GOD's Protecting Providence, MAN's Surest Help and Defence, IN Times of the Greatest Difficulty, and most Eminent Danger. EVIDENCED In the Remarkable Deliverance of Robert Barlow, with divers other Persons, from the Devouring Waves of the Sea; amongst which they suffered SHIPWRACK: And also, From the cruel Devouring Jaws of the Inhumane Canibals of Florida.

Faithfully Related by one of the Persons concerned therein, Jonathan Dickinson.

The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many Waters; yea, than the mighty Waves of the Sea, Psalm 93.4. The dark places of the Earth are full of the Habitations of Cruelty, Psalm 74.20.

INGRATITUDE towards Men, after signal Favours received, is, amongst all civilized People, looked upon with a just Detestation; insomuch, that the Moral Gentiles, in Ages past, thought they could give no worse a Character of a Person, than to call him Ungrateful: How much more then are Christians (especially in a time of such Light as now shineth) engaged, to shun this Sin of Ingratitude towards their God, whom they sensibly know, to be The Fountain of all their Mercies? And surely, next to the infinite Mercy, shewed them for Christ's sake, in causing the Day-Spring from on High to visit their Souls, Remarkable outward Deliverances ought, in a more than commonly remarkable manner, to be the Objects of their Gratitude, to their great Deliverer. I must confess, Thanksgiving (which is what we poor Mortals can return, for the manifold Favours we daily receive from Him) hath its Rise in the Heart; and as Out of the abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh, how can those who are truly thankful in Heart, but Render the Calves of their Lips, in telling to their Friends and Acquaintance, How great things God hath done for them? Nay, they are so affected with such eminent Appearances of the Protecting Hand of Providence, for their Help, Preservation and Deliverance, that they are not willing to confine it to them only, but to publish it the World, that the Fame of their GOD may be spread from Sea to Sea, and from one end of the Earth to the other.

The following Relation being large, I shall endeavour to be short; only, some of the things which seem to me most Remarkable, I would more particularly recommend to the Reader's Observation.
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1. The Hearts of all Men are in the Hands of God, he can turn them as he pleases. When these Men-Eaters Fury was at height, their Knives in one hand, and the poor Shipwrack'd People's Heads in the other, their Knees upon the others Shoulder, and their Looks dismal; on a sudden, the Savages were struck Dumb, and their Countenances changed, that they look'd like another People; the Canakey (or King) becoming as a Safe-guard to the Distressed, from the Injuries of his own Men: Nay, such Confidence put in them, that he would trust them to remove the Money he had taken from themselves, before he would trust his own People. When they were got from these, to another place, where they expected more Safety, they found themselves disappointed, fresh Dangers presenting themselves as dismally as before; yet God prevented any further Mischief, than the stripping them of those poor Rags the others had left them, and some other Abuses, which by that time were grown Familiar to them, and were look'd upon as light Afflictions: The Canakey's Wife being made an Instrument for their Delivery, she, and some others, having something of tenderness of Heart in them, tho' amongst such an Inhumane Crew.

2. Many were the particular Deliverances, upon occasion of Injuries offered: Once, an Arrow shot at them, narrowly escaped them: Another time, some going to shoot Arrows at them, certain of their own Company caught hold of their Bows and Arms; nay, though some of them shot, yet their Arrows mist. Not to mention the frequent Dangers they were in, upon every slight suspicion of their being English; of which, more anon. And well might these poor Sufferers be in continual fear of their Lives, since about a Twelve-month before, a parcel of Dutch-Men, who had likewise suffered Shipwrack, had been killed and devoured; and moreover, of the many Vessels supposed to be lost on that coast, these are the first Company that are known to have escaped. Neither is it so wonderful, that they are thus Cruel to Strangers, since they are unnatural to their own aged People; they having no more Compassion on them,
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them, than to make them Slaves to the Younger. Yet are these Men-Eaters as Cowardly as Cruel; when the Spaniards came up, the sight of a Rusty Musket presented towards them, would make several of them fly.

3. The Dangers they were delivered from, arose not only from Men, but the Elements also, which God permitted to threaten and afflict them. One time, rowing in their Boat, the Sea swell'd, so that it was dangerous continuing there all Night, and as dangerous to endeavour for the Shore; yet Providence failed them not, but conducted them safe thither, as though there had been a Lane made through the Breakers: Another time, by reason of a great Flood, they were forced to remove their Lodgings several times, and for divers days, were in a continual apprehension of being drowned; at length were preserved on an Oyster-Hill. Not to mention the frequent Dangers they were in, by reason of the extreme Cold, too tedious to touch at here; wherein this, however, is remarkable, that God can both administer Strength, in the midst of Weakness, and also take away Strength, and cause Weakness to seize, whenever he pleases: Here was an Old Man, a Woman with a Sucking Child, and another with-Child, Persons seemingly very unlikely to encounter such Hardships, all escaped; and divers Negroes, used to more hardness, perished.

4. As to Lodging, I shall say little, any discreet Person may imagine, how hard it was to People, well brought up, to lie on a Floor, swarming with abundance of many sorts of creeping things, occasioned by the throwing the Berry-Stones on the Floor, and letting all the Nastiness they made lie there, which bred these Vermine; and yet perhaps might be accounted good Lodging, in comparison of the cold Ground, whereon they often lay afterwards unsheltered, exposed to the bleak Blasts of the rigid North-West-Wind.

5. Their Food most scanty, the best of it such, as (I am ready to think) the meanest Negro here would not touch with his Lips; sometimes the Gills and Guts of Fish, pick'd off

A Dung.
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a Dunghill; sometimes the Scraps the Indians flung away, and the Water they boiled their Fish in, though never so undecently handled. At first their Sorrows were so great, and their Alarms so many, they could not eat; afterwards their Diet so uncomely, they could not away with it; until, at length, Hunger had so far prevailed over them, that they could eat with an Appetite the Palmetto-Berries; the taste whereof was once irksome, and ready to take away their Breath; nay, so fond were they of them, that the getting of about a Bushel accidentally, was look'd on as a great Prize.

6. Their being forced to mask themselves under the name of Spaniards, though few of them could speak any Spanish, was another Hardship; mostly because the Natives often suspected them to be English, and thereby they were continually in danger of their Lives. Whether their Cruelty against the English, proceeds from their being under no apprehension of Danger from them, and so may think themselves lawless in what they do against our Nation; or whether it proceeds from any particular Disgust offered them by some English, I shall not determine: However, it would do well, for those that are not under their Power, to avoid giving them any just cause of Offence, lest their Neighbours suffer for their faults. One of these Savages could complain, That, some Years past, he had been taken off by some of our English Sloops, from whom he escaped by Swimming, and was there-with disgusted, insomuch, that could be, by his fitting, have found out, that they were English, it might have proved of ill Consequence to them.

7. The Courteze of the Governour of Augusteen, who Cloathed these naked People, Fed their hungry Stomachs, and caused them to be Conducted safely to Carolina, is not to be passed by, without due notice; especially, being a Man of another Nation, as well as of a different Religion; and what is more, of such an one, as doth not teach its Votaries so much Compassion towards those they count Heretics: Neither let me forget the Governour of Carolina, whose Gene-

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Purposity compleated what the Governor of Augusteen had begun, in assisting and cherishing these our afflicted Friends and Country-Folks; with which, I shall conclude these Remarks, to treat more particularly, concerning that Faithful Servant of the Lord, Robert Barrow; who was one of this Company.

This Man of God, whose Habitation was in one of the Northern Counties of England, was early Convinced of the blessed Truth of God, professed by the People called Quakers, and soon after had a Dispensation of the Gospel committed to him. He lived, in his Native Country, in esteem amongst his Neighbours, for his Godly Conversation; and honoured in the Church of God, as an Elder, who had abode Faithful in his Testimony, both in Preaching the Gospel, Suffering for the same, and Behaving himself answerable thereunto. And in the Year 1694. the Spirit of God (from whom he first had his Commission) requiring him to come over into these parts, to Preach the Gospel here also; he was not disobedient to the Heavenly Call, but gave up to do the Will of God, though in a Cross to his own, as appeared by an Expression of his, before he left England, which was to this effect, That he had rather immediately have laid down his natural Life there, if by so doing he could have kept his Peace with God, than to have crossed the Seas to America. Well, hither he came; and after he had thoroughly Visited these parts, he took Ship for the West-Indian Islands; and at length, was returning from Jamaica to this Town of Philadelphia, when these Calamities, mentioned in the ensuing Journal, befel him: How he behaved himself under them is therein expressed, with what Patience he was carried through them, with what Faith he overcame, even the very worst of Men; so that it may be said, He was more than a Conqueror over those Blood-thirsty Canibals; looking to Him who was Invisible, and by his Grace seeing beyond Their and their Cruelty; by Prayer, Wrestling with God for a Blessing; even the Blessing of being delivered out of their Bar-
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Barous Hands, and laying his Bones among Faithful Friends; and so effectual were his fervent Prayers, that they prevailed with God; and so gracious was his God unto him, that he sealed an assurance upon his Spirit, That his Prayers were heard, and should in due time be answered, before he was yet off his Knees. And, doubtless, he was made a Strength and a Comfort to his Companions in Affliction, whose remembrance will not be easily blotted out of their Minds.

One Remarkable Passage I cannot well omit, which demonstrates he had well learn'd of Him who is a God of Truth, to speak the Truth upon all occasions, though with the hazard of his Life. For, as the Reader may observe in the Series of this following Relation, these poor People, for the Safe-guard of their Lives, had assumed the name of Spaniards; some on that account, asserting what was wrong, others concealing the Truth; yet this Honest-hearted Man, being directly asked the Question, Nickaleer, Nickaleer? (their word for English-Men) could do neither; but in Simplicity answered, Yes; being asked so concerning another, be again answered, Yes. Yet, though for his plain dealing, he was stripp'd of his Clothes, which till then he had saved, God suffered not these Savages to touch his Life, or the Lives of any of his Company.

Thus he pass'd through this Afflicting Trial, and at length arrived at this place on the 1st Day of the 2d Month, 1697, though in much Weakness; having been taken very ill of the Belly-ach and Flux at Augusteen; of which he never recover'd, but still grew worse and worse, to his dying Day. It was about the 8th hour in the Evening when the Barkentine, he was Passenger in, arrived at this place. Divers Friends went on Board, in order to get him a Shoar, but he being in a very weak Condition, they could not remove him at that time. He declared, His great satisfaction, that the Lord had granted his Request, that he might lay down his Bones in this place; that his Heart was strong, and he hoped he might first see Friends again at
at the Meeting. He made mention of the Goodness of God to him, and that his Presence had attended him in all his Exercises.

The next Morning, being the 2d of the 2d Month, divers Friends went on Board, to help the Vessel up to a Warf, in order to get him on Shoar; in which time he spake as before related, God's Power attending him. About the 7th hour, divers Friends carried him in a Hammocker (being wrap'd up in a Blanket, and Clothes to keep him warm) to the House of Samuel Carpenter, where he declared, The Goodness of God to him; and that his Heart was yet strong, and his Memory and Understanding good. After which he was shifted, and then slept a considerable time.

On the same Day, some Friends coming into the Room to visit him, at the sight of them he seemed to rejoice; and, putting forth his Hand, was ready to embrace them in much Love, and in a very tender frame of Spirit. The Friends expressed their gladness to see him; but said, They were sorry to see him so very weak: To which he replied, Although my Body be weak, my Mind is sound, and Memory good. And further said, The Lord hath been very good to me, all along unto this very Day; and this Morning hath sweetly refreshed me. And further added, The Lord hath answered my Desire; for I desired Content, and that I might come to this place, to lay my Bones amongst you. And afterwards said, It is a good thing to have a Conscience void of Offence, both towards God, and towards Men.

On the 4th Day of the 2d Month, being the 1st Day of the Week, about the 5th hour in the Morning, he desired a Friend to write for him to his dear Wife, To remember his dear Love to her; and to let her know of his Travels, and being here; and that the Lord was with him; that his outward Affairs were settled; and that she had wherewith-all to live on. He further said, divers Friends being
being present, That the Lord was with him, and all things were well; and that he had nothing to do, but to Dye: And accordingly on this Day he departed; and on the 3d Day following, being the 6th Day of the 2d Month, was buried in Friends Burying-ground, in this Town of Philadelphia.

And now, having brought my Relation, concerning this good Man, to the last Period of his Life, I might very well have put a Period to my Preface: But that I foresee, Some Persons may be ready to say, Here is an account of very strange Passages, but of what Credit is the Relator? May we depend upon his Authority, without danger of being imposed upon? To such I answer, He is a Man well known in this Town, of good Credit and Repute; on whose Fidelity and Veracity, those who have any knowledge of him, will readily rely, without suspecting Fallacy. But, that in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses every thing may be established, besides him and his Wife, a Person, whose residence (when at home) is in this Town, viz. Joseph Kirle, the Master of the Barkentine, in which they suffered Shipwreck, a Man of an honest Character amongst his Neighbours, had the Perusal of it, before it went to the Press, and approved it. With which I shall conclude, wishing my Reader much satisfaction in the Reading of it; but never the Unhappiness of Experiencing, in proper Person, the truth of it.
A Journal of the Travels of several Persons, with their Sufferings, being cast away in the Gulph (among the Canibals) of Florida, &c.

The Persons Names, viz.

Joseph Kirle, Commander of the Barkentine-Reformation.
Richard Limpeny, Mate. Thomas Fownes.
Solomon Creisson. Thomas Femmet.
John Hilliard, the Master’s Boy.
Ben. the Masters Negro.

Jonathan Dickenson. Robert Barrow.
Mary Dickenson. Benjamin Allen.
Jonathan Dickenson, a Sucking Child, Six Months old.

Cajoe, a Child. Hagar. Sarah. Bella. {Belonging to Jonathan
Venus, an Indian Girle.

THE Twenty-third Day of the Sixth Month, call’d August, 1696. Being in Company with Twelve or Thirteen Sail of Merchant-Men, under the Convoy of the Hampshire-Frigot, Captain Fletcher Commander, Sailed from Port-Royal, in Jamaica, we being bound for Pensilvania.

The
The 24th Day, About Noon came a Sloop from Port-Royal, meeting us off Portland; gave an Account of the French Fleet's being at Cape Antonio.

This Evening we lay by off Black-Rivers-Mouth, in order to go the next Morning to Blewfield; but it being Calm for many Days following, the Current drove to Westward of the Island.

The 31st Day, This Evening we lost fight of the Hampshire-Frigot, and then beat to Windward again.

The 1st Day, the 7th Month, we anchored to Westward of Savina la Mar, and lost our Anchor.

The 2d Day, We got in Blewfield Road to Water.

The 4th Day, This Morning we Sailed from Blewfield, intending our Passage through the Gulph.

The 14th Day, About Noon, were a Breast with Cape Antonio; and about a League to the Eastwards off the Cape was a Fire, making a great Smoak: At length People appeared on the Bay, making signs for us to put on Shoar; but having a fresh Gale, and not knowing who they were, our Master would not.

This Day we made the Table-land of the Havana, and this Evening stood over for Cape Florida; but about Eight or Nine at Night we saw two Lights, being about a Mile from us; we fearing we were got amongst the French Fleet, tacked, and stood for the Haven.

The 18th Day, This Morning no Sail appeared, and being most of the Day Calm, we lay about Four Leagues off the Havana; we had a fair Wind, and were designed for that Port, to enquire of the French Fleet. This Afternoon came a Turnado from the Land, and our Master being on the Quarter-Deck, our Boom gibing knocked him down, and broke his Leg; which Accident was grievous to him and us; but having things suitable, with a little Experience, set it. At this time had I Four of my Family very Sick;
Sick; one whereof was an Indian Girl, being just as I had bound up the Master's Leg, taken with Fits, which continued some Hours, and then she died. This Evening we stood over for Cape Florida, having the Wind North-Eastery.

The 12th Day, This Morning the Wind not being fair, we stood up for Cuba; and about Sunrising we espied the Sails that we saw before, they standing as we stood: Therefore we supposed them to be some of our Company; we wronged them in Sailing, and by Noon lost sight of them. About Four this Afternoon we espied a Ship, to the Eastward of us (we being about Four Leagues off Shoar, and about Fifteen Leagues to Eastward of the Havana) supposing her to be a French-Man, therefore stood in for the Shoar; but she gained on us: Then a Tornado sprang up, and a great Shower of Rain followed, which hid us. Hereupon we tacked, and stood over for Florida. Night came on, that we saw no more of that Sail, having the Wind fair.

The 20th Day, This Morning we were in the Gulph having a fair Wind, and seeing the two Ships following us, we believed them to be of our Company.

The 21st Day, This Morning the Wind at East, and shifting Northerly.

The 22d Day, This Day the Storm began at N. E.

The 23d Day, About One a Clock in the Morning we felt our Vessel strike some few strokes, and then she floated again, for five or six Minutes, before she ran fast a Ground, where she beat violently at first; the Wind was violent, and it was very dark, that our Mariners could see no Land: The Seas broke over us, that we were in a quarter of an hour Floating in the Cabin: We endeavoured to get a Candle lighted, which in a little time was accomplished. By this time we felt the Vessel not to strike so often; but several
Several of her Timbers were broken, and some Plank started; the Seas continued breaking over us, and no Land to be seen. We concluded to keep in the Vessel as long as she would hold together. About the Third Hour this Morning, we supposed we saw Land at some considerable distance: And at this time we found the Water began to run out of the Vessel; and at Day-light we perceived we were upon the Shoar, on a Beach lying on the Breach of the Sea; which, at times, as the Surges of the Sea reversed, was dry. In taking a view of our Vessel, we found that the Violence of the Weather had forced many sorts of the Sea-Birds on board of our Vessel; some of which were, by force of Wind, blown into, and under our Hen Cubs, and many remained alive. Our Hogs and Sheep were washed away, and swam on Shoar, except one of the Hogs, which remained in the Vessel. We rejoiced at this our Preservation from the raging Seas; but at the same Instant feared the sad Consequences that followed; yet, having Hopes still, we got our Sick and Lame on Shoar; also our Provisions, with Spars and Sails to make a Tent. I went, with one Negro, to view the Land, and seek the most convenient place for that purpose. But the Wilderness Country looked very dismal, having no Trees, but only Sand-Hills, covered with shrubby Palmetto, the stalks of which were prickly, that there was no walking amongst them: I espied a place almost a Furlong within that Beach, being a Bottom; to this place I with my Negro soon cut a Passage, the Storm and Rain continuing. Thither I got my Wife and Sick Child, being six Months, and twelve days old; also Robert Barrow, an aged Man, who had been Sick about five or six Months; our Master, who some days past had broke his Leg, and my Kinsman Benjamin Allen, who had been very ill, with a violent Fever, most part of the Voyage; These, with others,
Others, we got to the place, under the shelter of some few Bushes, which broke some of the Wind, but kept none of the Rain from them; I got a Fire made: The most of our People were getting Provisions, a Shoar; our Chests, Trunks, and the rest of our Clothing, were all very wet and cold.

