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A two Years Journal in New-York: And part of its Territories in America (1701)

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Charles Wolley

A two Years Journal in New-York: And part of its Territories in America.

London, 1701

This description of the city and inhabitants of New York and its environs was written by the Anglican chaplain who resided there in the years 1678–1680, who published it twenty years after his return to England.

A large portion concerns the life and manners of the Native inhabitants, obtained both by direct observation and conversation, and by reports from the official government interpreter. The remainder concerns the habits and commerce of the largely Dutch inhabitants of the city. It is an anecdotal description, sprinkled with quotations from English and classical writers, but very homely in its accounts of such diverse incidents as a bear hunt near what is now Maiden Lane, a dinner party for the Calvinist and Lutheran ministers (who had not spoken for six years), breaking up a fist-fight in the street outside his window, the prices of furs and various commodities, the price of land (2 or 3 pence an acre), the death of his pet raccoon, the menu on a trans-Atlantic voyage, the (non-)wearing of shoes by Dutch women, the manner of whaling, the custom of giving New-Year's gifts, the Dutch penchant for *aurigation* (*i.e.* riding about in Wagons), and the practice of treating rattlesnake bites by sucking out the poison.

The first edition was published in London in 1701. A second edition was edited by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan and published by William Gowans in New York in 1860 as the second in his *Bibliotheca Americana* series. A third edition was edited by Edward Gaylord Bourne and issued by Burrows Brothers in 1902; and this last edition provides the text, notes, and essay included here.

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A two Years

JOURNAL

JOHN CARTER BROWN

New-York :

And part of its

TERRITORIES

IN

AMERICA.

By *C. W.* A. M.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Wyat*, at the *Rose* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard: and *Eben Tracy*, at the three *Bibles* on *London-Bridge*. MDCCI.

Title-page, first impression.

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TO THE READER.

The materials of this Journal have laid by me several years expecting that some Landlooper or other in those parts would have done it more methodically, but neither hearing nor reading of any such as yet, and I being taken off from the proper Studies and Offices of my Function, for my unprofitableness, I concluded, that when I could not do what I ought, I ought to do what I could, which I shall further endeavour in a second Part: in the mean while, adieu.

In the year 1678, *May* the 27, we set sail from old *England* for *New-York* in *America*, in the Merchants Ship called the *Blossom, Richard Martain* of *New-England* Master. We had on board Sir *Edmund Andros*, Governor of *New-York*, Merchants and Factors, Mr. *William Pinhorne*, Mr. *James Graham*, Mr. *John White*, Mr. *John West* and others; the 7th of *August* following we arriv'd safe at *New-York*.

The City of *New-York*, by Dr. *Heylin*[*] and other Cosmographers, is call'd *New-Amsterdam*, and the Country *New-Netherlands*, being first inhabited by a Colony of *Dutch*; but as first discover'd by the *English* it was claim'd to the Crown of *England* by Colonel *Nichols*, in the year 1665, then sent over Governor; to whom it was surrendred by the *Dutch* upon Articles; it being a fundamental Point consented unto by all Nations, That the first discovery of a Country inhabited by Infidels, gives a right and Dominion of that Country to the Prince in whose Service and Employment the discoverers were sent; thus the *Spaniard*: claims the *West-Indies*; the *Portugals Brasile*; and thus the *English* those Northern parts of *America*; for *Sebastian Cabot* employed by K. *Hen. 7th*, was the first discoverer of those parts, and in his name took Possession, which his Royal Successors

[*]The earlier editions of Heylin's "Cosmographie" appeared before the English conquest of New Netherlands.

have held and continu'd ever since: Therefore they are of the Crown of *England*, and as such they are accounted by that excellent Lawyer Sir *John Vaughan*: So this particular Province being granted to his then Royal-Highness the D. of *York*, by Letters Patents from King *Charles* the II. was from his title and Propriety call'd *New-York*.

The Fort and Garrison of this place lieth in the degree of 40th and 20 minutes of northern Latitude, as was observ'd and taken by Mr. *Andrew Norwood*, Son of the Famous Mathematician of that name, and by Mr. *Philip Wells*, and *Van Cortland* Junior , *Robert Rider* and *Jacobus Stephens*, the seventh of *July* 1679, with whom I was well acquainted, and at that time present with them.

The Temperature of the Climate.

By the Latitude above observ'd, *New-York* lieth 10 Degrees more to the Southward than Old *England*; by which difference according to Philosophy it should be the hotter Climate, but on the contrary, to speak feelingly, I found it in the Winter Season rather colder for the most part: the reason of which may be the same with that which Sir *Henry Wotton*[*] gives for the coldness of *Venice*, as he observ'd from the experience of fourteen years Embassie, viz. Though *Venice* be seated in the very middle point, between the Equinoctial and the northern Pole, at 45 degrees precisely, or there abouts, of Latitude, yet their winters are for the most part sharper than ours in *England*, though about six degrees less of Elevation, which he imputed to its vicinity or nigh

[*]Ambassador to Venice for many years between 1604 and 1624.

Situation to the chilly tops of the Alps, for Winds as well as Waters are tainted and infected in their passage. *New-York* in like manner is adjacent to and almost encompass'd with an hilly, woody Country, full of Lakes and great Vallies, which receptacles are the Nurseries, Forges and Bellows of the Air, which they first suck in and contract, then discharge and ventilate with a fiercer dilatation. The huge lake of *Canada*, which lies to the northward of *New-York*, is supposed to be the most probable place for dispersing the cold Northwest-winds which alter the nature of this Climate, insomuch that a thick winter Coat there is commonly called a *Northwestern*: So that the Consequence which Men make in common discourse from the Degree of a place to the temper of it, is indeed very deceivable, without a due regard to other circumstances; for as I have read in the *Philosophical Transactions*, the order of the seasons of the year is quite inverted under the torrid Zone, for whereas it should be then Summer when the Sun is near, and Winter when the Sun is farther of; under the torrid Zone it's never less hot than when the Sun is nearest; nor more hot than when the Sun is farthest off; so that to the people who live between the Equinoctial and the Tropicks, Summer begins about *Christmas*, and their Winter about St. *John's* day, the reason whereof is that when the Sun is directly over their heads, it raises abundance of Vapours, and draws them so high that they are presently converted into water by the coldness of the Air; whence it comes to pass that then it rains continually, which does repress the Air; but when the Sun is farther off there falls no more Rain, and so the heat becomes insupportable; but besides these observations and Philosophical Solutions, give me leave to offer one Consideration to the Inhabitants of the Northern parts of *England*, viz. Whether they

have not taken notice for the several years past of some alteration in the Seasons of the year; that the Winters have been earlier, colder and longer, and the Summers shorter than formerly within their own memories; for which I think I may appeal to the Gardeners. Especially as to the fruit of the Vine, no Grapes having come to their maturity or perfection in the same Gardens they used to do: Now to what reasons shall we impute these, shall we say in the words of that Scribe of the Law, *Esdras, The world hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old, for look how much the world shall be weaker through age ?* Or shall we apologize with Dr. *Hakewell*, in his Power and Providence in the Government of the World ?* For my part I humbly submit to the Virtuoso's of Natural and Divine Philosophy; rather than embarass and envelop my self in prying within the Curtains of the Primitive Chaos, or the Womb of the Creation, or the dark Orb of Futurities.

Of the Air.

It's a Climate of a Sweet and wholesome breath, free from those annoyances which are commonly ascribed by Naturalists for the insalubrity of any Country, viz. South or South-east Winds, many stagnant Waters, lowness of shoars, inconstancy of Weather, and the excessive heat of the Summer; the extremity of which is gently refresh'd, fann'd and allay'd by Constant breezes

* Dr. George Hakewill's "Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World," etc., 3rd ed., Oxford, 1635, examined and censured II the common errour touching Nature's perpetuall and Universal Decay."

from the Sea; it does not welcome its Guests and Strangers with the seasoning distempers of Fevers and Fluxes, like Virginia, Maryland, and other Plantations, nature kindly drains and purgeth it by Fontanels* and Issues of running waters in its irriguous Valleys, and shelters it with the umbrella' s of all sorts of Trees from pernicious Lakes; which Trees and Plants do undoubtedly, tho' insensibly suck in and digest into their own growth and Composition, those subterraneous Particles and Exhalations, which otherwise would be attracted by the heat of the Sun and So become matter for infectious Clouds and malign Atmospheres, and tho we cannot rely upon these causes as permanent and continuing, for the longer and the more any Country is peopled, the more unhealthful it may prove, by reason of Jaques, † Dunghills and other excrementitious stagnations,

which offend and annoy the bodies of Men, by incorporating with, and infecting the circumambient Air, but these inconveniencies can scarce be suppos'd to happen within our age, for the very settling and inhabiting a new Country, which is Commonly done by destroying its Wood, and that by Fire (as in those parts I describe) does help to purifie and refine the Air; an experiment and remedy formerly us'd in *Greece* and other Nations, in the time of Plague or any common infection. To conclude this Chapter, I my self, a person seemingly of a weakly Stamen and a valetudinary Constitution, was not in the least indispos'd in that Climate, during my residence there, the space of three years:

* Fontanels — a medical metaphor; a fontanel is "an artificial ulcer or a natural issue for the discharge of humours from the body."—Murray's "New Eng. Dict."

† Jaques = jakes.

This account and description of the place, I recommend as a fair encouragement, to all who are inclined to Travel; to which I shall subjoin other inviting Advantages and Curiosities in their proper places.

Of the Inhabitants. And first of the Indians or Natives.

