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THE
DISCOVERIES
OF
JOHN LEDERER,

In three several Marches from *Virginia* to the
West of *Carolina*, and other parts of the
Continent:

Begun in *March*, 1669, and ended in *September*,
1670,

TOGETHER WITH

A General Map of the whole Territory which he
traverfed.

Collected and Tranflated out of Latine from his
Discourfe and Writings,

By Sir *William Talbot*, Baronet.

*Sed nos immensum spatium confecimus æquor, Et jam tempus
equum fumantia solvere colla.*

Virg Georg.

m. 2. 11.

229
.L47

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Recat. v. m. Feb. 6/27



To the Right Honourable Anthony, Lord Ashley,
Baron Ashley, of Wimborn, St. Giles, Chan-
cellor of His Majesties Exchequer, Under-
Treasurer of England, one of the Lords Com-
missioners of His Majesties Treasury, one of
the Lords of His Most Honourable Privie
Council and of the Lords Proprietors of Car-
olina:

My Lord,

FROM this discourse it is clear that the long-
looked for discovery of the *Indian* Sea
does nearly approach; and *Carolina*, out of her
happy experience of your Lordships' success in
great undertakings, presumes that the accom-
plishment of this glorious Designe is reserved for
her. In order to which, the *Apalataean* Moun-
tains (though like the prodigious wall that di-
vides *China* and *Tartary*, they deny *Virginia*
passage into the West Continent (stoop to your
Lordship's Dominions, and lay open a prospect
into unlimited Empires, Empires that will here-
after be ambitious of subjection to that noble

Government which by your Lordship's deep wisdom and providence first projected, is now established in *Carolina*; for it will appear that she flourishes more by the influence of that, than the advantages she derives from her Climate and Soyl, which yet do render her the Beauty and envy of North *America*. That all her glories should be seen in this draught, is not reasonably to be expected, since the fate to my Author but once, and then too with a side face; and therefore I must own that it was never by him designed for the Press, but published by me, out of no other ambition than that of manifesting to the world, that I am,

My Lord,

*Your Lordship's most humble and
obedient servant,*

WILLIAM TALBOT.

To The Reader.

THAT a stranger should presume (though with Sir William Berkly's Commission to go into those parts of the American Continent where Englishmen never had been, and whither some refused to accompany him, was, in Virginia look'd on as so great an insolence, that our Traveller at his return, instead of welcome and applause, met nothing but Affronts, and Reproaches; for indeed it was their part, that forsook him in the Expedition, to procure him discredit that was a witness to theirs: Therefore no industry was wanting to prepare men with a prejudice against him, and this their malice improved to such a general Animosity, that he was not safe in Virginia from the outrage of the people, drawn into a persuasion, that the Publick Levy of that year, went all to the expence of his Vagaries. Forced by this storm into Maryland, he became known to me, though then ill-affected to the Man, by the stories that went about of him. Nevertheless finding him, contrary to my expectation, a modest ingenious person, & a pretty Scholar, I thought it common justice to give him an occasion of vindicating himself from what I had heard of him; which truly he did with so convincing Reason and circumstance, as quite abolished those former impressions in me, and

made me desire this account of his travels, which here you have faithfully rendered out of Latine from his own writings and Discourse, with an entire Map of the Territory he traversed, copied from his own hand. All these I have compared with Indian Relations of those parts (though I never met with an Indian that had followed a Southwest Course so far as this German) and finding them agree, I thought the Printing of these Papers was no injury to the Author, and might prove a Service to the Publick.

WILLIAM TALEOT.



THE
Discoveries of John Lederer,

*From Virginia to the west of Carolina, and other
parts of the Continent.*

A GENERAL AND BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE
NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT.

NORTH, as well as *South America*, may be divided into three Regions: the Flats, the Highlands, and the Mountains. The Flats, (in Indian, *Ahkynt*) is the territory lying between the Eastern Coast and the falls of the great Rivers, that there run into the *Atlantick* ocean, in extent generally taken Ninety miles. The Highlands (in Indian, *Ahkontschuck*) begin at those falls and determine at the foot of the great ridge of Mountains that run thorow the midst of this Continent, Northeast and Southwest, called by the Spaniards *Apalatai*, from the Nation *Apalakin*; and by the Indians, *Pamotinck*. According to the best of my observation and conjecture they lie parallel to the *Atlantick* Sea coast, that bearing from *Canada* to *Cape Florida*, Northeast and Southwest, and then falling off due West as the Mountains do at *Sara*: but here

they take the name of *Suala* ; *Sara* in the *Warrenuncock* dialect being *Sasa* or *Sualy*.

The Flats, or *Ahkynt*, are by former writers made so well known to Christendom, that I will not stop the Reader here with an unnecessary description of them, but shall onely say that by the rankness of the Soyl, and salt moistness of the air, daily discoveries of Fish shells three fathoms deep in the earth, and Indian tradition ; these parts are supposed some ages past to have been under the sea.

The Highlands (or *Ahkontshuck*) though under the same parallels, are happier notwithstanding in a more temperate and healthful air. The ground is overgrown with underwood in many places, and that so perplexed and interwoven with vines, that who travels here must sometimes cut through his way. These thickets harbour all sorts of beasts of prey, as Wolves, Panthers, Leopards, Lions, &c., (which are neither so large nor so fierce as those of *Asia* and *Africa*) and small vermine; as Wilde Cats, Foxes and Racoons. These parts were formerly possessed by the *Tucci*, alias *Dogi*, but they are extinct, and the Indians now seated here, are distinguished into the several Nations of *Mahoc*, *Nuntaneuck*, alias *Nuntaly*, *Nahyssan*, *Sapon*, *Managog*, *Mangoack*, *Akenatzy*, and *Monakin*, &c. One language is common to them all, though they differ in dialects. The parts inhab-

ited here are pleasant and fruitful, because cleared of wood, and laid open to the sun. The valleys feed numerous herds of Deer and Elks larger than oxen; these valleys they call *Savannæ*, being Marish grounds at the foot of the *Apalataei*, and yearly laid under water in the beginning of Summer by floods of melted snow falling down from the Mountains.

