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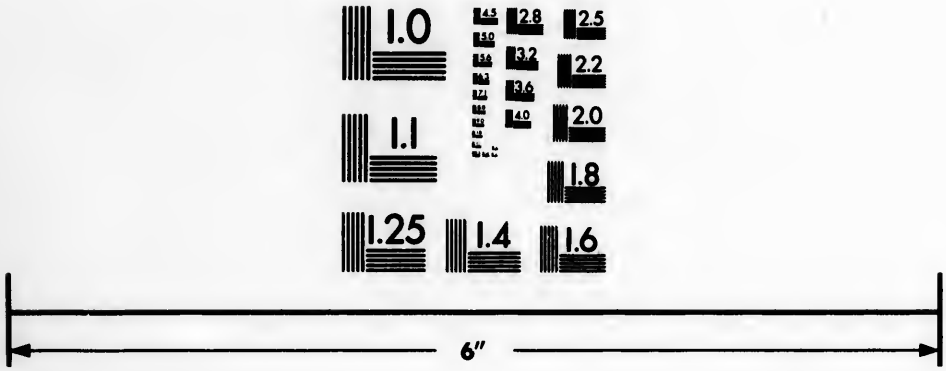

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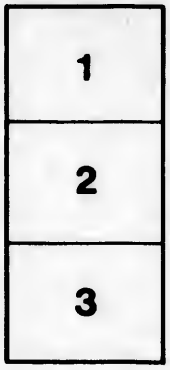

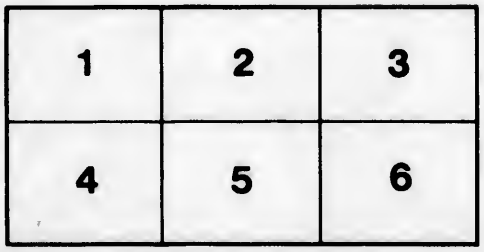

FRONTISPIECE.

THE SPECTRE OF THE CAPE.

N. Pocock del.^t^ T. Medland sculp.

TO LAVINIA COUNTESS SPENCER,

THIS PLATE, WHICH REPRESENTS THE DARING ENTERPRISE OF DA GAMA,

TO LAVINIA COUNTESS SPENCER,

THIS PLATE, WHICH REPRESENTS THE DARING ENTERPRISE OF DA GAMA,

THE

PROGRESS

OF

MARITIME DISCOVERY,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO

THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,

FORMING

An Extensive System of Hydrography.

BY

JAMES STANIER CLARKE, F.R.S.

DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

"Cessem do sabio Grego, e do Troyano
As Navegaçoens grandes, que sizerão;
Callese de Alexandre, e de Trajano
A fama das victorias, que tiverão:
Que eu canto o peito illustre Lusitano,
A quem Neptuno, e Marte obedecerão;
Cesse tudo o que a Musa antiga canta,
Que outro valor mais alto se levanta."

CAMOENS, Os Lusiadas, Cant. I. iii.

London:

Printed by A. Strahan, Printers Street,

FOR T. CADELL, AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

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TO

THE PRINCE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS.

THE Favours with which you have condescended, SIR, to honour me, demand this public acknowledgment of my gratitude, and first induced me to request permission to express that gratitude, by dedicating this Volume to your ROYAL HIGHNESS.

YET I had also, SIR, other reasons for thus presuming to draw your attention towards the present Work. With the rest of my countrymen I not only regarded you as the PRINCE of THE BRITISH ISLES, but as the Heir Apparent of a Monarch, during whose Reign the progress of Maritime Discovery has been extended to the most distant regions, and the commercial interests of the United Kingdom have been pro-

34953

portionably augmented. In your Royal Brother, WILLIAM HENRY DUKE OF CLARENCE, the World has beheld the noble example of a PRINCE, ſubmitting to the Spartan diſcipline of the Britiſh Navy, and aſcending by due gradation to the diſtinguiſhed rank of ADMIRAL.

THE Naval Profeſſion, thus highly honoured, was ſtill, SIR, further upheld by your own conduct. It is the peculiar privilege of Royalty to ſelect its friends from every rank, to raiſe unobtruſive Merit from obſcurity, and to confirm the path of hereditary Honour. With this extenſive range to chooſe from, you ſelected as the firſt, and moſt confidential of your Friends, two NAVAL OFFICERS: the Worth and profeſſional Merit of Lord Hugh Seymour juſtified your choice; whilſt the Independence and Sincerity of Admiral Payne, have ſhewn what is the nobleſt, as well as the moſt ſucceſsful conduct to obtain the confidence of a PRINCE.

THAT plainneſs of Manners, which your ROYAL HIGHNESS admired in theſe Characters, you have ſeduloufly encouraged in Society. By your Example, SIR, you have relieved exalted Rank from unmeaning Pomp, and cumbrous Statelineſs, and by the eaſe of your demeanour, have rendered the deportment of our Nobility more conciliating.

Thus the liberality of your mind hath diffuſed the elements of Courteſy throughout the different ranks of Society, and given additional attractions to the noble character of an ENGLISHMAN.

IN this view, SIR, the preſent Volume, containing the commencement, and completion, of that arduous Maritime Deſign which originated with the PRINCE OF PORTUGAL, the renowned offſpring of Philippa of Lancaſter, grand-daughter to Edward the third, has a claim to your attention; and more particularly ſo when it is recollected, that the Son of this Monarch, whoſe military attainments you need only Occaſion to emulate, firſt wore the Inſigne of your Princedom on the FIELD OF CRESSY.

I have the Honour, SIR, to profeſs myſelf

With ſentiments of grateful attachment,

And wiſhes for your happineſs,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS' obliged and dutiful ſervant

JAMES STANIER CLARKE.

DEDICATION.

Thus the Liberality of your mind has defended the cause of truth against the opinions of the vulgar and of Society, and given additional attributes to the noble character of an HONEST MAN.

In the view, then, the author of Tabacco, conducting his commercial, and consequently, in the language of Sterne, Dolphin which engaged with the Leviathan of Barbarism, the rescued captives of Indians or Europeans, consecrated to Liberty and the Fatherland, has a claim to your attention, and most particularly to whom it is addressed, the son of this Mahomed, whose political opinions you so strongly desired to emulate, but were the Religious of your Friends on the Barbary Coast.

I have the Honour, Sir, to be,

With Sentiments of grateful acknowledgment,

And, wishes for your happiness,

Your Royal Highness's obliged and dutiful humble servant,

JOHN CLAMER GARRICK.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE Introduction *to this Volume will be found to contain a progressive Memoir of Maritime Discoveries by the* Cuthites, *and* Phenicians, *the* Greeks, Carthaginians, *and* Romans. *The* Work *itself, after some illustrations of Commercial history, in which, among other subjects, the doubtful progress of the Norman Mariners is glanced at, proceeds to review the early periods of* Portuguese History *prior to the fifteenth century; an account is then given of their most distinguished writers on* Portuguese Asia *and* America; *and the history of their Discoveries follows, from the reign of* JOHN *the first in* 1385, *to the arrival of da Gama in* 1498 *on the coast of Malabar; which completes the first great division of my labours. In the* Appendix *are many curious and scarce Tracts respecting Navigation, which are intended to elucidate the preceding pages.*

But the reader may be curious to know, why the present Work was undertaken, and with what authority an obscure Individual like myself, has ventured to embark on so perilous a voyage.

A general idea of the Plan may have been formed from the Prospectus *already circulated. It informed the public that the Outline was projected under the auspices, and with the approbation, of Earl* SPENCER, *who presided at the board of Admiralty; but I did not then mention another Patron by whom the arrangement of the whole was formed, that zealous Mariner Admiral John Willett Payne:*

Tuque ades, inceptumque unà decurre laborem,
O decus, O famæ meritò pars maxuma nostræ,
*MÆCENAS! pelagoque volans da vela * patenti.*

Under

* Georg. lib. II. 39.

Under this eminent Officer my attention was first directed to Naval Literature. His ardent mind pointed out whatever of novelty, or of utility, had hitherto been neglected; and whilst his genius cast new light on the desiderata thus presented, his Conversation cheered my fatigue, and his Enthusiasm prolonged my industry.

On my return from a Cruise in the Impetueux, *my first* * *efforts were submitted to the Press, and favourably received. When I contemplated the next object that offered, I trembled at its magnitude: my professional duties were increased; and I felt that I not only wanted the ability, but the leisure, requisite to complete an undertaking so great, as the progress of Maritime Discovery from the earliest Period to the close of the eighteenth Century. Whilst I hesitated, the importunity of Friendship increased, and at length prevailed. It repeatedly urged, that a Complete System of Hydrography was wanted by the literary world, and particularly by naval men; that it would prove an essential service to future Navigators to have the principal Discoveries of their predecessors connected and arranged; that a perusal of the numerous works relative to this subject demanded rather the leisure of a Recluse, than the agitated and interrupted day, which the Mariner constantly experiences.*

The Labour which Friendship thus urged me to attempt, has been greatly lessened by the suggestions and remarks, among many others, of the following Gentlemen. To my good friend Mr. Nicholas Pocock; *to my brother* Captain George Clarke, Captain Francis Mason, *and* Lieutenant Gourly of the Royal Navy; *to* Captain Burgess *of the East India Service; to* Mr. Bailey, *Master of the Royal Academy at Portsmouth; and* Mr. Whidbey, *for whose acquaintance, and for many valuable hints, I am indebted to* Captain W. Tremenheere *of the Royal Marines; my first thanks are deservedly due. From the Reverend* Mr. Bowles, *and from* Mr. Selwyn, *I have experienced attention, though only known to them by the courtesy of literature. From* Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, *Bart. from the Reverend* Samuel Henley, *the Reverend* Mr. Maurice *of the Museum, the Reverend* Mr. Greatheed, *and from Mr.* Pollard

* Sermons on the Character and Professional Duties of Mariners; with the *first, second,* and *third* Volumes of the Naval Chronicle.

Pollard *the learned friend of the late Sir William Jones, I have received that assistance which cheers and alleviates fatigue. The skill and experience of* Mr. Arrowsmith, *as well as his numerous MSS. have been always generously contributed; nor shall I on this occasion omit to acknowledge the great assistance I have invariably obtained, from the liberality and bibliographic information of that truly respectable and honest bookseller,* Mr. Thomas Payne.

An explanatory Catalogue of Collections of Voyages, *and other geographical works of repute, is given by* Mr. Locke *in the* * *Appendix; many of them are now become extremely rare, and can only be purchased with difficulty at a great advance on their original price: but to* Mr. Locke's *Catalogue considerable additions may be made, which will be inserted in the course of the present work. It is at present sufficient to consider the Volumes that are styled* COLLECTIONS.

1. SIMON GRYNORUS, the son of a peasant of *Swabia*, and the friend of *Luther*, of *Melanchon*, and *Erasmus*, published the first Collection of Voyages, in Latin, at *Basil*, one volume folio, 600 pages. (See Appendix, p. 202.) An Edition was printed at *Paris* in 1532, another at *Basil* in 1537, and a third in 1555. There also was an edition at *Germ. Strasb.* in folio 1534, and one at *Belg. Antr.* in 1563. This Collection contained the Voyages of CADA MOSTO, COLUMBUS, PEDRO ALONZO, PINZON, and VESPUTIUS. *Grynaus* visited England in 1531, and died at *Basil* in 1541.

2. PETER MARTYR, born at *Anghiera* in the *Milanese*, 1455, published in 1502 at *Basil* his three *Decades de Rebus Oceanis et Novo Orbe. Folio.*—An edition afterwards appeared in 1530, 1533, and one in *Quarto*, 1587, entitled *De Navigatione et Terris de novo repertis.* The following Copies among others are in the *British Museum.* (1) *De Insulis nuper inventis, Complut.* 1532. *Folio. Rotterdam*, 1616, 8vo. (2) *De Rebus Oceanis, Col.* 1574, 8vo. An abridgement of these *Decades* is given at the beginning of *Ramusio's* third Volume. Like him, MARTYR was soon famous for his diplomatique Talents. *Ferdinand the fifth*, of Arragon, entrusted him with the education of his children, and afterwards sent him as ambassador, first to *Venice*, and then to *Egypt*. He died in 1525 at the age of seventy. *Campbell* in a note to *Harris's Collection* observes, that *Peter Martyr's* account of *Magalhaen's* Voyage was burnt, in the sack of Rome by the *Constable de Bourbon.*

3. ALEXANDER GERALDINUS composed, what he termed, *Itinerarium ad Regiones sub Æquinoctiali plaga constitutas, anno* 1520. *Complectens Antiquitates et ritus populorum Æthiopiæ, Africæ*

* APPENDIX, p. 171

Africa, Atlantici Oceani, et Indicarum regionum. This work however did not appear until 1631, when it was edited at *Rome* in an octavo volume, by his grandson *Onuphrius Geraldinus.*

4. RAMUSIO, or RANNUSIO, published his RACCOLTA DELLE NAVIGATIONI, ET VIAGGI, IN TRE VOLUMI DIVISE, at the repeated solicitations of several learned men, particularly the celebrated SIGNOR HIERONIMO * FRACASTORO, to whom the first Volume is dedicated. *Ramusio* there observes, "The reasons which more particularly induced me to print this RACCOLTA, were, the defects I had remarked in the Maps of *Ptolemy* respecting *India*, and *Africa.* I therefore imagined it would prove an acceptable service to the world, if I collected the best accounts of those Countries that have been given us by modern writers; to which, if some notice of the *Portuguese* Charts was subjoined, it would then be an easy task to make such improved maps, as would form a most valuable acquisition to nautical men; since they would then be certain of having the longitude and latitude, at least of the Coasts of the above countries, correctly marked.—The best editions of the RACCOLTA, and its contents, are given in the Appendix, (page 173.) The principal editions are *Venice* 1583, 1584, 1588, 1606, 1613. There are two sets of *Ramusio* in the British Museum 1565, 83, 88. and 1583, 1606, 13. In the same library is an English translation of *Ramusio* by JOHN FLAVIO, 4to. Lond. 1580. As no memoir of this learned foreigner has yet appeared in our language, the following † Sketch is given from *Tiraboschi.* (Tom. 7. page 246. 8vo.) The family of RAMUSIO ranked among the Venetian *bourgeoisie* in the 15th century, and had previously distinguished itself in Literature, before the appearance of BATTISTA. *Jerome Ramusio* was celebrated not only for his skill as a physician, but for his knowledge of Arabic: his Brother PAULO, after practising at the Bar, became supreme magistrate at *Verona*, and is extolled, as a man of the most profound learning and the strictest integrity, in a letter from GIOVITA RAPICIO to the younger *Paulo.*—GIO. BATTISTA, son to this respectable magistrate, was born in 1485, and probably at *Verona:* when yet young he was sent on an embassy to France, and afterwards to Switzerland, and Rome, and executed his respective duties in each with credit. In France he so much distinguished himself, that according to *Paulo Manutius* in a dedication of Cæsar's Commentaries to *Ramusio*'s son the younger *Paulo*, his father had been requested by Louis XII. to travel through the interior of his kingdom, and report his observations. As a reward for his valuable services to the republic of *Venice*, BATTISTA was afterwards appointed Secretary to the Council of Ten; and on retiring from this honourable post, as we learn from a letter of *Jerome Negri*'s, RAMUSIO took up his residence at *Padua.*

The

* See chap. 2. § 2. page 310. The curious reader will find the literary works of this celebrated Italian in the *British Museum*, and his life, in Mr. Creswell's Memoirs of celebrated Characters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

† For this, and other literary assistance, I am indebted to an Italian scholar, *Signor Damiani* of Naples.

The Maritime Discoveries in Eastern and Western India, were at that period the principal subject of conversation among the learned and polite societies at *Padua*. RAMUSIO yielding to the desire of his friends, and the prevailing taste of the age, undertook his RACOLTA; but I am unable to ascertain the exact date of its first publication. Previous to his death on the tenth of July 1557, at the age of seventy-two, he had prepared a fourth Volume for the press; which was accidentally destroyed in the succeeding month of November, by fire in the printing house of the *Giunti*. In the course of his Work RAMUSIO derived great assistance, from the correspondence he preserved with the most learned characters of the age; among whom were ANDREW NAVAGERO, and BALTHASSAR CASTIGLIONE, whilst they resided in Spain; GONZALO FERNANDO, the historian of Charles the fifth; SEBASTIAN CABOT, and *Signor* FRACASTORO. In the first, and second Volume, *Thomaso Giunti* pays a deserved tribute to the abilites of his countryman, and particularly dwells on his literary merit. Owing to the important duties of his station as secretary, *Ramusio* was often obliged to take those hours from his rest that were dedicated to Maritime Researches. *Giunti* laments, with much reason, the total loss of the works which *Ramusio*, previous to his death, had projected; and also regrets that the Antartick Discoveries had not been more advanced in the life time of so experienced a geographer. The second Volume we are informed was originally published after the third, as the MSS. of that part of the work were earlier arranged. *Colomesius* was of opinion that the MS. copies of *Ramusio* contained more than the printed *Raccolta*.