There are a clan of high flown Religionists, who stile the Indians the *Populus Terræ*, and look upon them as a reprobate despicable sort of creatures: But making the allowances for their invin cible ignorance, as to a reveal'd Education, I should rather call them the *Terræ filii:* For otherwise I see no difference betwixt them and the rest of the Noble Animals. They are stately and well proportioned in Symmetry through the whole Oeconomy of their bodies, so that I cannot say I observed any natural deformity in any of them; which probably may be owing to their way of nurturing their new born infants: which is thus, as soon as a Woman is delivered, she retires into the Wood for a burden or bundle of sticks, which she takes upon her back to strengthen her; the Children they Swaddle upon a Board, which they hang about their heads, and so carry them for a year together, or till they can go, this I had confirm'd to me, by my friend Mr. *William Asfordby*, who lived in those parts sixteen years, and had for his Neighbour one *Harman* the Indian in

Marble-Town, in the County of *Ulster*, formerly called *Sopus*,* in the Province of New- York, whose Squaw or Wife us'd this way to her self and children: In nursing their Children, the Mother

* The district of Sopus or Esopus was organized into a county in 1683 and named Ulster. — O'C.

abhors that unnatural and Costly Pride of suckling them with other Breasts, whilst her own are sufficient for that affectionate service; their hardiness and facility in bringing forth is generally such as neither requires the nice attendance of Nursekeepers, nor the art of a dextrous *Lucina*, being more like the *Hebrew* Women than the native *Ægyptians*, delivered before the Midwife can come to them; like that *Irish* Woman of whom Dr. *Harvy** *de generatione Animalium, Cap. de partu*, Page 276, reports from the mouth of the Lord *Carew*, Earl of *Totness* and Lord President of *Munster*, who though big with Child accompanied her Husband in the Camp, marching from place to place, but by reason of a sudden flood I which hindered their Armies march for one hour, the Woman's pains coming upon her, she withdrew her-self to a thicket of Shrubs, and there alone brought forth Twins, both of which she brought down to the River and wash'd both herself and them, wrapping them up in a course and Irish Mantle, marches with them at her back, the same day barefoot and barelegged twelve Miles, without any prejudice to herself or them. The next day after, the Lord Deputy *Montjoy*, who at that time commanded the Army against the *Spaniard*, who had besieged Kinsale, with the Lord *Carew*, stood God-fathers for the Children; but I cannot say of them as it is related of the Queen of *Navarre*,† Mother to *Henry* of *France*, called the Great, who

* The celebrated discoverer of the circulation of the blood. Harvey's "Exercitationes de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis" was published in 1628, and his "Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium" in 1651.

† This anecdote is related by the historian Palma Cayet who was a member of the household of the queen of Navarre and under-tutor to Prince Henry. See Petitot, "Coll. des Méms. de l'Histoire de France," vol. xxxix., p. 234.

sung a French Song in the time of his Birth, seeming to show other Women, that it is possible to be brought to bed without crying out.

As to their Stature, most of them are between five or six foot high, straight bodied, strongly composed, in complexion perfect Adamites;* of a clayish colour, the Hair of their Heads generally black, lank and long, hanging down. And I have been several times amongst them, and could never observe anyone shap'd either in redundance or defect, deformed or mishapen. They preserve their Skins smooth by anointing them with the Oyl of Fishes, the fat of Eagles, and the grease of Rackoons, which they hold in the Summer the best Antidote to keep their skins from blistering by the scorching Sun, their best Armour against the Musketto's; the surest expeller of the hairy Excrement, and stopper of the Pores of their Bodies against the Winter's cold, their Hair being naturally black, they make it more so, by oyling, dying and dayly dressing, yet though they be very curious about the Hair of their Heads, yet they will not endure any upon their Chins, where it no sooner grows but they take it out by the Roots, counting it a spurious and opprobrious excrement: Insomuch, that the *Aberginians*† or Northern Indians in *New-England*, call him an English-man's Bastard, that hath but the appearance of a Beard; so that I leave it to the other Sex:

Judicat ex mento non mente puella maritum.

* The traditional etymology of Adam. "This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that is 'red', because he was formed out of red earth compounded together; for that kind is virgin and true earth." — Josephus, "Antiquities of the Jews," book i., chap. 1.

† This name is also found in Hutchinson's "Hist. of Mass.," vol. i., p. 407, in the same sense. Probably a corruption of "aborigines." — O'C.

Of their Apparel.

Notwithstanding the heat of parching Summers, and the searching cold of piercing Winters, and the tempestuous dashings of driving Rains, their ordinary habit is a pair of Indian Breeches, like *Adam's* Apron to cover that which modesty commands to be hid, which is a piece of Cloth about a yard and a half long, put between their groins, tied with a Snake's Skin about their middle, and hanging down with a flap before, many of them wear skins about them in fashion of an Irish Mantle and of these some be Bears Skins and Rackoon Skins sewed or skuered together; but of late years, since they trade with the English and Dutch, they wear a sort of Blanket, which our Merchants call Duffles, which is their coat by day and covering by night, I have heard of some reasons given why they will not conform to our English Apparel, viz. because their Women cannot wash them when they are soiled, and their means will not reach to buy new, when they have done with their old, therefore they had rather go as they do, than be lowsie and make their bodies more tender by a new acquired habit, but they might be easily divested of these reasons, if they were brought to live in Houses and fix'd Habitations, as I shall shew hereafter. Though in their habit they seem to be careless and indifferent, yet they have an instinct of natural Pride, which appears in their circumstantial Ornaments, many of them wearing Pendants at their Ears, and Porcupine-quills through their Noses, impressing upon several parts of their bodies Portraictures of Beasts and Birds, so that were I to draw their Effigies it should be after the pattern of the *Ancient* Britains, called *Picts* from painting, and *Britains* from a word of their own

Language, Breeth, Painting or Staining, as *Isidore* writes, with whom Mr. *Cambden* concurs; though Dr. *Skinner*[*] in his *Etymologicon Onomasticon*, a Bri. *honor* & Tain *fluvius, Insula fluviis nobilis:* But to leave these Authors in their own critical ingenuity, I shall conclude this Chapter with a general Sentiment of such Customs that by these variety of Pictures depourtraicted in their Bodies; they are either ambitious to illustrate and set off their natural Symmetry, or to blazon their Heraldry, which a certain Author calls *Macculosa Nobilitas*: Or else to render them terrible and formidable to all Strangers: or if we may conjecture out of that Rabbinical Critick *Oxford Gregory*[†] upon *Cain's* Thau, that according to the natural Magicians and Cabbalists, *Adam* and the rest of mankind in his right, had marks imprinted upon them by the finger of God, which marks were, *pachad* and *chesed*; the first to keep the Beasts in awe of Men; the latter to keep Men in love one with another. Whether there be any remains of a traditional imitation in the Indian World or not, I leave that and other conjectures to the Readers diversion.

[*] The "Etymologiarum Libri XX," of Isidore of Seville, who died in the year 636, served during the earlier middle ages as a general encyclopedia of knowledge. The "Britannia" of William Camden, first published in Latin in 1586 and subsequently in various English editions, was a general work on the antiquities of England and one of the most important products of historical scholarship of the sixteenth century. Stephen Skinner's "Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ," London, 1671, served as the principal authority on English etymology until the nineteenth century.

[†] See "Notes and Observations upon Some Passages of Scripture. By John Gregorie, Master of Arts, Christ Church, Oxon," London, 1684, pp. 67-68.

Of their Traffick, Money, and Diet.

They live principally by Hunting, Fishing and Fowling. Before the Christians especially the Dutch came amongst them they were very dexterous Artists at their Bows, insomuch I have heard it affirm'd that a Boy of seven years old would shoot a Bird flying: and since they have learn' d the use of Guns, they prove better marksmen than others, and more dangerous too (as appear'd in the Indian War with New-England.) The Skins of all their Beasts, as Bears, Bevers, Rackoons, Foxes, Otters; Musquashes, Skunks, Deer and Wolves, they bring upon their backs to New-York, and other places of Trade, which they barter and exchange for Duffles or Guns, but too often for Rum, Brandy and other strong Liquors, of which they are so intemperate lovers, that after they have once tasted, they will never forbear, till they are inflamed and enraged, even to that degree, that I have seen Men and their Wives *Billingsgate* it, through the Streets of *New-York*, as if they were metamorphosed into the nature of those beasts whose Skins they bartered: It were seriously to be wished that the Christians would be more sparing in the sale of that Liquor, which works such dismal effects upon those who are for gratifying their sensual Appetites: Being unacquainted with the comforts of Christian Temperance, and the elevated Doctrine of Self-denial and Mortification. They had better take to their primitive Beverage of water, which some Vertuoso's tell us breed no Worms in the Belly nor Maggots in the Brain.

Their *Money* is called *Wampam* and *Sea-want*, made of a kind of Cockle or Periwinkle-shell, of which there is scarce any, but at Oyster-Bay. They take the black out of the middle of the shell which they value as their Gold; they make their White *Wampam*

or Silver of a kind of a Horn, which is beyond Oyster-bay: The meat within this horny fish is very good. They fashion both sorts like beads, and String them into several lengths, but the most usual measure is a Fathom; for when they make any considerable bargain, they usually say so many Fathom; So many black or so many white *Wampams* make a farthing, a penny, and so on: which *Wampam* or Indian Money we valued above the Spanish or English Silver in any Payments, because of trading with the Indians in their own Coin. The price of Indian Commodities as sold by the Christian Merchants is as followeth.

	s. d.	
Bevers	—00—10—3	a Pound.
The Lapps	—00—07—6	
Minks	—00—05—0	
Grey Foxes	—00—03—0	
Otters	—00—08—0	
Rackoons	—00—01—5	

Bever is fifteen pence a Skin Custom at *New-York*, four pence at *London*; three pence a Skin Freight, which is after the rate of fifteen Pound a Tun.

