Breed. The Dog had a Collar about his Neck, which perhaps hereafter may come to Light. I saw no Sign of any Savages, nor could we find any Herbs or other Refreshment here.

In the Evening, being return'd aboard, and the Wind blowing fair at S. I caus'd the Master to weigh, and come to Sail, and to lose no Time. For we hop'd for an open Sea to the N. W. This Cape has a very Shoal Point that lies off it; which we endeavour'd to compass about.

Sailing therefore among shatter'd Ice, we came to very Shoal Water, 4 and 5 Fath. deep, and could not avoid it. At Length standing N. the Water deepen'd; but we came withal among great Pieces of Ice, which by Reason of some open Water, there was a pretty Sea. These hard Pieces of Ice made a most dreadful Noise. It prov'd a fair Moon-shine Night; otherwise it had gone ill with us. We turn'd among this Ice, staying the Ship sometimes within her Length, of great Pieces, as bad as Rocks; but by Reason we were often forc'd to bear up, we did sag upon the main Rand of Ice, and we thought it would be worse for us; we let fall an Anchor, and stood all on the Decks to watch the Ice's sheering off the Ship, to and again, to avoid it. Thus having Poles and Oars to fend

it,

it, we could not keep ourselves so clear, but many Pieces came foul of us. We broke two of our great Poles with it, which were made to be handl'd by four Men, besides some other Damages. At Break of Day, we weigh'd; and sought all Ways to clear ourselves of Ice; but it was impossible. I conceive it impertinent to relate every particular Day's Passages, which were much alike to us. Our Endeavours were sometime with our Sails, giving and receiving 500 fearful Blows in a Day. Sometimes, we would stop at an Anchor, when we could get a little open Water; and so suffer the Ice to drive to Leeward: Other Times, we should be inclos'd among it, and then it would so break, and rise, and leap up under us, that we expected every Hour to be beaten to Pieces.

Moreover, we should have such Storms in the dark Nights, that would break our Moorings we had made fast to some Piece of Ice for Security in the Night Season; and then we should beat most dangerously from Piece to Piece till Day-light, that we could see to make her fast again. I forbear to speak of thick Fogs which we had daily; which froze our Rigging Day and Night: Besides all which, we should come into most uncertain Depths; sometimes 20 Fath. next Cast 10, next 15; then 9, rocky foul Ground. The great deep Ice withal, driving on these uncertain Depths, did so distract the Tides, and deceive us so much in our Account, that by the 30th, we were driven back so far, to the Eastward, and to the Southward of the Cape; that at 5 o'Clock in the Evening, it bore N.W. of us some 3 Leag. off, contrary to our Expectations. With all these Mischiefs, our Ship is now become very leaky, that we must pump every

ever Half Watch. Here I call'd a Conſultation, and after conſidering all our Experience, we were of Opinion, that it was impoſſible to get to the Northward, or to the Eaſtward; by Reaſon of the Ice. Wherefore I reſolv'd upon this Courſe: When the Wind blew S. it would blow the Ice off the S. Shore, then we would ſeek to get to the Weſtward, betwixt it and the Shore. I muſt confeſs, that this was a deſperate Reſolution; for all the Coaſt we knew to be ſhoal and foul Ground, all Rocks and Stones; ſo that if the Wind ſhould ſhift to the Northward, there would be, without God's Mercies, little Hope of us. But here we muſt not ſtay; the Nights grew long, the Cold ſo increas'd, that betwixt the Pieces of Ice, the Sea would be frozen. I caus'd the Ship to be fitted, and Places convenient again prepar'd to ſink her the ſecond Time, if ſo be we were put to Extremities. We preſently put our Project in Execution (the Wind being at S.) and got about the Shoals of the Cape; ſtanding then into the Shore-ward, to get betwixt it and the Ice: We came into 4 Fath. Water, (very foul rocky Ground) thinking to come to an Anchor all Night, and let the Ice drive to Leeward. But ſtill there was ſo much Ice betwixt us and the Shore, that we were forc'd to bear up among it into deeper Water, and to let the Ship drive among it. The Wind increaſing, we endur'd a moſt dangerous dark Night of it. In the Morning we fell to Work, to get the Ship again out of the Ice into ſome clear Water, which we ſaw W. by S. of us. Some of our Company out upon the Ice, to heave her with their Shoulders, whilſt others ſtood aboard with Poles. The reſt ſtood to fill and ſpill the Sail. By 9 in the Morning, we had got into ſome clear Water, and

ſtood

stood W. and by S. and into 4 Fath. Water, foul Ground. But being not able to weather some Rands of Ice, which did drive; we were forc'd to stand off again, and when the Evening grew dark, to come to an Anchor.

About Midnight, there came a great Piece of Ice, (which we could not avoid) athwart of our Cable, and made the Ship drive and drag her Anchor. This drove her into Shoal Water, it being very rocky and foul Ground. We brought the Cable to Capstang, and heav'd with such a Courage, that we heav'd Home our Anchor from under it. Thus we endeavour'd, the best we could, to keep ourselves in 8 and 10 Fath. Water. It then pleas'd God, that the Wind blew along the Shore; otherwise it had gone far worse with us.

August 1632. The 1st of this Month, at Break of Day, when we could see a little about us, we were forc'd to struggle again with the Ice, and to get in nearer to the Shoar. By Reason the Wind was opposite to come to an Anchor, we let the Ice drive to Leeward; hoping there was a clearing Sea to the Westward. The Ice drove very thick upon us, and one Piece came foul of us; which touch'd our Sprit-Sail Yard, and made the Ship drive; but we soon clear'd ourselves of it. Then we weigh'd, and stood in nearer to the Shore; but the Water shoal'd, and there were so many great Rands of Ice betwixt us and the Shore, that there was no coming to an Anchor. So we turn'd betwixt the Ice, many Pieces of it being aground in Shoal Water, and few Pieces distant one from the other a Cable's Length. This Day, we saw two Sea Morses on the Ice.

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The 2d, in the Morning, we were glad of the Break of Day; having moſt dangerouſly turn'd among the Ice, and endur'd many a heavy Blow. We ſtood in again to the Shoreward, to ſee if we could get ſome clear Water, for to the Northward it was all impaſſable Ice. We ſtood into 5 and 4 Fath. but ſtill all incompaſs'd with Ice. So we ſtood off again into deeper Water; and in the Evening we were inclos'd among extraordinary great Pieces. It was a very thick Fog withal; ſo that we made faſt the Ship to a great flat Piece, and went to ſleep and refreſh ourſelves after our extreme Pains-taking.

The 3d, 4th, and 5th, we were inclos'd among very great Ice; and it blew ſuch a Storm of Wind, that we endeavouring to get forward to the Weſtward, ſtruck ſuch heavy Blows, that made all the Fore Part of the Ship crack again. Then we would give over working and let her alone among it; but then the Ice would break and riſe under us, and that would endanger us as bad as the former. Our Ship doth make above a Tun of Water every Watch, which we muſt pump out, beſide our other Labour. God think on us, and be merciful unto us among all theſe Dangers.

The 5th, at Noon, we were in Lat. 55. 30. the Cape bearing off us S. E. by E. 12 Leagues off. And this all we have got ſince the 22d of *July*. All Night it blew a violent Gale of Wind, at W. N. W. and about Midnight, our Hawſer, (by which we made faſt to a Piece of Ice) broke, and we loſt 14 Fath. of it. We beat all Night moſt fearfully, being toſs'd from Piece to Piece, becauſe in the Dark, we durſt not venture our Men to go on the Ice, for fear of loſing them.

All

All the 6th, the Storm continu'd, and drove us again, with the Ice, almost to the Cape.

The 7th, was the most comfortable Day we had, since we came out of our Wintering Place, the Wind came up fair at E. and we got, altho' with our former Inconveniencies and Dangers, nearer to the Shore, and into some open Water, making good Way to the Westward. Moreover, our Leak now stopt of its own Accord; so now we pump'd but little. We sail'd all Night; keeping good Watch on the Fore Castle; bearing up from one, and looffing for another.

Thus we did the 8th also, but then the Wind shifting to the N. W. it drove the Ice on the Shore, and we came to an Anchor in 8 Fathom Water. The main Ice, we had some two Miles to Windward of us; but the Set of the Tide kept it off from us. At Noon, we were in Latitude 55. 34. In the Evening, a Range of Ice drove upon us, which made us weigh, and stand in nearer the Shoar into 6 Fath. and there come to an Anchor. The Wind increasing about Midnight, the Ship drove, and was quickly in 5 Fathom Water; wherefore we let fall our Sheet-Anchor, and both held her. But what troubl'd us, was, we expected every Minute that the main Ice would come upon us; then there would be no Hope, but to be put ashore.

The 9th, in the Morning, we weigh'd our second Anchor, the Ice being within less than a Mile of us. About 8 in the Morning, a Point of it came foul of us; which we prevented, by weighing, and came to an Anchor in 3 Fath. and a Half Water. The Wind continu'd N. N. W. which was in on the Shoar. This Morning, I caus'd all our empty Casks to be fill'd with Water,

Water, and the Ship to be left unpump'd, and the Place look'd to, that we had prepar'd to sink her. For we were at present in as apparent Danger, as any Time this Voyage; and to our great Grief it was all foul rocky Ground. The Danger of this was, if we made fast to a Piece of Ice that drew deep Water; then, as soon as it came to Ground on the Rocks, it would break all to Pieces, and betray us to our Destruction. About Noon, there came foul of us the Point of a Range of Ice, which we resolv'd to indure the Extremity of, with an Anchor, thinking to ride and break thro' it, we now perceiving some open Water beyond it. Thrusting therefore, and sending with our Poles; at last a great Piece came athwart our Hawser, and there went a pretty Sea among it. The Ship now fell upon it so violently, that I expected every Blow, she would beat out her Bows. At length, she drove with it, so that I thought the Cable had been broke. We brought it to Capstang to heave it in, but found that our Sheet-Anchor was broken in the Middle of the Shank. We presently set our Sails thereupon, endeavouring that Way to edge in among the Ice off of this dangerous Shore. It pleas'd God to favour our Labour so, that by 8 in the Evening we got off into 7 Fath. and a dark Night coming on, we made fast to the biggest Piece we could find. It blew fairly all Night, but about Midnight, the Wind came up at N. which was more on the Shore than before. By Break of Day, on the 10th, we were driven into 4 Fath. very foul Ground; so that the Lead fell off the Rocks 3 or 4 Foot, we set our Sails, and us'd our utmost Endeavours to edge off. Some of us went upon the Ice to hale her, others stood with Poles to thrust by Night. At Night

we

we got off, into 8 Fath. and made fast to the biggest Piece we could find. If any Man should ask, Why we now kept so near the Shore, in this continual Danger? I answer, because in the Offing, the Ice was so extraordinary thick, that we could make no Way thro' it. Moreover, when we were in that great thick Ice, and the Wind came up fair at S. or S. E. or E. we could not get out of it. Therefore we chuse to run this Adventure; and so prevent and overcome all Dangers, *with God's Assistance, and our extreme Labour.*

The 11th, in the Morning, was a thick Fog; yet there sprung up a Gale of Wind at E; and we made in for the Shore.

From the 11th to the 14th, the Wind continued fair, and we made all the Sail we could, Night and Day, as the Ice would suffer us. We had the Shore in Sight by Day, on one Side, and the Ice within 2 Miles, on the other, and we sail'd among dispers'd Pieces; looffing for one, and bearing up for another.

The 14th, at Noon, we were in Lat. 57. 55. In the Evening, we were imbay'd in Ice, and stood S. W. to clear ourselves of it, but could not. But seeing from Top-Mast Head clear Water over it, we put into it; but there arose a very thick Fog, and Night came on withal, that we were forc'd to fasten to a Piece of Ice, expecting Day and better Weather.

The 15th, in the Morning, although the Fog was very thick, we endeavour'd to get out of the Ice, and stood away W. but within 2 Hours the Water shoal'd from 40 Fath. to 25; whereby we knew that we had the Shoaling of the Western Shore. Then we shap'd our Course to the Northward; the Fog continuing so thick, that we

we could not ſee a Piſtol-ſhot about us. We had not ſtood this Way two Hours, but we heard a Rut of the Ice a Head of us, which made the moſt hideous Noiſe, of any we had heard this Voyage. We hal'd our Tacks aboard, and ſtood to the Weſtward, in this Day Darkneſs: Hearing of it ſometimes, and ſeeing it ſometimes; which was very large, deep, and high Ice, above the Water. We weather'd it all, except ſome few Pieces, and got into open Water. About Sunſet, there came a ſudden Guſt at N. N. W. and before we could handle our Sails, it was with us, and put us into ſome Trouble. It dally'd with us by Guſts, till 9 o'Clock; and then it fell into a moſt violent Storm. We conſider'd where we might have the cleareſt Drift, and ſo took in all, and let her drive, her Head to the Shoreward. Before Midnight, the Water ſhoal'd on us, to 15 Fath. Then we turn'd her Head to the Eaſtward, and ſet our main Courſe low ſet, but as much as ſhe could bear. The Water deepen'd but little, and we knew that we were on thoſe Rocky Shoals, which we ſtruck on the laſt Year. *God be merciful unto us.* Here was the firſt great breaking Sea we had this Year.

The 16th, in the Morning, we were driven to a great Rand of Ice; to avoid which, we ſet our Fore-Courſe to, and ſtood to the Shoreward, in 13 Fath. Water; and then about again. We ſtood in a Mile to the Ice, but there went a great ſwelling Sea in it, that it was not durable; ſo we ſtood out again. About 3, in the Afternoon, the Storm broke up, and blew fair at N. W. which produc'd Good for us; for we had not Drift for 4 Hours: Beſides, it was but two Leag. betwixt the Shoals and the Ice. We ſet

all our Sails, and endeavour'd to weather the Ice; but in the Evening we were still pester'd with it. By Midnight, we knew not which Way to turn, nor what to do; so we took in all our Sails, and let her drive among it. The Ice beat us on every Side, for there went among it a very great full Sea.

The 17th, in the Morning, when we could see about us, we were in the Midst of it; but in the last Storm it was all broken into Pieces, as big as a Boat of 3 or 4 Tun, which gave us many a heavy Blow in the dark Night. If this Storm had taken us among it, it had beaten us all to Pieces, *without God's miraculous Preservation.* We made Sail, and endeavour'd to clear ourselves of it to the Northward, which by 8 in the Morning, we had done.

We then went to Prayer, and *gave God hearty Thanks*, that had deliver'd us out of it. For we were hourly, for the Space of Six Weeks, as it were in the Jaws of Death; yea, never any that I have heard of have been so long, in such long Nights, upon a foul Shore, tormented with Ice, as we have been. At Noon, we were in Latitude 58. 20.

Now, as touching the Dissolution of the Ice, we found, that this Storm had torn and shattered this Rand of Ice, which was on the Outside; altho' it must have a long Time, to work into the main Body of it. I have in *July*, and in the Beginning of *August*, taken some of the Ice into the Ship, and cut it square 2 Foot, and put it into the Boat, where the Sun shone on it with a very strong Reflex about it. And notwithstanding the Warmth of the Ship; for we kept a good Fire, and all our Breathings, and Motions, it would not melt in 8 or 10 Days.

It

It was our Practice when we should be 2 Days together fast to a Piece of Ice, to set Marks on it, to see how it consum'd, but it yielded us small Hope of dissolving. We could not in that Time perceive any Diminution by the sinking of it, or otherwise. Nevertheless, I think that it is ruin'd with Storms, or consum'd with Heat some Years; or else the Bay would be choak'd up: But, I confess, these Secrets of Nature are past my Comprehension.

Being out of it, (but we yet saw it from off the Decks, to the Eastward) I order'd the Master to steer away N. and by E. keeping the Shoaling of the Western Shore.

The Eighteenth, at Noon, we were in Latitude 59. 30.

The 19th, we continu'd our Course betwixt the N. N. E. and the N. by E. and by Noon were in Lat. 61. 7. some 12 Leag. off the Shore. I order'd the Master, to shape his Course N. E. to look to that Place betwixt *Cary's Swans Nest*, and *Ne Ultra*.

The 20th, we were in Lat. 61. 45. This Day we saw some few Seals about the Ship.

The 21st, the Water shoal'd; so that we concluded we were near Land; but about Noon the Wind came up at N. E. directly opposite. We looff'd as near it as we could, and as it larg'd, we came to stand E. and E. and by N.

The 22d, we fell with the Land to the Westward of *Cary's Swans Nest*; where we had 40 Fath. 3 Leag. off. We stood in within a League of the Shore, into 13 Fath. and seeing the Land to the Southward of us, we compass'd about it, it being *Cary's Swans Nest*, which is in Latitude 52. 00.

All the 23d, we sail'd N. E. and for the most Part in Sight of Land.

The 24th, at Noon, by Judgment, we were in Lat. 69. 30. having sail'd a N. E. Course. All this Day was a very thick Fog, which about One o'Clock clear'd a little; so that I expected to see the Land. Some of our Men better sighted, spy'd it about 2 Leag. off. I knew it could be no other than *Nottingham* Island; tho' it were something contrary to the Expectation of our best Mariners. We stood into to make it. It was the N. End of it; and it bear off us, due E. I was soon assur'd of it; and I order'd the Master to shape his Course N. W. and by N. Both he and others were unwilling; but without much ado, submitted themselves: It was very foul thick Weather. The Reasons of my Resolution were these: The Time of the Year was far spent, and the Winter come upon us; therefore I would make the shortest Way, betwixt the Lands already discover'd. If I found an open Sea, I had my Desire, and then intended to proceed to the utmost of our Power; if I met with Land, I should then finish the Discovery; it being not above 15 Leag. from Land to Land, and not above 10 Leag. from *Nottingham* Island, to the Main of the N. Shore. We made what Sail we could; it blowing a very stiff Gale of Wind till 8 in the Evening; then it began to blow fiercely: And we took in our Top-Sails, and stood under our two Courses and Bonnets. At 9, it blew a violent Storm at S. S. E. so that we took in our Fore-Sail, and let her drive N. W. All Night it continu'd an extraordinary Storm; that we heav'd the Lead every Half Watch: But the Ship drove so fast, that she would be past the Lead, before there were 20 Fath.

Fath. of Line out, all the Night being exceeding cold withal.

The 25th, the Storm continu'd, and so perplex'd us, that there were but few that could sleep or eat for 24 Hours. About 6, in the Afternoon, the Storm began to abate, yet there blew a fierce Gale of Wind betwixt the S. and S. W. We stood W. N. W. and made a N. W. Way, when suddenly the Sea become very smooth. We reason'd thereupon among ourselves, what might be the Cause of it. We all thought it, to be the Leeward Tide; nothing doubting, what we afterwards encounter'd. The Ship had a very quick Way in this smooth Water.

The 26th, by 2 in the Morning, we were suddenly got among the Ice; and it pleas'd God, that the Moon, at that Instant, gave us so much Light, that we could see a little about us. We would have stay'd the Ship, but it was so thick to Windward, and so near us, that we durst not. We then bore up in this unexpected Accident; and I verily believe did not escape striking, the Length of a Foot, against the Ice as hard as Rocks, two or three Times; the Ship now having Way after 12 Leag. a Watch. Then we stood close by a Wind to the Eastward, expecting Day, that we might see about us. We could from Top Mast Head see the Ice to the N. N. W. the N. W. and so round about by the S. to the E. and some there was to the Leeward of us. It was all flat sound Ice, and the Sea as smooth as a Well among it. This struck us all into a Dump. Whereupon I call'd a Consultation of my Associates; namely, *Arthur Price*, Master: *William Clements*, Lieutenant; *John Whittered*, Master's Mate; *Nathaniel Bilson*, Chirurgeon; and *John Palmer*, Boatswain; requiring them to

advise and counsel me, how to prosecute our Business to Effect. These all went together, and reason'd among themselves; and then brought me their Opinions in Writing, under their own Hands:

Viz. Our Advice is, that you repair Homeward, from this present 26th, and that for these Reasons. First, that the Nights are long, and so extreme cold withal, that we can hardly handle our Sails and Rigging. Secondly, the Times are now subject to stormy and gusty Weather, as witness the present Season; it having continu'd a Storm ever since the 24th, and doth yet continue, no Weather to discover in. Thirdly, We doubt, whether *Hudson*'s Streights be so clear of Ice, that it may be passable in convenient Time; Winter coming on apace, before we are frozen up; seeing the Ice lies here all over the Sea. Fourthly, We must have fair Weather to pass the Streight, for which we may stay a long Time; if we neglect the first Opportunity. Fifthly, our Ship is so very leaky, that in foul Weather we are forc'd to pump every Glass; which is great Labour: Moreover, we know her to be so sorely bruis'd with Rocks, and Blows of the Ice, that she is no more to be adventur'd among it, but in saving our Lives Homewards: Besides all this, our Men grow very weak and sickly, with extreme Labour. Sixthly, The Season of the Year is so far spent, that we can expect no other Weather, than we have had, both lately and at present; that is to say, Snow and Fog, freezing our Rigging, and making every Thing so slippery, that a Man can scarce stand: And all this, with the Wind Southerly; which if it should come to the Northward; then we are to expect far worse. Seventhly and lastly, That the

the Ice lies all in thick Rands and Ranges, in the very Way we should go, as you and all Men here may see. And therefore we conclude, as aforesaid, That there is no Possibility of proceeding further; wherefore we here counsel you to return Homeward; hoping that God will give us a favourable Passage, to return to our native Country; if we take Time, and not tempt him too far, by our Wilfulness.

Indeed, most of these Difficulties were in View; and I could not reasonably oppose them, nor any Reason could I give for proceeding further: Wherefore, with a sorrowful Heart, God knows, I consented, that the Helm should be born up, and a Course shap'd for *England*; hoping, that His Majesty would graciously consider my Endeavours, and pardon my Return. And altho' we have not discover'd populous Kingdoms, and taken special Notice of their Magnificence, Power, Policy, *&c.* brought Samples Home of their Riches and Commodities; pry'd into the Mysteries of their Trade and Traffick; nor made any great Fight against the Enemies of God and our Nation; yet, I hope, our Willingness in these desart Parts may be acceptable to our Readers. When we bore up Helm, we were in Lat. 65. 30. at least, N. W. and by N. from *Nottingham* Island. Some were of Opinion, that we were further to the Northward; but by Reason it was by Judgment, I chuse to set down the lesser Distance.

The 27th, the Wind came up at N. W. with which we could not have gone on with our Design; that Wind made no great swelling Sea. By Noon, we were athwart of Cape *Charles*; so that we went in betwixt that Cape, and *Mill* Islands. The last Night it snow'd very much, and

was very cold; so that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen, and all the Land cover'd with Snow. And here it will not be amiss to consider the Reasons of it: When I was upon *Charlton* Island, (our Wintering Place,) and in *June*, when the Snow was clearest off the Ground, I have in the Nights, and some of them following the hottest Days, observ'd, whether there fell any Dew or no; but I could never perceive any, and from Moss and Sand, little I thought was to be expected. Now, of what was exhal'd from the snowy Ice, and cold Sea, could there probably be return'd but the like again. Generally, we continu'd on our Course, blinded with Fog and dirty Weather; and that intermix'd with Snow and Frost among dispers'd Pieces of Ice; many of them higher than our Top Mast Head.

With great Variety of Winds, we were also driven within 3 Leag. of both Shores; so that the last of this Month, we were in the Narrow of the Streight, which is about 15 Leag. over; the S. Shore was much pester'd with Ice.

September 1632. The 1st, and 2d, we endeavour'd to get on our Way. The 3d, in the Evening, as the Weather clear'd up; we saw the S. End of the *Island of Resolution*.

These 3 Days and Nights had been extreme cold, with Fog and Frost; insomuch, that our Men, in the Evening, could hardly take in our Top and Sprit Sails. We have sail'd thro' much mountainous Ice, far higher than the Top Mast Head. But this Day we sail'd by the highest that I ever yet saw; which is incredible, indeed, to be related. Now as the Wind comes Easterly, we feel another Sea, out of the Ocean, and the Ship labours with another Motion, than

ſhe hath done with any that ever we obſerv'd to come out of the Weſtward.

From the 3d to the 8th, we had Variety of Winds, and were got clear out of the Streights; but were now come into ſuch a tumbling Sea, the Weather dirty and windy, and by Intervals calm again, that the Ship did ſo labour and roll, that we thought verily ſhe would have roll'd her Maſts by the Board. This made her ſo leaky, that we were forc'd to pump every Glaſs; yea, her Seams ſo open'd aloft, that we lay all wet in her.

This was the laſt Day we ſaw any Ice. The Wind now favouring us, we made all the Haſte we could Homeward. By the Way, having endeavour'd, obſerv'd, and experimented ſome Things in my unfortunate Voyage, I perfected my ſaid Obſervations; which being afterwards commanded to publiſh; I here moſt ſubmiſſively offer unto the judicious Reader.

What hath been long ago fabled by ſome *Portugueſe* that ſhould have come this Way out of the South Sea, the meer Shadows of whoſe miſtaken Relations have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own Vanity. Theſe Hopes have ſtirr'd up, from Time to Time, the more active Spirits of this our Kingdom, to reſearch that meerly imagin'd Paſſage. For my own Part, I give no Credit to them at all, and as little to the vicious and abuſive Wits of later *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*, who never ſpeak of any Difficulties, as ſhoal Water, Ice, nor Sight of Land; but as if they had been brought Home in a Dream or Engine. And indeed their Diſcourſes are found abſurd; and the Maps, by which ſome of them have practis'd to deceive the World, meer Falſities; making Sea where there

there is known to be main Land, and Land where is nothing but Sea.

Most certain it is, that by the Industry of our own Nation, those Northern Parts of *America* have been discover'd, to the Latitude of 80 Degrees, and upwards. And it hath been so curiously done, the Labours of several Men being join'd together, that the main Land hath been both seen and search'd, and they have brought this suppos'd Passage to this Pass, that it must be to the N. of 66 Degrees of Latitude. A cold Climate, pester'd with Ice, and other Inconveniencies, and where the *Spaniards* Dispositions, and their weak Ships, can hardly endure it. And withal, it is known, that the Entrance of *Hudson*'s Streights is but 15 Leag. broad; in the Middle not so much. And betwixt *Salisbury* Island, and the Main, it is but 8 Leag. Then proceeding to the Northward, towards the foremention'd Latitude, it is but 15 Leagues from Main to Main. This in Length, is about 140 Leag. as will more plainly appear by the Map, and infinitely pester'd with Ice, until *August*, and some Years not passable then, and I believe the Streight is never clear of Ice entirely.

Now it is most probable there is no Passage, for the following Reasons:

First, There is a constant Tide, Flood and Ebb, setting into *Hudson*'s Streights; the Flood still coming from the Eastward; which as it proceeds, correspondent to the Distance, it alters his Time of full Sea. This also entering into Bays, and broken Ground, it becomes distracted, and reverses with Half Tides.

Secondly, Here are no small Fish, as Cod, *&c.* and very few great Ones, which are rarely to be seen. Nor are there any Bones of Whales, Sea-Horses,

Horses, or other great Fish, to be found on the Shore, nor any Drift Wood.

Thirdly, We found the Ice in the Lat. of 65. 30. to be lying all over the Sea in Rands; and I am most certain, that the Shoals and Shoal Bays are the Mother of it. Had there been any Ocean beyond it would have been broke all to Pieces; for so we found it coming thro' the Streight into the Sea, to the Eastward.

Fourthly, The Ice seeks his Way to the Eastward, and so drives out at *Hudson*'s Streight; which I have often observ'd upon the *Island of Resolution*, and driving among the Ice in the Streight.

Admit there were a Passage, yet it is known, that is narrow, for 140 Leag. and infinitely pester'd with Ice, as every one has found, who has gone that Way. Comparing therefore some Observations taken at *Bantam*, *Gulolo*, and *Firando* in *Japan*; and the Distance betwixt *Japan* and the Western Part of *California*; with the Observations taken at *Charleton* Island, referring all to the Meridian of *London*, and then the Distance betwixt the Meridians of Cape *Charles*, and the Western Part of *California*, will be found to be about 500 Leag. in Lat. 66. 00. where yet the Meridians incline very much together.

To this may be added, that near about Cape *Charles*, the Variation is 29 Degrees to the W. which is a probable Argument, that there is much Land to the Westward; and that this Streight must be very long, and that you have no Time to pass it but in *August* and *September*, when the Nights are so long, and the Weather so cold, that it will not be durable.

Add to this: That neither can any great Ships, which are fit for carrying of Merchandize, endure

dure the Ice, and other Inconveniencies, without extraordinary Danger.

Moreover, 1000 Leag. is sooner sail'd to the Southward, and about the Cape *de Bona Speranza*, where the Winds are constant, and that with Safety, than 100 in these Seas, where you must daily run the Hazard of losing Ship and Lives. Put hereunto, that Comfort for the Sick, or Refreshment for your Men, here is none to be had in these Quarters.

Towards the latter End of *August*, and in *September*, the Weather grows tempestuous, and the Winds incline to be Westerly, that there will be but small Hope of performing your Voyage this Way.

But let us, by Way of Imagination only, enlarge this Streight, in this Latitude, and free it of Ice, yet what Advantage, in speedy Performance, will be got by this Passage, if the Winds be withal consider'd? To *Japan*, *China*, and the Northern Parts of *Asia*, it may be the nearer Cut; but in Navigation, the fartheſt Way about is well known, in fewer Days to be perform'd, yea, with lesser Pains, and more Safety of Ship and Goods.

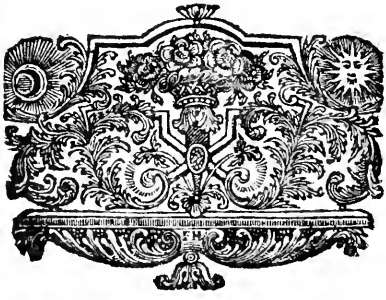
Again: To the *East Indies*, and other Parts, where we have the greatest Commerce and Imployment of Shipping; the other Way is as near. What Benefit of Trade might have been obtain'd in those Northern Parts of *Asia*, I will not presume to speak of; holding that there is a great Difference betwixt those Parts, and the Northern Parts of *America*; whereas, I am sure, that there is none in any Place where I have been all this Voyage.

The

The 22d of *October*, we arriv'd in the Road of *Briſtol*; having been hinder'd and croſs'd with much contrary and tempeſtuous Winds and Weather. The Ship being brought into Harbour, and hal'd on dry Ground to look to her, it was found; that all her Cut-Water and Stern were torn and beaten away, together with 14 Foot of her Keel; much of her Sheathing cut away, her Bows broken and bruis'd, and much Timber crack'd aboard, and under the Starboard Bulge, a ſharp Rock had cut thro' the Sheathing, the Plank, and an Inch and an Half into a Timber that it met withal. Many other Defects there were beſides, ſo that it was miraculous how this Veſſel could bring us Home again. Being all arriv'd, we went to Church, and gave God Thanks for his Preſervation of us amidſt ſo many Dangers. I very well know, that what I have here haſtily written, will never diſcourage any noble Spirit, that is minded to bring this ſo long tryed Action to abſolute Effect. And it is likely withal, that there be ſome, who have a better Underſtanding, and a ſurer Way of proſecuting of it, than myſelf have. To whoſe Deſigns, I wiſh a happy Succeſs, and if they do but make a Review of what hath been done, and give more certain Celeſtial Obſervations, Hydrographical Deſcriptions, or exacter Practice in Navigation; it will be a moſt commendable Labour. For altho' I have ſpent ſome Years of my ripeſt Age, in procuring Intelligence from foreign Nations, and have travell'd with divers honourable and learned Perſonages of this Kingdom, for their Inſtructions; have bought up whatever I could find in Print, or Manuſcript, and what Maps or Papers ſoever conducive to this Buſineſs, that poſ-

ſibly

sibly I could procure; and have serv'd voluntary besides; and spent some Time in rendering a Relation, since my coming Home, and expended withal of my own Monies, in my aforesaid Endeavours, and in furnishing of extraordinary Necessaries, above Five Hundred Pounds in Ready Money; yet I repent not, but take a great Deal of Comfort and Joy, that I am able to give an Account, in some reasonable Way, of those Parts of the World, which heretofore I was not so well satisfy'd in.



APPEN-

APPENDIX.

The Names of the ſeveral Inſtruments, I provided and bought for this Voyage.

A Quadrant of old ſeaſon'd Pear-Tree Wood, artificially made; and with all Care poſſible divided with Diagonals, even to Minutes. It was of 4 Foot Semidiameter at leaſt.

An Equilateral Triangle of like Wood, whoſe Radius was 5 Foot at leaſt; and divided out of *Petiſcus*'s Table of Tangents.

A Quadrant of 2 Foot Semidiameter of like Wood; and with like Care projected.

The Sights, Centers, and every other Part of them examin'd, and try'd with convenient Compaſſes,

paſſes, to ſee if they had been wrong'd or alter'd. And this continually, before they were made uſe of.

Staves for taking Altitudes and Diſtances in the Heavens.

A Staff of 7 Foot long, whoſe Tranſom was 4 Foot, divided into equal Parts, by Way of Diagonals, that all the Figures in a Radius of 10,000, might be taken out, actually.

Another of ſix Foot, near as convenient, and in that Manner to be uſed.

Maſter *Gunter*'s Croſs-Staff.

Three *Jacob*'s Staves, projected after a new Manner; and truly divided out of the Table of Tangents.

Two of Mr. *Davis*'s Back-ſtaves, with like Care made and divided.

Of Horizontal Inſtruments.

Two Semicircles, 2 Foot Semidiameter, of ſeaſon'd Pear-Tree Wood, and divided with Diagonals, to all poſſible Exactneſs.

Six Meridian Compaſſes, ingeniouſly made; beſides ſome Dozen of others more common.

Four Needles in ſquare Boxes, of ſix Inches Diameter; and other ſix, of three Inches Diameter.

Moreover, four ſpecial Needles, (which my good Friends Maſter *Allen* and Maſter *Mar* gave me) of ſix Inches Diameter, and touch'd curiouſly, with the beſt Loadſtone in *England*.

A Loadſtone to refreſh any of theſe, if Occaſion were, whoſe Poles were mark'd, for Fear of miſtaking.

A Watch Clock, of ſix Inches Diameter, and another leſſer Watch.

A Table every Day calculated, correſpondent to the Latitude, according to Maſter *Gunter*'s Directions in his Book; the better to keep our Time and Compaſs, to judge of our Courſe.

A Cheſt full of the beſt and choiceſt Mathematical Books, that could be got for Money in *England*; as likewiſe Maſter *Hackluyt*, and Maſter *Purchas*; and other Books of Journals and Hiſtories.

Study Inſtruments of all Sorts.

I caus'd many ſmall Glaſſes to be made, whoſe Part of Time I knew to a moſt inſenſible Thing, and ſo divided and appropriated the Log-line to t[illegible]; making uſe of *Wilbrordus*'s and *Snellius*'s Numbe[illegible] of Feet anſwering to a Degree, and approv'd of by Maſter *Gunter*.

I made a Meridian-line of 120 Yards long, with 6 Plumb-lines hanging in it; ſome of them being above 30 Foot high, and the Weights hung in a Hole in the Ground to avoid Wind. And this to take the Sun or Moon's coming to the Meridian. This Line we verified, by ſetting it by the Pole itſelf, and by many other Ways.

Two Pair of curious Globes, made purpoſely; the Workman being earneſtly affected to this Voyage.

This was the Manner that we took the Variation of the Compaſs, and that as often as conveniently we could, but divers of the Tables, by the Negligence of my Boy, are loſt; but theſe, I hope, may ſuffice to give Satisfaction of our Care in Navigation. *July* 13. 1631.

Theſe 13 Azimuths, with the Altitude and Declination, were taken upon a great Piece of

Ice, with 3 Needles together; then the Declination was not equated, the laſt three ſet forth by themſelves proves the reſt; *viz.* the Azimuth of Weſt, with his Variation; the Azimuth at due Weſt; and the Variation by the Altitude and Azimuth at due Weſt.

Theſe were taken 20 Leag. to the Eaſtward of *Saliſbury* Iſland; and 2 Quadrants, one of 4, another of 2 Foot Semidiameter; a Semicircle 2 Foot Semidiam. Lat. 63 : 01. Decl. 20 : 14.

Sun's Alt.		*Azim.*		*F.*	*T. Azim.*		*F.*	*Variation.*	
39	42	77	50	S	50	11	S	27	39
35	33	90	00		62	12	S	27	48
34	24	76	30	N	65	07	S	27	23
31	24	80	18	N	72	12	S	27	30
30	57	78	53	N	73	21	S	27	46
29	00	74	50	N	77	28	S	27	42
27	10	71	00	N	98	42	N	27	42
25	52	68	28	N	96	02	N	27	34
25	00	66	40	N	94	16	N	27	36
24	00	64	50	N	92	16	N	27	26
23	30	64	00	N	91	18	N	27	44
22	50	27	35	N	89	58	N	27	33
22	30	61	24	N	89	18	N	27	44

The mean Variation is 27 36

The Variation of the Altitude and Azimuth of Weſt.	27 33
The Variation of the Azimuth of Weſt.	27 48
The Variation by Azimuth at due Weſt.	27 35

The Mean of theſe three is 27 38

July

July 22. 1631. Theſe three Azimuths and Altitudes were taken upon a Piece of Ice, the Magnetical Azimuths by the Sun's Shade in the Water, the Air thick of Fog, that the Sun gave no perfect Shade otherways, 10 Leag. Weſt from *Mansfield* Iſland. Lat. 60. 33. Decl. 18. 25.

Sun's Alt.	*Azim.*	*F.*	*T. Azim.*	*F.*	*Variation.*
34 06	90 00	S	64 34	S	25 26
31 34	84 48	N	70 08	S	25 04
18 25	71 35	N	82 54	N	25 21

The Mean is 25 17

July 24. 1631. Theſe 11 Azimuths were taken upon a Piece of Ice about the Middle of the great Bay; ſome of them by the Shade, and ſome by the Sight of the Sun in the Water, the Weather being thick of Fog. Latitude 59. 20. Decl. 17. 40.

Sun's Alt.	*Azim.*	*F.*	*T. Azim.*	*F.*	*Variation.*
36 44	82 50	S	59 04	S	22 46
35 44	83 40	S	61 18	S	22 22
33 02	90 00		67 14	S	22 46
29 49	84 25	N	73 40	S	21 55
27 25	79 50	N	75 10	S	22 00
26 27	78 10	N	87 14	S	22 14
23 48	72 35	N	84 38	S	22 47
21 16	68 47	N	88 38	S	22 35
20 40	67 30	N	90 00		22 30
20 10	67 00	N	89 00	N	22 12
19 34	66 00	N	88 10	N	22 10

The Mean is 22 : 23 21

July 31. 1631. Thefe feveral Azimuths were taken upon a Piece of Ice, 50 Leag. off the Weftern Shore: Lat. 58. 43. 43. Decl. 15. 43. 43.

Sun's Alt.	*Azim.*	*F.*	*T. Azim.*	*F.*	*Variation.*
24 00	76 26	N	99 20	N	22 54
23 35	76 00	N	98 38	N	22 38
22 50	75 00	N	97 18	N	22 18
22 05	73 40	N	96 04	N	22 24
20 32	71 20	N	93 32	N	22 12
18 40	67 55	N	90 24	N	22 29
18 30	67 30	N	90 02	N	22 32

The Mean is 22 : 29 : 34.

August 1. 1631. Thefe feveral Azimuths were taken upon a Piece of Ice, about 40 Leag. off the Weftern Shore: Lat. 58. 45. Decl. 15. 25.

Sun's Alt.	*Azim.*	*F.*	*T. Azim.*	*F.*	*Variat.*
26 34	83 05	N	104 36	N	21 31
25 26	81 25	N	103 06	N	21 41
24 26	78 38	N	100 42	N	22 04
22 30	75 16	N	97 22	N	22 06
21 31	73 50	N	95 42	N	21 52
20 10	71 27	N	93 24	N	21 57
18 42	68 40	N	90 58	N	22 18
18 07	67 25	N	89 56	N	22 31

The Mean is 22 : 00.

August

Aug. 5. 1631. Theſe Azimuths were taken upon a Piece of Ice, and calculated by all the Figures of the Canon about 40 Leag. off the Weſtern Shore: Lat. 58. 37. Decl. 14. 12.

Sun's Alt.		*Azim.*		*F.*	*T. Azim.*		*F.*	*Variat.*	
23	14	79	12	N	101	02	N	21	50
22	11	76	40	N	99	12	N	22	32
21	11	75	11	N	97	28	N	22	17
20	00	73	02	N	95	48	N	22	46
18	59	71	24	N	93	47	N	22	23
17	15	68	35	N	90	53	N	22	18
16	42	67	28	N	90	00		22	32
15	39	65	32	N	88	18	N	22	46

The Mean is 22 : 25 : 30.

Theſe Obſervations were taken the 10th of *November* 1631. the Lat. 52. 03. the Difference may be conceiv'd to grow by Reaſon of the Sun's low Altitude and Refraction. The others about the Summer Solſtice, where Difference of Meridians is avoided, and are more exact.

Sun's Alt.		*Azimuth.*		*T. Azim.*		*Variat.* W.	
G.	M.	G.	M.	G.	M.	G.	M.
14	25	42	25	26	11	16	14
14	00	45	25	27	30	17	55
13	15	47	25	29	54	17	31
12	18	48	10	32	33	15	37
12	03	49	20	33	16	16	04
11	41	51	07	34	15	16	52
10	57	53	25	36	04	17	21
9	42	55	25	38	58	16	27
9	15	57	45	40	00	17	14
8	50	58	37	40	52	17	45

The Mean is 16 : 57 Weſt.

Master Gellibrand's *Observations touching* Longitude.

LATITUDE and Longitude are two primary Affections of theEarth, by the Help of these two doth the Geographer strive to represent the the Parts of the Earth that they may keep Symmetry and Harmony with the Whole. Latitude then is an Arch of the Meridian, comprehended between the Æquator and a Parallel; but Longitude is an Arch of the Æquator, intercepted by the prime Meridian, and the Meridian of a Place, the Difference of Longitudes being the Difference of two Meridians. The Measure of the former is the Meridian, the Æquator of this latter. For the exact Settling of Latitudes we have many and absolute Helps, so that the Error, if any happen, ought to be imputed to the imperfect Handling of the Artist. But the Longitude of a Meridian is that which hath, and still wearieth, the greatest Masters of Geography: Nevertheless, hath not the wise Creator left Man unfurnish'd of many excellent Helps to attain his Desire: For, besides Eclipses, especially of the Moon, (whose Leisure we must often wait, and perhaps go without, if the Heavens be not propitious to us) we have the Concourse of quick pac'd inferior

rior Planets, with ſuperior ſlow ones, or their Appulſes with ſome fix'd Star of known Place, or elſe ſome other Artifice deriv'd from their Motions and Poſitions. As for the Magnetical Needle to argue a Longitude from its Variation, is altogether without Ground. And though well furniſh'd Seamen are able by their dead Reckonings, as they term them, to determine the Difference of Meridians ſomewhat near; yet by Reaſon of the unknown Quantity of a Degree in a given Meaſure, which is the Rule of the Ship's Way, Varieties of adverſe Winds, different Sets of Tides, and other involv'd Incumbrances, they come often wide of the Mark they aim at. The beſt Way yet known to the World, is that which is deduc'd from the Celeſtial Appearances, which being perform'd by judicious Artiſts, may, in a ſhort Time, rectify our Geographical and Hydrographical Charts hitherto in moſt Places fouly diſtorted. It is my Intent here, to give an Inſtance from two ſeveral Obſervations drawn from the Celeſtial Bodies, by the Author of this Diſcourſe, in his Diſcovery for the N. W. at the Bottom of the Bay, being his Wintering Place, and call'd by the Name of *Charlton*, which for Judgment, Circumſpection and Exactneſs may compare with moſt; the firſt from the Eclipſe of the Moon; the ſecond from the Moon's Mediation of Heaven, or her coming to the Plane of his Meridian of *Charlton*.

The Captain then mindful of the Lunar Eclipſe which was to happen, *Octob.* 29. 1631. was waiting on the Moon with his Inſtruments, but by Reaſon of the Interpoſition of the Clouds, could make no Obſervation on the Beginning of her Obſcuration, but at her Emerſion or Total Re-

covery of Light, the Heavens being more ſerene, he took the Altitude of the ſuperior Limb of the Moon 29 Gr. 11 M. the Lat. of *Charlton* being 52 Gr. 3 Min.

At that very Time, myſelf with ſome Friends found the exact Time of the Moon's Emerſion at *London*, in *Greſham* College (by a Quadrant of 6 Foot Radius, actually cut to each Minute of the Quadrant) to be *Octob.* 29. 13 H. 7 Min. 28 Sec. or *Octob.* the 30th Day at One of the Clock, ſeven Minutes, and about a Half in the Morning.

Now, becauſe the Tables of the Celeſtial Motions, lately publiſh'd by that moſt learned and induſtrious *Lansberg*, do much amuſe the World with that lofty Title of Perpetuity, it will not be amiſs to enquire after the Time of the Captain's Obſervation from them, that ſo by comparing the one with the other, we may obtain the Difference of Meridians, which is the Matter now ſought after.

The Middle Motions of the Luminaries anſwerable to the equal Time of the Emerſion of the Moon, are theſe which follow:

The Middle Motion of the Sun, 3 Sex. 47 Gr. 39 Min. 26 Sec.

The Middle Motion of the Center of the Sun, 3 Sex. 15 Gr. 49 Min. 58 Sec.

The Middle Motion of the Apogeum of the Sun, 1 Sex. 35 Gr. 45 Min. 44 Sec.

The Middle Motion of the Longitude of the Moon, 2 Sex. 59 Gr. 29 Min. 1 Sec.

The Middle Motion of the Anomaly of the Moon, 5 Gr. 11 Min. 30 Sec.

The Middle Motion of the Latitude of the Moon, 4 Sex. 32 Gr. 8 Min. 15 Sec.

The

The Prosthaphæresis of the Æquinox, 12 Minutes, 30 Sec.

Being thus furnish'd with these Middle Motions, we are next to enquire for the true Places of the Luminaries, and their Concomitants, as their Right Ascensions, the Declination, Latitude, Semidiameter, Parallax, and Refraction of the Moon, that so the true Altitude of the Moon's Center, and consequently the Time of the Emersion may be had at *Charlton*.

For the Sun's true Place.

	Sex.	*Gr.*	*M.*	*S.*
The Middle Motion of the Sun's Center.	3	15	49	58
The Prosthaphæresis of the Center added.	0	1	37	0
The Proportional Scruples, 1.				
The Middle Motion of the Sun's Apogeum	1	35	45	44
The true Motion of the Apogeum substracted	1	37	22	44
The Middle Motion of the Sun is	3	47	39	26
The Anomaly of the Sun's Orb	2	10	16	42
The Prosthaphæresis of the Sun's Orb	0	1	32	43
The Excess to be added	0	0	0	20
The absolute Prosthaphæresis of the Sun's Orb substracted	0	1	33	3
The Middle Motion of the Sun from the true Æquinox	3	47	51	56
The true Motion of the Sun from the true Æquinox	3	46	18	53
Therefore the Sun's true Place was in ♏	0	16	18	53
And his Right Ascension	2	23	49	53

For

For the Moon's true Place.

	Sex.	Gr.	M.	S.
The Anomaly of the Moon's Center	5	59	18	2
The Prosthaphæresis of the Moon's Center	0	0	5	36
The Proportional Scruples 0.				
The Anomaly of the Moon's Orb	0	5	11	30
The Equated Anomaly of the Moon's Orb	0	5	5	54
The Prosthaphæresis of the Moon's Orb substracted	0	0	24	4
The Middle Motion of the Longitude of the Moon from the Sun	2	59	39	1
The true Motion of the Moon's Long. from the Sun	2	59	14	57
The Middle Motion of the Sun from the true Æquinox	3	47	51	56
The true Motion of the Moon from the true Æquinox	0	47	6	53
Therefore the Moon's true Place was in ♉	0	17	6	53

For the Moon's Latitude.

The Middle Motion of the Moon's Latitude	4	32	8	15
The Moon's absolute Prosthaphæresis of her Orb substracted	0	0	24	4
The Moon's true Motion of Latitude	4	31	44	11
The Moon's Northern Lat. was	0	0	9	5
And her Reductive Scruples substracted	0	0	0	26

But

	Sex.	Gr.	M.	S.
But the Moon's true Motion in her proper Orb was	0	17	6	53
Therefore the Moon's true Place reduc'd to the Ecliptick ♉		17	6	27
And becauſe the North Latitude of the Moon was		0	9	5
Thereforefore will her Right Aſcenſion be		44	35	10
And her Declination		17	7	49
And becauſe we have the Diſtance of the Moon from the Earth in Semidiameters of the Earth	64	15		
Therefore ſhall the Moon's apparent Semidiameter be		0	15	
And her Parallax of Altitude		0	47	0
Now becauſe the Altitude of the Limb of the Moon was found by Obſervation to be			29	11
If we ſhall ſubſtract her Semidiameter			0	15
And the Refraction			0	2
We have the apparent Altitude of the Moon's Center			28	54
To this if we add the Parallax of Altitude			0	47
We ſhall have the true Altitude of the Moon's Center			29	41

Having thus the Latitude of the Place, the Moon's true Altitude with her Declination, by the Reſolution of a Spherical Triangle, according to the Eleventh Problem, Lib. II. Part II. of our *Britiſh Trigonometry*, we have the Diſtance of the Moon from the Meridian, 63 26

And

And by comparing this Arch with the Difference of the Ascensions of the Luminaries, the Time of the Moon's total Recovery of her Light at *Charlton* will be 7 *Hours*, 49 *min.* 28 *sec.*

Which substract from the Time of the Emersion at *London*, 13 *h.* 7 *min.* 28 *sec.*

The Difference of Meridians in Respect of Time will be 5 *h.* 18 *min.* 0 *sec.*

So that *Charlton* is remov'd from *London* Westwards, 79 *deg.* 30 *min.*

This may likewise be confirm'd by a second different Observation made at the Instant of the Moon's Culmination or Mediation of Heaven, at which Time the Altitude of the brightest Star in the Asterism of the Northern Crown, (being of the second Magnitude) was found to be 33 *deg.* 27 *min.* Easterly, *June* 23. 1632.