The *Apalataean* Mountains, called in Indian *Pæmotinck*, (or the origine of the Indians) are barren rocks, and therefore deserted by all living creatures but Bears, who cave in the hollow Cliffs. Yet do these Mountains shoot out to the Eastward great promontories of rich land, known by the high and spreading trees which they bear; these promontories, because lower than the main ridge, are called by the Indians *Taux Pæmotinck* (alias *Aquatt*.) To the North east the Mountains rise higher; and at *Sara* they sink so low that they are easily passed over, but here (as was said before) they change their course and name, running due West and being called *Sualy*; now the *Sualian* Mountains rise higher and higher Westward.

Of the Manners and Customs of the Indians Inhabiting the Western parts of Carolina and Virginia.

The Indians now seated in these parts are none of those which the English removed from

Virginia, but a people driven by the enemy from the Northwest, and invited to sit down here by an Oracle above four hundred years since, as they pretend for the ancient inhabitants of *Virginia* were far more rude and barbarous, feeding only upon raw flesh and fish, until these taught them to plant corn, and shewed them the use of it.

But before I treat of their ancient Manners and Customs, it is necessary I should shew by what means the knowledge of them hath been conveyed from former ages to posterity. Three ways they supply their want of Letters: first, by Counters, secondly by Emblems or Hieroglyphicks, thirdly by Tradition delivered in long tales from father to son, which being children they are made to learn by rote. For counters, they use either Pebbles, or short scantlings of straw or reeds. Where a Battel has been fought, or a colony seated, they raise a small Pyramid of these stones, consisting of the number slain or transplanted. Their reeds and straws serve them in Religious Ceremonies for they lay them orderly in a circle when they prepare for devotion or sacrifice; and that performed, the Circle remains still; for it is sacrilege to disturb or to touch it, the disposition and sorting of the straws and reeds shew what kind of rites have there been celebrated, as Invocation, Sacrifice, Burial, &c.

The faculties of the minde and body they commonly exprefs by Emblems. By the figure of a Stag, they imply Swiftnefs; by that of a Serpent, wrath; of a Lion, courage; of a Dog, fidelity; by a Swan they fignifie the *English*, alluding to their complexion and flight over the Sea.

An account of Time, and other things, they keep on a ftring or leather thong tied in knots of feveral colours. I took particular notice of fmall wheels ferving for this purpose amongft the *Oenocks*, becaufe I have heard that the *Mexicans* ufe the fame. Every nation gives his particular Enfigne or arms: The *Sasquesahanough* a Tarapine, or fmall Tortoife; the *Akenatzij's* a Serpent; the *Nahyffanes* three Arrows, &c. In this they likewife agree with the *Mexican* Indians. *Vid. Jos. à Costa.*

They worship one God, Creator of all things, whom fome call *Okæè*, others *Mannith*; to him alone the Highprieft, or *Periku*, offers facrifice, and yet they believe he has no regard to fub-lunary affairs, but commits the Government of Mankind to leffer Deities, as *Quiacosough* and *Tagkanysough*, that is, good and evil Spirits: to thefe the inferior Priefts pay their devotion and Sacrifice, at which they make recitals, to a lamentable tune, of the great things done by their Ancestors.

From four women, viz: *Pash, Sepoy, Askarin*

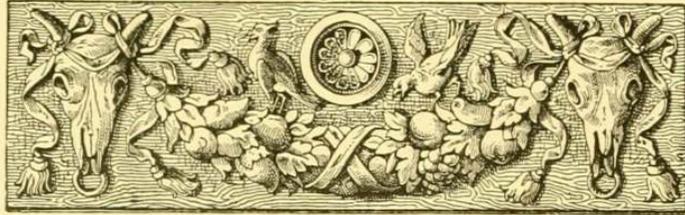
and *Maraskarin*, they derive the Race of Mankind; which they therefore divide into four Tribes, distinguished under those several names. They very religiously observe the degrees of marriage, which they limit not to distance of kindred, but difference of tribes, which are continued in the issue of the female; now for two of the same tribe to match is abhorred as incest and punished with great severity.

Their places of Burial they divide into four quarters, assigning to every Tribe one; for, to mingle their bodies, even when dead, they hold wicked and ominous. They commonly wrap up the corps in beasts' skins, and bury with it Provision and Household stuff for its use in the other world. When their great men die they likewise slay prisoners of war to attend them. They believe the transmigration of souls: for the Angry they say is possessed with the spirit of a serpent; the Bloody with that of a Wolf; the Timorous of a Deer; the Faithful, of a Dog, &c., and therefore they are figured by these Emblems.

Elizium, or the abode of their lesser Deities, they place beyond the Mountains and Indian Ocean.

Though they want those means of Improving Humane Reason, which they use of Letters affords us; let us not therefore conclude them wholly destitute of Learning and Sciences; for by

these little helps which they have found, many of them advance their natural understandings to great knowledge in Physick, Rhetorick and Policie of Government; for I have been present at several of my Consultations and Debates, and to my admiration have heard some of their Seniors deliver themselves with as much judgement and Eloquence as I should have expected from men of *Civil education and literature.*



The First Expedition

From the head of *Pamæoncock*, alias *York River* (due West) to the top of the *Apalataen Mountains*.