Prefixed to the *third Volume* is a Dissertation addressed by *Ramusio* to his friend *Fracastoro* on the celebrated passage in Plato's *Timæus* respecting the Island ATLANTIS. This Dissertation is dated Venice, June 20. 1553. *Ramusio* commends the great learning of *Olaus Magnus*, archbishop of Upsal; and, taking a review of Maritime Discovery from the time of *Columbus*, notices the Astronomical acquirements of the *Spanish* Navigators. He then concludes with the following passage: "As your Excellency requested, that I should draw, after the manner of *Ptolemy*, four or five Maps of these discoveries, and avail myself of the Observations communicated to you by *Gonçalo Oviedo*, the imperial historian; I have also engaged *Messer Jacomo de' Gastaldi*, an excellent geographer to reduce them; and they are now drawn upon a smaller scale on four sheets."—We are besides informed, that any Captain or Pilot, who arrived from the newly discovered Countries, always sent their Journals to FRACASTORO; as did also some learned Frenchmen their MSS. from *Paris*, relating to the discovery of *Nuova Francia*. This *third Volume* is full of curious maritime Tracts, particularly those inserted at the end, respecting the discovery of *Nuova Francia* in *North America*, which *Ramusio* is inclined to think was first discovered by GASPAR CORTERSALE a *Portuguese*, in 1500. *Ramusio* enters into the natural history of those Seas, and gives some engravings of the marine animals.

These Dissertations are accompanied by Views, and Maps, among which is given one of the earliest of *North* and *South America*; and an excellent map, for that age, of *Western Africa*, in which *Cabo Verde* is accurately laid down as the most Western point of land.

5. A COLLECTION was publiſhed at *Venice* in 8vo. 1543, entitled, *Viaggi fatti da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Perſia, in India, et in Conſtantinopoli; cio e Viaggio di Joſaphat Barbaro, di Ambroſio Contarini, et di M. Aluvigi di Giovanni in India et in Calecut*, &c. This was reprinted in 1545.

6. The valuable black letter Collection by the REVEREND RICHARD HAKLUYT, the learned ſtudent of Chriſtchurch Oxford, was firſt printed by *George Biſhop*, and *Ralph Newberie*, the Queen's Printers in 1589. It originally conſiſted of one Volume, divided into three parts. 1. Travels of the Engliſh into the *Eaſt*, and alſo into *Africa*. 2. Northern diſcoveries of the Engliſh. 3. American diſcoveries by the Engliſh, to which is added, *The laſt moſt renowned Engliſh Navigation by Maſter Thomas Candiſhe, made round about the globe in the ſpace of two yeeres, begun in* 1586. This Edition is dedicated to the *Right-Honourable Sir Francis Walſingham*; in which the author obſerves, that his firſt turn for Naval Literature, proceeded from the peruſal of ſome geographical books, which he had acceſs to, when a boy at Weſtminſter School, in the library of his relation *Mr. Richard Hakluyt* of the Middle Temple. A Map of the World is prefixed: the Volume contains 825 pages, and a moſt excellent index is ſubjoined. This however was not his firſt publication, which conſiſted of a ſmaller Collection of Voyages printed in 1582, and dedicated to *Sir Philip Sidney*. A ſecond edition of *Hakluyt's Collection* appeared in two volumes by the ſame printers in 1599. The firſt of which is dedicated *To my ſingular good Lord the Lord Charles Howard, Erle of Nottingham*, brother-in-law to *Sir Edward Stafford*; this dedication is dated Oct. 7. 1598, and ſeems to promiſe the publication of the ſecond and third Volumes in the next ſpring: however the date of 1509, as above, is in the title page of both the firſt, and alſo of the ſecond Volume, which is dedicated to *Sir Robert Cecil* Knight. The third Volume did not appear until 1600, and was alſo dedicated to *Sir Robert Cecil*. During *Hakluyt*'s reſidence in Paris 1584—1588, where he accompanied our ambaſſador Sir Edward Stafford, he publiſhed a new edition of Peter Martyr's *Novus Orbis*, illuſtrated with notes, and a copious Index, and dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh; and afterwards, in conjunction with a *Mr. Lock*, tranſlated the ſame into Engliſh. *Hakluyt* alſo publiſhed Galvano's Diſſertation, as inſerted in the *Appendix* to this Volume. This zealous Geographer firſt introduced Maps, and Globes, into the ſchools of Oxford, where he began a *Lecture on Navigation*, which was greatly approved of by *Sir Francis Drake*. To increaſe the value of his Collection, *Hakluyt*, like *Ramuſio*, opened a correſpondence with ſome of the moſt ſcientific perſons in Europe; among whom were *Ortelius* Coſmographer to the King of Spain, and *Mercator*. So great was the ſkill and information of our author on every ſubject relative to Maritime Diſcovery, that Secretary *Walſingham* ſent him an official letter of thanks; for the manner in which he had promoted the Diſcovery of the Weſtern parts of the World, by pointing out to the merchants of *Briſtol*, in what manner the expedition then fitting out for *Newfoundland*, ought to be arranged. The acquaintance which *Hakluyt* poſſeſſed with Naval Men was very extenſive; and ſo much did they conſider that the intereſts of Navigation and Commerce were promoted by his labours, that Captain *W. Hudſon* called a promontory in *Greenland*, lying in 80 degrees,

north, HAKLUYT'S HEADLAND; and in the same year during a voyage to *Pekora* in *Russia*, a River which they discovered, received a similar appellation. *Drayton* paid a compliment to the merit of *Hakluyt*'s Collection in an ode on the *Virginian Voyage*. This learned writer died on the 23d of November 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. (*For the contents of this Collection, see Appendix, page* 193.) The following Works of Hakluyt are in the British Museum. 1. *Voyages*. Lond. 1589. *Folio*. 2. *Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Lond. 1598. *Folio*. 3. *History of the West Indies*. *Lond*. 8vo. 4. *History of the Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida, London* 1611. 4to.

7. The INDIA ORIENTALIS ET OCCIDENTALIS of DE BRY and MERIAN, commonly styled by the French LE COLLECTION DE GRANDES ET DES PETITS VOYAGES, is contained when complete in seven folio volumes, printed at *Frankfort* 1590 *et ann. seqq. ed annum* 1634. The *First Division* consists of Voyages to *America* and the *West Indies* in thirteen parts; the *Second* of Voyages to the Western and Eastern Coasts of *Africa*, and to the *East Indies*, in twelve Parts. (See *Appendix*, page 172, and *de Bure's Bibliographe Instructive*, tom. 5. p. 67. whose description of this rare Collection takes up 120 pages.) The finest Copy of *De Bry* is probably that in the possession of Mr. White in Fleet Street. This Collection, when complete, has sold for as much as three hundred guineas. Mr. White's copy includes seven volumes of scarce Voyages, the original editions of some of the works noticed by *De Bry*. The Collection itself consists of the *West Indies* in seven folio volumes, thirteen parts; and the remainder, relative to the *East Indies*, is in six volumes of a smaller folio, in twelve parts. The whole is elegantly bound in blue Morrocco, and in fine preservation.

8. CLAUDE BARTHELEMI MORISOT, born at *Dijon* in 1592, published in folio during the year 1643, his *Orbis Maritimus, sive rerum in Mare, et Littoribus gestarum Generalis Historia*. This Collection is fraught with much hydrographical information. *Morisot* died at *Dijon*, at the age of sixty-nine, in 1661.

9. The Reverend SAMUEL PURCHAS, being in possession of the unpublished MSS. of *Hakluyt*, which nearly amounted to a Volume, laid the plan of a more extensive Collection; but previous to this he published, what would now be termed, *A* GEOGRAPHICAL GRAMMAR, in folio, 1617, consisting of *Relations of the World, and the Religions observed in all Ages*: in which his great object was, as he informs us, to trace Relations of Foreign Countries to their first authors, that the authorities hitherto passed over might be preserved, and to epitomise extensive works often into one chapter. This Volume consists of 1102 pages, and is supplied with an excellent Index; it is dedicated to ABBOT Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he was Chaplain. From a passage in the Preface, it would seem that this was the third edition (*And now reader the pilgrime comes vnto thee the* third *time*.). The first appeared in 1613; and in a postscript PURCHAS mentions that the edition of 1617 was an improved one. He also alludes to the good reception this work had met with, and speaks with particular pleasure of his being established in London, by his promotion to the rectory of St. Martin's, Ludgate, which took place through the interest of his patron Dr. King, Bishop of London. *I joy to acknowledge with all thankefulnes that the relater hath beene collated*

vnto

onto this Watch Tower, where I may behold all the Kingdomes of the Earth, by the opportunities of bookes, conference and manifold intelligences in this Honourable City of London, by Honourable, learned, and Reverend Pastor thereof. These RELATIONS are divided into nine ooks; five of which are assigned to *Asia*; two to *Africa*; and the remainder to *America*. The numerous Catalogue of authors consulted precedes the first book.

Encouraged by the reception of his first publication, PURCHAS proceeded to continue his labours; and in 1624, or 1625, (for the dates vary in the engraved and printed titles) this learned divine, having engaged with a bookseller *Mr. Henry Fetherston* in St. Paul's Church-yard, published the four volumes of HAKLUYTUS POSTHUMUS, or PURCHAS his PILGRIMES, the first sheet of which appears, from the Preface, to have been put to press in August 1621. The *first Volume* is divided into five Books, and is dedicated to CHARLES PRINCE OF WALES. The *Second Volume* contains also five books, and is dedicated *To the most high and mightie Prince, George Duke, Marquesse, and Earle of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral of England, &c. &c. &c.*—The *Third Volume* forms a new division of the work, and consists, as before, of five books; it is dedicated to JOHN BISHOP OF LINCOLNE, *Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.* In this dedication PURCHAS passes a just encomium on St. John's College Cambridge, where he was educated. The *Fourth Volume* consists also of five books, and is particularly interesting. The dedication, like that of his first publication, is to Archbishop Abbot. (*For the contents see Appendix, p.* 194.) *Boissard* in his *Biblioth.* gives a very high character of Purchas. He also published, A Theatre of Political Flying Insects, which is in the *British Museum.*

10. BERGERON's choice Collection *principally of Asiatic Voyages and Travels from the 12th to the 15th century*, first appeared in 8vo. during the years 1630, and 1634, at *Paris*. It was afterwards reprinted at the *Hague* in two quarto volumes, 1735, and at *Leyden* 1742. Of Bergeron little is known; he is styled in the avertissement *Ecrivain du milieu du Siécle precedent, et Homme parfaitement entendu dans ces sortes de Compositions.* This Collection is rendered more valuable by *Bergeron*'s Treatise on Maritime Discoveries prefixed to the first volume; the abstract of the history of the Saracens and Mohammed in the second; and the learned Preface to *Marco's Polo's Voyages* by *Andre Muller Griesenhag.*

11. MELCHISEDEC THEVENOT, Librarian to the King of France, obtained considerable credit by his publication of *Relations de divers Voyages Curieux qui n'ont point esté publiées, et qu'on a traduit des Originaux des Voyageurs François, Espagnols, Allemands, Portugais, Anglois, Hollandois, Persans, Arabes et autres Orientaux.* This Work was first published in four folio parts; the first of which appeared at *Paris* in 1663, and the succeeding ones in 1664, 1666, and 1672. An octavo edition appeared in 1681, which is in the British Museum; and another considerably enlarged in two volumes, *Paris*, 1696. This Collection is enriched by the insertion of an ROUTIER, *pour la Navigation des Indes Orientales, par Aleixo da Motta, qui a navigé dans ces Mers l'Espace de 35 ans en qualité de Pilote Major des Caraques de Portugal, traduit d'un Manuscrit Portugais.* It is to be lamented

mented that *Thevenot* did not give the whole of this manuſcript, which he ſays in his preface would have too much delayed the publication of his work. His death prevented a more exact arrangement of the Collection, and in conſequence of this many Copies are defective. For the Contents, ſee De Bure, tom. 5. p. 188. and the APPENDIX, p. 175.

12. A good Collection was publiſhed at *Paris* in quarto, during the year 1674, entitled, *Recueil de divers Voyages faits en Afrique, et en Amerique, non encore publie, avec figures en taille douce.*

13. A Collection of Voyages is mentioned by *Du Freſnoy*, as being publiſhed in four volumes, folio, *London* 1674.

14. The *Il Genio Vagante*, in two volumes 12mo. by the CONTE AURELIO ANZY, appeared at *Parma* in 1691.

15. The firſt Collection of repute that occurs in the EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, was that by CHURCHILL in 1704; this when complete, with the two volumes of ſcarce Voyages printed from Lord Oxford's collection, the firſt of which appeared in 1732, amounts to eight volumes in folio, and bears an high price. A new edition appeared in 1732, and 1752.

16. HARRIS'S COLLECTION in two volumes folio, entitled NAVIGANTIUM ATQUE ITINERANTIUM BIBLIOTHECA, followed the above in 1705, and was conſidered as a rival publication. It has ſince been reprinted with conſiderable additions by the learned Dr. Campbell in 1744, 1748, 1764.

An Abridgement, principally of ſuch Voyages as relate to the Diſcovery of *America* and the *Weſt Indies*, was edited at *Paris* in 12mo. 1707, entitled, *Hiſtoire Univerſelle des Voyages faits par Mer et par Terre dans l'ancien et le Nouveau Monde, avec un Diſcours preliminaire ſur l'Utilité des Voyages.* This is given by *Du Freſnoy* to the ABBE BALLEGARDE. But in the Tranſlation of it into Engliſh, printed in octavo, London 1708, the original work is aſſigned to M. DU PERIER of the Royal Academy. One of the moſt intereſting paſſages in this Volume, is that, wherein he informs the reader, that *Jaques de Vitri* in the ſecond book of his *Oriental Hiſtory* affirms, that The Needle has been in uſe at ſea, ever ſince the year 1215.

17. The great Collection by the DUTCH entitled, REYSEN NA OOSTEN, WEST INDIEN, conſiſting of voyages by the navigators of that Country, was publiſhed in 29 octavo Volumes at *Leyden* by the *Sieur Vander Aa*, 1707—1710.

18. Previous to the above work a Collection of Voyages for the Eſtabliſhment of the *Dutch Eaſt India Company*, had been publiſhed at *Amſterdam* in five volumes 12mo. 1706; and a ſecond edition appeared in 1754.

19. The *Dutch Collection of Northern Voyages*, containing many valuable and ſcarce Memoirs relative to Navigation and Commerce, was printed in ſeven duodecimo volumes, *Amſterdam*, 1715, 1718, and 1720.

20. The learned Preſident M. DE BROSSE publiſhed in two quarto volumes at Paris 1756, his excellent HISTOIRE DES NAVIGATIONS AUX TERRES AUSTRALES; of this hiſtory *Mr. Dalrymple* has given the following opinion (*Preface*, p. 14.) "This Work muſt ever

be held in great esteem, by men solicitous after real knowledge, as there is no where to be found so curious an assemblage of instructing materials on this important subject, and very few Works of any kind where there is so exact an arrangement of matter: having said thus much, I must, at the same time, be allowed to explain myself, that my opinion differs in many points, from the ingenious author of that work." *De Brosse* died at Paris on the seventh of May, 1777. His work was translated by *Mr. Callandar*, under the title of *Terra Australis Cognita*, 3 vols. 8vo. *Edinburgh*, 1766.

21. A COLLECTION from *Les Lettres edifiantes*, and *Journals* of the *Missionary Jesuits*, was printed at *Paris*, during the year 1767, in four duodecimo volumes, entitled, MEMOIRES GEOGRAPHIQUES, PHYSIQUES, ET HISTORIQUE SUR L'ASIE, L'AFRIQUE, ET L'AMERIQUE, *&c.* Much curious Hydrographical information is contained in these Volumes; particularly in the *second*, which relates to the *Indian Ocean*, and in the fourth which is confined to *America*.