The value of other Skins, a Deer Skin 00—00—6 a p. A good Bear Skin will give 00—07—0. A black Bever-skin is worth a Bever and a half of another colour. A black Otter's-skin, if very good, is worth Twenty Shillings. A Fisher's-skin three shillings. A Cat's-skin half a Crown. A Wolf's-skin three shillings. A Musquash or a Muskrat's-skin six shillings and ten pence. An Oxe-hide three pence a pound wet and six pence dry. Rum in *Barbados* ten pence a Gallon. Molossus* three pence a pound,

* Molossus = molasses.

and fifty shillings a barrel in winter, that being the dearest season. Sugar in *Barbados* twelve shillings the hundred which contains a hundred and twelve pounds; which at New-York yields thirty shilling's the bare hundred. In *Barbados* (new Negro's i. e. such as cannot speak English) are bought for twelve or fourteen pound a head, but if they can speak English sixteen or seventeen pound; and at *New- York*, if they are grown Men, they give thirty five and thirty or forty Pound a head; where by the by let me observe that the Indians look upon these Negroes or Blacks as an anomalous Issue, meer Edomites, hewers of Wood and drawers of Water.*

The Price of Provisions: Long-Island Wheat three shillings a Skipple† (a Skipple being three parts of a Bushel) *Sopus* Wheat half a Crown a Skipple, Sopus Pease half a Crown a Skipple; Indian Corn Flower fifteen shillings a hundred, Bread 18 a hundred. To *Barbados* 50s. a Tun freight, 4 Hogsheads to a Tun; Pork 31. the barrel, which contains two hundred and 40 pounds, i. e. 3d: the pound; Beef 30s. the barrel; Butter 6d. a Pound: amongst Provisions I may reckon Tobacco, of which they are obstinate and incessant Smoakers, both Indians and Dutch, especially the latter, whose Diet especially of the boorish sort, being Sallets and Bacon, and very often picked buttermilk, require the use of that herb to keep their phlegm from coagulating and curdling. I once saw a pretty instance relating to the power of Tobacco, in two Dutchmen riding a race with short campaigne Pipes in their mouths, one of which being hurl'd from his Steed, as soon as he gathered himself up again, whip'd to his Pipe, and

* Josh., ix., 20.

† Skipple = Dutch *Schepel*.

fell a sucking and drawing, regarding neither his Horse nor Fall, as if the prize consisted in getting that heat which came from his beloved smoke: They never burn their Pipes, but as soon as they are out put them into their Pockets, and now and then wash them. The Indians originally made Pipes of Flint, and have some Pipes of Steel; they take the leaves of Tobacco and rub them betwixt their hands, and so smoke it; Tobacco is two pence halfpenny a pound, a merchantable Hogshead contains four hundred pound neat, i. e. without the Cask. A Dutch pound contains eighteen ounces. Pipe staves are fifty shillings or three pound a thousand, they are sent from *New-York* to the *Madera* Islands and *Barbados*, the best is made of White Oak. Their best Liquors are Fiall,* Passado, and Madera Wines, the former are sweetish, the latter a palish Claret, very spritely and generous, two shillings a Bottle; their best Ale is made of Wheat Malt, brought from Sopus and Albany about threescore Miles from New-York by water; Syder twelve shillings the barrel; their quaffing liquors are Rum-Punch and Brandy-punch, not compounded and adulterated as in England, but pure water and pure Nants.†

The Indians Diet.

What they liv'd upon originally is hard to determine, unless we recur to St. *John Baptist's* extemporary Diet in the Wilderness, for they may be properly called ὑλόβιοι‡ i. e. Inhabitants of the

* Fiall = Fayal. The editor has not found "Passado" in any dictionary or encyclopedia.

† Nants—brandy, from Nantes.

‡ ὑλόβιοι — the name applied to a sect of Indian devotees in Strabo.

Wood, so may be supposed to have had their *victus parabilis*, food that wanted no dressing; but stories of the first times being, meerly conjectural, I shall only speak what I wrote down from the best information. They have a tradition that their Corn was at first dropt out of the mouth of a Crow from the Skies; just *as Adam de Marisco** was wont to call the Law of Nature *Helias*'s† Crow, something flying from Heaven with Provisions for our needs. They dig their ground with a Flint, called in their Language *tom-a-hea-kan*,‡ and so put five or six grains into a hole the latter end of *April* or beginning of *May*, their Harvest is in *October*, their Corn grows like clusters of Grapes, which they pluck or break off with their hands, and lay it up to dry in a thin place, like unto our Cribs made of reed; when its well dryed they parch it, as we sprekle§ Beans and Pease, which is both a pleasant and a hearty food, and of a prodigious encrease, even a hundred fold, which is suppos'd as the highest degree of fruitfulness, which often reminded me of the Marquess of *Worcester's* Apophthegm of Christ's Miracle of five Loves and two Fishes, viz. that as few grains of Corn as will make five Loves being Bowed in the earth will multiply and increase to such advantage as will feed 5000 with Bread, and two Fishes will bring forth so many fishes as will suffice so many mouths, and because such are so

* Adam de Marisco was a learned Franciscan friar, a friend of Simon de Montfort and of bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln. His correspondence has been printed but not his formal treatises.

† Elijah's raven. See I. Kings, xvii., 4 ff.

‡ The familiar "tomahawk."

§ The editor has not been able to find this word in the dialect dictionaries or elsewhere.

ordinary amongst us every day, we take no notice of them: this Indian Corn is their constant Viaticum in their travels and War. Their Squaws or Wives and Female Sex manage their Harvest, whilest the Men Hunt and Fish, and Fowl; of which they bring, all varieties to *New- York*, and that so cheap that I remember a Venison bought for three shillings; their Rivers are plentifully furnish'd with fish, as Place, Pearch, Trouts, Eels, Bass and Sheepshead,* the two last are delicate Fish: They have great store of wild-fowl, as Turkeys, Heath-hens, Quails, Partridges, Pigeons, Cranes, Geese, Brants, Ducks, Widgeon, Teal and divers others:† And besides their natural Diet, they will eat freely with the Christians, as I observed once when we were at dinner at the Governor's Table, a Sackamaker or King came in with several of his Attendants, and upon invitation sat round upon the Floor (which is their usual posture) and ate of such Meat as was sent from the Table: amongst themselves when they are very hungry they will eat their Dogs, which are but young Wolves stolen from their damms, several of which I have seen following them, as our Dogs here, but they won't eat of our Dogs because they say we feed them with salt meat, which none or but few of the Indians love, for they had none before the Christians came: so unacquainted were they with Acids: They are of opinion that when they have ill success in their hunting, fishing, &c. their *Menitto* is

* cf. Denton's "Brief Description," p. 43: " These Rivers are very well furnished with Fish, as Basse, Sheepsheads, Place, Pearch, Trouts, Eels, Turtles and divers others."

† For the enumeration of the wildfowl, Wolley also relies upon Denton: "Wild Fowl there is great store of, as Turkies, Heath-Hens, Quailes, Partridges, Pidgeons, Cranes, Geese of several sorts, Brants, Ducks, Widgeon, Teal and divers others."—*Ibid.*, p. 44.

the cause of it, therefore when they have good success they throw their fat into the fire as a Sacrifice ingeminating *Kenah Menitto*, i. e. I thank you Menitto; their *Kin-tau Kauns*,* or time of sacrificing is at the beginning of winter, because then all things are fat, where a great many Sacka-makers† or Kings meet together, and Feast; every Nation or Tribe has its *Ka-kin-do-wet*, or Minister, and every Sacka-maker gives his *Ka-kin-do-wet* 12 fathom of Wampam mixt, and all that are able at that time throw down Wampam upon the ground for the Poor and Fatherless, of whom they have a great many. Now I am speaking of fishing and fowling it may not be improper to add some thing about the art of catching Whales, which is thus, two Boats with six Men in each make a Company, *viz.* four Oars-men or Rowers; an Harpineer and a Steers-man; about *Christmas* is the season for Whaling, for then the Whales come from the North-east, Southerly, and continue till the latter end of *March*, and then they return again; about the Fin is the surest part for the Harpineer to strike: As soon as he is wounded, he makes all foam, with his rapid violent

* The Kin-tau Kaun or Kintacaw is explained by O'Callaghan as simply a dance of which there were various phases according to the occasion. Dankers writes: "When we arrived at Gouanes, we heard a great noise, shouting and singing in the huts of the Indians. . . . They were all lustily drunk, raving, striking, shouting, jumping, fighting each other, and foaming at the mouth like raging wild beasts. . . . These Indians had canticoyed (*gekintekayt*) there today, that is, conjured the devil and liberated a woman among them, who was possessed by him." — Dankers and Sluyter's "Journal," pp. 273-275. Denton, p. 50, gives a description of the "Cantica's."

† "Sacka-maker" seems to be the same word as "Sagamore" used by the New England Indians. Dankers gives "Sachamor" as a variant of "Sackamacher," p. 267.