Upon the ninth of *March*, 1669, (with three Indians whose names were *Magtakunk*, *Hopottoquoh*, and *Naunugh*) I went out at the falls of *Pemæoncock*, alias *York River in Virginia*, from an Indian Village called *Shickehumany*, and lay that night in the woods, encountring nothing remarkable, but a Rattle snake of extraordinary size and thicknes, for I judged it two yards and a half and better from head to tail, and as big about as a man's arm; by the distention of her belly we believed her full with young, but having killed and opened her found there a small squirrel whole; which caused in me a double wonder: first, how a Reptile should catch so nimble a creature as a squirrel, and having caught it, how could she swallow it entire. The Indians in resolving my doubts, plunged me into a greater astonishment, when they told me it was usual with these serpents when

they lie basking in the sun, to fetch down these squirrels from the tops of the trees, by fixing their eyes steadfastly upon them, the horrour of which strikes such an affrightment into the little beast that he has no power to hinder himself from tumbling down into the jaws of his enemy, who takes in all his sustenance without chewing, his teeth serving him only to offend withal. But I rather believe what I have heard from others, that these Serpents climb the trees and surprize their prey in the nest.

The next day falling into Marish grounds between *Pemæoncock* and the head of the River *Matapeneugh*, the heaviness of the way obliged me to cross *Pemæoncock*, where its North and South branch (called *Ackmick*) joyn in one. In the Peninsula made by these two branches, a great Indian King called *Tottopotoma* was heretofore slain in Battel, fighting for the Christians against the *Mahocks* and *Nahyffans*, from which it retains his name to this day. Travelling thorow the Woods, a Doe seized by a wild Cat crossed our way; the miserable creature being even spent and breathless with the burden and cruelty of her rider, who having fastened on her shoulder, left not sucking out her blood until she sunk under him; which one of the Indians perceiving, let flie a luckie Arrow, which piercing him thorow the belly, made him quit his prey already slain, and turn with a terrible grimas at

us; but his strength and spirits failing him we escaped his revenge, which had certainly ensued, were not his wound mortal. This creature is something bigger than our English Fox of a reddish grey colour, and in figure every way agreeing with an ordinary cat, fierce, ravenous and cunning; for finding the Deer (upon which they delight most to prey) too swift for them, they watch upon branches of trees, and as they walk or feed under, jump down upon them. The Fur of the wilde Cat, though not very fine, is yet esteemed for its virtues in taking away cold Aches and Pains, being worn next to the body; their flesh, though rank as a dog's, is eaten by the Indians.

The eleventh and twelfth I found the ways very uneven, and cumbered with bushes.

[16] The thirteenth I reached the first spring of *Pemæoncock*, having crossed the River four times that day, by reason of its many windings; but the water was so shallow, that it hardly wet my horse's posterns. Here a little under the surface of the earth I found flat pieces of petrified matter, of one side solid stone, but on the other side isinglass, which I easily peeled off in flakes about four inches square; several of these pieces, with a transparent stonelike crystal that cut glaff, and a white Marchasite that I purchased of the Indians, I presented to *Sir William Berkeley*, Governor of *Virginia*.]

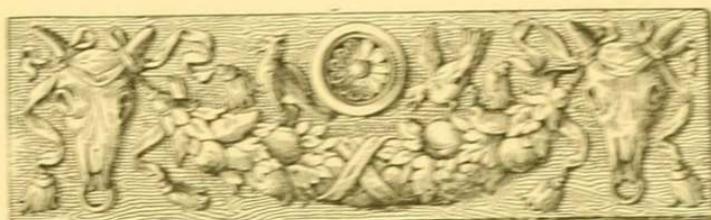
The fourteenth of *March* from the top of an eminent hill, I first descried the *Apalataean* Mountains, bearing due West to the place I stood upon; their distance from me was so great that I could hardly discern whether they were Mountains or clouds, until my Indian fellow travellers prostrating themselves in adoration, howled out after a barbarous manner, *Okiepæze*, i. e., *God is nigh*.

The fifteenth of *March*, not far from this hill, passing over the South branch of *Rapahanock* River, I was almost swallowed in a Quicksand. Great herds of Red and Fallow Deer I daily saw feeding; and on the hillsides, Bears crashing Mast like Swine. Small Leopards I have seen in the woods, but never any Lions, though their skins are much worn by the Indians. The wolves in these parts are so ravenous that I often in the night feared that my horse would be devoured by them, they would gather up and howl so close round about him, though tether'd to the same tree at whose foot I myself and the Indians lay, but the Fires which we made, I suppose, scared them from worrying us all. Beaver and Otter I met with at every river that I pass'd; and the woods are full of grey Foxes.

Thus I travelled all the sixteenth; and on the seventeenth of *March* I reached the *Apalataxi*. The Air here is very thick and chill; and the

waters iffuing from the Mountain fides, of a Blue colour, and Allumifh tafte.

The eighteenth of *March*, after I had in vain affayed to ride up, I alighted, and left my horfe with one of the Indians, whilft with the other two I climbed up the Rocks and, which were fo incumbered with bufhes and brambles, that the afcent proved very difficult; befides the precipice was fo fteep that if I look't down I was immediately taken with a fwimming in my head, though afterward the way was more eafie. The height of this mountain was very extraordinary, for notwithstanding I fet out with the firft appearance of light, it was late in the evening before I gained the top, from whence the next morning I had a beautiful prospect of the *Atlantick* Ocean wafhing the *Virginia* fhore; but to the North and Weft my fight was fuddenly bounded by mountains higher than that I flood upon. Here did I wander in fnow, for the moft part, till the four and twentieth day of *March*, hoping to finde fome paffage through the mountains, but the coldneff of the air and earth together, feizing my hands and Feet with numbneff, put me to a *ne plus ultra*; and therefore having found my *Indian* at the foot of the Mountain with my Horfe, I returned back by the fame way that I went.