It may be problematically deliver'd after this Manner.

Having the Latitude of a Place, with the Altitude of a known fix'd Star, at the Moment of the Moment's Culmination, to find the Longitude.

This fix'd Star is of known Longitude and Latitude; therefore was his Declination 27 : 59, and Right Ascension 229 : 46. Now by the Resolution of a Spherical Triangle of three known Sides we have the Distance of this Star from the Meridian, and by Consequence the Right Ascension of the Moon, whence we conclude her Culmination to be with the 28 *deg.* 10 *min.* of ♎, but the Moon's true Place was much less. Here note, that the Scrupulosity of Time is unknown, and therefore we cannot argue the Moon's true Place from thence, tho' I grant it might be evinced, for that were to beg the Question, and to know that first, which we look after.

In

In the next Place, we are to enquire, with what Point of the Ecliptick, the Moon culminated with us here at *London*, that ſo from the Difference of her Places, of the like Affection, we may deduce the Difference of Meridians.

Obſervation on the Moon's Culmination here at *London*, we made none, therefore muſt we have Recourſe to the aforeſaid Tables of *Lanſberg*, and from thence calculate the ſame. Now becauſe the Moon was not far remov'd from the Sun's oppoſite Point. It will not be amiſs to enquire firſt the Moon's Place at Midnight.

	Sex.	*Gr.*	*M.*	*S.*
The Sun's oppoſite Place at Midnight in ♍	0	11	18	15
The Moon's true Place at Midnight reduc'd to the Ecliptick was in ♍	0	23	33	18
The South Latitude of the Moon was	0	4	56	38
Therefore the Difference of Aſcenſions will be		14	6	0
The Diurnal Motion of the Moon		14	24	0
Therefore the Moon's proper Motion anſwerable to the Difference of Aſcenſions is		0	33	50
Which added to the Moon's true Place at Midnight		23	33	18
Gives us the Moon's true Place reduc'd to the Ecliptick at her Culmination at *London*		24	7	8

Now becauſe the Sun's Southern Latitude was 4 : 56 : 38. the Arch therefore of the Ecliptick comprehended between the Moon's true Place and the culminating Point of the Ecliptick will trigono-

trigonometrically be found to be 54 *min.* 38 *sec.* which added to the Sun's true Place before found gives us the culminating Point of the Ecliptick, 25 *deg.* 1 *min.* 46 *sec.* which is less than that found at *Charlton:* The Difference being 3 *deg.* 8 *min.* 24 *sec.* therefore is the Place of Observation Westerly of *London.* Having therefore the Sun's Diurnal Motion, and the Difference of the culminating Points, we conclude the Meridian of *Charlton* to be distant from this of *London*, 5 *h.* 14 *min.* of Time, or 78 : 30 of the Equator.

The Difference between that of the Eclipse, and this latter Observation is only four Minutes of Time, or one Degree, a Difference easily pardon'd, especially if we shall compare the same with some other Places, yea even such as border nearly on each other. To give an Instance of two eminent Places which lie in the Heart of *Europe*, *Rome* and *Norimberg*; Their Difference of Long. *Regiomontanus* makes 36; *Werner* 32; *Appian* 34; *Mæstlin* and *Origan* 33; *Stofler* 18; *Maginus* 26; *Schoner* 12; *Mercator* and *Hondius* as much; *Stadius* 13; *Jansonius* 10; *Longomontanus* 16; *Lansberg* 10; *Kepler* by two Observations on two Lunar Eclipses, but four Minutes of Time.

This Variety among these great Artists, will I hope pardon us this Difference of four Min. and be a Means to encourage our *English* Seamen and others, to make such or the like Observations in Foreign Parts, as the Heavens shall offer unto them.

H. GELLIBRAND.

F I N I S.

A N

AUTHENTICK and PARTICULAR

ACCOUNT

Of the TAKING of

CARTHAGENA

BY THE

FRENCH,

In the Year 1697.

Containing

An exact Relation of that Expedition, (in all its Circumstances) from their first Setting out, to their Return to *Brest*; wherein are describ'd their several Engagements with the *English* Fleets, in their Passage home.

By the *SIEUR POINTIS*, Commander in Chief.

WITH A

PREFACE, giving an Account of the Original of *CARTHAGENA* in 1532, to the present Time; also an Account of the Climate and Product of that Place, and the Country adjacent.

" *In* 1585 *it was sack'd by the Valour of a few* English, *under* " *the Command of Sir* Francis Drake (in a Reign when the " Publick Good and Honour of *England* was the Chief Business " at Court) *and our Land enrich'd with the Spoils of our proud* " *Enemies, who were humbled by the Conduct of our Fleet abroad,* " *and our Naval Applications at home.*" *See* Pref. p. 2.

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THE

PREFACE.

THE City of *Carthagena*, in the *Weſt-Indies* (which now gives Title to a conſiderable Government of the ſame Name, and is reckoned a Province of *New Granada*; or, according to ſome Writers, of *New Andaluzia*; but by others, is annex'd to the *Golden Caſtile)* was begun to be built in the Year 1532, by *Peter de Heredia*, and was finiſhed by *Georgio Robledo*, about eight Years after the Foundation was laid.

The Situation of its Port was found ſo convenient for the *Spaniſh* Fleets, and ſuch Quantities of rich Merchandize were brought down near to it, by the Confluence of the great Rivers of *Santa Martha* and the *Magdalena*, that the Town encreaſed in Wealth, Number of People, ſtately Edifices,

and in a Jurisdiction over five or six petty Cities, till in the Year 1585, it was sack'd by the Valour of a few *English*, under the Command of Sir *Francis Drake (in a Reign, when the Publick Good and Honour of* England *was the chief Business at Court)* and our Land enrich'd with the Spoils of our proud *Enemies*; who were humbled by the Conduct of our Fleets abroad, and our Naval Applications at home.

But this City of *Carthagena* received a greater Blow (before it was perfectly repaired) from five Privateers, led on by a disgusted *Spaniard*, who burnt the Place to Ashes, after they had surprized the Governor asleep, and seized a mighty Treasure: Yet, for all this, it raised its Head again, numbered above twenty thousand Inhabitants (whereof four thousand were *Spaniards*, the rest *Mesticoes* and Slaves) and improved daily in Riches and Magnificence, till taken by the *French* from *Brest*, and the *Buccaniers* from

Petit

Petit Guaves, who ſeverally plunder'd it; as is particularly related by Monſieur *De Pointis*.

Into ſuch a fatal Stupidity are a certain People (by Nature brave, formerly Conquerors and Heroes) of late degenerated, either from the ill Influences of their State, or Church, or both; that now they fall a Prey to every Invader, and even to Privateers and Vagabonds: The Cauſes whereof are too manifeſt, and own'd by a judicious and honeſt Writer of their own Country, whoſe Senſe I ſhall here deliver.

'Unreaſonable Taxes are multiplied
'and entailed upon the *Spaniards*,
'under Pretence of making good De-
'ficiencies and Funds of Intereſts: The
'Treaſury grown monſtrous, either by
'obſtructing or diverting the Publick
'Aliment, and by contracting new
'Debts: The Grandees themſelves
'conſpire to cheat in their ſeveral
'Stations, in order to advance or
'ſupport their own Extravagancies:

'The

John de Laet, *Margrave*, *Hernandes*, and others, are brought from the adjacent Parts in great Quantities. Gold is waſhed down by the Torrents from the Mountains, where ſome precious Stones are found. In a Word, the Country is much the ſame with the neighbouring Iſthmus of *Darien*, which has been ſo well deſcribed by Mr. *Ringroſe*, Monſieur *Raveneau de Luſſan*, and more lately by Captain *Dampier*, and Mr. *Wafer*, that nothing more need be ſaid here of this Part of the *Terra Firma*.

AN


Lake
of
Quenca

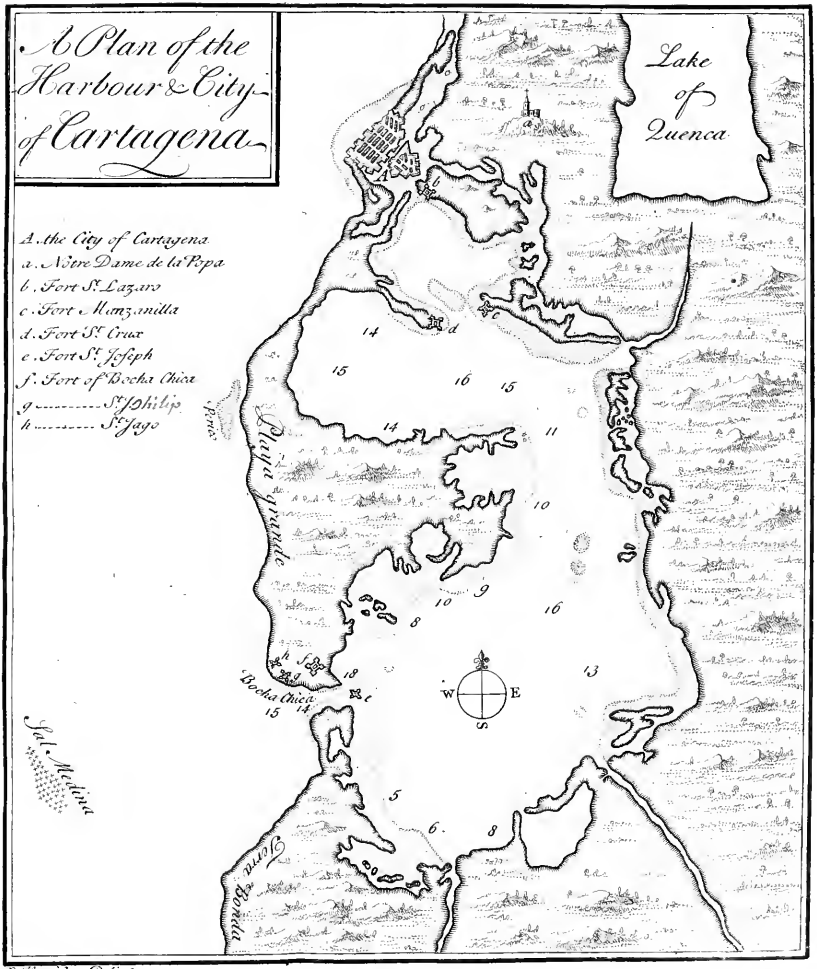
Monſieur *DE POINTI's*

ACCOUNT OF HIS EXPEDITION TO CARTHAGENA,

In the Year, 1697.

THE Deſign I had long ſince form'd, of a Naval Expedition, that might be both honourable and advantageous, was put off from time to time by intervening Accidents, although Monſ. *Pontchartrain* had receiv'd his Majeſty's Approbation of the Project I had the Honour to preſent him; and had, likewiſe, obtained the Ships, Men, and Ammunitions, which I propoſed to take with me.

But at length, the laying up of the Fleet, brought by Count *Chateau Renault* from *Toulon*, leaving all the Marine, in a manner, idle; and the Meaſures I had taken with Treaſurer General *Vanolles*, ſeeming to promiſe a ſufficient Fund for the Expence, there appeared no farther Obſtacles to the Execution of this Enterprize.



P. Harrison Delin.

A Scale of Miles.

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Hereupon we proposed our Design to the Publick; which was so generally lik'd, and People were so forward to bring in their Money, that *Vanolles* was not able to receive it fast enough; insomuch, that he fancy'd he should be forced to refuse several Persons, by Reason we had agreed upon the Sum, and resolved not to exceed it.

But the Face of Affairs became soon altered; for the Peace being concluded with *Savoy*, made it hop'd, that it would suddenly be attended with a General One: And 'twas believed, that if the War should be at an End, before I was under Sail, I should be ordered to the contrary; and so the Money employ'd upon our Armament, would be infallibly lost. And now People were so far from offering new Sums, that those who had already engaged in the Design, would have been very willing to have withdrawn their Contributions.

I could not inform every Body, that Count *Maurepas*, who was acquainted with the Particulars of our Project, had engaged Monsieur *Pontchartrain*, to ask his Majesty, what should be done with our Armament, in Case the Peace should be agreed upon? And that his Majesty was pleased to Answer, that I might go on with it; for, if the Peace should be concluded, he would take Care to re-imburse the Adventurers. And we were assured of this Favour, by an express Article inserted in the Margin of the Minutes of the Marine Council, that was held upon this Matter: Nevertheless, many Persons considering, that the best which could happen, would be to receive their Money again, chose rather to keep it in their Purses.

And besides this Prejudice, the ill Success of some Attempts that preceded mine, and from which great Matters were expected, discouraged the Publick more than the Appearance of an approaching Peace.

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By this means we were obliged to proceed upon the Fund that was already advanced, which was much inferior to what I had propoſed; and this compelled me to leſſen our Preparations, and conſequently weaken the Armament. However, being determined to go thorough with my Undertaking, I reſolved to make uſe of the Advantages which the Court was pleaſed to confer on me, in allowing me ſuch conſiderable Succours. So I returned to *Breſt* in the beginning of *October*, 1696; and to Work we went, with all imaginable Diligence, to fit out our Fleet: But the bad Weather hindered our Careening; ſo that we could not get out of *Breſt*, but lay in that Road 'till the 6th of *January*; from whence my Project was to have ſailed the beginning of the preceeding *November*.

To add to our Misfortune, I was at that time not able to take the Opportunity of a fair Wind that then offered; becauſe I ſtaid for a great Convoy of Arms and Proviſion, that were laden for me at *Rochel*, without which I could not proceed; I had continually expected it for three Months. In the midſt of theſe Perplexities, I underſtood they were at laſt arrived at *Port Lewis*, where they were forced to put in, to avoid a Squadron of the Enemy, that had for ſome time cruiſed upon that Coaſt, and had them in Sight. By this, I found our Naval Preparation upon the very point of miſcarrying; our Proviſions were already much diminiſhed, and the Appearance very great, that the Enemy's Squadron would remain there, and we utterly conſume our Proviſions in the Road of *Breſt*: Upon which I fix'd my Reſolution; which although it ſeemed very hazardous, was yet the only Method that the Poſture of my Affairs would permit me to take: It was to find out my Convoy, and even to diſengage them at the hazard of a Battle: Now, altho'

I ſhould have the beſt of it, yet it could not be without a mighty Inconveniency to me; but I flattered my ſelf, that poſſibly I might not be diſcovered by the Enemy; or, in caſe of meeting with them, get indifferently well off, and refit at *Port Lewis*, and then try to get out; and happen what would, by whatſoever way it ſhould be my Fate to be loſt, I had rather have been ruin'd with our Arms in our Hands, than miſcarry for want of Reſolution, and in a ſhameful Abode there.

Accordingly I had given my Orders to ſail the next Day; at which Time I underſtood by Signals from *Uſhant*, that they deſcribed a very large Fleet. We knew very well, by ſeveral Accounts that there were about Forty *Engliſh* Men of War abroad, with Orders to cruize before *Breſt*, and by all manner of Means to prevent my Paſſage, by which my Departure ſeem'd impoſſible, my Enterprize defeated, and my Misfortune unavoidable. However, I propos'd other Matters to myſelf and kept to my firſt Reſolution, not thinking my Condition much worſe for this News: The little way between *Breſt* and *Port-Lewis*, or the Entrance into the River *Morbian*, of which I had taken particular Care to inform myſelf, that I might ſecure my Retreat into it, gave me ſome Hopes to believe, that I might probably get in thither, before I ſhould be too deeply engag'd in a Battle; and then having once got on Board what the Convoy had brought me, I might by the Favour of the long Nights, get away, without being ſeen by the Enemy, or at the worſt Eſcape a ſmall Danger in a running Fight. So this great Fleet did no more alter my Circumſtances, than if it had been a ſmall Squadron; againſt which, in the Juncture I was in, the Hazard of fighting was as dangerous as with a capital Fleet, my Care being to get away, and proſecute the Bu-

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ſineſs of my Project. Beſides, if I could get a little before the Enemies, there was no great an Appearance for them either to come eaſily up with me, or that they would be in Condition to purſue me for two thouſand Leagues that I might lead them: I had, Moreover, the Opportunity of ſeparating my Ships in the Night, by ordering them different Courſes to the appointed Rendezvous.

The Governor of *Uſhant* ſent an Expreſs to aſſure me, That he could diſcern forty Men of War, amongſt which were five *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Flags: I received this News at Midnight, and making Uſe of it in a Manner quite different to the Opinion of them that ſent it me, I made the ſailing Signal, and was under Sail by that Time it was Day, it being upon the Seventh of *January*, 1697. I had ſome Days before, ſent my Orders to the Veſſels at *Port Lewis*, to come away immediately, running all Hazards to join me; but to keep ſo near the Shoar, that the Enemies Ships might not dare to approach them, or to avoid their Cannon by running into the Ports that are upon that Coaſt; which are good enough to cover ſuch ſmall Veſſels, as I expected from the Danger of Cruiſers. I had ſent the *Mutine* Frigate, and the *Providence* Brigantine, to convoy them who expected them at *Pennemarc Point*.

We were hardly got out of the *Goulet* when ſhe ſaw the Fleet appear at *Point Raz*, with the ſmall Convoy I had ſent to them; whereupon I came immediately to an Anchor at *Bertheaume*, where I made all the haſte I could to get our Proviſions on Board our Ships and Fly-boats, and by extraordinary Diligence, I was in a Condition of ſailing the next Day.

We were hardly got into the Courſe, when the *Scepter* ſtruck upon a Place, where, according to the Rules of Navigation, there could be no Manner of Danger; after having ſtruck three Times very vio-

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lently, we thought ſhe was juſt upon ſinking, eſpecially when we ſaw a great many Planks floating upon the Water; at the ſame Time we perceiv'd her to float, and running immediately to the Pumps, we found ſhe did not make one Drop of Water. We could not tell what to think of this Accident, however, it was concluded, that it could not be a Rock ſhe had ſtruck upon, but upon ſome ſunk Veſſel that floated under Water, which being leſs ſtrong than the *Scepter*, had occaſioned us that Alarm by the breaking of her Planks, without any ways prejudicing the *Scepter*. We continued our Courſe, endeavouring to avoid the Enemies: I had ſo regulated myſelf to the Tides, as to be, by the Beginning of the Night, at *Pennemarc Point*; beſides there was no great Probability I ſhould be diſcovered in ſailing ſo little a way, eſpecially by Reaſon of our holding ſo near the Coaſt. I reſolved at the ſame Time to ſteer directly from *Pennemarc* to the Coaſt of *Spain*, which I deſigned to leave to the *Southward*. This Courſe, ſo contrary to what is cuſtomarily taken, to get clear of the Land, which the Enemies muſt know I deſigned; and upon which, moſt probably, they formed their Method of Cruiſing, was the moſt likely Expedient to deceive them. This had the deſired Effect, and the Wind continuing favourable, I firſt made *Cape Ortegal*, and afterwards continued my Courſe toward the Iſland of St. *Domingo*, where I arrived in fifty-five Days; during which there happened nothing remarkable, unleſs it was, that having paſſed the Tropick, we met with *Weſt-South-Weſt* Winds, and conſequently contrary, which is not uſual.

The Pleaſure of arriving at *Cape Francis*, which was that Part of *St. Domingo* that I came to, was migitated by ſeveral Accidents. I underſtood there that Capt. *Deſangets*, who commanded three Ships

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in those Seas, for whom I had Orders to join with my Squadron, was eight Days before my Arrival sail'd upon his Return to *France*. I was there likewise inform'd by Monsf. *Daunou*, Lieutenant-Governor of the Island, that the Succours which Monsf. *Du Casse*, Governor of the Coast had prepared for me, consisted in about four hundred Men, altho' he had Orders to join me with the Strength of the whole Colony.

It is true, that by good Fortune all the Pyrates of those Parts, which are usually called *Buccaniers*, were met together at that Time: It was thought that I might find a Party of them; but it was no ways to be imagin'd, that I should find them all; for they go out and come in as they please; consequently, this Assistance could not be computed at 14 or 1500 Men, as I was made to believe I should find at St. *Domingo*, neither did they exceed 600. So I was near upon a thousand Men short of my Account.

The Departure of Capt. *Desaugets* depriv'd me of a like Number of Men, and two great Ships. Moreover, I was fallen short of two great Ships, and several Frigates, specified in my first Project, by which Means I found myself reduc'd to half the Force I propos'd at the Beginning.

I did not think fit to come to an Anchor at the *Cape*, but left there three Frigates, the *Mutine*, the *Avenant*, and the *Marin*, to take in such Forces as might be drawn from thence, and the fresh Provisions which Commissary *Du Tilluel* was to supply my Squadron with.

S. Vandrille, Commander of the *Marin*, that was sent two Months before I left *France*, with Orders for Monsf. *Du Casse* to have the Forces ready that were appointed for my assistance, after he had carried his Dispatches to *Petit Guaves*, sailed for the Cape, and attended me there.

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In his Paſſage from *France* to St. *Domingo*, he was attacked by an *Engliſh* Ship of 54 Guns, who notwithſtanding her Superiority, was forced to retire with Shame, after a Fight of ſeveral Hours.

Deſaugets going for the *Honduras*, before he returned to *France*, had ordered the Chevalier *De la Motte d'Heran*, on Board the *Chriſt*, taken from the *Spaniards*, to ſail directly for *France*, with the *Favorite* Frigate, whom I found at the Cape upon his Departure. Theſe two Ships were both mann'd with the *Favorite*'s Crew only, conſequently very weak Men of War; wherefore I reſolved to make uſe of but one of them, to put all the Men into her, and leave the other Ship at *Petit Guaves*. By Virtue of the King's Letter, which I had to *Deſaugets*, and his Squadron, I ordered *La Motte d'Heran* to join me; which he did, and choſe the *Chriſt* that he commanded.

About Eight a Clock, upon the Sixth of *March* I came to an Anchor over-againſt *Exter*, the uſual Reſidence of Monſ. *Du Caſſe*; who came immediately on Board, to adviſe with me about the ſhipping of the Men he was to bring me; and ſeeing that I did not diſſemble neither my Surprize, nor my Trouble at the ſmall Number of Men he had provided for me; he proteſted that he had done all he could, and continually endeavoured to make me have a great Opinion of the good Succeſs of this Attempt; for that the *Buccaniers* were at that Juncture all together, and would every Man of 'em perform Wonders. We agreed that he ſhould go to *Petit Guaves*, and that I would be ready by that time it was Day, to get into the Port: *Du Caſſe* came thither to join me, having a Deſign on Foot which I did not imagine; I brought him the Duplicate of the Order which he had received from St. *Vandrille*, which he did not read when I delivered it to him, by reaſon it was wrote in Cyphers. There

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was added in that Letter, without my Knowledge, that he was to contrive the Means of ſucceeding in an Attempt that was approved by his Majeſty, without damaging the Colony: This Reſtriction did in ſome Meaſure deprive me of the Power of commanding his Forces, ſeeing he had an Opportunity of pretending to keep them for the Preſervation of his Colony. He ſaid, that he would not inſiſt upon Terms with me, as being perſwaded that I would have a regard to his Character. I replied, That the greateſt Character he could pretend to, was that of being Captain of a Ship, which he had the Honour to command by his Commiſſion; all that I could do, was, that he ſhould ſerve in that Capacity, according to his Seniority, which did ſubmit him to ſeveral others, who nevertheleſs, would not pretend to concern themſelves with the Forces of his Government; in Relation to whom, I ſhould addreſs myſelf to him; that he was to accept this Propoſition, or not to embark with me, for I had no Orders to compel him.

After refuſing theſe Offers he left me; and thinking no more of him, I was ſurprized to hear, that he took all imaginable Care for what was perſonally neceſſary to him in this Expedition; and that he reported, he would rather come on board as a private Soldier, than not engage in ſo glorious an Affair. He ſhewed much Courage and Deſire of Glory in his Diſcourſe, and it is Pity, that he afterwards diſcover'd his Reſolution to proceed from Motives and Intereſts ſomething leſs generous.

In the mean Time we employ'd ourſelves in getting of Water, Wood, and other Things neceſſary for the Squadron, and to fit up the Veſſels of the *Buccaniers*, which were all unrigg'd; without the Help of the Rigging and Cordage, that I ordered to be delivered them by my Squadron, it would have been impoſſible for them to put to Sea; we

likewise distributed the Provisions there, which I had brought for the Forces that were to embark with me; in short, we prepared all things for our Departure. It was then necessary to regulate the Pretensions of the *Buccaniers*, who desired to be assured of their Shares of the expected Prizes.

These Free-booters are, for the most Part, compos'd of those that desert from Ships that come upon the Coast: The Advantage they bring to the Governors, protects them against the Prosecution of the Law; besides, all those that are apprehended in *France*, as Vagabonds, or such as can give no Account of themselves, are sent to these Islands, where they are oblig'd to serve for three Years. The first that gets them, obliges them to work in the Plantations; at the End of the Term of Servitude, some Body lends them a Gun, and to Sea they go a *Buccaniering*. This Profession hath maintained itself a long while by this Sort of Recruits, and subsists by their Piracies; they were formerly altogether independent, but of late Years they have been reduced under the Government of the Coast of *St. Domingo*; they have Commissions given them, for which they pay the Tenth of all Prizes, and are now called the King's Subjects: For the Governors of *St. Domingo* being enrich'd by them, do mightily extol them for the Damages they do to the *Spaniards*, and endeavour to have it believed that the *Buccaniers* are the Strength and Support of the Colony; whereas, they are in Effect the Ruin of it: For if such as are conveyed thither, were kept from the Liberty of embracing this infamous Profession, which an Impunity for all sorts of Crimes renders so much beloved, we should not have lost, in a few Years, above six thousand Men, that might have improved and peopled the Colony. And thus indeed they would have been truly the Strength and Support of the Place.

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As to their Matters, altho' they are pleaſed to be counted the King's Subjects, yet it is with ſo much Arrogance, as obliges all thoſe that are deſirous to make uſe of them, to court them in the moſt flattering Terms. This not being agreeable to my Diſpoſition, and being they were in the Dominions of his Majeſty, and eſteeming them as his Subjects, which the Governor was obliged to deliver to me; I plainly told them, that they ſhould find me a Commander to lead them on, but not as a Companion of their Fortune; that if they made any Difficulties, either to embark or obey, I would certainly burn all their Veſſels, even to the pooreſt Boats, and inevitably deprive them of the Means for ſome Years, if not for ever, of continuing their Depredations.

It was fear'd, that upon theſe Threats they would betake themſelves to the Woods, as being their uſual Retreat upon any Diſſatisfaction: But I knew they apprehended very much the Execution of my Menaces; and moreover, that the Governor, who is ſo highly concerned in their Piracies, would omit no ſort of Care to retain them in their Duty.

The Demand they made, of having their Share in the Diviſion of the Prizes ſecured to them, was very reaſonable; therefore I explained myſelf in Writing, and cauſed it to be fixed up in ſeveral Places, implying, *That they ſhould, Man for Man, have the ſame Shares of Booty, that were allowed to the Men on Board the King's Ships.*

I was informed of their Cuſtoms, and that of divers Ways of dividing the Shares, (which is commonly a very troubleſome Buſineſs); the moſt uſual Method was this, by reckoning by the Number of the Men; for Example: A Veſſel of a hundred Men, hath double the Allowance that is made to another of but Fifty, ſo the reſt in Proportion. I made no manner of Delay in the Choice I was to

make ; as likewiſe to acquaint them, that I could not meddle with any thing that belonged to the King, the Admiral, and the Undertakers of the Armament. That his Majeſty had been pleaſed to allow to the ſeveral Ships Companies, the Tenth of the Firſt Million, and a Thirtieth Part of all the others: And I engaged myſelf in Writing to give the *Buccaniers* the ſame Terms. *Du Caſſe* told me, that I had taken the eaſieſt Method, deſiring me only to leave with him the Original of that Writing, including the Frigate *Pontchartrain*, commanded by Lieutenant *Mornay*, who deſired to ſerve in the Squadron upon the ſame Conditions that I had granted to the *Buccaniers:* There was likewiſe comprehended, at the Deſire of *Du Caſſe*, a Frigate of St. *Malo*, fitted both for War and Traffick. We ſhall have Occaſion to mention this Writing again, in the Sequel of our Story.

Upon the Eighteenth, all the Ships that I had left at *Cape Francis*, having join'd my Squadron with *La Motte d'Heran*, whom I had likewiſe ordered to join me ; I made ready on the Nineteenth to go and anchor at *Cape Tiburon*, being the furtheſt Weſtern Point of *St. Domingo* ; the Water there is better and eaſier to be got, than in any other Place, ſo it was abſolutely neceſſary for me to touch there ; beſides, I was very deſirous to get out of Port, to oblige the *Buccaniers* to come on Board, which they ever defer to the laſt Moment ; however, they at laſt got on Board, ſeeing me at ſome Diſtance, and followed the Squadron, as alſo the *Pontchartrain*, which *Du Caſſe* had choſen for himſelf ; when on a ſudden, a violent North-wind, which is very extraordinary, and rarely known in this Seaſon, ſcattered not only the *Buccaniers*, but likewiſe all the Ships of my Squadron, inſomuch that I continued alone for above thirty Hours, two Chaloups ſent from the *Scepter*,

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to the Assistance of two *Buccaniers* in danger of stranding, not being able to get up with me; but good Weather coming on, we all met upon the 28th in the Road of *Irois*, three Leagues distant from *Cape Tiburon*.

Until then I had kept my Design secret, not being wholly determined on the Matter: *Du Casse*, who understood by his Letters from Court, that the principal Design of the Expedition was upon *Carthagena*, did judge the Execution impossible, by Reason of the several Accidents already mention'd, and the small Number of Forces with me. He represented unto me, with much Appearance of Reason, that according to the last Advices from the *Indian* Coasts, the Galleons must be at *Porto Bello*, or upon their Way to *Carthagena*, in order to their Return for *Spain*; that we might reasonably hope to meet with them by steering that Course; and that by our Strength we might reckon ourselves secure of them, altho' we found them in *Porto Bello*, for notwithstanding the Port is defended by three Castles, yet it is open enough for us to get in, and possess ourselves of those Castles, by Means of our Bombs. But I had my Reasons not to follow this Opinion: The Galleons might as well be at *Carthagena* as at Sea, and I was sensible, by my own Experience, how uncertain 'tis to meet Ships at Sea, a Thing not to depended upon; moreover, it seemed plain to me, that the less the *Spaniards* were in a Condition to defend themselves at *Porto Bello*, the less Reason I had to hope for an Advantage by their Defeat, otherwise than in the Honour I might gain; for they would certainly have burnt, or sunk, their Ships, upon the Approach of such a Squadron as I had the Honour to command, and that Treasure, not lost to them, must have been absolutely so to me, since I could not possibly have continued long enough there, to get it out of the Water. These

Theſe Conſiderations abſolutely diſſuaded me from going firſt of all to *Porto Bello*, which Voyage would have ſpent my Proviſions, and render'd me uncapable of any other conſiderable Attempt. *Vera Cruz* was a more likely Place; for we were well aſſured, that one of the Flotas had been there ever ſince the Beginning of *September*, and that they could not go away before the Beginning of *May*, therefore I could not miſs meeting with them; moreover, my Forces were ſufficient to make me Maſter of the City, which may be entred without our being expoſed to the Fire of the Caſtle, which is impregnable by its advantageous Situation: It is built on a Rock, in the middle of the Sea, and ſurrounded on all Sides with extraordinary Fortifications. However, with my great Store of Artillery, I could, in a very little Time have reduced that Caſtle to Aſhes; beſides the Bombs that I could have uſed from my Ships, I might have rais'd what Batteries of Cannon and Mortars I pleaſed on Shoar, which is not above two hundred Yards from it.

I ſhould not have run the Riſque here as I muſt have done at *Porto Bello*, of ſeeing the *Spaniards* burn the Ships to deprive me of their Silver: For it being well known they do embark the Plate there, but a very few Days before the Departure of the Flota, conſequently, at the worſt, I could only have loſt the Merchandizes, of which I made little Account. In ſhort, 'tis probable, I ſhould have engag'd in this Expedition, had I not received ſome Advices at *St. Domingo*, that occaſioned me new Perplexities, *viz.* That tho' the Plate was not uſed to be embark'd until the Day before the Fleet ſailed, and was brought from *Mexico* to *Vera Cruz*, long before it was put on Board; yet of late Years, upon ſome Jealouſies, they bring it no farther than *Pueblo de los Angelos*, forty Leagues up the Country, from

from whence 'tis conveyed directly on Board the Flota.

According to the Rules of Navigation, which 'tis not neceſſary to inſert here, the Flota could not ſail till the Month of *May*; yet they might not come away even until the Month of *Auguſt*; ſo if they had not by Chance taken the Reſolution of coming away with the firſt of the Seaſon, it being then but *March*, and we not above three Weeks ſail from them, I did foreſee that our Deſign would be ruin'd by my Arrival before the Plate was brought down, and I was no ways in a Condition of marching forty Leagues, with ſuch a ſmall Body of Forces, in an Enemy's, and well-inhabited Country. Moreover I was not willing to begin with a Place that ſhould have fruſtrated my farther Intentions, in caſe I had been unſucceſsful: For ſuch is the Nature of the Gulph of *Mexico*, at the Bottom whereof *Vera Cruz* is ſituated, that at our coming out again, it would not be poſſible for us to entertain any other Thoughts, but thoſe of returning to *Europe*, as well becauſe of the Length of the Voyage, as becauſe the Winds and the Setting of the Currents, would have prevented all other Attempts to the Eaſtward.

The only Place I could fix my Reſolutions upon, was *Carthagena*, which lay to windward; and altho' I ſhould have miſſed my Aim there, yet it would not have been any Obſtacle to my other Deſigns; not even againſt *Vera Cruz*, unleſs I conſumed my Time by adventurouſly falling upon the firſt Place, without a well-grounded Aſſurance of carrying it: The ſmall Number of my Forces, was the only Thing that could diſſuade me from this Attempt; but this Want of Strength, might be remedied by good Management.

Capt. *Venner*, an *Engliſhman*, having been ſeveral Years in the Service of the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*,

dies, and commanded ſeveral of their Ships, was lately come into the Service of *France*, and was placed on Board *Deſaugets*, until ſome other Employ ſhould be given him. This Officer was very well acquainted with the Coaſts and Places of the *Weſt-Indies*; he had likewiſe ſome Knowledge of Geometry, and by the Aſſiſtance of *Canette*, my principal Engineer, I got him to draw ſeveral Plans, eſpecially that of *Carthagena*, which we found to be as exact as any Thing could be expected that was made by Memory.

My firſt Deſign was to have immediately landed with five thouſand Men, near *Carthagena*, not including the Seamen. I expected to have drawn theſe Forces from the Places before-mentioned, with which I reckoned I ſhould be able to force the Place, tho' beſides its ordinary Defence, the whole Strength of the Galleons ſhould have been in it. But I was all Manner of Ways very much miſtaken in my Account, ſcarce having one half of the Forces I propos'd, with which there was no Probability of taking a Place ſo famous in *India*, and ſo well known in *Europe*, for its Fortifications, which I found to be even better than they were reputed to be. The Ships were to anchor in the open Sea, and by that means muſt have been expos'd to all the Inconveniencies of the bad Seaſon, which was not quite over; beſides, I might have been ſurpriz'd by the *Engliſh* Squadron, which I knew had Orders to follow me. In this caſe there was no likelihood for me to expect any Service from the Seamen, it being altogether neceſſary to leave them on Board to work the Ships in bad Weather; but then again, having only the Land-Forces to re-embark, I might, upon any Occaſion, ſoon put myſelf into a Poſture of Defence.

Then I imagin'd, that if inſtead of attacking *Carthagena*, I only attempted *Bocca chica*, which defends the Entrance into that vaſt Harbour, called the

the *Lagune* of *Carthagena*, and ſhould carry that Fort, the reſt would be eaſily acquired, by reaſon I might bring my Ships under the Protection of this Fort, and thereby make uſe of the Seamen that might then be ſpared from the Ships, which would in ſome Meaſure make up the Want of Land-Forces.

However, this Deſign had its Difficulties likewiſe: For the Paſſage which this Fort defends, is ſo narrow and winding, that there's no ſailing through it, but you muſt warp your Ships along by their Anchors and Cables; now two Ships riding within, can prevent this Work, and alone defend the Entrance againſt the ſtrongeſt Fleet: I could not imagine, but that the *Spaniards* would uſe that Precaution, in caſe the Galleons had been at *Carthagena*.

On the other Hand, if I could make a Deſcent on any other Part of the Iſland, at one End of which ſtands *Carthagena*, at the other *Bocca chica*, I might probably ſurmount all Difficulties, by expeditiouſly landing of my Cannon; with which croſſing the Iſland, and raiſing of Batteries on the Banks of the *Tagon*, I knew very well, I could either ſink, or force away any Ships that ſhould be poſted to defend the Entrance: As to the Fort, I did no ways doubt the taking of it with the Help of my Bombs, in ſpight of any Succours the Enemy might bring to it by Land.

Being once in Poſſeſſion of *Bocca chica*, I had ſeveral Reaſons for good Hopes, in caſe the Galleons were not there, that I ſhould, by the Help of the Seamen (which I might take when the Ships were ſecur'd) be enabled to attempt *Carthagena*; and if the Galleons were there, then I propos'd to attack them; and in caſe they ſhould reſolve to ſink themſelves, then I ſhould be able ſo to terrify the Place with my Bombs, that they would yield to a Contribution that might reimburſe my Undertakers; and

from thence I could afterwards ſteer to ſome other Leeward Place.

After I had duly weighed theſe Matters, I abſolutely reſolved upon ſailing to *Carthagena*, and I publiſhed my Reſolution; which was applauded and received with all Marks of Satisfaction from the Soldiers. *Du Caſſe* propos'd the ſending away two Frigates of *Buccaniers*, to precede me, which ſhould land in the Night near *Carthagena*, to take what Priſoners they could make, and carry them to *Sambee*, twelve Leagues to Windward of *Carthagena*, and there expect our Coming. Capt. *Pierre*, and Capt. *Blou*, were inſtantly commanded to ſail upon this Deſign; but inſtead of executing theſe Orders, the Deſire of Pillaging, according to their uſual Cuſtom, engaged them to chaſe ſome ſmall Veſſels they met, which they had not the Courage to board after they had driven them aground; and this occaſioned them to loſe ſo much Time, that without having been at *Carthagena*, they arrived after me at *Sambee*, where a ſudden Guſt from the North-Eaſt, called here a Breeze, had forced me to come to an Anchor, and wait for better Weather to appear before *Carthagena* in.

On the thirteenth, the Wind being abated, we got under Sail, and directed our Courſe for *Carthagena*. The whole Fleet was compoſed of theſe Ships: Seven Frigates from eight to twenty four Guns, on board them about ſix hundred and fifty *Buccaniers*. One hundred and ten Inhabitants of *St. Domingo*, one hundred and ſeventy Garriſon Soldiers of the Coaſt, and one hundred and eighty Negroes, were diſperſed on board the Men of War, and Flyboats belonging to the Squadron. This was all the Aſſiſtance which I received from the Government of *St. Domingo*.

The

The *Pontchartrain*, and the *French* Frigate were join'd to us as before mentioned; the one having forty Guns, and one hundred Men; the other twenty four Guns, and ſixty Men.

The Squadron was compos'd of ſeven great Ships.

The *Scepter*, carrying eighty four Guns, and ſix hundred and fifty Men, commanded by *Guillotin*: I was on board this Ship.

The St. *Lewis* of ſixty four Guns, and four hundred and twenty Men, commanded by *Levy*, who acted as Vice-Admiral.

The *Fort* of ſeventy Guns, and four hundred and fifty Men, commanded by the Viſcount *Coetlogon*, who ſerved as Rear Admiral.

The *Vermandois*, *Apollo Furieux*, and St. *Michael*, all four of ſixty Guns each, and three hundred and fifty Men, were commanded by *Dubuiſſon Gombaud*, *La Motte Michel*, and the Chevalier *de Marolles*.

The *Chriſt*, a *Spaniſh* Prize, commanded by the Chevalier *de la Motte d'Heran*, of two hundred and twenty Men, and forty four Guns.

The *Avenant*, by the Chevalier *Francine*, two hundred Men, and thirty Guns.

The *Marin*, commanded by St. *Vandrille*, had one hundred and eighty Men, and twenty eight Guns.

The *Eclatant*, Bomb-Veſſel, comanded by *De-Mons*, had ſixty Men.

The *Providence*, Brigantine, of thirty Men, and four Guns, commanded by the Chevalier *De L'Eſcouet*.

Two Flyboats.

Four Boats, call'd by the *French Traverſier*, who had each of them one Gun, and a Mortar.

On board these Ships, and Vessels, were one hundred and ten Officers, fifty five Guards Marine, two thousand one hundred Sea-men, one thousand seven hundred and fifty Soldiers, effective Men.

Before I left the Road of *Irois*, or Cape *Tiburon*, which is the same Place, I had regulated the Descent, and the manner of employing our Forces.

The Captains of the Men of War, *viz.* those that effectually were so, (but not all those who commanded for such, as did several Galliot-Captains, and some Men of War Lieutenants) were to serve as General-Officers, dividing themselves according to their Seniority, to be alternately ashoar and on board; for it was absolutely necessary to have some of them always in Command on board the Ships. *Du Casse* had the Command of all the *Buccaniers*, and Inhabitants of the Coast, whom I left to him, under their ancient Captains.

By Order of the Court, there was a State Major, compos'd of *Sorel*, Inspector-General of the Marine Troops of *Britany*. The Desire of serving in this Expedition, induc'd him likewise to take upon him the Function of Major-General; but taking place only as Captain of *Thesut*, Major; of two Aid-Majors-Generals, who were the Chevaliers *Jaucoru* and *De Pointis*; a Sub-Major-General, *Berandin*; and some Guards Marine, as Sub-Majors:

Of *Du Tilleul*, Commissary.

One principal Engineer, and another, *viz. Canette* and *Tangey*, for whom were compos'd two Brigades of Officers, or Guards-Marine, as also some Voluntier-Soldiers, that were in some measure thought capable of serving as Engineers. The Chevalier *de Ferriere*, *du Crest*, and *Coursy*, were the chief of these Brigades; the Chevaliers *de Nesmond*, and *Pouilermont*, Ensigns. *La Land du Ches*, and *Rochebonne*, Guards-Marine, chose to serve as Aids de Camps under me.

Six

Six Battalions were compos'd of the Soldiers on board the King's Ships; the firſt was a Body of two hundred and fifty Grenadiers, drawn out of all the reſt commanded, by *La Roche de Vigier*, Capt. of a Frigate, but then ſerving as ſecond Captain on board the *Scepter*, commanded, I ſay, by him, as Colonel; *le Chevaliers de Vexins*, Lieutenant of a Man of War, as Lieutenant Colonel; *Vaujaux* ſerv'd as Major; St. *Lazare d' Aide*; *Framine*, *Montruſier*, and *Vignancourt*, had the Command of the five Companies that made this Battalion.

The five Senior Lieutenants of Infantry Marine, commanded as Colonels in the five other Battalions of three hundred Men each; who were the Chevalier *Marolles*, *le Chenau*, *de Breſne*, *Simonet*; the Guards-Marine were divided among them to augment the Number of Officers. Beſides theſe, I made Detachments of four hundred Seamen, under their own Officers, all arm'd with Scythes and Piſtols; upon occaſion, theſe were to be commanded by Lieutenants of Ships, that had no Companies, who were *de Vaulx*, *Languejoue*, *Carcavy*, *Siglas*, and *Sabran*; theſe were to be reliev'd by five Captains of Fireſhips that were on board our Squadron.

The one hundred and ſeventy Soldiers drawn out of the Garriſons on the Coaſt of *St. Domingo*, were in a ſeparate Body, and commanded by *Beaumont*. The one hundred and ten Inhabitants, and the one hundred and eighty Negroes, made each of them another. The *Buccaniers* were all in one Troop.

The Plans, and Memoirs, which I had of ſeveral Places, of whoſe Errors I have much reaſon to complain, were nevertheles true in one Point: For they gave me a plain Aſſurance, that if we did not ſeize at our Arrival at *Carthagena*, upon a conſiderable Eminence, and a Church called *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*, that commands the Avenues, all the

Treaſure

Treaſure would be carried off, the greateſt Part being in Gold and Emeralds, eaſily to be tranſported up into the Country; which the *Spaniards* would not fail to do, upon the Approach of ſuch a formidable Fleet.

To get Poſſeſſion of this Poſt, I reſolved to land the *Buccaniers* the Night after my coming to an Anchor, they being very proper for ſuch an Attempt, as being accuſtomed to marching and ſubſiſting in the Woods, where each of them carries his own Proviſions, and lives upon what he kills; ſo I was informed at leaſt: Thus not being encumbered with any Baggage, their March might be kept ſecret, their Irruption unexpected, and in caſe of Neceſſity, their Retreat ſecure by Ways unpaſſable to others. I had concerted with *Du Caſſe* all things relating to this Deſign, which he undertook to ſee executed: We agreed upon the Signals he ſhould make me by Fires from the Hills, to acquaint me whether he wanted any Aſſiſtance, or Veſſels to re-embark his Men; or upon Taking of the Poſt, whether he was in a Condition of maintaining it or not. On my Part, I was to inform him by Signals from the Ships of my Condition, and the Reſolution which various Accidents might oblige me to take.

Having concluded upon this Method of executing our Deſign, we arriv'd between *Carthagena* and Point *Hicacos*, four Leagues to the Eaſtward, where finding good Anchorage in a great Bay, which the Land makes by running out to the Southward, we came to an Anchor about Four a Clock, two Leagues from the City, on the ſame Day, being the Thirteenth. The Squadron was got ready in the Morning at *Sambee*, and I deliver'd all my Orders by Signals: By this Diligence I was ſure to make a ſecure Deſcent, it not being poſſible that

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an Enemy could be able to guard all the Shoar, or march down time enough to hinder our landing.

So ſoon as the Ships were come to an Anchor, I made the Signal for the Chaloups (that were to land the *Buccaniers*) to go on board their Frigats, ſo ſoon as it was dark, and to them to be in Readineſs for the Boats, altho' it was reſolved they ſhould not embark till Midnight, to the End they might be aſhoar ſome Hours only before Daylight.

In the mean Time, the *Fort*, the *Mutine*, and the Bomb-Veſſel, according to their Orders, were advanc'd towards the City; the laſt near enough to bombard, and the other two to guard her. I expected, by thus employing of the Enemy with my Bombs, to divert them from taking other neceſſary Precautions.

When the *Buccaniers* were to be embarked, in order to their landing, they did not behave themſelves ſo heroically as *Du Caſſe* had boaſted of them: For this Separation from the King's Forces afforded them a Proſpect of the dreadfulleſt Dangers; they began to apprehend the Want of Proviſions in the Woods, where they were uſed to ſubſiſt many Days, when they were only to rob and cut People's Throats ſleeping, whereas now they were to march againſt a People that ſtood on their Defence; yet to take away one of their Pretences that covered their Fear, we delivered them Proviſion, and the Major-General, after much ſtirring, got them at laſt into the Boats.

All was in a Readineſs for the Deſcent, when I fortunately reſolved to viſit the Shoar, for the moſt proper Place of landing: One would not have thought that in a great Bay, ſheltered from the Winds that uſually reign upon this Coaſt, where Ships find a good Anchorage, and the Sea calm, it ſhould be impoſſible to get aſhoar; but ſcarce were

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we come to it, when the Waves breaking upon the Rocks even with the Water, did but little miſs of filling my Canoe quite full of Water at once: *Levy*, *Du Caſſe*, and *Tilluel* were with me. We rowed down the Strand towards *Carthagena*, in Hopes of finding ſome proper Place; but there the Sea ran higher than from whence we came; and when we were fall'n ſo low, that it was not poſſible to proceed farther without engaging ourſelves among ſeveral little Lakes that from this Part water all the Territories of *Carthagena*, our Canoe came athwart a Sea that filled her half full of Water; and now, in all Probability, our Enterprize, as yet not begun, was likely to end in a Goal: But *Levy* leaping into the Water, and by his Example encouraging the Seamen, that followed him, to uſe their utmoſt Efforts, we at length got our Canoe afloat, that had ſtruck on the Rock, and delivered ourſelves from that imminent Danger. Our firſt Care was, by the other Canoes of the Major's, to diſpatch Orders to the Chaloups, not to come near the Shoar; where, embarraſs'd by a great Number of People on board them, and being every Way larger, drawing more Water, and not ſo well provided with Rowers as my Canoe was, their Ruin muſt have been inevitable.

We were then, notwithſtanding all our Draughts and Memoirs, oblig'd to agree, that *Carthagena* was inacceſſable on this Side: For if in ſo calm a Day, the Sea was ſo boiſterous as we found it, what were we to expect in other Weather? In ſhort, the Stay we made in this Country, had ſhewn us by Experience, as well as inform'd us by the Relations of the Inhabitants, that the Sea upon all this Coaſt, and in all Seaſons, is a natural invincible Rampart; and that *Carthagena* is approachable only by the Lake, which makes the Harbour.