Course, so that if they be not very quick in clearing their main Warp to let him run upon the tow, which is a line fastned to the Harping-iron about 50 fathoms long, its a hundred to one he over-sets the Boat: As to the nature of a Whale, they copulate as Land-beasts, as is evident from the female Teats and Male's Yard, and that they Spawn as other Fishes is a vulgar error, Lam. 4. 3. even the Sea monsters draw out the breast they give suck to their young ones. For further its observable that their young Suckers come along with them their several courses. A Whale about 60 foot long having a thick and free Blubber may yield or make 40 or 50 barrels of Oyl, every Barrel containing 31 or 32 Gallons at 20s. a Barrel, if it hath a good large bone it may be half a Tun or a Thousand weight, which may give 25 l. Sterling old England Money. A Dubartus* is a Fish of the shape of a Whale, which have teeth where the Whale has Bone, there are some 30 or 40 foot long, they are call'd by some the Sea- Wolf, of them the Whales are afraid, and do many times run themselves ashore in flying from them, this is prov'd by the Whalers who have seen them seize upon them: the Blubber of the Whale will sometimes be half a yard thick or deep, if the Blubber be not fat and free, the Whale is call'd a Dry-skin; a Scrag-tail Whale is like another, only somewhat less, and his bone is not good, for it will not split, and it is of a mixt colour, their Blubber is as good for the quantity as others: I never heard of any Spermaceti Whales, either catch'd or driven upon these Shores, which Sperma as they call it (in the *Bahama* Islands) lies all over the body of these Whales, they

* Dubartus is a popular variant of Jubartes, a name given in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the species of Rorqual found near New England.— "New Eng. Dict."

have divers Teeth which may be about as big as a Man's wrist, which the ordinary Whales have not, they are very strong, fierce and swift, inlaid with Sinews all over their bodies. But to leave this Leviathan to his pastime in the deep, let us go a shore, and speak something of the nature of a Beaver, in hunting of which the Indians take great pains and pleasure; the Beaver hath two sorts of Hair, one short soft and fine to protect him from the cold, the other long and thick, to receive the dirt and mire, in which they are often busie and employed, and to hinder it from spoiling the skin; his teeth are of a peculiar contexture, fit to cut boughs and sticks, with which they build themselves houses, and lodgings of several stories and rooms, to breed their young ones in: for which purpose nature hath also furnish'd them with such forefeet as exactly resemble the feet of a Monkey, or the hands of a Man: their hind-feet proper for swimming, being like those of a Duck or Goose: As to the Castoreum or parts conceived to be bitten away to escape the Hunter, is a vulgar conceit, more owing to *Juvenal** and other poetical fancies than to any traditional truth, or the Etymologies of some bad Grammarians, deriving *Castore a castrando*, whereas the proper Latin word is *fiber*, and *castor*, but borrowed from the Greek, so called *quasi γάστιορ*, *i. e. animal ventricosum*, from his swaggy and prominent belly:

* Juvenal in his twelfth satire, line 34, compares the frightened voyager who throws overboard his most precious possessions to lighten the ship to the beaver:

> *". . . qui se*
> *Eunuchum ipse facit cupiens evadere damno*
> *Testiculi. "*

the particular account of which is in Dr. *Brown's Vulgar Errors:*[*] but to be short, the bladders containing the Castoreum are distinct from the Testicles or Stones, and are found in both Sexes; with which when the Indians take any of them they anoint their Traps or Gins which they set for these Animals, to allure and draw them hither.

As to the nature of Bears, their bringing forth their young informous and unshapen, I wholly refer you to Doctor *Brown's* said *Vulgar Errors:*[†] the substance of their legs is of a particular structure, of a thick fattish ligament, very good to eat, and so the Indians say of their body, which is often their diet; when they hunt them, they commonly go two or three in company with Guns: for in case one shoot and miss the Bear will make towards them, so they shoot one after another to escape the danger and make their Game sure: But without Guns or any Weapon except a good Cudgel or Stick. I was one with others that have had very good diversion and sport with them, in an Orchard of Mr. John *Robinson's*[‡] of *New-York;* where we follow'd a Bear from Tree to Tree, upon which he could swarm like a Cat; and when he was got to his resting place, perch' d upon a high branch, we dispatc'd a youth after him with a Club to an opposite bough, who knock-

[*] Sir Thomas Brown's famous "Pseudodoxia Epidemica, . . . or Enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors " was first published in 1646. Wolley quotes here from book iii., chap. 4. The Greek word should be *γάστωρ*, which in turn seems to have been a guess of Sir Thomas, as it is not recorded in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.

[†] The title of chap. 6, book iii., in the "Vulgar Errors " is: "That a Bear brings forth her cubs informous or unshaped."

[‡] Mr. Robinson's orchard is supposed to have extended from about Cedar St. to Maiden Lane. — O'C.

ing his Paws, he comes grumbling down backwards with a thump upon the ground, so we after him again: His descending backwards is a thing particularly remarkable: Of which I never read any account, nor know not to what defect in its structure to impute it: unless to the want of the *intestinum cœcum*, which is the fourth Gut from the Ventricle or Stomach, and first of the thick Guts, which by reason of its divers infolds and turnings seems to have no end, and for that reason perhaps called *cœcum* or blind Gut: which being thick may probably detain the meat in the belly, in a descending posture: but these conjectures I wholly submit to the anatomical faculty: The Indians seems to have a great value for these animals, both for their skins and carkase-sake, the one good meat, the other good barter: And I may infer the same from a present which my acquaintance, old Claus the Indian, made me of a couple of well grown Bears Cubs, two or three days before I took Shiping for England, he thinking I would have brought them along with me, which present I accepted with a great deal of Ceremony (as we must everything from their hands) and ordered my Negro boy about 12 years old to tye them under the Crib by my Horse, and so left them to any ones acceptance upon my going aboard: I brought over with me a Grey Squirrel, a Parret and a Rockoon, the first the Lady *Sherard* had some years at *Stapleford*, the second, I left at *London;* the last I brought along with me to *Alford*, where one Sunday in Prayer time some Boys giving it Nutts, it was choaked with a shell: It was by nature a very curious cleanly Creature, never eating anything but first washed it with its forefeet very carefully: the Parot was a pratling familiar bird, and diverting company in my solitary intervals upon our Voyage home. As I was talking with it upon the Quarter Deck, by a sudden rowling of the Ship, down drops Pall over-

board into the Sea and cry'd out amain poor Pall: The Ship being' almost be. calm'd, a kind Seaman threw out a Rope, and Pall seiz'd it with his Beak and came safe aboard again: This for my own diversion. As the Serpent was the most dangerous reptile in Paradise, so is the Rattle Snake in the Wilderness. It has its name from the configuration of its skin, which consists of several foldings which are all contracted *dum latet in herba*, whilst it lies on the grass, or at the root of some rotten Tree, from whence it often surprizes the unwary traveller, and in throwing himself at his legs: The dilating of these folds occasion a rattling. Wherever it penetrates or bites it certainly poysons: they are in their greatest vigour in July; but the all-wise Providence which hath furnish' d every Climate with antidotes proper for their distempers and annoyances, has afforded great plenty of Penny-royal or Ditany, whose leaves bruised are very hot and biting upon the Tongue, which being tied in a clift of a long stick, and held to the nose of a Rattle Snake, will soon kill it by the smell and scent thereof; the vertues of this Plant are so effectual, that we read by taking of it inwardly, or by outward application and by fume it will expell a dead Child. And the juice of it applied to wounds made by Sword, or the biting of venomous creatures is a present remedy: but besides this, I shall speak of another way of drawing out the poyson of these Creatures, which is by sucking of it out with their mouths, which one Indian will do for another, or for any Christian so poyson'd: A rare example of pure humanity, even equal to that of the Lady *Elenor*,* the Wife of King *Edward* the first, who

*This story first appears in an English writer in Camden's "Britannia." It is derived from a Spanish author of the fifteenth century and is not found in the contemporary sources. See C. H. Pearson, "History of England during the Early and Middle Ages," vol. ii., p. 289.

when her Husband had three wounds given him with the poysoned Knife of *Anzazim* the *Saracen*, two in the Arm and one near the Arm-pit, which by reason of the envenom'd blade were fear'd to be mortal, and when no Medicine could extract the poyson, his Lady did it with her Tongue, licking dayly while her Husband slept, his rankling wounds, whereby they perfectly clos'd, and yet her self receiv'd no harm, so sovereign a medicine is a good Tongue, beyond the attractive power of Cupping Glasses and Cauteries. It were to be wish'd that where Penny-royal or Dittany is scarce or unknown, that every Country family understood the vertue of Rue or Herb-a-grace, which is held as a preservative against infectious Diseases, and cures the biting of a mad Dog or other venom, Which would be no invasion upon, or striving with the dispensatory of Pestal and Mortar, Still and Furnace; which legal faculties and professions being established and encourag'd by the wise constitutions of Governments, should not be interlop'd and undermin'd by persons of any other faculties, who are too apt to add temporal Pluralities to their spiritual Cures. Indeed it is a duty owing to human nature, to administer to and assist anyone *in forma pauperis*, but to take a fee a reward or gratuity from a Naaman or a person able to employ the proper faculty, is to act the Gehazi, and not the Prophet Elisha; *Miles equis, piscator aquis,* an hammer for the Smith, an *Homer* for the School, let the Shooe-maker mind his Boot, and the Fisherman his Boat, the Divine his Sermon, and the Doctor his *Salmon*.* This digression I hope will be taken as it's written with an impartial deference to both professions: for as we are taught from Jesus the Son of *Sirach*, to honor the physician for his skill,

* William Salmon,1644-1713, a quack; author of many medical books.