The Second Expedition

From the Falls of *Powhatan*, alias *James River*, in *Virginia*, to *Mahock* in the *Apalataen* Mountains.

The twentieth of *May*, 1670, one Major *Harris* and myself, with twenty *Christian* *Horse* and five *Indians*, marched from the Falls of *James River*, in *Virginia*, towards the *Monakins*, and on the two and twentieth were welcomed by them with volleys of shot. Near this village we observed a pyramid of stones piled up together, which their Priests told us, was the number of an *Indian* Colony drawn out by Lot from a neighbour-Country over-peopled and led hither by one *Monack*, from whom they take the name of *Monakin*. Here enquiring the way to the mountains, an ancient Man described with a staffe two paths on the ground; one pointing to the *Mahocks*, and the other to the *Nahyffans*; but my *English* Companions slighting the *Indians* direction, shaped their course by the com-

paff due West; and therefore it fell out with us, as it does with those Sand Crabs, that crawling backwards in a direct line, avoid not the trees that stand in their way, but climbing over their very tops, come down again on the other side, and so after a day's labour gain not above two foot of ground. Thus we obstinately pursuing a due West course, rode over steep and craggy Cliffs, which beat our horses quite off the hoof. In these mountains we wandered from the Twenty-fifth of *May* till the third of *June*, finding very little sustenance for Man or Horse: for these places are destitute both of Grain and Herbage.

The third of *June* we came to the South branch of *James River* which Major *Harris* observing to run Northward, vainly imagined to be an arm of the Lake of *Canada*; and was so transported with this Fancy, that he would have raised a Pillar to the discovery if the fear of the *Mahock Indian*, and want of food, had permitted him to stay. Here I moved to cross the river and march on; but the rest of the company were so weary of the enterprize, that crying out *One and All*, they had offered violence to me, had I not been provided with a private commission from the Governor of *Virginia* to proceed, though the rest of the company should abandon me; the sight of which laid their fury.

The lesser Hills or *Akontshuck*, are here unpassable, being both steep and craggy. The rocks seemed to me at a distance to resemble eggs set up on end.

James River is here as broad as it is about an hundred mile lower at *Monakin*, the passage over is very dangerous, by reason of the rapid Torrents made by Rocks and shelves forcing the water into narrow Channels. From an observation which we made of straws and rotten chunks hanging in boughs of trees on the bank, and two and twenty foot above water, we argued that the melted snow falling from the Mountains swelled the River to that height, the Flood carrying down that rubbish which, upon the abatement of the inundation, remained in the Trees.

The Air in these parts were so moist that all our Biscuit became mouldy and unfit to be eaten, so that some nicer stomachs, who at our setting out laughed at my provision of *Indian* meal parched, would gladly now have shared with me, but I being determined to go upon further Discoveries refused to part with any of that which was *to be my most necessary sustenance*.

The *Continuation* of the Second Expedition
from Mahock, Southward, into the Province of
Carolina.

The fifth of *June*, my company and I parted good friends, they back again, and I with one *Safquesahanough Indian*, named *Jackzetavon*, only, in pursuit of my first enterprize, changing my course from West to South-west and by South, to avoid the mountains. Major *Harris* at parting gave me a Gun, believing me a loft man, and given up as a prey to *Indians* or favage beafts; which made him the bolder in *Virginia* to report frange things in his own praise and my disparagement, presuming I would never return to disprove him. This, I suppose, and no other, was the cause that he did with so much industry procure me discredit and odium; but I have lost nothing by it, but what I never studied to gain, which is popular Applause.

From the fifth, which was *Sunday* until the ninth of *June*, I travelled through different Ways, without seeing any Town or *Indian*; and then I arrived at Sapon, a village of the *Nahyfans*, about an hundred miles distant from *Mahock*, situate upon a branch of *Shawan*, alias *Rorenock* River; and though I had just cause to fear these *Indians*, because they had been in continual hostility with the *Christians* for ten years before; yet presuming that the truck

which I carried with me would procure my welcome, I adventured to put myself into their power, having heard that they never offer any injury to a few persons from whom they apprehend no danger; nevertheless they examined me strictly whence I came, whither I went, and what my business was. But after I had bestowed some trifles of Glass and Metal amongst them, they were satisfied with reasonable answers, and I received with all imaginable demonstrations of kindness, as offering of sacrifice, a compliment shewed only to such as they design particularly to honour; but they went further, and consulted their Gods whether they should not admit me into their Nation and Councils, and oblige me to stay amongst them by a Marriage with the King's or some of their great Men's Daughters. But I, though with much ado, waved their courtesie, and got my Passport, having given my word to return to them within six months.

Sapon is within the limits of the Province of *Carolina*, and as you may perceive by the Figure, has all the attributes requisite to a pleasant and advantageous seat; for though it stands high, and upon dry land, it enjoys the benefit of a stately River, and a rich Soyl, capable of producing a great many commodities, which may hereafter render the trade of it considerable.

Not far distant from hence, as I understand

from the *Nahyffan* Indians, is their King's Residence, called *Pintahæ*, upon the same River, and happy in the same advantages both for pleasure and profit; which my curiosity would have led me to see, were I not bound both by Oath and Commission to a direct pursuance of my intended purpose of discovering a passage to the further side of the Mountains.

This Nation is governed by an absolute Monarch; the people of a high stature, warlike and rich. I saw great store of Pearl unboiled in their little Temples and Oratories, which they had won amongst other spoils from the Indians of *Florida*, and hold in as great esteem as we do.