In all of these Collections the impartial reader will find much more to commend than to blame, and the collective mass of information is extremely valuable. Yet, whatever may have been the reason, almost every one of these publications was introduced to the public with some abuse of its predecessors; whereas each possesses its respective value and utility. If the palm can be yielded to any one writer in particular, it seems to have been merited by the modest and anonymous author who succeeded, MR. JOHN GREEN. *This gentleman in conjunction with a bookseller of the name of* Astley, *published,*

22. A NEW AND GENERAL COLLECTION OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS in four thick quarto volumes, the first number of which appeared in December 1744. The Volumes as they came out, were dedicated to *Admiral Vernon*, *Admiral Anson*, *The Duke of Bedford*, who then presided at the Board of Admiralty, and the last volume, 1747, to *Lord Chesterfield*. Some of its principal Patrons were, *Admiral Vernon*, *Lord Barrington*, *Sir Thomas Cave, Bart. Dr. Balguy*, *Reverend Charles Bowles of Donhead*, *Lord Egmont*, *Harry Gough*, Esq. *Professor Martyn*, *Commissioner Hay*, *Sir William Irby*, Bart. *The Honourable Admiral Stewart*, *Colonel Selwyn*, and the *Bishops of Winchester*, *Exeter*, and *Bristol*.

Of its anonymous * author MR. JOHN GREEN I can give no account. Mr. Charles Green the astronomer, who accompanied *Captain Cook* on his first Voyage had an elder brother

* The following works by *Mr. J. Green* are in the *British Museum*. (1.) A Chart of *North* and *South America*, including the *Atlantic*. Lond. 1753. *Folio*. (2.) Remarks in support of

ther *The Reverend Mr. John Green*, who kept a ſchool in Soho, but the ſimilarity of name is all that can be offered. Mr. Green, as I am informed, had projected a more extenſive Work, but the impatience of his publiſher brought it to a concluſion on the publication of the fourth Volume.

The ſuperior merit of this Collection was acknowledged even by foreigners, and before the completion of the firſt volume, the Chancellor of France *deemed it worthy of attention. He accordingly requeſted the* Abbe Prevost, *Chaplain to the Prince of Conti, to tranſlate it: the execution of this occupies the ſeven firſt volumes of his* Hiſtoire Générale des Voyages, *and part of the eighth. But I am ſorry to add, that, in the performance of this taſk,* Prevoſt *has taken very unwarrantable liberties; has ſhewn throughout a deſire to ſupplant the fame of the Original Work, which is not once named in the title, and by affixing his own portrait to the firſt Volume, few readers in the preſent day are aware that the Original exiſts in their own language. Such was the confuſion the* Abbe *produced in his tranſlation, by tranſpoſing paſſages he afterwards inſerted as his own, and by the miſtakes which he made; that* M. Pierre du Hondt, *an excellent judge of the merit of* Aſtley's *work, brought forward a new Tranſlation at the* Hague, *in which he reſtored the mutilated parts. An Edition was alſo printed by* Didot *at Paris in* 12mo. 1749, *and ſome of the volumes at Dreſden; the whole amounted to fifty-ſix volumes.*

23. A valuable Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, was given by Alexander Dalrymple, Eſq. in 4to. 1770. To which was afterwards added in 1775, another Volume conſiſting of *A Collection of Voyages and Obſervations in the Ocean between South America and Africa.* One of the moſt valuable of the Journals publiſhed by Mr. *Dalrymple* is the following—An Hiſtorical Journal of the Expeditions, by Sea and Land, to the North of California in 1768, 1769, and 1770: when Spanish Establishments were firſt made at San Diego and Monte-Rey. From a Spaniſh MS. tranſlated by *William Revely*, Eſq. publiſhed in 4to. by Mr. Dalrymple in 1790.

24. The Collection publiſhing by *Eſtala* at Madrid, entitled El Viagero Universal, began in 1796, and, when completed, is expected to extend to forty Volumes in octavo.

25. De

of the new Chart of *North* and *South America*. Lond. 1753, 4to. Mr. *Thomas Aſtley*, ſon of a clergyman near Saliſbury, who was couſin to *Sir John Aſtley*, was formerly a bookſeller in Paternoſter-row; whence he retired, and was ſucceeded by *Mr. Baldwin*. *Mr. Aſtley* afterwards recommenced buſineſs in Cornhill, where he continued until a conflagration took place, which deſtroyed many of the houſes in that neighbourhood.

25. De la Harpe in his Collection, which consists of twenty-nine volumes octavo, has made an extensive abridgement of *Mr. Green's* Collection, after making some alterations in the arrangement of its contents, and of the subsequent volumes of the *Histoire Generale des Voyages*; which extended to 21 quarto volumes: three of the additional volumes, to those published by *Prevost*, were written by Messrs. *Querlon*, and *De Leyre*. De La Harpe added to his abridgement the names of *Bouganville*, *Byron*, *Wallis*, *Carteret*, and *Cook*, *first*, *second*, and *third* Voyages. This Collection is described, and commended, in the Monthly Review for 1781. (Vol. 64. p. 298.)

In all of these Collections, though in Astley's least of any, Hydrography has been considered in a secondary, and frequently in a subordinate point of view. The great objects of this branch of science, so interesting to a great commercial nation, and so important to its Navigators, are dispersed through an infinity of Volumes, and often erroneously given. Authorities have been seldom cited; the claims of nations, and individuals, to the merit of their respective Discoveries, are too faintly traced; the remarks of the Navigator and Traveller, united in the same work, destroy that connection and arrangement each might separately possess; the Dissertations and Remarks of Nautical men have multiplied, until some of the earliest, and most valuable, are nearly lost amidst the mass of information that exists; so that it appeared necessary at the close of the eighteenth Century, to arrange, and separate, the Stores which preceding ones had afforded; and thus to form a General System of Hydrography, equally interesting to the Navigator, the Statesman, the Merchant, and to readers in general.

Such is the general Outline of my Plan, which, notwithstanding the number of Volumes marshalled in dread array before me, I should imagine might be executed in about six, or at the utmost in seven thick quartoes. The Voyages of the present Reign alone amount to more than twice that number. I wish not, even if I possessed the ability, to supersede the valuable Collections that exist; but am anxious to form a Work, which shall produce a systematic reference to the contents of Hakluyt, Purchas, Thevenot, Churchill, Harris, *and* Astley, *and thus render them more generally known, and by comparison with later productions more correct. An* Explanatory Catalogue *of Voyages, and other Philosophical publications connected with the progress of maritime Discovery, will enable the Merchant, and the Man of Science, to form that Library, which opulent individuals, in the first Commercial Nation in Europe, should have an ambition to possess.*

A Work

A Work of this extenſive nature, if executed as it ought, will demand a conſiderable portion of ſecluded Leiſure; much tranquillity of mind; and ſome proſpect of commendation, from the Country it was intended to ſerve, and the Profeſſion, whoſe information it originally was brought forward to promote. The firſt Volume is now before the public, and I await its deciſion with reſpect. The Second would give the Portugueſe Diſcoveries *in India until the year* 1546; *it would then illuſtrate the enterpriſe of our own Countrymen, who ſoon followed the ſame track; might poſſibly mark the ſlow but extirpating progreſs of the* Dutch, *and give a general View of the Iſlands in the* Indian Ocean, *as diſcovered by different Navigators. This completes the ſecond great Diviſion; and the attention of the Reader ſhould then be directed to that Branch of Diſcovery which ſprung from the* School of Portugal, *under the forced, and ungrateful patronage of* Spain.

*Though I have ſo long treſpaſſed on the Reader's attention, I muſt ſtill add, that in the compoſition of the preſent Volume I have often felt my own deficiency: the faults, which the ſeverity of Criticiſm may indulge in magnifying, are faults which continued labour, and repeated anxiety prolonged even at the expence of health, could not prevent. "A large Work," ſaid a great * Critic, "is difficult becauſe it is large, even though all its parts might ſingly be performed with facility. Where there are many things to be done, each muſt be allowed its ſhare of Time, and Labour, in the proportion only which it bears to the whole; nor can it be expected that the Stones which form the Dome of a Temple, ſhould be ſquared and poliſhed like the Diamond of a Ring."*

* Dr. Johnſon, vol. 2. page 60.

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FRONTISPIECE.

IN this Plate the Table Land of the Cape of Good Hope is ſeen through the drift of the Tempeſt, towards the eaſt. The mountainous and ſweeping Sea is alſo deſcribed by Mr. Pocock, *which ſo continually rages around the ſouthern extremity of Africa. (See chap. 2. page 367. and chap. 3. page 425.) The portrait of* Da Gama's *Ship is repreſented as broached to in the Tempeſt, without any ſails except her Foreſail which is flying to pieces. The height of the Poop and Prow, the ſquareneſs of the lower Yards, the taunt Maſts, and the ſmall round Tops, are the chief peculiarities in the naval Architecture of that age. The remainder of the Scenery is given from the* Luſiadas *of* Camoens, *when the* SPECTRE, *having uttered his dreadful prophecy, is vaniſhing into air.*

" Beneath the gliſtening wave, the God of day
Had now five times withdrawn the parting Ray;
When o'er the Prow a ſudden Darkneſs ſpread,
And ſlowly floating o'er the Maſt's tall head
A black Cloud hover'd . . . .
Amazed we ſtood—*O Thou, our fortune's Guide,*
Avert this Omen, mighty God, I cried.
Or through forbidden Climes adventurous ſtray'd,
Have we the Secrets of the Deep ſurvey'd,
Which theſe wide Solitudes of Seas and ſky,
Were doom'd to hide from Man's unhallow'd eye?
I ſpoke; When riſing through the darken'd air,
Appall'd we ſaw an hideous Phantom glare;
High, and enormous, o'er the Flood he tower'd,
And thwart our way with ſullen aſpect lour'd.
. . . . . Far echoing o'er the Waves
His voice reſounded, as the cavern'd ſhore
With hollow groan repeats the Tempeſt's roar.
Ye Sons of Lusus, who with eyes profane
Have view'd the Secrets of my awful Reign,

Have paſs'd the Bounds which jealous Nature drew
To veil her ſecret Shrine from mortal view;
Hear from my lips what direful Woes attend,
And burſting ſoon ſhall o'er your Race deſcend . . . .
" He paus'd, in act ſtill farther to diſcloſe
A long, a dreary Prophecy of Woes:
When ſpringing onward, loud my voice reſounds,
What art thou horrid Form, that rideſt the Air,
By heaven's eternal ſight, ſtern fiend declare?
IN ME THE SPIRIT OF THE CAPE BEHOLD!
With wide-ſtretch'd Piles I guard The pathleſs Strand,
And Afric's Southern Mound unmoved I ſtand."

Both this Deſcription, and the Engraving, are ſtrikingly emblematic of thoſe viſionary Horrors which pervaded the minds of Portuguese *Mariners during this memorable Voyage, and are alſo characteriſtic of that peculiar* CLOUD, *whoſe ſudden envelopement of the Cape is a ſure forerunner of a Storm.*

VIGNETTE THE FIRST. (Sect. 1. page ii.)

Repreſentation of the celebrated APAMEAN MEDAL *from Bryant, who, beſide the attention which he paid this Coin in his Mythology, publiſhed afterwards, a vindication of the ſame,* (4to. Payne, 1775.) *This was in anſwer to a letter which appeared in the* Gentleman's Magazine, *for May* 1775, *page* 225.— " *In this coin of* PHILIP, *the ſide of the Ark is divided, as it were, into two Tablets; and ſeems to have been deſigned for the names of the two perſons above them. Upon the firſt of theſe, under the figure of the man, is inſcribed the name Noë: but upon that of the woman no name occurs. The reaſon probably was, that the name was either unknown, or elſe too long to be inſerted. . . Take away the letters Noë, or aſſign them to a different purpoſe; yet the Hiſtorical part of the Coin can neither be obliterated, nor changed.*" Falconerius *thus reads the inſcription round the laureated head of* Philip the Elder, *Imp. Cæſ. Jul. Philippus; and that round the reverſe, Sub Marco Aurelio Alexandro iterum Archipræſule Apamenſium,*—" this Medal was ſtruck, when Marcus Aurelius Alexander was a ſecond time chief Pontiff of the Apameans." (*See* Introduction, Sect. 1. page xxxviii.)

VIGNETTE

VIGNETTE THE SECOND. (Sect. 2. page lviii.)

That learned medallist, the Reverend S. Henley, *has enabled me to give this valuable and appropriate head-piece to the* Second Section. *It contains an engraving of a* Phenician medal, *from the Collection of Dr. Hunter; which consists of an uncoined lump of Silver Bullion: the impression has been struck by force. The Ship, or Galley, in Mr.* Henley's *opinion, is of higher antiquity, than any he remembers to have seen. Other Coins, with* similar devices, *present a date and inscription, which prove them to have been stricken at* TYRE, *on the elevation of the* last DARIUS *to the* Persian *throne; and in the same year on which* ALEXANDER *succeeded his father. The Head of* ALEXANDER, *placed near the* Murex *shell, is engraved from the fragment of an ancient gem: the Phenician date is subjoined from one of the above mentioned Coins, when he became sovereign of the East, viz.* 320 *years before Christ; and the Sacred Epithet of* Tyre, THE CROWNING CITY, *is added in the original, from the prophet Isaiah.*

PLATE THE SECOND. (Sect. 2. page lxxxi.)

View of the fort and town of Columbo, in Ceylon, from the anchorage in the road. The near Vessel is an English man of war Brig, of the present built.

VIGNETTE THE THIRD (Sect. 3. page xci.)

Represents two of the Amonian *fire towers, light-houses, or Sacred Colleges, so celebrated in the early periods of Maritime history.* (*See* Introduction, page xlvi, xlvii. Sect. 1.) *They are given by Mr. Bryant in his first volume of Mythology, (page* 410.*) The square one describes an ancient Tower at* Torone, *and the circular Light-house the Tower of* Cronus *in Sicily.*

VIGNETTE THE FOURTH (Sect. 4. page cl.)

Marks the origin of THE TRIDENT, *as taken from the Sacred Triads of the* Indian Seeva, *on the ancient pagodas of* Deogur. *Copied by Mr. Maurice's permission from the* Indian Antiquities. (*See* Introduction, Sect. 1. page iii.)

VIGNETTE THE FIFTH. (Book I. Chap. 1. page 3.)

Madeira, *bearing north-weſt, and by weſt, about ten leagues diſtant. The near Veſſel is the Portrait of a* Bean Cod, *and in the diſtance is a Ship of the built of the fifteenth century, making for* Funchal *Road.*

VIGNETTE THE SIXTH. (Chap. 1. Sect. 2. page 139.)

Head of the celebrated epic poet CAMOENS, *from the Dillon medal.*

VIGNETTE THE SEVENTH. (Chap. 2. page 140.)

Cape St. Vincent, as ſeen at the diſtance of about a mile and a half, bearing eaſt and by north. A Spaniſh boat is introduced in the centre, and to the right a Galleaſſe *from an old print.*

PLATE THE THIRD. (Chap. 2. page 325.)

View of St. George del Mina *and* Cape Corſe, *bearing north-eaſt and by eaſt, at which Settlement the* Portugueſe *built the firſt Church that was founded in the Countries then newly diſcovered. The Outline is from* Barbot. *The near Boat is of a very early date from* De Bry, *and ſeems to have been hollowed out of a ſolid piece of timber. The Man of War, at anchor, to the right, as well as da Gama's ſhip in the Frontiſpiece, is taken from the deſigns of* Henry Cornelius Vroom, *born at Haarlem in* 1566: *Being caſt away on a ſmall Iſland near the Coaſt of* Portugal, *he was preſerved by ſome monks, and carried to Liſbon, where he greatly improved his ſkill in painting Ships.—Different Veſſels of the fifteenth century are at anchor off the coaſt.*

VIGNETTE THE EIGHTH. (Chap. 3. page 373.)

Portrait of the kind of Galley the Portugueſe *uſed on the* Indian Ocean, *and which probably differed but little from the Veſſels which Nearchus commanded. The drawing is taken from* De Bry.

VIGNETTE THE NINTH. (Chap. 3. page 398.)

Specimens of the Indian Lotus, by Mr. Daniell R. A. as they appear on the moſt ancient of the Hindoo temples; in order to elucidate the real name of the

ornament

ornament which is generally used on the Mariner's compass to designate the North.

. *Capital of a Pillar near Gyah, Bahar.*

.. *Part of the base of a Pillar at Dio, Bahar.*

... *Fragment near the temple of Seta, Ramaugur, Cheynpoor district.*

.... *Do.* *Do.*

VIGNETTE THE TENTH. (Chap. 3. page 491.)