and the Apothecary for his confections, *Ecclesiasticus chap*. 38.1.8. so we are taught from a greater than he, to honor and revere the Doctors of souls, the holy Jesus the Son of God, for their Spiritual Cures and Dispensatories: But to return to the Indians, they have Doctors amongst them, whom they call *Me-ta-ow*, to whom everyone gives something for there Cure, but if they die nothing at all, and indeed their skill in simples costs them nothing, their general remedy for all diseases is their sweating: Which is thus: when they find themselves any ways indisposed, they make a small Wigwam or House, nigh a River-side, out of which in the extremity of the Sweat they plunge themselves into the Water; about which I discoursed with one of their *Me-ta-ows*, and told him of the European way of Sweating in Beds, and rubbing our bodies with warm cloths: to which he answered he thought theirs the more effectual way: because the water does immediately stop all the passages (as he call'd the Pores) and at the same time wash off the excrementitious remainder of the Sweat, which he thought could not be so clearly done by friction or rubbing; which practice I leave to the consideration or rather diversion of the Physicians and their Balneo's:* but this experiment prov'd Epidemical in Small-Pox, by hindering them from coming out. As to their way of living, it's very rudely and rovingly, shifting from place to place, according to their exigencies, and gains of fishing and fowling and hunting, never confining their rambling humors to any settled Mansions. Their Houses which they call Wigwams are as so many Tents or Booths covered with the barks of Trees, in the midst of which they have their fires, about which they sit in the day time, and lie in the nights;

* Balneo = bagnio, a bath.

they are so Saturnine that they love extremes either to sit still or to be in robustous motions, spending their time in drowsie conferences, being naturally unenclin' d to any but lusory pastimes and exercises; their Diet in general is raw Flesh, Fish, Herbs, and Roots or such as the Elements produce without the concoction of the fire to prepare it for their Stomachs; so their Horses are of a hardy temperament, patient of hunger and cold, and in the sharp winter, when the ground is cover'd with Snow, nourish themselves with the barks of Trees, and such average* and herbage as they can find at the bottom of the Snow: But now I am speaking of Horses, I never could be inform' d nor ever did see an Indian to have been on Horseback: Of which there are great ranges runing wild in the Woods, to which they pretend no right: but leave them to the *Dutch* and *English* Chevaliers to tame and manage; for which I often wondered there were not cheif Rangers, and a *Charta de Foresta* to regulate such Games. When they travel by water, they have small Boats, which they call Canoes, made of the barks of Trees, so very narrow, that two can neither sit nor stand a breast, and those they row with long paddles, and that so swiftly, that they'll skim away from a Boat with four Oars, I have taken a particular pleasure in plying these paddles, standing upright and steddy, which is their usual posture for dispatch: In which they bring Oysters and other fish for the Market: they are so light and portable that a Man and his Squaw will take them upon their Sholders and carry them by Land from one River to another, with a wonderful expedition; they will venture

* Average, a word used in Lincoln and other northern counties for the pasturage to be found after the harvest; stubble. — Wright's "Eng. Dialect Dict.'.

with them in a dangerous Current, even through Hell-gate it self, which lies in an arm of the Sea, about ten miles from *New-York* Eastward to *New-England*, as dangerous and as unaccountable as the *Norway* Whirl-pool or *Maelstrom*: in this Hell-gate which is a narrow passage, runneth a rapid violent Stream both upon Flood and Ebb; and in the middle lieth some Islands of Rocks, upon which the Current sets so violently, that it threatens present Shipwrack; and upon the Flood is a large whirlpool, which sends forth a continual hedious roaring;* it is a place of great defence against an Enemy coming that way, which a small Fortification would absolutely prevent, by forcing them to come in at the west-end of *Long-Island* by *Sandy-Hook*, where *Nutten-Island* would force them within the command of the Fort of *New-York*, which is one of the strongest and best situated Garrisons in the North parts of America, and was never taken but once through the default of one Captain *Manning*, who in absence of the Governour suffered the *Dutch* to take it; for which he was condemned to an Exile to a small Island from his name, call'd *Manning's* Island,† where I have been several times with the said Captain, whose entertainment was commonly a Bowl of Rum-Punch. In deep Snows the Indians with broad Shoos much in the shap of the round part of our Rackets which we use at Tennis: will travel without sinking in the least: at other times their common ordinary Shooes are parts of raw Beasts-skins tied about

* This description of Hellgate is quoted from Denton, and the remarks following in regard to the defensive strength of the passage are adapted from the same. — Denton's "Brief Description," p. 40.

† Captain Manning's stepdaughter who inherited the island married Robert Blackwell and the property was thence called Blackwell's Island. — O'C.

their feet: when they travel, for directing others who follow them, they lay sticks across, or leave some certain mark on Trees. Now I am speaking of the Indian Shooes, I cannot forbear acquainting the Reader that I seldom or never observ'd the *Dutch* Women wear any thing but Slippers at home and abroad, which often reminded me of what I read in Dr. *Hamond** upon the *6th* of *Ephesians, N. B.* that the *Ægyptian* Virgins were not permitted to wear Shooes, *i. e.* not ready to go abroad: like the custom among the *Hebrews*, whose women were call'd *ὁικοεις*, *domi portæ* and *ὁικθρθσαί* home-setters and *ὁικθρικαί* house bearers, the Heathen painted before the modest women's doors Venus sitting upon a Snail, *quæ domi porta vocatur*, called a House bearer, to teach them to stay at home, and to carry their Houses about with them. So the Virgins were called by the Hebrews *Gnalamoth*, *absconditæ*, hid, and the places of their abodes *παρθηνωναί*, *cellæ Virginales*, Virgins Cells. Contrary to these are Whores *Pro. 7. II.* her feet abide not in her house, therefore the *Chaldees* call her *Niphcath-hara* going abroad, and an Harlot the Daughter of an Harlot, *egredientem filiam egredientis*, a goer forth, the Daughter of a goer forth; and when *Dinah* went out to see the Daughters of the Land, and was ravish'd *by Sichem: Simeon* and *Levi* cry out, should he deal with our Sister as with an Harlot, which the Targum renders, *an sicut exeuntem foras:* They have another custom differing from other Nations. They feast freely and merrily at the Funeral of any Friend, to which I have been often invited and sometimes a Guest, a custom derived from the Gentiles to the latter *Jews*, according to which

* Henry Hammond, 1605-1660.

says *Josephus* of *Archelaus*, he mourned seven* days for his Father, and made a sumptuous Funeral Feast for the multitude, and he adds that this custom was the impoverishing of many Families among the *Jews*, and that upon necessity, for if a Man omitted it, he was accounted no pious Man. The *Dutch* eat and drink very plentifully at these Feasts; but I do not remember any Musick or Minstrels, or *monumentarii choraulæ* mentioned by Apuleius, or any of the Musick mentioned by Ovid *de fastis*.

Cantabis mœstis tibia funeribus.

So that perhaps it may be in imitation of David's example, who as soon as his child was dead, wash'd and anointed himself and ate his bread as formerly, 2 Sam. 12. 20. In all these Feasts I observ'd they sit Men and Women intermixt, and not as our English do Women and Men by themselves apart.

Of the Indians Marriages and Burials.

When an Indian has a mind to a woman (asking the consent of Parents) he gives her so many Fathom of Wampam according to his ability, then his betrothed covers her face for the whole year before she is married, which put me in mind of *Rebekah*, who took a veil and covered her self when she met Isaac, Gen. 24. 65. which veil (saith *Tertullian de velandis virginibus*) was a token of her modesty and subjection. The Husband doth not lie with his Squaw or Wife, whilst the Child has done Sucking, which is commonly two years, for they say the Milk will not be good if they get Children so fast. They bury their friends sitting upon

* "Sevens" in original edition.

their heels as they usually sit, and they put into their graves with them a Kettle, a Bow and Arrows, and a *Notas* or Purse of *Wampam*; they fancy that after their death they go to the South. ward, and so they take their necessaries along with them; or perhaps like the uncircumcis'd in *Ezek*. 32. 27. who went down to the Grave with Weapons of War I and laid their Swords under their heads, the ensigns of Valor and Honor: as tho they would carry their strength to the grave with them, contrary to that of the Apostle, *it is sown a weak body,* 1 *Cor*. 15. They mourn over their dead commonly two or three days before they bury them: they fence and stockado their graves about, visiting them once a year, dressing the weeds from them, many times they plant a certain Tree by their Graves which keeps green all the year: They all believe they shall live as they do now, and think they shall marry, but must not work as they do here; they hold their Soul or Spirit to be the breath of Man: They have a Tradition amongst them that about five hundred years agoe, a Man call'd (*Wach que ow*) came down from above, upon a Barrel's-head, let down by a Rope, and lived amongst them sixty years, who told them he came from an happy place, where there were many of their Nations, and so he left them. And they have another Tradition of one *Meco Nish*, who had lain as dead sixteen days, all which time he was unburied, because he had a little warmth about his breast, and after sixteen days he lived again, in which interval he told them he had been in a fine place where he saw all that had been dead. Such Traditions as these ought to be lookt upon by the Professors of Christianity, as the Epileptick half moon Doctrine of that grand Enthusiast *Mahomet*, beyond whose Tomb hanging in the air his Superstitious *Arabians* are not able to lift their minds to the Kingdom of Heaven: So that the Mahometans Tomb