From hence, by the Indians' instructions, I directed my course to *Akenatzy*, an Island bearing South and by West, and about fifty miles distant, upon a branch of the same River, from *Sapon*. The country here, though high, is level, and for the most part a rich Soil, as I judged by the growth of the trees; yet where it is inhabited by Indians, it lies open in spacious Plains, and is blessed with a very healthful Air, as appears by the age and vigour of the people; and though I travelled in the month of *June*, the heat of the weather hindered me not from Riding at all hours without any great annoyance from the sun. By eadie journeys I landed at *Akenatzy* upon the twelfth of *June*.

The current of the river is here so strong, that my Horse had much difficulty to resist it, and I expected every step to be carried away with the stream.

This Island, though small, maintains many inhabitants, who are fix'd here in great security, being naturally fortified with Fastnesses of mountains, and water on every side. Upon the North shore they yearly reap great crops of corn, of which they always have a twelve-month Provision aforehand, against an invasion from their powerful Neighbours. Their Government is under two Kings, one presiding in Arms, the other in Hunting and Husbandry. They hold all things, except their wives, in common; and their custom in eating is, that every man in his turn, feasts all the rest; and he that makes the entertainment is seated betwixt the two Kings; where highly commending his own cheer they carve and distribute it amongst the guests.

At my arrival here I met four stranger Indians, whose bodies were painted in various colours with figures of Animals whose likeness I had never seen, and by some discourse and signes which passed between us, I gathered that they were the only survivors of fifty, who set out together in company from some great Island, as I conjecture, in the Northwest, for I understood that they crossed a great Water, in which most

of their party perished by tempest, the rest dying in the Marshes and Mountains by famine and hard weather, after a two-months travel by Land and Water in quest of this Island of *Akenatzy*.

The most reasonable conjecture that I can frame out of this Relation, is, that these Indians might come from the Island of new *Albion* or *California*, from whence we may imagine some great arm of the Indian Ocean or Bay stretches into the Continent towards the *Apalataen* Mountains in the nature of a mid-land Sea, in which many of these Indians might have perished. To confirm my opinion in this point, I have heard several Indians testify, that the Nation of *Rickahockons*, who dwell not far to the Westward of the *Apalataen* Mountains, are seated upon a Land, as they term it, of great Waves, by which I suppose they mean the Sea-shore.

The next day after my arrival at *Akenatzy*, a *Rickahockan* Ambassadour, attended by five Indians, whose faces were coloured *Awripigmentum* (in which Mineral these parts do much abound) was received, and that night invited to a Ball of their fashion; but in the height of their mirth and dancing by a smoke contrived for that purpose, the Room was suddenly darkened, and for what cause I know not, the *Rickahockan* and his retinue barbarously murdered. This struck me with such an affrightment, that

the very next day, without taking my leave of them, I flunk away with my Indian companion. Though the desire of informing myself further concerning some minerals, as *Auripigmentum*, &c., which I there took special notice of, would have persuaded me to stay longer amongst them, had not the bloody example of their treachery to the *Rickohockans* frightened me away.

The fourteenth of *June*, pursuing a South southwest course, sometimes by a beaten path and sometimes over hills and rocks, I was forc'd to take up my quarters in the Woods; for though the *Oenock* Indians, whom I then fought, were not in a direct line above thirty odde miles distant from *Akenatzy*, yet the ways were such, and obliged me to go so far about, that I reached *Oenock* until the sixteenth. The country here, by the industry of these Indians, is very open and clear of wood. Their Town is built round a field, where in their Sports they exercise with so much labour and violence, and in so great numbers, that I have seen the ground wet with the sweat that dropped from their bodies; their chief recreation is flinging of stones. They are of mean stature and courage, covetous and thievish, industrious to earn a penny, and therefore hire themselves out to their neighbors, who employ them as Carriers or Porters. They plant abundance of Grain, reap three crops in a summer,

and out of their Granary supply all the adjacent parts. These and the Mountain Indians build not their houses of bark, but of Watling and Plaister. In Summer the heat of the weather makes them chuse to lie abroad in the night under thin arbours of wilde Palm. Some houses they have of Reed and Bark; they build them generally round: to each house belongs a little hovel made like an oven, where they lay up their Corn and Maft, and keep it dry. They parch their Nuts and Acorns over the fire to take away their rank Oyle, which afterwards pressed, yield a milky liquor, and the Acorns an Amber colour'd Oyl. In these mingled together, they dip their Cakes at great entertainments, and so serve them up to their guests as an extraordinary dainty. Their Government is Democratick; and the Sentences of their old men are received as Laws, or rather Oracles, by them.

Fourteen miles West Southwest of the *Oenocks* dwell the *Shackory* Indians, upon a rich Soyl, and yet abounding in Antimony, of which they shewed me considerable quantities. Finding them agree with the *Oenocks* in Customs and Manners I made no stay here, but passing thorow their town I travelled till the nineteenth of *June*; then after a two days troublesome journey thorow thickets and Marish grounds I arrived at *Watary* above

fourty miles distant, and bearing West South-west to *Shakor*. This Nation differs in Government from all the other Indians of these parts; for they are slaves rather than subjects to their King. Their present Monarch is a grave man, and courteous to strangers; yet I could not without horreur behold his barbarous superstition, in hiring three youths and sending them forth to kill as many young women of their enemies as they could light on, to serve his son, then newly dead, in the other world, as he vainly fancied. These youths during my stay returned with skins torn off the heads and faces of three young girls, which they presented to his Majesty, and were by him gratefully received.

I departed from *Watary* the one and twentieth of *June*, and keeping a West course for near thirty miles, I came to *Sara*; here I found the ways more level and easie. *Sara* is not far distant from the Mountains, which here lose their height, and change their course and name; for they run due West, and receive from the Spaniards the name of *Suala*. From these Mountains or Hills the Indians draw great quantities of *Cinabar*, with which beaten to powder they colour their faces; this Mineral is of a deeper purple than Vermilion, and is the same which is in so much esteem amongst Physicians, being the first element of Quicksilver.