About the Eighth or Ninth hour, came two Indian-Men (being naked, except a small piece of plaited work, of Straws, which just hid their private Parts, and fastened behind like a Horse-Tail in likeness, made of a sort of Silk-Grass) from the Southward, running fiercely, and foaming at the Mouth, having no Weapons but their Knives, and forthwith, not making any stop, violently seized the two first of our Men they met with, who were carrying Corn from the Vessel to the top of the Bank, where I stood to receive it, and put it into a Cask; they used no Violence, for the Men resisted not; but taking them under the Arm, brought them towards me: Their Countenance was very Furious and Bloody: They had their Hair tied in a Roll behind, in which stuck two Bones shaped, one like a Broad Arrow, the other a Spear Head; the rest of our Men followed from the Vessel, asking me what they should do, whether they should get their Guns to kill these two; but I persuaded them otherwise, desiring them to be quiet, shewing their inability to defend us from what would follow, but to put our Trust in the Lord, who was able to defend to the uttermost. I walked towards the place where our Sick and Lame were, the two Indian Men following me, I told them the Indians were come and coming upon us: And whilst these two (setting the Men loose) stood with a wild furious Contenance, looking upon us; I thought with myself to give them some Tobacco and Pipes, which they greedily snatch'd from me, and making a snuffing Noise, like a Wild-Beast, turned their backs upon us, and run away.
We communed together, and considered our Condition, being among a barbarous People, such as were generally accounted Men-Eaters, believing those two were gone to alarm their People: We sat our selves down; expecting Cruelty and hard Death, except it should please the Almighty God to work wonderfully for our Deliverance. In this deep Concernment some of us were not left without Hopes; blessed be the Name of the Lord, in whom we trusted.

As we were under a deep Exercise and Concernment, a Motion arose from one of us, that if we should put our selves under the Denomination of Spaniards, (it being known that that Nation had some Influence on them) and one of us, named Solomon Cresson, speaking Spanish Language well, it was hop’d this might be a means for our delivery; to which, the most of the Company assented.

Within two or three hours after the departure of the two Indians, some of our People being near the Beach or Strand, returned and said, The Indians were coming in a very great Number, all running and shouting. About this time the Storm was much abated, the Rain ceased, and the Sun appeared, which had been hid from us several days. The Indians went all to the Vessel, casting forth what-ever they could lay hold on, except Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Beef and Pork.

But their Cassekey (for so they call their King) with about thirty more, came down to us in a furious manner, having a dismal Aspect, and foaming at the Mouth; their Weapons were large Spanish Knives, except their Cassékéy’s, who had a Baggonet, that belonged to the Master of our Vessel; they rushed in upon us, and cried, Nickaleer, Nickaleer; we understood them not at first; they repeating it unto us often, at last they cried, España, or Spaniard; by which we
we understood them, that at first they meant English; but they were answered to the latter in Spanish, Yes, to which they replied, No Spani, no; but all cry'd Nickaleer, Nickaleer: We sitting on our Chests, Boxes and Trunks, and some on the Ground, the Indians surrounded us; we stood nor moved not, but sat all, or most of us, very Calm and Still, some of us in a good frame of Spirit, being freely given up to the Will of God.

Whilst we were thus sitting, as a People almost unconcern'd, these Bloody-minded Creatures placed themselves each behind one, kicking and throwing away the Bushes that were nigh, or under their Feet; the Caffekey had placed himself behind me, standing on the Chest which I sat upon; they all having their Arms extended, with their Knives in their Hands, ready to execute their Bloody Design, some taking hold of some of us by the Heads, with their Knees let against our Shoulders; in this Posture they seem'd to wait for the Caffekey to begin: They were high in words, which we understood not. But on a sudden, it pleased the Lord to work wonderfully for our Preservation, and instantly all these Savage-Men were struck Dumb, and like Men amazed, the Space of a quarter of an hour, in which time their Countenances fell, and they looked like another People. They quitted their places they had taken behind us, and came in amongst us, requiring to have all our Chests, Trunks and Boxes unlock'd, which being done, they divided all that was in them; Our Money the Caffekey took unto himself, privately hiding it in the Bushes; then they went to pulling off our Clothes, leaving each of us only a pair of Breeches, or an old Coat, except my Wife and Child, Robert Barrow, and our Master, from whom they took but little this day: Having thus done, they asked us again, Nickaleer, Nickaleer? But we answered, by saying, Pennsylvania. We
We began to enquire after St. Augusteen, also would talk of St. a Lucea, which was a Town that lay about a Degree to the Northward; but they cunningly would seem to perswade us, that they both lay to the Southward: We signified to them, that they lay to the Northward; and we would talk of the Havana, that lay to the Southward. These places they had heard of, and knew which way they lay.

At length, the Caffekey told us, how long it was to St. a Lucea, by Days Travel; but cared not to hear us mention St. Augusteen. They would signifie by signs, We should go to the Southward. We answered, That we must go to the Northward, for Augusteen. When they found they could not otherwise perswade us, they signified, that we should go to the Southward, for the Havana, and that it was but a little way.

We gave them to understand, that we came that way, and were for the Northward; all which took place with them. We perceived, that the Caffekey's Heart was tendered towards us; for he kept mostly with us, and would the remaining part of this day keep off the Petty-Robbers, which would have had our few Rags from us. Some time before Night we had a Shower of Rain, whereupon the Caffekey made signs for us to build some Shelter; upon which we got our Tent up, and some Leaves to lie upon.

About this time our Vessel lay dry on Shoar, and the Indians gathered themselves together, Men and Women, some Hundreds in number. Having got all the Goods out of the Vessel, and covered the Bay for a large distance, open'd all the Stuffs and Linnen, and spread them to dry. They would touch no sort of strong Drink, Sugar, nor Molasses, but left it in the Vessel. They Shouted, and made great Noises in the time of Plunder. Night coming on, the Caffekey pur those Chests and Trunks, which he had reserved for himself, into our Tent;
Tent; which pleased us, and gave an expectation of his company; for he was now become a Defender of us from the Rage of others. The Caffekey went down to the Water-side, amongst his People, and returned with three old Coats, that were wet and torn, which he gave us; one whereof I had. We made a Fire at each end of our Tent, and laid our selves down, it being dark; but hearing hideous Noises, and fearing that they were not satisfied, we expected them upon us. The chief Indian (or Caffekey) lay in the Tent upon his Cheet. And about Mid-night we heard a Company of Indians coming from the Vessel towards us, making terrible Shouts, and coming fiercely up to the Tent; the Caffekey called to them, which caused them to stand. It seemed they had kill'd a Hog, and brought him; so the Caffekey asked us, if we would eat the Hog? Solomon Cresson, by our desire, answered him, That we used not to eat at that time of the Night; whereupon they threw the Hog down before the Tent, and the Caffekey sent them away. They went Shouting to the Sea-shoar, where there were some Hundreds of them, Revelling about our Wreck.

The 25th of the 7th Month, the 6th day of the Week.

This Morning, having purposed to endeavour for Liberty to pass to the Northward, Solomon opened the matter to the Caffekey, who answered, We must go to his Town to the Southward.

This occasioned us to press him more urgently, to let us go for St. a Lucea, (this place having a Spanish Name, supposed to have found it under the Government of that Nation, whence we might expect Relief,) But the Caffekey told us, That it was about two or three Day's Journey thither; and that, when we came there, we should have our Throats and Scalps cut, and be shot, burn'd, and eaten. We thought that Information was but to divert us, so that we were more earnest to go;
but he sternly denied us, saying, We must go to his Town.

About Eight a Clock this Morning, the Caffekey came into our Tent, and set himself amongst us, asking the old Question, Nickaleer, Nickaleer? Directing his Speech to one particular of us, who in simplicity answered, Yes: Which caused the Caffekey to ask the said Person, If another Person, which he pointed to, was Nickaleer? He answered, Yes. Then he said, Totus (or all) Nickaleer; and went from amongst us: Returning in a short time, with some of his Men with him, and a-fresh they went greedily to strip my Wife and Child, Robert Barrow, and our Master, who had escaped till now. Thus were we left almost Naked, till the Feud was something abated; and then we got somewhat from them, which displeased some of them. We then cut our Tents in pieces, and got the most of our Clothing out of it; which the Indians perceiving, took the Remains from us. We Men had most of us Breeches, and pieces of Canvas; and all the Company interceded for my Wife, that all was not taken from her. About Noon, the Indians having removed all the Plunder off the Bay, and many of them gone; a Guard was provided, arm’d with Bows and Arrows, with whom we were summoned to march, and a Burden provided for every one to carry, that was any ways able. Our Master, with his broken Leg, was help’d along by his Negro Ben. My Wife was forced to carry her Child, they not suffering any of us to relieve her: But if any of us offer’d to lay down our Burden, we were threatened to be shot. Thus were we forced along the Beach, bare-footed.

We had saved one of the Master’s Quadrants, and Seamen’s Calendar, with two other Books. As we walked along the Bay, (the time suitting) our Mate, Richard Limpeny, took an Observation, and we found our selves
elves to be in the Latitude of twenty seven Degrees and eight Minutes: Some of the Indians were offended at it, when he held up his Quadrant to observe, one would draw an Arrow to shoot him; but it pleased God hitherto to prevent them from shedding any of our Blood.

One Passage I have omitted: Two of our Marriners, named Thomas Fownes and Richard Limpeny, went forth this Morning, from our Tent, down to the Bay, where the Indians were, and viewing of them at some distance, an Indian-Man came running upon them, with his Knife in his Hand, took hold of Thomas Fownes to Stab him; but the said Thomas fell on his Knees, using a Spanish Ceremony, and begged not to kill him; whereupon the Indian desisted, and bid him be gone to the place from whence he came. The said Thomas, at his return, acquainted us how narrowly he had escaped.

After we had travelled about five Miles along the deep Sand, the Sun being extream hot, we came to an Inlet; on the other side was the Indian-Town, being little Wigwams made of small Poles stuck in the Ground, which they bended one to another, making an Arch, and covered them with Thatch of small Palmetto-leaves; here we were commanded to sit down, and the Cashkey came to us, who with his hand scratch'd a hole in the Sand, about a Foot deep, and came to Water, which he made Signs for us to come and drink, we being extream thirsty, did, but the Water was almost Salt. Whilst we sat here, we saw great Fires making on the other side of the Inlet, which some of us thought was preparing for us. After an hour's time being spent here, at length came an Indian with a small Cannoo from the other side, and I, with my Wife and Child, and Robert Barrow, were ordered to go in; the same Cannoo was but just wide enough for us to sit down.
down in; over we were carried, and being landed, the Man made signs for us to walk to the Wigwams, which we did; but the young Indians would seem to be frightened, and flee from us. We were directed to a Wigwam, which afterwards we understood to be the Caffekey's: It was about a Man's height to the top; Herein was the Caffekey's Wife, and some old Women, sitting on a Cabbin, made of Sticks, about a foot high, covered with a Mat; they made signs for us to sit down on the Ground, which we did. The Caffekey's Wife having a young Child sucking at her Breast, gave it to another Woman, and would have my Child, which my Wife was very loath to suffer; yet she would not be denied, but took our Child and suckled it at her Breast, viewing and feeling it from top to toe, and at length returned it to my Wife. And by this time was another parcel of our People come over, and sitting down by the Wigwam side, one Indian brought a Fish boiled, on a Palmetto-Leaf, and set it down amongst us, making signs for us to eat; but our Exercise was too great for us to have any Inclination to receive Food; at length our People were brought over, and afterwards came the Caffekey; as soon as he came to his Wigwam, he set himself to work, got some Stakes, and stuck them in a row, joyning to his Wigwam, and tyed some Sticks, whereon were these small Palmettoes tyed, and fastned them to the Stakes, about three Foot high, and lay'd two or three Mats made of Reeds down by his Shelter; which, it seems, he made for us, to break the Wind off us, and ordered us to lie down there; which we did, as many as the Mats would hold, the rest lay on the Ground by us. The Caffekey went into his Wigwam, and seated himself on his Cabbin cross-legged, having a Basket of Palmetto-Berries brought him, which he eat very greedily; after which came some Indians in to him, and talk'd much. Night came on,
on, the Moon being up, an Indian, who performeth their Ceremonies, stood out, looking full at the Moon, making a hideous Noise, and crying out, acting like a Mad-man, for the space of half an hour, all the Indians being silent till he had done; after which they all made a fearful Noise, some like the Barking of a Dog, Wolf, and other strange Sounds; after this, one gets a Log, and sets himself down, holding the Stick or Log upright on the Ground, and several others getting about him, making a hideous Noise, Singing to our Amazement; at length their Women joined Comfort, making the Noise more terrible; this they continued till Midnight. Towards Morning was great Dew; our Fire being expended, we were extream Cold.

This Morning, the Caffekey looking on us with a mild Aspect, sent his Son with his striking Staff to the Inlet, to strike Fish for us, which was performed with great Dexterity; for some of us walked down with him, and though we looked very earnestly when he threw his Staff from him, could not see a Fish, at which time he saw it, and brought it on Shoar on the end of his Staff. Sometimes he would run swiftly pursuing a Fish, and seldom mist when he darted at him. In two hours time he got as many Fish as would serve twenty Men. There were others also Fishing at the same time, so that Fish was plenty; but the sense of our Condition stayed our hungry Stomachs, for some amongst us thought they would feed us, to feed themselves.

The Caffekey went this Morning towards our Vessel; in his absence the other Indians looked very untowardly upon us, which created a Jealousie of their Cruelty yet to come.

This Afternoon we saw a great Fire, nigh the place of our Vessel; whereupon we concluded, that our Vessel and our Boat were Burn'd; whereupon we
were almost confirmed, that they designed to destroy us. About Sun-setting the Coffeekey came home: we spake to him, he answered us, and seem'd very affable, which we liked well. Night drawing on, and the Wind shifting Northward, we removed our Shelter, and added the Mats to it to break the Wind off us, which blew cold, and laid our selves on the Sand. About an hour within Night came a parcel of Indians from the Southward, being all arm'd with Bows and Arrows; and coming near our Tent, some of us esp'y'd them, whereupon they squatted down: This seem'd a fresh motive of Danger; and we awakened those of us that were fallen a-sleep, and bid them prepare, for things seem'd dangerous, we supposing they were come to forward our Destruction, or to carry us to the Southward; they sat thus a considerable time; at length they distributed themselves to the Wigwams: Thus would Danger often appear unto us, and almost swallow us up; but at times we should be set over it, having a secret Hope, that God would work our Deliverance, having preserved us from so many Perils.

Sometime before Night, Robert Barrow was exhorting us to be patient; and in a godly manner did he expound that Text of Scripture, Because thou hast kept the Word of my Patience, &c. Rev. 3. 10. After which he ended with a most fervent Prayer, desiring of the Lord, that whereas he had suffered us to be cast amongst a Barbarous and Heathenish People, if that it was his blessed Will, He would preserve and deliver us from amongst them, that our Names might not be buried in Oblivion, and that he might lay his Body amongst Faithful Friends: And at the close of his Prayer, he seem'd to have an assurance that his Petition would be granted: In all which, some of us were livingly refreshed and strengthened.
The 27th of the 7th Month; the 1st of the Week.

This Morning we again used our endeavours with the Casskey, that we might go to the Northward for Augusteen; his Answer was, We should be all kill'd, but at length we prevailed, and he said on the Morrow we should go: Hereupon, he took three Negre Men (one of Joseph Kirle's, and two of mine) and with a Cannoo went up the Sound.

This day the Indians were busie with what they had taken out of our Vessell, and would have employed all of us to do, some one thing, some another, for them; but we not knowing the Consequence, endeavoured to shun it, and would deny their demands: But some of our Men did answer their desires in making and sewing some Cloth together, stringing our Beds, mending of Locks of the Chests, &c. Whatever they thought was a-miss they would be putting upon us to Mend, still we wholly refused; at which time I heard a saying, that came from one of the chief Indians, thus [English Son of a Bitch] which words startled me; for I did believe they had had some of our Nation in their Possession, of whom they had heard such an Expression: I passed away from the Wigwam with much trouble.

This day, being the first of the Week, we having a large Bible, and a Book of Robert Barclay's, some one or other was often reading in them: But being most of us fat together, Robert Barrow desired our People to wait upon the Lord; in which time Robert had a Word in season unto us, and after wards went to Prayer, all the Indians coming about us; and some younger sort would be Mocking, but not to our Disturbance: The Elder sort stood very modestly the whole time: After Prayer ended, they all withdrew quietly; but some of them (especially the Casskey's eldest Son) would take great delight in our Reading, and would
take the Bible, or other Book, and give to one or other to read; the sound of which pleased them; for they would sit quietly, and very attentively, to hear us.

The Caffekey having been gone the most part of the Day, with three Negroes in our Boat coming over the Bar into the Inlet: We rejoiced to see our Boat, for we thought she had been Burn'd. Our Negroes told us, They went up the Sound with the Caffekey, and landed near the place where our Tent had been: The chief Business was, to remove the Money from one place to another, and bury it. This old Man would trust our People, but not his own. After that was done, they went to the place where our Vessel was Burn'd: They launched our Boat, in which the old Caffekey put his Chests, wherein was our Linnen, and other of our Trade. Also they got a small Runlet, which they filled with Wine out of a Quarter-Cask that was left, and brought Sugar out of the Wreck, which was not consumed with the Fire. By this time came the Caffekey, and other Negro, in the Cannoo. He told us, On the Morrow we should go with our Boat; this was cheerful News unto us. All this time some Indians had been out, and brought home some Oysters; and the Caffekey gave us some, bidding us take what we had a mind to. A little before Night, the Caffekey opened his Chest and Boxes: And his Wife came, and took what was in them from him. But he seem'd very generous to my Wife and Child, and gave her several things which were useful to her and our Child.

Our Boat was very Leaky, so that we got her into a Creek to sink her, that the Water might swell her.

The 28th of the 7th Month; the 2d of the Week.

This Morning we waited an opportunity to get leave to depart, which was granted us. Whereupon we asked for such things as they did not make use of, viz. a great
great Glass, wherein was five or six pound of Butter, some Sugar, the Rundle of Wine, and some Balls of Chocolate; All which was granted us, also a Boul to heave Water out of the Boat: But the Caffekey would have a Negro Boy of mine, named Caesar, to which I could not tell what to say; but he was resolved on it. We got down to the Water-side, and let all our People over that were to Travel; and Joseph Kirle, Robert Barrow, I, my Wife and Child, with two of our Mariners, went in the Boat, and rowed along Shoar Noribwards, but the Caffekey would have us to have gone with our Boat up the Sound: We supposed the Sound was a great River, and therefore were not willing to take his Advice, having no knowledge; but his Counfel was good, as we found afterwards, for the convenien-
cy of passage.