and the Indians Tub may stand upon the same bottom, as to their Credit and Tradition: and the Indians after their rising again to the Southward shall Marry, Eat and Drink, may plead as fair for them as the Mahometans earthly Paradise of Virgins with fairer and larger eyes than ever they beheld in this world, and such like sensual enjoyments, which its even a shame to mention: or the Jews worldly Messiah, who ought all to be the dayly objects of our Christian prayers and endeavours for their Conversion, that they may believe and obtain a better Resurrection, even the *Necumah* the day of Consolation, when we shall be so wonderfully changed as to be fit Companions for Angels, and reign with our Saviour in his Glory, who only hath the words of eternal life. In order to which I shall endeavour to offer some proposals in a Second Part, *de propaganda fide*; and so conclude this with some mixt occasional observations, with all due respects to some modern Criticks: Whether Adam or Eve sewed their fig-leave together with needle and thread is not my business to be so nice as *rem istam acu tangere:* But this I am well inform' d of, That the Indians, make thread of Nettles pill'd when full ripe, pure white and fine, and likewise another sort of brownish thread of a small weed almost like a Willow, which grows in the Wood, about three foot high, which is called Indian Hemp, of which they likewise make Ropes and bring them to sell, which wears as strong as our Hemp, only it wont endure wet so well, of this they make their Baggs, Purses or Sacks which they call *Notas*, which word signifies a Belly, and so they call any thing that's hollow to carry any thing. Their work is weaving with their fingers, they twist all their thread upon their Thighs, with the palm of their hands, they interweave their Porcupine quills into their baggs, their Needles they make of fishes or small beast

bones, and before the Christians came amongst them, they had Needles of Wood, for which Nut-wood was esteemed best, called *Um-be-re-mak-qua,* their Axes and Knives they made of white Flint-stones; and with a Flint they will cut down any tree as soon as a carpenter with a Hatchet, which experiment was tried of late years by one Mr. *Crabb* of *Alford* in *Lincolnshire*, for a considerable wager, who cut down a large Tree with a flint, handled the Indian way, with an unexpected art and quickness. They make their Candles of the same wood that the Masts of Ships are made of, which they call *Woss-ra-neck*. Thus far of the Indians, in this first part, which were part of my own personal observations, and other good informations from one *Claus* an Indian, otherwise called *Nicholas* by the English, but *Claus* by the Dutch, with whom I was much acquainted, and likewise from one Mr. *John Edsal* the constant Interpreter betwixt the Governor and the Indians, and all others upon all important affairs, who was my intimate acquaintance, and his Son my Scholar and Servant, whose own hand-writing is in many of my Memorials: One thing I had almost forgot, i. e. when the Indians look one another's Heads they eat the Lice and say they are wholesome, never throwing any away or killing them: In a word as they have a great many manly instincts of nature, so I observed them very civil and respectful both in their behaviour and entertainment; I cannot say that ever I met any company of them, which I frequently did in my walks out of the Town, but they would bow both Head and Knee, saying here comes the *Sacka-makers Kakin-do-wet*, i. e. the Governours Minister, whom I always saluted again with all due ceremony. They are faith-guides in the woods in times of Peace, and as dangerous enemies in times of War. Their way of fighting is upon Swamps, i. e. Bogs and Quagmires, in sculking

Ambushes, beyond Trees and in Thickets, and never in a body. When they intend War they paint their faces black, but red is the sun-shine of Peace. There are several Nations which may be more properly called Tribes of Indians.

Rockoway upon the South of *Jamaica* upon *Long-Island*, the 1.
Sea-qua-ta-eg, to the South of *Huntingdon*, the 2.
Unckah-chau-ge, *Brooke-haven*, the 3.
Se-tauck, Seatauchet North, the 4.
Ocqua-baug, South-hold to the North, the 5.
Shin-na-cock, Southampton, the greatest Tribe, the 6-
Mun-tauck, to the Eastward of East-Hampton, the 7.
All these are Long- Island Indians.

The Tribes which are Friends.

Top-paun, the greatest, which consists of an hundred and fifty fighting young Men. It's call'd the greatest because they have the greatest *Sachim* or *Sacka-maker*, i. e. King, whose name is *Maim-shee*.

The Second is *Ma-nissing*, which lies westward from *Top-paun*, two days Journey; it consists of three hundred fighting Men, the *Sacka-makers* name is called *Taum-ma-hau-Quauk*.

The Third, *Wee-quoss-cah-chau. i. e. Westchester* Indians, which consists of seventy fighting Men, the *Sacka-makers* name is *Wase-sa-kin-now*.

The Fourth, *Na-ussin*, or *Neversinks*, a Tribe of very few, the *Sacka-makers* name is *Onz-zeech*.

May the lover of Souls bring these scattered desert people home to his own Flock.

To return from the Wilderness into *New- York*, a place of as sweet and agreeable air as ever I breathed in, and the Inhabitants, both *English* and *Dutch* very civil and courteous as I may speak by experience, amongst whom I have often wished my self and Family, to whose tables I was frequently invited, and always concluded with a generous bottle of Madera. I cannot say I observed any swearing or quarrelling, but what was easily reconciled and recanted by a mild rebuke, except once betwixt two *Dutch* Boors (whose usual oath is *Sacrament*) which abateing the abusive language, was no unpleasant Scene. As soon as they met (which was after they had alarm'd the neighbourhood) they seized each other's hair with their forefeet, and down they went to the Sod, their Vrows and Families crying out because they could not part them, which fray happening against my Chamber window, I called up one of my acquaintance, and ordered him to fetch a kit full of water and discharge it at them, which immediately cool'd their courage, and loosed their grapples: so we used to part our Mastiffs in *England*. In the same City of *New-York* where I was Minister to the English, there were two other Ministers or *Domines* as they were called there, the one a *Lutheran* a *German* or *High-Dutch*, the other a *Calvinist* an *Hollander* or *Low-Dutchman*, who behav'd themselves one towards another so shily and uncharitably as if *Luther* and *Calvin* had bequeathed and entailed their virulent and bigotted Spirits upon them and their heirs forever. They had not visited or spoken to each other with any respect for six years together before my being there, with whom I being much acquainted, I invited them both with their Vrows to a Supper one night unknown to each other, with an obligation, that they should not speak one word in Dutch, under the penalty of a Bottle of *Medera*, alledging I was so

imperfect in that Language that we could not manage a sociable discourse, so accordingly they came, and at the first interview they stood so appaled as if the Ghosts of *Luther* and *Calvin* had suffered a transmigration, but the amaze soon went off with *a salve tu quoque*, and a Bottle of Wine, of which the *Calvinist Domine* was a true Carouzer, and so we continued our *Mensalia* the whole meeting in Latine, which they both spoke so fluently and promptly that I blush'd at my self with a passionate regret, that I could not keep pace with them; and at the same time could not forbear reflecting upon our English Schools and Universities (who indeed write Latine Elegantly) but speak it, as if they were confined to Mood and Figure, Forms, and Phrases, whereas it should be their common talk in their Seats and Halls, as well as in their School Disputations, and Themes. This with all deference to these repositories of Learning. As to the *Dutch* Language in which I was but a smatterer, I think it lofty, majestic and emphatical, especially the German or High-Dutch, which as far as I understand it is very expressive in the Scriptures, and so underived that it may take place next the Oriental Languages, and the Septuagint: The name of the Calvinist was *Newenhouse*, *of the *Lutheran Bernhardus Frazius*, who was of a Gentile Personage, and a very agreeable behaviour in conversation, I seldom knew of any Law-suits, for indeed Attorneys were denyed the liberty of pleading: The English observed one anniversary custom, and that without superstition, I mean the *strenarum commercium,* as *Suetonius* calls them, a neighbourly commerce of presents every New-Years day.

* Wilhelmus van Nieuwenhuyzen.

Totus ab auspicio, ne foret annus iners. Ovid. Fastor.

Some would send me a Sugar-loaf, some a pair of Gloves, some a Bottle or two of Wine. In a word, the *English* Merchants and Factors (whose names are at the beginning) were very unanimous and obliging. There was one person of Quality, by name Mr. *Russel*, younger brother to the late Lord *Russel*, a gentleman of a comely Personage, and very obliging, to whose lodgings I was often welcome: But I suppose his Fortune was that of a younger Brother according to *Henry* the VIII's. Constitution. who abolished and repealed the *Gavelkind* custom, whereby the Lands of the Father were equally divided among all his Sons, so that ever since the Cadets or younger Sons of the English Nobility and Gentry, have only that of the Poet to bear up their Spirits.

Sum pauper, non culpa mea est, sed culpa parentum
Qui me fratre meo non genuere prius.
In my rude English rhiming thus.
I'm poor (my dad) but that's no fault of mine,
If any fault there be, the fault is thine,
Because thou did'st not give us Gavelkine.

The *Dutch* in *New- York* observe this custom, an instance of which I remember in one *Frederick Philips* the richest *Miin Heer* in that place, who was said to have whole Hogsheads of Indian Money or *Wampam*, who having one Son and Daughter, I was admiring what a heap of Wealth the Son would enjoy, to which a Dutch Man replied, that the Daughter must go halves, for so was the manner amongst them, they standing more upon Nature than Names; that as the root communicates it self to all its branches, so should the Parent to all his off-spring which are the Olive branches round about his Table. And if the case be so, the

minors and infantry of the best Families might wish they had been born in Kent,* rather than in such a Christendom as entails upon them their elder Brother's old Cloths, or some superannuated incumber'd reversion, but to invite both elder and younger Brothers to this sweet Climate of New- York, when they arrive there, if they are enclined to settle a Plantation, they may purchase a tract of ground at a very small rate, in my time at two-pence or three-pence the Acre, for which they have a good Patent or Deed from the Governor. Indeed its all full of Wood, which as it will require some years before it be fit for use, so the burning of it does manure and meliorate the Soil; if they be for Merchandice, they pay for their freedom in *New- York* but six Bevers or an equivalent in Money, i. e. three pounds twelve shillings, and seventeen shillings Fees: And Goods that are brought over commonly return *cent. per cent. i. e.* a hundred pounds laid out in London will commonly yield or afford 200 pounds there. Fifty per cent. is looked upon as an indifferent advance, the species of payment and credit† or trust is sometimes hazardous, and the Commodities of that Country will yield very near as much imported into *England*, for three and forty pounds laid out in Bever and other Furrs, when I came away, I received about four-score in *London* ; indeed the Custom upon the skins is high, which perhaps might raise it to eight and forty pounds, or fifty; as for what I had occasion, some things were reasonable, some dear. I paid for two load of Oats in the straw 18 shillings to one Mr.