I did likewise, to my no small admiration, find hard cakes of white Salt amongst them, but whether they were made of Sea water or taken out of Salt pits I know not, but am apt to believe the later, because the sea is so remote from them.

Many other rich Commodities and minerals there are undoubtedly in these parts, which if possessed by an ingenious and industrious people would be improved to vast advantages by Trade. But having tied myself up to things onely that I have seen in my Travels, I will deliver no conjectures.

Lingua sile non est ultra narrabile quidquam.
These Indians are so indiscreetly fond of their children that they will not chastise them for any mischief or insolence. A little Boy had shot an Arrow thorow my Body had I not reconciled him to me with gifts; and all this anger was because I spurred my horse out of another Arrow's way which he directed at him. This caused such a mutiny amongst the Youth of the Town, that the Seniors taking my horse and self into protection, had much ado (and that by entreaties and prayers, not commands) to appease them.

From *Sara* I kept a South Southwest course until the five and twentieth of *June*, and then I reached *Wifacky*. This three days march was more troublesome to me then all my travels be-

fides; for the direct way which I took from *Sara* to *Wifacky* is over a continued Marsh overgrown with Reeds, from whose roots sprung knotty stumps as hard and sharp as Flint. I was forced to lead my horse most part of the way, and wonder that he was not either plunged in the Bogs, or lamed by those rugged knots.

This Nation is subject to a neighbour King residing upon the bank of a great Lake called *Ushery*, invironed of all sides with Mountains, and *Wifacky* Marsh; and therefore I will detain the Reader no longer with the discourse of them, because I comprehend them in that of *Ushery*.

The six and twentieth of *June*, having crossed a fresh River, which runs into the Lake of *Ushery*, I came to the Town, which was more populous than any I had seen before in my March. The King dwells some three miles from it, and therefore I had no opportunity of seeing him the two nights which I stayed there. This Prince, though his dominions are large and populous, is in continual fear of the *Oustack* Indians seated on the opposite side of the Lake; a people so addicted to Arms that even their women come into the field and shoot Arrows over their husbands shoulders, who shield them with Leathern targets. The men it seems should fight with Silver Hatchets; for one of the *Ushers* told me they were of the same metal with the Pomel of my sword. They are a cruel generation, and prey upon people, whom they either

steal, or force away from the *Usheryes* in *Peri-agois*, to sacrifice to their Idols.

The *Ushery* women delight much in feather ornaments, of which they have great variety; but Peacocks in most esteem, because rare in those parts. They are reasonably handsome, and have more of civility in their carriage than I observed in the other Nations with whom I conversed; which is the reason the men are more effeminate and lazie.

These miserable wretches are strangely infatuated with illusions of the devil; it caused no small horror in me to see one of them writh his neck all on one side, foam at the mouth, stand barefoot upon burning coals for near an hour, and then recovering his senses, leap out of the fire without hurt, or signe of any. This I was an eye-witneff of.

The water of *Ushery* Lake seemed to my taste a little brackish, which I rather impute to some Mineral waters which flow into it, then to any saltneff it can take from the Sea, which we may reasonably suppose is a great way from it. Many pleasant Rivulets fall into it, and it is stored with great plenty of excellent fish. I judged it to be about ten leagues broad; for were not the other shore very high, it could not be discerned from *Ushery*. How far this Lake tends Westerly, or where it ends, I could neither learn or guess.

include this
 Very high flood
 on the river

Here I made a day's stay, to inform myself further in these Countries; and understood both from the *Usheries*, and some *Sara* Indians that came to trade with them, that two days journey and a half from hence to the Southwest, a powerful Nation of Bearded men were seated, which I suppose to be the Spaniards, because the Indians never have any; it being a universal custom amongst them to prevent their growth, by plucking the young hair out by the roots. Westward lies a Government inhospitable of strangers, and to the North, over the *Suala* mountains lay the *Rickohockans*. I thought it not safe to venture myself amongst the Spaniards, lest taking me for a spy they would either make me away, or condemn me to a perpetual slavery in their Mines. Therefore not thinking fit to proceed further, the eight and twentieth of *June* I faced about and looked homeward.

To avoid *Wisacky* Marsh I shaped my course Northeast, and after three days travel over hilly ways, where I met with no path or road, I fell into a barren Sandy desert, where I suffered miserably for want of water; the heat of the Summer having drunk all the Springs dry, and left no signe of any, but the gravelly chanel in which they run; so that if now and then I had not found a standing Pool, which provident Nature set round with shady Oaks, to defend it from the ardour of the sun, my Indian compan-

ion, horse and self had certainly perished with thirst. In this distress we travelled till the twelfth of *July* and then found the head of a River, which afterward proved *Eruco*; in which we received not only the comfort of a necessary and seasonable refreshment, but likewise the hopes of coming into a country again where we might find Game for food at least, if not discover some new Nation or people. Nor did our hopes fail us; for after we had crossed the River twice, we were led by it upon the fourteenth of *July* to the Town of *Katearas*, a place of great Indian Trade and Commerce, and chief seat of the haughty Emperour of the *Toskiroros*, called *Raskufara*, vulgarly *Raskous*. His grim Majesty, upon my first appearance, demanded my Gun and Shot, which I willingly parted with to ransom myself out of his clutches; for he was the most proud imperious Barbarian that I met with in all my Marches. The people here at this time seemed prepared for some extraordinary Solemnity; for the men and the women of better sort had decked themselves very fine with pieces of bright copper in their hair and ears, and about their arms and neck, which upon Festival occasions they use as an extraordinary bravery, by which it should seem this Country is not without rich Mines of Copper. But I durst not stay to inform myself further in it, being jealous of some sudden mischief to-

wards me from *Kaskous*, his nature being bloody, and provoked upon any flight occasion.