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I reflected with Concern on this disasterous Adventure; I foresaw, that in not being able to possess myself of that considerable Post of *Nostre dame de la Pouppe*, I should afford the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of several Days to carry off whatsoever they were desirous to save, by Reason I could not be able to come at them, until I had taken the Fort of *Bocca chica*.

Being wholly bent upon *Bocca chica*, the Fleet got in a Readiness of sailing the Morning on the Fourteenth. We designed to pass so nigh the Walls of *Carthagena*, as to do them all the Mischief my Guns could afford them; but notwithstanding my utmost Care to provide all Things necessary for every Vessel of the *Buccaniers*, who have the Reputatioe of knowing this Coast; we found them so very ignorant, and so much at a Loss, that we durst not attempt any Thing upon the small Informations that we could get from them; so we resolved to take the surest Precautions possible, by ordering the Chaloups to sound before us. The *Scepter* not finding Water enough, could not come within Shot of the Town; the *Lewis* and the *Fort* that drew less, even touched in several Places. However, that did not hinder them from firing, until I made them a Signal to join the Fleet. The Enemy made no great Fire, yet we perceived they had great Pieces, and good Store of them: To our Admiration, we observed, that *Carthagena* was inclosed only on this Side with Pallisadoes, and old Walls that were in many Places fallen down; whereupon we founded our Projects and Hope of a lucky Event; not knowing that Nature had sufficiently provided for the Security of this Part, by the great Violence of the Sea that washes it: I touch'd twice, and came not this Night to an Anchor before *Bocca chica*, being desirous first to inform myself of all the Soundings; but came to an Anchor so soon as we found a

proper Depth. We underſtood afterwards, that the Place we had been in all Day, was about eight Years ſince a Plain, where the People of *Carthagena* uſed to walk.

I ſent away the Chaloups, to ſound the Coaſt even up to the Fort. I ordered *St. Vandrille* on Board the *Marine* to an Anchor over-againſt the Entrance, that ſo he might prevent any Boats from carrying off Advice or Silver to *Porto Bello*. All the Officers and Pilots, that had been out to ſound, aſſured me, that there was every where Water enough, even to twenty Fathom, and near the Shore; and the Coaſt jetting out to the Southward, had formed near the Fort, a Sort of a Haven ſecure from the Violence of the Sea, which ran too high every where elſe for a Deſcent; and a ſmall Neck of Land, or Promontory, did likewiſe protect us from the Fire of the Fort; whereupon it was reſolved to come to an Anchor there, by the Break of Day, next Morning, being the Fifteenth, and to take our Anchoring Births, according to the Diſpoſition of the Place.

All the Fleet were at an Anchor on the Fifteenth at Noon: I immediately diſpatched away Major *Theſut*, to obſerve what Part of the Shore was moſt proper for a Deſcent. Upon his Return, I made the Signal for landing, and ordered *Du Caſſe* to take eighty Negroes that were on Board the *Furieux*, to embark on Board the *Pereagoes*, which are a very light Veſſel, and therefore in no Danger of ſtranding; with theſe I ordered him to make up to *Carthagena*, and to come very near the Shore, in two or three Places, without endeavouring to land, but only to draw out the Enemies, if there were any, and by that Means oblige them to diſcover what they were; and if there was no Appearance of any, he was to inform me of it by a Signal: The Woods lie cloſe to the Sea-ſhore, where the *Spaniards* might have kept themſelves concealed, and diſcharged

ged upon us without appearing, which oblig'd me to this Precaution; but *Du Caſſe* finding no ſuch Matter, landed with his Negroes, and hoiſted the white Flag upon a Rock. This acquainted me that he was landed: The Chaloups immediately made to Shoar, and the Deſcent was made without any Oppoſition. The Negroes were forthwith employed with their Bills and Hatchets, to make a Way thro' the Wood to the Lake, on the other Side of the Iſland, where we deſigned to encamp, and make our Approaches to the Fort, the Ground on this Side towards the open Sea, not being ſo proper; beſides it was neceſſary to cut off their Communication with *Carthagena* by Land. The Iſland which is but narrow at the Point were the Fort is ſituated, is but a Quarter of a League from the Sea to the Lake, at the Place our Negroes were cutting, within half Cannon Short of the Fort, from which we were covered by the Woods: The Way was made in a very little Time, ſo that all our Troops were ranged quite croſs the Iſland, making Places of Arms in the ſeveral Paths of the Wood that lead to *Carthagena*. By this Means we were ſoon poſted, and the Places of Arms, or *Corps du Guarde*, were near enough to ſpeak to each other.

While we were thus ſetting ourſelves Aſhore, the *Lewis* made a little more out, and began to Cannonade the Fort; ſometime afterwards, the *Fort* Man of War doing the ſame, as likewiſe the *Sceptter*, that followed at a little Diſtance, the Battery began to be very warm, the Bomb-Galliot, and the *Traverſier* with one Mortar, having taken their Stations, played their Parts very well, which continued until Night. The Enemy made a very ſlow Fire, which did not occaſion us much Damage, only our Yards and Rigging ſuffered a little, and three Men were killed or wounded.

In our Approach to the Lake, we had a little crooked the Way leading towards the Fort, to the End we might fall directly in with a little Plain, which (the People of *St. Domingo* brought hither for our Guides, told us) lay between the Lake, the Wood, and the Fort; ſo we came out at the Foot of a riſing Ground, that was high and large enough to cover us, and from whence we had the Liberty of examining the Fort, which is not above Muſquet-ſhot from it: We lodged ourſelves here, expecting the Approach of Night, to examine the Ditch, and where it was proper, to open the Trenches, by cutting down a Part of the Wood, which we perceived to be much nearer to the Fort, than the Way we had cut: So ſoon as it was dark, the Major-General, and *Canette*, ſlipped away to make the Tour of the Place, upon the Bank of the Ditch; which they did without being diſcovered: *Levy*, *Jaucourt*, and I, being without Deſign inſenſibly advanced into the Wood, until we perceived ourſelves near to the Ditch, we were deſirous to examine it. The Obſcurity, and great Stillneſs of the Night, favoured our Attempt; we met the Major-General and *Canette* who had been round; our Meeting happened to occaſion ſome little Noiſe, upon which the Centinels fired, and we returned, ſounding the Ground; which being proper for the Work, confirmed us in the Opinion of opening the Trench in that Part of the Wood which I ſaid was neareſt to the Fort; beſides, a little Fen being between the Eminency and the Fort, did deprive us of the Conveniency of carrying on our Work on that Side.

Upon the ſixteenth in the Morning, we began to make our Faſcines, Gabions, and to get our Artillery on Shore, which we wanted; one of the Mortars being brought aſhore in the Night, when one of thoſe great *Pereagoes*, that are much uſed in the

the *West Indies*, and big enough to carry sixty Men, came gently sailing on to *Boccachica* under the Shore, which she did not imagine to be in our Possession; but being perceived by our Grenadiers there, they resolutely took their Opportunity, without waiting for Orders, and fir'd so thick into her, that at the first Discharge they killed and wounded fifteen or sixteen Men, seven or eight more, being perfectly scared, leaped into the Water and were drowned, the rest throwing themselves into the Bottom of the *Pereagoe*, she lay floating on the Water, until some of our Negroes launching off a little Boat, that was by chance there, made to her and brought her ashore. Besides the killed and wounded, there was eight and twenty Men in her, among whom were two *Franciscan* Friars, one of which had received a small Hurt in his Arm: By these Prisoners I was informed, that the Galleons were at *Porto Bello*, of which I had no certain Account since my coming out. They had been there ever since the End of *October*, and were expected every Moment at *Carthagena*; their Stay at *Porto Bello* having been, contrary to all the Rules of Commerce, much longer than usual.

I made use of one of these Friars to represent unto the Governor (whom I designed to summon) the Insignificancy of his Defence, against such unequal Forces: I multiplied them in the Eyes of the Friar, by drawing forth all the Troops into the Wood; and whilst they amused him, I made some of them file off through the By-ways, and advance themselves beyond those he had seen; the Ammunition, and Train of Artillery were shewed him; insomuch that if the Matter had depended on him only, the Fort would have been surrendered at that very instant: However, he made use of all his Eloquence to the Governor; to whom he carried from me very honourable Proposals. He answered, by

by my Drummer, that he was not reduced to the Condition of Capitulating; but when he was, he would be willing to accept of the Offers I had made him: Moreover, he charged the *Franciſcan* in particular, with many Civilities to me.

The *Fort* Man of War returned to her Station to batter the Fort; but the Bullets that flew over it, falling into a Quarter of the Camp, that we deſigned not to quit, I ſent her Orders not to retire, and to the *Sceptre*, and St. *Lewis*, going to the ſame Work, to return to their firſt Births. The Mortars on Board, and thoſe on Shore, began to fire at the ſame Time.

About Two in the Afternoon, two greater *Pereagoes* than that in the Morning, came before the Wind, to land Succours at the Fort, which the Governor of *Carthagena* had been ſollicited to ſend thither, upon finding their Miſtake, in believing that my Expedition was upon the Galleons, and to land at *Porto Bello*; and that I durſt not engage upon an Enterprize of that Moment, as was the attacking of *Carthagena*; but came thither only to ſee if the Galleons were there.

The Adventure and Example of the Morning, inſpired ſome of the *Buccaniers* with a Reſolution of doing what the Grenadiers had done: Theſe laſt *Pereagoes* having paſſed ſomething wide from the Poſt of the laſt, drew to the Shore only when they were pretty near the Fort; theſe *Buccaniers*, at the Head of whom may be about twenty Men, that deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed for their Courage, my Intention being very far from comprehending them in the Deſcriptions which I make of the others: Theſe *Buccaniers*, I ſay, having poſſeſſed, themſelves of ſome little Houſes on the Lake-ſide, made a very great Fire upon the *Pereagoes*; the Noiſe brought the Major-General, *Canette*, *Gougon*, and ſome other Officers to them, who encouraging this

ſmall

ſmall Number of *Buccaniers* accidentally joined by ſome Soldiers, led them towards the Fort, to prevent the *Pereagoes* that kept on their Way, from landing the Forces on Board them. The other *Buccaniers*, by the Example of the firſt, having taken Arms, ran to the Shore, where they made an extraordinary Fire; but the Place being within Muſket-ſhot of the Fort, the Enemy began to fire upon them; and the *Buccaniers*, who are not uſed to engage where there is any Danger, made the moſt of their Heels to bring themſelves to ſhelter: I met them in their Way, and finding that Words were of no Weight with them, I lighted on a Cudgel, and with that forced them to return to the Poſt they had abandoned. *Du Caſſe* was ſurpriſed at this Way of carrying Men on, yet concealed in Silence, the Vexation he conceived at the Action. In this Space of Time the *Pereagoes*, terrified with the Diſcharge they ſuſtained, were tacked about, and on their Return towards *Carthagena:* The Major-General taking the Advantage of this Opportunity, poſted himſelf with the ſmall Troop that followed him, at the Foot of the Counterſcarp, which the Blindneſs of the *Spaniards* had left ſo, as it covered us from the Fire of the Ramparts. *Canette*, *Le Cher*, *Martin*, and *Gougon*, were wounded in this Action; fifteen Soldiers and *Buccaniers* were killed and wounded. *La Mothe*, Enſign of the *Buccaniers*, pitched his Colours, yet neither his Signal nor my Blows, were ſufficiently powerful to make his Companions advance. I then imagined, that by ſuſtaining thoſe that were at the Foot of the Counterſcarp, I might make an advantageous Buſineſs of this accidental Attempt: So I abandoned the *Buccaniers* to their Cowardice, and ordered two Companies of Grenadiers, with the Battalion of *de la Chenau* that was at hand, to march: *Levy* put himſelf at their Head, and, to

ſhorten

ſhorten the Way, marched up to his Belly through the Water, and ſo poſſeſſed himſelf likewiſe of the Foot of the Counterſcarp; at this inſtant *Du Caſſe* received a Contuſion on the Thigh, by a Cannon Ball falling among a Heap of Stones. The Major-General did not forget to ſend me word, that the Poſt he had taken might be kept, by cauſing the Troops to march, altho' at the hazard of ſome Men, by reaſon of the Fire which they were to ſuſtain in going to it; but thoſe Men were got to him, before his Meſſenger had ſpoke to me, ſo there was no Time for Deliberation, it being neceſſary to maintain this Lodgment; becauſe the Counterſcarp almoſt environing the Place, through the Fault of not being cut ſloping at the Foot, afforded Shelter from the Fire of the Ramparts, and was capable of receiving a greater Number of Men than mine. I ſent Major *Theſut* to bring up the Battalions, as likewiſe the Ladders, with all imaginable Expedition, to be at Hand, in caſe there ſhould be occaſion for them; and as the Battalions came up, ſo they defiled off to the Foot of the Counterſcarp. The Beſieged fired very briskly, but being obliged to expoſe their whole Bodies, that their Shot might not be made too high, and being eaſily reached in that Poſture, they ſoon bethought themſelves of firing from behind their Defences, and thereby occaſioned us but very little Damage.

Du Buiſſon Varenne was at the Place of our Deſcent with two Battalions, who hearing the Noiſe of our Fire, imagined we were attacking the Place, altho' he knew not in what Manner; he made thro' the Wood, into the Place where the two Mortars were raiſed, and by the Way of the little Plain, which is but a quarter ſo long as that in the Wood which makes a Circle, he brought us that Supply at the Minute the Beſieged called out, They were willing

willing to capitulate, if they might have good Quarter. I anſwered them, that there was good Quarter for them; but that was all: And, that, if they did not immediately throw their Arms into the Ditch, for an Inſtance of their Sincerity to ſurrender, I would continue the ſetting up of my Ladders; after which, they were not to hope for Quarter. Several of them obeyed, and we ſaw the Harquebuzes in the Air falling into the Ditch. By this being very well aſſured of their Intention, I preſently confirmed the firſt Aſſurance of fair Quarter, with my farther Promiſes of good Uſage: I required to have the Gate opened at that Inſtant, my Impatience not being ſatisfied with their calling from the Place, that they were actually at Work upon clearing of it: For I was apprehenſive, that ſome Alteration might happen by the Delay. But to appeaſe me, they let down a Man by a Cord, who came to aſſure me from the Governor, That they uſed the utmoſt Diligence to deliver themſelves into my Hands. In a Moment of Time the Gate was opened, and old *Sanchez Ximenez*, who had been Governor for above twenty-five Years, came and delivered the Keys into my Poſſeſſion. I gave him all the Comfort I could, in the good Uſage I ſhewed him, by giving him and his Officers their Liberties, and among the reſt too, the Preſident of the Iſle of *St. Martha*, who happened to be at that Time in the Fort, and to be wounded: Moreover, I permited the Governor to carry away whatſoever belonged to him; and the next Day he retired, with his Domeſticks and Slaves, to his Country-Houſes, on the other Side of the Lake.

This Piece of Succeſs did not ſtand me in above fifty Men, therein comprehending all the ſeveral Bodies, as Grenadiers, Soldiers, Inhabitants of the Coaſts, Negroes, and *Buccaniers*. The Garriſon being Priſoners of War, were confined. *La Roche, du Vigier*, that commanded the Grenadiers, I made

Governor; to whom, beſides Cannoniers, and other neceſſary Workmen, I left the Soldiers of the Coaſt for his Garriſon. By this I put him into a Condition of defending me, if occaſion were. The Enemies Garriſon did conſiſt of about three hundred Men, whereof two hundred and ten remained fit for Service, the reſt were either killed or wounded in the Bombardment, Cannonading, and Attack.

On the ſeventeenth we re-embarked all that we had on Shoar, towards the Main Sea, and began to work ourſelves into the Lake; but the careful tranſporting of our Ammunition and Proviſion being of the higheſt Conſequence, and could only be counted ſafe in the Lake, I reſolved not to ſtir, until they were got in: For which Reaſon I was obliged to defer our March until the next Day, to the ſecond Fort, that was about two Leagues and a half from us, called St. *Croix*; the Taking of which was not leſs neceſſary to enable our Ships to come within Cannon-ſhot of *Carthagena*, than that of *Bocca chica* to facilitate the Entrance into the Lake.

My Intention all along was to cut off the Avenues of *Carthagena*, ſo ſoon as it was poſſible, by ſecuring the Poſt of *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*; to which Purpoſe, I had in the Morning ſent away the Brigantine, *Traverſiers*, and Chaloups, neceſſary for the carrying of the *Buccaniers*, which I order'd upon this Expedition, for the Reaſons before-mention'd. *Du Caſſe* fearing that a long troubleſome March might bring his Contuſion into a Wound, refuſed to charge himſelf with the Command: His Major, that had formerly ſerved with thoſe Pirates, and was at preſent in a conſiderable Employ, ought to have had this Command; but he likewiſe diſtruſted his Health: Thus there was only *Daunou* left, who was no Ways agreeable to them, as well by Reaſon of his Misfortune, in not having acquired on the Coaſt of *St. Domingo*, either the Eſteem or Love of any Body; as likewiſe upon the Account

count of being Lieutenant-Governor in a Place where they never make any Stay; so they could not be persuaded, that he had any Right to command them: However, it was necessary I should make Use of him, for want of another. I disposed of all Things for it, delivered him his Instructions, and even made most of them embark in my Presence; yet no sooner was my Back turned, but he came running up with Tears in his Eyes, to demand Justice upon their Insolence, for pressing them to go into the Boats, that attended on them; it was murmur'd about, that they did not know him, neither would they obey him: In short, they refused to embark; whereupon he took one of them by the Arm, to push him into the Canoe, which the Fellow had the Impudence to return very insolently. I forthwith ordered the Delinquent to be shew'd to me, and upon the Spot I had him tied to a Tree; a Confessor was called, a Cloth bound over his Eyes, and the Musketeers were marching to do Justice on him; when *Daunou*, whom 'twas very necessary for me to reconcile to the *Buccaniers*, having before-hand instructed him what to do, threw himself at my Feet, protesting, he would not rise until I had bestowed Mercy on the unfortunate Offender. I seemed to be very difficult upon the Account of good Order; but at Length, at the pressing Desires of the Company, I gave him his Life. And much Trouble there was to revive the Condemned, who could not believe that it was possible for him to be alive again, after the Ceremony of binding his Eyes.

Being desirous to put an End to this Affair, I went to the nearest Vessel, where Captain *Pierre* was embarked; who was (as I was inform'd) the first Beginner of the Mutiny; but, in the Time of bringing the Fellow to Execution, he had consider'd the Matter, and was marched on Board with his

Buccaniers; I commanded him to be immediately dragged out, and put into my Canoe, and ordered him to prepare to die: But there appearing from the reſt of the Company many Signs of Submiſſion, and Acclamations of, *God ſave the King*, I at laſt reſolved to forgive the Offence; yet withal threatning to decimate them, upon the leaſt Complaint that *Daunou* ſhould make of their Miſbehaviour.

This Uſage, ſo different from the Cajolements they had been accuſtomed to receive, from thoſe that made Uſe of them, did me very good Service, during the whole Time they were under me, ſo as to make 'em tolerably obedient to *Daunou*; yet not expoſing themſelves to the Danger of Fire and Sword: For having without Trouble poſſeſſed themſelves of *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*, that was utterly abandon'd by the Enemy; and believing that upon their Approach to the little Fort of *St. Lazare*, between *La Pouppe* and *Carthagena*, they might frighten the Garriſon to retire from them alſo, he propos'd this Attempt to them; but it was to no Purpoſe: And in a Council where he did not preſide, they reſolved to attend my Coming, encamped in the Wood, at the Foot of the Fort, where they got about thirty Hours before me.

On the Seventeenth, all the Ships being drawn into Order, at the Entrance into the Lake, they paſſed it in the Morning of the Eighteenth. The *Diep* Flyboat touched; the great many Banks of Sand in the Lake, which our Pilots did not know, was the Occaſion we did not advance very much that Day: The *Apollo* ran a-ground this Day; but theſe Banks being only Sand and Ouſe, mingled with a very fine Turf, there was no fear of Danger.

In the mean Time, being ſure of having the Ships ſuddenly follow me, we began our March by Break of Day; and for Security againſt all Hazards, took two Days Proviſion with us for the Forces,

ces, which was dignified with the Title of the Land Army: This, after the Departure of the ſix hundred and fifty *Buccaniers*, that were gone to the other Side, and the Garriſon of one hundred and ſeventy Men remaining behind us in the Fort of *Bocca chica*, might conſiſt of about one thouſand ſeven hundred Men, not including ſome Seamen, one hundred and ten Inhabitants of *St. Domingo* formed in Companies, fifteen or twenty Voluntiers, that followed *Du Caſſe*, and one hundred and eighty Negroes.

I was obliged to defer making Uſe of my Seamen, until the Ships were arrived, and had taken their Stations: The Smallneſs of our Forces was no Diſcouragement to us. The Marines eſpecially, being highly pleaſed with the Execution of a Buſineſs, in which they had never before been employed, did apply themſelves with all imaginable Diligence and Good-will, every one of them chearfully undertaking whatſoever was appointed to him.

After we had croſſed the Mountains covered with Woods, which the Negroes examined before us, we met with the Plain, that is here and there covered with Shrub-wood, and at Noon came to an old ruined Caſtle, within half a Mile of *St. Croix*: Here we reſted the Troops; and beſides the Pits, that are there eaſily made in the Sand, and afford indifferent good Water, we had the good Fortune to find a great Ciſtern that was a mighty Conveniency to us. After this Refreſhment, the Viſcount *de Coetlogon*, whoſe Day it was, marched on with a Part of the Grenadiers, to obſerve how we might encamp as near as poſſible to the Fort, and to ſeize upon the Paſſages that are in thoſe Marſhes, that encompaſs the Fort; in the mean Time we continued our March, not being able to leave the Shore, becauſe the Lake approaching in divers Places within a few Paces of the Sea, permits

mits you the Choice of that Way only, until we came down from the Mountains, below which the Iſland is pretty ſpacious. This Way having brought us within Cannon-ſhot of the Baſtion of *Carthagena*, called *St. Domingo*, we ſtruck ſhort off to the Right, by a Way that the Marſh leaves croſs the low Woods, called *Maugliers*, that grow in the Water.

In this Place I was informed by the Officers that *Coetlogon* ſent me, that he was at the Foot of *St. Croix*, which the Enemy had abandoned, having carried off their Cannon, and ſet Fire to the Lodgements that were there; likewiſe that ſome Part of the Forces might encamp upon a Spot of Ground about the Fort, but that the reſt muſt be left in the Way worn near the Fort by a Rill of Water runing from the neighbouring Marſhes; that the Bottom was good, and the Water not above Knee-deep, which would no way prevent a Communication.

Levy, the Major-General, and myſelf, with ſome Grenadiers, were in the mean Time ſo near advanced to *Carthagena*, as eaſily to obſerve, that the Place could not be attacked on one Side, the Marſhes and Sea not leaving there a Sandy Space of about twenty Fathom over, which was expoſed to the Fire of three Baſtions; beſides, there was no ſinking two Foot Deep, without being in Water. The great Number of People that we ſaw on the Ramparts, who quietly looked on us, made me deſirous to ſummon them; the Governor was there, and anſwered my Drum, that he was ready to defend himſelf better than we could attack him.

We could not exactly diſcern the Foot of the Rampart; and being deſirous to know, if there was a Ditch, I ordered *De Breſme*, whoſe Battalion was encamped at the leaſt Diſtance from it, to examine at Night how it was; which he performed very well, and aſſured me, that the Water of the Marſh went upeven to the Foot of the Walls, and that there

was

was only a ſmall dry Space of Sand, that environed Part of the great Baſtion called *St. Domingo*, and that on the other Side, the Sea came up to the Foot of the Baſtion. This Report made us conclude, not to attack *Carthagena* in this Place.

The next Day, being the nineteenth, ſo ſoon as it was Day, we croſſed the Lake, with much Deligence: *Pally*, that commanded the Negroes, whom I had ordered to ſeek out a convenient Place of Deſcent, having aſſured me, that he had found out two, which came almoſt up to the great Way; I immediately paſſed over with *Levy*, *Sorel*, and the Grenadiers of the Battalion of *de la Chenau*, being conducted by ſome Priſoners, that *Pally* had taken on board of a *Pereago*, which had endeavoured to get from *Carthagena*: Theſe Priſoners, in hopes of being better treated, had offered themſelves for our Guides; and indeed led us very nigh to the Foot of the Eminency, upon which Fort *St. Lazare* is ſituated. At this Place we found the *Buccaniers*, (*Dannou* had left a Detachment of 'em to guard *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*) *Coetlogon*, *La Motte Michel*, *and La Motte d'Heran*, whom I had left at *St. Croix*, to bring away the reſt of the Troops, as the Chaloups came to them, inſomuch that we were all got together by Break of Day next Morning, leaving only a Serjeant and twenty Men in Fort *St. Croix*, with Orders to keep the Gates always ſhut, that and the Situation being ſufficient to prevent the Enemy from repoſſeſſing themſelves of it.

We had in the Evening of the nineteenth Day viewed all the Places adjacent to *St. Lazare*, and perceived, that without getting it into our Poſſeſſion, it would not be poſſible to advance a Step towards *Carthagena*, by reaſon it commands all the Avenues: We beheld with much Trouble, the Time it muſt coſt us, if we attacked it in Form, and brought our Artillery to batter it. This whole little

little Mountain is defended with a natural Glacis, very ſteep, covered with Shrub-wood, which runs up to the Foot of the Wall, where we ſuppoſed was a Ditch; the Wood being extreamly thick, and very difficult to paſs, prevented us from going to it; upon which I ordered the Chevalier *de Pointis*, to ſeek out two Negroes to examine the Matter; but underſtanding to what Purpoſe I ſent for them, he betook himſelf to the Wood, at the ſame Time he ſent them to me, which he croſſed in the beſt Manner he could, until he took hold of the very Wall; the Negroes went almoſt as faſt as he, and then came to aſſure me that the Ground was level to the Foot of the Fort: The Chevalier *de Pointis* quietly heard their Report, which being exactly true, he ſaid not a Word of what he had done. In all theſe Occaſions, there was only a Grenadier killed upon our Return.

Upon the next Day, being the twentieth, *Levy*, *Coetlogon*, and *Sorel*, having got up to an Eminency, that was above all the others, ſent to me, to come to them; from whence they ſhewed me, that the Fort did not take up (as we had imagined) all the Eminency, which extended a good Diſtance farther to the Right; and, that if we could make a Way, through the Wood, to that Height, we might afterwards go upon a Level from thence to the Foot of the Fort, all the Way being covered with Woods; and that we could fix a Miner to it, if the Garriſon ſhould reſolve not to quit it. Upon this, I ordered the Major-General to call to Arms, and having called the Negroes to me at the Moment I came down, I put them to Work upon cutting of a Way, to facilitate the March of the Troops; this was carried on half-way up the Hill, where dividing the Way, to encompaſs the Fort, *Levy* marched to the Right, *Coetlogon* to the Left, and the Major-General viſited every Place as his Preſence was requiſite.

This

This Work being found ſhorter than what we had expected, we arrived at the foot of the Fort in a very little time, where we made the greateſt Fire that was poſſible for us to make, at the ſame time calling out for the Ladders; not that we expected to uſe them, but to terrify the Garriſon; however, I ſent for the Miner in good earneſt.

During which time, the Enemy made no great Fire, by reaſon we made our Shot upon them, ſo ſoon as they expoſed their Bodies to view. They had for a good while perceived that we were piercing through the Wood; and we underſtood, by the ſounding of a Bell, how much every ſtep we made increaſed their trouble. This Bell was a ſignal to the City, to acquaint them with their Condition; at firſt it ſtruck only now and then, keeping ſounding more and more by degrees, until at length it rung full out, when their fear gave them occaſion to think they would be attack'd on all ſides, which had effectually happen'd, if they had not choſe rather to retire, for the Quarter towards the Gate was then free to them.

In this manner we poſſeſs'd ourſelves of the Fort: In the place there was only nine kill'd and wounded. On our ſide, the Chevalier *de Vezins* that commanded the Grenadiers, ſince *La Roche du Vigier* was made Governor of *Boccachica*, was kill'd, with five Grenadiers; *Simmonet*, Colonel of a Battalion, dangerouſly hurt in the Head, and St. *Lazare*, Captain of Grenadiers, wounded in the Thigh.

The taking of St. *Lazare* giving us the liberty to open our ſelves, we croſs'd the way, and advanced our Camp to the Chapel of St. *Lazare* Hoſpital, which is a great breadth; being cover'd on one Side with ſeveral little Canals, that have a communication with the Lake, and on the other, by a high thick wall, which beſides the Trees that

covered us, did prevent the Baſtions of the City from diſcerning the place we poſſeſs'd; the kill'd and wounded that we had, were only by chance Balls: In the mean time, this little Chapel gave us the opportunity of going covered within a ſmall Muſquet-ſhot of the place, which is not above that diſtance from it.

Whilſt we were thus employ'd, the Ships, by the care of *Du Buiſſon*, were come nearer to the Town; inſomuch that in the Morning, a Bomb-Galliot, with a Mortar, and a *Traverſier*, were moor'd, and began to fire. In the Evening the *Traverſier* was obliged to retire, being ſhot thro' with ſeveral Balls, and ready to ſink; *Bois Pinault*, Lieutenant of the Artillery, commanded her; *De Mons* was in the Galliot, which likewiſe ſuffer'd ſo much, that ſhe was obliged to retire a little; beſides ſhe had a great many kill'd on board her; but the Strength of theſe Veſſels enabling them to endure a great deal of Fire, ſhe began again in the Morning of the twenty-firſt of the ſame Month.

My chief Ingenier was wounded, and ill; whereby I was obliged to execute that Function. The Officers of the Marines, which I had formed into Brigades, had only their own Readineſs to enable them to execute every thing, which could not ſupply the want of Practice and Judgment. I had, by good Luck, at the firſt agreed with the Major-General where to begin the Opening and Advancement of the Trenches. I had, moreover, deſign'd the Batteries of Cannons, and Mortars, and given Orders for the things neceſſary to the Works; by which means, the Accident that happened to me a few Hours afterwards, did not much interrupt our Proceedings: In the mean time, all Hands were at work, the Soldiers upon Faſcines and Gabions, the Sea-men upon landing the Artillery; in the drawing of which, the Hundred and eighty Negroes

were

were a mighty Assistance to us: For as to the *Buccaniers*, we were never able to make the least use of them; and the share which they ought to have performed of the work, falling upon others, who were by this means over-wrought, did not a little contribute to the causing of those Distempers, which so lamentably reigned among us afterwards.

Our small number, and the great many things to be done, forced us to keep the Troops with their Arms in one hand, and their working-Tools in the other, the soldiers were at one and the same time, both on the Guard, and working; the nearness of the woods, on whose sides we were encamped, were a great conveniency to us: For when we drew out our Troops, they left their Arms upon that spot, and went to the wood with their Tools; and upon the first Beat of Drum they quitted their Tools, and running to their Arms, were immediately in a condition of marching; the Battalion of Grenadiers was ever at the Head of the Camp, to sustain whatsoever might be presented; and that was sufficient, by reason the disposition of the Ground was such, that the Camp was on all parts inaccessible, but on that only towards the City.

Nor were they less diligent on board the Fleet: *Du Buisson* caused the *Scepter* to advance, commanded by *Guilotin*, the Saint *Lewis* by *Sabran*, and the *Vermandois*, aboard which he commanded; with these Ships he made up towards the City, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* had purposely sunk a Galleon to render the Passage difficult: We were obliged to leave on board these Ships that were to fight, a great many Sea-men to work the Guns; which diminish'd the number of those employ'd upon Disimbarkment, and transporting of the Artillery that was necessary to us on shoar: It is hardly to be imagined, how so small a Parcel of our

Men was able in ſix Days to diſimbark, draw half a League upon Land, and bring into a State of Battery, twenty-ſeven of the greateſt cannon we uſed, five Mortars, and all the Equipage neceſſary to the execution both of the one and the other, beſides the Proviſions that were obliged to bring to the camp; but it is true, that *Du Tilleul* being charged with this care, attended it with ſuch application, that making uſe of the Seamen only at certain Intervals, he conſtantly kept our Magazines fill'd with Proviſion and Ammunition; without ever interrupting any other Buſineſs.

Our Affairs being in this State, and having moreover raiſed a Mortar to prevent the Enemy from going on with a work that we perceived they had began upon a Platform over the Gate: We having twice neglected to throw up a Breaſt-work that I had mark'd out; and fearing leaſt at the third time there might not be ſomething farther neceſſary to be done, that might occaſion a Delay, I reſolved to continue my Preſence there until it was perfected, my Stay inconſiderately brought a great many Officers; this Number of People being moreover remarkable for their Clothes, drew upon us the Enemy's Fire, and particularly that of their cannon, with Hail-ſhot, by which I was wounded; my Hurt was more painful than dangerous, yet I was very fearful that this Accident might diſcourage our Men, which indeed was too apparent at firſt: Moreover I was apprehenſive leaſt the Officers, whom I had by good Fortune maintained in a perfect Union hitherto, ſhould not continue the ſame, which would have been detrimental to our Deſign: I reſolved therefore to ſtruggle with the Pain which I felt, inſomuch, that after the third Day I was carried into every part that I could have viſited in another condition:

But

But during that Interval, I committed all things that I could not inspect, to the care of *Levy*, who certainly acquitted himself to a degree above all manner of Praise; indefatigable, full of Expedients and Contrivances for the Work; neglectful of his Rest and his Meals; he was every where, and forwarded every thing with an incredible Vigour.

The Viscount *de Coetlogon* was to have commanded the Artillery; but I was over-joyed to understand, that his Inclinations were rather to enter, with the rest, into the general Service; this gave me an opportunity of choosing several Persons to manage the Artillery, who did their Duty with more Expedition than would have been possible for any single Man to have done: So he had the Guard only of the Battery of five Cannons of twelve and eighteen Pounders, which he raised at the foot of Fort St. *Lazare*; in which Fort we had got mounted seven Pieces of twelve, eight, and six, that terribly shatter'd the Bastions of the place. *Mornay*, Commander of the *Pontchartrain*, was in the Fort with his Ship's Company; the Chevalier *De la Motte d'Heran* took upon him the care of a great Battery of nine Guns, that was likewise upon the same Eminency with the Fort, but more to the right than the first: *La Motte Michel* had the Charge of that we called, *The Royal Battery*, consisting of six pieces of thirty-six and twenty-four, planted sixty fathoms distant from the Gate, and designed to make the Breach: *Gombaud* played the Mortars, which he had been exercised in from his Youth, and doubtless never any did better execution than these; for one would have thought the Bombs had been plac'd by Hand, in the places where they were designed to fall. These Mortars were placed between the Batteries of the cannon, in such manner, that as soon as they began to play the

the place was on fire in several parts at once; the Galliot was at work on her side, but the Bombs she spent the first Days were of little or no effect.

The twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth, were employ'd in transporting the Cannon, and getting together the things necessary; the *Vermandois* only was advanced to cannonade the town; but I being informed, that she being alone did solely bear the whole Fire of a Bastion, that could conveniently reach her, I ordered her to retire, and to wait for the other Ships that were to go on with her; we were likewise constrained to bring away two small Cannons that we had rais'd in the chapel of St. *Lazare*, without any other parapet than the Wall, upon which the Enemy making an extraordinary Fire, rendered this Post untenable, we brought off the Cannon with the Loss of eight or ten Men.

Canette, altho' wounded, returned to the Camp this Day, being the twenty-fourth, and I continued to regulate upon my Bed with him, what was necessary to be done. In the Evening of the same Day he opened the Trench a little below the Door of the Chapel of St. *Lazare*, where we were under Cover, being the same Place I had agreed upon with the Major-General. *Levy*, whose Day it was, did not command, by reason he was intrusted with the general Management of the Siege in my stead: *Coetlogon* mounted the Guard in the trench, which was advanced the same Night seventy-two fathoms, being as far as was necessary to attack the City Gate, when the Breach should be perfectly made. The following Days the Captains took their Turns according to their Places, and mounted every twenty-four Hours; the Batteries were likewise brought into a condition for Service, and on the twenty-eighth

began

began to play, our Fire until then being only from ſome little Pieces that were mounted in haſte. The Enemies Fire, which had always been very moderate, grew now ſomething ſlower; for the Bombs and the Cannon of the Fort and the Hill, had diſmounted ſeveral of their Pieces; yet they troubled us leſs with their Sallies, for they did not ſo much as attempt to make one in the whole Siege.

At this time, a Bark ſent from *Porto Bello*, by the General of the Galleons, to the Governor of *Carthagena*, not knowing what paſs'd in this place, came quietly into *Boccachica*, and fell into the Hands of the *Avenant*, and *Marin*, that I had left there, who took her with their Canoes: The Letters on board her, were in Anſwer to thoſe the Governor of *Carthagena* had ſent to the General, informing him, that the *French* Fleet was upon the Coaſt; they contained a particular of the Precautions that were us'd to ſecure the Galleons, *viz.* By bringing them to the very lower End of the Port, and defending the Approach to them by an Eſtoccade of Piles, and Platforms of Cannon: They added farther, that Part of the Silver which they had, was already brought into the Caſtles; for they had ſuſpended their Reſolution of ſending it back to *Panama*, until they had received ſome farther Informations of our Deſigns; which the General preſſed the Governor to ſend him immediately, either by the ſaid Bark, or a ſecond, that was to come away in four and twenty Hours after the firſt: But what acquainted us with the miſerable Condition they were in, was the earneſt Deſires of the General, in the moſt preſſing terms, to ſend him fifty Pullets, and ſome Quintals of white Biſcuit.

Altho' the batteries, as I ſaid, were not in a condition to fire, until the twenty-eighth, yet that deſigned

signed to make the Breach, was play'd so successfully, by *La Motte*, *Michel*, *Siglas*, *Longjoue* and some other Officers under him, assisted by the Gunner of the *Scepter*, that on the twenty-ninth in the Morning, the Wall seemed to totter; our Fire had not been discontinued because of the Night, but it increas'd so much in the Day, that in the Evening the Front of the Rampart being quite fallen down, *Levy* and *Sorel*, who would lose no Time, imagin'd the Breach was passable, and came to propose the Assault to me. I was resolved neither to lose, nor neglect a Minute; but likewise determined not to hazard any thing upon ill Grounds: I ordered to Arms, and disposed all things for an Assault; yet resolving not to engage before I judg'd it feasible: In short, Night being come, whilst we prepared our selves, the Chevalier *de Pointis* passing up to the Arm-pits in Water, over the little Marsh upon which the Causey, and the Bridge, that communicates with the City, are built, went to view the Breach. He assured me, that the wall was indeed very much ruined; but that it was not possible, as yet, to mount it without Ladders.

The Chevalier *de Ferriere*, Captain of a Fire-ship, who was at the Head of the Brigade of Ingeniers, that I had sent to observe the condition of the wooden Bridge, (which the Enemy had endeavoured to blow up, by running under a *Pereago* fill'd with Powder) brought me word, that the Bridge had suffered; yet might not be altogether unserviceable to us: And that the Gate beyond it which we imagin'd was beat down by the cannon, was strongly terrass'd on the inside; of this he was positively certain, by reason he had put his Hand into the Holes which the Cannon had made, and therefore there was no Hopes of carrying the place by that; but that the Breach must be pass'd, to the

foot

foot of which he could not get from the place where he was; and that he was, by all that he could perceive in the Night, but little advanced.

These two Officers were too well known, to doubt of their having been where they said they were: Moreover, *Canette* told me he was not quite ready; that all the Gabions and Fascines which he had got together, were spent; and, that if by chance we should find so much resistance as to be obliged to lodge upon the Breach, we should not be able to do it, our Earth-sacks being at the Lake-side, for want of Hands to bring them; that there were two little Flanks unruined, that would destroy a great many Men in the Attack; all these Reasons engaged me to dismiss the Troops from their Duty, and we agreed not to make the Assault until the first of the next Month; in the mean time, to employ both Night and Day in the finishing of the Breach, and to get together all such things as would be necessary upon that occasion.

Upon the twenty-ninth *DuBuisson* being advanc'd with the three Ships, *Scepter*, St. *Lewis*, and *Vermandois*, within a small Cannon-shot of the City, they fired upon it with all their Artillery; but seeing it only reached the tops of the Houses, and my Business being to have two Bastions silenc'd that annoy'd my Camp, I sent to let them know, That when they were retired in the Evening, they should wait new Orders before they begun again.

In the mean time, we prepar'd our selves for the Business of the next Day; the Order of Attack I had regulated with the Major-General, in this manner:

A Serjeant, with ten Grenadiers, should begin, sustained by the Company of Grenadiers on Guard, there being always one at the Head of the Trench; the whole Body of Grenadiers were likewise to ad-

vance to the Head of it, to sustain the first, and to preceed a Battalion, in whose Rear should be *Canette*, the Chevalier *de Ferriere*, *du Crest*, *Coursy*, and one hundred and fifty Workmen, with the Sub-Ingeniers, and all necessary Implements; after whom should follow the same number of *Buccaniers* and Negroes. The Head of the Trench was twenty Fathom distant from the little Ravelin, that in some sort covers the Bridge, whose Wall was so low, that it might have been pass'd, if it had not been easier to pass through a single Barrier that was there, and these Troops fill'd all the Trench, unto the Gate of the Chapel: All the rest of the Battalions were posted according to their Ranks, within the Close of the Hospital, to march into the Trench as fast as the first Troops advanc'd out of it, to the Attack, and to follow 'em up, and sustain them. I recommended to Major *Thesut*, in particular, the good order which these Battalions were to observe to the end, that too much Precipitation might not cause Confusion in their March, nor too much Slowness occasion as much Inconveniency by any Interval being left open.

All Things were thus regulated for the next Day, when *Du Casse*, whose Day it was, came to tell me, about three o' Clock, that he saw the Breach from the head of the Trench, plainly enough to assure me that it was passable; that he believed the Enemies were at Work behind, in throwing up a Retrenchment. A Delay in this Case would have been so very inconvenient to me, by reason of the time I should have given the Enemies, to finish their Work, that I forthwith resolved to attack the Enemies at that instant, provided I found the Breach to be as it was described to me. I was the more inclined to believe it, by being inform'd by all Hands, in the Morning, with the good Effects of the *Royal Battery*, which

which at every Discharge brought prodigious Ruins from the Wall; and, at the worst, I could not be more asham'd in retiring, if Things should not appear in the Condition reported, than I had been the Night before.

I immediately sent for *Levy*, the Major-General, *Canette* and some other Officers, that were gone to *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, to discover from that Place the Condition of the Town; but hearing a general Alarm beaten, they presently returned; and being informed what was to be done, every one of them ran to give the necessary Orders to what belonged to him. The Troops at work in the Woods, being called by the Drums, instantly came to their Arms, and put themselves into order; there was only a small Body in the Trench, that were not exactly placed where they were to be; but the Major-General disposed of them with all Expedition: At which time *Nesmond*, *Poullermont*, *La Lind*, *Du Che* and *Rochebonne*, who (as I said before) chose rather to serve as my *Aids de Camps*, than to be employed in any other Service, not knowing but that the Troops were in perfect order came to acquaint me that every thing was ready, and that they waited for my Orders to march: I gave it, imagining like the rest, that all the Wall was fallen.

The Order was immediately carried by my *Aids de Camp*; who having all undertaken to deliver it, took that occasion to run to the head of the Trench, *De Tilleul* only, that could not be any where else, was with me; *Du Casse* was on his Day in the Trench; but *Levy* being the eldest of all, and this Action being regarded as a general Affair, by reason all were employed in it, put himself at the Head and gave the Motion to the Troops to begin, at the moment he received the Order; which was

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as ſuddenly executed, as it was ſpeedily carried.

What ought to have been a great Advantage, had like to have caus'd a great Inconveniency; the Officers, notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances that had been made them, upon the neceſſity of each of them being at his Poſt, to ſee the Troops perform their Duty; carried on by their Courage, the greateſt part of them advanced before the Troops, and aſſaulted the Breach with Sword in Hand, without obſerving how they were followed; and the Troops unprovided of Leaders, did indeed march on, but ſlower than the ſafety of their Officers required, who remained for a conſiderable time expoſed upon the Breach which they had gain'd. We were all deceived in our Reckoning, for it was the ſteepeſt Way imaginable: The Grenadiers who were order'd not to fire, could not abſtain from it, when they came to be expoſed out of the Trench, and to ſuffer the Fire of the Ramparts; but the Time they employ'd to re-charge, detaining them in the way between the Trench and the Breach, was the Reaſon of their Officers being alone at the Top: *Levy* repaired the Inconveniency of this Accident ſo ſoon as it was poſſible, by haſtening on the Troops, as likewiſe by his Words and his Actions. In the mean time, the Chevalier *de Pointis*, who had firſt mounted, was in an Inſtant joined by *Gougon*, *Jaucourt*, and *Marolles*, whoſe Battalion was on the Trench Guard: *Daye*, *Vignancourt*, *Montraſier*, *Du Rollin*, *Vanjoux*, young *Marolles*, *Marigny*, *Fouilleuſe*, and my *Aids de Camp*: They endeavoured to maintain themſelves, notwithſtanding all the Efforts of the Enemy, who were attacked at the time they leaſt expected it; yet not being diſmayed, they attempted to drive us off with Sword and Pike. *Marolles* and *Du Roullon*, were already mortally wounded; and upon the Ground; *Fouilleuſe* had his Leg broke,

Gougon,

Gougon, *Montrosier*, young *Marolles*, *Marigny*, *Daye*, and *Moussac*, were all wounded; some shot, others hurt with Pikes; some of them had several Wounds, as *Montrosier*, and *Vanjoux*; when at length *Levy*, and the Grenadiers came to their Assistance, and repuls'd the Enemy; who rallying nevertheless at the End of the Streets, were several times charged before they could be driven off. *Du Casse* not so nimble as the rest, altho' the first at the foot of the Bridge, maugre all his Good-will, had so much trouble to climb it, that he was out of Breath by that time he got to the top, where he thought he should never recover his Wind. He was followed by fifteen or twenty Voluntiers, Inhabitants of the Coast, who did very good Service; for firing upon such of the Enemies as were yet upon the Ramparts, behind two little Flankers that fired upon the Bridge, and very much annoy'd our Troops; they at length obliged them to follow those that were driven from the Platform, where the Breach ended; the Major-General, who at the Bottom of the Breach was wounded by a Musquet-Ball in the Neck, followed by *Baraudin*, one of his Aids, and *Frankin*, Captain of the Grenadiers, with his Arm broken, notwithstanding mounted the Breach together; but the Captain's Strength failing, so soon as he was up, he was forc'd to be brought off, for the same Reason the Major-General was not able to make a longer Stay.

All the Troops defiling in the mean time one from another, I found myself at last rid of all Uneasiness for the Success of an Action, that may, with Modesty, be term'd very bold, and very extraordinary for Seafaring Men

A Party of the Negroes of *Pally*, who conducted them, in defiling off to the Ramparts on the left, pushed the Enemy from Bastion to Bastion, unto the

the Causey that divides this part of the City, particularly called *Hibimani*, from the other call'd by the general Name of *Carthagena*; but the *Buccaniers* to exempt themselves from the Attack of the Breach, had consulted the matter upon the Bridge, and the little Causeway of *Hibimani*, and resolved to line the Hedge over-against the Ramparts, where they made an extraordinary Fire, not perceiving the Part they chose out of Fear, was more dangerous than that they endeavoured to avoid: But by good Fortune for them, the Enemy was driven off from those Ramparts, and those *Indian* Heroes adventured to enter when they thought the Business was pretty well at an End; yet they were a little mistaken in this Account: For the Enemy after having stood firm at all the Corners of the Streets were at length driven to the Causey of *Hibimani* towards *Carthagena*, into which they designed to retreat; but the Governor (who perhaps feared that upon opening the Gates we might enter Pell-mell with his People) plainly told them that he would not let them in, until they had attack'd us in *Hibimani*: So after the Loss of about 800 men, urged by Necessity, and possibly the Wine they had drunk infusing fresh Courage into them, they got together in a Croud, and with a great Cry came and charged us at the Head of the great Street which ends at the Causey: We had just began to cast up a Retrenchment there, and the Troops not having time to bring themselves into Order, surprized with this Attack, moved a little backwards, to cover themselves with the Houses of the Streets which cross'd that: But while *Levy* and the Officers brought them into Order, which was instantly done, *Vignancourt*, the Chevalier *de Pointis*, *Gougon*, and *Jaucourt*, with a small Number of Grenadiers, sustained this impetu-
ous

ous Attack; but the Troops being brought back to the Charge, made a very great Slaughter of the Enemies; above one hundred and fifty were found the next Day upon the Caufey, pierced with Bayonets, befides thofe that went off wounded: In this Charge the Vifcount *de Coetlogon* was wounded with a Musket Ball in his Shoulder, who was come hither from the Battery, accompanied by *De la Motte Michel*, and *De la Motte d'Heran*; his Wound did not at firft appear to be confiderable, but by weakening of him it contributed to his Death, caufed by a malignant Fever; and here the Chevalier *de Pointis*, after having pafs'd through fo many Dangers to which he expofed himfelf, received the wound he died of; the Marquis *De Boury* was at this time likewife hurt in his Face, *St. Amant* on the Side, and many other Officers received contufions.