* The custom of gavelkind, securing in the case of intestacy the equal division of landed property among all the sons, has survived in Kent to the present day.

† Misprinted "cerdit" in the original edition.

Henry Dyer: to the same for a load of Pease. straw six shillings: paid to *Thomas Davis* for shooing my Horse three shillings, for in that place Horses are seldom, some not shod at all, their Hoofs by running in the woods so long before they are backed are like Flints: Paid to *Derick*, i. e. *Richard Secah's* Son for a load of Hay twelve shillings: Paid to *Denys Fisher's* Son a Carpenter, for two days work in the Stable eight shillings: for a Curry Comb and Horse-brush four shillings: to *Jonathan* the Barber 1 *l.* 4 *s.* the year: to the Shoo-maker for a pair of Boots and Shooes 1 *l.* 5 *s.* to the Washer-woman or Laundress 1 *l.* 5 *s.* 6 *d.* the Year. So all Commodities and Trades are dearer or cheaper according to the plenty of importation from England and other parts: The City of *New- York* in my time was as large as some Market Towns with us, all built the *London* way; the Garrison side of a high situation and a pleasant Prospect, the Island it stands on all a level and Champain; the diversion especially in the Winter season used by the *Dutch* is *aurigation*, i. e. riding about in Wagons which is allowed by Physicians to be a very healthful exercise by Land. And upon the Ice its admirable to see Men and Women as it were flying upon their Skates from place to place, with Markets upon their Heads and Backs. In a word, it's a place so every way inviting that our English Gentry, Merchants and Clergy (especially such as have the natural *Stamina* of a consumptive propagation in them; or an Hypocondriacal Consumption) would flock thither for self preservation. This I have all the reason to affirm, and believe from the benign effectual influence it had upon my own constitution; but oh the passage, the passage thither, *hic labor, hoc opus est*: there is the timorous objection: the Ship may founder by springing a Leak, be wreckt by a Storm or taken by a Pickeroon: which are plausible pleas to flesh and blood, but if we

would examine the bills of mortality and compare the several accidents and diseases by the Land, we should find them almost a hundred for one to what happens by Sea, which deserves a particular Essay, and if we will believe the ingenious Dr. *Carr* in his *Epistolæ Medicinales*, there is an *Emetick Vomitory* vertue in the Sea-water it self, which by the motion of the Ship operates upon the Stomach and ejects whatever is offensive, and so extimulates and provokes or recovers the appetite, which is the chiefest defect in such Constitutions: and besides, there is a daily curiosity in contemplating the wonders of the Deep, as to see a Whale wallowing and spouting cataracts of Water, to see the Dolphin that hieroglyphick of celerity leaping above water in chase of the flying fish, which I have sometimes tasted of as they flew aboard, where they immediately expire out of their Element; and now and then to hale up that Canibal of the Sea, I mean the Shark, by the bate of a large gobbet of Beef or Pork; who makes the Deck shake again by his flapping violence, and opens his devouring mouth with double rows of teeth, in shape like a Skate or Flare as we call them in *Cambridge*; of which dreadful fish I have often made a meal at Sea, but indeed it was for want of other Provisions. When I came for *England* in a Quaker's Ship, whose Master's name was *Heathcot*;* who, when he had his plum Broths, I and the rest were glad of what Providence sent us from day to day, our water and other Provisions, which he told us

* "George Heathcote . . . a sturdy Quaker who, 'on the first of the sixth month, 1672,' being owner and commander of a ship, was imprisoned by Governor Bellingham of Massachusetts, 'for delivering him a letter and not putting of his hat.' . . . He was master of the 'Pink Hopewell' in 1679, which vessel cleared for London July 17, 1680." — O'C. It was on this voyage that Mr. Wolley sailed with him.

upon going aboard were fresh and newly taken in, were before we arrived in *England* so old and nauseous that we held our noses when we used them, and had it not been for a kind Rundlet of Medera Wine, which the *Governor's* Lady presented me with, it had gone worse: but such a passage may not happen once in a hundred times; for as I went from *England* to *New-York*, I faired very plentifully both with fresh and season'd meat, & good drink, Sheep killed according to our occasion, and likewise Poultry coop'd up and corn'd and cram'd, which made the common Sea men so long for a novelty, that as I went down betwixt Decks I observ'd two Terpaulins tossing something in a Blanket, and being very inquisitive they told me they were roasting a Cockerill, which was by putting a red-hot Bullet into it after it was trust, which would fetch all the Feathers off and roast well enough for their Stomachs, at which I smiling went again above-deck, and made it a publick and pardonable diversion; but as to the Sharks, as our Ship was one day becalm'd, and four of our Seamen for diversion Swimming about the Vessel, we on board espied two or three of them making towards their prey, we all shouted and made what noise we could, and scared them (tho with much ado) from seizing the Men, whilst we drew them up by ropes cast out; when they are sure of their prey they turn themselves upon their backs & strike their Prey, but in case a Man has the courage to face them in swimming they make away, so awful is the aspect of that noble animal Man: but suppose his Courage or his Strength fails him, and he becomes a prey to any of the watry host, what difference betwixt being eaten by fish or by worms at the Christian Resurrection, when the Sea must give up its Dead, and our

scattered parts be recollected into the same form again; but to conclude all with an Apophthegm* of the Lord *Bacon's, viz.* "One was saying that his Great-Grand-father Grand-father and Father died at Sea. Said another that heard him, and as I were you, I would never come to Sea; why saith he, where did your Great-Grand-father and Ancestors die ? he answered where but in their Beds, saith the other, and I were as you I would never go to Bed." But for all this I durst venture a knap in a Cabbin at Sea, or in a Hammock in the Woods. So Reader a good Night.

Opere in tanto fas est obrepere somnum.

F I N I S .

* This is No. 297 in Bacon's "Apophthegms," or anecdotes.

Afterword*

by Edward Gaylord Bourne

OF the author of this description of New York in 1678-80 neither the year of his birth nor the date of his death is known. Almost equally scanty is our knowledge of his life. His modesty veiled his authorship of his single contribution to literature under his mere initials. His identity was not revealed for over a century and a half, and then, when his little work again saw the light in a modern edition, by a curious fatality or caprice, the spelling of his name was changed and was entered in bibliographies and catalogues under a form which he never used and for which there is no authority.

In the narrative the reader is informed that the author sailed from England for New York May 27, 1678, with Sir Edmund Andros; that he was there "minister to the English," and that after his return he lived at Alford in Lincolnshire. These statements enabled the historian of New York, E. B. O'Callaghan, to identify the writer as the Reverend Charles Wolley, for among the "General Entries" in the state archives he found the following:

"A Certificate to Mr. Charles Wolley to goe for England in the Hopewell.

" Sr Edmund Andros Knt &c. Whereas Mr. Charles Wolley (a Minister of the church of England) came over into these parts in the Month of August 1678 and hath officiated accordingly as

* This essay originally appeared as the "Introduction" to the Burrows Brothers edition (1902).

Chaplaine under his Royall Highnesse during the time of his abode here, Now upon Applicacon for leave to returne for England in order to some promocon in the church to which hee is presented, hee having liberty to proceede on his voyage. These are to certify the above and that the sd Mr. Wolley hath in his place comported himself unblameable in his Life and conversacon. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and Seale of the province in New York this 15th day of July in the 32th yeare of his Matyes Raigne. Annoq Dominj 1680.

" Examined by mee M. N. Secr." *

Dr. O'Callaghan next learned † that Mr. Wolley was a graduate of Cambridge University; and inquiry of the authorities of the university brought the information that the admission book of Emmanuel College contained the entry: " Ch. Wolley of Linc. admitted sizar 13 June, 1670." The degree books show that he was graduated bachelor of arts in January, 1674. and that he received his M.A. in July, 1677. In his signatures at the time of receiving his degrees his name is written in a hand as legible as print: *Charles Wolley*. ‡ These signatures, together with the collegiate records and the certificate of Governor Andros, leave no room for doubt as to the proper spelling of the name.

Of the life of the youthful garrison chaplain in New York — the first clergyman of the church of England to hold a charge in that province — we have no knowledge beyond what is contained in his "Journal" and in the certificate of Governor Andros. Curi-

* Historical Magazine, Dec., 1857, p. 371; also in O'Callaghan's ed., p. 12.

† Probably through the inquiry in Notes and Queries, April 23, 1859, p. 341, and the reply which appeared June 11.

‡ Tracings are given in O'Callaghan's ed., p. 10.

ously enough, however, we do have a curt and unsympathetic description of a service that he conducted. In 1679 two representatives of the Labadists, a sect in Holland somewhat similar to the Quakers, came to America to find, if possible, an eligible place for a colony. Of their travels in New England, New York, and New Jersey , one of them, Jasper Dankers, wrote a detailed journal which is the fullest, most interesting, and most instructive narrative of travel in New York that we possess for this period. In this journal Dankers's entry for October 15, 1679, is:

"We went at noon today to hear the English minister, whose services took place after the Dutch was out. There were not above twenty-five or thirty people in the church. The first thing that occurred was the reading of all their prayers and ceremonies out of the prayer-book, as is done in all Episcopal churches. A young man then went into the pulpit and commenced preaching, who thought he was performing wonders; but he had a little book in his hand out of which he read his sermon which was about a quarter of an hour or half an hour long. With this the services were concluded, at which we could not be sufficiently astonished." *

Of Mr. Wolley's life after his return to England we know nothing except that he lived for a while in Alford in Lincolnshire, where he seems on occasion to have conducted service. His preface indicates that he gave up preaching. He evidently failed to secure the promotion he hoped for, and the absence of his name

* "Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679-80. By Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter of Wiewerd in Friesland. Translated from the original manuscript in Dutch for the Long Island Historical Society, and edited by Henry C. Murphy." Brooklyn, 1867, p. 148.

from all the records of the diocese of Lincoln precludes the supposition that he held a benefice at Alford. * As the years went by, he fondly recurred to his early experiences in New York and, finally, in the absence of other occupation and to supply an obvious need, he took up the composition of a narrative of his observations in the distant colony.