Therefore leaving *Katearas*, I travelled through the Woods until the sixteenth, upon which I came to *Kawitziokan*, an Indian town upon a branch of *Rorenoke* river, which here I passed over, continuing my journey to *Menchærinck*, and on the seventeenth departing from thence I lay all night in the Woods, and the next morning, betimes, going by *Natoway*, I reached that evening *Apamatuck* in *Virginia*, where I was not a little overjoyed to see Christian faces again.



The Third and Last Expedition,

From the Falls of *Rappahanock* River in *Virginia*, (due West) to the top of the *Apalataen* Mountains.

ON the twentieth of *August*, 1670, Col. *Catlet*, of *Virginia* and myself, with nine English Horfe, and five Indians on foot, departed from the house of one *Robert Talifer*, and that night reached the falls of *Rappahanock* river, in Indian *Mantepeuck*:

The next day we passed it over where it divides into two branches North and South, keeping the main branch North of us.

The three and twentieth we found it so shallow, that it onely wet our horses hoofs.

The four and twentieth we travelled thorow the *Savane* amongst vast herds of Red and Fallow Deer which stood gazing at us; and a little after we came to the promontories or Spurs of the *Apalataen* Mountains.

These *Savannæ* are low grounds at the foot of the *Apalataens*, which all the Winter, Spring, and part of Summer, lie under snow or water, when the snow is dissolved, which falls down from the Mountains commonly about the beginning of *June*; and then their verdure is wonderful pleasant to the eye, especially of such as having travelled through the shade of the vast Forest, come out of a melancholy darkness of a sudden, into a clear and open sky.

To heighten the beauty of these parts the first Springs of most of those great Rivers which run into the *Atlantick* ocean, or *Chesapeake* Bay, do here break out, and in various branches interlace the flowery Meads, whose luxurious herbage invites numerous herds of Red Deer (for their unusual largeness improperly termed Elks by ignorant people) to feed. The right Elk, though very common in *New Scotland*, *Canada*, and those Northern parts, is never seen on this side of the Continent; for that which the *Virginians* call Elks, does not at all differ from the Red Deer of *Europe*, but in his dimensions, which are far greater; but yet the Elk in bigness does not far exceed them; their heads or horns are not very different; but the neck of the Elk is so short that it hardly separates the head from the shoulders; which is the reason that they cannot feed upon level ground but by falling on their knees, though their heads be a yard long;

therefore they commonly either brouse upon trees, or standing up to the belly in ponds or rivers feed upon the banks; their Cingles or tails are hardly three inches long. I have been told by a *New England* gentleman that the lips and nostrils of this creature is the most delicious meat he ever tasted. As for the Red Deer we here treat of, I cannot difference the taste of their flesh from those in *Europe*.

The sixth and twentieth of *August* we came to the Mountains, where finding no horse-way up, we alighted, and left our horses with two or three Indians below, whilst we went up afoot. The ascent was so steep, the cold so intense, and we so tired, that having with much ado gained the top of one of the highest, we drank the King's health in Brandy, gave the Mountain his name, and agreed to return back again, having no encouragement from that prospect to proceed to a further discovery; since from hence we saw another Mountain, bearing North and by West to us, of a prodigious height; for according to an observation of the distance taken by Col. *Catlet*, it could not be less than fifty leagues from the place we stood upon.

Here was I stung in my sleep by a Mountain spider; and had not an Indian sucked out the poyson I had died, for receiving the hurt at the tip of one of my fingers, the venome shot up immediately into my shoulder, and so inflamed my

side that it is not possible to express my torment. The means used by my physician, was first a small dose of snake-root powder, which I took in a little water; and then making a kinde of Plaister of the same, applied it neer to the part affected; when he had done so, he swallowed some by way of Antidote himself, and sucked my finger's end so violently that I felt the venome retire back from my side into my shoulder, and from thence down my arm; having thus sucked half a score of times, and spit as often. I was eased of all my pain, and perfectly recovered. I thought I had been bit by a Rattlesnake, for I saw not what hurt me; but the Indian found by the wound, and the effects of it, that it was given by a spider, one of which he shewed me the next day; it is not unlike our great blue spider, only it is somewhat longer. I suppose the nature of his poysen to be much like that of the *tarentula*.

I being thus beyond my hopes and expectation restored to myself, we unanimously agreed to return back, seeing no possibility of passing through the Mountains, and finding our Indians with our horses in the place where we left them, we rode homeward without making any further discovery.

Conjectures of the Land Beyond the Apalataen Mountains.

They are certainly in a great error, who imagine that the Continent of *North America* is but eight or ten days journey over from the *Atlantick* to the *Indian Ocean*, which all reasonable men must acknowledge, if they consider that *Sir Francis Drake* kept a West Northwest course from *Cape Mendocino* to *California*. Nevertheless, by what I gathered from the stranger Indians at *Akenatzy* of their Voyage by Sea to the very mountains from a far distant Northwest Country, I am brought over to their opinion who think that the *Indian Ocean* does stretch an Arm or Bay from *California* into the Continent as far as the *Apalataen Mountains*, answerable to the Gulfs of *Florida* and *Mexico* on this side. Yet I am far from believing with some that such great and Navigable Rivers are to be found on the other side the *Apalataens* falling into the *Indian Ocean*, as those which run from them to the Eastward. My first reason is derived from the knowledge and experience we already have of *South America*, whose *Andes* send the greatest Rivers in the world (as the *Amazones* and *Rio de la Plata*, &c.,) into the *Atlantick*, but none at all into the *Pacifique Sea*. Another argument

is that all our water-fowl which delight in Lakes and Rivers, as Swans, Geefe, Ducks, &c., come over the Mountains from the Lake of *Canada*, when it is frozen over every winter, to our fresh Rivers which they would never do, could they finde any on the other side of the *Apalataens*.