The Enemy being drove back again, were received by a little Port into *Carthagena*; we applied ourfelves in *Hibimani* to making of Retrenchments at all the Avenues, to fecure us from Surprizes, and to permit our troops to pafs the Night quietly, in the convenient Lodgings of a handfome city; the Fire of the Enemies Cannon killed fome Men in this work, that were commanded by the Chevalier *de la Ferriere*, *du Creft*, and *Courfy*, under the direction of *Canette*; about ten at Night all was in good Order.

In this Action I loft about fixty Men, and had more than that Number wounded, without comprehending the Officers beforementioned.

It was refolved to reft the troops the next Day being the firft of *May*, and to work only upon the opening of the Gate, and repairing of the Bridge for the paffage of the great cannon, with which

which we deſigned to beat down the Rampart we had to paſs, before we could enter into the other part of the city. *Canette* went in the Morning early to view the Places of Batery that were to be rais'd, and having ſhewed them to me in the Evening, I found them ſo near the wall, that I did not doubt making a very conſiderable Breach in a very little time; this whole cauſey, and that part of the Marſh which divides *Carthagena*, are not a Musket-ſhot over.

This Day I ſent on board the *Scepter*, St. *Lewis*, and the *Vermandois*, a part of the Detachment of Seamen, call'd Scythemen, by reaſon of the ſmall Scythes fix'd upon Staffs which they had for their Arms; I ordered theſe Ships to endeavour again the next Day to ruin the Defences of a Baſtion that could hurt us more than the others. About three o' clock on the Second, they began to cannonade; in the mean time we put all things into a readineſs, towards the bringing of the great cannon into *Hibimani*; this cannonading continued until Six; when at the Sight of four white Flags flying, two on *Hibimani* Side, and the others towards the Sea, I ordered the Ships to forbear firing until I knew the Intentions of the Beſieged. They told *Du Caſſe*, who by the means of a little *Spaniſh* run himſelf into all things, that they were willing to capitulate upon honourable terms. I ſent them word, that before I entered upon it, I expected Hoſtages that very Moment, without giving any other Aſſurance than my Parole, to return them the next Day, in caſe we did not agree upon terms. This hard condition was accepted; which plainly ſhewed me that the Enemies were ſtraitened. In ſhort, the Precedent of *Hibimani* terrified them, and the Bombs permitted them no manner of reſt; ſo they brought me two of the

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moſt conſiderable Men amongſt them. At this inſtant I received Advice from two Places of 1000, or 1200 Men being upon their March to throw themſelves into *Carthagena:* An *Indian* was the firſt that brought me this Account; which was afterwards confirmed to me by a Letter from a Lieutenant at *Boccachica*; who ſeeking for freſh Proviſions in the Country, had been beſieged in one of the Houſes of Don *Sanchez Ximenez*, defended by his People againſt a ſmall Detachment of that Body on their March. That he had been among the Troops; who knowing that we poſſeſs'd the common Highway, did deſign to go round the great Lake, and paſſing afterwards through By-ways into the little Lakes that lie about *Carthagena*, to go on along the Sea-ſide, and get into the City by the Baſtions of St. *Catherine*. I immediately ordered aſhore all the Scythmen, and Seamen that could poſſibly be ſpared, who were alſo provided with Arms; theſe were ſet to guard the Batteries, for all the Artillery was as yet there. I detach'd *Du Caſſe* with 500 *Buccaniers*, and a Batallion of 300 Soldiers, to ſtop the Paſſage of theſe Succours; he poſted himſelf amongſt the little Lakes where the Enemies would be obliged to come; and the Advantage of the Place wherein he was poſted, enabled him to have given a very good Account of them. The next Day I ſent *Daunou* with a leſs Number, being informed it would be ſufficient to repel the Succours, in caſe it ſhould be attempted; but they did not appear, neither did I ever know the Reaſons of it.

In the mean time we were employed upon the Capitulation. *Du Caſſe*, ever an importunate Advocate for the *Spaniards*, continually tormented me, to mitigate the Conditions I impos'd upon

them: But being not only charged with the Support of the Honour due to his Majeſty's Arms, but having likewiſe my Undertakers Intereſt to manage, I ſtood firm to my Demands, altho' an infinite Number of Reaſons might have occaſioned me to be more impatient than any Body elſe, to have this Affair determined. At length I propoſed to the Governor, the honourable Articles of paſſing out through the Breach, with all thoſe carrying Arms, Drums beating, to take four Pieces of Cannon; and as to the reſt, it was agreed, that all the Silver without Exception, or Reſerve, in Favour of whomſoever it might be, ſhould belong to me, that the Effects of all ſuch as went out, or were abſent, of whatſoever Nature the ſaid Effects were, ſhould devolve to me; that ſuch of the Inhabitants as would continue in the Place, excepting their Plate ſhould enjoy all their Poſſeſſions and Privileges, and for the future be regarded as the King's Subjects, being they were ſo by Conqueſt: And farther, that all the Churches and Convents ſhould be preſerved.

This Matter agreed on, I demanded until ſuch Time as the Governor march'd out, which could not be in ſome Days, that they ſhould deliver me up the Gates, which they did, and I ordered the Grenadiers to it. I had regulated what every Man, according to his Condition was to carry out with him in Silver for their Subſiſtance; to which, that I might not be impoſed upon, I had added this Condition, that I reſerved to my ſelf the Liberty of ſearching the Men and Baggage at the Gate. The Governor ſent to deſire I would permit, out of Courteſie, (which was the Expreſſion) the principal Officers, and ſome other conſiderable Perſons that I permitted to follow him, the double of what was ſtipulated. This amounted unto 2000 Crowns.

Crowns a Head; but these being a small Number, acquiesced to it, and was convinc'd by the Fervency of their Acknowledgments, that it was really necessary to them.

It was of great Consequence to me, that those who were allow'd to retire where they pleas'd, after the Garrison was march'd out, should remain until they were obliged to reveal what Sums they had in their Houses; therefore I was very exact in my Measures, that no Body might escape: In the mean time several Officers went freely up and down the City; and *Du Casse*, whom I had declared Governor, that they might believe I designed to keep the City, took upon him to deliver to some People Certificates, that were not Pass-ports, yet had some Resemblance to them, by which those People passed the Gates, the Officers of the Guard believing it was my Order. I do believe he had no ill Intention in it, and I did attribute that Manner of acting to the Kindness he ever affected to shew to the *Spaniards*; yet common Report did not forbear saying, that he got considerable Sums; which I did not believe. However, I would not have it thought, that I tolerated his Conduct; therefore I forbid him the Continuance of it: And this Order so much displeas'd him, that he never came afterwards to me.

The Governor delay'd his Departure all that he could; but at length I acquainted him, That he must positively march out upon the Sixth, and that on the same Day I would enter at the Head of the Troops, which was accordingly executed. The Count *Ugnez de los Rois*, follow'd with his Garrison, being lifted Men, to the Number of about 2800, march'd out through a Lane of our Soldiers and Seamen, (whom I had order'd on Shoar to enlarge our Number) *Buccaniers*, Inhabitants of the

Coast, and Negroes. We two were upon our Horses, and having saluted me with his Sword, after some Expressions of Civility, he continued his Way with the City Colours, and two of the four Cannon allowed him, not having Equipage convenient for exporting of the others; even these were the smallest, and drawn by Men.

These People were narrowly search'd as they came out; but when I was informed of their Number, which was almost equal to ours; and perceiving that this Search would bring the Night upon us, before we could dispatch them, I was afraid least the Danger of losing a little Money should occasion some Disorder when it was dark: so I sent my Orders to the Gates to hasten their March, without delaying of it by a Search, which produced little; and the Garrison all marched out before Sun-set. It was not without a great deal of Trouble that I continued upon my Horse, to receive the Salute of the Governor; but that being pass'd, I was oblig'd through the great Pain of my Wound, to get into my Chair, wherein I was used to be carried; in this Condition, and in the midst of the Guards Marine, who were cloathed alike, I went (preceded by a Battalion of Grenadiers) to take Possession of the City.

I was well assured there was Silver in *Carthagena*; but the Difficulty was how to get it: The worst that could happen to those in Possession of it, was the Loss of it, when we had discover'd it; it was therefore necessary to search all the Houses: But by whom could it be done? With what Surety that the best Part should remain undiscover'd? The Number of Officers was not great enough, to disperse them into all the necessary Places; and if I would not have left any Thing, it must have required me above six Months Time. In this Perplexity I bethought myself of this Expedient: I publickly declar'd

clar'd and order'd it to be ſet up in the principal Places, That I would give the Tenth to the Proprietors, of whatſoever they honeſtly brought me; and a Tenth to them that ſhould inform me, of any Perſons that did not declare their Effects. To theſe Promiſes I join'd my Threats of puniſhing them for formal Diſobedience.

The Hopes of preſerving a Part of what was otherwiſe all in Danger to be loſt; the Fear of Neighbours, and ill Friends, who at the ſame time had the Opportunity of profiting and being troubleſome, induc'd them all to be ingenuous in the Matter; which was done with ſo much Forwardneſs, that *Tilleul*, who was charg'd with the Treaſure, was not able to weigh the Silver faſt enough.

The Convents only were of the Opinion, that they were exempted from this Search, under the Article of the Capitulation, that they ſhould be preſerv'd; by this Means they quietly kept both their own Money, and what was truſted to them. I order'd that Article to be explain'd to them, to the End that they might know, that the Preſervation of the Convents, conſiſted in not permitting them to be deſtroy'd; but as to the Money, I had in formal Terms, reſerv'd that to myſelf; otherwiſe they might have got together all the Riches of the City into their Houſes, to have depriv'd me of it. Notwithſtanding theſe Reaſons, ſeveral of them continued ſo obſtinate, and among the reſt, Father *Grenelli* a Jeſuit, the Guardian and Procurator of *Cordileers*: that I was forced to have them ſecured, and to threaten them with worſe Uſage. The Rector of the Jeſuits obey'd, and brought about twenty thouſand Crowns in Gold, that he found in the Chamber of Father *Grenelli*, and about as much for the whole Houſe beſides; and then deſired that I would order the Houſe to be every-where viſited,

by

by which Conduct he engaged me to release his Religious. So soon as the *Cordeliers* perceived that the *Buccaniers* were brought, who have a particular Talent at discovering hidden Treasures, they protested, they were ready to reveal all they had, so the *Buccaniers* retired; but when they were gone, the Reverend Fathers fell into their first Silence: In short, I resolv'd to charge the Captains with the care of searching the religious Houses, to the End that their Presence might preserve all necessary Order and Reservedness. This Search produced enough to make Satisfaction for the Trouble it gave us; and in Regard to the Churches, prevented even the Appearance of the Profanation. After I had severely commanded them not to touch any of the sacred Vessels, or any thing appertaining to the Sacrifice, I order'd our Chaplains to gather up what was only for the Decoration of the Churches. Father *Paul* a *Dominican*, who hath (by I know not what Authority) given himself a sort of a Mission among the *Buccaniers*; and usually living upon the Coast had followed the Army, had put himself among our Chaplains; aided with a mighty Zeal to execute his Orders, which seem'd to him sufficiently just, in relation to other Convents, but when he was to go to the *Dominicians*, supported with the credit of *Du Casse*, he thought to have prevented this Visit; but seeing there was no great Notice taken first of his threats, nor afterwards of his Prayers, was then transported with Horrour at the Profanation, and came running to pronounce upon me, from God Almighty, the Anger of Heaven; yet they did not forbear going on with the Business.

Altho' the Silver was brought in great abundance to the Contadore, that is, the Town-house, where I had my Quarters, yet we did not receive, by much

much, what we might have expected. We had ſcarce got to the Coaſt of St. *Martha*, which I had been told was a Deſert, but they were acquainted with it at *Carthagena*; and being likewiſe inform'd by three ſeveral Expreſſes from the King of *Spain*, of all Particulars, they were amply acquainted with my Project, my Forces, and, in a manner, the Time I ſhould get thither; ſo they begun to ſtir themſelves upon that very Alarm. All the Women of any Quality, with their Jewels, the Nuns, and what was worſt of all, 110 Mules laden with Gold, went out in four Days time; they retired to *Monpos*, a Town forty Leagues from thence; and although we had not miſcarried in our firſt Deſcent to attempt *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*, yet we could not have got thither until the greateſt Part of thoſe Treaſures was gone. However, the Honour which his Majeſty's Arms acquired in this occaſion, beſides near upon eight or nine Millions that could not eſcape us, comforted us for the Loſs of the reſt.

There is, in the Year, one intemperate Seaſon, that never miſſes this Part of the *Indian* Coaſt, and it ſeemed, as if the great Rains, and Thunder, which are the Forerunners of it, had for a time deſiſted, to afford us the Opportunity of taking *Carthagena*; for no ſooner were we in poſſeſſion of it, but the Air immediately became infected: Eight hundred Men, in ſix Days time, were ſeized with a contagious Diſtemper, of whom the greateſt Part died; and in a little time we were ſcarce able to receive into the Hoſpital, which was with much Expedition eſtabliſhed, the great number that was brought from all Parts; every Day we were informed of ſome melancholy Example; all Ideas of Triumphs and Treaſures, were effaced by thoſe of Sickneſs and Mortality. In ſhort, if the Diſtemper had continued with this Rigour, I muſt

have

have beheld my inevitable Ruin in the faireſt Port of the world, and no Enemy near me; not only have loſt the fruits of all our Labours, but likewiſe the Squadron entruſted to me.

There was a Report ſpread about, the Author of it I did not find out until ſome Days afterwards, that I could not carry back the King's Ships without making uſe of the *Buccaniers*; who being accuſtomed to theſe Climates, were no more infected with the Unhealthineſs of the Air, than the Natives that are very rarely touch'd with it. In this Condition *Du Caſſe*, that concealed his ſpite at *Hibimani*, where he was retired, ſent to me by his Major a Writing, inſinuating, that his Colony was in danger of being deſtroyed, in caſe the Enemies ſhould attempt a Deſcent there, which was no ways to be doubted; that he demanded of me the Forces I had drawn from thence; and in caſe of Refuſal, he thereby made me reſponſible for all Accidents. I anſwered by the ſame way, that his Colony was as much recommended to me, as it had been to him: that concurring to his Sentiments as to that matter, I did conſent, whatſoever Inconveniency might attend the weakening of myſelf by his Departure, that he might return with three parts of his *Buccaniers*, all the Inhabitants, and part of the Negroes; and that what I kept with me would therefore be too inconſiderable for the Coaſt to ſuffer by it: This Anſwer, which I deſigned with Sincerity, happened to be contrary to what he expected; he did not imagine I could have taken that Reſolution, thinking, by the Report ſpread about, to have made me ſo well comprehend the occaſion I ſhould have for the *Buccaniers*, as to have determined myſelf againſt their return; but ſeeing my firmneſs, he begun to be more compliant, and better diſpoſed, without ſpeaking of going away: and thereby plainly

ſhewed

ſhewed us, what ſort of Intereſt detained him at *Carthagena*. As the Silver was brought in, ſo it was immediately carried on Board the King's Ships; upon which he employ'd *Daunou* to acquaint me, that the *Buccaniers* were diſguſted, that I did not call ſome of them to be witneſſes of what paſſed at the Contadore; and propoſed to have me admit ſome Body from them. I found ſo much Inſolence in this Propoſition, that I ſuſpected from whence it proceeded: I told *Daunou*, that if he happened to charge himſelf with any more ſuch Commiſſions, I would make him repent it. I was at that inſtant informed, that ſome of the *Buccaniers*, contrary to my Prohibition of pillaging Houſes, had broke through the Roof of a Houſe, and ſtole ſome Merchandizes: I took my Guards, and went through all the Quarters of the City, reſolved to make an Example of thoſe who fell into my Hands; but they were all retired to the Poſts aſſigned them, where they received all the Threats I made them with a moſt profound Submiſſion: Moreover, I was not ſo ill ſerved by my Spies, as not to be informed, that the ſeditious Diſcourſes they ſometimes held, upon the Silver being carried on Board the King's Ships, was inſpired into them, by People wholly abandoned to their own Intereſt, who took all Opportunities to expreſs their own Thoughts with the Tongues of the *Buccaniers*.

I was not ſo much a Stranger to the *Buccaniers* Courage, as to apprehend any manner of Attempt from that part; but a Rumour being underhand whiſper'd, that they had a mind to pillage the Contadore, to ſecure the ſhare they pretended to of the Booty; I was apprehenſive, leaſt they might force me to puniſh them ſo, that I ſhould not be able to expect any farther Service from them, and I might poſſibly have occaſion for their

 aſſiſtance

assistance on Board the King's Ships, in my return to *France*. Upon this I proceeded upon a Method which seemed most likely to satisfy them, without engaging me to an unbecoming Condescension: I liberally recompensed such of the *Buccaniers* as were wounded, and gave more to the lam'd; there being so few of the one, or the other, that I could not thereby much prejudice the Interests of the Armament; I ordered very considerable Gratifications to their Captains, and some others that had distinguished themselves; I thought by the kindness I shewed to *Du Casse*, and his Adherents, which were so excessive, that I am ashamed to own it; I thought, I say, to have engaged them to have made no farther Pretensions; but I was surpriz'd to find, that by his Calculation of the eight Millions, he reckoned two of them belong'd to the *Buccaniers*; and of these two Millions, he esteem'd himself sure of one; for he shares with them as Captain General, as first Captain of each Frigat, as Proprietor of the Frigats of which he lends some to them, and lets them have others belonging to the King, which with divers Pretexts he detains upon the Coasts, at exorbitant Interest. When I was made acquainted with the Particulars, I resolved with my Authority and Diligence to extricate myself out of this Affair: but this Diligence was the difficult matter, a great part of the Equipage necessary in a Siege, which we had brought from the Fleet, was yet ashore, the Distempers deprived me of half my Men, and I had scarce got on board half of the Silver. The Brass Cannons of *Carthagena* were yet on the Ramparts; I entreated the *Buccaniers* to undertake this Work, which they refus'd, and I was informed they had not only resolved not to work, but neither to make Watch or Ward until they were put into possession of their Share of the Booty; I shew'd no Concern at this time, but prevailing

vailing by dint of Money upon the ſmall number I had in a condition of working, to uſe their utmoſt Efforts, I got on board my Squadron all the Cannon of *Carthagena*, all that remained of what was brought on Shore; and part of the Baſtions being already thrown down, on the 25th of *May* the Powder was put to the other Mines; I re-embark'd all my Troops and myſelf, leaving *Du Caſſe*, his Officers, and *Buccaniers*, in the City; I acquainted both the one and the other, that if they pillaged the leaſt of the Houſes I had mark'd, I would inſtantly fire their Frigates: They were too well laden to ſuffer them to be expoſed to the Effects of my Threats, for having reſolved not to bring any Merchandizes on board the King's Ships, that I might be in a better condition of Defence, I did permit the *Buccaniers* to take what belonged not to the Inhabitants that remained in the Town. *Du Caſſe* wrote me word that he would anſwer for the Obedience of the *Buccaniers*; adding withal, that if their conduct was any ways to be blamed, it proceeded from the Severity which was uſed to them, in not letting them know what they were to expect of the Booty. He might have ſaid with more truth, that it was his own Inquietude; and in reality for ſome days paſt he had continually complained againſt the embarking of all the Silver, which he ſaid they could not tell how to get from the King's Ships; but yet that he could not believe I would deprive him of any thing that ſo juſtly belonged to him, having engaged myſelf by Writing to let the *Buccaniers* divide Man for Man with the Seamen of the King's Ships. He had a great deal of Reaſon to inſiſt upon this Writing, which was what I ever deſigned to have obſerv'd; but when I underſtood that by his calculation two of the eight Millions belonged to him, I was ſurprized at his Meaning, believing him informed, as every body elſe was, that

what appertained to the Seamen of the King's Ships, and consequently to the *Buccaniers*, whom I had received upon these express'd terms, was the Tenth of the first Million, and the thirtieth of all the others; which his Majesty had been pleased to grant to the said Men on board his Ships, to excite them to do well, and as a Recompense for their Services, as it was explained in the conditions upon which his Majesty had consented to this Armament. At length, altho' *Du Tilleul* was Night and Day employed in the Receipt and Embarking of the Silver, and the infinite Particulars appertaining to a great Squadron, had not the time to examine his Books, and consequently we could not exactly know what Silver there was; yet I so press'd him to make an Estimate of the whole Affair, to satisfy *Du Casse*, and his Cabal, what did belong to them, that he made out the Account and signed it.

Upon the 29th I sent this Account to *Du Casse*, who, upon my reiterated Orders that I had sent him, was at last embark'd with his *Buccaniers*, and come down pretty near to the Fort of *Boccachica*; below which was the whole Squadron, except the *Scepter*, who through the Ignorance of the Pilots, was got between two Banks, upon which she had struck, and had not then got clear of them.

Du Casse was extreamly surpriz'd upon reading of the Account, wherein he saw that his, and the *Buccaniers* Share, amounted only to about 40000 Crowns. He reckon'd that the whole would have been divided into four equal Parts, and he being very near a Fourth of the Army, one of these Parts would consequently fall to his Share: But when he opened his Eyes, and saw that dividing Man for Man with the King's Ships, signified sharing what appertain'd to the said Ship's Companies, but not what appertained to the King, and the Armatures; and when it appear'd, that the Part of the

Ships

Ships Companies consisted in the Tenth of the first Million, and the thirtieth of the others; of which, the fourth that might belong to him, amounted only to 40000 Crowns, he fell into such a Rage, that not considering, that the leaving his Government, without a Permission from Court, and upon a particular Interest, was by all manner of Laws, a criminal Action; yet he resolved to steer for *France*; probably to demand Justice of himself, for being mistaken; for as to any thing else, there cannot appear any Pretence of Complaint. I must acknowledge I was a long time before I could comprehend, that his Misapprehension should carry him so far, as to imagine, that the Credit of so many People was used, much Address employ'd, great Sums of Money collected and expended, and so long a Voyage undertaken, to give the Fourth of what it produced, to the Governor of St. *Domingo*, and a Troop of *Banditti*; who without being at any Charge, and only for about six Weeks, at least the greatest Part of them, idle Spectators of a great Action; methinks Justice seems so repugnant to such a Thought, that *Du Casse* cannot be excus'd entertaining it. By allowing a Subsistance, and Share, as I did to this Rabble, they received too much Honour, especially being joyn'd in the Division with the Companies of the King's Ships, whose continual Service, which they render to the King and the State, so gloriously distinguish them from that base Kind of Life that the others lead. Moreover, I do not see what Reply can be made to this Argument: If they are the King's Subjects, they are order'd to serve in this Enterprize, upon which his Majesty did not declare there should be any Distinction in Favour of them; according to the Orders, the whole Strength of the Colony was to join the Forces I brought from *France*; and if they did not, I was to treat them as Rebels: And I was much in the Wrong, to associate

sociate them to the Consideration that was promised to the King's faithful Subjects.

When I was getting under Sail, to come out of *Carthagena*, I was forc'd to set on Fire the Bomb-Galliot, her Masts and Hulk were so shatter'd, that she was not in a Condition of going to Sea. I left also the *Providence* Brigantine, (of whose Company there was not one Man capable of Service) with a *Buccanier*-Captain, until farther Order. The necessity I was in, of dismounting some Ship, to afford some Assistance to others, by dividing of her Company amongst them, had engaged me to fire the *Christ* Ship, if *Du Casse*, to whom it was necessary I should give a Ship, to transport his People to the *French* Cape, had not been contented with that; which he arm'd as well as he could, to carry back the *Buccaniers*, Inhabitants, and Negroes, to St. *Domingo*.

On the 30th I was taken so very ill with the Distemper, that all that I could do, before I fell into a Condition that deprived me of my Intellect, was to acquaint *Levy*, that I committed the Care of the Squadron to him; and that he should steer his Course for Cape *Tiburon*, according to the Resolution he knew I had taken, to return thence to *France*, without touching then at *Petit Guaves*, where, as I was inform'd, the Air was not affected less than at *Carthagena*, by which the rest of our Men would have infallibly perish'd: From that time, I order'd nothing that pass'd; but the Account that follows, *Levy*, and the Major-General, gave me in Writing, as likewise by Word of Mouth.

Upon the last of the Month of *May*, compleating the Ruin of the Fort of *Boccachica*, where we had some Days been at work, *Daunou*, after many fruitless Attempts to speak with me, went to them, and acquainted them, that the *Buccaniers* being

being enraged at the ſmall part I gave them of the Booty, had propoſed to board and plunder the *Scepter*; but that afterwards they were come to a Reſolution, to return and plunder *Carthagena*: And in reality, they perceived at that Inſtant, the greateſt part of their Frigates making into the Port, to ſail to it: He ſaid farther, that they had paſſed under the Stern of the *Pontchartrain*, where *Du Caſſe* was on board, to whom they had declared their Deſign; and, that he had exhorted them, not to commit ſuch an Infraction of the Treaty upon which the City ſurrendered; that he had likewiſe ſent his Major to endeavour to diſſwade them from it; that for his own part, it gave him ſo much trouble, that he deſired only a hundred Seamen, with which he ſhould think himſelf ſtrong enough to prevent their Deſigns on the City.

All the Squadron was out at Sea, excepting the *Scepter*, who was ſomething nearer to them; but in ſuch a Condition by reaſon of the Diſtemper among the Seamen, that we were very far from being able to make this Detachment; and altho' they might have been, yet how could it be poſſible, for a hundred Men, ſeveral Hours behind the *Buccaniers*, to prevent them from landing? The ridiculous and true Motive of this Propoſition was palpably apparent; and accordingly *Levy*, and the Major General, expreſs'd their Opinion very freely to *Daunou*, whoſe Paſſion increaſed upon the Contempt they ſhewed him. Yet *Levy*, deſirous to apply all the Remedy that was to be uſed, made all the haſte he could on Board the Frigate of *Macary*, being neareſt the Fort, and longer in getting ready than the other, and by that able to be reached, and by his Authority he made her come to an Anchor again, believing, that afterwards ſhe would not dare but to come out with the *Scepter*; yet this Ship being got through the paſſage, the Frigate

was

was no longer afraid of being ſtopped by her Cannon; *Macary* having for ſome time followed us, ſuddenly tacked about, and ſtood after the reſt of his Companions, after having conferr'd with *Du Caſſe*, with whom he ſtay'd for moſt Part of the Night.

It looks as if *Du Caſſe* was entirely bereft of his Senſe, in more carefully covering his Connivance with the *Buccaniers*, in their violating of an Authentick Capitulation. The *Pontchartrain*, aboard which he was, and the *Malouin* Frigate, that he could have commanded, were both of them among the *Buccaniers* Frigates, when they reſolved upon this Courſe: Why did he not go after them. on all Sides firing on them? yet ſhooting ſo high, or ſo low, as not to do them any Damage? He might have made it to have been believed, that he was no Accomplice in this Perfidiouſneſs, and at the ſame time have juſtified to the World, that it was not by my Orders committed, being it would then have appeared, that it was done by Mutiniers; whereas this ſcandalous Herd being, in Appearance under my Command, as formerly, I am become reſponſible to the King of *Spain*; who might, if I ſhould ever happen to fall into his Power, with ſome Juſtice, uſe me as a Breaker of Treaties: For what appears in Sum of this Action, is a Capitulation manifeſtly broken by the King's Army. It was plain to us, *Du Caſſe* only thought of making the beſt of his Way to get firſt of all into *France*, quitting the Squadron without Leave, and even without the Knowledge of any one, he brought to all the Sails of the *Pontchartrain*, and we heard no more of him until the Fourth of *June*. The Squadron left *Boccachica* the Firſt, after having diſengaged themſelves of the Misfortune which the *Scepter* and *Fort* had, in ſtriking the firſt Night after their coming out, upon two Banks, three

Leagues

Leagues from the Coast, whereby they had like to have been lost. The Squadron after this stood for Cape *Tiburon*, when a Vessel from *Petit Guaves* brought us a Packet; he met *Du Casse*, to whom he had likewise delivered one, which was a Duplicate of that he had for me: They came from *Robert*, Intendant of the Isles, who had dispatch'd away a Bark to inform me, That upon the twenty-seventh of *April*, thirteen *English Men of War*, of which eight were capital Ships, were arrived at *Barbadoes*, where there were several others; that it was not to be doubted but this was the Squadron, (as he had been informed from *France*) that the Enemies was to send after me, to prevent the Execution of my Designs; that this Squadron was not to make any Stay at *Barbadoes*, upon which I was to take my Measures. The Day before I left *France*, I was advised, that to whatever Place I went, Admiral *Nevill*, with fifteen *English* Ships, was to follow me, so soon as they knew the Course I steer'd. These Informations concurring with each other, we did not doubt of the Arrival of that Squadron in the *Indian* Seas, as likewise that we must meet them: For their Course, of consequence, if they were informed at *Jamaica*, of our Success at *Carthagena*, as it was very probable, would be to expect us at Cape *Tiburon*, there not being any Likelihood that we should return to *France*, without passing upon that Coast to take in fresh Provisions, and leave the Men I had taken from thence. I was then a little recovered from the Extremity of my Illness, and upon this News I held the first Council of this Expedition; there was no Diversity of Opinions, all the Captains agreeing that we ought to steer for the Gulf of the Streights of *Bahama*; that we ought to supply our Want of Water, by the most extraordinary good Management of what we had; that there would be an Opportunity

of taking in more upon the Coast of *Accadia*, which was the most probable Way of meeting that Enemy, who could not be gone to expect us there, knowing we had a more convenient Passage upon many Accounts. Upon this Resolution we alter'd our Course that we were steering to *Tiburon*, for that of *Bahama*, which we continued until the Sixth.

It may here be observed, how little one ought to depend upon the severest Reasons, when Fortune is in the Scale: The Course of Cape *Tiburon*, our Ruin, in appearance, was free of all Danger, the Enemy passed very wide of it; and the way of *Bahama*, so sure in our Reckoning, carried us into that between *Jamaica* and *Carthagena*, which they then steered, and occasioned us to fall into the middle of them in the Night, between the sixth and the seventh. Some Hours before Day, I was informed, that from time to time, they perceived Fires made in a Ship behind us; this Signal not being to be made by any of ours, we began to believe, it was some advanced Frigate of the Enemies, who informed them by her Fires, that she followed us, and that by keeping after her, they could not lose us. There was then no other Resolution to be taken, than to wait for the Day; we did not know our situation, in relation to that of the Enemies, so by any other manner of working, we should have run the same Risque, to have fallen in with them, as to have steered clear of them. The first appearance of Day presented us with the Image of an inevitable and dismal Misfortune; we at first reckoned twenty Sail, then twenty five, a little afterwards twenty nine, and among them a Ketch. Eight of these Ships seemed to be of an equal force to the *Scepter*, ten or twelve others, with the St. *Lewis*, the *Furieux*, and our other Ships of that Rate, the rest with our Frigates from thirty six to forty four Guns; half of this Fleet was to Windward

ward of our Squadron, and wanted but little of Cannon ſhot of us; ſome others were exactly on our Lee; and the reſt, which were the great Ships before-mentioned, were in our Sterns, a little below us.

Our great Misfortune was not only to have eight and twenty Ships againſt our ſeven Ships, and three Frigates; but as an addition, our unfortunate Squadron was ſo ſtrangely weakened by the Mortality, that ſhe was rather a general Hoſpital for the reſt of the Officers and Seamen, inſomuch that when we went to put ourſelves into a condition of making ſome ſort of a reſiſtance, by the paleneſs of our Faces, and the weakneſs of our Motion and Stirring, it look'd as if the Hoſpital of *Paris* was brought under Arms. To give an Idea of the Condition we were in, I need only ſay, that the other Ships were poſſibly in a much worſe Condition than the *Scepter*, who out of her Complement of 700 Men, had not above 350 that were able to take Arms, or work our Artillery. What an alteration for me in particular! My Expedition had acquired ſome Honour to the King's Arms, and would have produced conſiderable Advantages to my Armatures. The taking of *Carthagena* ſeem'd to have acquired me a pleaſing Diſtinction; and being enriched, I had, at my Return, a proſpect of Glory and Pleaſures, all which now paſſed like a ſhadow; and I had continually before my Eyes the deſtruction of a flouriſhing Squadron, which I had the Honour to be entruſted with; the Diſpleaſure of the King and his Miniſters, in the Circumſtances of this Loſs, which not only deprived his Majeſty of ſo many Ships, but ſo much advantag'd his Enemies, and carried them thoſe Riches, that were in a manner ready to have entered *France*; the Grief of my Armatures, for whom all was loſt by this unhappy Re-encounter; and my continual

Despair in the Remainder of a Life, which after a long Imprisonment, I must have passed in Obscurity, if the Report of my bad Fortune had not rendered me remarkable.

These were my Reflections, when having acquainted all my People that we ought to die like Men of Honour, I had two occasions of being comforted; the first was, the Officers protesting to me, with an Air of Assurance, that the Ships should be defended, whilst any of them were living; and the Ships Company entered into the same Sentiment; insomuch that the sick, at least those not at Extremity, shewed themselves as forward as the others; so I beheld Resolution on all sides of me. The other was, so soon as the signal for the Order of Battle was made, the *St. Lewis*, *Furieux*, *Vermandois*, *St. Michael*, and the *Mutine*, came up so fast, and fell so well into their Stations, that they allowed us no occasion of doubting of their having the same Resolution with ours; the *Fort*, the *Apollo*, *L'Avenant*, and *Marin*, did not obey the signal, but kept to Windward, where they chanced to be; the Captains of the two last were sick, and I had taken from them the greatest part of their Men, to strengthen the great Ships, and had designed them for Fire-ships; but not having time to fit them up for it, nor to fetch away their sick, they were become altogether uncapable of any service, so I could no ways wonder they did not fall in their ordered Station; as to the *Fort* and the *Apollo*, I was apprehensive that the first had lost so many of her Men, that she was not able to make any sort of a Fight; the other being her Second, did believe, as it is the custom, that she was not to abandon her Flag, *Du Buisson*, by the Death of the Viscount *Coetlogon*, then carrying the Flag of Rear-Admiral. At this Instant one of the Enemies ships having fired a Gun upon

upon the Fly-boat, called, *The City of Amſterdam*, who was a good way a-ſtern of us, ſhe ſtruck ſail, and ſurrendered; they found a great many ſick Men on board her, and a very conſiderable Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſion. The only *Traverſier* left me had the ſame Deſtiny with the Fly-boat, with whom ſhe was. But while theſe things paſs'd, we found that half of their Fleet, who in a little time were got within reach of us, were unwilling to engage, until the others to Leeward could come to the Action; yet being unwilling to hand in their ſails to ſtay for the others behind, they kept themſelves in a Line, and permitted us to get before them. We perceived by their working that we were yet to have ſome Hours of Quiet, and none of us being ſtrong enough to ſupport a long Action, we repoſed ourſelves in Expectation of the Event. About Two o' Clock in the Afternoon the Major-General came to me, and told me, there was no farther Hopes of Delays, that the advanced part of the Enemies Fleet was got within Cannon-ſhot, and to Windward of our Squadron, and their great Ships exact a broadſide of our Lee. This being ſo, the Signal general for the Order of Battle was given, without Loſs of Time; I added to it the particular Signal of the *Fort*, to bring her to her Station; but ſhe only did ſo much as was neceſſary to let us know that ſhe knew her ſignal, and then ſtanding to windward, ſhe confirmed me in the Thoughts I had in the Morning.

The Affair was ſufficiently ſerious to keep us attentive: We obſerved firſt of all, that the Ships which might have attack'd us, choſe rather to ſlacken their way, and fell from us; with much regarding of them I was partly of the Opinion, that it was by going larger away than we who kept cloſe to the Wind, that their great ſhips had gained ſo much

much upon us. The fear of deceiving myſelf in this Matter, made me conſult all thoſe that I reckoned able to inform me; and they all being of the ſame Opinion, I eaſily penetrated into the Thoughts of the *Engliſh* Admiral, who reckoned there was no ſafety for me, but to go before the Wind, for the Streights of *Bahama*; ſo he propoſed to get ſo much a-head of me, as to hinder my Paſſage; but I perceived at the ſame time that he might be miſtaken in his working; becauſe inſtead of ſailing parallel to the Courſe we ſteer'd, his coming up opened an Angle, which in truth brought him into my Traverſe, but in reality at a greater diſtance than when he was a-ſtern of us; therefore by tacking about I ſhould be at a greater diſtance than I was before; beſides, I was ſure to get ſomething by it.

I was certain, that the Ships which might have attack'd me, durſt not do it, and therefore it would not much trouble me if I did find them in my Paſſage. Upon this I ſent the *Marine* Frigate to order all the Ships of the Squadron to tack about preciſely at the ſhutting in of Night; that I would light no Fires, nor make any ſignal, and that they ſhould go as cloſe haul'd to the Wind as it was poſſible. At the time appointed we went about, but we were too near the Enemy to conceal our working from them; one of their ſmall Frigates being likewiſe got in among us, I was obliged to give him ſome Cannon-ſhot from the *Scepter*, and the *Furieux*, who was ſomething nearer to him; with which he ſtood ſo corrected, that we ſaw him no more afterwards. But the different ſignals which the Enemies Ships made by Fires to each other, aſſured us, that they who were moſt advanced, communicated to them behind what paſs'd, ſo we doubted not of our being followed. However, the next

Day

Day, ſo ſoon as it was light, we found the ſucceſs of our working; for we could only reckon fourteen Ships, who followed us in a Line one after the other, and not ſo nigh by far as the Day before; but at the ſame time we miſs'd the *Fort*, *Apollo*, *L'Avenant*, *Marin*, and the *Diep* Fly-boat: We having not heard any Cannon-ſhot, we could not think they were taken, however, it was not until the next Day that I was eaſed of this Apprehenſion, by Report of the *Mutine* that rejoined me, acquainting me, that when ſhe carried the Orders for the Ships to go about, thoſe we miſs'd being conſiderably to windward of us, who had by much the Wind of the Enemies when we tack'd, it was much eaſier for them to get clear, by keeping on their Way, than in following me: *Simonet* added, that the *Fort* had loſt her Fore-top-maſt, but having ſeen all the Enemies Ships ſtanding as we did, at a great diſtance from each other, there was no Reaſon to fear that ours were purſued.

This ſeparation being not to be remedied, my Thoughts were wholly employed to the Preſervation of the reſt of the Squadron, and to make uſe of the advantage I had got; I continu'd the ſame Board, until within twenty Leagues of *Carthagena*, where we were on the 9th of the ſame Month of *June*. In the Evening I made the Signal of holding the contrary Courſe; and when it was quite dark, I acquainted the other Ships, with three Guns, that they were to ſteer Weſt, directly before the Wind: There was then but three of the Enemies Ships that kept within ſight of us, and they were a great way from us; they could not imagine what this Signal mean'd, and ſo kept on the ſame Board. In the mean while, we ran this Night 22 Leagues, and the next Day found ourſelves perfectly out of all Buſineſs on that ſide. But to one

Trouble

Trouble ended, commonly comes another: It was not possible for us to reach *Bahama*, by holding through the usual passage, that lies between *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, and which is not at all dangerous; but we were oblig'd to take that to the Southward, terrible for the Shelves, among which we were forc'd to pass, altho' we were altogether ignorant of them; however, supplying the want of Experience, with our utmost Care and Diligence, we escap'd all the Rocks, and having doubled the Cape of *St. Anthony*, found ourselves on the 26th in the entrance of the Streight of *Bahama*; where we understood by a small *English* Vessel, who fell into our squadron, coming from *Jamaica*, laden with Indigo and Cotton, to the value of about 25000 Crowns, that the *English* Fleet we had met was commanded by *Nevil*, and was compos'd, at *Barbadoes*, of 13 ships that came from *England*, of three that were in the Island, and eight *Hollanders*, of which four were very large Ships, and came out of the *Streights*, who made in all 24 Men of War, to whom were belonging four Fire-ships, and a Ketch: Which was exactly the Number we had seen; their Intention was to have stayed 24 Hours only at *Jamaica*, but the contrary Winds had detained them eight Days; that their ships were in good Health, but very ill mann'd, the greatest of them not having above 350 Men, and those of between 50 and 60 Guns, 150 Men: This last Circumstance diminish'd the admiration I was in, that none of them who could have attack'd me, had not begun the Fight by engaging of me, until such time as the rest could get up to them; it may be, they were ignorant of the ill state we were reduc'd to by sickness, or possibly they did not give Credit to what they might have known by the *Amsterdam* Flyboat; for the Countenance that we shewed them,

them, was no ways anſwerable to what ſhe could have told them.

Having detach'd away the *Mutine*-Frigate for *St. Domingo*, with the Forces, Inhabitants, and Negroes, that were on Board that part of the Squadron then with me, we ſteer'd on our Courſe; nothing material happen'd to us, excepting an Error in our Reckoning: For we were got to the Eaſtward of *Newfoundland*, when we thought we had been to the Weſtward; which oblig'd us to go into *Conception*-Bay for Water, that we deſign'd to have taken at *Plaicentia*: We came to an Anchor on the Fourth of the Month of *Auguſt*, having only ſix Days Water on Board. The Captain of a ſmall Veſſel coming from *Barbadoes*, which we took on the ſecond Inſtant, did us very good Service in our Anchorage, which we did not know; but this Veſſel which the *Vermandois* mann'd, happen'd to loſe the Squadron in a Miſt; as did alſo another ſmall Veſſel, that we found abandon'd at Sea, upon which we ſent likewiſe ſome Men, and ſince we never heard more of them. The great Want of ſome freſh Proviſions, oblig'd me to ſend the Captain of the Prize, taken at *Bahama*, to propoſe to ſome Fiſher-men, retir'd to the bottom of the Bay, called *La Carbonniere* to ſupply me with what Cattle they could, and to lend me their Boats to take in Water; upon which I promis'd to do them no harm. They anſwer'd me by the ſame Meſſenger, That they had ſcarce any freſh Proviſions; but they would give me what they had, and accommodate me with their Boats; provided, I gave them Hoſtages. The aſſiſtance was not conſiderable enough to accept it upon this Condition; ſo I reſolv'd to burn a dozen, or fourteen, pitiful Houſes that were there, after I had taken in my Water.

In the mean time I was informed by a Prisoner, that there were eight *English* Men of War at St. *John*'s, eight Leagues from us: sent thither for the Re-establishment of that Colony, ruined by the Governor of *Placentia*; that these ships, whereof two carried 70 Guns each, and the rest from 50 to 60, had brought 13 Foot-Companies, commanded by *Gibson*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Portsmouth*, who were to stay there; that *Norris* commanded the Fleet; and that in a Council of War, held at our Arrival, it was resolved to stand out to fight us. This News made us double our Diligence to get in the Water we wanted, and to prepare ourselves not only to fight the *English*, but to seek them out. To this purpose we got under sail; on the 7th of *August* we stood to *La Carbonniere*, to burn the little Houses; but the Weather being so bad, that we could not get to them without danger, besides the inconsiderableness of the place, rendering this Action not sufficiently important, to consume away time upon it, I took the Party to go before St. *John*'s, to attack the Enemies, if they had been out; but apparently, some reflection of the Force and Largeness of our Ships, had prevented them from coming out, and the Port was so streight, as to render any Attempt upon them impracticable; I was contented to shew myself, and offer them Battle, which seeing they did not answer, we steer'd for the Coast of *France*, upon the Eighth of the same Month of *August*; and on the twenty-fourth of the said Month, in the fourth Degree of Latitude, and --- Longitude, we perceived six Ships cruising exactly in the Course we steer'd. Notwithstanding the Weakness to which we were reduc'd, our Ships not having then by much, one half of our Complement of Men, the Number of

the

the Enemies, ſuppoſing they were ſo, did no ways occaſion us to fear meeting them; beſides, this place not being their uſual cruizing ſtation, and on the contrary, very common for the *French* Ships; there was a great deal of Appearance that they were ſuch, and many Conveniencies would attend this joyning; ſo I continued on my Way: But when I came up with them, three of them appeared to be Deck-Ships, the Fourth equall to ours of 64 Guns, a Frigate of 40 Guns, and another ſmall Veſſel, that did not bring herſelf into the Line: whilſt we were conſidering of what Country they were, and had brought ourſelves into Order of Battle, with the Wind upon the Beam, being the ſame Method which they had taken in expecting us, they put forth *Engliſh* Colours, contrary to the Cuſtom of that Nation, they did not fire firſt, altho' we were in leſs than Cannon-ſhot. We put forth our Colours, at the ſame time they ſhewed theirs; and to do them Juſtice, it was impoſſible to make a bolder Working than what they ſhew'd; little did they gueſs the Badneſs of our Condition, nor that the *Scepter*, St. *Lewis*, *Furieux*, *Vermandois*, and St. *Michael*, were reduced to the Weakneſs of 40 Gun Frigates, not knowing theſe Circumſtances, it muſt be allowed that they ſhewed a great deal of Reſolution

We were ſo far advanced, that the Honour of his Majeſty's Arms would not permit us to turn back, but rather to make ourſelves a Paſſage; and moreover, that Attempt which would infallibly have diſcovered our Weakneſs, would as certainly have encouraged the Enemy, upon whom we came within the reach of a Fuſil *Boutanniere*, where we then perceived their Beds and Hammocks to be paſs'd from the Forecaſtle to the Quarter-deck, to cover them from our ſmall Shot; this hindered us

from diſcerning the ſpace between the Forecaſtle and Quarter-deck, and occaſioned us to believe them three-deck Ships; it was eaſy to miſtake them, there being of thoſe great Frigates of 72 Guns, which have that length, width and depth, ſo they wanted only ſome Beams and Planks to unite them; the fourth was ſomething leſs, and about the Strength of the *Furieux*; the fifth a Frigate of 40 Guns; the Commander was in the midſt of his Squadron, and myſelf alſo in the Center of his Majeſty's Ships, both ſides being exactly in a Line, I was only to ſpring my Looſe to come a-broadſide of him, and upon my ſignal the Fire began, which continued from half an hour after Three, until Seven, and with much more Briskneſs on our ſide, than I could have expected from our Weakneſs; the Enemy, altho' better provided, in my Opinion, ſhewed not altogether ſo much, however they kept as cloſe to the Wind as it was poſſible for them.

At the ſame time the Fight began, they ſet their ſails as we did, that is, ſo as to continue on the Courſe upon which we found them, which was North North Weſt, a very contrary Courſe to what I was to ſteer, and from which I could not depart; ſo I went about in our Line of Battle, to leave the Cape to the Eaſt.

In the Execution of this, the Fire was pretty violent on both ſides; but the Enemies, inſtead of going about, continued their Broadſides, which paſs'd in a Moment, and we got far enough not to apprehend any farther Damage. In a very little while afterwards, the Enemies went about likewiſe all at once; yet I was fully perſuaded they would not endeavour to begin the Fight again, by reaſon they continued their lower Sails furl'd as well as we,

who

who wrought with much Trouble through the Want of Hands to repair the Damage we suffered in our Sails and Rigging: For as to the Men, there were not aboard the *Scepter* above eleven killed and wounded, and in the other Ships yet less in proportion; but the *Vermandois* having lost her Foretop mast, I was extreamly troubled, because I did not think her able to get up another; yet she did not only attempt it in the Night, but perfectly accomplished it early the next Day.

We continued our Course all Night, with an easy Sail, and our usual Lights. The next Day we were in a Condition to have begun again, if the Enemy had followed us; which we doubted of in the Night, as not discerning any of their Lights; but it is probable, that they had not less work to repair than we had, so I presume they spent the Night at work, and the next Day we were almost out of sight.

We had done our Business, which was to pass without shame: We had no Advantage to expect from a second Engagement; but on the contrary, many Inconveniences, and one almost inevitable; which was, that the Squadron would perish at Sea for want of Provisions, if any endamaged Ship should considerably detain us. Therefore we kept on our way, and the Enemies followed us until the twenty sixth at Noon, at which time they went about to the other Board.

I cannot refuse making the Officers and Seamen the Acknowledgments I owe them; for they

they did, in this occasion, by much go beyond their Strength; and with the Good-will they express, if our Force had been something less unequal, the Enemies would have had more trouble to have disengaged themselves. We came at last into *Brest*, upon the 29th of *August*, 1697.

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THE PREFACE.

THE enſuing Treatiſe is, for the moſt Part, compos'd out of Memoirs, which the preſent Proprietor of Carolana, *my honour'd Father, had drawn from ſeveral* Engliſh Journals *and* Itineraries *taken by his* own People, *whom he had ſent for* Diſcovery *of this moſt* noble, pleaſant *and* fertile Province *and the* Parts *adjacent, both by Sea and Land; as well as from the* Accounts *of other* Travellers *and* Indian Tra-

ders,

ders, *who had often pierc'd into and rang'd through the* Heart *of it, and were* Persons *of* good Understanding *and* Probity, *whose* Relations *agreeing so well together, tho' mostly Strangers to each other, it is not to be suppos'd, they could conspire to impose* Fables *and* Falsities *on the World.*

THE *vast* Trouble *and* Expence (*those* Two great Impediments *of* Publick Good) *the said* Proprietor *has undergone to effect all this, will scarcely be credited; for he not only, at his sole* Charge, *for several* Years, *establish'd and kept up a* Correspondence *with the* Governors *and Chief* Indian *Traders in all the* English *Colonies on the Continent of* America, *imploy'd many People on* Discoveries *by Land to the* West, North *and* South *of this vast* Extent *of Ground, but likewise in the Year* 1698. *he equipp'd and fitted out Two* Ships, *provided with above Twenty great* Guns, *Sixteen* Patereroes, *abundance of* Small Arms, Ammunition, Stores *and* Provisions *of all Sorts, not only for the* Use *of those on* Board,

and

and for Discovery by Sea, *but also for building a* Fortification, *and settling a* Colony *by Land; there being in both* Vessels, *besides Sailors and Common Men, above Thirty* English *and* French *Volunteers, some* Noblemen, *and all* Gentlemen.