The Caffekey, and some other Indians, went with our People towards our Wreck, we rowing along Shoar, and our Boat very leaky, that one Perfon had impoy enough to heave out the Water.

Just before we left the Indian-Town, several Indians were for taking the little Cloths and Rags we had got; but calling out to the Caffekey, he would cause them to let us alone.

Solomon Creffon was mightily in one Indian's favour, who would hardly stir from his Wigwam, but Solomon must be with him, and go Arm in Arm; which Indian, amongst his Plunder, had a Morning Gown, which he put on Solomon, and Solomon had worn it most of the time we were there; but when the time of our depar-
ture came, an Indian unrob'd him, and left only a pair of Breeches, and seemed very Angry.

It was high Noon when we left our Wreck (the being burn'd down to her Floor-Timbers which lay in the Sand) we setting forward, some in the Boat, the rest travelled along Shoar; and a little before Sun-sett
fetting our People came up with abundance of small Fish that had been forced on Shoar, as we may suppose, by the Storm that drove us on Shoar (they lying far from the Water, being much tainted) covered the Shoar for nigh a Mile in length, of which our People gathered as many as they could carry: About Sun-fetting we put on Shoar to refresh our selves, and take a small Respite, also to take my Kinsman, Benjamin Allen, into our Boat, for this afternoon, in his Travel, he was taken with a Fever and Ague, and we had much trouble to get him a long, he having been Sick, nigh unto Death (being first taken, the day before we left Blewfield's Road) until about a Week before we were cast away.

One of my Negroes had saved a Tinder-box and Flint, and we had reserved two Knives, by which means we got a Fire, though with much difficulty, for our TINDER was bad, and all the Wood Salt-Water-Soaken; which being accomplished, we broiled all our Fish, feeding heartily on some of them, and the rest we kept, not knowing when we should be thus furnished again; for which, some of us were truly thankful to the God of our Mercies.

Having a large Fire, many of us got under the Lee of it, and others buried themselves in the Sand, in hopes to get a little Sleep, that we might be somewhat refreshed, and thereby be the better enabled, some to Travel, and some to Row, the remaining part of the Night; but the Sand-Flies, and Muskettoes, were so extream thick, it was impossible: The Moon Shining, we launched our Boat, I, and my Wife, and Child, the Master, Robert Barrow, my Kinsman Allen, Solomon Cres-fon, Joseph Buckley, and the Master's Negro, went in our Boat, the rest travelled along Shoar: About midnight, or a little after, our People came by an Indian Town; the Indians came out in a great Number, but offered no Violence,
Violence, more than endeavouring to take from them what little they had; but making some small resistance, the Indians were put by their purpose: They were very desirous to have us come on Shoar, and would haile us, but our People would have us keep off: We were got among a parcel of Breakers, and so had much ado to get out to Sea.

The 29th of the 7th Month; the 3d of the Week.

This Morning about Sun-rising we stood in for the Land, and looked out for our People, but could not see them, therefore we lay by for the space of two hours, and at length saw them coming along, with a great many Indians with them. When they came a breast with us, the Indians wafted us on Shoar, but we refused, perceiving they were wickedly bent; they would be ever and anon snatchling one thing or other, at which time our People would point to us in the Boat; but perceiving they could not get us on Shoar, in some few hours left them.

This Day Noon, Joseph Kirle having his Quadrant and Calander, took an Observation, being in the Latitude of 27 Deg. 45 Min. About one a Clock we saw two Indians with Bows and Arrows, running to meet our People; who, when they saw them, at first they made a halt, and afterwards retreated, at which the Indians let fly an Arrow, which narrowly escaped one of them; whereupon they stopped; the Indians looked strangely on them, but our People set forward, and the Indians with them, until they came to the Indian Town: We saw our People go into the Wigwams, but stayed a very short time, for the Indians were for taking those pieces of Canvas they had, from them. They got some Water and set forward again, the two Indians still followed them. About this time we saw a Sail to the Eastward, and we supposing it at first to be a Brigantine; agreed to follow her; but in a small time
time we made it to be a Cannoo or Boat, with two Masts and Sails; she stood in for the Shoar, but as soon as they esp'y'd us, she bore away; and when she saw we made not after her, she stood a-shoar again for the Indian Town. Hereupon a Jealousie got amongst us, that she might go on Shoar, and get strong with Men, and then come after us; whereupon we rowed very hard, and kept an offing for some hours; but finding they came not out, we stood towards the Shoar again. This day was extream hot, and we had no Water since we left the Indian Town, to the Southward of our Wreck, called by the Name of Hoe-Bay; therefore we were desirous to get on Shoar, but when we endeavoured it we could not, for the Seas swell'd very much, and came rowling from the Eastward, so that the Seas run very hollow, and broke almost a Mile from the Shoar; our Master said, *It was impossible to get on Shoar alive*; but I being under some Exercise, was desirous to be on Shoar, and thereupon did express my self to the rest of our People; they startet the Danger: All which I was as sensible of as they; yet I could not rest, but insisted upon going a Shoar; the Master and Men said, *We should not save our Lives*; but I gained so, that they attempted, and were got within half a Mile of the Shoar; but the Seas came on us so large and hollow, that one Sea had like to have overwhelmed us; we just got a-top of it before it broke, there was then no persuading them to go further, but we stood off, and designed to keep off all Night; our People being very weary, and the Sun setting, we divided, one half to get some Sleep, the other to watch, and keep the Boat's Head to the Sea. The Weather looked as though it would be bad, and the Sea increased, whereupon I began a-fresh to persuade them to go on Shoar; all were desirous, but thought it impossible; at length we resolved to venture, and so...
committing our selves to the Protection of the Almighty God, we stood in for the Shoar, and made signs to our People, that we designed it. And it pleased God to order it so, that we went on Shoar, as tho' there had been a Lane made through the Breakers, and were carried to the top of the Bank, where we got aged Robert Barrow, my Wife and Child out of the Boat, before ever a Sea came to fill us, which did as soon as they were got out; but we got our Boat up from the wash of the Sea.

The two Indians were for taking off our Clothes, (which would not cover our Bodies) but we not being willing to yield, they would snatch a piece from one, and a bit from another, and run away with that, and then come again and do the like. These two Indians took away what was given to my Wife and Child, which we knew not how to help, but exercised Patience.

We enquired how far it was from St. a Lucea (one of them speaking a little Spanish) and by signs we understood it was not far. They made signs, that when we came there, we should be put to most cruel Death, but we hoped otherwise.

At this place, within the Land, and over the Sound, our People laid, before it was dark, they saw two or three Houses, which look'd white, as tho' they were plastered with Lime, which put us in hopes that there were Spaniards there; so we set forwards, as the Indians directed, for St. a Lucea; they made signs that we should come to an Inlet of the Sea, and on the other side was St. a Lucea. We travelled about four Miles, and came to the Inlet, but saw no Settlement on the other side, so we concluded to lye there all Night. We saw the tract of a large Bear, and other wild Beasts, whereupon we set to work to get Wood, and then a Fire. Abundance of Muskettges and Sand-Flies hindered our
Our Rest; to remedy which, we digged holes in the Sand, got some Grass, and laid it therein to lye upon, in order to cover our selves from the Flies, which most of us did; but it being extreme cold, and Firing scarce, we had little Comfort.

About Midnight we sent our People to see if they could get off our Boat, and bring it into the Inlet, that we might get over to the other side: They went and Launched her, but the Sea was so rough, that there was no possibility of getting her off, for she was soon filled and put to Swim, and they, Boat and all, were driven on Shoar again.

Whilst our People were gone for our Boat, we espied some Indians in a Cannoo, with their Torch, a Fishing; we sent for Solomon (who was gone to Launch the Boat) expecting they would come, seeing Fires, and we should not tell what to say to them; but they did not. Here we lay watching, for no rest could be taken.

The 30th of the 7th Month; the 2d of the Week.

This Morning, by break of Day, we saw a small Cannoo from the other side, put off Shoar, with two Indians in her, going up the River (or Sound) a Fishing. We hailed them in Spanish, and as soon as they heard and saw us, they made to the Shoar with all speed, and away to their Town they ran. We, perceiving they were shy of us, began to doubt of their Amity, which we had so much depended on; whereupon we counselled our People how to deport themselves, especially our Negroes. About Sun-rising we saw the Indians coming, running in a very great Number, with their Bows and Arrows, to the Inlet; where, having five or six Cannos, they got into them, as many as those Cannos could hold; others took the Water, and swam over unto us: They came in the greatest Rage that possibly a Barbarous People could. Solomon began to speak Spanish to them; but they answered not till they came
canie a Shoar, some distance from us, and then coming running upon us, they cryed out Nickakeer, Nickakeer? We all fat still, expecting Death, and that in a most Barbarous Manner. They that did speak unto them could not be heard: But they rushed violently on us, rending and tearing those few Clothes we had; they that had Breeches had so many about them, that they hardly touched the Ground, till they were shaken out of them; they tore all from my Wife, and espying her Hair-Lace, some were going to cut the Hair, away to get it; but, like greedy Dogs, another snatch'd and tore it off. As for our poor young Child, they snatch'd from it what little it had, as though they would have shaken, and torn it; Limb from Limb. After they had taken all from us but our Lives, they began to talk one to another, vehemently Foaming at Mouth, like wild Boars, and taking their Bows and Arrows, with other Weapons, cryed out Nickakeer, Nickakeer? Solomon spoke in Spanish to them, and said, We were Spaniards; but they would not hear him; and continued crying out Nickakeer, Nickakeer; withal drawing their Arrows to the head. But suddenly we perceived them to look about and listen, and then desisted to prosecute their Bloody Design. One of them took a pair of Breeches, and gave it to my Wife. We brought our great Bible, and a large Book of Robert Barclay's, to this place. And being all stripp'd as Naked as we were Born, and endeavouring to hide our Nakedness; these Canibals took the Books; and tearing out the Leaves, would give each of us a Leaf to cover us, which we took from them; at which time they would deride and smite us; and instantly another of them would snatch away what the other gave us, smiting and desiring us withal.

Robert Barrow, with my Self, Wife and Child, were ordered to go into a Canoe, to be carried to the other
side of the Inlet, being a Furlong over; four Indians being in the Cannoo to paddle; when we came to the other side, within a Cannoo's length or two of the Shoar, a number of Indians, with their Bows and Arrows, came running into the Water, some to their Knees, some deeper, having their Bows and Arrows drawn up, crying out; Nickaleer, Nickaleer; which they continued without ceasing. The Indians that brought us over leap'd out of the Cannoo and swam a-shoar, fearing they should be shot. But in this juncture, it pleased God to tender the Hearts of some of them towards us, especially the Caffekey's Wife, and some of the chiefeft amongst them, who were made Instruments to intercede for us, and stop the Rage of the Multitude, who seem'd not to be satisfy'd without our Blood. The Caffekey order'd some to swim, and fetch the Cannoo a Shoar; which being done, his Wife came in a Compassionate manner and took my Wife out of the Cannoo, ordering her to follow her, which we did some distance from the Inlet-side, and stood till all our People were brought over, which in a little time was done. But the Rage of some was still great, thirsting to shed our Blood; and a mighty Strife there was amongst them; some would kill us, others would prevent it; and thus one Indian was striving with another. All being got over, were to walk along the Sea-shoar to their Town. In this Passage we, most of us, felt the Rage of some of them, either by Striking or Stoning; and divers Arrows were shot; but those that were for Preserving us, would watch those that were for Destroying; and when some of them would go to shoot, others of them would catch hold of their Bows or Arm. It was so ordered, that not one of us was touch'd with their Arrows; several of us was knock'd down, and some tumbled into the Sea; we dared not help one another, but help we had by some of them, being
ing made instrumental to help us. My Wife received several blows; and an Indian came and took hold of her Hair, and was going either to cut her Throat, or something like it, having his Knife nigh her Throat; but I looked at him, making a sign that he should not, so he desisted. At which time another Indian came, with a handful of Sea-sand, and filled our poor Child's Mouth. By this time the Caffekey's Wife came to my Wife, seeing her oppressed, and they pulled the Sand out of our Child's Mouth, and kept by my Wife until we got to the Caffekey's House, which was about Forty Foot long, and Twenty-five Foot wide, covered with Palmetto-Leaves both top and sides: There was a Range of Cabbins, or a Barbecue, on one side and two ends; at the entering on one side of the House, a Passage was made of Benches on each side, leading to the Cabbins; on these Benches sat the chief Indians, and at the upper end of the Cabbin was the Caffekey seated. A kind of Debate was held amongst them for an hour's time. After which, Solomon and some others were called to the Caffekey, and were feated on the Cabbin, where the Caffekey talked to Solomon in the Spanish Language, but could not hold a Discourse. In a little time, some raw Deer-Skins were brought in, and given to my Wife and Negro-Woman; and to us Men such as the Indians wear, being a piece of Plait-work of Straws, wrought of divers Colours, and of a triangular Figure, with a Belt of four Fingers broad of the same, wrought together, which goeth about the Waist; and the Angle of the other having a thing to it, coming between the Legs, and string to the end of the Belt; all three meeting together, are fastened behind with a Horse-tail, or a Bunch of Silk-gras, exactly resembling it, of a Flaxen Colour, this being all the Apparel or Covering that the Men wear; and thus they Clothed us. A place was appointed for us, for
being laid on the Floor of the House, where we were ordered to lie down. But the place was extream nasty; for all the Stones of the Berries which they eat, and all the Naftiness that's made amongst them, lay on their Floor, that the place swarm'd with abundance of many sorts of creeping things; as, a large black hairy Spider, which hath two Claws like a Crab, Scorpions, and a numberless number of small Buggs. On these Mats we lay, these Vermin crawling over our naked Bodies. To brush them off, was like driving of Muskatoos from one, where they are extream thick. The Indians were seated, as aforesaid, the Caffekey at the upper end of them; and the Range of Cabbins was fill'd with Men, Women and Children, beholding us; at length we heard a Woman or two cry, according to their manner, and that very Sorrowfully; one of which I took to be the Caffekey's Wife, which occasioned some of us to think, that something extraordinary was to be done to us. We heard a strange sort of a Noise, which was not like the Noise made by a Man, but we could not understand what, nor where it was; for sometimes it sounded to be in one part of the House, sometimes in another, to which we had an Ear; and indeed our Ears and Eyes could perceive or hear nothing but what was strange and dismal, and Death seem'd to surround us; but time discovered this Noise unto us. The occasion of it was thus: In one part of this House, where the Fire was kept, was an Indian Man, having a Pot on the Fire, wherein he was making a Drink of the Leaves of a Shrub, (which we understood afterwards by the Spaniard, is called Caffeena) boylng the said Leaves, after they had parched them in a Pot; then with a Gourd, having a long Neck, and at the top of it a small hole, which the top of one's Finger could cover, and at the side of it a round hole of two Inches Diameter; they take the Liquor out of the
the Pot, and put it into a deep round Bowl, which being almost filled, containeth nigh three Gallons; with this Gourd they brew the Liquor, and make it froth very much; it looketh of a deep brown Colour. In the brewing of this Liquor was this Noife made, which we thought strange; for the pressing of this Gourd gently down into the Liquor, and the Air which it contained, being forced out of the little hole at top, occasioned a Sound, and according to the time and motion given, would be various. This Drink, when made, and cool to sup, was in a Conch-Shell, first carried to the Caffeykey, who threw part of it on the Ground, and the rest he drank up, and then would make a loud Hem; and afterwards the Cup passed to the rest of the Caffeykey's Associates, as aforesaid; but no other Man, Woman or Child, must touch or taste of this sort of Drink; of which they sat Sipping, Chattering and Smoaking Tobacco, or some other Herb instead thereof, for the most part of the day.

About Noon was some Fish brought us, on small Palmetto-Leaves, being boiled with Scales, Heads and Gills, and nothing taken from them but the Guts; but our Troubles and Exercifes were such, that we cared not for Food.

In the Evening, we being laid on the place aforesaid, the Indians made a Drum of a Skin, covering there-with the deep Bowl, in which they Brewed their Drink, beating thereon with a Stick, and having a couple of Rattles, made of a small Gourd, put on a Stick, with small Stones in it, shaking it, they began to set up a most hideous Howling, very irksome to us; and sometime after came some of their young Women, some Singing, some Dancing; this was continued till midnight, after which they went to Sleep.
The 1st of the 8th Month; the 5th of the Week.

This day the Cassikkey looking on us pleasantly, made Presents to some of us, especially to my Wife; he gave her a parcel of Shel-Fish, which are known by the name of Clamms, one or two he roasted, and gave her, shewing that she must serve the rest so, and eat them. The Indian Women would take our Child and Suckle it, for its Mother's Milk was almost gone, that it could not get a Meal: And our Child, which had been at Death's Door, from the time of its Birth, until we were cast away, began now to be Cheerful, and have an Appetite to Food; it had no covering but a small piece of raw Deer-Skin, not a Shred of Linnen or Woollen to put on it.

About the tenth Hour, we observed the Indians to be on a sudden Motion; most of the Principal of them betook themselves to their Houses; the Cassikkey went to Dressing his Head, and Painting himself, and so did all the rest: When they had done, they came into the Cassikkey's House, and seated themselves in Order. In a small time after came an Indian with some small Attendance into the House, making a Ceremonious Motion, and seated himself by the Cassikkey, the Persons that came with him seated themselves amongst the others: After some small pause, the Cassikkey began a Discourse, which held nigh an Hour; after which the Strange Indian and his Companions went forth to the Water-side, unto their Cannon, lying in the Sound, and returned presently with such Presents as they had brought, delivering them unto the Cassikkey, and those sitting by, giving an Applause. The Presents were some few Bunches of the Herb they make their Drink of, and another Herb, which they use instead of Tobacco, and some plaited Balls, stuffed with Mofs, to lay their Heads on, instead of Pillows: The Ceremony being ended, they all seated themselves again, and went to Drink...
ing Caffeena, Smoaking and Talking during the Strangers stay.

About Noon some Fish was brought us; Hunger was grown stronger upon us, and the quantity given was not much more than each a Mouthful, which we Eat; The Caffekey ordered the Master, Joseph Kirke, Solomon Gresson, my Wife and Me, to sit upon their Cabin to eat our Fish; and they gave us some of their Berries to Eat: We tasted them, but not one amongst us could suffer them to stay in our Mouths, for we could compare the taste of them to nothing else, but rotten Cheese steep’d in Tobacco. Sometime after we had eaten, some of the Indians asked us, If we were Spaniards? Solomon answered them, Yes. Then some of the Indians would point to those whose Hair was Black, or of a deep Brown, and say such a one was a Spaniard of the Havana, and such of Augusteen; but those whose Hair was of a Light Colour, they were doubtful of; some would say they were no Spaniards.