Cabo Verde, *as seen at the distance of four leagues, bearing south-east and by south. A head view of a Vessel of a very early date is introduced, under her courses upon a wind. This View of her shews the railing of the Prow, and the peculiarity of the Forecastle.*

*** The communication of Sketches, which Officers have made of headlands, and of the entrance of harbours, and rivers, in different parts of the world, would prove of essential service to the future volumes of this work; as it is my intention that the Engravings should, as much as possible, be taken from original Drawings.

CHARTS drawn by Arrowsmith from various geographical MSS.

1. *Coast of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Cabo Verde.*

2. *From Cabo Verde to Cabo Formoso. The drawing of* Cabo Verde *on a larger scale as inserted in this Chart, differs from the other, and is taken from a MS. chart in Mr. Arrowsmith's possession.* D'Anville *seems to have copied the same authority.*

3. *Illustrative Chart, No.* 1. *of the Calabar and Bonny Rivers, from an original survey by Captain William Newton.*

4. *Coast of Africa from Cabo Formoso to the Cape of Good Hope.*

5. *Southern coast of Africa.*

The Lotus is restored to mark the North in these Charts, from the drawing by Mr. Daniell. (*See* Chap. 3. Sect. 1.)

*** *It is recommended to the purchasers of this work, not to bind up the Charts with the volume, but to reserve them in order to form a separate Neptune when the whole is completed.*

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

Page 2. *addition to note.* Pliny is of opinion that the first idea of *Oars* was derived from the fins of Fish; and that the manner in which the Flight of a Bird is directed by its tail, suggested the use of the Rudder. (*Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xii. p.* 551.)

Page 3. *l.* 9. " and appeal to *heaven* for the truth of his opinion," *read* scripture.

Page 11. *l.* 8. " and *beheld* it was very good," *read* behold.—*Ibid. page, first note,* for " Miscellaneain" *read* Miscellanea in.

Page 65, *addition to note* (§) *on the Purple shell fish.* Dr. Hawkesworth informs us (*Cook's* first Voyage, vol. 2. 8vo. p. 235.) that in the passage from *Madeira* to *Rio de Janeiro*, some of the Shell Fish, called *Helix Janthina*, and *Violacea*, were taken up, about the size of a Snail, supported on the surface of the Water by a small Cluster of Bubbles. " It is probable that it never goes down to the bottom, nor willingly approaches any Shore. Every Shell contains about a Tea-spoonful of liquor, which it easily discharges upon being touched, and which is of the most beautiful *Red Purple* that can be conceived. It dies Linen Cloth, and it may perhaps be worth inquiry, as the Shell is certainly found in the Mediterranean, whether it be not the *Purpura* of the *ancients*."

Page 81. *l.* 6. *from bottom, dele,* " as a frontispiece to the present volume."

Page 89, *margin,* for *Grecian* periods, *read* Sacred.

Page 100, *addition to note the first.* Dr. VINCENT makes some remarks on this Voyage in his *Periplus* of the Erythrean (page 9.) " Whatever difficulties may occur in the return of the *Argonauts*, their passage to *Colchis* is consistent; it contains more real Geography than has yet been discovered in any record of the *Bramins*, or the *Zendavesta*, and is truth itself, both geographical and historical, when compared with the portentous expedition of *Ram* to *Ceylon*."

Page 101, *addition to note.* See also GIBBON (vol. 7. p. 321.) " The waters *of Colchos or Mingrelia*, impregnated with particles of gold, are carefully strained through Sheep-skins, or Fleeces."

Page 105, *note second.* " Among us, there a relarge," *read*, there are large.

Page 106, *l.* 7. *from bottom,* " will in some gree" *read*, degree.

Page 127, *note the third, l.* 8. for " Ramasio" *read* Ramusio.

Page 204, *l.* 7. *from bottom,* insert a comma after the word *apparent.*

Page 218. *addition to note the third.* The same circumstance is also noticed in the construction of canoes at *Otaheite.* " Of the fibres of the *Cocoa Nut* they make Thread, for fastening together the several parts of their Canoes: the planks being supported by stanchions, are *sewed* or clamped together with strong thongs of plaiting, which are passed several times through holes that are bored with a Gouge or Auger of bone. As the plaiting soon rots in the water it is renewed at least once a year; in order to which the vessel is taken entirely to pieces." (*Hawkesworth's account of Lieut. Cook's Voyage, vol.* 3. 8*vo. p.* 63—72.)

Page 224. for the catchword *Discourse, read* Dissertation.

BOOK THE FIRST.

Page 2. *Kings of Denmark,* for " Eric the seventh," *read* Eric the tenth.

Page 8, *add to note,* See also Chap 3. Sect. 1.

Page 76, *l.* 4, *after* " interest," *add,* As a foreigner remarks, it is singular that the glory of Portugal should commence under the auspices of an HENRY, and set during the Reign of an HENRY. *Ibid. page, l.* 8. for " pormote," *read* promote.

Page 78, *Addition to the first note.* A most authentic account of this Siege is given in a Latin letter, 1147, written by *Armulfo*, a person of distinction on board the Combined Fleet, and addressed to the bishop of *Terone* in *France.* This Letter was discovered among the MSS. in the Library of the *Aquitenian* Abbots in *France*, and was published in the Collection of *Martene*, and *Durand.* (Tom. 1. Veterum Monumentorum, printed at Paris in 1724.) *See Murphy's Travels in Portugal, p.* 137, who subjoins a translation.

Page 79, *addition to the first note.* The above fact is also given on the authority of the *Marquis D'Almeida*, the late Portuguese ambassador.

Page 87, *l.* 8. for " twenty-one gallies," *read* fifty-four: and in the note, second line from bottom, for " Bomare" *read* De Bure.

Page 88, *l.* 11. for " their patriotic spirit" *read* this patriotic spirit.

Page 92, *Note the second, l.* 3. for " quadem" *read* quædam.

Page 94, *note the second, l.* 10. for " R. P. Gaubil" *read* P. A. Gaubil.

Page 95, *note on the Tartars, add*, There is also a curious Discourse concerning the *Tartars* in the Memoirs of the life and writings of Mr. W. Whiston (2 vols, 8vo. 1749.) Originally by Giles Fletcher, ambassador from queen Elizabeth to the emperor of Russia. The eruption of the *Moguls* from their romantic valley, is described by Mr. Maurice (Modern India, vol. 1. p. 113.) It was probably from this passage, in their history, that Dr. *Johnson* derived his Happy Valley in Rasselas.

Page 116, *third line from bottom, add, as note to* CATAVA, Refer to the end of Bryant's *Analysis* (vol. 3.) for his account of the *Seres*, and to Dr. Vincent's *Nearchus* (p. 69. N. 7.) for remarks on the term *Kathai*.

Page 117, *l.* 16, for "Guillame" *read* Guillaume.

Page 121, *note the second*, and in some few other places, for "Valentine Green" *read* John Green.

Page 123, *l.* 9, *Insert after the period*, Our Traveller then proceeds to relate (*Purchas, vol.* 3. *p.* 50.) the following curious passage, which is noticed, and elucidated by Mr. *Bryant* (vol. 3. p. 10.) "Neere the City *Vaxnan* there are Mountaines, on which, they say, the Arke of *Noah* rested: and there are two, one greater than another, and Araxes runneth at the foote of them. And there is a little Towne there called *Cemainum*, which is by interpretation, *Right*: for, they say, it was so called of the Eight persons, which came foorth of the arke, and built it. They call that Mountaine *Massis*."

Page 124, *margin*, for 1729 *read* 1279, the figures having been transposed; *and in the Note*, for "Mekegan" *read* Mehegan.

Page 127, *addition to note* (*b*), Mr. Murphy informs us, that the remains of a Palace formerly the residence of *King Denis*, still makes a conspicuous figure on the brow of a Precipice contiguous to the ancient City of *Leiria*. (Travels in Portugal, page 74.)

Page 131, *account of the Portuguese historians, add*, The Marquis D'Almeida was so obliging as to inform me, that the Governors of the different *Asiatic* provinces in *India*, were ordered by the king of Portugal to draw up a Report of every thing their experience could furnish, to form materials for the history published by De Barros. A general catalogue in MS. of the principal Portuguese writers, was presented to his present majesty by the *Chevalier de Pinto*. In the *Memorias de Mathematica et Phisica da Academia Reale das Sciencias de Lisboa*, (tom. 2. 1801.) A MEMOIR ON NAVIGATION has been published by *M. de Esperito Santo Limpo*.

Page 140, *quotation from Mickle, l.* 3, for "Victor's banner" *read* victor-banners.

Page 155, *l.* 19, for "cords" *read* records.

Page 158, *note* (*c*) *l.* 4, *dele*, See preceding hist. Memoir of the Progress of Discovery by the ancients.

Page 161, *line* 1, *from bottom*, dele the word *to*.

Page 167, *addition to note* (*i*), GABRIEL DE BORY, who died at Paris in 1801, made a voyage to *Madeira* in 1753 to determine its situation. His observations appeared in the *Memoires* of 1768, and 1772, part 2d. Previous to his Voyage he published a description of a sea octant by reflexion.

Page 187, *addition to l.* 8. The following Anecdote of this Monarch, as given by Mr. Murphy (*Travels in Portugal, p.* 37.) on the authority of a Portuguese gentleman, is particularly interesting: "DON JOHN was so secure in the Affections of his subjects, that he frequently walked abroad without any attendants. In one of his morning perambulations, he chanced to observe an Old Man, who was lame and blind, at the opposite side of a rivulet, waiting till some one came to guide his steps over a plank thrown across it. As there was no one at hand but the King, he instantly approached, threw him on his shoulder, and carried him in that posture to the next road. The poor man, surprised at the ease with which he was carried, exclaims, *I wish* DON JOHN *had a legion of such stout Fellows to humble the pride of the* CASTILIANS, *who deprived me of the use of my leg.*

"Here, at the request of the King, he gave a short account of the several Actions in which he had been engaged. In the sequel his Majesty recollected, that this was FONSACA, the brave Soldier, who had courageously fought by his side in the memorable battle of ALJUBARROTA, that fixed the crown on his head. Grieved to see him in such a distressed State, he desired him to call next morning at the Royal Palace, to know how he came to be neglected by his servants in power. *Who shall I inquire for?* quoth the brave Belisarius. *For your gallant Companion at the Battle of* ALJUBARROTA, replied the King departing.

"A person, who at a distance witnessed the Scene, shortly after accosted *Fonseca*, and informed him of what his sovereign had done. *Ah!* said he, (when he recovered from his surprise) *I am now convinced of the truth of what has often been asserted; the shoulders of Monarchs are certainly accustomed to bear great Burthens. I rejoice in having devoted the prime of my life to the service of one who, like the* PRINCE OF UZ, IS LEGS TO THE LAME, AND EYES TO THE BLIND."

Page 191, *addition to note* (*a*), Refer to the *Rivington's* Annual Register for 1792, *Natural history*, page 80.

Page 213, *l.* 10, *add*, but having landed, and placed a Wooden Cross on the Promontory, he returned, *&c.*

Page 218, *addition to note* (*c*) *line* 8. According to BRUCE (vol. 2. p. 104.) the various names which the SENEGA went by, were all *Abyssinian* words. "Senega comes from *Asenagi*, which is *Abyssinian*, and signifies *carriers*, or *caravans*.

Page 228, *l.* 10, for "ought" *read* aught.

Page 233, *note* (*s*) for "Decad. 1. lib. 1. ch. 11." *read* Decad. 1. lib. 11. ch. 1. as cited by Melchisedec Thevenot. (Tom. 2.) See also *Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale*, under the article *Cades*.

Page 235, *note* (*x*). My information was incorrect, in stating that the first edition of *Cada Mosto*'s Voyage was in the King's library.

Page

Page 240, *note* (g) *l.* 7, for "made the years 1791-1793" *read* made in the years, *&c.*

Page 203, *l.* 10, for "cardomum seeds" *read* Guinea pepper; *and add to note* (r) Or Malaghetta (Grana Paradisi) so called according to *Lemery*, and *Pomey*, from *Melege* a town in Africa. (Astley's Collection, vol. 2. p. 551.) Other writers refer the *Grana Paradisi*, imported from the Moors, to *Cochineal*.

Page 246, *note* (x) *add*, and Montesquieu's *Esprit des Loix*, Liv. xxii. c. 1.

Page 287, *l.* 10, *add as note.* Osorius places this event in 1460, and thus speaks of this illustrious prince, (p. 22.) *Fuit enim* Henricus, *Vir animi maximi, et religionis sanctitate clarissimi. Nisque tantùm elaborat vt nomen suum clarum redderet, quam vt* Christi *Religionem propagaret: ad quod nihil magis vtile fore putabat hac nauigatione, vt posset* Christi *nomen apud Barbaras nationes à situ nostro disjunctissimas, ad omnium salutem prodi.*

Page 288, *addition to note* (x). Decada 1. Liv. 1. cap. 16. and probably from this Painting the Print of Henrique, prefixed to the first *Decada*, was taken.

Page 289, *add to the conclusion of the section*, "O qual Infante," says *de Barros* on concluding the sixteenth chapter of his first book, "e Principe de grandes emprezas, segundo suas obras, e vida, devemos crer está em o Paraiso entre os eleitos de Deos."

Page 303, *l.* 22, for "on the equinoctial," *read* beyond the equinoctial.

Page 318, *l.* 2, *read* to within 32° 30' of the *Cape of Good Hope*, or about six hundred and fifty marine leagues.

Page 330, *l.* 14, *after the word* idolatry, *add*, In consequence of this request three Ships were fitted out under *Gonçalo Sousa*, and sent to *Congo*.

Page 337, *l.* 6. *from bottom, after* Calzadilia, *add*, Castanheda says, that he was a master of art, and a good astronomer.

Page 339, *l.* 2, *read*, left the village of *Santaxen* for *Naples*, according to Castanheda, on the seventh of May, *&c. Ibid. page, l.* 4. *from bottom, add as note*, In the reign of John the first, the *Jews* had their Synagogues and Rabbins in Portugal; and John the second, and Emmanuel, tolerated them at the beginning of their reigns. The celebrated Edition of the bible published at *Ferrara* in 1553, was translated by a Portuguese Jew. There is something in the air, and soil, of Portugal so congenial to the Jews, that many of them have been known to import Earth from Lisbon, and enjoined their surviving friends, as their last dying request, to deposit it with their Corpse. (*Murphy's Travels in Portugal*, p. 222.)—Osorius gives the best account of their expulsion from *Portugal*.

Page 348, *l.* 8. *from bottom*, for "the twenty-third of June" *read* the seventh.

Page 358, *addition to note* (i). Osbeck (Forster's Transl. vol. 2. p. 109.) calls the Mar di Sargasso, *the Grass Sea*: "The *Grass Sea* is that part of the ocean in which *East Indian* Sailors meet with the Sea Weed (*Fucus Natans*) swimming in greater or less quantities; though all sorts of *fucus* are called *Sea Weeds*. We entered the *Grass Sea* in our return on the seventh of May, 1752, in seventeen degrees, and a half of north latitude, and twenty-two degrees, and a half of west longitude from *Ascension Island*, and 37° 21' west longitude from *London*. The Weed in the first Days came but ever now and then, in small quantities; but in 26° latitude in great Heaps, sometimes several Fathoms long. This appearance continued to the twenty-fifth of this month; when a fresh southerly wind at twenty-four degrees and a half latitude, twenty-four degrees and a half West from *Ascension Island*, and 39° 9' West from *London*, brought us out of the *Grass Sea*. We may conclude that this Plant comes from *America*." An extraordinary kind of sea weed is noticed in *Cook's* first voyage, on their entering the streights of Le Maire (*Hawkesworth*, vol. 2. 8vo. p. 272.) "The Leaves are four feet long, and some of the Stalks, though not thicker than a man's thumb, above 120. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined some of them, over which we sounded and had fourteen fathom, which is eighty-four feet; and as they made a very acute Angle with the bottom, they are thought to be at least one half longer: the foot Stalks were swelled into an air vessel, and Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander called this Plant, *Fucus Giganteus*." An engraving of the *Sargasso* is given by *De Bry*.

Pages 418, 422, 424, *margin*, for "1498," *read* 1497.

Page 459, *line* 8. *from bottom*, De Bay gives the original appellation *Baxos da Judia*, correct in his map, but not in the text, "Kl. Augusti, breuis, illa Indiæ, quæ Nantæ Os Baxos de *India* vocant pretervecti sumus. distant ea 30 milliaribus a Capo das Correntes." (II. *India Orientalis*, cap. 5. p. 17.)

Page 478, *note* (k), *l.* 4, for "tempestalibus" *read* tempestatibus.

APPENDIX.

Page 29, *note*, for "plate the second" *read* plate the third.