ONE *of these* Vessels *discover'd the* Mouths *of the* great *and* famous *River* Meschacebe, *or, as term'd by the* French, Missisippi, *enter'd and ascended it above* One Hundred Miles, *and had perfected a* Settlement *therein, if the* Captain *of the other Ship had done his* Duty *and not deserted them. They howsoever took* Possession *of this Country in the* King's Name, *and left, in several* Places, *the* Arms *of* Great-Britain *affix'd on* Boards *and* Trees *for a* Memorial *thereof.*

AND *here I cannot forbear taking Notice, that this was the first Ship that ever enter'd that River from the Sea, or that perfectly discover'd or describ'd it's several Mouths, in Opposition to the* Boasts *and* Falsities *of the* French,

who in their Printed Books *and* Accounts *thereof, assume to themselves the* Honour *of both*; Providence *seeming to reserve the* Glory *of succeeding in so noble an* Enterprize, *to the* Zeal *and* Industry *of a Private Subject of* England, *which was Twice in vain attempted by* Louis XIV. *of* France, *the most ambitious and powerful* Monarch *of* Europe.

BUT *as the perfect Discovery of that* great River, *its* Seven Mouths, *and all the Coast of* Carolana, *on the Bay of* Mexico, *for at least* 14 *Degrees of* Longitude, *was then effected, and most of the* Persons *who were actually upon it, with their* Journals, Drafts *and* Charts, *return'd safe to* England, *the* Proprietor *presented a* Memorial *thereof to his then Majesty King* William *of* Glorious Memory, *wherewith He was so well pleas'd and satisfy'd, that in a General Council call'd for that* Purpose, *he order'd it to be read, and taken into* Consideration, *Himself, and above Twenty of the* Council, *who were then present,*

present, unanimously agreeing, that the Design *of settling the said* Province *ought to be speedily encourag'd and promoted.*

HIS *said* Majesty *being afterwards more fully convinc'd, that such an* Undertaking *would greatly tend to the* Benefit *of the* English Nation, *and the* Security *of its* Colonies *on the Continent of* North America, *often declar'd, that he would leap over* Twenty Stumbling-Blocks, *rather than not effect it; and frequently assur'd the* present Proprietor, *that it should not only receive a* Publick Encouragement, *but that he would particularly contribute towards it, by sending at his own Cost Six or Eight Hundred* French Refugees *and* Vaudois, *to joyn with those* English *who could be procur'd to begin the* Settlement *there.*

BESIDES *divers* Noblemen, Gentlemen *and* Merchants, *proffer'd the same. Particularly the Lord* Lonsdale, *then* Lord Privy-Seal, *being highly sensible of the great* Advantages *would redound to the* English Nation *thereby,*

offer'd to assist the Design *with* Two Thousand Pounds *in ready Mony, or a Ship of* Two Hundred Tuns, *with One hundred* Persons *of whatsoever* Trades *or* Employments *should be thought most convenient; and to provide them with* Provisions, *necessary* Tools *and* Instruments, *for the Space of One Year; not making the least* Capitulation *for himself or them, beyond the* Grant *of a Competent Tract of Land for their* Habitation *and necessary* Subsistance: *But the sudden Death of that* Lord, *and soon after of King* William, *put a* Period, *at that Time, to this* noble Undertaking.

THE *present* Proprietor, *not long after the Death of that* Monarch, *did in the subsequent* Reign *propose the reviving and promoting the aforesaid* Enterprize, *but the* Wars *ensuing, which prov'd excessive chargeable, and employ'd the whole* Thoughts *and* Attention *of the* Ministry, *hinder'd the encouraging thereof. Whereupon he desisted from any further* Prosecution *of that* Affair, *till a fitter*

Opportunity

Oportunity *should offer itself, though very sorry his* Country *had lost so favourable a* Conjuncture, *when what he had propos'd might have been accomplish'd with much less* Trouble *and* Expence, *than after a* Peace *should be concluded; for he foresaw, and often warn'd the then* Ministry, *that whensoever that happen'd, the* French *would certainly endeavour to possess and settle that Country, for* Reasons *too many and tedious here to relate, as afterwards too manifestly appear'd.*

HOWSOEVER *as this* Colony *does most certainly of Right belong to the Crown of* Great-Britain, *if the first* Discovery, Grant, Possession, *and other most material* Circumstances, *may be allow'd to carry any* Weight *with them, it may be a satisfactory* Entertainment, *if not a real* Service, *to the* Publick, *to attempt a short* Description *of it in Print, and of the* Lands *to the* Northwards, *as far as, and among the Five great Lakes, the* Nations *of* Indians *inhabiting therein, and the Lakes themselves, as well as of the useful* A-

nimals, Vegetables, Mettals, Minerals, *and other the Produce thereof; together with an Account of the great River* Meschacebe, *and the Rivers which increase it both from the East and the West; as likewise a brief* Relation *of the Coast of this* Province, *on the Bay of* Mexico, *and the* Rivers, Harbors, *and* Islands *belonging to it; all which, I flatter myself, are more particular and exact than any Thing the* French *have publish'd relating thereto. The same may be said of the annex'd Map, which no doubt is the best of its* Kind *extant. By both which the* Reader *will see, how contiguous this* Province *lies to our already settled* Colonies, *which are entirely surrounded by it, and the other* Lands *to the* Northward, *by the* French *call'd* Canada *or* New France, *tho' those to the* Southward *of the* great Lakes *they most unjustly claim the* Property *of. For they were, about the Beginning of the Reign of King* James II. *made over and surrender'd, by the* Irocois *and their* Allies, *to the Crown of* England,

the

the Right *and* Poſſeſſion *whereof we have ever ſince aſſerted and endeavour'd to ſecure, both by ourſelves and the aboveſaid* Indians *our* Confederates, *who on their* Parts, *on all* Occaſions *of* Difference *with the* French *or their* Indians, *do for that and other* Conſiderations, *demand the good* Offices *and* Protection *of the* Engliſh, *who knowing it their* Intereſt, *never fail, if the* Cauſe *is juſt, to afford it them: As they did in the Year* 1696. *When the Count* Frontenac *Governour of* Canada, *with ſeveral Thouſand* French *and* Indians, *attack'd the* Onondages, *One of the* Five Nations, *and Ravag'd their* Country; *but on the Approach of Collonel* Fletcher *Governour of* New-York, *with ſome Regular* Forces, Militia *and* Indians, *he was forc'd to retire, not without a conſiderable Loſs from thoſe* Natives, *who conſtantly attended him in his Retreat, often fell on his Rear, cut off many of his* People, *and all the* Straglers *they could meet with.*

THE

The PREFACE.

THE *Five Nations, when ſummon'd on our two laſt unfortunate Expeditions againſt* Canada, *readily join'd the* Engliſh *Troops under the Command of General* Nicholſon, *with about a Thouſand Men; And the reſt of them were in Motion in different Parts; ſome to diſcover and obſerve the Poſture of the Enemy in their own Country; Others to Scout about the* Rivers *and* Lakes. *And they have ſo great a Reliance on the* Friendſhip *and* Protection *of the* Engliſh, *whom they have ever found and acknowledg'd to be truly* Juſt, Honeſt *and* Punctual, *in their* Treaties *and* Dealings *with them, that during the late War, they not only permitted, but alſo invited them, to build a* Fort *in the very heart of their* Country *and on their* Main River, *the Gate of which adjoyns to and Opens into One of their* Capital Towns *or* Fortifications, *Inhabited by the* Mohacks, *the chief and moſt Warlike* Nation *among them. The* Engliſh *Garriſon being a* Detachment *from the* Independent Companies *of* New-

York

York *and* Albany, *live with them in the ſtricteſt* Amity, *and dayly enter their* Caſtle *as the* Indians *do Our* Fort, *who conſtantly ſupply the* Soldiers *with* Veniſon, Wild-Fowl, Fiſh, *and other Neceſſaries in their Way.*

FROM *theſe* Indians *of the* Five Nations, *the* Engliſh *of* New-York, *purchaſe the greateſt Part of their* Furr *and* Peltry-Trade, *and in Exchange ſupply them with* Duffels, Strowds, Blankets, Guns, Powder, Shot, *and other the* Manufactures *of* Great-Britain, *at a much eaſier Rate than the* French *ever could.*

THAT Nation *knowing and envying the great* Friendſhip *and* Commerce *the* Engliſh *of* New-York *cultivate and carry on with theſe* Indians, *and being ſenſible of the mighty Uſe and Service they are of, not only to that* Colony, *but to all our other* Colonies *to the* Northward, *have on, many Occaſions endeavour'd, by all the* Artifices *imaginable, to draw them over to their* Party *and* Intereſts, *which when*

they

they fail'd in, They have attempted, by Force *or* Fraud *to Extirpate or Subject them: But that cunning and Warlike* People, *by the Advice and Assistance of the* English, *have ever prevented their* Designs, *to whom they continue most incens'd and irreconcileable* Enemies; *tho' as long as the* English *have* Peace *with them, they are persuaded to continue the same.*

INDEED *during the Reign of King* James II. *They had certainly been* Cut off *and* exterminated *by the* French (*the* English *being prohibited, to give them the least Assistance*) *had not the happy* Revolution *of King* William *intervened, and the War with* France *soon succeeded.*

NAY, *even Collonel* Dungan *a* Roman Catholick, *made Governour of* New-York *by King* James, *was at that Time so very sensible of the* Ruin *intended to the* Five Nations *our* Allies, *and in Consequence to the* English Plantations, *that he order'd the* Popish Priests, *who were by* Leave *come into*

his

his Government, *under* pretence *of making* Proſelytes, *to depart from thence, becauſe he found their* Deſign *was to betray our* Colonies *to the* French, *inſtead of making* Converts *of the* Inhabitants.

THE French, *as is related above, have many ways endeavour'd to ruin or diſtreſs the* Irocois; *but as they are well aſſur'd, Nothing will affect them ſo much and nearly, as to deprive them of their* Fiſhing *and* Hunting, *which is moſtly on the Borders of, and between the* Great Lakes, *and without which they muſt* Starve; *therefore they have attempted to build* Forts *on the ſeveral narrow* Paſſages *thereof, and the* Rivers *which empty themſelves thereinto, in order to intercept them, either in their going or returning from thoſe* Places; *but the* Indians *have as often prevented the finiſhing of them, or otherwiſe oblig'd them to demoliſh or deſert them.*

BUT *ſhould the* French *be permitted to eſtabliſh their projected* Communication, *between* Cape Breton *the* Gulf *and* River *of St.* Lawrence, *as far as the*

the Meſchacebe, *and ſo downwards to the Bay of* Mexico, *which will be a mighty* Addition *and* Increaſe *of* Territory, Strength *and* Power *to them, It is much to be fear'd, They'l carry their* Point *one Time or another, and thereby diſtreſs and Subject theſe our* Allies, *the Conſequence of which will not only be very* ſhocking, *but of the utmoſt* Concern *to the* Safety *of our* Northern Plantations: *For if we now, in ſo great Meaſure, ſtand in need of, and depend on them as our* Friends, *for the* Security *of our* Frontiers, *what muſt we expect, when that* Barrier *is remov'd, and they become our* Enemies; *and not only they, but all the Reſt of our Friendly* Indians *to the* Southward, *which we may of* Courſe *depend on.*

WE *have lately experienc'd the* diſmal *and* Tragical Conſequences *attending a* Defection, *of only one or two Paltry* Nations *of* Indians, *bordering on* Carolina, *and though other* Pretences *have been urg'd as the* Cauſe *thereof, and were perhaps in ſome* Meaſure *true, yet the*

French,

French, *ſince their late* Settlements *on the* Meſchacebe *and the Bay of* Mexico, *are violently ſuſpected to have clandeſtinely fomented and widen'd the* Breach, *which occaſion'd the butchering of ſo many* hundreds *of the* Inhabitants *of that* Colony, *with the* Burnings, Devaſtations, *and almoſt* intire Deſolation *thereof.*

IT *is well known that the* Frontiers *of our* Colonies *are large, naked, and open, there being ſcarce any* Forts *or* Garriſons *to defend them for near* Two Thouſand Miles. *The* dwellings *of the* Inhabitants *are ſcattering and at a Diſtance from one another; and its almoſt impoſſible according to the* preſent Eſtabliſhment *and* Scituation *of our* Affairs *there, from the great* Number *of our* Colonies *independent on each other, their different Sorts of* Governments, Views, *and* Intereſts, *to draw any conſiderable Body of* Forces *together on an* Emergency, *though the* Safety *and* Preſervation, *not only of any* particular Colony, *but of all the* Engliſh Plantations *on the Continent, were never ſo nearly concern'd.* FOR

FOR, *several of these* Governments, *pretending to or enjoying some extraordinary* Privileges, *which the Favour of the* Crown *has formerly granted them, exclusive of others, if their* Assistance *is demanded or implor'd by any of their distress'd* Neighbours, *attack'd by* Enemies, *perhaps in the very Heart of their* Settlements, *they either by affected* Delays, *insisting on* Punctilios *and* Niceties, *starting unreasonable* Objections, *and making extravagant* Demands, *or other frivolous* Pretences, *purposely elude their just and reasonable* Expectations; *and by an inactive* Stupidity *or* Indolence, *seem insensible of their particular and most deplorable* Circumstances, *as well as regardless of the* General *or* Common Danger, *because they feel not the* immediate Effects *of it; Not considering their own* Security *is precarious, since what happens to one* Colony *to* Day, *may reach another to* Morrow: *A* Wise Man *will not stand with his* Arms *folded, when his* Neighbours House *is on* Fire.

THE

The PREFACE.

THE *only* Expedient *I can at present think of, or shall presume to mention (with the utmost* Deference *to His* MAJESTY *and His* Ministers) *to help and obviate these* Absurdities *and* Inconveniencies, *and apply a* Remedy *to them, is, That All the* Colonies *appertaining to the Crown of* GREAT BRITAIN *on the* Northern Continent *of* America, *be United under a* Legal, Regular, *and firm* Establishment; *Over which, it's propos'd, a* Lieutenant, *or* Supreme Governour, *may be constituted, and appointed to Preside on the* Spot, *to whom the* Governours *of each* Colony *shall be* Subordinate.

IT *is further humbly propos'd, That two* Deputies *shall be annually Elected by the* Council *and* Assembly *of each* Province, *who are to be in the Nature of a* Great Council, *or* General Convention *of the* Estates *of the* Colonies; *and by the* Order, Consent *or* Approbation *of the* Lieutenant *or* Governour General, *shall meet together, Consult and Advise for the Good of the*

 whole,

whole, Settle *and* Appoint *particular* Quota's *or* Proportions *of* Money, Men, Provisions, *&c. that each respective* Government *is to raise, for their mutual* Defence *and* Safety, *as well, as, if necessary, for* Offence *and* Invasion *of their* Enemies; *in all which Cases the* Governour General *or* Lieutenant *is to have a* Negative; *but not to Enact any Thing without their Concurrence, or that of the* Majority *of them.*

THE Quota *or* Proportion, *as above allotted and charg'd on each* Colony, *may, nevertheless, be levy'd and rais'd by its own* Assembly, *in such Manner, as They shall judge most Easy and Convenient, and the Circumstances of their Affairs will permit.*

OTHER Jurisdictions, Powers *and* Authorities, *respecting the Honour of His* MAJESTY, *the* Interest *of the* Plantations, *and the* Liberty *and* Property *of the* Proprietors, Traders, Planters *and* Inhabitants *in them, may be Vested in and Cognizable by the above-*

said

ſaid Governour General *or* Lieutenant, *and* Grand Convention *of the* Eſtates, *according to the* Laws *of* England, *but are not thought fit to be touch'd on or inſerted here; This* Propoſal *being General, and withall humility ſubmitted to the Conſideration of our* Superiours, *who may* Improve, Model, *or* Reject *it, as they in their Wiſdom ſhall judge proper.*

A COALITION *or* Union *of this* Nature, *temper'd with and grounded on* Prudence, Moderation *and* Juſtice, *and a* generous Incouragement *given to the* Labour, Induſtry, *and* good Management *of all Sorts and Conditions of Perſons inhabiting, or, any ways, concern'd or intereſted in the ſeveral* Colonies *above mention'd, will, in all probability, lay a ſure and laſting* Foundation *of* Dominion, Strength, *and* Trade, *ſufficient not only to Secure and Promote the* Proſperity *of the* Plantations, *but to revive and greatly increaſe the late Flouriſhing* State *and* Condition *of* GREAT BRITAIN, *and there-*

by render it, once more, the Envy *and* Admiration *of its* Neighbours.

LET *us consider the* Fall *of our* Ancestors, *and grow wise by their* Misfortunes. *If the Ancient* Britains *had been united amongst themselves, the* Romans, *in all probability, had never become their Masters: For as* Cæsar *observ'd of them,* Dum Singuli pugnabant, Universi vincebantur, whilst they fought in seperate Bodies, the whole Island was subdued. *So if the* English Colonies *in* America *were Consolidated as one* Body, *and joyn'd in one* Common Interest, *as they are under one* Gracious Sovereign, *and with united* Forces *were ready and willing to act in* Concert, *and assist each other, they would be better enabled to provide for and defend themselves, against any troublesome Ambitious* Neighbour, *or bold* Invader. *For* Union *and* Concord *increase and establish* Strength *and* Power, *whilst* Division *and* Discord *have the contrary* Effects.

BUT

BUT *to put a* Period *to this* Digreſſion; *It ſeems to me a very great* Indignity *offer'd to His* MAJESTY *and the* Nation, *that when there are Five Hundred Thouſand* Britiſh *Subjects* (*which are above five times more than the* French *have both in* Canada *and* Louiſiana *put together*) *inhabiting the ſeveral* Colonies *on the* Eaſt *ſide of the Continent of* North America, *along the Sea Shoare, from the* Gulf *of St.* Laurence *to that of* Florida, *all contiguous to each other, who, for almoſt a* Century, *have eſtabliſh'd a* Correſpondence, *contracted a* Friendſhip, *and carry'd on a flouriſhing* Trade *and* Commerce *with the ſeveral* Nations *of* Indians, *lying on their* Back, *to the* Weſtward *and* Northward, *for* Furs, Skins, *&c. a moſt rich and valuable* Traffick, *the* Colonies *themſelves abounding with* Metals *and* Minerals *of* Copper, Iron, Lead, *&c. producing* Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tarr, Roſin, Turpintine, Maſts, Timber *and* Planks *of* Oak,

Fir, *and all other ſorts of* Naval Stores, *in great abundance, and the beſt of their Kind in the World; beſides* Wheat, Beef, Pork, Tobacco, Rice, *and other neceſſary and profitable* Commodities; *with a Noble* Fiſhery *for* Whales, Cod-fiſh, *&c. along the* Coaſt *and in the* Bays *thereof, I ſay, it ſeems a great* Indignity *offer'd to His* MAJESTY *and the* Britiſh *Nation, that the* French *ſhould ſeize on and Fortify this Province of* Carolana, *remote from* Canada *near a Thouſand Miles, as well as the other* Lands *to the* Weſtward, *or on the Back of our* Settlements (*the greateſt Part of which are comprehended in divers Patents granted long ago, by ſeveral of His* MAJESTY's *Royal* Predeceſſors, Kings *and* Queens *of* England,) *Eſpecially ſince the* Engliſh *have Planted and Improv'd them, from the* Sea Coaſt, *almoſt up to the* Sources *of the largeſt* Rivers, *by the Conſent of the* Natives, *whoſe* Lands *they have actually purchas'd and paid for, and whoſe* Traffick *we are hereby intirely depriv'd of.*

MOREOVER

MOREOVER *if the* Engliſh *ſuffer themſelves to be thus ſtraitly coop'd up, without ſtretching their* Plantations *further back into the* Continent, *what will become of their* Off-ſpring *and* Deſcendants, *the Increaſe of their Own and the* Nations Stock, *who Claim and Demand an* Habitation *and* Inheritance *near their* Parents, Relations *and* Friends, *and have a* Right *to be provided for in the* Country *where they are Born, both by the Laws of* GOD *and* Man; *and which the* Prudence *and* Policy *of the* State *does likewiſe require, as convenient and neceſſary, both for extending our* Territories, *ſtrengthening our* Hands, *and enlarging our* Trade.

BESIDES, *as the* Engliſh *are not fond of extending their* Dominions *on the Continent of* Europe, *but confine themſelves to their* Iſlands, *being content with their Ancient* Territories *and* Poſſeſſions, *except what is abſolutly neceſſary to promote and ſecure their* Trade *and* Commerce, *the very* Vitals *of the* State, *I cannot apprehend with what* Reaſon *or* Juſtice

the French, *or any other* Nation, *should encroach upon their* Claims, Colonys, *or* Plantations *in* America.

THAT *They have done this is plain, from the Accounts we continually receiv'd from* France, *for many Years past, of the several* Embarkations *for the* Meschacebe *or* Louisiana, *and the* Encouragement *given to their* West-India Company, *for the Planting and Raising* Materials *for* Manufactures *therein.*

WE *have likewise been, with just Reason, alarm'd here in* Great Britain, *by the many* Letters, Memorials, Representations *and* Remonstrances, *which have, from Time to Time, been transmitted, from divers of our* Colonies *upon the Continent of* America, *setting forth the* Danger *they are like to be expos'd to, from the* Neighbourhood *of the* French, *if they obtain full Possession of this our* Province *of* Carolana, *and the Lands to the* Northward *of it, as far as the Five great* Lakes, *which comprehends great Part of what they call* la Louisiane,

FOR

FOR *through these* Countries *many great* Rivers *have their Course, proceeding from the Back of our* Colonies *of* New York, New Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland, Virginia, North *and* South Carolina, (*their Springs being not far distant from the Heads of the Chief* Rivers, *that belong to and run through those* Colonies) *most of them Navigable without Interruption from their* Fountains, *till they fall into the* Meschacebe. *And by means of their* Settlements *on that and the other Inland* Rivers *and* Lakes, *from the Bay of* Mexico, *to the River and Bay of St.* Laurence, *the* French *are drawing a Line of* Communication, *and endeavouring to surround and streighten all our* Colonies, *from* Nova Scotia *to* South Carolina. *Thus are they working out their own* Grandure *and Our* Destruction.

INDEED *the* French, *who all the World acknowledge to be an Enterpizing, Great and Politick* Nation, *are so sensible of the* Advantages *of* Foreign Colonies, *both in reference to* Empire *and* Trade, *that they use all manner of* Artifices *to lull*

their

their Neighbours *a ſleep, with Fine* Speeches *and plauſible* Pretences, *whilſt they cunningly endeavour to compaſs their* Deſigns *by degrees, tho' at the hazard of encroaching on their* Friends *and* Allies, *and depriving them of their* Territories *and* Dominions *in Time of* Profound Peace, *and contrary to the moſt* Solemn Treaties.

FOR *beſides their ſeizing on, and ſetling the great River* Meſchacebe, *and ſome part of the* North Side *of the Bay of* Mexico, *and the claim they ſeem clandeſtinely to make to another of our inhabited* Southern Colonies *adjoyning thereunto, as I ſhall in the Sequel demonſtrate, they in ſome of their Writings boaſt, that their* Colony *of* Louiſiana, *hath no other Bounds to the* North *than the* Arctick Pole, *and that its Limits on the* Weſt *and* North Weſt *are not known much better, but extend to the* South Sea, Japan, *or where-ever they ſhall think fit to Fix them, if they can be perſwaded to fix any at all; intending thereby to deprive the* Britiſh Nation *of all that vaſt Tract*

of

of Land Situate between the Gulf of Mexico *and* HudsonsBay, *which includes this our Province of* Carolana, *the aforesaid great* Lakes, *and the whole* Country *of our* Five Nations, *with the* Fur, Peltry, *and other* Trade *thereof. And what further Views and Designs they may entertain against the* Spanish *Provinces of* New Mexico *and* New Biscay, *may be easily conjectur'd since the* World *has been certainly appriz'd of the* Project *fram'd by Monsieur* Dela Salle, *to Visit and Seize on the Rich Mines of St.* Barbe, *&c. which if he thought no difficult Task to accomplish, with about Two Hundred* French, *and the Assistance of the* Indians *adjoyning to, and in actual War with the* Spaniards, *how much more easily will they become* Masters *of them, when with the* United Strength *of* Canada *and* Louisiana, *both* French *and* Natives, *they shall think fit to attack them. And after such an Acquisition of the* Numerous Mines *of those* Provinces, *with the Immense* Riches *thereof, what may not our* Colonies, *on the Continent of* America, *apprehend from them.* BE-

BESIDES Jamaica *lying, as it were, lockt up, between their Settlements in the* Island *of* Hispaniola, *and those on the* Bay *of* Mexico, *will soon be in Danger of falling into their Hands; and whether the* Havana *itself, and the whole Island of* Cuba, *with the Key of* Old Mexico, La vera Cruz, *will long remain in the Possession of the* Spaniards, *is very much to be doubted. And supposing the best that can happen to us, it will be but* Ulisses's *Fate, to have the Favour of being destroy'd last: A very* Comfortable Consideration.

WE *are all sensible what Clamours were rais'd at the Concessions made to* France, *on the Conclusion of the late* Peace *at* Utrecht. *There's scarce a Man well vers'd in the Interest of* Trade *and* Plantations, *but blam'd the then* Ministry *for not insisting on the Surrender of* Canada, *as well as* Nova Scotia *and* Newfoundland, *for the Security of our* Northern Colonies *on the Continent of* America, *and the* Traffick *thereof: Nor ought they to have allow'd them the Possession of* Cape Breton, *if they had well consider'd or under-*

stood

ſtood the Nature of the Fiſhery *in thoſe* Seas.

THE *Hiſtory of* former Ages, *and the Experience of theſe* latter Times *have inform'd us, that the* French *have ever been troubleſome* Neighbours, *wherefoever they were ſeated*: Hiſtorians *aſſerting, that the natural* Levity *and reſtleſsneſs of their* Temper, *their enterprizing* Genius, *and* Ambition *of extending their* Dominions, *and raiſing the* Glory *and* Grandeur *of their* Monarchs, *contribute in great Meaſure to make them ſo.*

WHEREFORE *it's to be hop'd, that the* Britiſh Nation, *will be ſo far from continuing idle or indifferent* Spectators *of the unreaſonable and unjuſt* Uſurpations *and* Encroachments *of the* French, *on the Continent of* America, *that they'll let 'em know, they have enough already of* Canada *and* Cape Breton, *and that it's expected they abandon their New Acquiſitions on the* Meſchacebe *and the Bay of* Mexico, *that* River *and* Country *belonging of* Right *to the Crown of* Great Britain. *And I believe it will ſcarce be deny'd, that at*

pre-

present, whilst they are weak, and in the Infancy *and* Confusion *of their* Settlements *in* Louisiana, *we have a much better Chance, and are in far happier Circumstances, to put in our* Claim *to, and dispute the* Right *and* Possession *of that and the other* Land, *above mention'd with them, than we shall be some Years hence, when they have augmented the Number of their* Inhabitants, *debauch'd the* Natives *to their* Party, *and further strengthen'd themselves, by securing, with* Forts *and* Garrisons, *the* Passes *of the* Rivers, Lakes *and* Mountains, *even tho' they should not have obtain'd any Advantage over the* Spaniards, *or inrich'd themselves with the* Wealth *of* Mexico.

I must acknowledge, that in Case the British *Nation, should be so far infatuated, as not to assert their* Right *to this so noble, and to them so useful and necessary a* Colony, *and endeavour to regain the* Possession *thereof, or secure, at least, so much of it, as lies on the Back of our* Plantations, *as far* Westward *as the* Meschacebe, *it will be much more eligible and*

for

for their Interest, that the Spaniards *were Masters of it than the* French, *we not having so much Reason to apprehend the same danger, either to our* Colonies, Trade *or* Navigation, *from the First, as from the Last. Tho' I'm far from admitting the Cession of it to either of them, on any Terms whatsoever, without an absolute and apparent Necessity, which, I thank* GOD, *we are not yet reduc'd to, nor apprehensive of.*

AND *I am apt to think, that Prudence and Poliey, will or ought to prompt us, to keep a Ballance of Power in* America, *as well as nearer Home; and that as we have, for above Thirty Years past, found it our* Interest *to check and put a stop to the growing* Power *of* France, *and set* Bounds *to their* Dominions *here in* Europe, *we shall not easily be induc'd to allow them to encroach on, and deprive us of our* Colonies *and* Plantations *in* America.

THE Spaniards *are said to be very uneasy at the so near Neighbourhood of the* French *on the* Meschacebe, *and are perhaps more jealous of the Consequences thereof than we are, tho' not more than we ought to be;*

and

and, it's presum'd, that on a proper Application *and* Incouragement, *they'll joyn with us to oppose and dispossess them of their* Settlements *there and on the Bay of* Mexico, *least they render themselves sole Masters of the* Navigation *thereof, and with the Assistance of the* Indians, *make* Irruptions *into the very* Heart *of their* Colonies, attack *their* Towns, seize *their* Mines, *and* Fortify *and* Maintain *themselves therein.*

AND *perhaps I may not be in the wrong to suggest, that the* Spaniards *will readily divide this* Country *with us, and surrender all their* Pretentions *to whatsoever lies* Eastward *of the* Meschacebe, *except* St. Augustin, *on* Condition *the* French *are oblig'd to remove thence and retire* elsewhere. *And indeed nothing seems more proper and reasonable, than for that* Great River *to be the settl'd and acknowledg'd* Boundary *and* Partition, *between the* Territories *of* Spain *and* Great-Britain, *on the* Northern Continent *of* America, Nature *seeming to have form'd it almost purposely*

ly for that End, as will be evident to those who shall give themselves the Trouble of viewing the annexed Map. *And at the same Time They'll perceive how the* French *have worm'd themselves into a* Settlement *between the* English *and* Spanish Plantations, *on Pretence of a Vacancy; and with an* Assurance *scarce to be parrallel'd, have set* Bounds *to the* Dominions *of both.*

PERHAPS *I may be suspected by some People of a Design to plead for a* War *with* France *under Pretence of asserting our* Right *to the abovemention'd* Colony *and* Lands *adjacent, at a Time, when, by Reason of the present unsettl'd* Posture *of our* Affairs *we are so unfit for it. But I protest a* Thought *of that* Nature *is so contrary to my Intentions, and so foreign to my Inclinations, that I heartily and sincerely wish, if consistent with our* Honour, Interest *and* Safety, *we may ever avoid one with that* Nation; *But then it is reasonable to expect from them a due* Observance *and* Execution *of* Treaties, *particularly that of* Utrecht, *by which,*

I am inform'd, They are excluded from enjoying any Acquisitions, *They have made in* America *during the* Late War.

I WOULD *not willingly charge them directly with a* Violation *of that* Treaty, *since their* Resentment *against the* Spaniards *for a* Breach *of it, is so fresh in our* Memories, *and the* War *commenc'd with them, on that* Account *so lately terminated. Yet if its alledg'd, They have acted, with Respect to* Treaties, *sincerely and without* Reserve *on their* Part, *how comes it, that whilst we were* Gloriously *and* Generously *risking our* Fleets *by* Sea *in* Europe, *at such a distance from* Home, *at so vast an* Expence, *and even at the Instance of* France *itself, only to preserve the* Sanction *of* Treaties, *and do Justice to our* Allies, *They should clandestinely apply their* Naval Force, *to seize on and deprive us of our* Trade *and* Territories *in* America, *and Settle and Aggrandize themselves at our* Expence, *where they had no* Right,

and

and even, as is ſuggeſted, contrary to the moſt ſolemn Engagements.

THIS *is certainly a* Treatment *moſt* Unjuſt *and* Diſhonourable *to the* Britiſh Nation, *which I ſhould not have mention'd, if the Duty I owe to my* Sovereign, *and the* Affection *I bear to my* Country, *did not forbid me at ſuch a* Juncture, *and on ſo Important an* Occaſion, *to be ſilent and unconcern'd.*

IF *we tamely ſubmit to* Inſults *and* Injuries *of this* Nature, *without being alarm'd, and taking the neceſſary* Steps *towards a ſpeedy and effectual* Redreſs *of them, ſhall we not ſeem* Infatuated *and* Wanting *to ourſelves, be arraign'd as* Felo de ſe, *and accounted, with good Reaſon, the* Bubbles *of the* French? *Won't a* Noble *and* Generous Struggle, *for the reſcuing and preſerving* Our Honour, Our Dominions *and* Our Trade, *better become* Us, *than a* Baſe *and* Cowardly Submiſſion *and* Surrender *of them? Shall we neglect the* Means *our* Safety *asks? Or ſhall we ſuſpect that our Good and Potent* Allies, *whoſe* Intereſt

and Welfare *we have had so much at* Heart, *during the two* Late Wars, *for whom we have hazarded so much, and perform'd so many and so* Great Things, *succour'd them in their* Extremities, *and sav'd them from impending* Ruin; *and even by our* Fleets *and* Armies, *at a Vast Expence of* Blood *and* Treasure, *assisted them to* Conquer *and* Possess *whole* Provinces *and* Kingdoms; *And after all this and more, Can we imagine They'll abandon us to* Insults *and* Injuries, *and quietly acquiesce in our* Misfortunes *and* Distress, *who have so Generously Assisted them in, and Extricated them out of theirs? Nay, may we not rather suppose and expect, that in* Honour *and* Gratitude, *They'll exert themselves, and fly to our* Assistance, *with all imaginable* Chearfulness *and* Alacrity, *if so be at the ensuing* Treaty *of* Peace, *which is said to be near at hand, we are not afraid to Publish our* Wrongs, *and Demand our* Rights?

ALL *the* Writings *of the* French *give us to understand, how fond They have been*

of

of this Colony *for Thirty Years past, and the great* Advantages *They proposed to themselves thereby. And the better to engage their* late Great Monarch's Ambition *of being Renown'd in* Future History, *in* Allusion *to his* Name, *They stil'd it* La Louisiane, *and the* Meschacebe, *the River of St.* Louis, *tho' at that Time, They had but one small* Stockadoed Fort, *above Two hundred Miles from the* Northern, *and Seven or Eight Hundred Miles from the* Southern Bounds *of this* Province.

BY *what is before mention'd, and the several* Writings, Charts, *and* Maps *of the* French, *it is evident, to what a narrow* Extent *of* Ground *They have confin'd the* English Plantations. *And particularly in* L'Isles *Map, the best and most approv'd of any they have lately publish'd, besides many very* Remarkables *there is* One, *which I cannot omit taking Notice of,* viz. *That on the Part where They fix* Carolina, *now and long since inhabited by the* English, *They have inserted this Memorable Passage,* Caroline

 ainsi

ainſi nommez en l'honneur de Charles IX, par les François qui la decouvrirent en prirent Poſſeſſion et s' eſtablirent lan 15. Caroline *ſo nam'd in Honour of* Charles *the* IXth, *by the* French, *who diſcover'd, took Poſſeſſion of, and ſettl'd it in the Year* 15.. *by which the* Author *ſeems to intimate the* Right *of his* Nation *to that* Province; *who, if they are ſo* Bold *already, in ſo Publick a manner, to put in their* Claim, *to it, may, its to be fear'd, when they think themſelves ſtrong enough, by* Force *aſſert it.*

BUT *howſoever theſe Things may happen (which I pray* GOD *may not in our Days) the* Proprietor *of* Carolana *will have the* Comfort *and* Satisfaction *of having diſcharg'd his* Duty *to the* Publick, *in affording Matter for the following* Sheets, *which I here offer to the* View *and* Peruſal *of all true* Britains, *in hopes They may prove acceptable, and engage their* Attention *for the* Publick Good.

BUT *if the ſaid* Proprietor *after ſo great* Trouble *and* Expence, *ſhould have*

the

the Mortification *to ſee all his* honeſt *and* well meant Endeavours *rejected*, *and the* Fruits *of his* Labour *and* Subſtance *render'd* Ineffectual, *and loſt both to his* Country, himſelf *and* Family, *and this* Noble Province *ſecur'd by the* French, *without a* Probability *of* Redemption, *he muſt ſit down with* Patience, *and bewail his own* Miſfortunes, *and the* Infatuation *of his* Countrymen, *who, as they formerly refus'd the* Honour *of being the firſt* Diſcoverers *of* America, *when it was offer'd them by the great* Columbus, *in the Reign of King* Henry *the* VIIth, *do now ſlight and deſpiſe the* Poſſeſſion *of a* Country, *which is One of the* Fineſt *and* moſt Valuable *in that* Part *of the* World, *and in their* Power *to ſecure, at leaſt the greateſt* Part *of it.*

YET *notwithſtanding theſe his* unſucceſsful *and* diſcouraging Efforts, *it will appear and continue as a* Memorial *to* Futurity, *by the* Diſcoveries *and* Relations *here publiſh'd, and the* Petitions, Memorials, *and* Repreſentations *formerly by him preſented to King* WILLIAM

and ſucceding Miniſtries *relating thereunto* (*many of the* Things *he then foretold betng ſince come to paſs*) *that he has acted the Part both of a* Friend *and* Prophet *of his* Country; *and that had his Advice been taken, and* Meaſures *put in* Practice, *many of the* Inconveniencies (*to ſay no worſe*) *that have already happen'd, and are like ſtill to befall the* Engliſh Plantations *on the Continent of* Amercia *and the* Trade *thereof, as well as in Conſequence of that of their* Mother *good* Old England, *from this* Eſtabliſhment *of the* French *on the* Meſchacebe *and the Bay of* Mexico, *would in all Probability, have been nipt in the Bud, and intirely prevented.*

WHAT *is yet to be done therein* (*and there is no doubt but ſomething may be ſucceſsfully attempted*) *muſt be left, with all due Submiſſion, to the Wiſdom of His* MAJESTY *and His* Councils, *who, it's preſum'd, will not neglect ſo favourable a* Conjuncture, *as the enſuing* Congſres *or* Treaty *of* Peace, *to* aſſert *and* maintain *the* Right *of the* Britiſh Nation *to*

this

this Province *and the* Lands *adjacent, or at least to whatsoever lies to the* Eastward *of the* Meschacebe, *and on the Back, and contiguous to our already settled* Plantations, *whose* Welfare *and* Prosperity *depends intirely on our being* Masters *thereof, or on our preventing the* French *from being so, which I am persuaded is still in our Power, and may be effected.*

THE Probability *of a* Communication *by* Water (*except about half a Day's* Land Carriage) *between the River* Meschacebe *and the* South-Sea, *stretching from* America *to* Japan *and* China, *which is represented in the* Fifth Chapter *of the ensuing* Treatise, *with the great* Advantages *to be made thereof, deserves to be well and duely consider'd.*

I *have only given a short and succinct Account and Discription of some of the most useful* Animals, Vegetables, Mettals, Minerals, Precious Stones, *and other* Commodities, *which are Naturally, or may with* Industry *be produc'd in this our* Province, *with some particular* Remarks *thereon. As for those which are merely rare,*

and

land serve chiefly for Speculation and Amusement, I have not so much as touch'd upon them; neither have I made any Observations *upon the* Manners, Customs *or* Religion *of the* Natives, *as being foreign to my present Purpose.*

PERHAPS *I may be look'd upon as a* Visionary, *who represent such* Advantages *may accrue to a* Country *not yet by us fully* Possess'd *or* Planted; *But it will not seem so* Ridiculous *or* Incredulous *to them, that consider the wonderful* Progress *the* Spaniards *made, who in a little above Thirty Years after their* Discovery *of the Empire of* Mexico, *Conquer'd that of* Peru, *and Part of* Chili, *from whence they bring such* Immense Treasures *unto* Old Spain. *Their* Beginnings *were Ten times more* Contemptible *and* Improbable *than what I suggest. However, tho' the* Undertakings *hereafter mention'd may be suspended, till these Parts are well Secur'd and Inhabited by the* Subjects *of* Great Britain. *I have discharg'd my* Duty *in representing to the Publick, what may be effected,*

and

and how, when Opportunity *ſhall preſent.*

IF *ſuch* Objections *had prevail'd, we had never got that* Footing *on the* Continent *of* America *as now we have. And to ſay nothing of other* Commodities, *how vaſt a* Revenue *doth* Tobacco *alone bring unto the* Crown, *and how* Staple *and* Beneficial *a* Merchandize *for* Foreign Trade? *Not to enlarge about the* Trade *with our* Iſlands, *who by* Sugar, Cotton, Indico, *and many other* Commodities, *beſides their* Traffick *with the* Spaniards, *bring a great* Treaſure *to the* Nation. *And the* Circular Trade *to and from the* Continent *and* Iſlands, *greatly increaſe our* Shipping, Seamen, *and* Wealth, *perhaps as much as all the* Trade *we have with the whole* Commercial World *beſides. To which may be added, that nothing is of greater* Importance *to* Great Britain, *than the* Conſumption *of its* Native Growths *and* Manufactures, *and what vaſt* Quantities *of them are ſent to and expended in our* American Plantations, *the* Bills *of*

Entry

Entry, *and the* Cuſtom-Houſe Books *will inform us.*

BESIDES *the great quantities of* Maſts, Pitch, Tarr, Roſin, Turpentine, Hemp, Flax, Timber, Plank, Deal Boards, *and other* Naval Stores, *which are brought home from thence, or, on due* Encouragement, *may be had and raiſed there, prove not only extremely Beneficial to* Great Britain *at preſent, but will be render'd much more ſo, on a* War *or* Miſunderſtanding *with any of the* Northern Potentates, *from whoſe* Territories *we uſually Import them, and to whom we pay for the moſt Part,* ready Money *and* Bullion *for them, to the amount of ſeveral Hundred Thouſand Pounds* per Annum, *which will be kept within the Kingdom, when once we are ſupply'd with thoſe* Commodities *from our own* Colonies, *which with due* Encouragement *we ſoon may.*

FOR *Proof of which,* Experience *has taught us, that formerly on the paſſing the* Act of Parliament, *which encourages the making* Pitch *and* Tarr, *in our* Planta-

Plantations, *the* Design *was soon put in* Practice, *and the* End *fully answer'd, those* Commodities *being in a few Years rais'd and Imported in such* Quantities, *as to supply the* Demands *and* Necessities *of most, if not all the* Shipping *of* Great Britain, *at much less than half the* Price, *they were sold for before.*

BY *about Fourteen Years* Residence *on the* Continent *of* America, *and the* Observations *I have made of the* Produce *and* Trade *of the several* Colonies *therein, the most considerable of which I have often visited, I think I can easily demonstrate, that there is not one* Commodity *of any* Consequence, *which we have from* Rusia *or the* Baltick, *but may be found or rais'd there, and in as great* Quantities *and* Perfection. *So that if the* Nation *would intirely slight the* Trade *and* Navigation *of those* Countries, *and apply themselves vigorously to the* Traffick *of our* Plantations, *they would soon find their Account in it, and gain by the Change Annually near, if not full,* Half a Million *of* Money; *besides*

rescuing

rescuing ourselves from a sort of Dependance *on the* Northern Powers, *whose unreasonable* Caprices *and* Impositions, *We have, to our great* Discredit *and* Detriment, *too long experienc'd.*

BUT *if the* French *should ever grow so* Powerful *in* America, *as to be able to Intercept or Engross the* Trade *with the* Indians, *or Ruin or Subject our* Plantations, *there's an End of this* Consumption *of our* Home Produce *and* Manufactures, *of all our* Shipping Trade *thither, of the* Customs *for* Goods *Exported there or imported thence, the* Increase *of our* Sailors, *and the* Advantages *of raising our own* Naval Stores; *besides the Loss of so Large an Extent of* Dominion, *and Five Hundred Thousand British* Subjects *therein. We may likewise be assur'd that all our* Islands *in the* West-Indies, *will soon undergo the same* Fate, *or be terribly distress'd, for want of their usual Supplies of* Fish, Lumber *and other* Necessaries, *they constantly stand in need of, and receive from our* Plantations *on the* Continent, *which*

which neither Great Britain *nor* Ireland *can assist them with, and which They purchase with their* Sugar, Rum *and* Malosses; *the* Vent *of which will be in great measure stopt on the Loss of our* Colonies, *whereby they'll be mightily discourag'd and impoverish'd, so as to become an easy* Acquisition *to any* Ambitious *and* Powerful Invador.

Thus GREAT BRITAIN *being deprivd of its* Subjects, Dominions *and* Trade *in and to* America, *our* Merchants *will be ruin'd, our* Customs *and* Funds *will Sink, our* Manufactures *will want Vent, our* Lands *will Fall in* Value, *and instead of decreasing, our* Debts *will increase, without the least Prospect of the* Nation's *emerging.*

I have thought fit to subjoin an Appendix *at the* End *of the* Book, *containing a short* Extract *of the* Grant *from King* Charles I. *to Sir* Robert Heath, *of this our* Province *of* Carolana, *and the* Veanis *and* Bahama *Islands. Together with an Additional* Clause, *taken from the* Representation *of the* Right Honourable

rable *the* Lords Commiſſioners *for* Trade *and* Plantations *to King* William, *ſignifying the* Report *of the then Attorney General*, *Sir* Thomas Trevro, *now the* Right Honourable *the* Lord Trevor, *in Favour of the Title of the Preſent* Proprietor *thereunto.*

I have likewiſe inſerted an Abſtract *of the firſt and moſt material* Memorial *preſented by the ſaid* Proprietor *to King* William, *being a* Demonſtration *of the juſt* Pretenſions *of the King of* England *to the aboveſaid* Province, *and of the preſent* Proprietary *under his* MAJESTY.

ALL *other* Proceedings *reſpecting the ſaid* Province, *both in that* Prince's *Time*, *and ſince his Preſent* MAJESTY's *Acceſſion to the Throne*, *are purpoſely omitted*, *leaſt I ſhould ſwell the* Bulk *of this* Treatiſe *too much*, *and tranſgreſs my own ſix'd* Reſolution, *which was to contract it into as narrow a* Compaſs *as poſſibly I could.*

As *to the* Work *itſelf I have little to ſay*, *farther*, *Then if the* Importance *of the* Subject, *and* Deſign *of the* Author,

cannot

cannot affect the Attention, *and attract the* Esteem *of the* Reader, *I know nothing therein considerable enough to do it.*

I SHALL *only add, That the* Principal Motive *which engag'd me to compose both the* foregoing *and the* following Sheets, *was a* Desire *to inform the* Publick *of an* Affair *of the greatest* Consequence, *and which it concerns them so much to know; and to excite some Worthy* Patriots *to search into, and fully examine the* Present Circumstances *and* Condition *of our* Plantations, *least* Ruin *steals on them unawares, and they are undone before they are thought to be in* Danger. *Whether I may attain my* End *therein I know not; but of this, I am certain, That my* Endeavours *are truly* honest *and* sincere, *and design'd more for a* Publick Good, *than a* Private Emolument.

I HAD *almost forgot to inform the* Reader, *That my* Reason *for not describing that* Part *of the Province of*

Carolana, *bordering on the* North *or* Atlantick Ocean, *which comprehends the greateſt* Part *of* Carolina, *was, becauſe it has been ſo often and ſo well perform'd already, in the ſeveral Printed* Accounts *of that laſt mention'd* Colony, *to which I referr.*

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A

DESCRIPTION, &c.

CHAP. I.

A Description of the great and famous River Meschacebe *or* Missisippi, *the Rivers increasing it both from the East and West, the Countries adjacent, and the several Nations of* Indians *inhabiting therein.*

CAROLANA and *Carolina* are two distinct tho' bordering Provinces, the East of *Carolana* joyning to the West of *Carolina*. The former was granted by Patent unto Sir *Robert Heath* in the Beginning of the Reign of King *Charles* I.

 which

which said Sir *Robert* was the then Attorney-General, and by him convey'd unto the Earl of *Arundel*, from whom it came by mean Conveyances unto the present Proprietary.

This Province of *Carolana* is extended North and South from the River St. *Mattheo*, lying according to the Patent in 31 Degrees (tho' by later and more accurate Observations, it is found to lie exactly in 30 Degrees and 10 Minutes) unto the River *Passo Magno*, which is in 36 Degrees of Northern Latitude; and in Longitude from the Western or *Atlantick* Ocean unto New *Mexico* now in Possession of the *Spaniards*, which is in a direct Line above 1000 Miles, and were not inhabited by them, unto the *South-Sea*. It comprehends within its Bounds, the greatest Part of the Province of *Carolina*, whose Proprietors derive their Claim and Pretensions thereto, by Charters from King *Charles* II. about Thirty Years after the abovemention'd Grant to Sir *Robert Heath*.

The great River *Meschacebe* runs through the midst of this Country, having a Course almost directly North and South from its first Fountains, in about 50 Degrees of North Latitude, to its disimboguing into the Middle of the Gulph of *Mexico*. The Rivers that make this, which the *Spaniards* call'd *Rio-grand del Norte*, proceed about one half from the West, the other from the East, so that the whole Country may be

almost

almoſt entirely viſited by Navigable Rivers without any Falls or Cataracts, which are uſual in moſt of the Northern Rivers of *America*, and in all Rivers of Long-Courſe, even in *Carolina*, (tho' to this Country contiguous) and thence Northward to the great River of St. *Laurence* or *Cannada*, and other Rivers Northward innumerable. The excellent and convenient Situation of this Country for Inland Trade and Navigation, and for Trade with the *Spaniards* in *New Mexico*, the whole Gulph of *Mexico*, and the *South-Sea* (which I ſhall hereafter demonſtrate) will be greatly for the Advantage, and not in the leaſt to the Prejudice of our Home Plantation Trade, as will appear more evident by the Deſcription of this great River *Meſchacebe*, and thoſe Rivers that enter into it, together with the vaſt Navigable Lakes of freſh Water adjoyning thereunto.