About the third hour in the Afternoon, the Strangers went away, and some small time after, they having satisfied themselves that most of us were Spaniards, told us that we should be sent for to the next Town; and they told us that there was a Nickaleer off, and we understood them [English Men of Bristol] also the number of six Men and a Woman; and that they were to be put to Death before we should get thither. We were silent, altho’ much concerned to hear that Report; they also told us, that a Messenger would come for us, to direct us to the next Town, thence to Augusteen, Night coming on, they betook themselves to their accustomed Singing and Dancing.

About the 10th or 12th hour in the Night, before the Singing and Dancing was ended, came in a Stranger armed with Bow and Arrows; the Caffekey, and his
Companions, entertained him with half an hours Discourse, which being ended, we were on a sudden ordered to get up, and hurried away with this Stranger, they not giving us time to see if we were all together, and a Troop of young Indian Men and Boys followed us for about four Miles, all which way they pelted us with Stones: At length they all left us, except two and our Guide; but we missed Solomon Creston, and Joseph Kirle's Boy, and Negro Ben, which was no small Trouble to us.

We had not travelled above five Miles, before our Guide caused us to stop, and at some small distance was an Indian Town, which I suppose our Guide belonged to, for Indians came thence with Fire and Water for him, and with Palmetto Leaves they made a blast of Fire; here we stayed nigh two hours: The Flies were very thick, and the Night very Cold, so that our naked Bodies were not able to endure it, but with Grief. At length we left this place; the whole Night following we were troubled with these two young Indians, who at times would be abusing one or other of us, singing them out, and asking if they were not Nickaleer, or English? If they said, nay, then they would hit them a Blow or more with a Truncheon, which they had; and said, They were. We travelled all Night without stopping, from the aforesaid place.

The 2d of the 8th Month; the 6th of the Week.

After Sun-rising, we came up with the Wreck of the Vessel that we heard was cast away. She was sta-ted all to pieces, for her Keelson was driven on Shoar. We saw Sugar-Hogheads, Ginger and Logwood, which gave us to suppose, that it was one of our Fleet; and we thought it to be either Burroughs or Smith, belonging to Bristol: A Mile or more from hence we came to an Inlet; our Guide told us, We must Swim over, except my Wife and Robert Barrow; but we signified, that
that we could not: He carried Robert Barrow, Joseph Kirke, Me, my Wife and Child, over first, and at length the whole Company, for it was a great way over. By that time we were all got over, the Day was hot, and my Wife quite tired and faint, as also Robert Barrow, and Joseph Kirke, whose Leg was grown so painful, that it overcame him. We got under a Grape-Bush for shelter from the Sun; I sent one of my Negroes to seek for Water for them, but there was none to be had; but he got some Sea-side Grapes, which, with resting, refreshed the Weak and Lame.

Our Guide was for forcing us forward; so we travelled about four or five Miles further, and met with the Caffekey of this Town, and Commander of the Northern part of this Coast. He was an ancient Man, his Beard and Hair Gray: He enquired for the Captain, so our People pointed to Joseph Kirke, whom he went to, and embraced him; then he asked for our Mate, or Pilot. This Man could speak Spanish better than any we had met with yet, but not so well as to Discourse, only to ask some Questions, and we had three or four amongst us could make a shift to answer him, for Solomon was kept behind. This old Caffekey seemed to have Compassion on us, and said, That those People who had served us thus, in stripping of us, were Rogues; but we were his Camerades or Friends. Withal he said, In few days he would carry us to Augusteen; and thereupon he told us of six English Men, and one Woman, being at his Town. We enquired, if he intended them for Augusteen? But he would shake his Head, and point to the Southward, saying, Nickaleer no Camerade (English-Men were not his Friends) Which Words were unpleasant to us. This People kept us company till we came within a Mile or two of their Town, and then they left us; they, going faster, got in before us. Their Town stood about half a Mile from
from the Sea-Shoar, within the Land, on the Sound, being surrounded with a Swamp, in which grew white Mangrove-Trees, which hid the Town from the Sea. We were directed to the Caffekey's House, which was large, and filled with Indians, and then ordered to sit down. The old Caffekey fetched some Water, and washed Robert Barrow's Feet, and my Wife's; after which he got some Canvas and Crocus Ginger-Bags, which they had got out of the Vessel that was cast on Shoar, which was distributed among us. Joseph Kirle had a Coat given him, which they had taken from the People of the other Vessel, but it was rent down the Back. My Wife had two pieces of Sail-Canvas given her. And I, with others, had a Crocus Ginger-Bag: They gave a piece of a Barbers old Linnen Shirt, in bigness of a small Hand-kerchief, to cover our Child; this was all our Clothing. Robert Barrow and my Wife were quite spent with travelling barefoot on the hot Sand, having bruised their Feet; and with Stumps, Stones, and Prickles, their Feet, especially Robert Barrow's, had holes in them, that one might have put the top of one's Thumb in: We were directed to lye down on a Cabin. The other Vessel's Company were, one John Smith, Master of the Nantwich, a Barque belonging to Bristol, which came out of Jamaica with us, with five Men, and one Woman, viz. Andrew Murray, Merchant, Andrew Barnes, Mate, Hugh Allen, John Offer, John Shears, and Cornelius Toker, two Boys, with a Woman Passenger, named Penelope. We took an opportunity to discourse them; they were cast away the same Night we were, and their Vessel being forced by the Storm (they not being able for two days before to carry any Sail) on Shoar; they got into their Boat, and so on Shoar; and in a small time was a great part of their Wreck driven on Shoar; amongst which was a Barrel or more of Water, some Barrels of Beef
Beef or Pork, with their Chests, and many other things which they got. On the Morrow they designed to Travel to the Northward; but Andrew Barnes, their Mate, having been a long time afflicted with a Flux, which had wasted his Body to Skin and Bone, so that he was not able to help himself, they left him, and travelled a Mile or more, and came to an Inlet, which they could not pass; whereupon they returned back again, to take their Boat, but at their return, before they could get away with their Boat, they espied the Indians coming on them, who soon got to them, asked in Spanish, What Nation they were? If Spaniards, English or French? But the Indians made signs to give them their Clothing, which they readily did. But still they enquired, Of what Nation? At first they answered Spaniards; but the Natives looked so Furiously, that they soon answered them, English Men; thereupon every one had it, Nickaleer, Nickaleer. And then they very eagerly stripp'd them of all they had on them; after which, they drove them away to the Northward, unto their Town: But Andrew Barnes being not able to stand nor go, was left behind, after they had stripped him on the Land naked, when they were driven away. Before they got to the Town, the Indian Caffekey gave them some Clothing, and no violence offered to their Persons. They had plenty of Fish and Berries to the time of our coming. John Smith and Andrew Murray had their Being in the Caffekey's House, and the Woman, named Penelope: The rest of Smith's People lodged in other Indian Houses. But on our coming, the old Caffekey told them, They must turn out, and make room for the Spaniards; but Smith and Murray would not go, and the Indian did not force them out. In some time after we had been in the House, came in Indian Women, loaden with Baskets of Berries, mostly of the Palms; some Sea-side Cocco-Plumbs, and Sea-side Grapes.
Of the two latter we could eat, but of the Palm-Berries we could not bear the taste in our Mouths. We laid our selves on the Cabin, on that part which was appointed us; on the other part, the young Caffekey, or King, lay, being parted by a Chest that stood there-on. Before Night was a parcel of large Fish, called Drumms, brought in; the old Caffekey told Joseph Kirle, That those were for the Spaniards, and bid him let some-body Dress them; he also ordered us a Pot. They were soon dressed, and we eat them. Night being come, the old Caffekey enquired after our Losses; which we, as well as we could, gave him to understand, That in our Vessel was a great deal of Clothing and Money, which the Indians at Hoe-Bay had taken from us. He understood so much of the matter, that he grew Covetous, and said, He would go and get some of it from them.

About Mid-night came Solomon Cresson in a Cannoo, with two Indians; The old Caffekey began to examine him concerning our Vessel, Goods and Money, or Plate; of which Solomon rendered a further Account unto him, than we could; which caused him to resolve on the Morrow to provide Men and Boats, and to go down the Sound to Hoe-Bay, to have part from them. He would have had Solomon to have gone with him, but Solomon refused.

We enquired of Solomon concerning his stay, and of the Negro, Ben. and Joseph Kirle’s Boy: He said, That he was stayed by force; but the Negro and the Boy were asleep in another House, when we were driven away. They had a design, in slaying of Solomon, which he could not rightly understand, but supposed, that they doubted that we were not all Spaniards; for the Indians of St. a Lucea would say to Solomon, That he was a Spaniard, and some others, but the most of us were not Spaniards, and that they had stolen Solomon: But Solomon denied it.
The 3d of the 7th Month; the 7th of the Week.

This Morning the old Caffekey, with two Canmos, and ten Indians with him, went hence for Hoe-Bay; he promised, that as soon as he returned, he would carry us for Augusteen, which he supposed would be in six days, if he had good Weather. But this day the Wind was got North-East, and it look’d as though the Weather would be Stormy; the Wind increased, and towards Evening the Water in the Sound did rise, that it began to cover the Land, and came into the Houses; but we had little or no Rain till Night, then the Wind increased, and Rain also.

The 4th of the 8th Month; the 1st of the Week.

This Morning the Wind was violent with Rain; the King’s House was Knee deep with Water, and like to continue rising; I removed, with my Wife, Child, Robert Barrow and Benjamin Allen, to an Indian-House, that flood on a Hill of Oyster-shells; in this House we remained this Day. The Wind continued at North-East, very violent, and by reason of much Rain, the Water rising every Hour, the Indians began to put their dry Berries into their Canmos, and to seek which way to secure them. Several Indians betook themselves to their Boats, and carried what they had to some high Land a considerable distance, where a place was made for their Caffekey, or King; but before day, the House we were in was a float, and the Indians were for turning us out, bidding us take an old Canmo, that had a hole in the side of her, almost at the bottom, big enough for a Man to put his hand through, so that she was full of Water; in this Canmo they would have had us shifted for our selves, but we were not willing to go; the Indians made signs for us to be gone divers times; at length they grew angry, and took my Kindman Allen into the Canmo, and carried him away; in a little time after returned with the Canmo, and bid me and
and Robert Barrow be gone: By this time day appeared, the Wind and Rain still violent. I then saw a House on another Oyster-Hill, that the Water was not got over yet; to which I got, and asked by signs, If I might be there? The Indians seemed willing; so thither I got my Wife, Child, and Robert Barrow, and remained there. All this day the Wind was violent, it Rained, and the Flood continued; we imagined that the Sea was broke in upon the Land, and that we should be drowned. The Houses was almost blown to pieces, and the Indians often a tying and mending it. The chief Man of this House caused his Wife to Suckle our Child, for it was almost famished, its Mother having no Milk in her Breast, for we had received no Sustenance since the Storm began; fresh Water was not to be had, the Land being covered with the Sea. The Indians offered us some of their Berries, which we endeavoured to eat, but could not, the taste was too irksome, and ready to take our Breath from us, when we tried to eat them; but we expected, that if the Flood continued longer, we should not need for Water. Yet, nevertheless, we enjoying Health and Strength, and Hunger growing violent, we would be tasting the Berries, tho' we could reap no satisfaction.

The 6th of the 8th Month; the 2d of the Week.

This Morning the Flood began to come up into this House also; the Indians seem'd much concerned; the Storm of Wind and Rain held till about Mid-day, at which time the Wind shifted Soutward, with the Rain; but in some few Hours the Flood began to abate.

The 7th of the 8th Month; the 4th of the Week.

By this Day noon the Water fell many Feet, and I went out to see our People, whom I left in the King's House; I found them where I left them. All the Indians had left the House, and our People remained on the
the Cabbin, which was about four Foot from the Floor. The Flood had risen within two or three Inches of the top of the Cabbin, and they said, They expected to dye there. We began to express our Hunger and Thirst to each other, but there was no help as yet for either; we went to the Springs, but they were all Salt as the Sea; and we would be striving with the Berries, but they were so Offensive unto us, that we could reap no satisfaction from them. We went a begging at times to the Indian-Women to suckle our Child, which they would seldom deny.

The 8th of the 8th Month; the 5th of the Week.

This day we got some Water to drink, but it was very brackish, and at best not very good.

The 9th of the 8th Month; the 6th of the Week.

This day the young Caffekey returned to his House, with his Chests and other things.

The 10th of the 8th Month; the 7th of the Week.

This day we got a Meal of Fishe, the greatest plenty we had received since we were there. We longed for the old Caffekey's return, and feared that the bad Weather would lengthen the time.

The 11th of the 8th Month; the 1st of the Week.

This morning early came a Messenger, giving an account, That the old Caffekey was within some few Leagues of the Town, and that we might expect him this forenoon; within the time he came in sight, we all drew down to the Water-side to receive him; we perceived he came in State, having his two Canoes lash'd together, with Poles athwart from the one to the other, making a Plat-form, which being covered with a Mat, on it stood a Chest, which was belonging to us, and my Negro-Boy Caesar, (which the Caffekey of Hoe-Bay took from me) whom he had got from the Indians at Hoe-Bay; upon this Chest he sat cross-legged, being newly painted Red; his Men with Poles,
fitting the Cannos along unto the Shoar. Seeing us; he cryed [Wough] and look'd very sternly at us. He was received by his People with great Homage, holding out his Hands (as their Custom is) to be kissed; having his Chest carried before him unto his House whither he went, the House being filled with Indians. The old Casskekey began, and held a Discourse for some hours, giving an account, as we suppose, what he heard and saw; in which Discourse he would often mention Nickaleer; which caused us to fear, that all things were not well. After he had told his Story; and some of the Elder Indians had express their Sentiments thereof, they drank Caffeena, and Smoked until Evening. The House being clear, the old Casskekey looking very unpleasingly, shewed unto us several things which he had got; as, a Hatchet, a Knife, the Chest, and many other things; asking us, if they were not ours? Which we owned: Whereupon he would say, they were Nickaleer (or English.) We signified, that we had them of the English, but our Money was Spanish. Towards the Evening, Joseph Kirle, my self and Solomon, got an opportunity to Discourse him; we began to urge his Promise, of carrying us for Augusteen. At first, he stated his Hardships and Labour to Hoe-Bay, and back, and that he must have time to rest before he could go out again; then he told us, The way was long, and would be tedious, and that at several places we must draw the Cannos over Land for a great distance; he also mentioned how many Towns there were between this and Augusteen, in number Ten. But-nigh the conclusion, he setting an angry Countenance upon, told us, That at Hoe-Bay he was informed, that we should say, We were all English-Men; after he said this in angry manner, he turn'd from us, and went away.
This laid all our hopes in the Dust, and we soon perceived the Indians grew jealous of us, for they would now be daily asking us, If we were nor Nickaleer, or English? And would not seem satisfied with a denial. Many days were spent, and the time drew nigh, that we understood the old Caffekey was intended for Augusteen; hereupon we applied our selves to him, requesting, That if all might not go, he would carry some of us; but he told us, He would carry but one. This put us on querrying, Which of us should be that One? The generality was for Me; but I and Joseph Kirkle were for Solomon, because he could speak the Spanish-Language well, and no other of us could: And should any other of us have gone, and come amongst those Indians to the Northward, who, we supposed, could speak the Spanish-Language well, we should be discovered to be what those People did suppose we were, therefore it might overthrow all our Expectations; but Solomon might pass all those Objections. These Reasons did not satisfy our People, so that some of them grew Cholerick; of which the old Caffekey took notice, and told Solomon, That if they made such a Stir, he would not carry one: If he did, it should be either Solomon, Joseph Kirkle, or Me. Whereupon we prevailed with him, that Solomon might go, and accordingly made Preparations: The Caffekey appointed the number of Indians to go with him; also a Cannoo was sent for, which, when it came, we found it to have belonged to the English, by the Maker of her. This Cannoo had a great hole in the Head, nigh the bottom, with many great Rents and Holes in her: Joseph Kirkle and I were required to mend her, which, with much a-do, we accomplished, the Cannoo being much decay’d, and rotten where the Rents were.
The 18th of the 8th Month; the 1st of the Week.

This Day-morning, the old Cassiekey, with Solomon and six Indians, in a Canoo, set out for Augusteen. The Cassiekey carried a small Chest, in which was nigh One Hundred Pieces of Eight, as some of our People did suppose, with some other matters that were gotten from our Vessel. The Weather was likely for Rain, which caused us to fear, should the Weather prove bad, that Solomon would hardly live to get to Augusteen; for he had nothing to cover him, except a pair of Indian-Breeches, and a small piece of Skin that covered his Breast.

We understood by the old Cassiekey, that it would be a Month, or next New Moon, before we could expect their Return: All which time we spent in much trouble and hardship. The Weather began to grow cold, and Provision very short; that is, Palm-Berries, Cocco-Plumbs, and Sea-Grapes (which are the three forts before expressed) the time of these Fruits bearing being over, they having no fort of Fruit till next Spring.

These People neither Sow nor Plant any manner of thing whatsoever, nor care for any thing, but what the barren Sands produce: Fish they have as plenty as they please, but sometimes they would make it scarce to us, so that a Meal in a Week was most commonly our Portion, and three Meals a Rarity. After the old Cassiekey's departure, our hardships encreased, especially my Wife and Child's, for want of Food of any sort; my Wife's Milk was gone, and our poor Child was in great want; the Indians now and then would give it suck, but rarely to satisfie it, for there was a Woman or two of their own which had young Children, and no Breast to suckle them. Our Extremity was such, that any manner of thing would go down with us; the Gills and Guts of Fish, pick'd off a Dung hill, was ac-ceptable
ceptable, the Scraps the Indians threw away, and the Water they boiled their Fish in, we were thankful for, tho' never so indecently handled by them. And tho' my Wife had hardly any Milk for our Child, yet an Indian-Woman, who was lately delivered of a Child, and had no Milk in her Breast, would have had her to suckle her Child, which my Wife consented unto. And this was a means of her and our Child's reaping a Benefit, for the Indians would give her Fish; which means helped to encrease Milk for our Child. Many were our Exercises, both in Body and Mind; amongst this People. Sometimes they would look upon us, as tho' they had some ill Intent towards the whole of us; at other times, they would tell us (who where nominally Spaniards) how and in what manner those of Smith's Company should be put to Death. And thus were we daily exercised in Sorrow and grievous Troubles. Sometimes doubt would arise amongst us, concerning what would be the end of us, and what manner of Deaths we should pass through; and whomsoever these doubts did appear in, it would be hard for another to help with Counsel: But some there were, whose Hope never failed, they trusting in the Lord to work for our Deliverance. One thing did seem more grievous to me and my Wife, than any other thing; which was, That if it should so happen, that we should be put to Death, we feared that our Child would be kept Alive, and bred up as one of those People: When these Thoughts did arise, it wounded us deep.