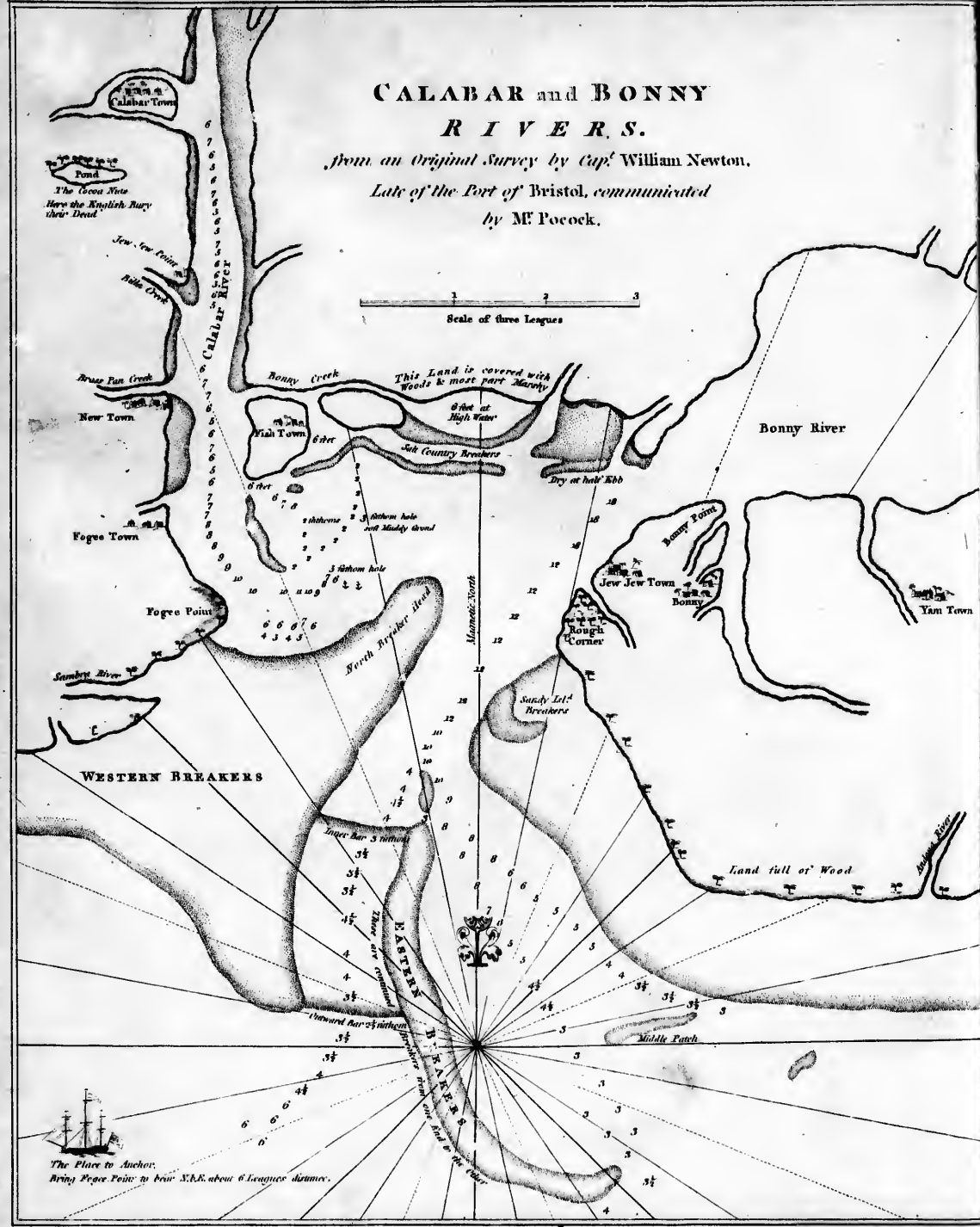
Page 53, *l.* 8. *from bottom*, for "1529" *read* 1524.

Page 113, *note*, for "plate the third" *read* Plate the second.

Page 202, *line* 6. *from bottom*, for "Piazon" *read* Pinzon. *Line* 3, *read*, della Biblioteca, *&c.* che demonstrano l'Isole Antille.

Page 230, *l.* 14, *add as note*, This evidently destroys the boasted Antiquity of the *Chinese*; and proves them to have been a Colony of the ancient *Sindi*, or *Indi*. This passage is accordingly noticed by Mr. *Bryant* (vol. 3. p. 556.) It was also the opinion of *Sir William Jones* that the *Chinese* were an ancient race of emigrated *Indians*. (*Maurice's Modern Hindostan*, vol. 1. p. 115.)

Page 246, *l.* 8. *from bottom*, "Zeilah." The Bay of Zeilah is noticed by Dr. Vincent, in his Periplus (page 111.)



Published Jan.y 1.1809 by Cadell & Davies Strand.


Yam Town

COLUMBO HARBOUR, CEYLON.

Introduction page 81.

PLATE II.

N. Pocock del.

T. Medland sculp.

TO MY KIND PATRON, GEORGE EARL *OF* EGREMONT, F.R.S.

N. Pocock del.

T. Medland sculp.

TO MY KIND PATRON, GEORGE EARL *OF* EGREMONT, F.R.S.

FORTALEZA DE S. JORGE DA MINA.

to face Page 325.

PLATE III

N. Pocock delin. T. Medland sculp.

TO ADMIRAL JOHN WILLETT PAYNE,

VICE ADMIRAL OF THE COASTS OF DEVONSHIRE & CORNWALL, TREASURER OF GREENWICH HOSPITAL, COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE PRINCE, &c. &c. &c.

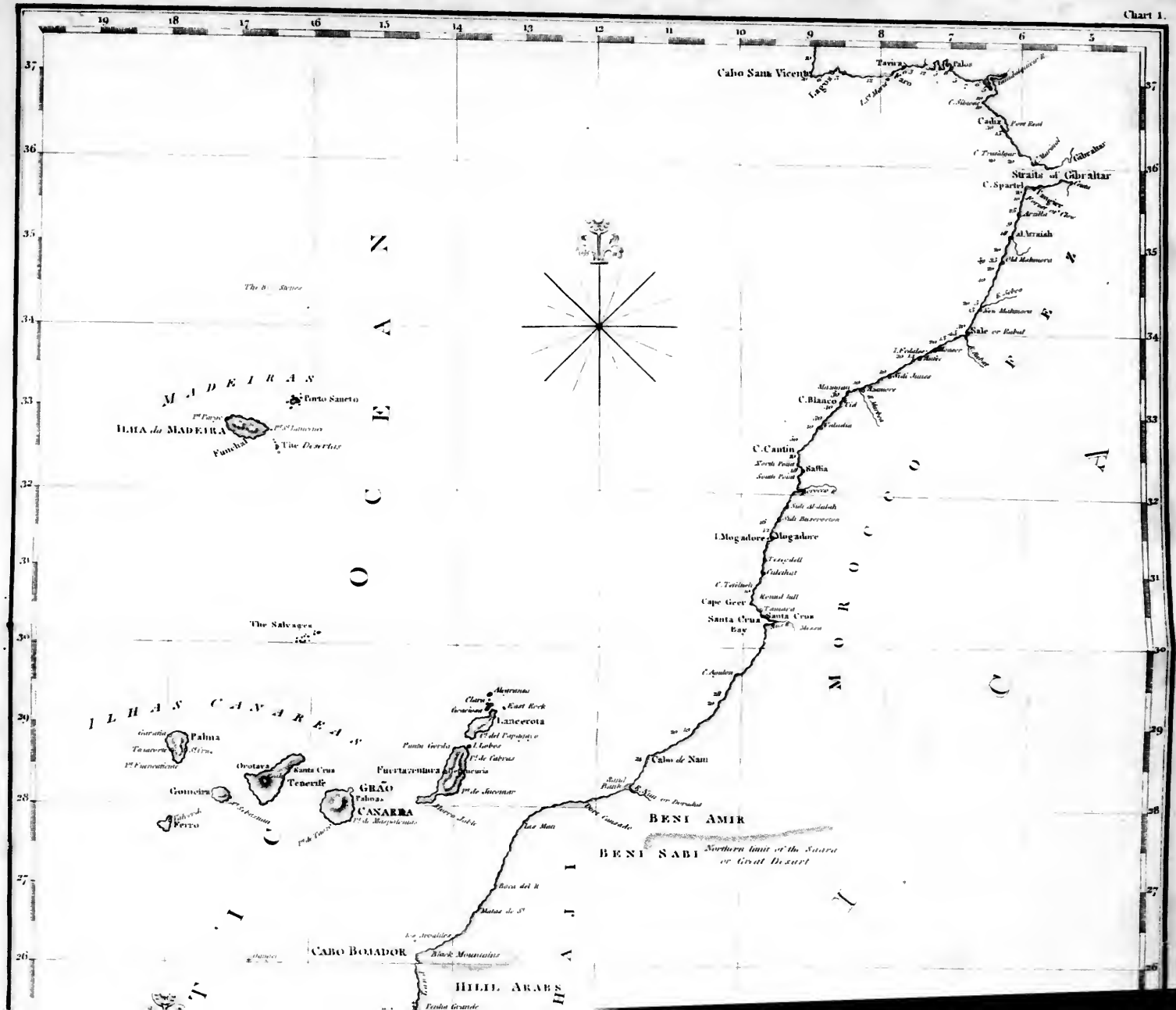
N. Pocock delin.

T. Medland sculp.

TO ADMIRAL JOHN WILLETT PAYNE,

VICE ADMIRAL OF THE COASTS OF DEVONSHIRE & CORNWALL, TREASURER OF GREENWICH HOSPITAL, COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE PRINCE, &c. &c. &c.

Chart 1.


Cabo Sant Vicente
Lagos
Faro
Tavira
Palos
Guadalquivir R.
C. Sibona
Cadiz
Port Real
C. Trafalgar
Gibraltar
Straits of Gibraltar
C. Spartel
Ceuta
Tangier
Arzilla
al Arraish
Old Mahmora
R. Sebou
New Mahmora
Sale or Rabat
R. Rabat
I. Fedalae
Sidi Junes
Azamore
Mazagan
C. Blanco
C. Cantin
North Point
South Point
Saffia
Sidi Abdallah
I. Mogadore
Mogadore
C. Tefelneh
Cape Geer
Santa Cruz
Santa Cruz Bay
C. Aoulon
Cabo de Nun
BENI AMIR
BENI SABI
Northern limit of the Saara or Great Desart
Las Mats
Boca del R.
CABO BOJADOR
Black Mountains
HILIL ARABS
MOROCCO
FEZ
OCEAN
MADEIRAS
Porto Sancto
ILHA da MADEIRA
Funchal
The Desertas
The Salvages
ILHAS CANAREAS
Alegranza
Clara
Graciosa
East Rock
Lancerota
I. Lobos
Punta Gorda
Fuerteventura
GRÃO CANARIA
Palma
Orotava
Santa Cruz
Tenerife
Gomeira
Ferro
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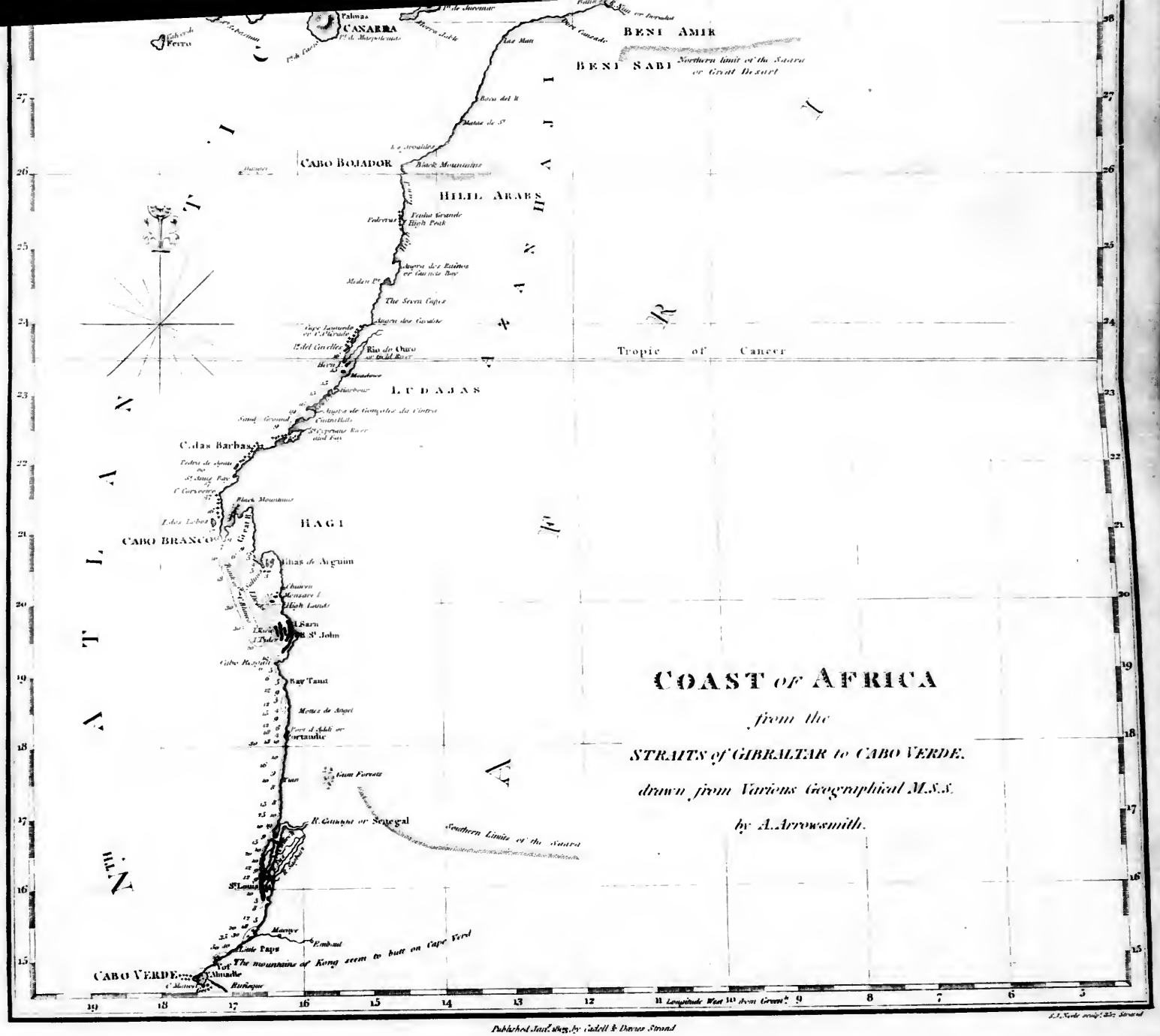
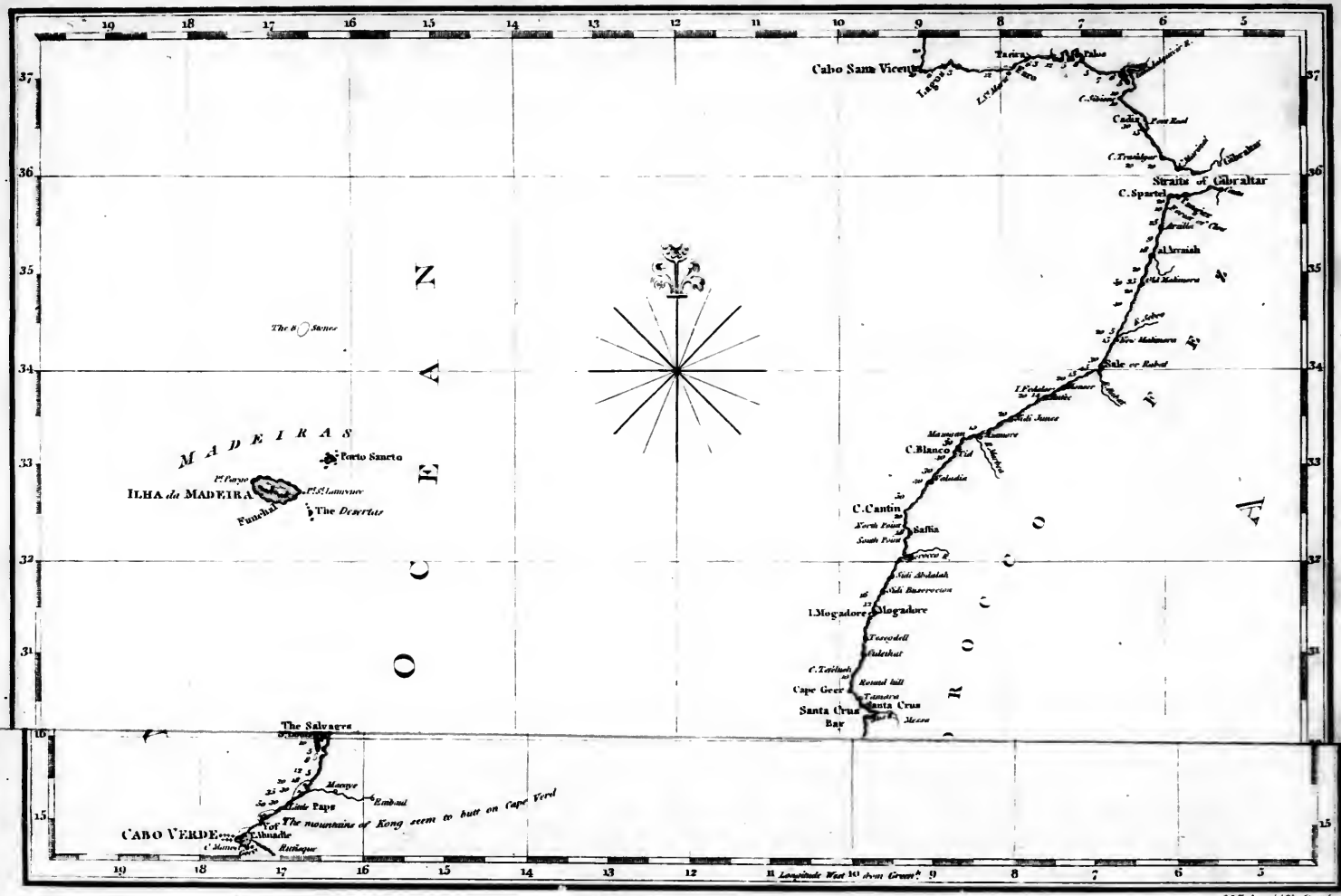