We will for good Reaſons begin our Deſcription of it from its Entrance into the Sea, aſcending up unto its Source; and from very good Journals both by Sea and Land, give an Account of the Chief Rivers that run into it from the Eaſt and Weſt, as we find them in our Aſcent, together with their Courſe, Length and Bigneſs, the Nature of the Countries, and the Names of the Nations through which they paſs.

The River *Meſchacebe* is ſo call'd by the Inhabitants of the North; *Cebe*, being the Name for a River, even as far as *Hudſon*'s Bay; and *Meſcha*, great, which is the great River; And by the *French*, who learn'd it from them, corruptly, *Miſſiſippi*; which Name of *Meſchacebe* it doth retain among the Savages, during half its Courſe: Afterwards ſome call it *Chucagua*, others *Saſſagoula*, and *Malabanchia*, as it fares with the *Danubius*, which 400 Miles before it enters the *Euxine* Sea, is ſtil'd the *Iſter*; and the like happens to all the Rivers of Long Courſe in *America*, as *Oronogue*, the River of the *Amazons*, and *Rio de la Plata*. This River enters the Gulph of *Mexico* 140 Leagues from the North Weſt Part of the *Peninſula* of *Florida*, keeping along the Coaſt in 30 Degrees North Latitude, and 120 Leagues from the moſt weſterly Part of the ſaid Gulph in about 29 Degrees the ſame Latitude; and thence the Coaſt extends S. and by W. to the River *Panuco*, which is under the *Tropick of Cancer* in 23½ Degrees, the utmoſt Part inhabited by the *Spaniards* towards the N. and N. E. on the Gulph of *Mexico*.

The Province of *Carolina*, from the Conjunction with the *Peninſula* of *Florida*, for 250 Leagues is ſituated about the 30th Degree of North Latitude, and ſeldom varies 10 Leagues N. or S. from the ſame; excepting the Entrance of the River *Meſchacebe*,

cebe, which I am now about to deſcribe from the Mouth unto its firſt Fountains.

The River *Maſchacebe* empties itſelf into the Gulph of *Mexico* by ſeven Channels like the River *Nile*, of which *Herodotus* the Father of Hiſtory, and who liv'd long in *Egypt*, affirms in his Time, three were always Navigable, and the others only ſo during the Inundations of the ſaid River, which were made by Art and Labour, tho' our Modern Navigators allow only two; but our River hath Seven Navigable at all Times; the Three great Ones by Ships, the Four ſmaller, Two on each ſide (as appears by the Chart) by Boats and Sloops, eſpecially during the Time of the Waters riſing or the Freſhes, as they call them, which are always conſtant, and return in the Spring, and ſometimes happen in the Summer upon the great Rains, which is not frequent.

The Three great Branches always Navigable by Shipping, are ſituated about 6 Miles diſtant from each other, and unite all at one Place with the main River, about 12 Miles from their Mouths.

There is not above 14 Foot on the Barr at Low-Water in Neep-Tides, excepting when the Freſhes come down in the Spring or upon great Rains, but when you are over the Barr, which is not in many Places above a Ship's length Broad, you enter im-

mediately into deep Water, the least 5 Fathom, which increases to 10 Fathom before you come to the main River: After that it deepens gradually, to above 30, and you have no where less than 20 Fathom for a 100 Miles, and little less for 100 Leagues, and afterwards from 10 to 17 for 100 Leagues more: Then from 6 to 10, 200 Leagues further; thence to the great Cataract or Fall which is 1600 Miles from its Entrance into the Sea, from 3 Fathom to 6: Its Breadth is generally during its great Depth scarce a Mile, but as it lessens in Depth, it encreases in Breadth, and is in most Places of its Course Two Miles broad, and where it makes Islands (as it does very frequently) from the Middle of its Course 2 or 3 Leagues. The Banks in most Places are no more than 5, or 6 Feet above the River, and Ships may almost in all Places lie by the side of the Shore, there being generally from 3 to 6 Fathom, and deepens gradually, as you approach the Middle of the River, which hath mostly a pretty strong Current, but there are divers Promontories, under which you may Anchor, where is good Shelter from Winds, and curious Eddy-Tides.

When you are ascended the River 4 or 5 Leagues, it is border'd on each side with high Trees of divers Sorts, from half a Mile to 2 Miles deep into the Country, very little under Woods, no Trouble in travelling

velling, besides what proceeds from the Vines ramping upon the Ground. Divers others surround and mount up the Trees, almost unto their Tops, which are seldom less than 100 Feet from their Roots, and often 30, or 40 Feet more. When you come out of the agreeable Shade, you see a most beautiful level Country, only about 6 or 8 Miles distance, there are Collins or gentle Ascents, for the most Part round or oval, crown'd with stately Trees, which looks more like a Work of laborious consummate Art than of mere Nature; and this on both sides the River, so far as the acutest Sight can reach; in which Meadows the wild Bulls and Kine, besides other Beasts, graze, and in the Heat of the Day retire into these Woods for Shelter, where they chew the Cudd.

There is no considerable River empties itself into the *Meschacebe* from the Mouths, until you come about 12 Miles above the *Bayogola* and *Mougolaches*, two Nations who dwell together on the West-side thereof, 200 Miles from the Sea; then on the East side, there falls out of the *Meschacebe* a Branch, which after a Course of 160 Miles, empties itself into the N. E. End of the great Bay of *Spirito Santo*; it is not above 40 or 50 Yards broad, and 2 or 3 Fathom deep at its beginning; but soon enlarges in Breadth and Depth by the Accession of divers Rivers and Rivulets, and is a

moſt lovely River, making pleaſant Lakes, and paſſing, during its whole Courſe, thro' a Country exactly like that we have formerly deſcrib'd: It is Navigable by the greateſt Boats, Sloops, and ſmall Ships of *Engliſh* Building; and by large Ones, if built after the *Dutch* manner with flat Bottoms.

On the North-ſide of one of the abovemention'd Lakes, call'd by the *French* Lake *Pontchartrain*, they have erected a ſmall Fort, and Storehouſes, whither after unloading their large Veſſels at Iſle *aux Vaiſſeaux*, or Ships Iſland, they bring the Goods in Sloops or Shallops, and from thence diſperſe them by their Traders amongſt their own Settlements and the ſeveral Nations of *Indians*, inhabiting on and about the *Meſchacebe*, and the Rivers which enter it, both from the Eaſt and Weſt.

About 50 Miles above the Place where this River is diſmiſs'd from the *Meſchacebe*, on the other ſide, *viz.* the Weſt, enters the River of the *Houmas* ſo nam'd from a conſiderable Nation, who inhabit upon it in the Country, 6 or 8 Miles from its Mouth. This is a mighty River deep and broad, and comes from the Mountains of *New Mexico*; its Courſe is moſtly N. W. and is Navigable by large Veſſels above 300 Miles, and thence by large Boats and Sloops almoſt unto its Fountains. By this River you may have Communication with above 40 Nations,

ons, who live upon it, or its Branches; and alſo with the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, from whom its furtheſt Heads are not above an eaſy Day's Journey. Upon this River and moſt of its Branches, are great Herds of wild Kine, which bear a fine Wooll, and Abundance of Horſe, both wild and tame of the *Spaniſh* Breed, on which the *Indians* Ride, with almoſt as much Skill as the *Europeans*, tho' the Bridles, Sadles, and Stirrups are ſomewhat different from ours, yet not the leſs commodious.

Twelve Leagues Higher upon the River *Meſchacebe*, is the River of the *Naches*, which, 10 or 12 Leagues above its Mouth, divides itſelf into two Branches, and forms an Iſland about 30 Miles in Circumference, very pleaſant and fertile. The South Branch is Inhabited by the *Corroas*, the North by the *Naches*, both conſiderable Nations, abounding in all Neceſſaries for Humane Life. Some Leagues above the Diviſion is a pretty large Lake, where there is a great Fiſhery for Pearl, large and good, taken out of a Shell-Fiſh of a middle Nature between an Oyſter and a Muſcle.

About 12 or 14 Leagues higher on the ſame, that is the Weſt ſide, the *Meſchacebe*, makes a little Gulph about 20 Miles long and 3 or 4 broad, upon which Inhabit in many Towns the Populous and Civilized Nation of the *Tahenſa*, who alſo abound in Pearls, and enjoy an Excellent Coun-

try;

try; Are very hospitable to Strangers, and tho' as most *Indian* Nations, at War with there Neighbours, yet together with the three last mentioned, and those to be hereafter named, joyfully receive and kindly entertain all with whom they have not actual Hostilities.

Fourteen or Fifteen Leagues higher on the East side of *Meschacebe*, is the Nation and River of *Yasoue* which comes two or 300 Miles out of the Country, on which dwell the Nations in order mention'd after the *Yassouees*, the *Tounicas*, *Kourouas*, *Tihiou*, *Samboukia* and *Epitoupa*.

Ten or 12 Leagues higher on the West Side, is the River *Natchitock*, which has a Course of many Hundred Miles: And after; it is Ascended about one hundred, there are many Springs, Pitts, and Lakes, which afford most Excellent common Salt in great Plenty, wherewith they Trade with Neighbouring Nations for other Commodities they want, and may be of great Service to the *European* Inhabitants of this Country, to preserve Flesh, and Fish for their own Use, and Exportation to Natives, *Spaniards*, and our Islands, to the great Profit of them, who have not Stock to engage in greater and more beneficial Undertakings. Upon this River inhabit not only the *Nachitocks*, *Naguateeres*, *Natsohocks*, but higher several other Nations.

Sixteen

Sixteen Leagues further upon the West side, enter the *Meschacebe* two Rivers, which unite about 10 Leagues above, and make an Island call'd by the Name of the *Torimans*, by whom it is inhabited.

The Southerly of these two Rivers, is that of the *Ousoutiwy* upon which dwell first the *Akansas*, a great Nation, higher upon the same River the *Kansæ*, *Mintou*, *Erabacha* and others.

The River to the North is nam'd *Niska*, upon which live Part of the Nation of the *Ozages*; their great Body Inhabiting a large River which bears their Name, and Empties itself into the Yellow River, as will be hereafter mention'd: And upon this River near the Mouth is the Nation *Tongingа*, who with the *Torimans* are Part of the *Akansaes*.

Ten Leagues higher is a Small River named *Cappa*, and upon it a People of the same Name, and another called *Ouesperies*, who fled, to avoid the Persecution of the *Irocois*, from a River which still bears their Name to be mention'd hereafter.

Ten Miles higher, on the same side of the *Meschacebe*, is a little River nam'd *Matchicebe* upon which dwell the Nations *Matchagamia* and *Epiminguia*; over against whom is the great Nation of the *Chicazas*, whose Country extends above forty Leagues to the River of the *Cheraguees*, which we shall describe

deſcribe when we come to Diſcourſe of the great River *Hohio*.

Ten Leagues higher on the Eaſt ſide is the River and Nation of *Chongue*, with ſome others to the Eaſt of them.

Fifteen Leagues higher, on the Weſt ſide, is the River and Nation of *Sypouria*.

Thirty Leagues higher on the Eaſt ſide, is the opening of a River that proceeds out of a Lake 20 Miles long, which is about 10 Miles from the *Meſchacebe*. Into this Lake empty themſelves four large Rivers: The moſt Northerly, which comes from the North Eaſt, is called *Ouabachicou* or *Ouabache* upon which dwelt the Nations *Chachakingua*, *Pepepicokia*, *Hohio*, *Pianguichia*. The next South of this, is the vaſt River *Hohio*, which comes from the back of *New-York*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, and is Navigable 600 Miles. *Hohio* in the *Indian* Language ſignifies the fair River; And certainly it runs from its Heads through the moſt Beautiful fertile Countries in the Univerſe, and is form'd by the Confluence of 10 or 12 Rivers, and innumerable Rivulets. A Town ſettled upon this Lake, or the Entrance of the River *Hohio* thereinto, would have Communication with a moſt lovely Fruitfull Country 600 Miles Square. Formerly divers Nations dwelt on this River as the *Chawanoes*, a mighty and very populous People, who had above 50 Towns, and many other Nations who were totally deſtroyed,

ed, or driven out of their Country by the *Irocois*; this River being their usual Road when they make War upon the Nations who lie to the South or to the West.

South of the *Hohio* is another River which about 30 Leagues above the Lake is divided into two Branches; the Northerly is call'd *Ouespere*, the Southerly the Black River, there are very few People upon either, they having been destroy'd or driven away by the aforemention'd *Irocois*. The Heads of this River proceed from the West side of the vast Ridge of Mountains, which run on the Back of *Carolina*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*; on whose opposite or East side, are the Sources of the great River *Potomack*, which by a Mouth of some Leagues broad, disgorges itself into the middle of the Bay of *Chesepeack*, and separates the two last mention'd Provinces from each other. The Mountains afford a short Passage or Communication between those two Rivers, which the *Indians* are well acquainted with, and by which in Conjunction with the *French* of the *Meschacebe*, they may in Time insult and harrass those Colonies.

The most Southerly of the abovesaid four Rivers, which enter into the Lake, is a River some call *Kasqui*, so nam'd from a Nation Inhabiting a little above its Mouth; others call it the *Cusates* or the River of the *Cheraquees*, a mighty Nation, among whom it hath its chief Fountains; it comes from the South

South East, and its Heads are among the Mountains, which separate this Country from *Carolina*, and is the great Road of the Traders, from thence to the *Meschacebe*, and intermediate Places. Above 200 Miles up this River to the South East, is the great and powerful Nation of the *Chicazas*, good Friends to the *English*, whose Dominion extends thence to the *Meschacebe*: Before you come at them, is a small Fall or Cataract, the only one I have yet heard of, in any of the Rivers that enter the *Meschacebe*, either from the East or from the West. Thirty or Forty Leagues above the *Chicazas*, this River forms four delicate Islands which have each a Nation Inhabiting them, *viz. Tahogale*, *Kakigue*, *Cochali*, and *Tali*. Sixty Leagues above the Island and Nation of the *Tali*, inhabits the aforemention'd Nation of the *Cheraquees*, who have at least 60 Towns, some of which are not above 60 Miles from *Carolina*. They have great Friendship with the *English* of that Province, who from thence carry on a free Trade with, and are always very kindly entertain'd by them.

Fifteen Leagues above the *Hohio*, or the River coming out of the Lake aforemention'd, to the West, is the River *Honabanou*, upon which dwells a Nation of the same Name, and another call'd *Amicoa*: And 10 Leagues above that, is the great Island of the *Tamaroas*, and over against it on the East side a Nation which goes by its Name, and another

other by that of *Cahokia* who dwell on the Banks of the River *Chepusso*..

Fifteen Leagues above which to the West is the Great Yellow River, so nam'd because it is Yellowish and so muddy, That tho' the *Meschacebe* is very clear where they meet, and so many great Rivers of Christaline water below, mix with the *Meschacebe*, yet it discolours them all even unto the Sea. When you are up this River 60 or 70 Miles, you meet with two Branches. The lesser, tho' large, proceeds from the South, and most of the Rivers that compose it falls from the Mountains, which separate this Country from New *Mexico*; notwithstanding which, there is a very easie Communication between them. This is called the River of the *Orages*, from a Numerous People, who have 16 or 18 Towns seated thereupon, especially near its mixing with the Yellow River. The other which is the main Branch, comes from the North West, most of whose Branches descend likewise from the Mountains of *New Mexico*, and Divers other large Provinces which are to the North of *New-Mexico*, wholly possessed by *Indians*, who are said to be very Numerous, and well polic'd: They are all at War with the *Spaniards*, from whom they have defended their Countries above 150 Years, and have rather recovered than lost Ground. They are likewise at War, as generally the *Indians* are, amongst themselves.

ſelves. The moſt Northerly Branches of this River, are interwoven with other Branches, which have a contrary Courſe, proceeding to the Weſt, and empty themſelves into a vaſt Lake, whoſe Waters by means of another great River, diſembogues into the South-Sea. The *Indians* affirm, they ſee great Ships ſailing in that Lake, Twenty times bigger then their Canows. The Yellow is called the River of the *Maſſorites*, from a great Nation inhabiting in many Towns near its juncture with the River of the *Ozages*: There are many other Nations upon the ſame, little inferior to them in Extent of Territories or number of Towns, as the *Panimaha's*, *Pancaſſa's* *Pana's*, *Paneloga's*, *Matotantes*, few of them having leſs than 20 Towns, ſcarce any of which count leſs then 200 Cabans.

Forty Miles above the Yellow River, on the Eaſt ſide is the River *Checagou* or the River of the *Alinouecks*, corruptly by the *French* call'd *Illinois*, which Nation liv'd upon and about this River, having above 60 Towns, and formerly conſiſted of 20000 fighting Men, but are now almoſt totally deſtroy'd by the *Irocois*, or driven beyond the *Meſchacebe* Weſtward. This is a large Pleaſant River; And about 250 Miles above its Entrance into the *Meſchacebe*, it is divided into two Branches; the leſſer comes from North and by Eaſt, and its Head is within 4 or 5 Miles of the great Lake of the *Alinouecks*

nouecks on its West-side; the other comes almost directly from the East, and proceeds from a Morasse within 2 Miles of the River *Miamiha*, which empties itself into the same Lake. On the South-East-side, there is an easy Communication between these two Rivers, by a Land-Carriage of 2 Leagues, about 50 Miles to the South-East of the forementioned Lake. The Course of this River from its Head exceeds 400 Miles, Navigable above half way by Ships, and most of the rest by Sloops, and large Boats or Barges. Many small Rivers run into it, and it forms 2 or 3 Lakes; but one mightily extoll'd, call'd *Pimiteoüi*, which is 20 Miles long, and 3 Miles broad; it affords great Quantities of good Fish, and the Country round about it, abounds with Game, both Fowls and Beasts. Besides the *Illicoueck*, are the Nations *Prouaria*, the great Nation *Cascasquia* and *Caracontauon*; and on the Northern Branch inhabit Part of the Nation of the *Mascontens*.

On the South East Bank of this River, Monsieur *de la Sale* erected a Fort in the Year 1680, which he nam'd *Creve-cœure*, from the Grief which seiz'd him, on the Loss of one of his chief trading Barks richly laden, and the Mutiny, and villanous Intrigues of some of his Company, who first attempted to poyson, and afterwards desert him. This Fort stands about half Way between

the Bay of *Mexico* and *Canada*, and was formerly the usual Rout of the *French* in going to or returning from either of those Places: But since they have discover'd a nearer and easier Passage by the *Ouabache* and *Obic*, the Sources of both which Rivers, are at a small Distance from the Lake *Erie*, or some Rivers which enter into it.

Forty Leagues higher on the West-side is a fair River, which our People were at the Mouth of, but could not learn its Name. I suppose its the same the *French* call *Moingona*. Some make it to proceed from the *Mitchajewa* or long River, as may be discern'd in the annex'd Map; but as all our Journals are silent in that Matter, so shall I, till some more perfect Discoveries thereof afford us further Light and Certainty therein.

When you are ascended about 40 Leagues more; then on the East-side, falls into the *Meschacebe*, the River *Miscousing*. This is much of the same Nature with that of the *Alimouecks*, whether you consider its Breadth, Depth and Course; as also the Pleasantness, and Fertility of the Country, adjacent unto all its Branches. After you have row'd or sail'd up it 60 Miles, joyns with it, the River of the *Kikapous*, which is also Navigable, and comes a great Way from the North-East. Eighty Miles further, almost directly East, there is a ready Communication,

cation, by a Carriage of 2 Leagues, with the River of *Miſcouaqui*, which hath a quite contrary Courſe, running to the North-Eaſt, and empties itſelf, after a Paſſage of 150 Miles from the Land Carriage, into the great Bay of the *Pouteouotamis*, or the *Puans*, which joyns, on the North-Weſt, with the great Lake of the *Alinouecks*. This River and Bay I ſhall have Occaſion to mention, when I come to deſcribe the vaſt Lakes, or Seas of Freſh-Water, which are to the Eaſt of the *Meſchacebe*.

Forty Leagues higher, on the ſame Side, is the fair large River *Mitchaoywa*, which is the ſame the *Barron le Hontan*, calls the long River, and gives a very particular Deſcription thereof, having navigated it almoſt to its Heads. It has a Courſe of above 500 Miles, and the Southern Rivers, of which it is compos'd, are near the Northern Heads of the River of the *Meſſourites*, both taking their Original from the Mountains, which divide this Country, from that which leads to the *South Sea*. Several Rivers proceed from the other ſide of the Mountains, which are eaſily paſs'd in leſs than one Day, and fall into the ſame Lake abovemention'd, which diſcharges itſelf by a great River into the aforeſaid Sea. As you aſcend this River from the *Meſchacebe*, you meet with the Nations *Ekoro's*, *Eſſanape*, *Gnaſitaries*, who have each many Towns, and very populous. And the ſaid *Baron* acquaints us, from very good Infor-

mation, That beyond these Hills, are Two or Three Mighty Nations, under Potent Kings, abundantly more civiliz'd, numerous, and warlike, than their Neighbours, differing greatly in Customs, Buildings, and Government, from all the other Natives of this Northern Continent: That they are cloathed, and build Houses, and Ships, like *Europeans*, having many of great Bigness, in length 120 or 130 Foot, and carry from 2, to 300 Men, which navigate the great Lake, and it is thought the adjacent Parts of the Ocean. And *Herrera*, *Gomara*, and some other *Spanish* Historiographers assert, that the *Spaniards* saw, upon that Coast, such Ships, which they apprehended, came from *Japan* or *China*.

A little higher up is the River *Chabadeba*, above which the *Meschacebe* makes a fine Lake, 20 Miles long, and 8 or 10 broad.

Nine or 10 Miles above that Lake, on the East-side, is a large fair River call'd the River of *Tortoises*, after you have entered a little Way, which leads far into the Country to the North-East, and is navigable by the greatest Boats 40 Miles. About the same Distance further up, the *Meschacebe* is precipitated from the Rocks about 50 Foot, but is so far Navigable by considerable Ships, as also beyond, excepting another Fall 80 or 90 Miles higher, by large Vessels unto its Sources, which are in the Country of the *Sieux*, not at a very great Distance

ſtance from *Hudſon*'s Bay. There are many other ſmaller Rivers which fall into the *Meſchacebe*, on both Sides of it, but being of little Note, and the Deſcription of them of ſmall Conſequence, I have paſs'd them over in Silence.

CHAP. II.

A Deſcription of the Countries, People, Rivers, Bays, Harbours and Iſlands, to the Eaſt of the Meſchacebe, *which do not communicate with it.*

I NOW proceed to deſcribe that Part of this Province, which is to the Eaſt of the *Meſchacebe*; the Rivers, which paſs through it, having no Communication therewith. From the *Peninſula* of *Florida*, where this Country begins, to the South-Eaſt, there are only two large Rivers: The Firſt that of *Palache*, the true *Indian* Name, by the *Spaniards* call'd the River of

Spirito Santo or of *Apalache*, adding an *A*, after the *Arabian* manner, from which a great Part of their Language is deriv'd; as in the Provinces of *Nilco*, *Minoia*, they pronounce *Anilco*, and *Aminoia*, and so in divers others. This River enters the Gulph of *Mexico* about 100 Miles from the Cod of the Bay of *Palache*, at the North-West End of the *Peninsula* of *Florida*, in 30 Degrees of North Latitude, and some few Minutes. It is somewhat hard to find, by Reason of the Isles and *Lagunes* before it; and though a stately River, and comes far out of the Country, hath not above 2 Fathoms and a half, or 3 Fathoms Water at most on the Barr, as the People sent on Discovery found; but that being pass'd its very deep and large; and the Tide flows higher than into any other River upon all the Coast, some affirm 50 Miles, which is no wonder, the Country being a perfect Level, and the River having a double Current; one from the South, all along the *Peninsula*, from 25 Degrees to 30: The other from the West. Near it, on both Sides towards the Sea-Coast, dwell divers Nations, *Palaches*, *Chattoes*, *Sulluggoes*, *Tommakees*, &c; who are generally call'd by one Name of *Apalatchy Indians*. This River proceeds chiefly from Rivers, which have their Origin on the South or South-West side of the great Ridge of Hills, that divides this Country from *Carolina*, and is suppos'd to have a Course of about 400 Miles,

Miles. Upon or near the Middle of it live the great Nations of the *Cusshetaes*, *Tallibousies* and *Adgebaches*.

To the West of this, is the famous *Coza*, or as ours call it the *Coussa* River, and the *French Mobile*, the biggest, next unto *Meschacebe*, and *Hobio*, of any in this, or the Neighbouring Provinces. Its first Heads are likewise from the aforesaid *Palacheau* Mountains. The most Northerly being at *Gnaxula* Town and Province, near the Foot of the Mountain. Many Rivulets uniting, after a Course of 80 Miles, form a River bigger than the *Thames* at *Kingston*, making several delicious Isles, some 3, or 4 Miles long, and Half a Mile broad; the Country is wonderful pleasant and fertil. The first considerable Town or Province is *Chiaha*, famous for its Pearl-Fishing, there being thereabouts, in the River and little Lakes it makes, a Sort of Shell-Fish, the Ancients nam'd *Pinna*, between a Muscle and Oyster; concerning which I have discours'd in the Account of the Produces or Commodities of this Country. From thence the River grows larger and deeper, by Accession of others from the Mountains, and from the West, until it enters the Province of *Coza*, or *Coussa*, which is reckon'd one of the most pleasant and fruitful Parts of this Country, and very populous. Through this *Ferdinando Soto* pass'd, and resided therein a considerable Time; and all the *Spanish*

Writers of this famous Expedition, extoll them above any other Nation, for Extent of Territory, the Pleasantness, Healthfulness, Fruitfulness thereof, and the good Disposition of the Inhabitants. The faithful and judicious *Portuguese* unknown Author of that Expedition, in a few Words thus describes this Province.

It consists of Hills and Vallies between. " Their Granaries were full of *Indian* Corn, " and other Edibles; so populous, that their " Towns and Fields, sow'd with Corn, " touch'd each other; the Country is very " agreeable, by Reason of many Rivulets, " which make lovely Meadows. There grow " naturally in the Fields, Prunes, better " than we can in *Spain* produce by Cul- " ture, even in our Gardens. Vines mount, " in almost all Places near the Rivers, to " the Tops of the Trees. There are divers " other Sorts of Vines which are low, and " some run upon the Ground, and by cul- " tivating might be wonderfully improv'd, " tho' very good and pleasant, as they are " in their natural State. "

Below these on the same River, are the *Ullibalies*, or as some, the *Olibahalies* and according to the *French* the *Allibamous*: And below them the *Tallises*, who dwell upon a fair River which enters that of *Coza* from the East, thence to the once great Province of *Tasculuza*, almost destroy'd by *Ferdinando Soto*; but the chief City *Mouvilla*, which the

the *Engliſh* call *Maubela*, and the *French Mobile*, is yet in Being, tho' far ſhort of its former Grandeur. About 100 Miles from hence, it enters the Gulph of *Mexico*, being firſt increas'd, as by many ſmall Rivers and Rivulets, ſo by the fair River of the *Chattas*, which is made by a Collection of ſeveral other little Streams and Rivers, and which at length form a fine River that would ſeem conſiderable, if it were not obſcur'd by the great River in which it is loſt. This mighty Nation of the *Chattas* conſiſting of near 3000 Fighting Men, live chiefly about the Middle of the River, and is not far from the *Chicaza's*, whom I mention'd to inhabit 30 or 40 Towns, in the Deſcription of the *Caſquit* or *Cuſates* River, and ſpeak the ſame Language. And to the Eaſt between them and the *Cozas*, are the *Becaes* or *Abecaes*, who have 13 Towns, and dwell upon divers ſmall Rivers, which run into the *Couſſa*. It is a very pleaſant Country, like that of the *Coza*, full of Hills and Vallies; their Ground is generally more marly, or fatter than many other Provinces, which are moſtly of a lighter Mould. And a little more to the South-Weſt, between the *Becaes* and *Chattas*, dwell in divers Towns, being 500 Fighting Men, the *Ewemalas*, upon a fair River of their Name, which coming from the Eaſt, mixes with the *Couſſa*. This mighty River enters the Gulph of *Mexico*, about 15 Leag. to the Weſt of the great Bay of *Naſſau* or

Spirito

Spirito Santo, or from the N. E. Cape of Mirtle Isle, which is the South Land, between which, and the Continent to the North, is the Entrance of that vast Inlet. The River runs into a Kind of a *Lagune* or Bay, which is barred 4 Miles from the Mouth of the River, suppos'd to be occasion'd, as the *Meschacebe*, in long Process of Time, by the Silt or Sediment of the Water, this being almost as muddy, coming, for the most Part, thro' a rich Clay or Marle; so that at the Barr, when it is Low-Water (and it flows little there; excepting the South Wind drive in a great Sea) there is not above 14 or 15 Foot; but the Mouth being some Miles Broad, and our People not having Leisure to examine nicely, perhaps there may be found deeper Places upon other Parts of the Barr; but so soon as you are over it, there is a most noble Harbour, very large, from 4 to 6 Fathom Depth. Near the Mouth of this River the *French* have lately made a new Settlement, call'd *Fort Louis*, which is the usual Residence of the Chief Governor of *Louisiana*, who is nevertheless subordinate to him of *Canada*. In this Fort are some Companies of Soldiers, and from thence Detachments are sent to secure the several Stations, they have amongst the *Indians* in the Inland Parts.

As the *Villibalys* or *Allibamous*, *Chicazas*, and *Chattaes*, are the most populous and Potent Nations upon and between this River and the

the *Meſchacebe*, the *Engliſh* for ſeveral Years reſided peaceably amongſt, carry'd on a conſiderable Trade with, and were as Friends kindly entertain'd by them, till about the Year 1715. by the Intrigues and Practices of the *French*, they were either murther'd, or oblig'd to retire, and make Room for thoſe new Intruders, who have ſince unjuſtly poſſeſs'd and fortify'd the very ſame Stations, in order to keep the Natives in Awe and Subjection, and to cut off the Communication of the *Engliſh* Traders with the *Indians* thereabouts, and as far as, and beyond the *Meſchacebe*; whereby they have ſecur'd to themſelves an extenſive and profitable Trade of above 500 Miles, which the Subjects of *Great-Britain* were a few Years ago the Sole Maſters of.

Beſides the *French* Settlement abovemention'd on the Continent, they have another ſmall Town and Fort in the Iſle *Dauphine*; formerly call'd *Slaughter* Iſland, from a great Number of Mens Bones found there on its firſt Diſcovery, the Remains, as is ſaid, of a bloody Battle fought between two Nations of *Indians*. This Iſland lies about 9 Leag. South of *Fort Louis*, and 14 Leag. Weſt of *Penſacola*. It is inhabited and fortify'd only on Account of its Harbour, it being the firſt Place the *French* Shipping uſually touch at in their Voyage from *France*. The Diſtance between this River, and that of *Palache* or *Spirito Santo* to the

Eaſt,

East, is about 190 Miles. The Coast between them is very deep and bold, contrary to all former Maps; for those sent upon Discovery sounded several Times every Day and found it so, as by the Journals will appear.

Between those two great Rivers are divers Harbours, the Chief and indeed the best, upon all the Coast of the Gulph of *Mexico*, is *Pensicola*, a large Harbour, and very safe from all Winds, has 4 Fathom at the Entrance, and deepens gradually to 7 or 8. To the East of the Harbour, enters a fine River, which comes about 100 Miles out of the Country, and is made of two Rivers, which unite some Miles above. This Harbour or Bay lies 90 Leagues West from the upper Part of the *Peninsula* of *Florida*. On the Lar-Board or West-side of the Harbour stands a poor Town containing about 40 *Palmetto* Houses, with a small stockadoed Fort of 12 or 14 Guns, but of little Moment; because all their Soldiers, and the Majority of the Inhabitants, are *Forc'adoes* or forc'd People, having been Malefactors in some Parts of *Mexico*, therefore are confin'd in that Place for a Number of Years, according to the Nature of their Crimes. In short they are not unlike our Felons, which are transported from the Jails in *England* to the Plantations. The *French* in the Year 1719. took this Fort with small Loss from the *Spaniards*, who in a few Months retook it again. The first of these made themselves

Masters

Maſters thereof a ſecond Time, but whether they have deſerted it, or keep it ſtill in their Poſſeſſion I know not.

If the *French* ſecure this Port and Harbour, which is not above 14 Leagues Eaſt of their chief Settlement at *Mobile*, they may with eaſe, at all Seaſons, infeſt, with large Men of War and Privateers, the Navigation of the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* in the Bay of *Mexico*, by lying in Wait for and intercepting their Fleets and private Ships, trading to and from *Panuco*, *Vera Cruz*, *Campeche*, *Porto Bello*, *Jamaica*, and the *Havana*.

Thirty Leagues to the Eaſt is *Apalatchy-Cola*, which is alſo a good Harbor, and Weſt of *Apalatchy* River 30 Leagues.

The Bay of *Naſſau* or *Spirito Santo* is made by Four Iſlands, which run almoſt due South, a little inclining to the Weſt. The moſt Northerly, between which and the Main is the Entrance of the Bay, being 8 Leagues long, our People call'd *Mirtle-Iſland*, from the great Quantity of that Tree or Shrub, which grows there, where digging they found excellent good Water very plentifully. This Iſland in ſome Places is very narrow. Whether it be the ſame the *French* call *Iſle aux Vaiſſeaux*, or Ships Iſland, I can't tell, but its Situation, Diſtance from *Iſle Dauphine*, or Slaughter Iſland, and its Commodiouſneſs for ſheltring Ships from the Wind, creates a Probability of its being ſo. The Bay is 15 Miles broad, from Mirtle Iſland to a Row

of

of Islands, which run Parallel with the Main, and another Bay or *Lagune* between them, within which They did not go. These Islands stretch Southward 50 or 60 Miles, as far as one of the smaller Mouths of the *Mesobacebe*, and doubtless there must be very good Harbours, being defended from the Sea and Winds by a double Row of Islands, and having probably good Depths. Our People visited only the most Northerly, which they nam'd Rose-Island, a most fragrant Smell coming from it 3 Leagues off, which exceeded all Perfumes; it is about 16 Miles long, and 2 Leagues or more from the Northern or Western Main. Between this and *Mirtle-Island*, the Depths of Water were 4, 5, 6, 5, 4 Fathom. *Rose-Island* is a brave Island, and full of Wood. They found it somewhat difficult to go down the Bay between the Islands, meeting with some Shoals, where they had not much above 2 Fathom Water. They turn'd round *Mirtle-Island* into the Main-Sea, and coasted the East-side, which is very bold. Over against *Mirtle-Island* to the North, about 5 Leagues distance, on the Main-Land, is a high Point of Woods, where is the Entrance of *Little Mesobacebe*, or the East Branch which I mention'd in my Description of the great River. And about 15 Leagues to the North East of this Branch of the *Mesobacebe*, is the Bay of *Belacoby*, which is, within a fair Harbour, with a small River falling into or near

near it, call'd *Passagoula*, bordering on which and the aforesaid Bay, is a fine Country, but on the Barr there is not above 7 or 8 Foot Water. It was on the Continent lying, I think, on the Easterly Part of this Bay, that Monsieur *d' Iberville* in the Beginning of the Year 1700. built a small Sconce, and left therein about Forty Men well provided with Necessaries. He afterwards return'd twice to *France* for further Reinforcements, but on his Third Voyage back to *Bacochi* he died. The *French* being about that Time hotly engag'd in a War with the *English* and their Confederates in *Europe*, this and another small Settlement, they had thereabouts, were deserted, for Want of timely and necessary Supplies.

Our Ship pass'd on the East-side of *Mirtle-Island*, which is 24 Miles long, and Three other Islands, there being Openings between a Mile or 2 over. The Fourth and Last Island, is the broadest and highest, and a good Mark to find the *Meschacebe*. These Islands lie all together in a direct Line South and by West, East and by North, at least 50 Miles, and have all along, 2 Leagues off, from 5 to 9 Fathom Water. When you come to the Fourth Isle you must be cautious, the Sounding being uncertain; for some Points of Sand stretch out into the Sea 3 Leagues, and varies the Depths from 9 Fathoms to 4, then 8, 9, all at once. Between

tween this Island and the Main, is a Passage 2 Leagues broad, which leads into the great Bay from which they came. The Length of the Bay from North to South is one entire Degree. They went divers Leagues up it, and found deep Water; but afterwards it Shoaling, they came down South, and doubled the Cape, where the most Easterly of the Three great Branches of the *Meschacebe* enter'd the Sea, which, with the Two others to the West, I described before, when I gave an Account of the Mouths of that River.

Altho' the Latitude and Longitude of the Mouths of the *Meschacebe* were perfectly known, yet it is almost impossible, in the Common Way of Sailing to come at them; for if you go never so little to the South, you will be driven by a very strong Current to the South-West 2 Miles an Hour, till you come to the Bottom or West-End of the Gulph of *Mexico*; to prevent which you must make the Main of *Florida* in about 30 Degrees of Latitude. The Land is so very low you can scarcely see it, at 4 Leagues distance, where there is 45 and 50 Fathom, but 10 Leagues off, there's no Ground at 100 Fathom. *Pensicola* is the most convenient Place to fall in withall; and to be sure of that, your best Way is to make the *Tortuga* Islands, which are Seven, and but few Leagues distance to the N. W. from the Cape of *Florida*, and the little Islands which

which lie before it, call'd *Los Martyres*. The *Tortuga* Islands lie between the Latitude of 24 Degrees, and from 35 to 50 Minutes. They are not in a Round, as commonly represented in Charts, but bear almost N. and South. If you come there in the Months of *April*, *May*, or the Beginning of *June*, you will find great Numbers of Turtle, which are then in good Plight, extraordinary good Food both fresh and salted, and a wholsome Change of Diet for Seamen, afterwards they will not well take Salt, decaying and running into a Gelly or Water, and before *July* is expir'd quite leave the Islands 'till the next Year. The Course from the *Tortuga* Islands to *Pensicola*, is N. 44 W. distance 158 Leagues, the Shore bold, bearing East and West. Nine Leagues from the Land you will have 33 Fathom Water, but if you make the River of the *Cozas* or *Coussas* which is 167 Leagues, and a very remarkable Place, being a spacious large Opening, having a small sandy Isle in the Middle, you'll find the Land stretch East and West, and within about 18 Leagues you will fall in with *Mirtle-Island*, which, with the Main, makes the Entrance into the great Bay of *Spirito Santo*; in which Isle, as I said before, is very good fresh Water. This with Five or Six other low Isles, run in a Range 14 Leagues, and S. W. from them, about 5 Leagues, are high Woods: Stand over for the South Part

of theſe Woods, until you come to 4 Fathom, there caſt your Anchor, and ſend your Boat to a low Point along the Shore to the Southward. In 5 Foot Water you will find a ſmall Branch of the River; row up it, the Current, will carry you to the Barr, where you may take your Marks for the Entrance into it. Perhaps ſome Times the Waters may be ſo low that you cannot paſs this Channel: In Caſe this ſhould happen (which I ſuppoſe it ſeldom or never doth) then run by the Soundings of the Shore, in 5 or 6 Foot Water, and keep that Depth till you come to the Pitch of the Eaſt Cape, where you will find the Eaſterly Branch in 14 or 15 Foot Water: Then row up, take your Marks, return, and place two Buoys, and you may carry your Ship in to the River very ſafely, as you may perceive by the Draught. The ſame or like Caution muſt be us'd, for entering into either of the other Mouths, to keep near the Shore, and by anchoring ſtop the Tide of Ebb. There is a Bay, which our Men in the Ship, call'd *Salt-Water Bay*; They who went to the Head of it, *Freſh-Water-Bay*; a ſeeming Contradiction, but thus eaſily reconcil'd. This Bay lies between the Eaſt and Middle great Branch of the River: The great Branches bring down ſo conſiderable a Quantity of Water, at the Ebb, with a ſtrong Currrent, that then the freſh Water enters the Sea 2 or 3 Leagues, and

and between them the Sea enters this Bay, not mixing with the Waters of the Rivers, which are 10 Miles diſtant; ſo that Ships, who anchor at the lower End of the Bay, find the Waters Salt; but there is a Creek, at the N. W. End of the Bay, which comes out of the Middle Branch, and a little before it enters the Bay is divided. This Creek hath from 8 Foot at the ſhalloweſt to 9, 10 and 11 Foot Water, by which they enter'd, out of *Salt-Water Bay*, into the River.

CHAP. III.

A Deſcription of the Sea-Coaſt, the large Rivers, their Heads and Courſes, beyond or to the Weſt of Meſchacebe.

HAVING made a faithful Narrative, from good Journals and Itineraries by Sea and Land, of the great River *Meſchacebe*, the Rivers increaſing it, the Countries adjacent, and Inhabitants thereof: As alſo of the Countries, People, Rivers and Harbors, towards the Eaſt belonging unto this Province, which do not communi-

cate with it, I ſhall give a brief Relation of what I have learn'd, concerning the Sea and Coaſt thereof, beyond the *Meſchacebe*, to the Weſt, the Rivers belonging to this Province, their Heads and Courſes, which enters not the *Meſchacebe*.

When you are paſs'd the Third or Weſterly Branch of the *Meſchacebe*, there preſents it'ſelf a fair Bay going to the North, into which empties themſelves two of the ſmaller Branches of the great River, as may be diſcern'd in the Chart. This Bay is between 20 and 30 Miles deep, and very bold to the Eaſt, having from the Entrance unto the Bottom, from 25 to 6 Fathom; but is not in thoſe Depths, above 7 or 8 Miles broad, a Sand running from the Main 30 Miles South into the Sea, upon which there is not above 3 Fathom, which yet our Ship paſs'd, going and returning. At the North Eaſt End of the Bay, the great River runs Parrellel with it for ſome Miles, from a Mile to a Mile and a Half diſtance from it, and two fair, large deep Creeks enter it, almoſt in the Middle, out of the Weſterly great Branch of the River. Having paſs'd this Shoal to the Main, the Land runs almoſt due Eaſt and Weſt, having a bold Coaſt, for a 100 Miles until you come to a great Shoal, where there is not above 2 or 3 Fathom Water, with ſeveral Breakers. Our People ſail'd 62 Leag. on the S. ſide of this great Shoal, always out of the ſight of Land, therefore

therefore knew not the Breadth: They kept near the Latitude of 29 Degrees, the Depths generally as follows, 7, 8, 9, 8, 7, 6 Fathom: At length they came to the Bottom of the Bay or Gulph, from whence they return'd unto the Weſterly Branch of the *Meſchacebe*.

From the River *Meſchacebe* unto the Bottom of the Bay are innumerable fine ſmall Rivers, very pleaſant: Great Store of Buffaloes or wild Kine frequent them to the very Sea-ſide, as alſo Deer of divers Sorts, wild Turkies, and many other large Water and Sea-Fowl; the Coaſt abounds with good Fiſh; but I cannot learn there are above Four very large Rivers, and of long Courſe.

The firſt and greateſt is that of the *Quonoatinnos*, or of the *Coenis*, a great and populous Nation, who dwell in Forty or Fifty Villages upon the Middle of this River, and others which run into it. They are about five Days Journey diſtant from the Habitations of the *Spaniards* and near 200 Miles from the Sea, into which the River empties itſelf, about 80 Leagues to the Weſt of the *Meſchacebe*; it is broad, deep, and Navigable almoſt to its Heads, which chiefly proceed from the Ridge of Hills that ſeparate this Province from *New Mexico*: And its North Weſt Branches, approach near the South-Weſt Branches of the River of the *Houmas*. There dwell upon it, more to-

wards its Mouth, divers other Nations, whose Names are unknown, excepting the *Tarahas*, *Tycappans*, *Paloguessens* and *Palonnas*: All these Nations have good Horses.

About 30 Leagues further to the South of the West, is the River of the *Kirononas*, who with divers other Nations dwell thereupon. It is little less than that of the *Konoatinnos*, and as that hath its Sources in the Mountains of *New Mexico*, the Course of this is likewise from the N. W. until it enters the Sea.

Between this and the aforesaid River of *Quonoatinnos* or *Coenis*, lies the Bay of St. *Bernard*, call'd by Monsieur *de la Salle*, the Bay of St. *Louis*, and a River that falls into it he nam'd the River of *Vaches*. In the Year 1685. he built there a Fort (after he had purposely, as it is said, overshot the Mouth of the River *Meschacebe*) having form'd a Design from thence to visit the Mines of St. *Barbe* in *New Biscay*, which were not much, above 300 Miles distant. But one of his Vessels returning to *France*, and the other Three being lost with great Part of his Stores, Ammunition and Provisions; withal failing in his Attempt to engage the *Indians* in his Party and Interest, who, instead of Friends, prov'd his mortal Enemies, continually sculking about his infant Settlement, and destroying many of his People, he was oblig'd to desist from that Enterprize. He afterwards with Twenty chosen Men went

by

by Land in ſearch of the River *Meſchacebe*, in which Attempt he loſt his Life, being barbarouſly murther'd by ſome of his own Followers. This Fort was ſoon after taken and deſtroy'd by the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, all the *French* remaining therein, being either kill'd or made Priſoners.

About the ſame Diſtance further S. W. is the River of the *Biſcaterongs*, which is of the ſame Magnitude with the former, hath the ſame Courſe from the N. W. to the Sea, and its Heads from the ſame Mountains.

The laſt River of Note is a River of much the ſame Bigneſs with the two preceding, and enters the Bay of *Mexico* at the N. W. End, between the Degrees of 27 and 28, it is nam'd *Abotas*.

It may not be amiſs to mention another River, which altho' it be not within the Bounds of this Colony, may be of great Uſe, when it is well eſtabliſh'd, by Reaſon of the Conveniency of Traffick with the *Spaniards*, it being near the aforeſaid famous Mines of *New Biſcay*, a large Province lying between *Mexico* and *New Mexico*. This ſtately River hath its Fountains, in the moſt Northerly Parts of *New Mexico* in the Latitude of 38 Degrees, and being gradually increas'd by the Conflux of many ſmall Waters, becomes large and Navigable, till it approaches the 30th Degree; then it turns to the S. E. and enters a Parcel of high Mountains, from whence it is no fur-

ther Navigable; it is call'd by the *Spaniards*, *Rio Bravo*. They differ in their Accounts hereof; ſome affirming it is ſwallow'd up in a hideous Gulph, and paſſes Three Days Journey under the Earth, like their great River *Guadiana* in *Spain*, of which their famous Embaſſador *Gundamore* ſaid, when asked, Whether his Maſter could ſhew ſuch a Bridge as that over the *Thames* at *London*, that he had a Bridge upon which many Hundred Thouſand Sheep daily fed. Others write that the River doth not dive under Ground, but paſſes among Rocks full of ſtreight Paſſages, with many Cataracts; that after it has broke its Way through, it glides very placidly croſs a level Country for a 150 Miles, being both large and deep, and at length empties itſelf into a broad and long *Lagune*, which is Navigable, with two or three Paſſages into it, between the Iſlands that form it, and whoſe Entrances are at leaſt between 3 and 4 Fathom deep. I have a Journal of Captain *Parker*, who in the Year 1688, was there with Two Ships: One very large in ſearch of a *Spaniſh* Wreck, but will not trouble my Reader with the Relation of what there happen'd to them. All Accounts agree this Country is well watered, that it abounds with vaſt Quantities of Wild Kine, the *Spaniards* call *Cibolas*, and is fruitful, pleaſant and populous.

CHAP. IV.

A Description of the five great Seas or Lakes of fresh Water, which are to the North *of this Province, and the* West *and* North West *of our other Plantations, on the* East *Side of the River* Meschacebe, *with the Rivers falling into them, the Countries bordering thereon, and the several Nations of* Indians *who inhabit therein.*

I Think it not inexpedient to give an Account of the great Seas or Lakes of fresh Water, which are to the North of this Country, on the East side of the *Meschacebe*, which though not in the Bounds

Bounds of this Province, may prove very beneficial, both to the Inhabitants of this and our Colonies of *New York*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, who are not very remote from some of them, and may have an easy Access thereunto, and consequently by Navigation with those that are more remote, they having all Communication with each other, as may be presently discern'd by the Map.

The Seas or Lakes are Five. First the superior Lake beforemention'd, it being of almost Northerly, and is call'd by most of the Savages, the Lake of the *Nadouessons*, the greatest and most valiant Nation of the North, divided into several Tribes, who go by divers Names. This Lake is esteem'd at least 150 Leagues in Length, 60 Leagues in Breadth, and 500 in Circumference. The South side, which we reckon its length is all along situated in very near 46 Degrees of Latitude from the East End to the West. The North side where it is broadest, is in about 49 Deg. It is all over Navigable, hath some Isles; but one especially call'd *Minong* above 60 Miles in Compass, wherein, both *Indians* and *French* affirm, is a great Mine of very pure Copper, which from the Oar, affords without any Preparation besides melting, above 3 Fifths fine Metal. It is very remarkable of this Sea, that on all the South side upon the Shore, it is not above 4 or 5 Fathom deep, and gradually increases as you

you paſs over to the North, until you cannot find Bottom with 150 Fathom of Line. It is moſt wonderfully ſtored with admirable Fiſh, and the Land about it with Deer and Elk, or Mooſe, eſpecially the North ſide. With this latter and ſome Iſlands, the *French* drive a conſiderable Trade among the Natives, for Skins and Furrs; and of late Years have intercepted a great Part of the more remote *Indians*, who us'd formerly to Traffick with the *Engliſh*, in *Hudſon's Bay*, at *Port Nelſon* and *New Severn*. This Lake or Sea is made up of innumerable ſmall Rivers and Rivulets, and Three large Rivers, all on the North ſide of the Lake, entering at the N. E. End thereof, whoſe Names are *Lemipiſſaki*, *Michipiketon* and *Nemipigon*, which laſt proceeds out of a Lake, of the ſame Name, full of Iſlands; at the upper End whereof, enters a River, which comes from the North, and hath its Origine from divers ſmall Lakes and Marſhes. The Lake of *Nemipigon* is above 200 Miles in Compaſs. The *Barron le Hontan* is certainly miſtaken about the Original of this River, and makes it vaſtly bigger than it is; he accounts it the Head of the great River of *Canada* or St. *Laurence*, and to come out of the Lake of the *Aſſenipouvals*; but I have been inform'd by a Perſon who liv'd two Years in thoſe Parts, and had often been upon theſe two Lakes, that the Lake of the *Aſſinepoualaos* (for that is the true Name) which

is

is conſiderable to the N. W. and as the *Indians* often aſſur'd, was the biggeſt Lake in all this Northern Continent, had no Communication with that of *Nemipigon*. The N. W. of this Lake *Superiour* or of the *Nadoueſſons*, is not above 30 Leagues in a ſtreight Line; from the Lake of *Nemipigon*; but the Communication by Land is difficult, by Reaſon the Earth abounds with Bogs and Marſhes.