Instructions to such as shall march upon Discoveries into the North *American* Continent.

TWO breaches there are in the *Apalataen* Mountains, opening a passage into the Western parts of the Continent. One, as I am informed by Indians, at a place called *Zynodoa*, to the Norward; the other at *Sara*, where I have been myself, but the way thither being thorow a vast Forest, where you seldom fall into any Road or Path, you must shape your course by a Compass; though some, for want of one, have taken their direction from the North side of the trees which is distinguished from the rest by quantities of thick moss growing there. You will not meet with many hindrances on horseback in your passage to the Mountains, but where your course is interrupted by branches of the great Rivers, which in many places are not Fordable; and therefore if you be unprovided of means or strength to make a bridge by felling trees across, you may be forced to go a great

way about; in this respect company is necessary, but in others so inconvenient that I would not advise above half a dozen, or ten at the most, to travel together; and of these the major part Indians; for the Nations in your way are prone to jealousy and mischief towards Christians in a considerable Body, and as courteous and hearty to a few, from whom they apprehend no danger.

When you pass thorough an even, level country, where you can take no particular remarks from hill or waters to guide yourself by when you come back, you must not forget to notch the trees as you go along with your small hatchet, that in your return you may know when you fall into the same way which you went. By this means you will be certain of the place you are in, and may govern your course homeward accordingly,

In stead of Bread I used the meal of parched *Mayz*, i. e. Indian Wheat, which when I eat, I seasoned with a little Salt. This is both more portable and strengthening than Biscuit, and will suffer no mouldiness by any weather. For other provisions you may securely trust to your Gun, the Woods being full of Fallow, and *Savane* of Red Deer, besides great variety of excellent Fowl, as wild Turkeys, Pigeons, Partridges, Pheasants, &c. But you must not forget to dry or barbecue some of these before you come to the

Mountains, for upon them you will meet with no Game, except a few Bears.

Such as cannot lie on the ground, must be provided with light Hamacks, which hung in the trees, are more cool and pleafant then any bed whatfoever.

The Order and Discipline to be observed in this Expedition is, that an Indian scout or two march as far before the rest of the company as they can in fight, both for the finding out provision and discovery of Ambushes if any should be laid by Enemies. Let your other Indians keep on the right and left hand, armed not onely with Guns, but Bills and Hatchets, to build small Arbours or Cottages of boughs and bark of trees to shelter and defend you from the injuries of the weather. At nights it is necessary to make great Fires round about the place where you take up your lodging, as well to scare Wilde Beasts away as to purifie the air. Neither must you fail to go the Round at the close of the evening, for then and betimes in the morning, the Indians put all their designs in execution; in the night they never attempt anything.

When in the remote parts you draw near to an Indian Town you must by your scouts inform yourself whether they hold any correspondence with the *Sasquesahanaughs*; for to such you must give notice of your approach by a Gun;

which amongst other Indians is to be avoided, because being ignorant of their use, it would affright and dispose them to some treacherous practice against you.

Being arrived at a Town, enter no house until you are invited, and then seem not afraid to be led in pinion'd like a prisoner; for that is a Ceremony they use to friends and enemies without distinction.

You must accept of an invitation from the Seniors before that of young men, and refuse nothing that is offered or set afore you, for they are very jealous and sensible of the least slighting or neglect from strangers, and mindful of Revenge.

Touching Trade with Indians.

IF you barely designe a Home Trade with neighbour Indians, for skins of Deer, Beaver, Otter, Wild Cat, Fox, Racoon, &c., your best truck is a sort of course Trading Cloth, of which a yard and a half makes a matchcoat or Mantle fit for their wear; as also Axes, Hoes, Knives, Sizars, and all sorts of edg'd tools, Guns, Powder and Shot, &c., are Commodities they will greedily barter for; but to supply the Indians with Arms and Ammunition is prohibited in all English Governments.

In dealing with the Indians you must be positive and at a word; for if they persuade you to fall anything in your price they will spend time in higgling for further abatements, and seldom conclude any Bargain. Sometimes you may with Brandy or Strong liquor dispose them to an humour of giving you ten times the value of your Commodities; and at other times they are so hide bound that they will not offer half the Market price, especially if they be aware that you have a designe to circumvent them with drink, or that they think you have a desire to

their goods, which you must seem to slight or disparage.

[To the remoter Indians you must carry other kind of truck, as small looking glaffes, Pictures, Beads and Bracelets of glaff, Knives, Sizars, and all manner of gaudy toys and knacks for children, which are light and portable. For they are apt to admire such trinkets, and will purchase them at any rate, either with their current Coyne of small shells, which they call *Roan-oack* or *Peack*, or perhaps with Pearl, Vermilion, pieces of Chrystal, and towards *Ushery*, with some odd pieces of Plate or Buillon, which they sometimes receive in Truck from the *Oestacks*.]

Could I have foreseen when I set out the advantages to be made by a Trade with these remote Indians I had gone better provided; though perhaps I might have run a great hazard of my life had I purchased considerably amongst them, by carrying wealth unguarded through so many different Nations of barbarous people; therefore it is vain for any man to propose to himself or undertake a trade at that distance, unless he goes with strength to defend as well as an Adventure to purchase such commodities; for in such a designe many ought to joyn and go in company.

Some pieces of silver unwrought I purchased myself of the *Usheries*, for no other end then to justify this account I give of my Second Expe-

From Virginia through the Carolinas. 47

dition, which had not determined at *Ushery*, were I accompanied with half a score resolute youths that would have stuck to me in a further discovery towards the Spanish Mines.

FINIS.



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