COAST of AFRICA
from the
STRAITS of GIBRALTAR to CABO VERDE.
drawn from Various Geographical M.S.S.
by A. Arrowsmith.
CANARIA
BENI AMIR
BENI SABI
Northern limit of the Saara or Great Desert
CABO BOJADOR
HILIL ARABS
Tropic of Cancer
LUDAJAS
Cabo Barbas
HAGI
CABO BRANCO
Bay Tanut
Southern Limits of the Saara
R. Senegal
St Louis
CABO VERDE
The mountains of Kong seem to butt on Cape Verd
Longitude West from Greenwich
Published Jan.y 1822 by Cadell & Davies Strand



Published Jan.y 1803 by Cadell & Davies Strand

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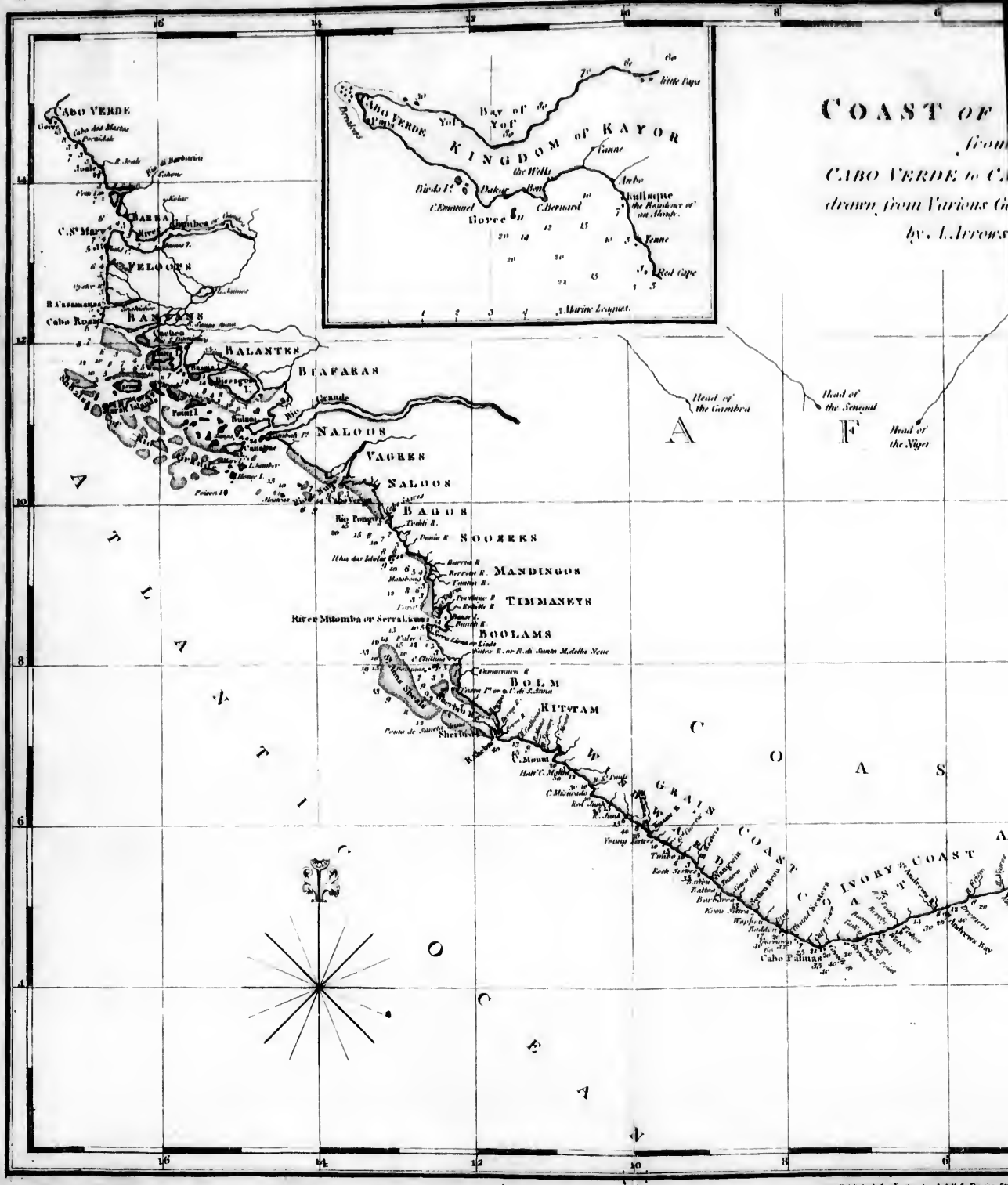
S. J. Neele sculp.t 352 Strand


COAST OF
from
CABO VERDE to C
drawn from Various G
by J. Arrowsm
KINGDOM of KAYOR
Bay of Yof
Yof
Dakar
Gorée
C. Bernard
C. Emmanuel
Birds I.s
Rufisque
Anbo
Jenne
Red Cape
Marine Leagues.
CABO VERDE
C.S.Mary
GAMBIA
FELOOPS
Cabo Roxo
BANYANS
BALANTES
BIAFARAS
NALOOS
VAGRES
NALOOS
BAGOS
SOOREES
MANDINGOS
TIMMANEYS
River Mitomba or Serralionne
BOOLAMS
BOLM
KITTEAM
Sherbro
C. Mount
GRAIN COAST
IVORY COAST
Cabo Palmas
Andrews Bay
Head of the Gambia
Head of the Senegal
Head of the Niger
ATLANTIC OCEAN
COAST
Published Jan.y 1820, by Cadell & Davies Strand

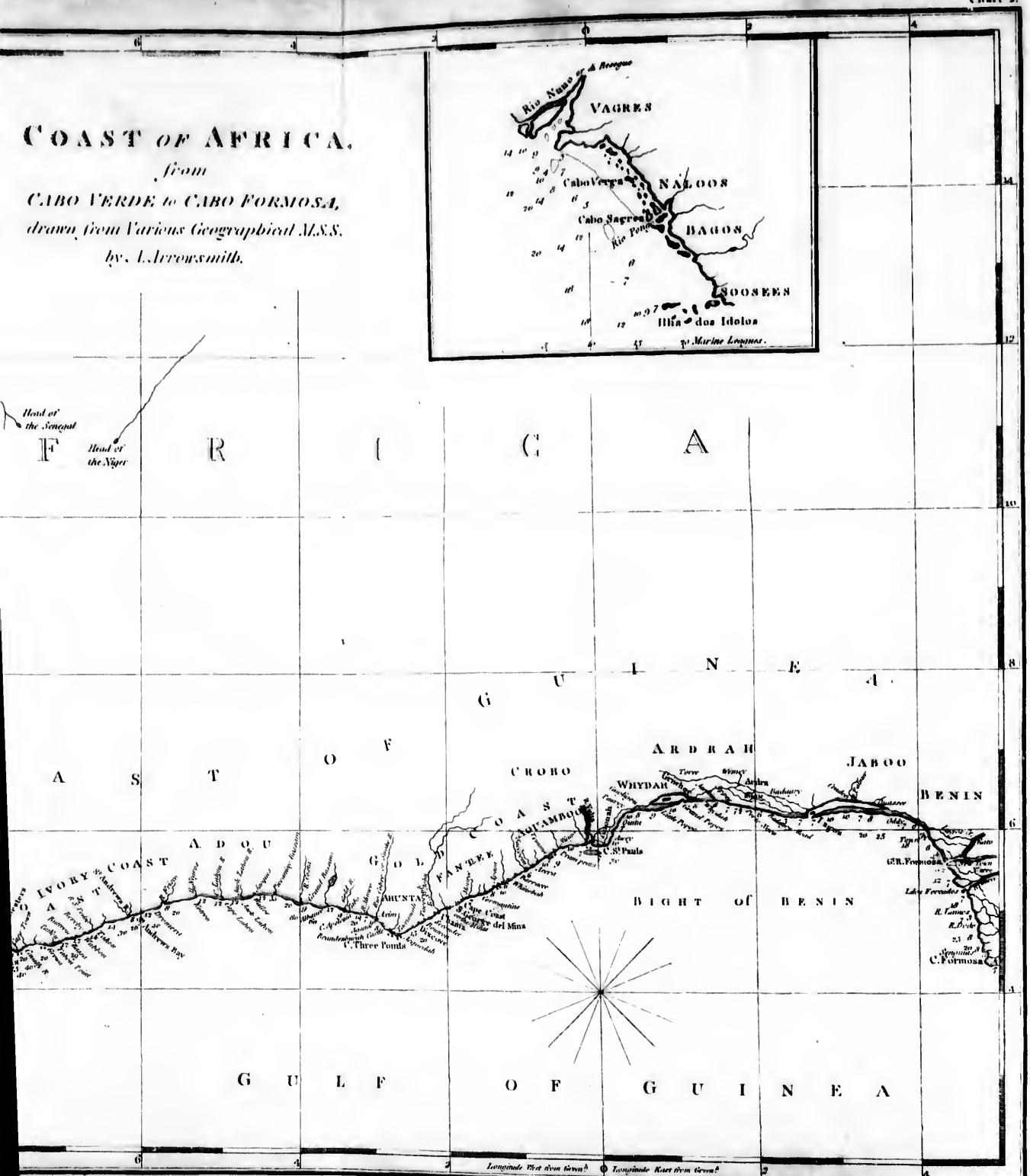
COAST OF AFRICA,

from

CABO VERDE to CABO FORMOSA,

drawn from Various Geographical M.S.S.

by. J. Arrowsmith.



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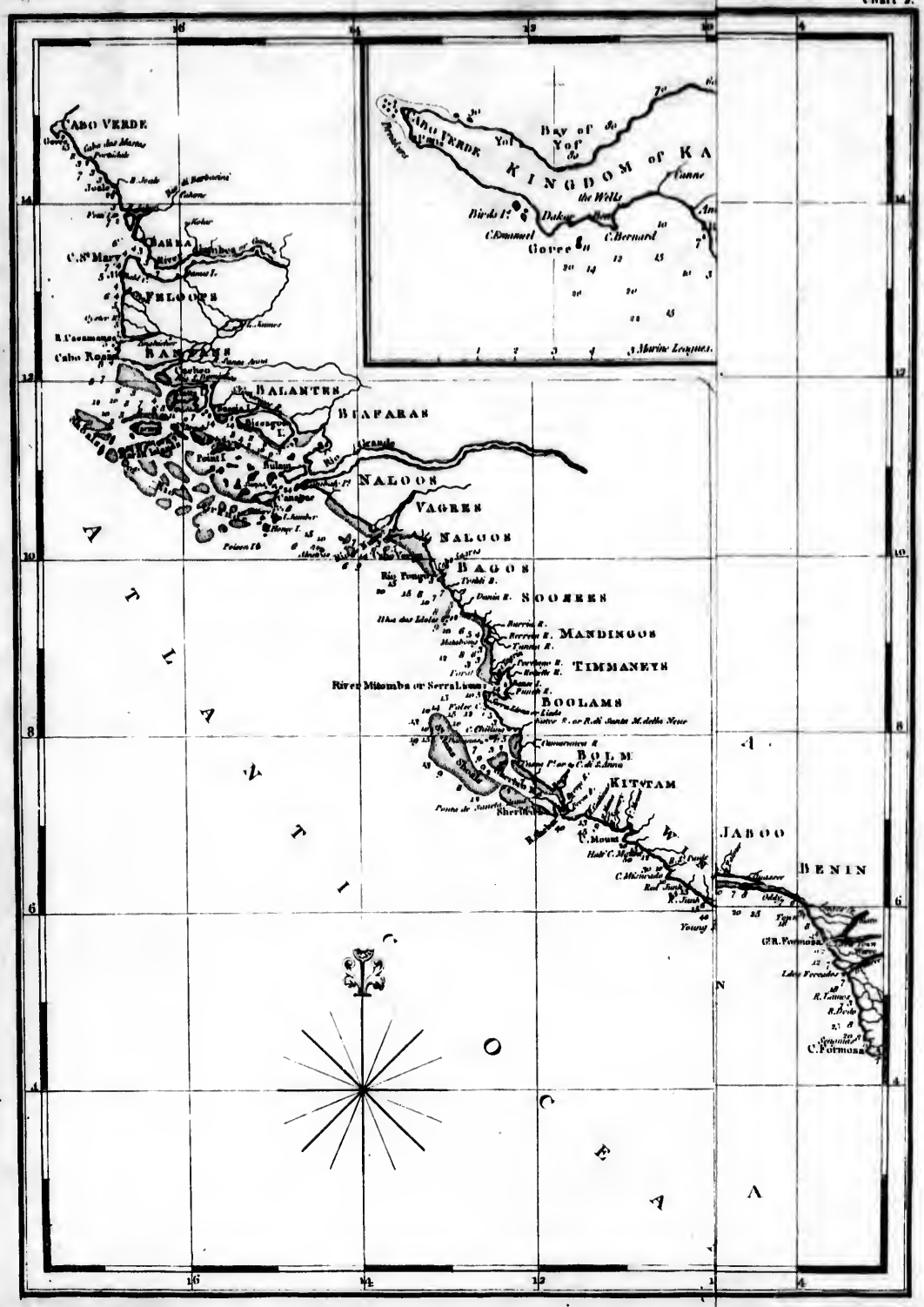
CABO VERDE
C.St Mary
FELOOPS
Cabo Roxo
BANYUNS
BALANTES
BIAFARAS
NALOOS
VAGRES
NALOOS
BAGOS
SOOSEES
MANDINGOS
TIMMANEYS
River Mitomba or Serralhama
BOOLAMS
BOLM
KITTAM
JABOO
BENIN
C.Formosa
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Bay of Yor
KINGDOM of KA
Cape Verde
Birds I.
C.Emanuel
Goree
C.Bernard
Marine Leagues.