The great or ſuperior Lake empties itſelf into that of *Karegnondi* or the deep Lake, it being in moſt Parts more profound than the Three we ſhall hereafter mention. Formerly it was call'd the Lake *Hounondate*, from a great Nation, who inhabited on its Eaſt ſide, nam'd from their briſly Hair on their Head, *Hurons*, ſince totally deſtroy'd or diſpers'd into very remote Parts by the *Irocois*.

This Lake is much of the Figure of an æquilateral Triangle, whoſe Baſis is to the North. It abounds with divers Sorts of excellent Fiſh, great and ſmall, eſpecially a large Fiſh nam'd *Aſſiſiendo*, of the Bigneſs of *Newfoundland* Codd. This Fiſh is the *Manna* of moſt of the Nations which inhabit about the Lake, being half their Subſiſtance. And *Europeans* of all Nations, who have eaten thereof, agree, there is not in Seas or Rivers, a better taſted, more wholſome Fiſh, and the Numbers are ſuch as of Codd on the Bank of *Newfoundland*, and never to be

leſſen'd.

leſſen'd. Beſides theſe, there is Abundance of good Sturgeons, Salmons or Salmon Trouts, weighing from Twenty to Fifty Pounds, large Carps, and many other Kinds of Fiſh, ſmall and great, not inferior to any in *Europe*. The Inhabitants almoſt round this Lake are moſtly deſtroy'd by the *Irocois*, except a ſmall Remnant of Two or Three Nations, who have, with the Help of the *French*, erected a ſtrong Fort, near another built by that Nation for a Refuge to their Allies and Traders, when the *Irocois* happen to invade theſe, or the adjacent Parts. This Lake hath many Iſlands, eſpecially on the North ſide, where the greateſt Fiſhery is for the *Aſſihendo*, but none at *Maintoualin*, which is 20 Leagues long and 10 broad, lying directly over againſt the Continent, from which it is only 6 or 7 Leagues diſtant.

The North-ſide of the Country bordering upon this Lake, is not ſo pleaſant in moſt Places as the South, Eaſt and Weſt; but to make amends, it abounds with all Sorts of Skins and Furrs, and hath theſe great Conveniencies, that by the River of the *Nepiſerini*, there is a Communication with all the *French* of *Canada*, and many Nations bordering thereupon; for aſcending this River, you enter into a large Lake of the ſame Name, which is made by divers ſmall, and one large River coming far from the North-Weſt. Near this Lake, paſſes the

great

gret River of the *Outouacks*, once a great Nation, but now almoſt extirpated by the aforeſaid *Irocois*, which after a Courſe of 100 Leag. brings you to the Iſland and City of *Montreall*, the next for Bigneſs and Strength to *Quebec*, the Capital of *Canada*, and there joins with the great River of St. *Laurence*; from the Juncture of thoſe Two Rivers to *Quebec*, is 60 Leagues. Both Sides of the River are inhabited all the Way in Plantations very little remote from each other; beſides Two or Three ſmall Towns and Fortifications. Such another Communication there is, though much more eaſy, of which I ſhall diſcourſe at large, when I come to deſcribe the lovely *Peninſula* of *Erie*.

Towards the lower End of the South-Weſt Continent, is the large and fair Bay of *Sakinam*, which is about Fifty Miles deep and 18 wide, and in the Middle of the Opening are Two Iſles very advantageouſly ſituated, for ſheltring Boats or other Veſſels, that happen to be ſurpriz'd with a Storm; there being no other Harbour within divers Leagues. Into the Bottom of this Bay empties itſelf, after a Courſe of 60 Leagues, a very ſtill quiet Stream, excepting Three ſmall Falls, paſs'd eaſily and without the leaſt Danger. On this River and the Branches thereof, is one of the greateſt *Beavour* Huntings in *America*. Twenty Leagues from this Bay to the South-Eaſt, this

this Lake, which is above 400 Leagues in Circumference, empties itself into the Lake *Erie* by a Channel, which I shall describe, when I have given an Account of the Lake of the *Illinouecks*, which is to the West of *Karegnondi*, and communicates therewith, towards the N. W. End, by a Streight, 9 or 10 Miles long, and 3 or 4 broad. The Breadth of it on the North Coast, is 40 Leag. but it increases gradually in Breadth, till you come to the Bottom of the Bay. The North-side is in the Latitude of 45 and 30 Minutes; the South in almost 42 Degrees. Forty Leagues from the Entrance due West, it makes the great Bay of the *Poutouctamis*, a Nation who inhabit a large Country upon, and to the South of this Bay, which is 8 Leagues broad, and 30 Leagues deep, South and by West, the Entrance being full of Islands. And into the Bottom comes the fair River *Miscouaqui*, after a Course of 200 Miles. This River is remarkable upon divers Accounts: First when you are ascended it 50 Leagues, there is a Carriage of a little above a League and a half; afterwards you meet with the lovely River *Mesconsing*, which carries you down into the *Meschacebe*, as I before declar'd. Next upon this River especially near the Carriage, is a Country famous for *Beavour* Hunting like that of *Sakinam*. You must know, that most Parts of *North-America* have *Beavours*; you shall scarce meet with

with a Lake, where there are not ſome of their Dams and Hutts. But theſe two Places I have mention'd, and others I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter, are Countries 40 or 50 Miles long, abounding with ſmall Rivers and Rivulets, wherewith they make their Dams or Cawſways; and conſequently ſmall Lakes, ſeated opportunely for Wood to build, and produces plentifully ſuch Plants and young Trees, upon which they moſtly ſubſiſt. This is chiefly poſſeſs'd by the induſtrious and valiant Nation of the *Outogamis*. Thirdly, This River and others entering thereinto, abound in that Corn call'd *Malomin*, which grows in the Water in marſhy wet Places, as Rice in the *Indies*, *Turkey* and *Carolina*, &c: But much more like our Oats, only longer, bigger, and better, than either that, or *Indian* Corn, and is the chief Food of many Nations hereabouts and elſewhere. The Nations who dwell on this River, are *Outogamis*, *Malominis*, *Nikic*, *Oualeanicou*, *Sacky*, and the *Poutouatamis* beforemention'd.

On the Eaſt-ſide of this Lake, about 20 Leagues from the Streight by which it enters *Karegnondi*, is a Bay call'd *Bear Bay*, and a River of the ſame Name, becauſe of great Numbers of thoſe Animals, who haunt thoſe Parts. This River comes out of a Ridge of Hills near 100 Leagues long, beginning almoſt at the North End of this *Peninſula*, out of which flow abundance of ſmall Rivers; thoſe, whoſe Courſe is to

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the Eaſt, empty themſelves into the Lake *Karegnondi*. Thoſe to the Weſt, into that of the *Alinouecks*. The Top of this Ridge of Hills is flat, from whence there is a delicious Proſpect into both Lakes, and level as a Taraſſe-Walk. There is a great *Beaver* Hunting, like thoſe I formerly mention'd, upon *Bear River*, which hath a Courſe of 40 or 50 Leagues. On the Weſt-ſide of the Lake, before you come to the Bottom, is a Harbour capable of ſmall Ships; and there enters into it a ſmall River, which at 2 Leagues diſtance, approaches the River *Checagou*, the North Branch of the River of the *Allinouecks*, which is, from the main Branch of the ſaid River 50 Miles. Near the Bottom of the Bay on the Eaſt-ſide, is the fair River of the *Miamihas* (ſo call'd becauſe upon it lives Part of a Nation bearing the ſame Name) which in its Paſſage comes within 2 Leagues of the great Eaſterly Branch of the River of the *Allinouecks*, and its Springs are very near the Heads of ſome Rivers which enter the *Ouabachi*. Monſieur *de la Salle* on his firſt Arrival in this River, which was about the Year 1679. finding it admirably well ſituated for Trade, and the Country ſurrounding it extremely pleaſant and fertil, artfully gain'd the Permiſſion of the Natives to build a Fort therein, under the ſpecious Pretence of protecting them from the Inſults of the *Engliſh* and *Irocois*, whom he repreſented as cruel and

treacherous Enemies, continually plotting the Destruction of them, and all the *Indians* round about. In this Fort was formerly a great Magazine and Storehouse for all Sorts of *European* Goods, and hither the Traders and Savages continually resorted to purchase them. It commanded the Entrance into the Lake, and kept all the Neighbouring *Indians* in Awe and Subjection. Nations to the West of this Lake, besides the beforemention'd, are Part of the *Outogamis*, *Mascoutens* and *Kikpouz*; then the *Ainoves*, the *Cascaschia*, and a little to the South-West of the Bottom of this Lake, and more to the North, the *Anthontans*, and Part of the *Mascoutens*, near the River *Misconsing*. The Countries surrounding this Lake, especially towards the South, are very charming to the Eye, the Meadows, Fruit-Trees and Forrests, together with the Fowls, wild Beasts, *&c.* affording most Things necessary for the Support and Comfort of Life, besides *Indian* Corn, with which the Natives abound; and *European* Fruits, Grains, and all other useful Vegetables, by Reason of the Goodness of the Soil, and Mildness of the Climate, would certainly thrive there, as well as in their Native Countries. But above all, the South Parts of the Countries bordering on this Lake, seem naturally dispos'd to produce admirable Vines, which being duly cultivated, excellent Wines might be made of the Fruits thereof, they growing naturally

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in vaſt Numbers of divers Sorts, ſome ramping up to the Tops of the higheſt Trees; others running upon the Ground: The Grapes are ſome very ſmall, others wonderfully large, big as Damſons, and many of a Middle Size, of divers Colours and Taſtes; they are all good to eat, only ſome, which otherwiſe promiſe very well, have great Stones or Kernels and tough Skins, which certainly would be remedied by due Culture. But of the worſt doubtleſs good Brandy might be made, were there Artiſts and convenient Veſſels for preſſing, fermenting and diſtilling.

There ramble about in great Herds, eſpecially about the Bottom of this Lake, infinite Quantities of Wild Kine. Some Hundreds uſually together, which is a great Part of the Subſiſtance of the Savages who live upon them while the Seaſon of Huntting laſts; for at thoſe Times they leave their Towns quite empty. They have a Way of preſerving their Fleſh without Salt 6 or 8 Months, which both looks, and eats ſo freſh, Strangers apprehended the Cattle had not been kill'd one Week. Beſides, they uſe the Hair, or rather Wool, cut off their Hides, for Garments, and Beds, and ſpin it into Yarn, of which they make great Bags, wherein they put the Fleſh they kill, after they have cured it, to bring Home to their Houſes; for their Huntings are from the latter End of *Autumn*, when the Cattle are

fat, to the beginning of the Spring, and of the Hides dreſs'd they make Shoes *Ala Savage*.

But its Time we ſhould return to the Lake *Keregnondi*, which empties itſelf into the Lake *Erie*, by a Channel 30 Leagues long, and where narroweſt a League broad; in the Middle whereof is a ſmall Lake, called by the *Indians*, *O'ſeka*, 10 Leag. long and 7 or 8 over, being of an Oval Figure. In this Lake and Channel, are divers ſmall Iſlands, exceedingly pleaſant and fruitful, in which, and all the Country, on both Sides of them, are great Quantities of Beaſts and Fowl, as Deer of ſeveral Kinds, wild Turkies, Pheaſants, and a large excellent Fowl, which they call *Dindo's*. The Lake *Erie* is about 250 Leagues long, and almoſt equally 40 broad. Eight Leagues from its Mouth are Eight or Ten Iſlands, moſt of them ſmall; One in the Middle is 5 or 6 Miles in Circumference, and all very agreeable. Near the Mouth on the Weſt-ſide, is a large Harbour for Ships, defended from moſt Winds, made like our Downs by a great Bank of Sand; tho' Winds ſeldom infeſt this Lake, in Reſpect of the others; where ſometimes they Rage as in the Main Ocean, ſo that it may be deſervedly call'd the Pacifick Lake. And if we may give Credit to the Relations of the *Engliſh* who have long frequented it, and unanimouſly agree herein, there is not a more pleaſant Lake, or Country ſurrounding

rounding it in the Universe. It is not indeed so deep as the others, yet is in all Places Navigable by the greatest Ships, there being seldom less then 10 or 12 Fathom Water. The Land round about it is perfectly level, abounding with Trees, both for Timber and Fruit, so happily plac'd that One would be apt to apprehend it to be a Work of great Art, and contriv'd to declare the Grandeur and Magnificence of some mighty Emperor, and not of Nature. Abundance of small pretty Rivers, discharge themselves thereinto, amongst which are Four very considerable and remarkable. One about 10 Leagues from the Entrance of the Canal, in the Bottom of the West End of the Lake, that hath a Course of 60 Leagues, and its Head very near the River of the *Miamihas*, which runs into the S. E. Side of the Lake of the *Illinouecks*, by Means whereof there is a short and easy Communication therewith, which by Water is above 600 Miles.

Fifty Miles further to the South, at the same West End of this Lake, is another River much of the same Bigness and Length; and about and between these two Rivers, every Year in the Season, are Multitudes of the wild Kine call'd *Cibolas*.

At the S. E. End of the Lake there is a Third River which has its Rise very near the great *Susquehannah* River, which waters Part of *Pensilvania*, and afterwards empties itself into the North-End of the Bay of

Chesepeak in *Maryland*. And 20 Leagues S. Westerly is another fair River which comes near 50 Leagues out of the Country; from whose Head, which issues from a Lake, is but a short Cutt to the River *Hohio*, from whence to a Branch of the aforesaid *Susquehannah* River is about 1 League.

By these two last mention'd Rivers, the *English* may have a ready and easy Communication with this and consequently with all the other Lakes. If the *French* should ever settle thereon, which for above Twenty Years they have endeavoured, but have been, in great Measure, wonderfully frustrated by the *Iroccis* our Subjects or Allies, they might greatly molest, by themselves and their *Indians*, the Colonies of *New-York*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland* and *Virginia*, which, I hope by the Wisdom and Care of His Majesty and Ministry, will be speedily prevented.

At the North-East End of this Lake is another Canal 40 Miles long, and in most Places a League broad, call'd by the Natives *Niagara*, having a delicate level, beautiful, fertil Country on each Side of it; but being pass'd about two Thirds of the Way, it is straiten'd by mighty Rocks, and precipitates itself several Hundred Feet, being the greatest Catarack, that hath ever yet come unto our Knowledge, in the whole World. This lying within five or six Days Journey of *Albany* and *Schenectada*, (two remarkable Towns and Fortifications of *New-*

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York) and adjacent unto our Confederates or Subjects the five Nations, (by the *French* call'd *Irocois*) especially the *Sonnontovans* (by some nam'd *Senecaes*) the most populous of the Five. I have receiv'd an Account from divers Persons, who have with great Attention and Curiosity view'd it, suiting very well with the Description *Hennepin* gives thereof, who had been there several Times. The Noise of such a Multitude of Waters falling from so great a Height, is so extraordinary, that altho' the Country is very pleasant, level and fruitful below the Fall, yet the *Sonnontovans* were not able to bear it, but were forc'd to remove and settle 2 Leagues lower. I have had it from very credible People, that when the Wind sets due South, they have heard it distinctly above 30 Miles. The River, as may be easily imagin'd, below this Cataract, is very rapid, for the Space of 3 or 4 Miles; then for 6 or 8, is more placid and navigable, until it enters the Lake *Ontario*, which is 80 Leagues long, and in the Middle 25 or 30 broad, being of an Oval Figure. The Name of this Lake in the *Irocois* Language (that Nation bordering upon it to the South) signifies the pleasant or beautiful Lake, as it may be deservedly stil'd; the Country round it being very champain, fertil, and every 2 or 3 Miles water'd with fine Rivulets: It has on the South-side three fair Rivers; that next the Fall coming out of the Coun-

try of the *Sonnontovans*, the Middle one from the *Onontages*, and its Origin from a Lake, within a League of their Capital Town *Onontague*, made up of many little Rivers and Rivulets, being 40 Miles in Circumference, abounding with Fish of divers Sorts with some Salt-springs entring into it. After the River hath pass'd a Mile from the Lake, it receives another coming from the West out of the Province of the *Onioets*, who are Neighbours to the *Sonnontovans*, in whose Country the Head of this River springs. About 10 Miles lower it is increas'd by a fair deep River, which comes from the East, out of the Country of the *Oneiouks*, one of the five Nations, situated between the *Onontages* and the *Mohacks*, who dwell in Three Towns on a fair River, which runs, after a Course of 100 Miles, into *Hudson*'s River near *Albany*. The River of the *Onontagues*, enters the Lake *Ontario* 50 Miles from the little Lake whence it derives its Origin.

Twenty Leagues to the East, is another River somewhat less, but Navigable by Sloops, and large Boats a considerable Way into the Country.

About the same Distance likewise to the East, the Lake forms a great River, which the *French* call the River of the *Iroçois*; but the Natives *Kanadari*, which for the Space of 60 Miles is very broad, full of fine Islands, and runs quietly; then is interrupt-

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ed in its Course by divers Falls successively; some very deep and long, for above 100 Miles, until it meets with the great River of the *Outouacks*, at the End of the Island and City of *Montreal*, and together with that makes the River of *Canada* or St. *Laurence*, so nam'd by the *French*, because discover'd on the Day dedicated to his Memorial.

The North-part of the Lake *Ontario* was formerly possess'd by Two Tribes of the *Irocois*, who were in Time of perfect Peace, without the least Provocation, but only to get their Country, destroy'd, enslav'd, or sent to *France*, and put into the Gallies; of which you may read at large in the Journals of the *Baron la Hontan*, an impartial and judicious Author, who saw and relates that Tragedy with much Indignation.

The Nation of the *Irocois*, as they are call'd by the *French*, for what Reason I could never learn, who inhabit the South-part of the Country are stil'd by the *English*, the five Nations, being so many, distinct in Name, and Habitations, from each other; But leagu'd by a most strict Confederacy, like the Cantons of *Switzerland*, which they frequently in a very solemn manner renew; Especially since the *French* grew powerful in their Neighbourhood. They have always been an excellent and useful Barrier between us and them, being

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ready, on all Occaſions, upon the moſt ſlender Invitations, and the leaſt Aſſiſtance, to moleſt and invade them, unto whom, they are the moſt irreconcileable Enemies, and I think upon good Grounds; although the *French* ſay the hardeſt Things imaginable againſt them; but I believe unto any impartial Judges, they will appear more blameable themſelves. The Original of this Enmity proceeded from the *French*, who, about 100 Years ſince, ſettled at the Place, now their Capital, call'd *Quebeck*. The *Irocois* knowing of the *French* little Habitation (where were not above Forty Men) came according to their uſual Manner, being about 200 of their prime Youth, under an eſteem'd Captain to war againſt the *Algonquins*, then a very populous Nation; and to ſhew their Contempt of them, made a Fort on the South-ſide of the River, before they who dwelt on the North-ſide could gather into a Body, Their Habitations or Villages being ſomewhat remote from each other: But having drawn their Forces together in great Numbers, they attack'd the *Irocois*, who always valiantly repuls'd them, with great Loſſes to their Enemies and little unto themſelves. Whereupon the *Algonkins* had recourſe unto the *French*, deſiring they would aſſiſt them with their Thunder and Lightning darting Engines. They readily comply'd, and did ſuch Execution with their Guns, (which being

ing altogether new and very ſurprizing or rather aſtoniſhing) that the *Irocois* were diſcomfited, not above Two or Three eſcaping to give an Account thereof to their ownCountrymen, who by Tradition have propagated the Story to Poſterity; which may, in ſome Meaſure, excuſe the irreconcileable Enmity, this Nation hath conceiv'd againſt the *French*, between whom there have been formerly almoſt conſtant Wars, accompanied with various Events: The *French* with their Allies endeavouring to extirpate them, who have hitherto bravely defended themſelves; the *Engliſh* for their Furrs ſupplying them with Ammunition, and during Time of War with the *French*, powerfully aſſiſting them. They have been a very uſeful Barrier, and without their help *New York*, and probably other Neighbouring Provinces, had long ſince been poſſeſs'd by the *French*, having been very ſlenderly aided from *England*.

The *French* in all their Writings concerning *Canada*, make many tragical Relations of, and Exclamations againſt the barbarous Cruelties of this Nation exercis'd upon them, and the *Indians* their Allies; but ſeldom tell us that the very ſame Things are practic'd by themſelves and their *Indians* againſt the *Irocois*, and often during Time of Peace: For when the *Irocois* or five Nations, as we call them, were abandon'd by Order of King *Charles* II. towards the latter End of his Reign, and during the whole Reign of K.

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James, and obnoxious unto the Resentments of the *French*, (The *English* being strictly forbidden any ways to assist them) They were under a Necessity of making a very disadvantageous Peace, which how perfidiously it was broken, may be seen at large in that faithful and judicious History of the *Baron la Hontan*. And had it not been for the Revolution in *England*, the *Irocois* had been totally destroy'd, or subjected unto the *French*, which, as I hinted before in the Preface, would have been of dreadful Consequence to divers of our *English* Colonies, on the Continent.'Tis true, the *Irocois* have extirpated or subjected several Nations of *Indians* round about them; but it hath been either because they were in Confederacy with their Enemies, destroyed their Country, murther'd their People, hinder'd them in their *Beaver* Hunting (without which they could not subsist) or furnish'd their Enemies with Furrs, which oocasion'd the increasing the Numbers of the *French* from *France*, and consequently threatned them with utter Ruin, when *Canada* shall be more populated from *Europe*. So that certainly the Measures they take for their own Preservation and Security, are more innocent, and excusable, than those have been by the *French*; Forty Years last past, exercis'd in *Europe*, whose Wars have according to a modest Calculation, occasion'd the Death of above Two Millions of their own Country People, and other *Europeans*,

ropeans, and moſt unjuſtly invaded or grievouſly oppreſs'd their Neighbours; Deſire of increaſing their Wealth, enlarging their Territories, or advancing the Glory of their Great Monarch, being the chief Cauſes, tho' ſome other ſlender and eaſily confuted Pretences, have ſometimes been alledg'd.

But to return unto the *Irocois* whom we call Subjects of the Crown of *England*, they only ſtile themſelves Brethren, Friends, Allies, being a People highly tenacious of their Liberty, and very impatient of the leaſt Incroachments thereon. Theſe five Cantons or Nations, have ſold, given, and in a very formal Publick manner, made over and convey'd to the *Engliſh* divers large Countries conquer'd from the *Indians*, upon the South-ſide of the great Lakes, as far as the *Meſchacebe*, and the noble, beautiful, fertil *Peninſula* ſituated between the Three Middle Lakes: That of the *Hurons* to the Weſt, *Ontario* to the Eaſt, and *Erie* to the South; a Country almoſt as large as *England* without *Wales*; admirably ſeated for Traffick, pleaſant, healthful, and fertil, as any Part of *North-America*; and the Territory to the South is of the ſame Nature, and Confines with the Borders of our Province of *Carolina*, which extends to all the North-ſide of the Gulph of *Mexico*.

CHAP. V.

A New and Curious Discovery and Relation of an easy Communication betwixt the River Meschacebe *and the* South-Sea, *which separates* America *from* China, *by Means of several large Rivers and Lakes, with a Description of the Coast of the said Sea to the Streights of* Uries. *As also of a rich and considerable Trade to be carried on from thence to* Japan, China *and* Tartary.

IT will be one great Conveniency of this Country, if ever it comes to be settled, that there is an easy Communication therewith, and the *South-Sea*, which

which lies between *America* and *China*, and that two Ways: By the North Branch of the great Yellow River, by the Natives call'd the River of the *Massorites*, which hath a Course of 500 Miles, Navigable to its Heads or Springs, and which proceeds from a Ridge of Hills somewhat North of *New Mexico*, passable by Horse, Foot, or Waggon in less than half a Day. On the other Side are Rivers, which run into a great Lake, that empties itself by another great Navigable River into the *South Sea*. The same may be said of the River *Meschaouay*, up which our People have been, but not so far as the *Baron le Hontan*, who pass'd on it above 300 Miles almost due West, and declares it comes from the same Ridge of Hills abovemention'd; and that divers Rivers from the other side soon make a large River, which enters into a vast Lake, on which inhabit Two or Three great Nations, much more populous and civiliz'd than other *Indians*; and out of that Lake a great River disimbogues into the *South-Sea*, which is doubtless the same with that beforemention'd, the Head of the Two Rivers being little distant from each other.

About Twelve or Fourteen Years since, I had imparted unto me a Journal from a Gentleman admirably well skill'd in Geography, especially of *America*, who had made thither divers Voyages from *New England*, and all our *English* Plantations in *America*, and

and viſited moſt Parts of the Gulph of *Mexico*, where he became acquainted with one Captain *Coxton* a famous Privateer, who was towards the latter End of the Reign of King *Charles* II. entertain'd in His Majeſty's Service: But whether he was diſobliged, or that his Genius prompted him to follow his old Trade, having with his Copartners fitted up a Ship of Twenty-ſix Guns, He ſailed to the *South-Sea*, with a Deſign to take the Ship, which comes annually from the *Manillias* or *Philippine* Iſlands in the *Eaſt-Indies* to *Acapulco*, the Chief Port of *Mexico*; which Ship, as he had been well inform'd, uſually made that Part of the Continent, that lies between *Japan* and *America*, at a famous Port in 42 Degrees. But when he came to the Head of the Iſland, or *Peninſula* of *California* (it being too ſoon by ſome Months for the putting in Execution his intended Deſign,) romaging the Coaſt, he diſcover'd a great River in about Degrees North-Latitude, which enter'd a great Lake, near the Mouth whereof he found a very convenient Iſland, where he ſtaid Two or Three Months to refit himſelf, happening to have a Man on board, who underſtood the Language of the Country. The Natives finding he was engag'd in an Expedition againſt the *Spaniards*, treated him very kindly, ſupply'd him very chearfully with whatſoever he wanted, and he contracted great Friendſhip with them. He calls

calls them the Nation of *Thoya*. The *Spaniards*, as I find in divers of their Expeditions, call it *Thoyago*, ſometimes *Tejago*. They are often at War with the *Spaniards*, who have been always repuls'd by them. They bring Thirty or Forty Thouſand Men in one Body into the Field. Theſe and Two other Nations Neighbouring, and not much inferior unto them, are accounted the moſt ſenſible and civiliz'd *Indians* in *America*.

When the Seaſon came fit for their Expedition, they ſailed Weſt and by South, and happen'd to ſtop upon ſome Occaſion at an Iſland call'd *Earinda* or *Carinda*, there were Five in all near each other, like the *Canary* Iſlands, but lay rounder, and were one with another about 50 or 60 Miles in Compaſs. The Inhabitants were not ſhy of them, but ſupply'd them with Proviſions, and brought them Gold to barter for ſuch Commodities of ours as they lik'd, and in Three or Four Days they purchas'd 86 *l*. Weight of that Metal. The Natives told them they were ſorry they had no more, they taking Care to provide only againſt a certain Time of the Year for Perſons, who came from the Sun-ſetting at a particular Seaſon and barter'd divers Commodities with them for Gold. Theſe Traders or Merchants muſt certainly be Inhabitants of *Japan*, which I gather from a large Relation in the Hiſtory of that Iſland, publiſh'd by the *Dutch*, and tranſlated into our Tongue, and makes the

Sixth Volume of *Ogleby*'s Collections. They therein declare, That they ſent from *Batavia* Two Ships (as they pretended) to diſcover a Paſſage from the North-Eaſt Part of *Japan*, round *Tartary* to *Europe*; Though, its very probable, they had other Views. Theſe Ships were ſeparated a little Eaſt of *Japan* by a Storm; the *Caſtrilome* proceeded, and found the Streight entring into the Gulph of *Tartary* or *Jeſſo*, and ſearch'd the Coaſt on the Weſt-ſide to 49 Degrees; the other Ship the *Blefkins* having ſuffer'd much by the Storm, put into the Port of *Namboe*; near the N. E. End of *Japan*, not doubting they ſhould be kindly receiv'd, being in League, and having a Free Trade with that Empire; but while they were refitting, they were unexpectedly ſurpriz'd by the *Japaneſe*, ſent to Court, and very ſtrictly examin'd, whither they had not been at, or went not to diſcover the Gold Iſlands (as they call'd them) to the Eaſt, of which Traffick the Emperor is ſo jealous, that it is Capital for any to go thither except by his Permiſſion, or to declare to others the Diſtance and Situation thereof; and had not the *Dutch* given uncontroulable Evidence, that they had not been, nor were they going thither, but only upon the forementioned Diſcovery, they had been all executed.

There are upon the Coaſt between *America* and *Japan* divers very large and ſafe Har-

Harbours, and a very good Climate, the Coaſt ſtretching South-Weſt, moſtly from 40 to Degrees of North-Latitude. The Seas abound with Fiſh, and the Land with Fowl and Veniſon. The Inhabitants are ſociable and hoſpitable. I have a Draught and Journals of all the Coaſt from *America*, with thoſe of divers Harbours, until you are within about 100 Leag. of the Streight of *Vries*, which the *Dutch* diſcover'd about Sixty or Seventy Years ſince, and which is the Entrance of the Sea or Gulph of *Tartary*, lying 120 Leagues North-Eaſt from *Namboe*, the moſt Northerly Haven and Promontory of *Japan*. This Streight, or rather, theſe Streights (there being Two made by a long Iſland) are the Inlets into a great Sea or Bay, into which diſimbogues a vaſt River, on the Weſt-ſide of it, between 49 and 50 Degrees of North-Latitude, Navigable many Hundred Miles by the biggeſt Ships, and is made by the Conflux of divers great Rivers, ſome of which come from the South-Weſt, as *Chingola*, *Hilura*, *Ola*, *Sungoro*, and their Fountains, near the great Wall of *China*, and run through the Dominions of the Eaſtern *Tartars*, who are now Maſters of *China*. Other Rivers from the North-Weſt, proceed from the Territories of the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, who hath built divers large and well fortify'd Cities on the Main River of *Tamour*, and ſeveral of its Branches, as *Negovim*, *Nepehou*, *Albazin*, *Argun*, *Nettinskoy*, &c.

This River of *Yamour* or *Amura*, hath a Course, from its furthest Fountains, above 1200 Miles, without any Interruption by Cataracts so frequent in all the other great Rivers in *Muscovy*, as the *Oby*, *Jenisseg* or *Jenisca*, &c. By this River you may Trade with the Inhabitants of *Jedso* for Furrs, who have great store, and those very rich. They inhabit all the Coast on both Sides the Mouth of the River, and a considerable Way up it. You may likewise Traffick with the *Muscovites* for the same Commodities, who sell them there for a Fourth Part of what they yeild in *Muscow* or *Archangel*; these Parts being above 4000 Miles almost due East, from *Muscow* their Capital City, a most prodigious, tedious and difficult Journey, as appears by divers large and accurate Journals, which have been many Years publish'd in Print. And by means of the Rivers which come from the South-West, you may correspond with the *Eastern Tartars*, *Chinese*, and the great rich Kingdom of *Tanguth*, all now united under one and the same Emperor, being very civiliz'd Nations, and kind to Strangers. To say nothing of the great and rich *Peninsula* of *Corea*, which is contiguous to one or two Branches of this River, was once a Province of *China*, hath the same Manners and Language, and is now Tributary to the present Emperour. This River and its Branches are in a good Clime, it never varying

rying above 2 or 3 Degrees from a due Easterly Course. Three or more Ships may be sent every Year, who may Part at the Streights of the *Tartarian* Gulph or Sea; one for *Iedzo* and the River; another for *Japan*, and a Third for *North China* to the great City *Tunxo*, the Port of *Pekin*, the Capital of that Kingdom, from which it is not above One Days Journey by Land or Water. And there is not a better Commodity, or of which more Profit may be made, than of the Furrs, which are so easily procur'd, and so soon brought unto that Imperial City, where, in the Court and among the Grandees, there is a prodigious Consumption of them, and most extravagant Prices given for them, especially those of the better Sort, tho' even the meanest come to an extraordinary good Market.

Thus, after a thorough Search and Discovery both by Sea and Land, have I given the Reader a Topographical Description of a Country, the timely Possession and due Improvement whereof by the *English* may be more beneficial to them, than all the other Colonies they are at present possess'd of: Besides that they will thereby secure forever all the rest of our Plantations upon the Continent of *America*, which if this Country be by them neglected, and suffer'd to remain in the Hands of any ambitious, Politick and powerful Prince or Potentate, may be distress'd, conquer'd or utterly exterminated.

CHAP. VI.

An Account of the useful Animals, Vegetables, Mettals, Minerals, and other rich and valuable Commodities which are naturally prodaced or may with Industry be rais'd in this Province.

IN a new Colony the first Care is to provide Food for their Subsistance. The great Duke of *Rhoan* famous for Wisdom and Valour, who hath written so many celebrated Treatises, especially relating to Military Affairs, and Politicks, advances it as a Maxim, That he who will be a great Warrior, must in the first Place make Provision for the Belly; and in the late War with the *French*, our seasonable and plentiful Supplies of the Soldiers hath not a little contributed to our wonderful Successes, and

and both ſtrengthned and animated our Troops, to perform ſuch Acts of Valour, as will be celebrated in Future Ages. The *Spaniards* tell a pretty, and I think inſtructive Story, That upon the Diſcovery of the immenſe Riches contain'd in the Mountain *Potoſi* in *Peru*, two *Spaniards* reſorted thither; the one bought Slaves, hir'd Servants, Overſeers, and found a rich Vein of Silver Oar. The other (Land being then Common in the Neighbourhood) fed Sheep. The Mine Maſter wanting Wool for the cloathing of his Servants (that Place being much colder than others in the ſame Latitude) and Food for his Overſeers (who could not be ſatisfied, being *Spaniards*, with the poor Fare of the *Indians* and *Negroes*) bought Fleſh and Wool of the Shepherd, and after ſome few Years the Shepherd grew rich, and the Maſter-Miner poor. If the *Spaniards* had further improv'd this Notion, the *Engliſh*, *Dutch* and *French*, had not exchang'd ſo many of their Manufactures for Gold and Silver; ſo that they are the richeſt and pooreſt Nation in the Southern Part of *Europe*.

And even our own Nation hath not totally eſcap'd this Misfortune; for how many have I known that carried competent Eſtates to *North America*, neglecting Tillage, and breeding Cattle, in a few Years their Servants have been their Equals, and ſometimes Superiors; ſuch is the Force of Prudence

dence and Induſtry. But as for our Country of *Carolana*, if Perſons, who carry over Effects and Servants, be not ſottiſhly fooliſh, or ſupinely negligent, they cannot fail of improving their own Fortunes, and without Injury to themſelves, contribute to make others eaſy, and comparatively happy.

I will not ſay that Maſters and Superintendants of any Sort or Kind, need take nothing with them, but that they will find all Things neceſſary and convenient to their Hands: Doubtleſs Common Senſe will teach them, they ought to have at leaſt Half a Years Proviſions of Things neceſſary, until they are acquainted with the Natives, and have eſtabliſh'd a Friendſhip and Correſpondency with them: But abundance of Trouble and Expence will be ſav'd in Planting this Country, which could not be well avoided in thoſe the *Engliſh* have hitherto ſettled on the Continent or in their Iſlands. For Bread in this Country, we have a great Advantage at firſt coming. They may have *Indian* Corn of the Inhabitants, who have almoſt every where Two, and in ſome Places Three Crops in a Year; and I have been very credibly inform'd, that when the New comes in, they caſt away a great Part of the Old to make Room in their little Granaries. Beſides all along the Coaſt, and 2 or 300 Miles up the Country from the Sea, they have the Root *Mandihoca*, whereof *Caſſavi* Bread and Flower is made, whereupon almoſt all *America* between

between the Tropicks doth ſubſiſt, (excepting what is brought them at great Expence from *Europe*, or our Northern Plantations) and which many eſteem as good a Nouriſhment as our Manchet, and ſix times cheaper.

Beſides, this Country naturally affords another Sort of excellent Corn, which is the moſt like Oats of any *European* Grain, but longer and larger; and I have been aſſur'd by many very credible Perſons, who often, out of Curioſity had divers Ways prepar'd it, that it far exceeds our beſt Oatmeal. This is not ſown and cultivated by the *Indians*, but grows ſpontaneouſly in Marſhy Places, in and by the Sides of Rivers, like Reeds or Ruſhes. The *Indians* when it is ripe take Handfulls, ſhake them into their Canows; what eſcapes them falling into the Water, without any further Trouble, produces the next Years Crop. Rice may be there rais'd in as great Plenty as in *Carolina*. For Fruits, they have not divers growing in *Europe*, which were once Strangers to us, and by Art and Induſtry in ſome Meaſure naturaliz'd; but they have others little, if at all Inferior, ſuch as moſt excellent Limes or wild Lemons, and Prunes, growing in the open Fields without Culture, which they eat plentifully, immediately from the Trees, and keep dry for Winter Proviſion. Many, who have taſted both, unanimouſly affirm, they never did meet with either Sort in *Europe* comparable

comparable thereunto: And those dry'd will not prove a contemptible Commodity, when we contract Friendship with the Natives, who being directed by us how to gather and order them, would supply us with great Quantities, not only for our own Subsistance and Delight, but even for Exportation. Besides, the Tunas a most delicious Fruit, especially in hot Weather, and also not only agreeable to the Palate, but Salubrious, and as our *Europeans* call it, when in Maturity, their Cordial Julep.

I now come to that Tree, I mean the Vine, which a great Part of the World almost idolizes. I know, there have been great Disputes amongst the learn'd, (and positively determin'd by *Mahomet* and the *Mahometans* all over the World,) whither it had not been better for Mankind it had never existed, considering how much that noble Juice hath been abus'd, and how often it has been the Cause of numberless Calamities. For my own particular, I must own it is my Opinion, that, next to Bread which is the Staff of Life, it is one of the greatest, meerly material Comforts, we in these Northern Climates enjoy; and having been long thereunto accustom'd, when transplanted into a more Southern Country, we shall hanker after it: And if we cannot have good of our own Produce, we shall certainly have Recourse to Foreigners, and purchase it at any Rate, and thereby impove-

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rish our Infant Colony. But thanks to Almighty God, who hath not only so long, so wonderfully, favour'd the *English* Nation in their own Island, but takes Care even of them, who some account their Out-casts, tho' they have the true *English* Courage, Love to their Country, and contribute, perhaps as much, to its Wealth and Welfare by their Industry, as any equal Number, of their Rank and Quality, they have left behind. But, to put a Period to this Digression, Vines of divers Sorts and Kinds grow naturally in this Country. We have already discover'd and distinguish'd Five or Six Sorts very different from each other; but in such great Plenty, that in a Thousand Places, either upon the Continent, or in the Islands, especially in or near the great Rivers, they make your Journies shorter, by intangling your Legs, it being natural for them to run upon the Ground, unless they meet with Trees, up which they creep, loaded with Clusters of Grapes, of some Sorts, commonly half a Yard, sometimes 2 Foot long. It is true some of these Grapes, for want of Culture, tho' large as Damsons, have great Stones, and a tough Skin; yet they might be easily meliorated by *European* Skill; tho' as they are, especially Two or Three Sorts of the smaller Kind, are as grateful to the Palate, as most we have in *England*; but the very worst, duly managed, produces Brandy, hardly inferior to any

in

in *Europe*; ſo that had we Veſſels to diſtill, and skilful Operators, we might ſoon abate the Price of that Liquor in *England*, and our Plantations and keep a ſufficient Reſerve for ourſelves.

And further, when we have once obtain'd the Skill of Meliorating the Grapes, we ſhall alſo produce not only as good Wine, but alſo as good Raiſons, as in moſt Countries of *Europe*; the Climate being admirably adapted thereunto; and thereby not only ſupply ourſelves and Neighbouring Colonies, but ſomewhat abate the Expence of our Mother, good *Old England*, from whom we proceed, and upon whom we, and (I hope and believe) all our other Colonies, will not only acknowledge their ſole Dependance, but ever deſire, with the uttermoſt of their Power, to manifeſt, upon all Occaſions, their Love and Gratitude.

But Corn and Drink are not ſufficient for *Engliſhmen*, who are us'd to feed upon good Beef, Mutton, Bacon, Veal and Pork: Therefore for the Encouragement of ſuch as ſhall hereafter inhabit this Province, they will find good Beef, and conſequently Veal, there being a Sort of Kine natural to this Country, which, though they differ a little in Shape from ours (having a Bunch upon their Shoulders, which is delicious Food) yet otherways are not in the leaſt inferior to our Bulls and Cows, and they make them Oxen when they pleaſe; and by dry Fodder

ſtall

ſtall Oxen like thoſe in *England*; but, as they are without Art and Care, they almoſt equal our graſs Cattle. There are alſo Sheep of the *Spaniſh* Breed in good Numbers, whoſe Fleſh is as good as ours, and their Wooll better; as alſo Hogs very plentiful, on the Sea-Coaſt eſpecially, and ſome within Land, tho' not ſo numerous, Acorns, Cheſnuts, and other Maſts abounding in this Country, render them more grateful Food, (as all who have fed upon them affirm) than ours in *England*; and fit for Exportation for the Iſlands.

Next to Food we are to conſider a very material Circumſtance, and that is, Cattle for Draught, and Horſes for Riding, which are carried into the Plantations, whither on the Continent, or in the Iſlands. Theſe are already prepar'd unto your Hands, with no great Trouble and Expence. For Horſes, they are commonly us'd among the *Indians* on the Weſt-ſide of the great River for Riding and Burthens, as amongſt us, tho' they have not improv'd them for Draught, being totally ignorant of Coaches, Waines, Carts or Plows, unto all which they may ſoon by Care and Skill be adapted. And the Price of a good Horſe will not amount unto above Five Shillings of our *European* Commodities at firſt Coſt, as I am well aſſur'd by Traders, who have been offer'd a very good one for a very ordinary Hatchet. And as for Oxen for Plow and Cart, when their young Males are caſtrated, they

will

will be as tame and as ſerviceable as our Oxen; tho' amongſt the *Tartars*, from whom theſe Kine originally came, the great Bulls, of almoſt twice the Strength and Bigneſs of ours, are by them ſo far tam'd, that they imploy them to draw their Houſes or Huts put upon Carts many Hundred Miles, as they have occaſion to remove their Habitations, which is only for convenient Paſture, marching in the Winter to the South, in the Summer to the North. This Sort of Cattle are not only uſeful for Food and Labour, but alſo for their Hair, or rather Wool, which is very long, very thick, and very fine; and I think, as do many others who underſtand the Uſe of it, for Hats, Cloathing, and divers other Neceſſaries, with ſome ſmall ſuitable Addition or Mixtures, is preferrable to Common Wool. Their Skins may be partly imported to *England*, and partly imploy'd in our own Colony for Harneſs, Boots, Shoes, and many other Uſes.

Beſides, we are near *New Mexico*, all which Country generally imploy for Carriage mighty great and ſtrong Mules, produc'd by *Aſſinegos*, or Male Aſſes, many of which there are of abundantly greater Bigneſs, Strength, and Mettle, than in *Europe*, which with the Mares of that Country would produce an excellent Breed, if it be thought advantageous to raiſe them.

There

There are ſeveral Tracts of Land in this Country that would ſuit very well with Cammels, many of which are imploy'd by the *Spaniards*, eſpecially in *Peru* and *Terra Firma*, or the South-part of the Gulph of *Mexico*. They have them moſtly from the *Canary* Iſlands, and ſome from *Africa*. They ſtand well in *America*, are very uſeful, and a very little Trouble and Charge will ſubſiſt them.

The wild Animals of this Country, beſides the Elk or Buffalo abovemention'd, are Panthers, Bears, Wolves, Wild Catts, none of which are hurtful to Mankind; Deer of divers Sorts, Bever, Otter, Fox, Racoons, Squirrels, Martins, and Conies between ours and Hares in great Abundance; as likewiſe a Rat with a Bag under its Throat, wherein it conveys its Young when forc'd to fly. All theſe are uſeful for their Furrs or Skins, and ſome for Food; but I think it not material nor conſiſtent with my deſign'd Brevity to enter into a particular Deſcription of them: No more than of the following Birds or Wild Fowl found all over the Country, Sea-ſhore, and Rivers, ſuch as Eagles, Goſſe Hawks, Falcons, Jer-Falcons and moſt other Birds of Prey that are in *Europe*; Great Companies of Turkies, Buſtards, Pheaſants, Partridges, Pidgeons, Thruſhes, Black-birds, Snipes, Cranes, Swans, Geeſe, Ducks, Teale, Pelicans, Parrots, and many other Sorts of curious Birds differing from ours.

For

For Cloathing, tho' we may reasonably suppose, that by our Correspondence with our Native Country, we may be supply'd therewith, as also with Beds, Carpets, Coverlets, *&c.* yet it would not be amiss, if in the Infancy of this Colony, the poorer Sort were encourag'd to manufacture the Wool of Sheep and Kine, as also Cotton, to supply their urgent Necessities. Hats may be made of the long soft Hair of the Kine mix'd, if need be, with a little of the Hair or Wool of *Bever*, both which are in great Plenty, and easily procur'd, and nothing wanting but a few Artists to manufacture them as in *England.*

I have receiv'd Information from divers Persons, who unanimously affirm, That some of the most civiliz'd Nations in this Country, especially of the better Sort, are cloathed with a Substance like good Course, serviceable Linnen, very White. Upon Inquiry, they found it was made with the inward Bark of Trees, which grow plentifully there, and is as becoming as most of the ordinary Linnen of *Europe*; and by the Relation of the Natives no less durable. Of the same and other Barks, they make Thread, Cords and Ropes, of divers Lengths, and Magnitudes, which might be greatly improv'd by our *English* Planters.

Olives would certainly grow here as well as in *New Spain*, where they thrive, especially in those Parts contiguous to our Country

try, and are not inferior, either for eating or making Oil, to those of *Spain* and *Portugal*: As also Almonds, several affirming, particularly, I remember, the famous *Acosta* writes concerning the Productions of the *West-Indies*, where he long resided, that they far exceed those of *Spain* or any other Part of *Europe*: But for political Reasons, both they and Vines are forbidden to be us'd for the Production of Oil or Wine.

Currants also would probably prosper in this Country, the Climate being much of the same Nature and Latitude with the Islands of *Zant*, and *Cephelonia*, from whence we now do generally bring them; and the famous City of *Corinth*, from which they derive their Name, and from whence they were transplanted to the forementioned Islands; the *Latin* Name being *Uvæ Corinthiacæ*, or Grapes of *Corinth*, which we corruptly call Currants, instead of *Corinths*. These Three Commodities were thought so needful, that King *Charles* II. with the Advice of His Council, gave great Encouragement, in His Patent for *Carolina*, to the Proprietors, Planters or any others, who should produce and import them to *England*; As also Capers and some other Commodities there mention'd.

Cotton grows wild in the Codd and in great Plenty, may be manag'd and improv'd as in our Islands, and turn to as great Account; and in Time perhaps manufactu-

red either in the Country or in *Great-Britain*, which will render it a Commodity ſtill more valuable.

Pearls are to be found in great Abundance in this Country: The *Indians* put ſome Value upon them, but not ſo much as on the colour'd Beads we bring them. On the whole Coaſt of this Province, for 200 Leagues, there are many vaſt Beds of Oyſters, which breed Pearls, as has been found in divers Places: But, which is very remarkable, far from the Sea in freſh Water Rivers and Lakes, there is a Sort of Shell-Fiſh between a Muſcle and a Pearl Oyſter, wherein are found abundance of Pearls, and many of an unuſual Magnitude. The *Indians*, when they take the Oyſters, broil them over the Fire 'till they are fit to eat, keeping the large Pearls they find in them, which by the Heat are tarniſh'd and loſe their Native Luſtre: But when we have taught them the right Method, doubtleſs it would be a very profitable Trade. There are two Places we already know within Land, in each of which there is a great Pearl Fiſhery. One about 120 Leagues up the River *Meſchacebe*, on the Weſt-ſide, in a Lake made by the River of the *Naches*, about 40 Miles from its Mouth, where they are found in great Plenty and many very large. The other on the River *Chiaha*, which runs into the *Coza* or *Cuſſaw* River (as

(as our *Engliſh* calls it) and which comes from the N. E. and after a Courſe of ſome Hundred Miles diſimbogues into the Gulph of *Florida*, about 100 Miles to the Eaſt of the *Meſchacebe*.