This Day, being the time of the Moon's entering the First Quarter, the Indians have a Ceremonious Dance, which they begin about Eight a Clock in the Morning: In the first place comes an old Man, and takes a Staff, about eight Foot long, having a broad Arrow on the head thereof, and thenée half way paint-
Red and White, like unto a Barber's-Pole; in the middle of this Staff is fixed a piece of Wood, shaped like unto a Thigh, Leg and Foot of a Man, and the lower part thereof is painted Black; and this Staff being carried out of the Caffékey's House, is set fast in the Ground, standing upright; this done, he also brings out a Basket, containing six Rattles, which are taken out of the Basket, and placed at the foot of this Staff; then another old Man comes, and sets up a Howling, like unto a mighty Dog, but beyond him for length of Breath; withal making a Proclamation: This being done, the most of them having painted themselves, some Red, some Black, some with Black and Red, with their Belly girt up as tight as well they can girt themselves with Ropes, having their Sheath of Arrows at their Backs, and their Bows in their Hands; being gathered together about this Staff, six of the chiefest Men in esteem amongst them, especially one who is their Doctor, and much esteemed, taking up the Rattles, begins a hideous Noise, standing round this Staff, taking their Rattles, and bowing without ceasing unto the Staff for about half an hour; whilst these six are thus employed, all the rest are staring and scratching, pointing upwards and downwards, on this and the other side, every way, looking like Men Frighted, or more like Furies; thus behaving themselves until the six has done shaking their Rattles. Then they all begin a Dance, violently stamping on the Ground, for the space of an hour or more, without ceasing: In which time they will Sweat in a most excessive manner, that by the time the Dance is over, what by their Sweat, and the violent stamping of their Feet, the Ground is trodden into Furrows; and by the Morning, the place where they danced was covered with Maggots: Thus, often repeating the manner, they continue till about three or four a Clock in the Afternoon;
noon; by which time many were Sick and Faint. And then, being gathered into the Caffekey's House, they sit down, having some hot Caffeena ready, which they drink plentifully, and give greater quantities thereof to the Sick and Faint, than to others: Then they eat Berries. On these days they eat not any Food till Night.

The next Day, about the same time, they begin their Dance, as the Day before. Also the third Day they begin their Dance, at the usual time: At which time came many Indians from other Towns, and fell to Dancing, without taking any notice one of the other.

This Day they were stricter than the other two Days, for no Woman must look upon them; but if any of their Women go out of their Houses, they go vailed with a Mat.

The 25th of the 8th Month; the 1st of the Week. This day was a day of plenty unto us, for we had as much Fish and Berries as would serve us two days.

This Week we observed that great Baskets of dried Berries were brought in from divers Towns, and delivered to the King, or young Caffekey, which we supposed to be a Tribute to the King of this Town, who is Chief of all the Towns from St. a Lucea, to the Northward of this Town of Jece.

The 27th of the 7th Month; the 3d of the Week. This day was a Bag of Berries (the Bag made of Grass) given us, which we eat in two or three days; and then we fasted as many days, before the young Caffekey would give us more.

About this time, John Smith and Andrew Murray were sharply seized with a Fever and Ague: When the Fit of the Ague was on them, the Indians would mock and deride them: This we well observed, that these People had no Compassion on their own Aged declining
People, when they were past their Labour, nor on others of their own, which lay under any declining Condition: For the Younger is served before the Elder, and the Elder People, both Men and Women, are Slaves to the Younger.

In this Place we saw many Tokens of some of our Nation's having fallen into the Hands of these People: As, two English Cannoos, one of Cedar, the other of Cotton-Tree, like those of Jamaica; several Blocks and Shelves of Lignum-Vita; several Tools and Knives; and more particularly, a Razor, on the haft of which, was writ the Man's Name, thus, THOMAS FOSTER. Some of these things looked as though they had been several Years amongst them, some but a few: But we never dared to enquire, for we thought they brought some things in our view to try us.

Here was a Man in this Town, who, some Years past, had been taken off by some of our English Sloops, for a Diver on the Wreck, to the Eastward of Cuba, where he was some time; but the Vessel putting into Cuba, for Water, this Indian Swam on Shoar, and got to the Havana, thence to Augusteen, and so to his Native Town. The greatest Charge this Man had against the English, was, for taking him, and their People away; not but that he was well used amongst them: This Indian would often call Joseph Kirk, Solomon Cres- fon, and some of us into his House, seeming very cheer- full, asking, If they would eat, withal asking the names of the Berries, expecting we would call them after the English manner [Plumbs] but perceiving his drift, and having learned the name of them, as the Spaniard calls them [Uvaes; then he would tell us, That the English called them Plumbs:] Such sort of Discourse we had at times, for he would be striving to trap us, viz. Joseph, Solomon and Me, in words, but
but he never had an Advantage; for when Solomon was gone, we shunned all his Invitations and Arguments.

The 31 of the 8th Month; the 7th of the Week.

This day came in a Cannoo laden with Fish, and it was free, for those that would, to take as much as they pleased. The Indians put us to go and take, for it was a kind of a Scramble, amongst us, and the young Indian Men and Boys: All of us got Fish enough to serve us two or three days.

The 2d of the 9th Month; the 2d of the Week.

This Morning, about Sun-rising, came two Strange Indians, who had run so hard, that they Sweated extremly, of whom we understood, that the Spaniards were coming with their old Casskey; which News surprized us, doubting the Truth of it, for Solomon had been gone but sixteen Days, and we understood that they must have an extraordinary Passage to be here in a Month: We had not long to consider of the matter, for in an hour's time we heard four Muskets discharged, and immediately we looked out, and the Spaniards in their Perre-Augo were in sight. The Indians were like a People amazed, and overcome with Fear: We perceived the Noise of a Gun was terrible unto them.

The Spaniards Landed, being in number Twelve, Sebastian Lopez Commanding Ten Soldiers, with one Indian, an Interpreter. The Spaniards embraced us very cheerfully, and expressed their being glad to find us alive: But we were not able to Discourse each other, though we had so much Spanish as to ask Questions, and Answer some part of what they asked us. One of the Spaniards said, They could not speak English, nor could we speak Spanish enough to understand each other sufficiently; this the Indians perceived, and immediately cryed out, Nickaleer, Nickaleer, Nickaleer, and
and looked enviously on us, so that, could they have had their wills, we believed they would not have suffered us to have lived many hours; but the Spaniards Awed them.

We received a Letter from Solomon, which he writ when he met with Captain Sebastian Lopez, signifying the Governour of Augusteen's great Care for our Preservation, of what Nation so ever we were: But how these Persons, or the Governour of Augusteen, had knowledge of us, we could not understand; for they had been fourteen Days from Augusteen, which was nigh the time Solomon went hence; and they met Solomon about half way, and sent him for Augusteen with other Guides, bringing the old Caffekey and his People with them: We observed that the old Caffekey seem'd much dejected. We supposed the Spaniards had taken from him the Money, and what other things he had carried with him; or that he was vexed he should be so deceived, in taking us for Spaniards.

The Spaniards were extraordinary kind unto us, so that we had occasion to rejoice, and thank the Lord for this part of our Deliverance by their means: They were also a Terror unto the Indians; for they searched their Houses, and took all from them that ever they could find, even to the stub of a Nail; which aggravated them, and increased their dis-affection to us-ward, so that we dared not to stir from a Spaniard. The Spanish Captain made enquiry where we were cast away, and what was saved that we had in our Vessel? We gave an Account, so well as we could, to make him understand us; which account made him very desirous to go down thither: But looking over a Paper often, which we supposed, was the Governour's Order and Instructions to him: We understood they would not permit him to prosecute his Design; besides, we made him...
him sensible of the danger we should be in, if he and his Men should go and leave us amongst these People, who were so bitterly incensed against us.

They inquired what became of the Boat that belonged to Smith’s Vessel and ours, we told them, that these Indians had taken Smith’s Boat and sunk her somewhere in the Sound, but ours was at St a Lucea: The Spaniards made the Indians go and shew where they had sunk Smith’s Boat, and help our People to get her up; which being done, she was brought to the Town: The Spaniards were mightily pleased with her, and proposed, that they in their Cannoo, and our People in that Boat, should go to Hoe-Bay, whereby they might get all from the Indians, which they had gotten from us, but we would not countenance the matter: We were for as speedy departing from amongst these People, as we could, since it had pleased God to open a way for our Deliverance.

This Morning the Spanish Captain made the Indians provide two Cannoes, which he caused to be lashed together, at some distance, with Sticks a cross, and matted on the top; which being done, with four Indians, Joseph Kirle, John Smith, Robert Barrow, Andrew Morray, Benjamin Allen, Nathaniel Randall, John Shears, Cornelius Toker, Joseph Kirle’s Boy John Hilliar, four Negroes, viz. Jack, Cesar, Sarah and Quenza, were sent away for Augusteen; but not one Morcel of Vittuals, except a very few Berries, had they with them; and not one Spaniard to Guard them, but were put under the Government of those four Indians. About an hour after Joseph Kirle was gone, the Spanish Captain ordered Smith’s Boat to be got ready, with two Spaniards, and four of our Men, to row to the place where the drift of Smith’s Vessel was, to look for Log-wood or old Iron: When they returned, there was not any thing of Value: But our People said, that as they were searching about, they found the Bones of Andrew Barnes;
Barfies; his Skull and Jaw-Bone were broken, which occasioned us to suspect, that he was knocked on the Head by the Indians, after they had driven away Smith and his People.

We told the Spanish Captain, That Joseph Kirle's Negro, Ben, had been absent, ever since the day after Solomon Creson went hence, being gone with the Old Casskey's Wife, but we knew not whither. The Captain made inquiry of the Indians whither he was gone; they said, For Hoe-Bay: Then he ordered them to send for him, for he would not leave him behind: The Indians said, He would be here within a day or two.

The Spaniards were continually searching for what they could find, of such things as the Indians had gotten from us and others: And when they could find no more, they would offer to buy with Tobacco what they could persuade the Indians to bring to Light. A Leaf, or half a Leaf, of Tobacco, would purchase a Yard of Linnen or Wollen, or Silk, from the Indians; such Admirers of Tobacco are they, that they esteem it beyond any other thing.

An Indian of the Town, sometime before the Spaniards came, having a considerable quantity of Amber-greece, boasted, that when he went for Augusteen with that, he could purchase of the Spaniards, a Looking-Glass, an Ax, a Knife or two, and three or four Man-nocoes (which is about five or six Pounds) of Tobacco: The quantity of Amber-greece might be about five Pound weight.

The 4th of the 9th Month; the 4th of the Week.

This Day we made Oars for Smith's Boat, of Sticks, and the Cantle-pieces of Sugar-Hog's heads, which were gotten on the Beach, where the drift of Smith's Vessel came on Shoar: And this Evening came the old Casskey's Wife, with Joseph Kirle's Negro Ben, and Joseph Kirle's
Kirle's Boat, which was of great advantage to help to carry us. We worked all this Night to fit the Boat, and Oars unto her, being intended to go away, as soon as we could compleat this Jobb.

The Spaniards had brought little Provision with them, so that there was not much to spare for us, having not above a Rove of Corn, and a little Nova-Spain Bread, which was so bad, that it was more Dust, and dead Weavels, than Bread; an handful of it was an acceptable Present to us. We would mix it with a little Water, making it to a Paste, which would eat pleasantly; but Hunger was no Stranger unto us, and we knew not that we should have any Victuals on our Journey; but our Deliverance seem'd to over-ballance all. The Indians would not give us any Berries; but our People watch'd an opportunity, and took one of the Caffekey's Bags of Berries, which might contain about a Bushel, which was all that One and Thirty of us had to depend on.

The 5th of the 9th Month; the 5th of the Week.

This Morning, about three hours before day, we departed from this Town of Jece; the Weather was grown Cold, we had nothing wherewith to cover our Bodies, besides what the Indians gave us at first, except my Wife, for whom the Spaniards got an old Jacket (which had been one of Smith's Men's) and gave her to wear; also a small piece of Cloth to cover our poor Child: But it pleased God to strengthen us, in this our Condition, so that we rowed all this day without ceasing, until three hours after it was Dark, by which time we got to an Indian Town: Here we met with Joseph Kirle, Robert Barrow, and the others, who got thither not above an hour or two before us. They had not received any manner of Sustenance from the time they left us, until they got some Berries of us, having lain one Night of the two in a Swamp; but they were as Cheerful as Men could be in this Straggle.
Since they left us, amongst their other Hardships, Joseph Kirk had like to have lost his Life several times: The first was thus, whilst the two Cannos were lashed together, having a few Berries, that were designed to have been shared amongst them, the Irish Boy, Cornelius Toker, would ever and anon be taking some of them; who, being often reproved by Joseph Kirk and others, would not desist; whereupon Joseph Kirk, with the Paddle he paddled the Cannoo along with, struck him; thereupon an Indian took his Bow and Arrow, and was going to shoot Joseph, who seemed little concerned, whether he lived or died; withal saying, The Spaniards would justifie him.

Another time, When he was spent with paddling the Cannoo, and desired John Smith, Andrew Murray, and others of them, as well able as himself, to give him a Spell, which they refused; and he being not able to Paddle further, laid down his Paddle; whereupon the Indians commanding him to Paddle, he refused, saying, They might Kill him if they would; opening his Breast for them to execute their Wills: Which they seemed as though they would have done; but after great threatening, they desisted.

Another time, The Wind being high, and the Seas rough, that they were forced to unlash their Cannos, by Joseph Kirk's Perswasion, and to go single, Joseph Kirk taking one Cannoo to his own management, having Robert Barrow, his Boy, my Kinsman, Nathaniel Randal, and the Negroes, in her; which, being thus single from the other Company, was more satisfactory to him than before, tho' none to help but Nathaniel Randal. My Negro-Woman, named Sarah, having beaten and abused a Girl, named Quenza; being reproved often by him and Robert Barrow, she therefore abused them in an extraordinary manner; whereupon Joseph
Joseph struck her with his Paddle; at which, one of the Indians, in the other Canoo, took his striking Staff and darted at him, narrowly missing him.

This Morning, Joseph Kirle, with those that were with him, were, by the Spanish Captain, ordered away at Break of Day, he not taking any care to give them a little Sustenance; and about an hour or two after we followed, rowing all this Day, without ceasing, until an hour or two in the Night; by which time we got to an Indian Town, where not any thing was to be had but Water: About two hours after us, came Joseph Kirle; the Spanish Captain would not let them come on Shoar, but ordered them to keep on, that we might get next Night to the place where we must hale our Boats over Land, from one Sound unto another.

*The 7th of the 9th Month; the 7th of the Week.*

This Morning we set forward very early, and rowed hard: About Noon we got to a parcel of Marshy Islands, amongst which we were to go up Creeks: The Passage was very difficult to find. At length, when we were got nigh an Indian Town, the Spaniards hollowed, and an Indian came out into the Marsh, but was very loath to come near us; at length he came wading to us, to be our Pilot: We set forward, and in an hour’s time, or more, were got to the place where Joseph Kirle, and those with him were; the Indians that were with Joseph would not let them proceed further, until we came up with them. In half an hour’s time we got to the place where we were to hale our Boats over Land, being about a quarter of a Mile from Sound to Sound: At this place the Sea was half a Furlong from us. The Spanish Captain gave the Indian, we last took in, a piece of a Leaf of Tobacco, commanding him to go, with all speed, and bid his Caffekey, with all his able Men, come to help to hale our Boats over Land. But we set to work, and had them over by that time the Indians
tians came. The Spanish Captain gave the Carkey a Leaf or two of Tobacco for him, and discharged them; only ordered the Carkey to send some Men a Fishing for him, which they did, and before Night brought a stately parcel of Fish; but none of our People had any part of it, except my Wife and Penelope; what they did not eat, they kept to carry with them.

A little before Night sprang up a Storm of Wind at North-East; it seemed likely to be a Dismal Night of Wind and Rain, and we were got to a place where there was not a Tree or Bush, or any manner of Shelter, and the Wind so very cold that we thought we should not live till the next day. We had no Wood to make a Fire with, and what to do we could not tell; but we were resolved to try to get some, and in order thereto, some of the ablest of us went along the Bay, to search for Drift-wood, and found a little; but Rain came, with the Night, and no Shelter to be had but our Boats, and the Spaniards would not let us meddle with them, to turn them bottom upwards for Shelter, which seemed very hard; but they had made themselves some Shelter with Mats. We were forced to exercise Patience, and with what Salt-Water-Wood we had, made as good a Fire as we could, and laid our selves down on the Sand by it; and it pleased God we had a comfortable Night, beyond our Expectation, only the Cold was very sharp.

The 8th of the 9th Month; the 1st of the Week.

This Morning we set forward, but the Water was so low, that we were forc'd to wade, and thrust the Boat along for some Miles; at length we got into a deep Channel, where was nothing to be seen but Marsh and Water, and no salt Land, nor Trees. About ten a Clock we heard three or four Muskets fired a little ahead of us, in the Channel we were in; our Spaniards presently answered them with the like; and in a little
time we met. This was a Perre-Augoe to joyn with that
came for us, having order to go to the place where
we were Cast away, and to get what was to be had from
the Indians; but this other Boat turned back, for there
was no place to go on Shoar. And in an hour or two's
time we got into the other Sound, where the Land was
not be seen from side to side, in some places: The like
was in the other we came through. About an hour
before Sun-set we got to an Indian Plantation (this
was the first place we saw any thing planted) being
full of Pumtio Vines, and some small Pumtions on them;
but the Spaniards were too quick for us, and got all
before us: Some of us got a few as big as one's Fift.
We had a Fire there, yet had not patience to dress
them as they should be, but put them into the Fire,
roasted them, and eat them. The Spaniards used a
great deal of Cookery with their Pumpions. And the
Perre-Augoe, that came from Augufeen, had brought
Bread, Corn, and strung Beef; but it was kept from us,
except a piece of strung Beef the Captain of the Spani-
ards gave my Wife, as big as a Stick of Sealing-Wax,
which we treasure up, expecting it must be harder
with us when we left this People. Here Captain Sa-
bastian Lopez drew up a Writing, and would have had
me and Joseph Kirle to Sign it, which we refused: For
we perceived he had a design, especially against me,
to oblige me to give him some of my Negroes. We
answered him short, That I reckoned my self and Ne-
groes at the Governour of Augufeen's disposal, and we
would sign no Writing. We borrowed a Pot, and
boiled Pumtion Leaves, having nothing to put to them
but Water, which was satisfactory. But this Night
was more terrible than the last, the Wind being at
North-West; it did not blow hard, yet it was very cold,
we lying in an open Field, without any Shelter; one
side of us would scorch, while the other was freezing.
Our
Our Negro-woman Hagar's little Boy, named Cajo, was seized with Convulsion-Fits about two in the Morning, which was chiefly occasioned by the Cold, and want of Food: But help there was not from us. The Spanish Captain came to see the Child, and supposing that it would die, asked, If the Child was a Christian? He was answered, As good a one as he could make it. But he called for some Water, putting some of it on the Crown of the Child's Head, and Crossing it, called him Francisco. This Action pacified its Father and Mother.