That he failed to complete his design seems certain. His preface refers to what we have as Part I., and the concluding sentences of the text also look to a continuation. More specific is the indication on page 37 that the second part would treat of the conversion of the Indians. But whether this first essay was not a successful venture and the failure discouraged the writer, or whether death cut short his labors, cannot be known. Dr. O'Callaghan noted the presence of the name "Charles Wolley" in the list of those admitted to citizenship in New York in 1703, and ventured the conjecture that possibly our author returned to America. There seems to be little ground for this supposition. The Charles Wolley admitted to citizenship was a merchant, and apparently was in New York in 1701, the year of the publication of our Charles Wolley' s "Journal." †

Yet we are not left so entirely in the dark in regard to the real Charles Wolley as the absence of records of the external facts of his life might lead one to suppose. His character and intellectual

* See the letter of the bishop of Lincoln in O'Callaghan's ed., p. 14.

† See Lists of Burghers of New Amsterdam and of Freemen of New York in the " Collections of the New York Historical Society," 1885. p. 85. The actual date of the admission of Charles Wolley to citizenship was Dec. 2, 1702. The name "C. Wolley" is signed to a "Petition of the Protestants of New York to King William III.," dated Dec. 30, 1701. — "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York," vol. iv., p. 934.

tastes leave their clear impress upon his pages. The self-depreciation of his preface, and the modest retirement behind his initials in coming before the public as an author, reveal an unassuming disposition. A truly liberal spirit and a kindly humanity lighted up with a quiet humor are disclosed by the incident of the dinner at which he brought together for social intercourse the Lutheran and Calvinist dominies who, inheriting the " virulent and bigotted Spirits " of Luther and Calvin, had not spoken to each other for six years. The easy discursive style, with its digressions and irrelevancies; the quaint phraseology, often an unobtrusive echo in its pedantries of Sir Thomas Brown; the bits of Latin verse; the vein of physiological metaphor and the citation of medical writers — all reflect the simple, bookish life of a cultivated gentleman whose writing is more like easy rambling conversation than is the case with the professional author, and whose taste for medical literature may have been a not unnatural outcome of his "valetudinary constitution."

To the retired scholar recalling the two years spent in New York nothing stood out so clearly or seemed so worthy of portrayal as those "perfect Adamites," the Indians, and so to them he devotes most of his attention, recording both his own observations and information derived from an Indian friend and from the governor's interpreter. * Nor was this choice of material strange, for the New York of that day was a frontier town and its main interests to a European observer would be those native to the soil. Of the city itself he says so little that it will not be out of

* That Mr. Wolley drew upon Denton's "Brief Description of New York " for some of his material relating to the natural features of the country will appear in the notes.

place to restore from other contemporary descriptions enough to furnish a setting for his comments.

Of Manhattan Island not more than one-half was yet under cultivation. * The rest was still good woodland. The population of the little town at the lower end numbered about 3500. † The houses were mainly of brick and stone. ‡ The slender total of the year's commerce of the future metropolis of the new world would constitute now but a fraction of a cargo for one of its ocean steamers. § Property of from five hundred to one thousand pounds gave a man the standing of "a good substantiall merchant." ** The description which Jasper Dankers gives of the primitive trade is typical of the frontier. "I must here remark, in passing, that the people in this city, who are most all traders in small articles, whenever they see an Indian enter the house, who they know has any money, they immediately set about getting hold of him, giving him rum to drink, whereby he is soon caught and becomes half a fool. If he should then buy anything, he is doubly cheated — in the wares and in the price. He is then urged to buy more drink, which they now make half water, and if he cannot drink it, they drink it themselves. They do not rest until they have cajoled him out of all his money, or most of it; and if

* Dankers and Sluyter's "Journal," p. 135.

† Brodhead's estimate based upon the number of houses, which was 343. — "History of the State of New York," vol. ii., p. 318.

‡ "New York is built most of Brick and Stone, and covered with red and black Tile." — Denton.

§ "There may lately have traded to ye Collony in a yeare from tenn to fifteen shipps or vessells of about togeather 100 tuns each." — Governor Andros's statement to the Board of Trade, April, 1678. "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York," vol. iii., p. 261.

** *Ibid.*

that cannot be done in one day, they keep him, and let him lodge and sleep there, but in some out-of-the-way place, down on the ground, guarding their merchandise and other property in the meantime, and always managing it so that the poor creature does not go away before he has given them all they want." *

Dankers thus describes a journey to Harlem: "We went from the city, following the Broadway, over the *valey*, or the fresh water. Upon both sides of this way were many habitations of negroes, mulattoes, and whites. These negroes were formerly the proper slaves of the [West India] company, but, in consequence of the frequent changes and conquests of the country, they have obtained their freedom and settled themselves down where they thought proper, and thus on this road, where they have ground enough to live on with their families. We left the village called the *Bouwerij*, lying on the right hand, and went through the woods to New Harlem, a tolerably large village situated on the south side of the island, directly opposite the place where the northeast creek and the East River come together, situated about three hours' journey from New Amsterdam, like as old Harlem, in Europe, is situated about three hours distance from old Amsterdam." †

To the young clergyman fresh from his studies and from the rigorously enforced conformity to the church of England the religious complexion of New York must have seemed strange indeed. "New York has," wrote Governor Dongan less than ten years later, " first a Chaplain belonging to the Fort of the Church of England; secondly, a Dutch Calvinist, thirdly a French Calvinist,

* Dankers and Sluyter's "Journal," pp. 152-153.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

fourthly a Dutch Lutheran. Here bee not many of the Church of England; few Roman Catholicks; abundance of Quakers preachers men & Women especially; Singing Quakers, Ranting Quakers; Sabbatarians; Antisabbatarians; Some Anabaptists some Independents; some Jews; in short of all sorts of opinions there are some, and the most part of none at all. . . . The most prevailing opinion is that of the Dutch Calvinists." *

Such was the community which our author found "very civil and courteous," and in which he "comported himself unblameable in his Life and conversacon."

In regard to the text of the present reprint of "A Two Years' Journal in New York," it is only necessary to say that it is an exact transcript of that of the original edition, with the exception that the use of the long "s" has been discarded.

The original is found with two imprints as will be seen from the facsimile title-pages. The London imprint for John Wyat and Eben Tracy is apparently the original and primary one; for the copies which are inscribed as printed for Dickenson Boys in Lowth and George Barton in Boston contain a catalogue, paged continuously with the text, of books for sale by Eben Tracy at the Three Bibles on London Bridge. The paging of the original edition in several copies, and presumably in all, is wrongly numbered as follows: pp. 97-104 are numbered as 87, 88, 81, 82, 95, 96, 89, 90. This is true of the two British Museum copies and of the Lenox copy. The text of Wolley's narrative ends on p. 81 (i. e., p. 99), and the remaining five pages are filled with a list of books

* Governor Dongan's Report on the Province of New York, 1687. "Documentary History of the State of New York," vol. i., p. 186.

for sale by Eben Tracy and a description of a balsam from Peru whose virtues are highly extolled.

The reprint published by William Gowans of New York in 1860 under the editorial care of Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan follows the text of the original with perfect exactness — except in the matter of the long "s" and the use of italics — save for the single misprint of Macculoso instead of Macculosa, p. 17. Dr. O'Callaghan enriched this edition with copious genealogical and antiquarian notes. Annotations drawn from his notes will be followed in the present edition by the initials " O'C."

At the time of the issue of his reprint, Mr. Gowans advertised a copy of the original edition for $63 and recorded in the announcement: " I have heard of no copy being in the possession of any of the veteran collectors of rare American books on this continent, with the exception of one in the extensive collection of John Carter Brown, Esq., of Providence, Rhode Island." Ten years later Allibone knew of only three copies. Since then others have emerged from their obscurity and found their way into the hands of dealers or of collectors.

As has been indicated above, "C. W." was identified by Dr. O'Callaghan as Charles Wolley, and in the text of his introductory essay the name is uniformly spelled "Wolley." On the title-page, however, and on the cover the spelling "Wooley" is given. Apparently this was simply an error, * but as catalogues and bibliogra-

* This was Brodhead's view, who says of Gowans's reprint, he "misprints the name 'Wooley'." — History of the State of New York," vol. ii., p. 332. As Brodhead knew O'Callaghan well, his attributing the arbitrary change of spelling to Gowans is probably more than a conjecture. On the other hand, the name is spelled "Wooley" in O'Callaghan's last note, p. 97.

phies follow title-pages the author's name has gone into these repositories and into the references of many secondary writers as Charles Wooley. In the present edition the name is restored to its proper form and it is to be hoped that the consequences of Gowans's error or caprice gradually may be effaced.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.
Professor of History in Yale University
[1902]

Transcribed and deposited by:
Paul Royster
University of Nebraska-Lincoln
February 14, 2006