The judicious and faithful Writer of the famous Expedition of *Ferdinando Soto*, who was therein from the Beginning unto the End, acquaints us, That when they came to *Cutifachia*, the chief of that Country finding they valu'd Pearl, offer'd to load all their Horſes therewith, which were at leaſt Two Hundred. And to confirm them in the Belief of what they advanc'd, carried them unto Two of their chief Temples, where they found vaſt Quantities, but took only Fourteen Buſhels for a Shew to the *Havana*, and other of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, to encourage the Peopling of this Colony, not being willing to incumber their Horſes with more, their Welfare and Succeſs depending much upon their Horſemen, the *Indians* being abundantly more afraid of them than the Foot; whoſe Guns being uſeleſs after a ſhort Time for want of Powder, they only made Uſe of Croſs-Bows. And *Garzilaſſa*, who was not with *Soto*, but writ only upon Memoirs he receiv'd from divers who were preſent, gives a more full Account of the prodigious Quantity of Pearls in that Country, affirming, the *Spaniards* calculated them to amount unto a Thouſand Buſhels.

And afterwards when the *Spaniards* at *Chiaha* were gathering Oyſters for their Food, they found many large Pearls, and and one particularly that was priz'd at Four Hundred Ducats, not having loſt the leaſt of its Luſtre, being taken out of a Raw Oyſter. And that one *Terron* a *Spaniard* had above Six Pounds Weight of Pearl very large, and moſtly of a beautiful Luſtre, and were valu'd at Six Thouſand Ducats.

It need not ſeem incredible, that Pearl ſhould be taken in freſh Water Lakes and Rivers, there being many Relations of unqueſtionable Reputation, which declare, very good and large Pearls are found in divers Parts of *China*, and the Countries to the Weſt and South-Weſt of their great Wall (with which Quotations I will not enlarge this Diſcourſe) as will appear by reading the *China Atlas* of *Martinius*, *Marcus Paulus Venetus*, and other credible Writers on Lakes and freſh Water Rivers.

Cochineal is a Commodity of great Value, very neceſſary as the World goes, and coſts this Nation annually great Sums of Money, which may be all ſav'd, there being in this Province ſufficient to furniſh both us, and our Neighbours, who are no leſs fond of it than ourſelves. There have been great Enquiries, and many Diſputes, about the Original of this Commodity, which is the famous Ingredient for dying in Grain, the

Purple

Purple and Scarlet Colours, generally esteemed by opulent and civiliz'd Nations.

This noble Ingredient for dying, is produc'd by a Tree or Shrub call'd the Tunal or Tuna, of which there are divers Sorts; some bearing an excellent Fruit very pleasant and wholsome. It is made of certain Insects breeding in the Fruit of this Plant, when it is well husbanded, and are thereunto fastn'd, cover'd with a small fine Webb, which doth Compass them about, and when come to Maturity they eat through it, fall off the Tree, and being carefully gather'd, dry'd, and curiously put up, are sent to *Spain*, and thence distributed to most civiliz'd Parts of *Europe*, and *Asia*. *Acosta* tells us, That in the Fleet wherein he return'd from *Mexico*, that Province only, shipp'd 5677 Arobes, each whereof is 25 *l.* Weight, and valu'd at 283750 Peices of Eight. The Cochineal is of two Sorts, one growing Wild, which they call Silvester. This, tho' it gives a good Price, is far short of that, which is duly cultivated in Gardens and Fields, much after the manner the *English* do Tobacco in their Plantations. This Province both on the East and West-side of the *Meschacebe*, from the Gulph of *Mexico*, some Hundred Miles up the Country, abounds with all Sorts of Tunals, or Tuna's (as some style them) usually found in the Province of *Mexico*, which borders upon it, and is only divided by an imaginary Line, from the Degrees of 30 to

36. When this Country is ſettled, and we ſet upon this Manufacture, the *Indians* may be very helpful unto us, it being eaſy Labour, and wherein we need only imploy their Women and Young People, if their Men, who are generally very lazy, decline it.

The Plant of which Indico is made, is very frequent in moſt of the Southern Parts of this Country, and may poſſibly produce better than that made in our Iſlands of *Jamaica*, &c. This Province being in the ſame Latitude with *Agra* and *Byana*, Territories in the great *Mogul*'s Country, whoſe Indico is accounted the beſt of its Kind in the World, and is double the Price of ours. It is eaſily made, and the *Indians* may be aſſiſting to us herein, if we think fit to undertake it. Beſides if we believe that judicious natural Hiſtorian *Hernando*, there is in *Mexico*, and conſequently here (being much the ſame Climate) a Plant or little Shrub, which produces an Indico abundantly more noble, and the Colour more lively, than that which is the Common Indico. This the *Spaniards* call Azul, as being like Ultramarine.

Ambergris or grey Amber, is often found upon this Coaſt from the Cape of *Florida* to *Mexico*, which is of great Value. The beſt (for there are divers Sorts) is of equal worth to its weight in Gold. This is agreed upon by the Learned, to be a Bitumen or Naptha, which comes from certain Springs

or

or Fountains, that empty themſelves into the Sea, and is coagulated by the Salt-Water, as Succinum, commonly call'd Amber, from another Sort of Bitumen or Naptha, and in Storms caſt upon the Coaſt. The ſame Ambergris is alſo found upon the Eaſt-ſide of the Cape or *Peninſula* of *Florida*, the *Bahama* Iſlands, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and *Braſil*, and ſometimes great Lumps, even upon the Coaſt of *Cornwall* and *Ireland* And among others, I have read of a Piece weighing Eighty Pounds, caſt upon the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, in the Reign of King *Charles* I. which was bigger, till diminiſh'd by the Countryman who found it, by greaſing his Cart Wheels, and Boots, but diſcover'd accidentally by an intelligent Gentleman, who riding by one of his Carts, and perceiving a very grateful Smell, enquir'd of the Man whence it proceeded; he told him he had found a naſty Greeſe on the Shore, which he hop'd would have ſav'd him the Expence of Kitchin Stuff and Tarr for Carts, Harneſs, and Boots, but it was of ſo poyſonous a Smell, that they were not able to endure it. The Gentleman deſiring to ſee the Remainder, found it what he expected, purchas'd it at a very eaſy Rate, preſented it unto the Queen, and was requited in Places or Employments far beyond the Value of it.

There is found in great Quantities upon the ſame Coaſt on the Shore to the Eaſt and

West of the *Meschacebe*, especially after high South Winds, a Sort of Stone Pitch by the *Spaniards* call'd Copec, which they likewise find in the *South-Sea* upon the Coast of *Peru*. They mix it with Greese to make it more liquid, and use it as Pitch for their Vessels, and affirm it to be better in hot Countries, not being apt to melt with the Heat of the Sun or Weather. And at *Trinadad* a large Island over against the great River of *Oronogue*, there is a Mountain of the said Substance, of which Sir *Walter Raleigh* gives an Account in his Expedition, so fatal unto him, of the Discovery of the said River; and several Navigators since have done the same. *Acosta*, the famous Author of the natural History of the *West-Indies*, affirms it to be generated of an Oil, which empties itself, he knows not how, into several Parts of the Ocean, in so great Quantities, that the Sailors, when at a Loss, know where they are by its Floating on the Sea, or the Smell thereof, which, he says, they scented at a considerable Distance. The *English* sent to discover the River *Meschacebe*, affirm the same, and that they found it in two Places, which I have well mark'd. Moreover, that the Sea was cover'd with an Oil or Slime, as they stile it, which had a very strong Smell for many Leagues together. I suppose they had much the same Conceptions with the Countryman beforemention'd, and therefore their Curiosity did not prompt them to take it up, and

examine

examine its Qualities ; tho' probably, it might be of the ſame Nature and Uſe, with that of divers Wells in the Province of *Adierbigian* in *Perſia*, near the *Caſpian* Sea, whence they fetch it many Hundred Miles on Camels, being us'd to burn it in Lamps inſtead of Oil, it emitting a moſt grateful and wholſome Odour. I might add Sperma Cete Whales, out of which that Subſtance is extracted, are ſometimes kill'd by the Natives, and ſometimes by Storms, as it were ſhipwreck'd on the Shore, but either of theſe ſeldom happening, there can be no great Dependance or Expectation from them.

Salt is of great Uſe, eſpecially unto *Europeans*, without which they cannot well ſubſiſt, being accuſtom'd thereunto from their Infancy, and without which Food hath no Reliſh. Beſides it is ſuppos'd, that it prevents Putrefaction, and innumerable Diſeaſes ; and in Foreign Countries, where it hath been wanting, they have greatly ſuffer'd. It is moreover neceſſary to preſerve Fiſh and Fleſh, which without it cannot be long kept ſweet. In this Country it may be eaſily and abundantly procur'd. We know divers Places, on both Sides of the River, where there are many Springs and Lakes, producing plentifully excellent Salt ; and alſo one Mine of Rock-Salt, almoſt clear as Criſtal, and probably there may be many more of the ſame. By theſe we may not only ſupply ourſelves with what

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is neceſſary for our ordinary daily Food, during the Winter or other Seaſons, but alſo furniſh our (I may call them Neighbour) Plantations in the Iſlands, (we not being very remote from them,) with Fiſh, Fleſh, and Salt; when by Reaſon of War, or other ſiniſter Accidents, they cannot receive due and expected Recruits from *England* or elſewhere.

Silk is a Commodity of great Uſe in *England* for many Manufactures, it being imported to us from *France*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Turky*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*; and there is no Foreign Commodity, which exhauſts more of our Treaſure. I am not ſo vain as to promiſe, this Country can furniſh *Great-Britain* with ſo much Silk, as is therein manufactured, which would amount to above half a Million or a Million *Sterling* annually: But if this Province is ever ſettled, (it abounding in moſt Parts with Foreſts of Mulberry Trees, both White and Red) and we keep a good Correſpondence with the Natives, which is both our Duty and Intereſt, certainly a conſiderable Quantity of Silk may be here produced. It hath been already experimented, in *South Carolina*, by Sir *Nathaniel Johnſon* and others, which would have return'd to great Account, but that they wanted Hands, Labourers being not to be hir'd but at a vaſt Charge. Yet if the Natives or *Negroes* were employ'd, who delight in ſuch eaſy light Labours, we could have that done;

for

for less than One Shilling, which costs them more then six. Now I appeal to all good *Englishmen*, if we can raise only a Tenth Part of the Silk expended in *Great-Britain*, &c. and perhaps half an Age hence the Fifth, whether it would not be very beneficial to our Native Country, and a little Check upon others, with whom we deal in that Commodity, by letting them know, if they are unreasonable and exorbitant in their Demands, that we may in a short Time supply ourselves, in a great Measure, from our own Plantations? I am not ignorant there are several Sorts of Silks, proper for divers distinct Uses, as of *China*, *Bengale*, and other Parts of the *East-Indies*, *Persia*, *Turkey*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*; for what Manufactures ours is most proper, I know not; but it hath given a good Price, and Experience may teach us to raise for more Uses than one. I would advise my Countrymen, when they set up this Manufacture, to imitate the *Chinese*, who sow the Mulberry Seeds as we do Pot-herbs, and to mow those of one Years growth for the Young Silk Worms, the Leaves being short and tender, fit Food for them when fresh hatched; and the Second for them when in their Infancy, as I may deservedly stile it; when grown strong they may be supply'd with Leaves from the Trees; which Method secures them from the Diseases, whereunto they are obnoxious, when fed from the Beginning,

Beginning, with great rank Leaves, ſaves much Trouble, and leſſens the Number of Hands to attend them, which is the greateſt Expence.

Hemp and Flax are not only Materials for divers Manufactures in *England*, but exceedingly uſeful, and indeed almoſt neceſſary in a new Colony, to ſupply them with Courſe Linnens of divers Kinds, whereof, if we made much and finer, it would be no Injury to our Mother *England*, who hath moſt from Foreign Parts; as alſo Cordage, Thread, Twine for Nets, and other Uſes. The Plants which produce Hemp and Flax, are very common in this Country, and abundantly ſufficient to ſupply not only the Neceſſities thereof, but likewiſe of the whole *Britiſh* Nation. Beſides we have a Graſs, as they call it Silk Graſs, which makes very pretty Stuffs, ſuch as come from the *Eaſt-Indies*, which they call *Herba* Stuffs, whereof a Garment was made for Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe Ingredient came from Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Colony, by him call'd *Virginia*, Now *North-Carolina*, a Part of this Province, which, to encourage Colonies and Plantations, ſhe was pleas'd to wear for divers Weeks.

This Country affords excellent Timber for Building Ships, as Oak, Fir, Cedar, Spruce, and divers other Sorts: And as I ſaid before, Flax and Hemp for Cordage and Sails; as likewiſe Iron for Nails and Anchors. But

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without Tarr, Pitch, and Rosin, a Ship can never be well equipp'd; wherefore there are divers Places in this Country near the Sea and great Rivers, which were otherwise useless, being the most sandy barren Parts of the Country, wherein that Tree grows which produces all those Materials for Naval Architecture; the same Tree likewise produces Turpentine, which is no contemptible Commodity. This Tree being peirc'd, and a Vessel conveniently fastn'd unto or plac'd under the Aperture, the Turpentine distills plentifully into it: If cut, and a Hole made under the Tree in the Sand (for in that Soil it generally grows) the Turpentine by the Influence of the Air and Sun, without any further Trouble, becomes good Rosin. Pitch and Tarr are made by cutting the dry Trees into Scantlings, taking the Knotts of old Trees fallen, and the rest of the Wood rotted, burning, as you make here Charcoal, covering with Turf, and leaving Orifices for as much Air as will keep the Fire from extinguishing. The Moisture partly Aqueous, partly Bituminous, runs by a gentle Descent into a Pit, what swims is Tarr, which inflam'd to a certain Degree and extinguish'd is Pitch.

I suppose it will not seem a Grievance for us to build Ships in this Country to bring Home our Native Commodities, when it is allow'd in our other Plantations, and sup-

ſuppoſed to ſave us a vaſt Expence of Boards, Maſts, Yards, *&c.* which were formerly brought us from *Norway* and *Sweden*, where its well known, that three Parts in four are pay'd for in ready Money, and not a Fourth in our own Native Commodities or Manufactures. Beſides the Pitch, Tarr, Roſin and Turpentine, the Produce of the Trees beforemention'd, the Aſhes which remain, with; a very ſmall Acceſſion, and little Trouble, will make Pot-Aſhes, no contemptible Commodity, and which coſts *England* every Year to Foreign Parts, (as I have been inform'd by competent Judges) above Fifty Thouſand Pounds: But I will not inſiſt further hereon, or manifeſt what great Quantities hereof may eaſily be made, and how much ſtronger, than moſt of that we import from *Ruſſia*, *Livonia*, *Courland*, *Pruſſia*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, and other Countries; we having ſo many other valuable Commodities to imploy our Time and Labour about.

The mention of Pot-Aſhes, ſo much us'd by Soap-Boilers and Dyers, brings to mind ſeveral Materials for Dying. This Country affords Logwood, otherwiſe call'd Campeche-Wood, and many other Dying Woods, Fuſtick, *&c.* which, divers, who try'd them, affirm, are not inferior to thoſe growing on the oppoſite ſide of the Gulph, in the *Spaniſh* Dominions, whence we have hitherto receiv'd them, with much Charge, Hazard

and

and Trouble. There are beſides the Woods in this Country, divers Shrubs and Plants, whoſe Roots even as us'd by the *Indians*, die the fineſt and moſt durable Colours, Black, Yellow, Blue, and eſpecially Red; which if planted, and cultivated, as Mather Wood, and Saffron amongſt us, might probably be beneficial unto the Undertakers.

Some Perſons are very inquiſitive, whether this Country produces Gemms: I pretend not to the Knowledge of Diamonds, Rubies and Balaſſes, Saphires, Emeralds, or Chryſolites; all that have come to my Knowledge are Amethiſts, of which there are very fine and large, and to the *Weſt-Turchoiſes*, thought to be as large and good as any in the known World; and poſſibly upon Inquiry and diligent Search, others may be found.

We have an Account of *Lapis Lazuli*, which is an Indication, as Mine-Maſters generally affirm, that Gold is not far off. I never did ſee or hear of any *Lapis Lazuli* extraordinary good, but had viſible Streaks, or Veins of pure Gold: But tho' it is not ordinarily reckon'd amongſt precious Stones, yet, if good in its Kind, it is ſold for its Weight in Gold, to make that glorious Azure call'd Ultramarine, without which no marvelous, and durable Painting can be made. And Monſieur *Turnefort* in his Voyage to the *Levant* obſerves, That beſides that

that *Lazuli* is found in Gold-Mines, there ſeem to be in this Stone ſome Threads of Gold as it were ſtill uncorrupted.

I had almoſt forgot to communicate two Commodities one for the Health, the other for the Defence of our Bodies. The former is a Shrub call'd Caſſine, much us'd and celebrated by the Natives, the Leaves whereof dry'd will keep very long, of which ſeveral People have had many Years Experience. The *Indians* drink plentifully thereof, (as we do Tea in *Europe*, and the *Chineſes*, from whom it is exported) more eſpecially when they undertake long and dangerous Expeditions againſt their Enemies, affirming, it takes away Hunger, Thirſt, Wearineſs, and that tormenting Paſſion, Fear, for Twenty-four Hours: And none amongſt them are allow'd to drink it, but thoſe, who have well deſerv'd by their Military Atcheivments, or otherwiſe obtain'd the Favour of their petty Royteletts.

The latter is Salt-Peter, which may probably be here procur'd, cheap and plentifully, there being at certain Seaſons of the Year moſt prodigious Flights of Pidgeons, I have been aſſur'd by ſome who have ſeen them, above a League long, and half as broad. Theſe come, many Flocks ſucceſſively, much the ſame Courſe, rooſt upon the Trees in ſuch Numbers, that they often break the Boughs, and leave prodigious Heaps of Dung behind them; from which, with good

good Management, and very little Expence, great Quantities of the beſt Salt-Peter may be extracted.

Having given an Account of the moſt valuable Animals and Vegetables this Country produces, for Food and other Uſes, as well as Materials for Trade and Manufacture; Some, who have heard or read of the immenſe Riches in Gold and Silver, that are annually exported from *Peru*, *Mexico*, and other Territories of the *Spaniards* in *America* to *Spain*, and of the incredible Quantities of Gold that have been imported from *Brazil* into *Portugal*, for above Thirty Years paſt (The Benefit of which all the World knows we have ſhar'd in) will be ready to enquire, whither the like Mines exiſt in this Country? Whereunto it may be anſwer'd; were there no ſuch Mines, yet where there is ſo good, rich, fertil, Land; ſo pure and healthful an Air and Climate; ſuch an Abundance of all Things for Food and Raiment; valuable Materials for Domeſtick and Foreign Trade; theſe Advantages alone, if induſtriouſly improv'd, and prudently manag'd, will in the Event, bring in Gold and Silver by the Ballance of Trade, as in the Caſe of *England* and *Holland*; who without Mines of Gold or Silver, are perhaps the richeſt Nations, for the Quantity of Land they poſſeſs, and Number of Inhabitants, in the whole Commercial World. And its well

known, that we and ſome other induſtrious *Europeans* receive, in Exchange for our Commodities, the greateſt Part of the Wealth, which comes in Bullion from the *Weſt-Indies*, either to *Spain* or *Portugal*. But not to diſcourage any whoſe Genius inclines them to the Diſcovery and Working of Mines, I will add, Who knows, but we may have here as rich as any in the known World? Who hath ſearched? As *Tacitus* ſaid of *Germany* in the Heighth of the *Roman* Empire; I mean the Reign of the great *Trajan*, Sixteen Hundred Years ſince. Yet afterwards there were found, Gold, Silver, Lead, Tin, Copper, Quick-ſilver, Spelter, Antimony, Vitriol, the beſt in the World, Blue, Green, and White; beſides many other Mineral Productions, which are now wrought to the great Advantage of divers Sovereign Princes and their Subjects.

But to make a more particular Reply to ſuch Suggeſtions. They may be aſſur'd, that Copper is in Abundance, and ſo fine, that it is found in Plates, Bitts and Pieces very pure without Melting, of which conſiderable Quantities have been gather'd on the Surface of the Earth. And they who have tried ſome of the Oar affirm, by common Methods, it gives above Forty *per Cent.* The famous *Alonſo Barba*, who hath given an admirable Account of the Mines the *Spaniards* have diſcover'd in *America*, and the Ways of working them, aſſures us, that

beſides

besides the Mines abounding in that Metal near the Surface of the Earth, they found, digging deeper, that they prov'd the richest Silver Mines, they have hitherto discover'd. And all agree, the Gold extracted out of Copper, is Finer, of a higher Tincture, or more Caratts, than that extracted from Silver or any other Metal; and that without the tedious Process of burning several Times before Melting, imploy'd constantly, in order to the extracting Copper, by *Swedes* and other *European* Nations.

Lead is there in great Quantities. What has already been discover'd, is more than sufficient for Common Use, and the Oar affords Sixty *per Cent.*

I need not perhaps mention Coal, the Country so much abounding in Wood. But because in some Cases, that may be more useful and proper than Wood, I will add, That in many Places there are known to be Mines of Pit-Coal, like that we have from *Scotland*, *Wales*, and some of our Inland Countries in *England*.

Iron Oar is in abundance of Places near the Surface of the Earth; and some Parts produce Iron, little inferior to Steel in Goodness, and useful in many Cases, wherein Steel is commonly imploy'd, as divers attest, who have made Trials thereof.

This Country affords another profitable Commodity or Mineral, which is Quick-silver. We have Knowledge of two Mines

one on the Weſt; the other on the Eaſt of the great River; and doubtleſs many more might be found if enquir'd after. The Natives make no other Uſe thereof, than to paint their Faces and Bodies therewith, in Time of War, and great Feſtivals. This we call Quick-ſilver, is the Mother of Quick-ſilver, or the Mineral out of which it is extracted, and is a Rock of a Scarlet or Purple Colour; which being broke and diſtill'd in Earthen Pots, the Necks whereof are put into others almoſt full of Water, the latter, for the greater Part of each of them in the Ground, then are plac'd in Rows, almoſt contiguous, cover'd with ſpray Wood, which burning drives the Quickſilver by Deſcent out of the Mineral into the Water. Three or Four Men will tend ſome Thouſands of theſe Pots. The great Trouble is in digging; all the Expence not amounting unto a Tenth Part of the Value of the Produce.

And it is generally obſerv'd by all, who write well on Mines, Metals, and Minerals, That tho' Silver be often found, where there is no Cinnabar of Quick-ſilver in its Neighbourhood, yet Cinnabar is rarely found but Silver Mines are near. This Cinnabar or Vermillion, tho' a good Commodity in itſelf in *Europe*, and among the Savages, for ſome pick'd choſen Pieces, is chiefly valuable for the Quick-ſilver it produces; eſpecially if we ever obtain a free Trade with the *Spaniards*; and

and will be beyond all Exception for our and their mutual Benefit: For moſt of the Silver Oar in *America*, mix'd with Quick-ſilver, produces almoſt double the Quantity of Metal, it would do only by Melting; ſo that the *Spaniards* have annually ſix or eight Thouſand Quintals, or Hundred Weight, brought unto them from the Bottom of the *Adriatick* Gulph, out of the Territories of the Emperor, and the *Venetians*, *viz.* from *Iſtria*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Friuli*, and *Dalmatia*. We can ſell it them, and deliver it for half what that coſts, which comes from *Europe*, they being within ſix or eight Days ſail of the Place where it is produc'd. And for *Mexico* we can deliver it for the Mines in *New Biſcay*, &c. in the River of *Palmes*, or *Rio Bravo*, otherwiſe call'd the River of *Eſcondido*: As alſo by the River of the *Houmas*, which enters the *Meſchacebe*, 100 Leag. from its Mouth, on the Weſt-ſide, after a Courſe of above 500 Miles. It is a very large deep River, Navigable at leaſt 300 Miles by Ships; afterwards unto its Heads by Barks and flat-bottom'd Boats, having no Falls. It proceeds from that Narrow Ridge of low Mountains, which divides this Country, and the Province of *New Mexico*. The Hills may be paſs'd not only by Men and Horſes, but alſo by Waggons in leſs than half a Day. On the other ſide are ſmall Navigable Rivers, which, after a ſhort Courſe of 30 or 40 Miles, empty themſelves

 into

into the aboveſaid *Rio Bravo*, which comes from the moſt Northerly Part of *New Mexico*, in 38 Degrees of Latitude, and enters the Sea at the N. W. End of the Gulph of *Mexico*, in 27 Degrees of Latitude.

There is alſo another eaſy Paſſage, to the Northern Part of *New Mexico*, by the Yellow River, which about 60 Miles above its Mouth, is divided into Two great Branches; or rather thoſe Two Branches form that great River, which is no leſs than the *Meſchacebe*, where they are united. The North Branch proceeds from the North-Weſt, and is call'd the River of the *Maſſorites*, from a great Nation who live thereon. The other which comes from the Weſt and by South, is nam'd the River of the *Ozages*, a populous Nation of that Name inhabiting on its Banks; and their Heads proceed from the aforeſaid Hills, which Part the Province of *New Mexico* from *Carolana*, and are eaſily paſſable; as are thoſe forementioned of the River of the *Houmas*, which may be plainly diſcern'd by the Map, or Chart hereunto annex'd.

But all this is inſignificant to our *Plutoniſts*, whom nothing will ſatisfy beſides Gold and Silver; I will therefore here declare all I know, or have receiv'd from credible Perſons, and will not add a Tittle. I am well inform'd of a Place, from whence the *Indians* have brought a Mettal, (not well indeed refin'd) and that divers Times, which

purified,

purified, produc'd Two Parts Silver. And I have an Account from another, who was with the *Indians*, and had from them inform Maſſes of ſuch like Silver, and very fine Pale Copper, though above 200 Miles from the Country, where the forementioned was found. I have by me Letters from *New Jerſey*, written many Years ſince, by a Perſon very well skill'd in the Refining of Metals, ſignifying, that divers Years ſucceſſively, a Fellow, who was there of little Eſteem, took a Fancy to ramble with the *Indians* beyond the Hills, which ſeparate that Colony and *New York* from this Country; he always brought Home with him a Bag, as heavy as he could well carry, of Duſt, or rather ſmall Particles of divers Sorts of Metals very ponderous. When melted it appeared a Mixture of Metals, unto which they could aſſign no certain Denomination; but perceiv'd by many Trials, that it contain'd Lead, Copper, and, when refin'd, above a Third Part Silver and Gold; for tho' the Gold was the leaſt in Quantity, yet it was conſiderable in Value; which is eaſily diſcover'd by any tolerable Artiſt of a Refiner, who knows, how to ſeparate Gold and Silver, and what Proportion the Maſs contains of each. There were great Pains taken, to bring this Fellow to diſcover, where he had this, I may call, Treaſure, it ſerving him to drink and ſot, till he went on another Ex-

pedition; But neither Promiſes nor Importunities would prevail. Some made him Drunk, yet he ſtill kept his Secret. All they could ever fiſh out of him was, that about 300 Leagues South-Weſt of *Jerſey*, at a certain Seaſon of the Year, there fell great Torrents of Water from ſome Mountains, I ſuppoſe from Rains, which being paſs'd over, the *Indians* waſh'd the Sand or Earth ſome Diſtance below the Falls, and in the Bottom remain'd this Medley of Metals: Which brings to mind what happen'd lately in *Braſil*. Several *Portugueſe* being guilty of heinous Crimes, or afraid of the Reſentment of powerful Enemies, retreated from their Habitations, to the Mountains of St. *Paul*, as they call'd them, lying in between 20 and 30 Degrees of South-Latitude, above 200 Miles from their neareſt Plantations, and yearly increaſing, at length form'd a Government amongſt themſelves. Some inquiſitive Perſon perceiving, in divers Places, ſomewhat glyſter, after the Canals of the Torrents, produc'd by great Rains, at a certain Time of the Year, were dry, upon Trial found it (the Sand and Filth being waſh'd away) very fine Gold. They having upon Conſultation amaſs'd a good Quantity thereof, made their Peace with the King of *Portugal*, and are a peculiar Juriſdiction, paying the King his Quint or Fifth, which is reſerv'd in all Grants

of

of the Crown of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and are conſtantly ſupply'd by the Merchants for ready Money, with whatſoever Commodities they want. And I am informed by divers credible Perſons, who have long liv'd in *Portugal*, that from this otherwiſe contemptible uſeleſs Country, is brought by every *Brazil* Fleet above Twelve Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pounds *Sterl.* only in Gold. Who knows but what happen'd to them, may one Time or other, in like manner, happen to the Future Inhabitants of this Country, not yet cultivated, fully diſcover'd, or ranſack'd by *Europeans*?

There are in divers Parts of this Province, Orpiment, and Sandaracha in great Quantity; and all the Writers on Metals and Minerals affirm, they not only contain Gold, but where they are found they are generally the Covering of Mines of Gold or Silver.

But ſuppoſe all that preceded is Conjecture, Impoſture, or Viſionary; what I now ſuggeſt deſerves great Attention; and when the Country is ſettled, may invite the beſt Heads, and longeſt Purſes, to combine, at leaſt, to make a fair Trial of what the *Spaniards* attempted upon naked Conjectures.

The Mines of *New Biſcay*, *Gallicia* and *New Mexico*, out of which ſuch vaſt Quantities of Silver is Yearly ſent to *Spain*, beſides

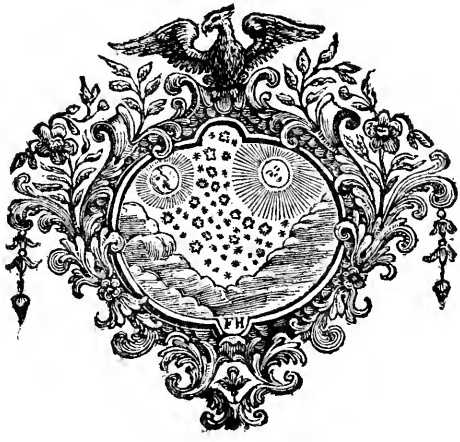
ſides what is detain'd for their Domeſtick Utenſils, wherein they are very magnificent, lie contiguous to this Country. To ſay nothing of Gold, whereof they have conſiderable Quantities, tho' not proportionable in Bulk or Value to the Silver. But there is a Ridge of Hills which run almoſt due North and South between their Country and ours, not 30 Miles broad, and in divers Places, for many Miles, abounding with Silver Mines, more than they can work, for want of Native *Spaniards*, and *Negroes*. And, which is very remarkable, they unanimouſly affirm, the further North, the Richer the Mines of Silver are. Which brings to mind what *Polibius*, *Livy*, *Pliny*, and many others of the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtorians, and Writers of Natural Hiſtory unanimouſly report; That the rich Mines in *Spain*, upon which the *Carthaginians* ſo much depended, and which greatly inrich'd them, were in the *Aſturias* and *Pyrenean* Mountains, the moſt Northerly Part of *Spain*, and in a much greater Northern Latitude, than the furtheſt Mines of *New Mexico*, near their Capital City *St. a Fee*, ſituate in about 36 Degrees. Not but that there are more and richer Mines more Northerly than *St. a Fee*, but they are hinder'd from working them, by Three or Four populous and well polic'd Nations, who have beat the *Spaniards* in many Rencounters, not to ſay Battles; and for

a Hundred Years, they have not been able, by their own Confeſſion, to gain from them one Inch of Ground.

Pliny in particular affirms, That every Year Twenty Thouſand Pounds of Gold were brought from their Mines in *Spain*: And that one Mine call'd *Bebello*, from the firſt Diſcoverer, yeilded to *Hannibal*, every Day Three Hundred Pounds Weight of Silver; beſides a very rich copious Mine of Minium, Cinnabaris, or Vermillion, the Mother of Quickſilver, out of which only it is extracted. He adds, That the *Romans* continued to work theſe Mines unto his Time, which was above Three Hundred Years; but they were not then ſo profitable, by Reaſon of Subterraneal Waters, which gave them much Trouble, they having then digged Fifteen Hundred Paces into the Mountain. But what is very remarkable, and to our preſent Purpoſe, Theſe Mines were not in the moſt Southerly or Middle Parts of *Spain*, but as above to the Northward. Now I deſire any Intelligent Perſon, skilful in Mineral Affairs, to aſſign a probable Reaſon, why we, who are on that Side of the Ridge of Hills obverted to the Riſing Sun, which was always (how juſtly I know not) reckon'd to abound in Mettals and Minerals, more than thoſe expos'd to the Setting Sun, may not hope for, and expect as many and as rich Mines, as any the *Spani-*

ards

ards are Maſters of, on the other or Weſt-ſide of theſe Mountains? Eſpecially ſince ſeveral of the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians and Naturaliſts obſerve, that the Mines on the Eaſtern ſide of the Mountain of *Potoſi* in *Peru*, are much more numerous and rich, than thoſe on the Weſtern.



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

AN

EXTRACT

OF THE

CHARTER

Granted by

King *CHARLES* I.

To Sir ROBERT HEATH.

CHARLES *by the Grace of* GOD, &c. *To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting.*

WHEREAS, Our Trusty and Well-beloved Subject and Servant, Sir *Robert Heath*, Knight, Our Attorney General, being excited with a laudable Zeal for the propagating the Christian Faith, the Enlargement

ment of Our Empire and Dominions, and the Increase of Trade and Commerce of Our Kingdom, has humbly besought Leave of Us, by his own Industry and Charge, to transport an ample Colony of Our Subjects, *&c.* unto a certain Country hereafter describ'd, in the Parts of *America*, between the Degrees of 31 and 36, of *Northern* Latitude inclusively, not yet cultivated or planted, *&c.*

KNOW ye therefore, That We favouring the pious and laudable Purpose of Our said Attorney, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have given, granted and confirm'd, and by this Our present *Charter* do give, grant and confirm unto the said Sir *Robert Heath* Knight, his Heirs, and Assignes, for ever, All that River or Rivulet of St. *Mattheo* on the *South* Part, and all that River or Rivulet of *Passo Magno* on the *North* Part, and all Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, lying, being, and extending between or within the said two Rivers, by the Tract there unto the Ocean on the *Eastern* and *Western* Parts, so far forth and as much as the Continent there extends itself, with every of their Appurtenances. And also all those Islands of *Veanis* and *Bahama.* And all other Islands and Islets near thereto, and lying *Southward* of and from the said Continent, all which lie within 31 and 36 Degrees of *Northern* Latitude inclusively. And all and singular Havens of Ships, Roads and Creeks of the Sea, to the said Rivers,

Islands

Iſlands and Lands belonging; and all Grounds, Lands, Woods, Lakes and Rivers within the Regions, Iſlands and Limits aforeſaid, ſituate or being; with all Kinds of Fiſhes whatſoever, Whales, Sturgeons, and other Royal Fiſh and Fiſhings in the Sea and Rivers. And all Veins, Mines, Pits, as well open as ſhut, of Gold, Silver, Gems, precious Stones, and other Stones, Metals or Things whatſoever, within the ſaid Region, Territory, Iſlands or Limits aforeſaid, found or to be found. And all Patronages and Advowſons of all Churches, which, by Increaſe of Chriſtian Religion, ſhall hereafter happen to be built within the ſaid Region, Territory, Iſland and Limits aforeſaid; with all and ſingular, and with as ample Rights, Juriſdictions, Privileges, Prerogatives, Royalties, Liberties, Immunities, Royal Rights and Franchiſes whatſoever, as well by Sea as Land, within the ſaid Region, Territory, Iſlands and Limits aforeſaid. To have, uſe, exerciſe and enjoy, in as ample Manner, as any Biſhop of *Durham* in Our Kingdom of *England*, ever heretofore have, held, uſed or enjoyed, or of Right ought or could have, uſe or enjoy.

And him, the ſaid Sir *Robert Heath*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, We do by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, make, create and conſtitute the true and abſolute Lords and Proprietors of the ſaid Region and Territory aforeſaid, and of all other the Premiſes,

miſes, ſaving always the Faith and Allegiance due to Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors. And that the Country or Territory thus by Us granted and deſcrib'd, may be dignify'd by Us with as large Titles and Privileges as any other of Our Dominions and Territories in that Region,

KNOW ye, That We of Our further Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have thought fit to erect the ſame Tract of Ground, Country and Iſland, into a Province, and out of the Fulneſs of our Royal Power ane Prerogative, We do for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, erect and incorporate the ſame into a Province, and do name it *Carolana*, or the Province of *Carolana*, and the ſaid Iſlands the *Carolana* Iſlands, and ſo from henceforth will have them call'd, *&c.*

In Witneſs, &c.

Witneſs the King at Weſtminſter *the Thirtieth Day of* October, *in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.*

NB. THERE are divers other Grants, Licences and Privileges, Royalties, and Immunities, in the ſaid *Charter* contain'd and ſet forth, which, upon peruſal thereof will more fully and at large appear.

THE Additional Clauſe from the Board of Trade.

To

To the King's most Excellent MAJESTY,

May it please Your MAJESTY,

IN Obedience to Your MAJESTY's Commands signified to us by the Right Honourable Mr. *Secretary Vernon*, upon the Petition of Dr. *Coxe* in Relation to the Province of *Carolana*, alias *Carolana Florida*, We have consider'd his said Petition, and humbly crave leave to represent unto Your MAJESTY.

THAT Your MAJESTY's Attorney-General upon the Perusal of Letters Patents and Conveyances produc'd to him by Dr. *Coxe*, has reported to us his Opinion, That Dr. *Coxe* has a good Title in Law to the said Province of *Carolana*, extending from 31 to 36 Degrees of *North* Latitude inclusive, on the Continent of *America*, and to several adjacent Islands.

Sign'd

Stamford
Lexington
P. Meadows
William Blathwait.
John Pollexsen
Abraham Hill
George Stepney

Whitehall,
Dec. 21. 1699.

An Abstract of the first Memorial presented to King William, *being a Demonstration of the just Pretensions of his* MAJESTY *the King of* England *unto the Province of* Carolana, *alias* Florida, *and of the present Proprietor under his* MAJESTY.

SEBASTION *Cabota* in the Year 1497, by the Commission and at the Expence of King *Henry* VII. discover'd all the Coast of *America*, fronting the *North* or *Atlantick* Ocean, from the Degrees of 56 to 28 of *North* Latitude, Twenty Years before any other *Europeans* had visited that vast Continent; As appears not only from our own Historians and Cosmographers, but also from the Testimony of the most eminent amongst the *Spanish*, *viz. Peter Martyr* their great Secretary in his *Decades*; *Oviedo* Governor of *Hispaniola*; *Herrera* their celebrated Historian, and *Gomara*, unto whom We appeal: As also unto the famous *Ramusio*, a most impartial Person, Secretary to the renowned Republick of *Venice*, whose Works were Printed in the Year 1550; and his elegant Contemporary *Paulus Jovius*.

ABOUT Twenty Years after, the *Southern* Part of this Continent adjacent to the Gulph of *Bahama*, and that afterwards styl'd the Gulph of *Mexico*, was visited first by the *Spaniards* commanded by *Juan Ponce de Leon*. Ten Years after, *Vasquez Ayllon* landed upon it, with a more considerable Force; and in

in the Year 1527 *Pamphilo Narvaez* with a greater: Next to him in the Year 1539, *Ferdinando Soto*. But their enormous Cruelties did so enrage the Natives, that they successively expell'd them. And these pretended Conquerors, cannot have a much worse Character, bestow'd upon them by their Enemies or Foreigners, than they receive from their own Historians, and that so ill as almost exceeds Credit.

THE last Expedition of the *Spaniards*, unto that Part of *Florida*, now *Carolana*, which borders upon the Gulph of *Mexico*, was in the Year 1558, by the Orders of *Don Luys de Velasco*, then Vice-Roy of *Mexico*; but the *Spaniards* after their Arrival falling into great Feuds, return'd without making any Settlement. Nor have they ever since made upon this vast Continent, except that of St. *Augustine*, situated upon the *North* Sea, between the 29th and 30th Degrees of *Northern* Latitude, above 1200 Miles distant from *Panuco*, their nearest Habitation to the *West*, which is 60 Leagues from *Mexico*. * The *French* indeed attempted a Settlement about Fourteen Years since at a Place they nam'd St. *Louis* Bay, not far from *Panuco* between 26 and 27 Degrees *North* Latitude, but were soon dispers'd. † And again this Year under Monsieur *Iberville*, and built a Sconce near the *West* and least Branch of *Meschacebe*, leaving therein about 40 Men.

* *Vide* p. 38. and 39. † *Vid.* p. 91.

KING *Charles* I. in the Fifth Year of his Reign, granted unto Sir *Robert Heath* his Attorney-General, a Patent of all that Part of *America*, from the River St. *Mattheo*, lying and being in 30 Degrees of *North* Latitude, unto the River *Passo Magno* in 36 Degrees; extending in Longitude from the *North* or *Atlantick* Ocean, unto the *Pacifick* or *South*-Sea, not then being in the actual Possession of any Christian Prince or State. And no Part of this Grant was then or since in the actual Possession of any Christian Prince or State, excepting St. *Augustine* aforesaid; and *New Mexico*, a great Province, unto which the *English* lay no Claim.

SIR *Robert Heath* in the Thirteenth Year of King *Charles* I. convey'd the Premises unto the Lord *Mattravers*, soon after, upon his Father's Decease, Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, Earl Marshal of *England*, who at great Expence planted several Parts of the said Country, and had effected much more, had he not been prevented by the War with *Scotland*, in which he was General for King *Charles*; and afterwards by the Civil Wars in *England*, and the Lunacy of his Eldest Son.

IN the Beginning of the Protectorate of *Cromwel*, One Captain *Watts* (afterwards knighted by King *Charles* II. and by him made Governor of St. *Christophers*) falling accidentally upon the Coast of *Florida*, and meeting with One *Leet* an *Englishman*, who having

having divers Years before been ſhipwreck'd, and the only Man eſcap'd, and then in great Favour with the chief *Paracouſſi* or Roytelet of that Country, by his Influence the *Engliſh* were permitted to trade, and kindly invited to ſettle there. Not long after the King as they ſtyl'd him, ſent One of his chief Subjects Embaſſador to *England*; and the *Engliſh* had divers Tracts of Land given them by the *Indians*, and ſurvey'd that Continent (a Map whereof is ſtill in being) for above Two Hundred Miles ſquare.

After this a great Number of Perſons engag'd to contribute conſiderably, towards the ſettling a Colony of *Engliſh* in the ſaid Province, which Original Subſcription is now in my Poſſeſſion. They nam'd divers Places, eſpecially Rivers, Harbors and Iſles, by the Names of the Captains of Ships, chief Traders, and other Circumſtances relating to the *Engliſh* Nation, as by the ſaid Map or Chart doth more fully appear.

In the Year 1678, a conſiderable Number of Perſons went from *New England* upon Diſcovery, and proceeded ſo far as *New Mexico*, 150 Leagues beyond the River *Meſchacebe*, and at their Return render'd an Account to the Government of *Boſton*, as will be atteſted, among many others, by Colonel *Dudley*, then One of the Magiſtrates, afterwards Governor of *New England*, and at preſent Deputy Governor of the Iſle of *Wight*, under the Honourable the

the Lord *Cutts*. The War ſoon after breaking out between the *Engliſh* and *Indians*, many of the *Indians*, who were in that Expedition, retreated to *Canada*, from whom Monſieur *De Salle* receiv'd moſt of his Information, concerning that Country, by him afterwards more fully diſcover'd. And they ſerv'd him for Guides and Interpreters; as is atteſted by Monſieur *Le Tonty*, who accompany'd Monſieur *De Salle*: As alſo by Monſieur *Le Clerk*, in a Book publiſh'd by Order of the *French* King. For which Reaſon, and divers other Paſſages favouring inadvertently the *Engliſh* Pretenſions, his Journal Printed at *Paris*, was called in, and that Book of One Livre Price, is not now to be purchas'd for Thirty Livres.

The Five Nations, in the Territory of *New York*, commonly call'd *Irocois* by the *French*, who have for above Thirty Years voluntarily ſubjected themſelves to the King of *England*, had conquer'd all that Part of the Country, from their own Habitations to and beyond *Meſchacebe* (as the aforemention'd Monſieur *Le Tonty* more than once acknowledges: As alſo Father *Le Clerk* in his Hiſtory of *Canada* Printed by Order in 1691) ſold, made over and ſurrender'd, all their Conqueſts and Acquiſitions therein, to the Government of *New York*, which therefore of Right belongs to the *Engliſh*.

THE Present Proprietary of *Carolana* apprehending, from what Information he had receiv'd, that the Planting of this Country would be highly beneficial to the *English*, endeavour'd divers Ways to acquaint himself with the People, Soil and Products thereof; discover'd divers of its Parts; first from *Carolina*, afterwards from *Pensilvania*, by the *Susquehanah* River; and many of his People travell'd to *New Mexico*.

SOON after the said Proprietary of *Carolana*, made another Discovery more Southerly, by the great River *Ochequiton*, and receiv'd an Account of that Country before altogether unknown, and whereunto the *French* to this Day are utter Strangers.

THE said Proprietary, about the same Time, made another Discovery more to the North-West, beyond the River *Meschacebe*, of a very great Sea or Lake of fresh Water, several Thousand Miles in Circumference; and of a great River, at the S. W. End, issuing out into the *South-Sea*, about the Latitude of 44 Degrees; which was then communicated to the Privy-Council, and a Draft thereof left in the Plantation Office.

AND since We are assur'd, the *English* have more fully discover'd the said Lake from the *South-Sea*, and enter'd by Shipping thereinto.

THEY likewise coasted all that great Continent unto the Seas of *Tartary* and *Japan*,

pan, found it going and returning a very easy quick and safe Navigation, and the People much civiliz'd; and during the Voyage, though they did not (in the Places where they call'd) stay in the whole Ten Days, yet they obtain'd, by Barter with the Natives, above Fourscore Pound Weight of pure Gold.

DIVERS other Parts of this Country were discover'd by the *English*, from several Colonies, long before the *French* had the least Knowledge thereof. Colonel *Wood* in *Virginia* inhabiting at the Falls of *James* River, above 100 Miles West of *Chesepeack* Bay, from the Year 1654 to 1664, discover'd at several Times, several Branches of the great Rivers *Ohio* and *Meschacebe*. I was possess'd about Twenty Years ago of the Journal of Mr. *Needham* employ'd by the aforesaid Colonel, and it is now in the Hands of, *&c.*

THE *English* have not only survey'd by Land the greatest Part of *Florida* and *Carolana*, but have been as industrious and successful in their Attempts by Sea. The present Proprietary of *Carolana*, 23 Years ago, was possess'd of a Journal from the Mouth of the *Meschacebe*, where it disembogues itself into the *Mexican* Gulph, unto the Yellow or Muddy River, as they call it; which said Journal was in *English*, and seem'd to have been written many Years before; together with a very large Map or Chart, with

with the Names of divers Nations, and ſhort Hints of the chief Products of each Country. And by Modern Journals of *Engliſh* and *French*, the moſt material Parts thereof are confirm'd, the Nations, in divers Places there nam'd, continuing ſtill in the ſame Stations, or very little remote. From a Confidence in theſe Journals, the *Engliſh* were encourag'd to attempt further Diſcoveries by Sea and Land. And the preſent Proprietary hath expended therein, for his Share only, above Nine Thouſand Pounds, as he can eaſily and readily demonſtrate.

THE laſt Year being 1698, the preſent Proprietary, at his own Expence, ſet out Two Ships from *England* well Mann'd and Victuall'd; order'd a *Barcolongo* to be bought at *Carolina*, purpoſely built for that Coaſt, and for Diſcovery of Shoals, Lagunes or Bays, and Rivers; As alſo all Materials for building and equipping another Ship in the Country. One of theſe Ships returning, was unhappily caſt away upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt in a great Storm, but very providentially the Journal was ſav'd, though all the Men were loſt; which Journal contains an ample Account of the Country all along the Coaſt, which they repreſent as the moſt pleaſant in the World, and abounding with all Things, not only for Neceſſity, but for the Comfort of Human Life. And amongſt many others, there's a Draft of one of the moſt Capacious Harbors in the Univerſe, the moſt in-

viting Place imaginable for building a Town and eſtabliſhing a Colony, the Adjacent Country being pleaſant, fruitful, and a very great Tract of Land freed from Trees ready for Planting; an excellent Quarry of Stone like that of *Portland*, and a great Oyſter Bank almoſt touching the very Quarry, which will ſupply them with Lime, for many Ages; beſides many other Encouragements, which are comprehended in another Memorial.

D. COXE.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 2. l. 17. read, *where*. p. 4. l. 28. r. *Carolana*. p. 9 l. 10. r. *their*. p. 10. l. 3. r. *their*. p. 11. laſt Line. r. *Cheraquees*. p. 12. l. 16. dele *Hobio*. p. 15. l. 18. r. *Ozages*. p. 16. l 16. r. *Paneaſſa's*. p. 17. l. 19. r. *Ilinoueck*. l. 21. r. *Caracantanon*. l. ult. r. *the*. p. 23. l. 10. r. *Palachean*. l. 11. r. *Guaxula*. p. 36. l. 6. r. *enter*. p. 42. l. 13. r. *all moſt*. p. 45. l. 13. r. *this*. p. 56. l. 11. r. *Oniciens* or *Oionguens*. p. 61 l. 29. r. *Carolana*. p. 63. l. 31. dele *eſpecially* America. l. 32. dele *thither*, dele *New*. l. 33. dele, *and*, *add*, *to*. p. 67. l. 24. r. *Hilum*. l. 33. r. *Nertzinskoy*. p. 76. l. 32. *between they* and *make*, add *may*. p. 83. l. 4. for *Florida*, r. *Mexico*. p. 88. l. 10. and 11. r. *Orenoque*. Beſides ſome Errors in the Pointing, which the obſerving Reader may correct with his Pen.