The 9th of the 9th Month; the 2d of the Week.

This Morning we were to go forward, and the Spaniards were to return to the place where we were Cast away; but our two Boats could not carry us all, therefore we had the Spaniards great Perre-Augoe to carry us one Day's Journey further, to an Indian-Town, and four Spaniards with us, three of which were to bring the Perre-Augoe back, the other was to be our Guide for Augusteen. We departed, and met with an intricate Passage; for sometimes we should be a Ground on Oyster-banks, or Shoals, and almost out of sight of Land. About two or three in the Afternoon, we had no Water to go any further; the Wind being North-Westerly, drove the Water out of the Sound; but being nigh the Shoar, where had been an Indian-Town, we went on Shoar, and found some ripe Berries on the Palm-shrubs, which we were very earnest after, till such time as a Storm of Wind, with Rain, began to come upon us, and Night nigh at hand; whereupon we all got together, considering what we should do, since there was no possibility of getting Shelter here. Our Indian Guide said, we might get to a Town about two Leagues off; which we were glad to hear, for it rained hard. So we, with our Guide, set forward, and walked over a parcel of raggy shrubby Hills, to the Sea-shoar; along which
we travelled till we got to the Indian-Town, where we got plenty of Berries for our Supper. It rained much till towards Morning.

The 10th of the 9th Month; the 3d of the Week.

This Morning the Indians were not willing to stay any longer; and we were by our Guide required to depart, which we did, and a great many young Indian-Men followed us some Miles along the Bay, and offered violence to Robert Barrow, and several others; but were easily stopped, by shewing them a rusty Musket, presented towards them, and so they left us. We had an untoward Passage from the Sea-shore athwart the Land, to the Indian-Town; the Ground being swampy, and scraggy Hills, which to our bare Feet was very troublesome. This was a large Town; and there was another large Town, about a Mile distant; in sight; thither part of our Company was sent to be quartered. At which Town, about a Twelve-Month since, a parcel of Dutch-Men were killed; who having been cast away on the Bohemia Shoals, in a Flat which they built, escaped hither, and were here devoured by these Canibals, as we understood by the Spaniards. The Flats, or Boats, our People saw; but they seem’d kind to them, giving them Fish and Berries to eat. We remained at these two Towns till next Morning. The Indians of the Town I was at, were not so kind as those at the other Town had been. Some of our People were for selling their Rags to the Indians for Fish; but we thought it was necessary, of the two Extremes, to defend against the Cold, for every Day grew Colder than other; and we feared, that if we were much longer exposed to it, we should not live it out.

The 11th of the 9th Month; the 4th of the Week.

This Morning, leaving this Town, we Embarked in our two Boats, and those of our People that were
at the other Town, were to have a large Cannoo to carry them thence, and were to meet us in the Sound: We rowed several Leagues, and did not meet them, it being then about ten a Clock; the Spaniard would go on Shoar, and travel back by Land to see after them. We being by an Inlet of the Sea, which was a Mile over, the Spaniard ordered us to go on the other side, and there stay for him; which we did many hours: At this place we all went upon the Search, to see if any thing was to be had for the Belly, some on the Land, some in the Water: The Land yielded nothing, but in the Water we got a sort of Shell-Fish, called Water-Soldiers, which we eat. At length the Cannoo with our People came, but our Spaniard was not come, but in about half an hour's time he came with a small Cannoo. This was the place where Solomon met the Spaniards. The Cannos had each two Indians to set them along; and we had one Indian for our Guide, named Wan-Antonia, who the Spaniard said was a Christian, but an Inhabitant of that Town, where the Dutch-Men were kill'd. We set forward in our two Boats, and the two Cannos, and rowed till Night, being near a place of thicketty Wood, which we made choice of to lodge at for this Night: Here was Wood enough, we made large Fires, were pleased with the place, and lay down to rest. About Mid-night I had a great-lofs, having a Quart of Berries whole, and as much pounded to mix with Water, to feed our Child with; the Fire being disturbed, the Cloth which we had our Food in was burn'd; all was lost, and nothing to be had until we could get to the Spaniards, which was two Days March at least. About an hour after this, the Wind rose at North-West, and it began to Rain; but having small Palmetto which grew nigh, Joseph Kirle and I set to Work, and made a Shelter, which would keep Ten or more of us from the Weather: We had
no sooner compleated our Work, but it rained hard. In this Shower of Rain the four Indians got from among us, took their Cannoos, and away they went back again: When Day appeared, we missed them; upon which we went to the Water-side, where we found the two Cannoos gone. And now we were in a great Straight; but the Spaniard said, Those that could Travel best must go by Land. The Persons pitch'd upon were, Richard Limpeny, Andrew Murray, Cornelius Toker, Joseph Kirle's Boy John Hillard, and Penelope; with Seven Negroes, named, Peter, Jack, Cæsar, Sarah, Bella, Susanna and Quensa; the Spaniards, and the Indian, Wan-Antonia, went with them to direct them the way, carrying them over Land to the Sea-shoar, and then directing to keep the Sea-shoar along to the Northward.

They returned to us, and we with our two Boats rowed all day without ceasing, till Sun-setting; and when we put on Shoar, the place was an old Indian-Field, on a high bleak Hill, where had been a large Indian-House, but it was tumbled down; of the Ruines of this House we made a Shelter against the North-West Wind, which began to blow very bleak. The Spaniard went to the Sea, which was not two Miles off, to see if our People had pass'd, and at his return he said, They were gone by. We asked, If they could reach to any House, or Indian-Town, for Shelter? For we supposed, should they be without Fire this Night, they could not live. He said, They must travel all Night. Night came on, we had Fire and Wood enough, and had gathered a great heap of Grafs to lie on, hoping to have got some rest; but the North-West Wind increased, and the Cold was so violent, that we were in a lamentable Condition, not able to rest; for as we lay or stood so close to the Fire, that it would Scorch us, that side from it was ready to Freeze: We had no other way.
way but to stand and keep turning for the most part of the Night; we all thought we never felt the like. The Spaniard that was clothed, was as bad to bear it as we that were naked. At length Day appeared, and we must go.

The 13th of the 9th Month; the 6th of the Week.

This Morning we were loth to part with our Fires, but to stay here it could not be; so we went to our Boats, wading in the Water, till it was ready to benum us. But we put forward, and rowing about two Leagues, came to an old House, where the Spaniard told us, we must leave the Boats, and travel by Land; we had a boggy Marsh to wade through, for a Mile, to get to the Sea-shoar, and had about five or six Leagues along the Bay or Strand, to the Spanish Sentinel's House. The North-West Wind was violent, and the Cold such, that the strongest of us thought we should not out-live that day. Having got through the boggy Marsh, and on the Sea-shoar, our People, black and white, made all speed, one not staying for another, that could not travel so fast; none but I, with my Wife and Child, Robert Barrow, my Kinsman Benjamin Allen, and my Negro London, whom I kept to help carry my Child, keeping together; the rest of our Company had left us, not expecting to see some of us again; especially Robert Barrow, my Wife and Child. We travelled after as well as we could; having gone about two Miles, the Cold so seized on my Kinsman, Benjamin Allen, that he began to be stiff in his Limbs, and staggered and fell, grievously complaining, that the Cold would kill him. Our Negro having our young Child, I and my Wife took our Kinsman under each Arm, and help'd him along; but at length his Limbs were quite stiff, his Speech almost gone, and he began to Foam at Mouth. In this Straight we knew not what to do; to stay with him, we must perish also; and we were willing
willing to strive as long as we could. We carried our Kinsman, and laid him under the Bank, not being Dead; I resolved to run after our People, some of them not being out of Sight; which I did, and left my Wife and Child, with the Negro, to follow as fast as they could. I run about two Miles, making Signs to them, thinking if they should look behind them, and see me running, they would stop till I got up with them. I was in hopes, that if I could have accomplished this my design, to have got help to have carried my Kinsman along; but they stopped not, and I ran until the Wind pierced me, so that my Limbs failed, and I fell; yet still I strove, and getting up, walked backward to meet my Wife; as I was going, I met with the Spaniard coming out of the Sand-hills, and Joseph Kirle's Negro, Ben. I made my Complaint to the Spaniard, but he not being able to understand me well, went forward. I then applied myself to the Negro, making large Promises, if he would fetch my Kinsman; he offered to go back, and use his endeavour, which he did. At length my Wife and Child came up with me, She was almost overcome with grief, expressing in what manner we were forced to part with our Kinsman; and expecting that She and the Child should go next.

Poor Robert Barrow was a great way behind us, I feared we should never see him again. I used my endeavour to comfort and cheer my Wife, intreating her not to let Grief overcome her: I had hopes that the Lord would help us in this straight, as he had done in many since we were in this Land: And if it pleased God that we should lay down our Lives in this Wilderness, that we might beseech him to enable us to do it willingly. Thus striving in a deep Exercise of Body and Mind, we travelled on, admiring God's Goodness in preserving us thus far through so many eminent
Dangers; in the sense of which, a secret hope would arise (tho’ involved with humane Doubts and Fears) That the Lord would yet preserve us. I took my Child from the Negro, and carried him. I had an Indian-Mat, with a split in it, through which I put my Head, hanging over my Breast unto my Waste; under this I carried my Child, which helped to break the Wind off it; but the poor Babe was black with cold from Head to Foot, and its Flesh as cold as a Stone, yet it was not froward. Its Mother would take it now and then, and give it the Breast, but little could it get at it: Besides it, we dared not stop in the least, for if we did, we should perceive our Limbs to fail. About two a Clock in the afternoon, we came up with our Negro-Woman, Hagar, with her Child at her Back, almost dead: And a little further we came up with our Negro-Girl, Quenza, being dead, as we thought, for she was as stiff as a dead Body could be, and her Eyes set; but at length we perceived her Breathe, but she had no Sense nor Motion: We carried her from the Water-side, under the Bank. This increased my Wife’s Sorrow, and she began to doubt, she should not be able to travel much further; but I endeavoured to encourage her, not to leave her striving, as long as any ability was left. All our People were out of sight, except four, and those we had gained upon. I sent my Negro to overtake them, and to desire them to slacken their pace, till we got up with them; being in hopes, that gaining their Company, would cheer up my Wife, but they would not; so the Negro stopped for us: We had lost sight of Robert Barrow by this time. Soon after we overtook John Smith, who was one of the four, he began to fail, and his Companions left him; whereupon he made grievous Complaints, which I reproved him for, lest he should discourage my Wife. The Sun was nigh setting, and we
began to look out for the Sentinel's Post, and my Negro at times got upon several of the highest Sand-hills to look out, but could not see any House, nor the Smoak of Fire. This was terrible to us all; for the Day being so cold, the Night much more, and we not able to travel without Rest, being a starved People, both within our Bodies and without; and if we ceased from travelling, we should instantly be numm'd and move no further. In the midst of these Reasonings and Doubting, we were got into, I espied a Man, as I thought, standing on the Bank, but at great distance; I was afraid to speak, lest it should prove otherwise, but he was soon seen by the whole Company; and at length we espied him walking towards the Land, this confirmed us; and so we betook to the Hills again, to look out, yet could not see the House from thence; but on the next Hill we saw it: This was Joy unto us, though we began to have a sense of our tiredness; for our Resolution abated, after we had got sight of the House.

When we got to the House, we found four Sentinels, and the Spaniards, our Guides, with the three of our Men, viz. Joseph Buckley, Nathaniel Randal, and John Shires. The Spaniards bid us welcome, and made room for us to sit down by the Fire. The chiefest Man of the Sentinels, took a Kersey-Coat, and gave my Wife to cover her, and gave each of us a piece of Bread, made of Indian-Corn, which was pleasant unto us; after it we had plenty of hot Caffeena-Drink. It was dark, and we endeavoured to prevail with the Spaniards to go seek for Robert Barrow and my Kinsman, offering them considerable; but they seemed not fully to understand me, yet I could make them sensible, that my Kinsman was almost dead, if not quite; and that the old Man was in a bad condition. They made me to understand, that the Weather was not fit to go out, but
they would watch if Robert would pass by. About
an hour or two after, one of the Spaniards being walk-
ing out of the Bay, met with Robert, and brought him
into the House: We rejoiced to see him, and en-
quired concerning our Kinsman and Negro Ben. He
said, Our Kinsman was striving to get up, and could
not; he came to him, and spake unto him; he could
not answer, but cry'd, and he could not help him.
But coming along, at some considerable distance, met
Negro Ben, who said, He was going for Benjamin
Allen, so he past him. And some Miles further, he saw
Negro Jack, drawing himself down from the Bank,
his lower parts being dead, and crying out for some
Fire, that he might save his Life; but he did not see
the Negro Girl, whom we hailed out of the way.
We were under a great Concern for our Kinsman;
the Spaniards we could not prevail upon to go and
fetch him, or go and carry wherewith to make a Fire;
which had they done, and found them living, it might
have preserved them: But we hoped Negro Ben,
would bring our Kinsman. The Spaniards would have
had most of us to have gone to the next Sentinel's
House, which was a League farther, but we all beg-
ged hard of them to let us lye in their House, in any
place, on the Ground, for we were not able to travel
further: Besides, the cold would kill us; for we were
in such a trembling shaking Condition, and so full of
Pain, from Head to Foot, that it's not to be expressed.
At length the Spaniards consented, That Robert Bar-
row, I, my Wife and Child, and John Smith, should
lye in the House; but to Joseph Buckley, Nathaniel Ran-
dal, John Sheirs, and my Negro London, they would
not grant that favour. So one of the Spaniards taking
a Fire-brand, bid those four go with him; he directed
them to a small Thicket of Trees, and shewed them
to gather Wood, and make large Fires, and Sleep
there.
there. These poor Creatures lay out, and it proved a hard Frosty Night. The Spaniard returned, and said, They were got into a Wood, and had Fire enough. We were silent, but feared they would hardly live till Morning.

After they were gone, the Spaniards took a pint of Indian-Corn, and parched it, and gave part to us, which we accepted cheerfully; also they gave us some Coffee. We were silent; but feared they would hardly live till Morning. The Spaniards took a pint of Indian-Corn and parched it, and gave part to us, which we accepted cheerfully; also they gave us some Coffee.

We were in extraordinary pain, so that we could not rest; and our Feet were extremely bruised, the Skin was off, and the Sand caked with the Blood, that we could hardly set our Feet to the Ground, after we had been some time in the House. The Night was extream cold; tho' we were in the House, and by the Fire we could not be warm, for the one side did scorched, whilst the other was ready to freeze; and thus we passed the Night.

The 14th of the 9th Month; the 7th of the Week.

This Morning we looked out, and there was a very hard Frost on the Ground; so it was terrible to go out of Door. Our People returned from the Wood, but complained heavily of their Hardship in the Night. They had not been an hour in the House, before the Spaniards gave us all a Charge to be gone to the next Sentinel's House. This was grievous to us all, but more especially to my Wife, who could not raise her self when down: But go we must; for though we intreated hard for my Wife and Robert Barrow, we could not prevail that they might stay till we could get a Canoo. As we were all going, one Spaniard made a sign for me and my Wife to stay, which we did, and it was to have a handful of parch'd Corn. As soon as we had received it, they bid us be gone to the next Sentinel's, where was Victuals enough for us. The Sun was a great height, but we could not feel any warmth it gave; the North-
Wester beginning to blow as hard as it did the Day before. And having deep Sand to travel through, which made our Travelling this one League very hard, especially to my Wife and Robert. The Spaniards lent my Wife a Blanket to be left at the next Sentinel's House.

At length we came to an Inlet of the Sea; on the other side was the look-out and Sentinel's House: Here were all our People sitting, waiting to be carried over, and in a little time came one of the Sentinels, with a Canoo, and carried us over.

This Sentinel would not suffer us to come into his House, but caused us to kindle a Fire under the Lee of his House, and there sit down: About half an hour after, he bid us be gone to the next Sentinel's, which was a League further, giving us a Cup of Caffeena, and two Quarts of Indian-Corn for us all, bidding us go to our Company at next House, and get our Corn dressed there.

I understood that our Negro-Woman, Hagar, got her late last Night, having her Child dead at her Back, which the Spaniards buried.

One of the Spaniards went with us to the next Inlet, carrying a stick of Fire, to set fire of some Trash, to make a signal for them on the other side, to fetch us over, the Inlet being very wide. When the Canoo came over for us, our Guide took the Blanket from my Wife; but the Negro, which brought over the Canoo, lent my Wife one of his Coats, so we got over; but before we got to the House, we had a Shower of Hail. At this House we were kindly received, having such a Mess of Victuals, as we had not had in a long time before, which was very pleasant to our Hunger-starved Stomachs. Our People went hence this Morning for Auguseen, having a Guide with them; but John Hofer and Penelope were left here, not being able
able to travel. We remained here till the Morrow, but the Night was so extream Cold, that we could not rest.

The 15th of the 9th Month; the 1st of the Week.

This morning the Spaniards bid us prepare to travel, for they were not able to maintain us. We understood that it was five or six Miles to Augusleen, and we could not travel so far, being all of us lamed and stiff. We intreated them to let us go in a Cannoo, but they denied us; we intreated for the two Women and Robert Barrow; at length we prevailed, that they should go up in a Cannoo; for the Cannoo was to go, whether we went or no.

While all this Discourse was, came in a couple of Spaniards, one being the Sentinal that went with our People the day before, the other was a Person the Governour had sent, with a Cannoo and four Spaniards, to fetch us. This was cheerful News; for had we gone to have travelled without a Guide, we should have perished. The Man that came for us, brought two Blankets, one for my Wife, the other for Penelope; he desired us to be going. About a League distance from the place, he left the Cannoo, which we parted with very unwillingly; for some of our People, had they had a Mile further to have gone, could not have gone it. The Wind still continued at North-West, and blew very fiercely, and extream Cold it was: We had such a continual Shivering, and Pain in our Bones, that we were in violent Anguish.