Chart 2.
14
12
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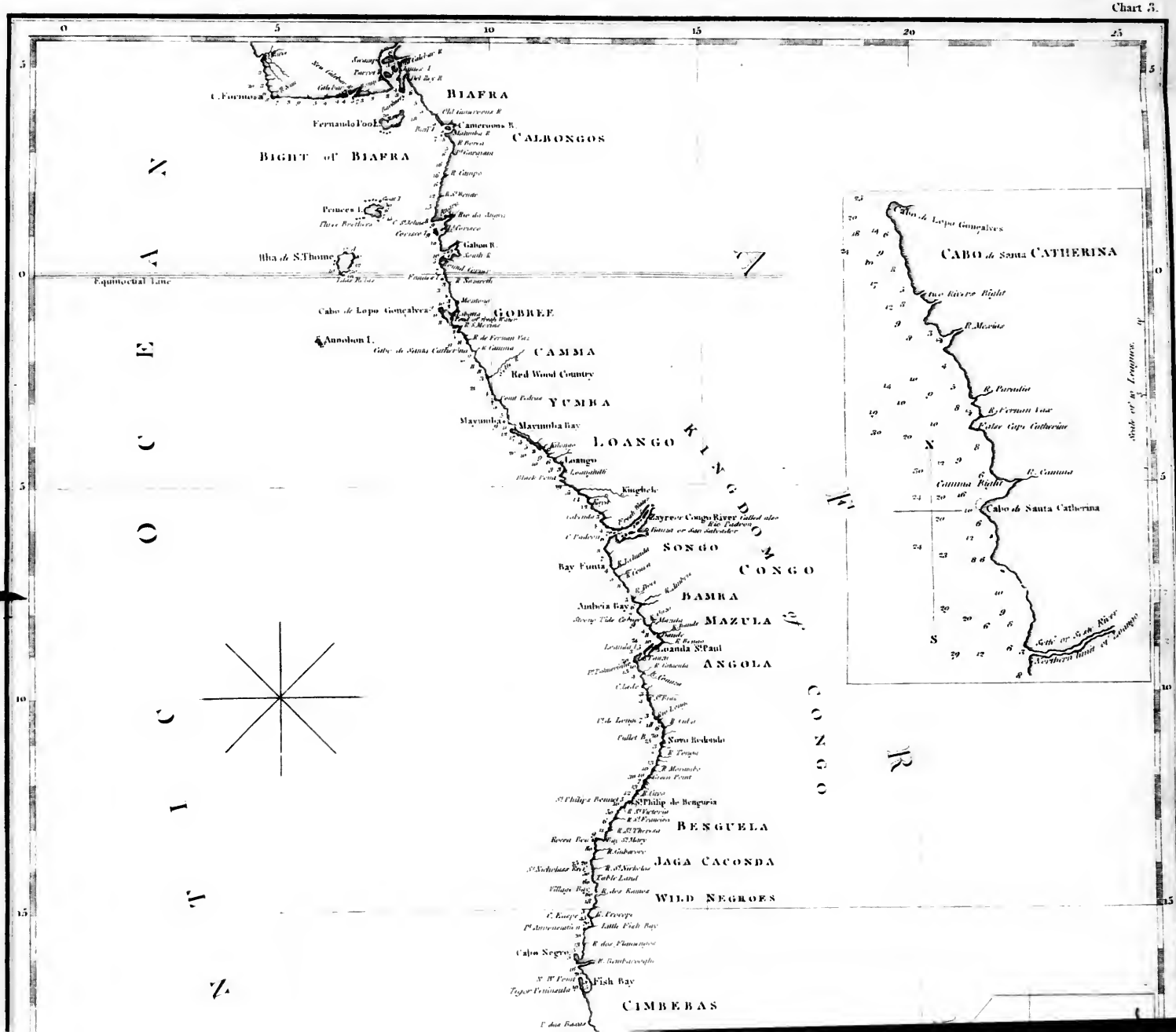
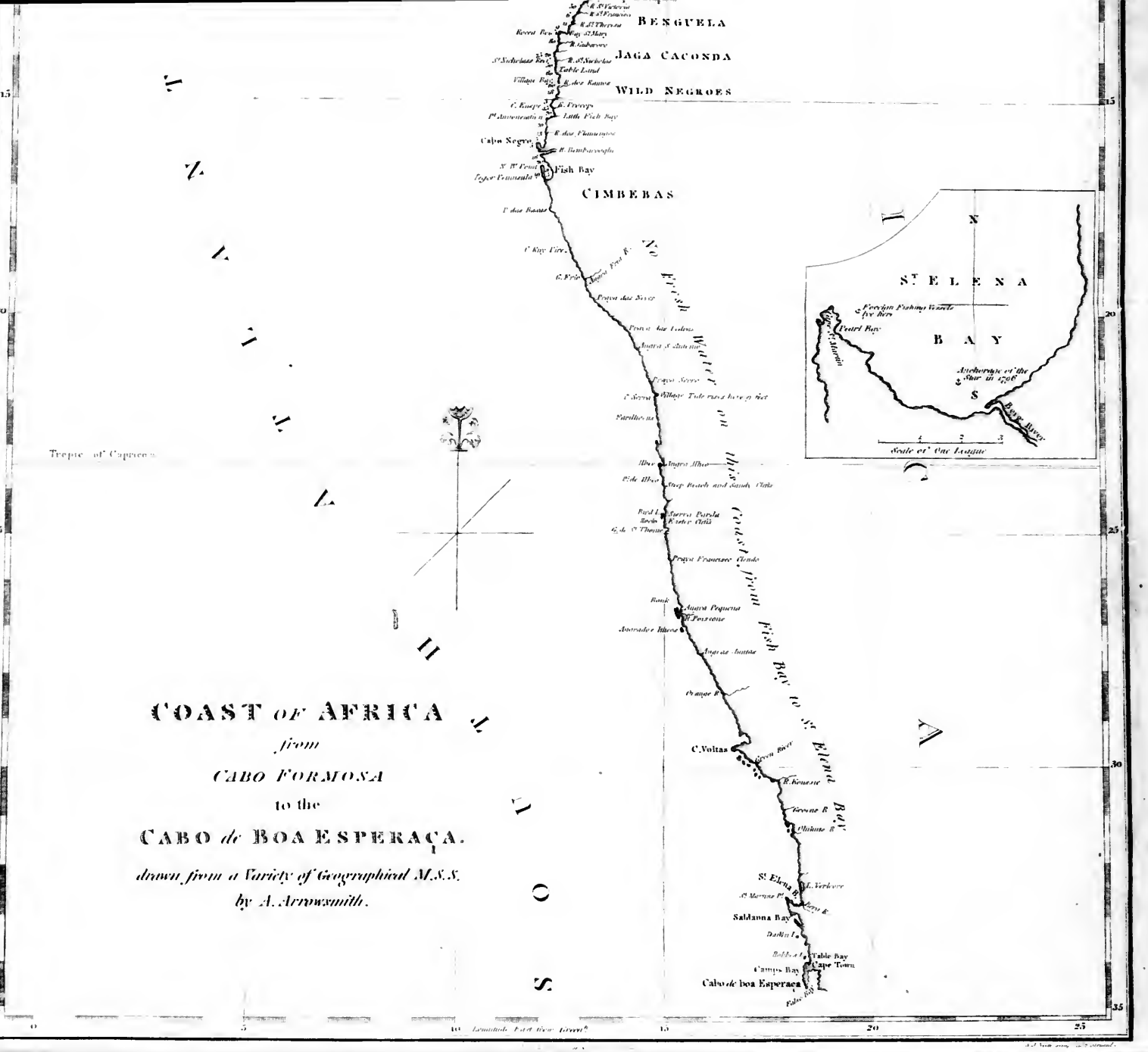
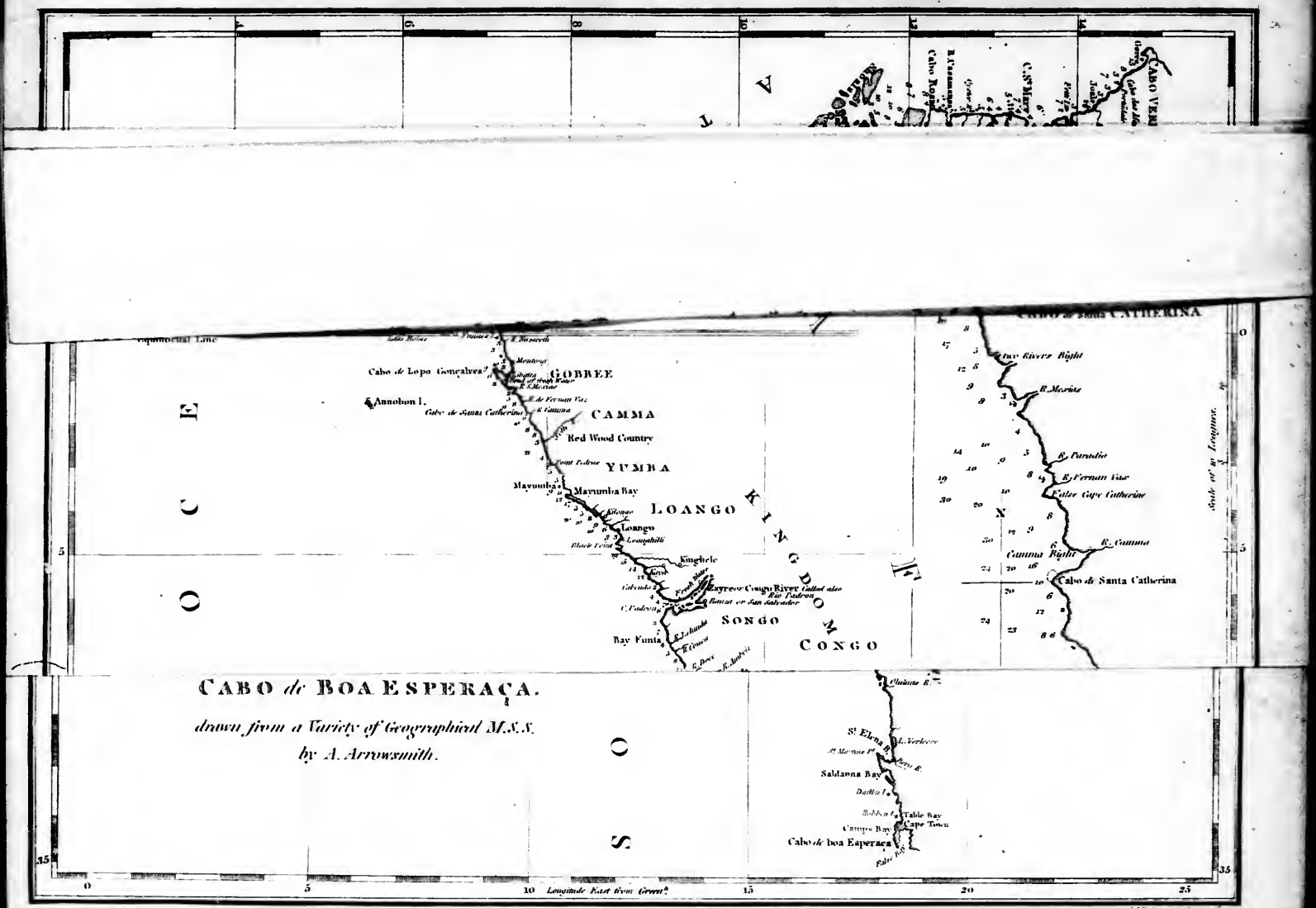
Formosa


BIAFRA
CALBONGOS
BIGHT of BIAFRA
Fernando Pool
Cameroons R.
Princes I.
Three Brothers
Ilha de S. Thome
Equinoctial Line
Gabon R.
GOBREE
Cabo de Lopo Gonçalves
Annobon I.
CAMMA
Red Wood Country
YUMBA
Mayumba Bay
LOANGO
Loango
Kingdom of Congo
Kingbele
Bayre or Congo River called also Rio Padron
SONGO
CONGO
Bay Funta
BAMRA
Ambria Bay
MAZULA
Loanda St. Paul
ANGOLA
Novo Redondo
St. Philip de Benguela
BENGUELA
JAGA CACONDA
WILD NEGROES
Little Fish Bay
Cabo Negro
Fish Bay
CIMBEBAS
CABO de Santa CATHERINA
Two Rivers Bight
R. Meriniz
R. Paradise
R. Fernando Vaz
Cabo de Santa Catherina
Camma Bight
Scale of Leagues
Southern limit of Congo


COAST OF AFRICA
from
CABO FORMOSA
to the
CABO de BOA ESPERAÇA.
drawn from a Variety of Geographical M.S.S.
by A. Arrowsmith.
BENGUELA
JAGA CACONDA
WILD NEGROES
CIMBEBAS
Fish Bay
Cabo Negro
C. Voltas
Saldanna Bay
Table Bay
Cape Town
Camps Bay
Cabo de boa Esperaça
Tropic of Capricorn
Fish Bay to St. Helena Bay
St. HELENA BAY
Scale of One Leagues



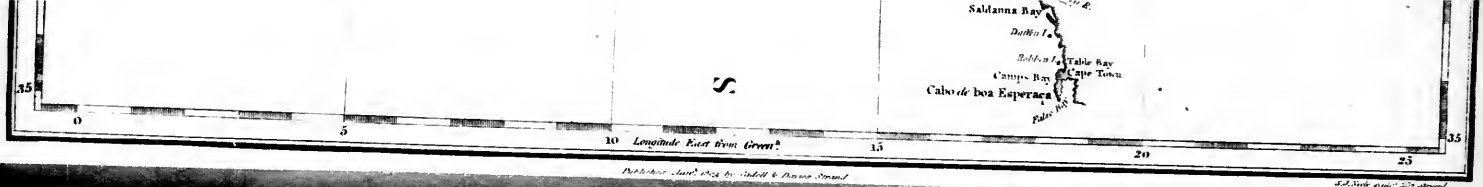
CABO de BOA ESPERAÇA.

drawn from a Variety of Geographical M.S.S.

by A. Arrowsmith.

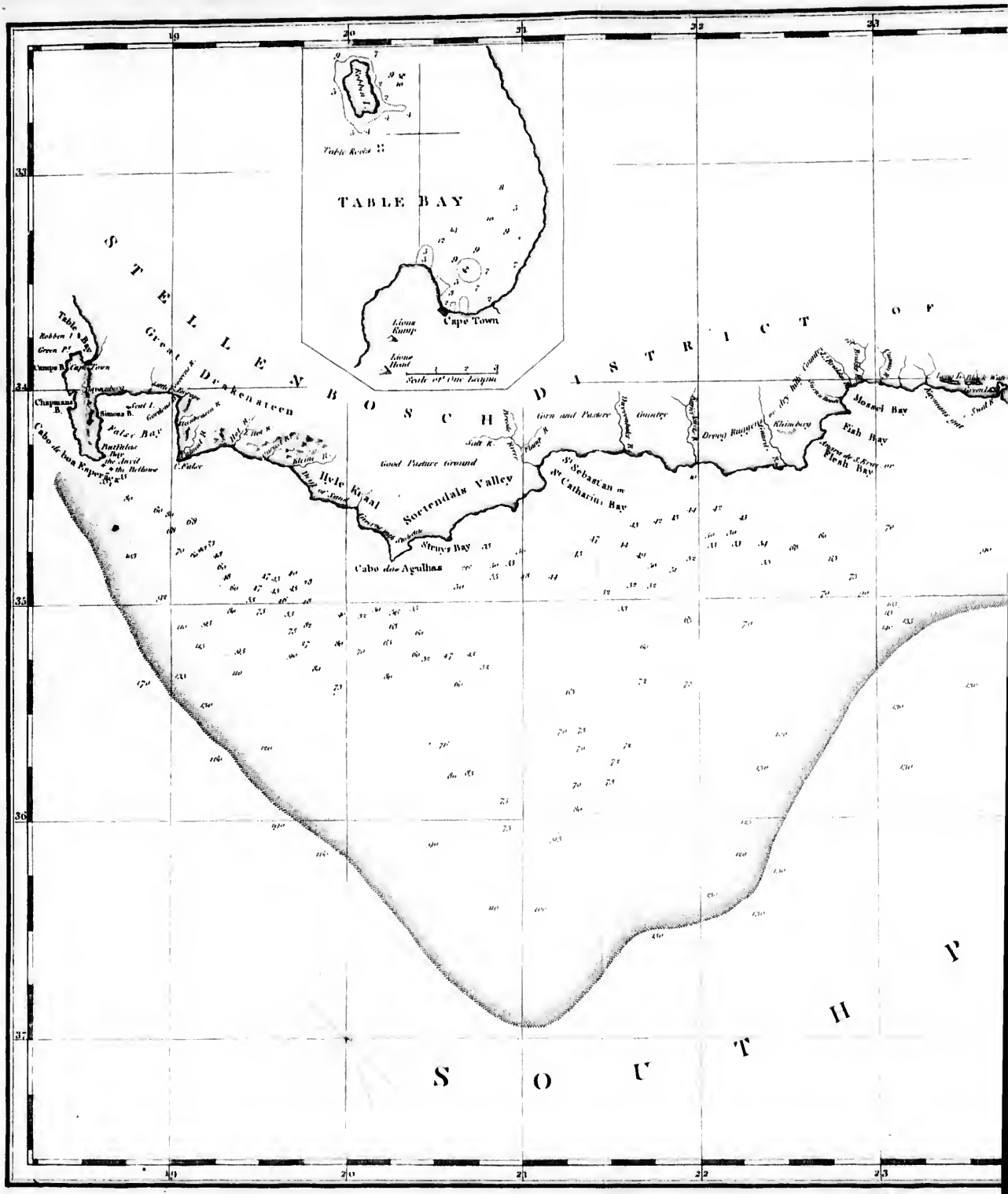
Published June 1818 by Cadell & Davies Strand.