Our poor Child was quiet, but so black with Cold, and Shaking, that it was admirable how it lived. We got to Augusleen about two hours before Night; being put on Shoar, we were directed to the Governour's House: Being got thither, we were had up a pair of Stairs, at the head whereof stood the Governour, who ordered my Wife to be conducted to his Wife's Appartment.
ment. I and Joseph Smith went into a Room, where the Governor asked us a few Questions; but seeing how extreme Cold we were, he gave us a Cup of Spanish-Wine, and sent us into his Kitchen to warm our selves at the Fire. About half an hour afterwards the Governor sent for John Smith and Me, and gave us a Shirt and Sliders, a Hat, and a pair of Silk-Stockins; telling us, He had no Woollen Clothes as yet, but would have some made. We put on the Linnen, and made all haste into the Kitchen to the Fire. Robert Barrow was quartered at another House. The Persons came to the Governor's House, and took such as they were minded to Quarter in their Houses; so that Joseph Kirke, John Smith, I, my Wife and Child, lodged at the Governor's House. All our People that came up with Joseph Kirke, came to see us. We perceived the People's great kindness; for they were all well Clothed from Head to Foot, with the best the People had. Joseph Kirke began to tell us of his Travel after he left us on the Bay, and how that they all concluded, That they should never see my Wife and Child, and Robert Barrow any more, if they did my Kinsman and Me. Richard Limpeny, and those that went with him, had a hard Travel for Thirty six hours without ceasing; in which Travel, three of our Negroes, that went with them, were lost (viz. Jack, Cæsar and Quenza) by sitting down to rest themselves, they were in a little time so numbed that they could not go, and there perished; so that we lost five in that Day's Travel, and began to doubt, that Negro Ben perished also. Joseph Kirke said, That he thought he should have lost some of our People, in their Travel from the last Sentinel's hither; for they were much tyred, and the Cold violent, and the latter part of that Day's Journey, they wading for many Miles through much Water, and deep Sand-Hills, and when they came
in sight of Augufleen, they stayed for Boats to fetch them; in which time some were numbed with the Cold. Joseph Kirle apply'd himself to the Governor on our behal's, to send us help, for he doubted whether we were all living; the Governor readily assent- ed, and forthwith sent for a Person fit for his purpose, charging him to get a Perre-Augoe and Mand, and go forthwith and fetch us; but the Tide fell out, so that he could not go till Mid-night: The Governor was so concerned, that he would not go to Bed till they were gone; when the Tide served, he went to the Water-side, and saw the Men Put off, giving them a strict Charge.

Solomon Cresson began to tell us of his Travels from Sece, having most part of the way much Rain: The Indians were very kind unto him, until they came to the Indian Town where the Dutch-Men were killed; at which place, some of those Indians made a discovery of him to be no Spaniard; they said nothing to him thereof, but were very dogged to him, giving him no Food, and causing him to lie on the Ground amongst Vermine. On the Morrow he was to go with his former Company, who were grown so extremely bitter and envious to him, that when they did but look upon him, they were ready to smite him; having gone until about mid-day, passing an Inlet, the Weather being extream bad, with Wind, Rain, and much Cold, they put on Shoar, (this was the place where we put on Shoar, and got Water-Soldiers, and stayed for the Spaniard, when he went back to look for our People, that were to follow us in a Cannoo) but the Rage of these Bloody People was such, that he expected to dye; being on Shoar, they readily kindled a Fire, about which time he heard a noise of a Boat and Oars, and presently the Spanish Perre-Augoe put on Shoar upon them: The Indians were extraordinarily surprized, and
stood amazed; but Solomon was glad to see them, and they him. The Spaniards took the old Casskey's Chest, and whatever he had, from him, commanding them to return to the Indian Towns from whence they came. Staying all Night, the next Morning the Spaniards sent Solomon under the Condujt of two Indians, belonging to these Towns, who were commanded by the Spaniards to carry Solomon unto the Sentinel's House; but these two Indians carried him a little beyond the place where we put on Shoar, to Travel, and they seem'd as though they had Mischief in their Hearts against him: He asked, If they would go forward? But they looking untowardly on him, answered him not: So he went himself, and was glad when he saw they did not follow him.

But we were desirous to know how the Spaniards had knowledge of us, which it seems was thus:

When we got to Jecé, where Smith and his Company were, and we going under the Denomination of Spaniards, and the other English, the report of us run from Indian-Town to Indian-Town, to the Northward, unto the Northernmost Town; at which Town were two or more Indians that were Converted to the Romish Faith: These, or one of these, went to the next Spanish Sentinel's, and gave an Account, That he heard that there were two Vessels Cast away to the Southward of Jecé, one being a Spaniard, the other an English Vessel; the Spaniards having two Vessels gone for the Havana, to seek for Supplies, feared it was those Vessels. And the same day as this News came to the Governour of Augusteen, came also News, of one of their Fryar's being murder'd by some of the Cape-Indians. After this manner we understood it, viz. Three Fryars being under a Vow to go amongst the Indians on the Cape, to Convert them; they went to a certain Town to the Northward, off where we were Cast away, but it lay within
within the Sound. The Caffekey of this Town they gained on to Embrace the Roman Faith, but all his People were much incensed against the Fryars, and therefore would have their Caffekey Renounce his Faith, and put the Fryars to Death; but he would assent to neither; therefore they killed him and one Fryar, the other two escaped. Hereupon was a Perre-Augoe forth-with sent for us, of what Nation soever we might be, also a party of Spaniards and Indians were sent against that Town where the Fryar was killed. We had a plentiful Supper, and we fed like People that had been half starved; for we eat, not knowing when we had enough; and we found our Palats so changed by eating of Berries, that we could not relish the taste of Salt no more than if it had no Saltness in it. We had lodging provided, but few Beds.

The 16th of the 9th Month; the 2d of the Week.

This Morning we had Ice half an Inch thick, and it had been so for some Mornings past, but as the Sun riseth it's gone.

The Governour came in this Morning to our Apartment, inquiring how we did; we having had Chocolat for Breakfast, he asked, If we would have any thing else that his House could afford, if we would but ask, it should be brought us? But we modestly answered, That this was sufficient; although our Appetites were not to be satisfied. The Governour stated the Poverty of the Country unto us. The place is a Garison, maintain'd one half by the King of Spain, the other half by the Church of Rome. The Male Inhabitants are all Soldiers, every one receiving Pay according to their Post. A Sentinal's Pay is 150 Pieces of Eight a Year; and all their supply of Bread, Clothing and Money, comes from the Havana and Porto Vella; and it is going on of three Years since they have had a Vessel from any place whatsoever, which makes their Wants very
very great; all things being expended, except Am-
munition and Salt, of which they said they had enough.
The Governor offered us the freedom of what his
House afforded; withal, gave us a Charge, to be careful
in going abroad, especially of some Persons that did not
affect our Nation: We promised to be ruled, and sub-
mit to the Governor's Pleasure for our Liberty. Our
People came in, and we told them the Caution; but
they said, They had been all over the Town, and in
many Houses, where they were kindly received, and
such as the People had, they would give them. They
told us of some English that liv'd here, and they had
been at their Houses; the chiefest in esteem, was one
William Carr of the Isle of Ely, who about thirty Years
ago, was in a Vessel bound for South-Carolina, but mis-
fing their Port, were cast away nigh this Port; many
were drowned, but he and some others were brought
hither by the Indians; some of them got away in Span-
ish Vessels, others died here. This Man turned Roman
Catholic, and Married a Spanish Woman, of whom he
had Seven Children, and is an Officer in the Garison;
he was chief Interpreter.

This day came Joseph Kirle's Negro Ben, he gave us
this Account, That after we had sent him back, he ha-
ving look'd, and not finding my Kinsman, he went to
seek for a place to shelter himself from the Cold, and
some place he found to creep in, where he lay down,
and continued there all Night, but by Morning was
so stiff with Cold that he could not use his Legs, but
halled himself towards the Bay. The Spaniards, our
Guide from the first Sentry-House, the Morning after
we went thence, returned along the Bay, to see if any
of our People were living; but he found all dead, ex-
cept Negro Ben; and he getting a Fire made, Negro Ben
was recovered, and got the use of his Limbs.
William Carr, the Interpreter, acquainted us, That the Governor, and two Royal Officers, would examine us, concerning our being last away, and what Goods and Moneys was lost in our Vessel, and concerning our Hardships amongst the Florida-Indians, &c. Which was done, and every one did sign it. This took up two or three Days time to compleat it. After this was done, the Governor told us, That he expected Captain Sebastian Lopas in some few Days; and after his Arrival, he would provide for our going to Carolina, with Canvoos, and Men to guard us.

This Week my Wife was taken with a Fever and Ague, which held her three Days, and then left her. The Governor order’d his own Doctor to administer such things as were helpful. The Governor’s kind-ness to us all was extraordinary; for he would daily enquire of us, if we wanted any thing which he had, of which he gave us an account; and we eat no worse than he did daily.

The Town we saw, from one end to the other; it is about three quarters of a Mile in length, not regularly Built, the Houses not very thick; they having large Orchards, in which are plenty of Oranges, Lemmons, Pome-Citrons, Lymes, Figgis and Peaches: The Houses, most of them, old Building; and not half of them Inhabited. The number of Men being about Three Hundred, that belong to the Government; and many of them are kept as Sentinals at their Look-outs. At the North-end of the Town standeth a large Fortification, being a Quadrangle with Bastions; each Bastion will contain thirteen Guns; but there was not past Two thirds of Fifty two mounted: In the Curtin they cannot mount any Guns, being only for small Arms. The Wall of the Fortifications is about thirty Foot high, built of Saw’d Stone, such as they get out of the Sand, between the Sea and the Sound. This Stone is only Sand and Small Shells connexed together,
being not very hard, till exposed to the Sun. The Fort is moated round; they would not admit us to come near the Fort; but Joseph Kirle took an opportunity, and walked round about it.

The 23d of the 9th Month; the 2d of the Week.

This Day Joseph Kirle and I, considering that the latter end of this Week was talked of, for our setting forward towards Carolina (which the Spaniards call St. George's) We concluded to endeavour to provide our selves, if we could, with Clothing; considering we should be exposed to all the Weather that might happen, and have no shelter but what we carry with us: Therefore we were inclined to sell, he his, and I one or two of my Negroes, to provide us Clothing and Provisions. We addressed our selves to the Governour, and withal offered him, If he pleased to accept the choice of my Negroes; but he denied our Ofer. We stated our Matter to him, and asked, If we might dispose of our Negroes? He said, No, we should not; neither could we sell them to any Person but himself, for the King's Account, without a special License: Therefore he would consult the two Royal Officers, and give us his answer.

The 24th of the 9th Month; the 3d of the Week.

This Day the Governour sent for us, and told us, That he would give us credit for what we, and the rest of the Company, would. I told him, That my Wife and Child would want some warmer Clothing; also Joseph Kirle and my self should want some, if to be had. He ordered us to give in an account of what we should want; and, if to be had, we should have it: And Joseph Kirle and I should give our Obligation, to pay the Governour of Carolina what the Sum amounted unto; which we were willing to do. But we desired that our People should give us their Obligation, for what we were engaged for, on their account, which the Governour thought reasonable. I gave in an account
count of particulars, for Joseph Kirle, Robert Barrows, my Self and Family: Also the quantity of Indian-Corns Pease, stringed Beef, Salt and Eartthen Pots, for the whole Company: But Clothing was not to be had, except as much Stuff as made a Suit for my Wife and Child, and a few Skins Joseph Kirle and I got: I got also seven Blankets, tho' the price was great. These served Joseph Kirle, Robert Barrow, my Self and Family. We had five Roves of Ammunition-Bread, so full of Weavel, that Corn was far better; twenty Roves of stringed Beef; sixty Roves of Indian-Corn; ten Roves of Pease; one Rove of Salt; Jars for Water, and Eartthen-Pots to boyl our Vittuals in.

The 25th of the 9th Month; the 4th of the Week.

The Governour sent for Joseph Kirle and Me, to certifie, That all that was to be got, he had got for us. And he further signified unto us, That he did expect Sebastian Lopes before this time; and he would not have us to go till he came, for whatsoever he could get of our Money and Goods we should have it every Doit: But we said, We desired not to be detained on that account; for we had given that already over for gone from us: And as it had pleased God to make them the Instruments of our Preservation, so we did freely give any thing of that which was, or may be deemed ours, to the Governour, and those Persons that were sent for us. The Governour said, He would not have any thing to do with it; for whatever he did, was for Charity-fake. Then we desired the Soldiers should have it, if any should be got, which we doubted. And hereupon we considered, That should those poor Men get nothing, we ought to allow them something in general: Therefore Joseph Kirle and I offered the Governour, That we would give Captain Sebastian Lopes, and his Men, an Hundred Pieces of Eight, for bringing us up from amongst the Indians. The Go-
Governour was pleased with our Offer, and said, They should have it.

About this time, Robert Barrow was taken with a grievous Belly-ach; after which, he fell into a violent Flux. Several of our People also were taken with the Belly-ach, and a great Scouring; all which was chiefly occasioned by our unreasonable Eating, and not Governing our selves therein. Our chief Dyet was Hommony, Herbs and Pompions, having not much Meat: Which mean Dyet was our Preservation; for had it been all Flesh, we should have destroyed our selves: But we had the best the place afforded.

The 26th of the 9th Month; the 5th of the Week.

This Day we signed our Obligation, for Four Hundred Pieces of Eight; and we were to be gone the 28th or 29th Instant: After which, our People signed their Obligation to us, to pay their Proportion of what was provided for them in Provisions; and their part of what should be paid for their Passage, from the Indians to Carolina: Whereupon we made the best Provision we could. I had got some Wine and Brandy for my Self and Family, and some small Neceffaries for our Child, with a great Resolution to go through.

The 29th of the 9th Month; the 1st of the Week.

This Day, after we had dined, Cannoos being got ready, one Captain Francisco de Roma, with six Soldiers, was to go our Conduct; the Governour walked down to see us Embaque; and taking our Farewell, he Embraced some of us, and wished us well, saying, WE SHOULD FORGET HIM WHEN WE GOT AMONGST OUR OWN NATION. And also added, THAT IF WE FORGOT, GOD WOULD NOT FORGET HIM. Thus in a courteous manner we parted; which was about two or three a Clock in the Afternoon: Taking our departure from
Auguftein, we had about two or three Leagues to an
Indian-Town, called St. a Cruce; where, being landed,
we were directed to the Indian Ware-Houfe. It is built
round, having sixteen Squares; on each Square is a
Cabin built, and painted, which will hold two Peo-
ple; the Houfe being about fifty Foot Diameter: In
the middle of the top is a Square opening, about fif-
teen Foot. This Houfe was very clean, and Fires
being ready made nigh our Cabins, the Spanifh
Captain made choice of Cabins for him and his
Soldiers, and appointed us our Cabins. In this Town
they have a Fryar, and a large Houfe to Worship in,
with three Bells; and the Indians go as constantly to
their Devotions, at all times and feafons, as any of
the Spaniards. Night being come, and the time of
their Devotion over, the Fryar came in, and many
of the Indians, both Men and Women, having a
Dance, according to their Way and Cufom. We
had plenty of Caffeeana-Drink, and fuch Victuals as the
Indians had provided for us; fome bringing Corn
boiled, another Peafe; fome one thing, fome anot-
er; of all which we made a good Supper, and fec
 till Morning.

The 30th of the 9th Month; the 2d of the Week.
This Morning early, we left this Town, having
about two Leagues to go with the Cannoos; then we
were to travel by Land: But a Cart was provided to
carry our Provisions and Necelfaries; in which Cart,
thofe that could not travel were carried. We had
about five Leagues to a Sentinel's Houfe, where we lay
all Night; and next Morning travelled along the Sea-
foar, about four Leagues to an Inlet: Here we wait-
ed for Cannoos to come for us, to carry us about two
Miles, to a Town, called St. Wans, an Indian Town, be-
ing on an Island. We went through a Kirt of Wood
into the Indian Plantations, for a Mile. In the middle
of this Island is the Town of St. Wans, a large Town, and many People: They have a Fryar, and a Worshipping-House. The People are very Industrious, having plenty of Hogs and Fowls, and large Crops of Corn, as we could tell by their Corn-Houses. The Indians brought us Victuals, as at the last Town, and we lay in their Ware-House, which was larger than that at the other Town.

The 2d of the 10th Month; the 4th of the Week.

This Morning the Indians brought us Victuals for Breakfast, and the Fryar gave my Wife some Loaves of Bread, made of Indian-Corn, which was somewhat extraordinary; also a parcel of Fowls.

About ten a Clock in the forenoon we left St. Wans, walking about a Mile to the Sound, where were Cannons and Indians, ready to transport us to the next Town: We did believe that we might have come all the way along the Sound, but the Spaniards were not willing to discover the place unto us.

An hour before Sun-set we got to the Town, call'd St. Mary's: This is a Frontier, and a Garrison Town; the Inhabitants are Indians, with some Spanish Soldiers. We were conducted to the Ware-House; as the custom is, for 'every Town hath a Ware-House: Or, as we understood, these Houses were for their times of Mirth and Dancing, and to lodge and entertain Strangers. This House is about 81 Foot Diameter, built Round, with 32 Squares, in each Square a Cabin about 8 Foot long, of a good height, being Painted and well Matted. The Centre of this Building is a Quadrangle of 20 Foot, being open at top of the House, against which the House is Built; thus, in this Quadrangle is the place they Dance, having a great Fire in the middle: One of the Squares of this Building is the Gate-Way or Pallage in. The Women, Natives of these Towns, cloath themselves with the Moss of Trees, making Gowns and Petticoats thereof, which, at a distance,
or in the Night, looks very neat. The Indian Boys, we saw, were kept to School in the Church, the Fryar being their School-Master. This is the largest Town of all. About a Mile from this, is another Town, call'd St. Philip's. At this Town of St. Mary's, were we to stay till the 5th or 6th Instant; where also, we were to receive our sixty Roves of Corn, and ten Roves of Pease; while we stayed, we had one half of our Corn beaten into Meal by the Indians, the other we kept whole, not knowing what Weather we should have; for the Fryar of this Town, some Years past, was at Charles-Town, in South-Carolina, and he had a Month's Passage in going, about this time of the Year: This News was very unpleasant, to think of lying out a Month at this Season, having been so Weather-beaten before; but we endeavoured to shun looking back, considering how great our Preservation had been hitherto.

While we stayed here, we were willing to make all the Provision we could, for Back and Belly: We got of the Indians, plenty of Garlick and long Pepper, to season our Corn and Pease, both which were griping and windy: And we made us Wooden Trays, and Spoons to eat with: We got Rushes, and made a sort of a platted Rope thereof; the use we chiefly intended it for, was to be serviceable to help us in Building Huts, or Tents with, at such times as we should meet with hard Weather.

The time drawing on, that we were to leave this Town, we had seven large Cannoos provided to carry us, being in all about sixty Persons; eighteen of us, six of Smith's Company, seven Spaniards, and thirty odd Indians, which were to Row the Cannoos, and be our Pilots. We had some Indians from all the Towns, and two Caffiekeys.

We understood that the Carolina-Indians, called the Yammasees, which are related to these Indians, were here about a Month since, Trading for Deer-Skins,
I have omitted a considerable Passage that happened in Augusteen: The Woman, named Penelope, being big with Child, by the Spaniards Perfwasion, stayed with them; also Joseph Kirle's Boy, named John Hillard, was detained by the Spaniards. Joseph Kirle strove hard with the Governour, that he might have his Boy; but the Lad was conveyed out of Town, and not to be found. The Governour promised, that he would send him after him, if possible; but the Boy came not to us, and we were to depart hence on the Morrow.

The 5th of the 10th Month; the 1st of the Week.

This Morning we Embarqued, and departed this place, and put into the Town St. Phillips, where the Spanish Captain invited us on Shoar, to drink Caffeena, which we did: The Spaniards having left something behind; we stayed here about an hour, and then set forward. About two or three Leagues hence, we came in sight of an Indian Town, called Sappataw; but we went about a League to the Northward of it, to a Sentinal's House, where we put our Boats on Shoar, and had Caffeena brought us, making no stay, we went hence, rowing till next Morning; in the Night we had lost our way, but got to rights in a little time.

The 7th of the 10th Month; the 2d of the Week.

This Morning we put on Shoar, having past an Inlet of the Sea; and here we drest some Victuals, and got a little Sleep; untell the Tide served. Some of our Indians went out a hunting for Deer and Hogs, of both which, the Spaniards said, there was plenty; and when the Tide served, we were to go to the Northernmost end of this Island, and stay for the Hunters. One of the Indians brought a Deer, which he throwed down amongst the other Indians; and he went out again to Hunt, to the North end of the Island, where we were to Rendezvous for this Night. We set forward.
forward about ten a Clock, and got to the place appointed an hour or two before Sun-fet, it being a fine lofty Wood; we imployed our selves in getting Fire-wood for the Night, and Mos to lie on, of both which we got plenty, having a large Oak to lie under.

The Indians brought in several Hogs and Deer, of which we had part, so that we fared richly; having a pleafant Night's repofe, we got up to be gone about an hour before Day.

The 8th of the 10th Month; the 3d of the Week.

This day, having rowed from the laft place, until two hours before Sun-fet, we got on Shoar, at a place where had been an Indian Settlement, it being on a high Bank, from whence we had a prospect of the Sound. Here we imployed our selves to go and fetch Bushes, to make Shelter against the Wind and Dews of the Night, and in cutting of dry Grafs to lie on, and getting of Wood, which was a considerable distance; but we resolved to have it, if Labour would purchase it. Those that were not imployed in these Services, were providing of Water and Virtuals, for we had always enough to do. We had a pleafant Night, and refted well.

The 9th of the 10th Month; the 4th of the Week.

This Morning, about Sun-rifing, we faw a Cannoo of Carolina-Indians, a going to the Southward a Hunting; they kept the Western fide of the Sound, being fearful of us; we had a Cannoo, manned with Indians and Spaniards, to go after them, to speak to them, being defirous to get them to carry Letters to inform of our coming, not knowing but we might Alarm the Out-Settlements of Carolina.

This Cannoo of ours pursued the other, but the Carolina Indians put on Shoar, ran into a Marsh, and Fired at our People; the Spanish-Indians, who could speak the Yamnaw's
Tarfimaw’s Language, called unto them, and told them their business; withal, intreating them to come unto them; but they answered, That they were going a Hunting for the Season, therefore desired them to be gone, for they would not come near them: Thus our People returned unto us. The Carolina-Indians went their way, and we prepared to go forward. We having the Caiffekey of St. Wans with us, sent him away last Night, to see if he could meet any of the Yammawsee-Indians of Carolina, he being acquainted with, and related to them; but this Cannoo passed him. We set forward, and rowed all the Day, till about an hour before Sun-set, and then we put on Shoar at an Indian Field, which was overgrown with Sedge, it being low wet Land; here we made our accustomed Provision for Lodging, lying this Night in a Wood; having dressed Victuals for this time, and to Morrow; and having rested well this Night; about Day-break, or sooner, we left this place.

The 10th of the 10th Month; the 5th of the Week.

This Day, about ten a Clock, we cross’d an Inlet, but the Tide being against us, we put on Shoar at an old Indian Field. At this place, under the shelter of some Trees, was the Caiffekey of St. Wans; here we stayed; and drank some Caiffeena: There was abundance of Rabbits, but we made no stay. Not passing two hours, the Caiffekey was sent before to make discovery, and we followed, rowing until an hour before Sun-set; by which time we got the place, called St. Catalena, where hath been a great Settlement of Indians, for the Land hath been cleared for Planting, for some Miles distant. Here also we met the Caiffekey; also a Cannoo of Carolina Indians, being a Man, his Wife and Children, having his Dogs, and other Hunting Implements, for to lie out this Winter Season. The Spanish Captain, by his Interpreter, discoursed him about carrying our Letters,
Letters, which he readily assented unto; whereupon the Spanish Captain set himself to writing to the Governor of Carolina.

We had a large Field to lie in, and no manner of Shelter but what was a Mile distant or more; but we spared not pains, but some fell to cutting of Boughs, and Brush, at that great distance, some to carrying it to the place, some to get Fire-wood, so that by Night we had a brave Shelter.

The Spanish Captain sent for me, to write to the Governor of Carolina, which I did; I wrote also to a Person of my Acquaintance there. The Letters being finished, and Night coming on, I delivered my Letters to the Captain, and returned to my Company. By this time they had completed our Booth, which we thought was sufficient, if no Rain fell. We provided our Victuals for our Supper, and for our next Day's Travel; as also some dry Grass to lie on, in hopes of resting well this Night. About ten at Night, the Carolina Indians went with our Letters for Carolina.

The 11th of the 10th Month; the 7th of the Week.

This Morning, about two hours before Day, we had a Gust of Wind at the North-West; and the Sky was overcast, and look'd as tho' we should have abundance of Rain: In a little time the Rain fell, against which we had no Shelter, but our Blankets; the Rain held until break of Day, at which time began the North-West Wind to blow violent hard and cold. Our Shelter was fronting the North-West; and we fell to work, to shift our Booth, and to getting more Boughs, Brush and Grass; the Grass was to fill and keep up a Bank of Earth, which we raised, about three or four Foot high, to break the Wind from us; all this Day were we employed in enlarging our Booth, and getting of Wood for Firing. The North-West blew extreme hard; and this Night was hard, getting but little rest, the Cold pinching us.
The 12th of the 10th Month; the 7th of the Week.

This Day the Wind continued without ceasing. We began to mend what the Fire had put out of order by Night, and heav'd up more Earth on our Booth, and made some enlargement; for we were not negligent by Day to provide for the Night, which pinch'd us with cold, especially aged Robert Barrow, who having a violent Flux, that had held him from Augusteen hither, and by the violent Cold being grown on him, so that he could not govern his Weakness, nor get Natural Rest; he was extremally racked with the Cold, that in this juncture of Hardship we could get no warmth in him; but he was contented with our mean help, altho' he received little benefit by it. This day, at times, we went out to get Wood, having a long way to go in an open Field, and the cold almost numbing us, by that time we could get to the Booth. This Evening the Wind was somewhat abated, and we were in great hopes it was over, but it blew'd fiercely the latter part of the Night.

The 13th of the 10th Month; the 1st of the Week.

This Morning the Wind was something abated, and the Sun gave forth a little warmth. Joseph Kirle borrowed a Gun, Powder and Shot, of the Spaniards, and went to kill some wild Geese, or what other Game he might come up with; but he had no success, coming home without any Game; and we were well content with a Dinner of Indian Corn and Strung Beef. The Spanish Indians hunted all these three Days, and kill'd several Deer, but they eat them as fast as they kill'd them, having little or no other Provision, their Corn being spent.

The latter part of this Day, the Wind was very moderate, and we hoped to be going the next Morning, Whereupon we provided for the next Day's Travel.
The 14th of the 10th Month; the 2d of the Week.

This Morning we Embarqued, and set forward, having fair Weather, the Wind down; we rowed all day until three a Clock, being come to a great Inlet of the Sea; but the Weather look'd as though we should have Wind and Rain; and to cross the Inlet would be dangerous, it being about two Leagues over, and little Wind making a rough Sea: So we put on Shoar, it being high Land, and lofty Woods, mostly Pine and Live Oaks. Here we made all the expedition we could to get Shelter against the Weather. The Indians set to work, to build themselves little Huts or Wigwams, which they had not done till now. They got small Palmetto-Leaves, and covered their Buildings, but ours were covered mostly with Boughs, which would not keep out much Rain. By Night we had a great deal of Rain and Wind. And it being the Evening of the Spaniards Christmas, they used some of their Ceremonies, with tinkling on a piece of Iron, and Singing; begging for somewhat for the Day following; they begged of the Indians; and the Indians in like manner begged of the Spaniards; and what the Indians gave the Spaniards, that was returned to the Indians.

The 16th of the 10th Month; the 4th of the Week.

This Morning was very foggy, and proved a Rainy Day; but we kept rowing until two in the Afternoon; the Rain being hard, and the Wind increased at N. E. We put on Shoar; but the Captain told us, we should not stay here long, he intended further; and if the Weather permitted, would go all Night; but the Weather was likelier to be worse than better, and we sat in the Rain until Night was come, then we entreated the Captain, that we might stay all Night, and that we might provide against the Weather; but he pretended the Weather would break up, and he would be gone; but there was no likelihood of it.
The Rain was increased, and we all wet and starv'd with Cold; at length, he assented to stay. Then were we hard put to it (being Night) to provide Shelter; but in the dark did we work, until we had made us a Shelter, that would keep the Rain from us. Having Fires, we put off our wet Clothes, and dry'd them as well as we could. Towards Morning the Rain broke up.

The 17th of the 10th Month; the 5th of the Week.

This Morning, at Sun-rising, we set forward, and rowed until Noon; at which time we came to an Inlet, and put a Shoar; there we layed all this Afternoon, and dry'd our Blankets, and what was not dry'd last Night; we also dressed Viands. And as soon as it was dark, went hence, designing to row all Night; but having an intricate Passage amongst Marshes, where were divers Creeks and Ways, that we rowed sometimes in a wrong one; then back again, and rowed in another: About Mid-night our Pilots were at a loss, not knowing which way to go, nor where to find any dry Land, that we might go on Shoar. But three of our Boats rowed until we found a dry Knap to get on Shoar, where we lay until day, having good Fires. As soon as it was light, we got our Boats, and went to look for the rest of our Company, whom we found, having made their Canoo fast to the Sedge, and sitting therein until we came to them.

The 18th of the 10th Month; the 6th of the Week.

The Night was extrem Fatigues, and so was this Morning; but we seard about, and found our Passage, being a little Channel just broad enough for our Boats to pass, and a Mile in length. After we past this, we came into a great Sound, which went down into a large Inlet, that the Land could not be seen from the one side to the other: Into the Sound comes down a great
a great River, called the Sabina-River; which, when we got into the Course of it, the Water was fresh, tho' in this great Sound; the Spaniards called it, the Cross-Bar, or St. a Cruise. About Noon we got over this Sound; and here we rowed out to Sea for two Leagues, to get into another Sound: And about three a Clock, the Wind began to blow at North-East, and it looked very black, so that we feared a Storm. We desired to get on Shoar, to provide against it; but the Captain said, About a few Leagues further we should get near Port-Royal: But in the interim, we saw a Canoo on the Shoar; we made to her, and there we found some Indian Wigwams: Here we went on Shoar. This was a Canoo, laden with Skins, that belonged to Merchants at Carolina, having four Indians belonging to her; but three of them run away, fearing the Spaniards, and one stayed.

The Indian Wigwams were in a bad Condition, not fit to keep out the Weather; so we set to work to mend them: Here was plenty of Palmetto-Leaves, with which we covered them, and made Addition to them; but the Storm of Wind and Rain came violently before we could compleat our work, and held all Night; yet we lay indifferent dry, though the Storm was very great.

The 19th of the 10th Month; the 7th of the Week.

This Morning the Storm of Wind continued at N. E. with Rain; we, being likely to stay some time here, inlarged our Wigwams, fearing a North-West; which, about ten a Clock this Day, began to blow fiercely, with Snow, for some hours: The Wind was so violent, that we feared, left the tall Pines should be blown on us. We sent the Carolina-Indian out, to bring his three Mates in, but they would not. The Spanish Indians made great Complaint for Food; we gave amongst them four Rove of Corn, being unwilling to spare any more, not knowing how long we should be detained by the Weather: Some
Some of our People had almost eaten up their Shares, and we expected, should we be detained long, we must supply them with what we had to spare.

The 20th of the 10th Month; the 1st of the Week.

This day the Wind continued at N. E. and extreme cold it was; but we, in our Wigwams, were well enough beared from cold. About Noon our Marriners Wigwams got Fire, and was burn'd; their's was the leewardmost of all (for we had Eight Wigwams) otherwise the whole had been in danger. We understood, that we were not passing two or three days Journey from the English Settlements; but the Spanish Indians told us that it was more, till we were better informed by this Indian, who belonged to that place.

The 21st of the 10th Month; the 2d of the Week.

This Day early, we set forward, and passed Port-Royal Sound, being some Leagues over; and about two a Clock in the Afternoon we put on Shoar, the Tide being against us: Here was a close Wood, where we lay indifferent well all Night.

The 22d of the 10th Month; the 3d of the Week.

This Morning early, we set forward, and rowed all Day, until one a Clock in the Afternoon; at which time we got to the first Settlement in Carolina, belonging to one Richard Bennet, who received us kindly; and provided plentifully for us, of good Food, and good Drink, shewing the Spaniards all kindness possibly he could, for our Sakes, which the Spaniards did acknowledge: We stayed here all Night.

The 23d of the 10th Month; the 4th of the Week.

This Morning, having Eaten plentifully, and Drank also, we went hence, in Company of some of the Inhabitants, about ten a Clock, and rowed until two hours within Night; having passed by several Plantations, we put on Shoar, on a point of Land, to wait a Tide, having a Wood to shelter in, and making good Fires.
we stayed until Mid-night, at which time we went thence, and rowed until an hour or two before Day, by which time we got to Governour Blake's House.

The 24th of the 10th Month; the 5th of the Week.

This Morning when the Governour arose, he sent for Joseph Kirle, John Smith, Andrew Murray, and Me, making enquiry of us, concerning our Passage, and on what account the Spaniards came with us. We rendered him an account of the Governour of Augusteens's Generosity towards us, and that he sent us freely, without any Demands, except what we had freely Contraicted: The Governour sent for the Spanish Captain in, and received the Letters that were sent from the Governour of Augusteens; also our Obligation, which the Governour accepted. The Governour shewed a great deal of kindness to us, made inquiry into all our Conditions. Robert Barrow he sent to his Neighbour, Margaret Bamners, who, he said, would be careful, and Nursed him: She was an Ancient Friend, about two Miles distant; so he went on Horse-Back. The Governour clothed Joseph Kirle, John Smith, Andrew Murray, Me, my Wife and Child; to the rest of our People, he gave each of them a Duffel Blanket, which would keep them warm; and plenty of Victuals and Drink was provided: We obtained leave of the Governour, to permit the Spaniards to go to Charles-Town with us, being willing to gratifie them, according to our Abilities.

The 25th of the 10th Month; the 6th of the Week.

This Day, in the Afternoon, Joseph Kirle, John Smith, I, my Wife and Child, went to Margaret Bamners, where Robert Barrow was; staying all Night, till next Morning, when the Spaniards call'd for us, as they came by Water.

The 26th of the 10th Month; the 7th of the Week.

This Morning we went hence, with the Spaniards, for Charles-Town, where we arrived about an hour within Night.
The Gentlemen of this Town appointed a publick House, of good Credit, to entertain the Spaniards with Meat, and Drink, and Lodging; which was done to the Spaniards Admiration; they staid here eight days. We got our People together, and agreed jointly, to give the Spaniards a Hundred Pieces of Eight, which Joseph Kirle and I divided amongst them, according to their degrees; we two adding to the Sum.

The 4th of the 11th Month; the 2d of the Week.
Joseph Kirle and I provided a small Present to send to the Governour of Augustine, and this day we went with the Spaniards to Governour Blake's, staying there one day; the Governour treated the Spaniards, and having compleated his Letters, gave the Spanish Captain a considerable Present, and sent him homewards, ordering them to call on the Tammasee-Indians, where they might have as much Indian-Corn as they pleased, to carry home with them; the Towns of these Indians being about two or three days rowing from Charles-Town.

The 9th of the 11th Month; the 7th of the Week.
This day I returned, with my Wife and Child, to Charles-Town, leaving Robert Barrow in a weak and low Condition, with Margaret Bammer. I, my Wife and Family, with Joseph Kirle, were entertained by Captain James Ribee, the time of our stay in Carolina. Our Sea-men were mostly employed, some in one Vessel, and some in another, that belonged to the Port.

The 6th of the 12th Month; the 2d of the Week.
Joseph Kirle went hence to the Island of Providence in hopes of gaining speedy Passage for Pensilvania, the place of his abode.

Towards the beginning of this Month, Robert Barrow was brought to Charles-Town, being extream Weak, and was Lodged at the House of Mary Cross, who nursed him.
The 18th of the 1st Month; the 5th of the Week.

This Day, I, with my Family, and Robert Barrow, Embarqued, and set Sail from this place for Pennsylvania, and had fourteen Days Passage to Philadelphia.

The 4th of the 2d Month; the 1st of the Week.

This Day, in the Evening, Robert Barrow departed this Life, and was Buried the 6th Instant, having passed through great Exercises, in much Patience; and in all the times of our greatest Troubles, was ready to Counsel us to Patience, and to wait what the Lord our God would bring to pass: And he would often express, That it was his Belief, that our Lives should be spared, and not be lost in that Wilderness, and amongst those People, who would have made a Prey of us. And so this good Man, having finished his Course with Joy, laid down his Body, and is with Him who rewards the Just.

Thus, having compleated our hard Passage hither, wherein God's great Mercy, and wonderful loving Kindness, hath been largely extended unto us, in delivering and preserving us, to this Day and Time; I hope that I, with all those of us, that have been spared hitherto, shall never be forgetful nor unmindful of the low Estate we were brought unto; but that we may double our Diligence in serving the Lord God, is the Breathing, and earnest Desire of my Soul. Amen.

Jonathan Dickenson

FINIS.