E.J. Nash sculp. 259 Strand.

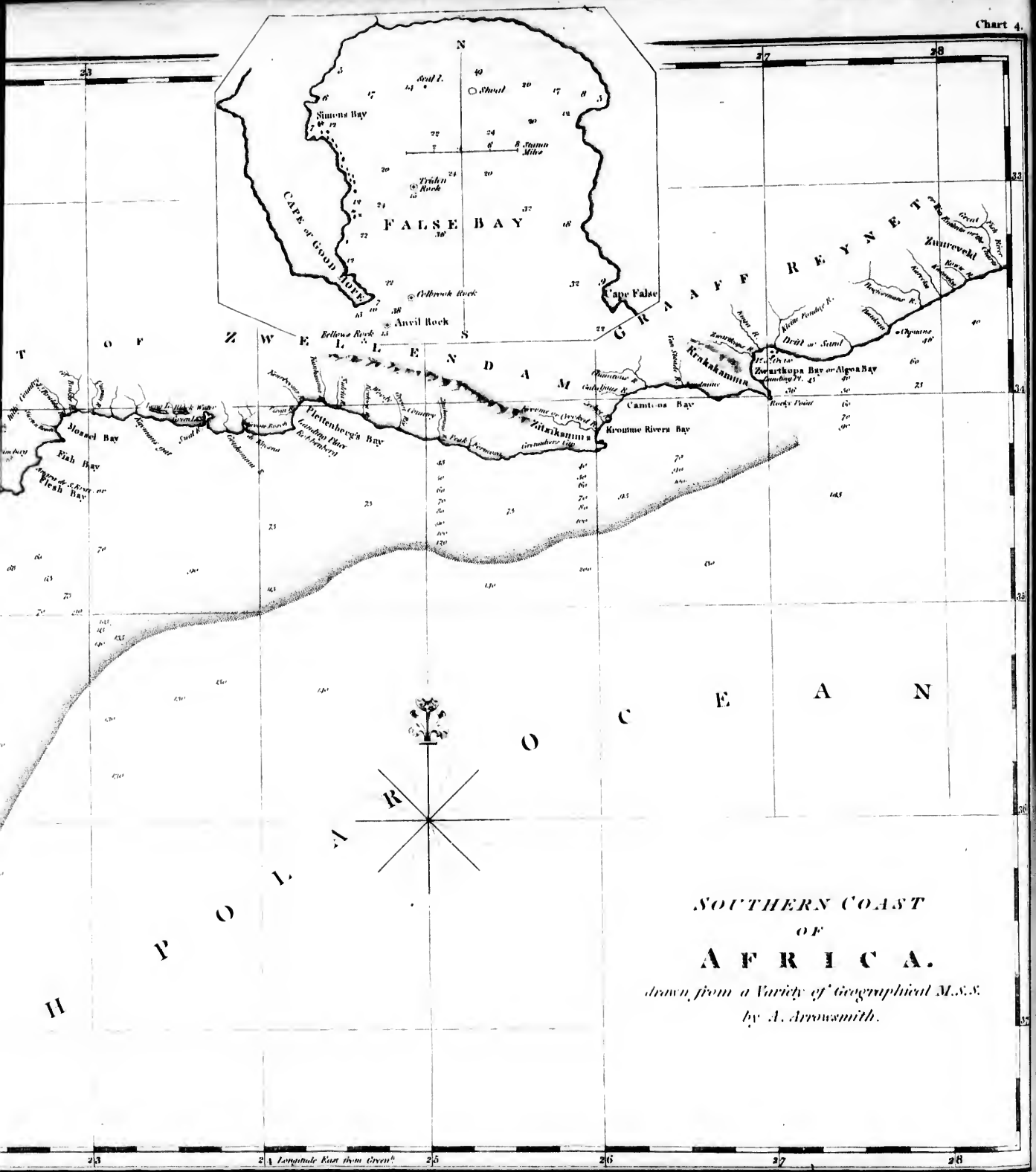


Published June 1st 1812 by Mitchell & Pinnock Strand

Ed. Neele sculp. 107 Strand.



Published June 1st 1803 by Gadell & Davies

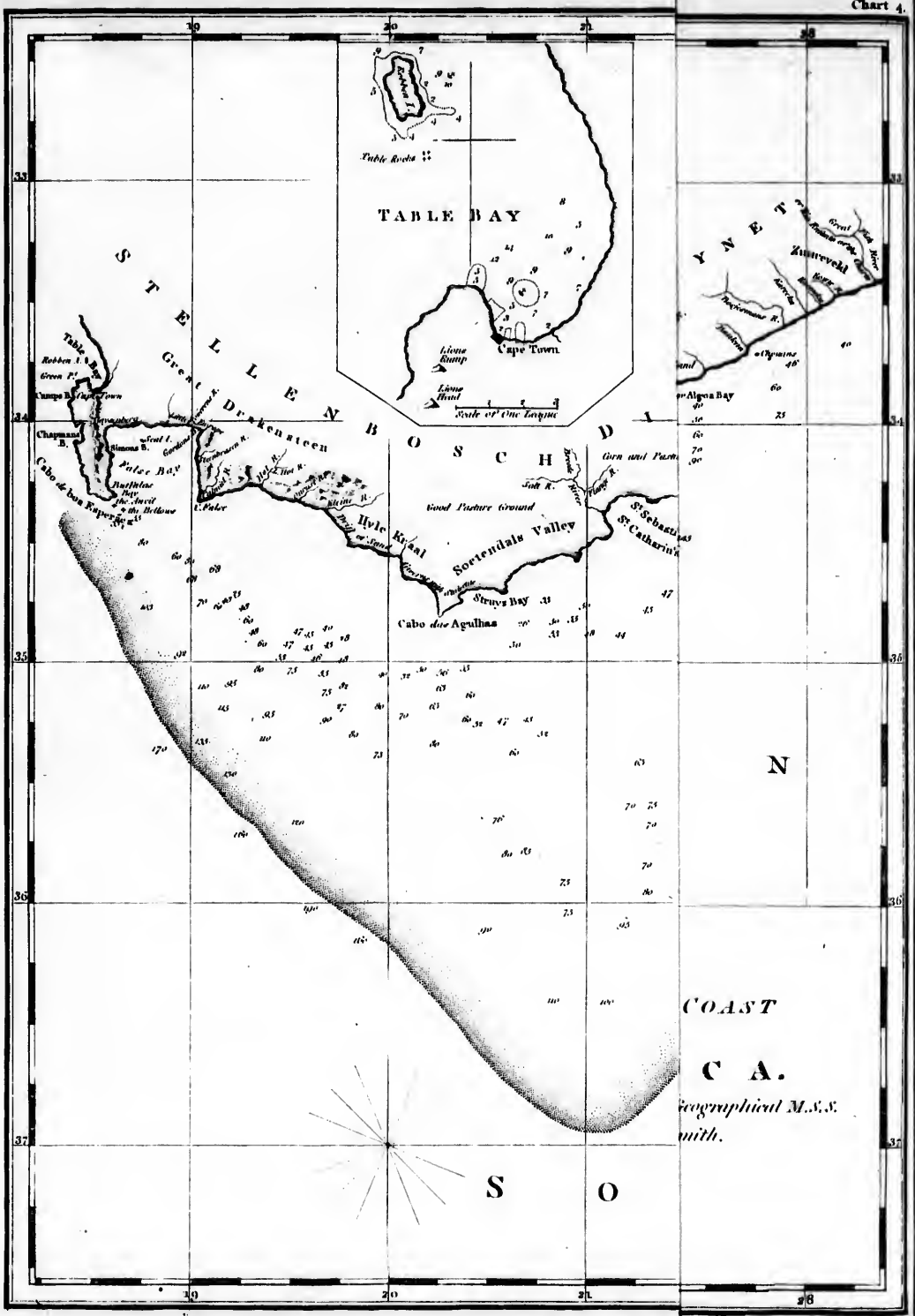


SOUTHERN COAST OF AFRICA.

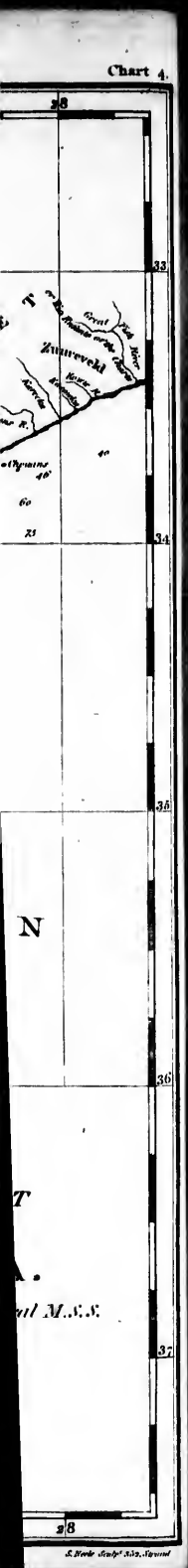
drawn from a Variety of Geographical M.S.S. by A. Arrowsmith.

Published June 1, 1822, by Cadell & Davies Strand.

J. Neele Sculpt. 375 Strand



S. Neele Sculp. 352, Strand



INTRODUCTION.

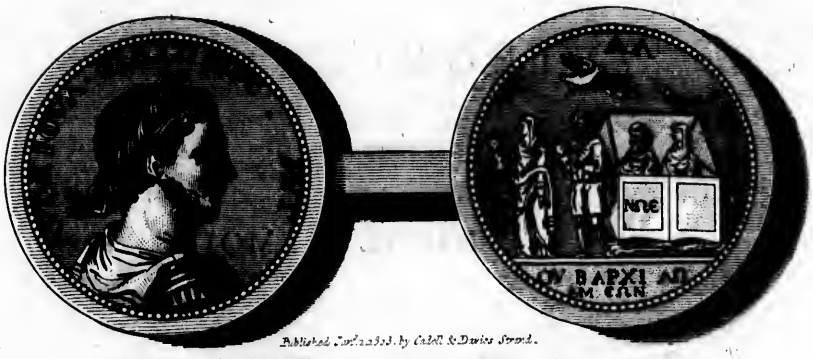
HISTORICAL MEMOIR

OF

Ancient Maritime Discoveries.

AMMON, who first, o'er Ocean's Empire wide,
Didst bid the bold BARK stem the roaring Tide;
SESAC, who, from the East to farthest West,
Didst rear thy PILLARS over realms subdued;
And THOU, whose bones do rest
In the huge pyramids' dim solitude.

Bowles's Song of the Battle of the Nile.



Published Jan.1.1803. by Cadell & Davies Strand.

SECTION THE FIRST.

Review of the earliest periods succeeding the Deluge, with some conjectures on the empire of Atlantis.

SECT. I.

IMAGINATION has delighted to trace the Origin of Navigation from the instinct of boyant *Nautili* *, or the appearance of a floating Oak, which amidst the sudden ravages of inundation supported the animal that

* *Bonani* observes, that this genus of shell fish is well named from the Greek ναυτιλος, which signifies both a ship and a sailor; for that the shells of all the *Nautili* carry the appearance of a ship with a very high poop. When this species intends to sail, it expands two of its arms; and between these supports a membrane, which it throws out on this occasion for its sail: its two other arms hang out of the shell, and serve occasionally either as oars, or as a steerage. When the sea is calm, numbers are seen diverting themselves in this manner; but as soon as a storm arises, or any thing interrupts them, they draw in their arms, and receive as much water as makes them specifically heavier than that in which they float, and then sink to the bottom. When they rise again, they get rid of this water through a number of holes.—There is an exact account of this singular animal in the Gent. Mag. (vol. xxii. p. 6—8, and 301.; and also vol. xxv. p. 128.)

that had repofed beneath its fhade. The celebrated Fragment of *Sanchoniatho the Phœnician* *, which Eufebius has preferved, declares that *Oufous* one of his countrymen, was the firft that formed a *Cance* from a tree half confumed by fire: but the more enlightened Hiftorian will defift from the accuftomed repetition of Pagan fables, and refer his readers to more fublime and authentic records. He will recal to their attention that ftupendous Act of Divine Mercy and immutable Juftice, by which the human race was punifhed and preferved; by which the earth was purified throughout its moft diftant extent: he will affirm, and appeal to Heaven for the truth of his opinion, that the great archetype of Navigation was THE ARK OF NOAH, conftructed by divine direction.

The Pagan Sage ignorant of that Sacred Hiftory, was urged by an unpardonable impulfe of vanity, to augment the obfcurity which time and apoftacy had caft over the earlieft ages: he therefore affigned with no fparing hand to his own nation, whatever tended to give an idea of high antiquity to its Annals; and employed the fcattered events of *poftdiluvian hiftory*, as fair fpoil, to enrich the fplendid tiffue of his own narration. Even *the infigne* of the *triads* of God, which Eaftern fuperftition had diftinguifhed as the TRIDENT † of the INDIAN SEEVA, was given by a ftrange infatuation to the Pagan *Neptune*; whofe throne is defcribed as placed in that abyfs, which had been employed to deftroy the impiety of preceding ages.

The plaufible tale of Grecian Mythology being once fabricated, was continued and adorned by fucceeding generations. The great mafters of Hiftory even in our own times have confufed themfelves and their readers, by referring the important events of the earlieft periods, to *Ofiris* and *Sefoftris*, to

* This curious fragment is noticed by the learned *Warburton*, who thus tranflates it from the Greek of *Philo-Byblius*: "Of the two firft mortals, *Protogonus* and *Oeon*, (the latter of whom was the author of feeking and procuring food from foreft trees) were begotten *Genos* and *Genea*. Thefe, in the time of great droughts, ftretched their hands upwards to the Sun, whom they regarded as a God, and fole ruler of the heavens. From thefe, after two or three generations, came *Upfouranios*, and his brother *Oufous*. One of them invented the art of building cottages of reeds and rufhes; the other the art of making garments of the fkins of wild beafts. In their time, violent tempefts of wind and rain having rubbed the large branches of the foreft-trees againft one another, they took fire, and burnt up the woods. Of the bare trunks of trees, they firft made Veffels to pafs the waters; they confecrated two Pillars to Fire and Wind, and then offered bloody facrifices to them as to gods."

† Placed on the ancient pagodas of *Deogur*. See the engraving prefixed to the fourth fection, copied by permiffion from the Indian Antiquities of Mr. Maurice.

SECT. I.

to the *Argonauts* and *Hercules:* when at length a Sage appeared, who arrested the progress of fable, and vindicated the cause of truth.—The fame of the venerable BRYANT needs no eulogium, but enjoys an elevation which succeeding centuries will support. By pointing out a path which all preceding writers had neglected, he recalled his countrymen from the legends of that Mythology which had disgraced their writings. Admired and abused, imitated and blamed, Mr. Bryant has preserved the even tenour of his course, and given a new impulse to the literary world.—" I shall be obliged," says this great Writer *, " to run counter to many received opinions, which length of time, and general assent, have in a manner rendered sacred. What is truly alarming, I shall be found to differ not only from some few historians, as is the case in common controversy, but in some degree from all; and this in respect to many of the most essential points upon which historical precision has been thought to depend.—I shall be obliged to set aside many ancient lawgivers and princes, who were supposed to have formed republics, and to have founded kingdoms. I cannot acquiesce in the stale legends of *Deucalion* of Thessaly, of *Inachus* of Argos, and *Ægialeus* of Sicyon; nor in the long line of princes, who are derived from them. No such conquests were ever atchieved as are ascribed to *Osiris*, *Dionusus*, and *Sesostris*; the histories of *Hercules* and *Perseus*, are equally void of truth. I am convinced, and hope I shall satisfactorily prove, that *Cadmus* never brought letters to Greece; and that no such person existed as the Grecians have described.—I make as little account of the histories of *Saturn*, *Janus*, *Pelops*, *Atlas*, *Dardanus*, *Minos of Crete*, and *Zoroaster of Bactria*. In respect to Greece, I can afford credence to very few Events which were antecedent to the Olympiads. I cannot give the least assent to the story of *Phryxus*, and the *golden fleece*. It seems to me plain beyond doubt, that there were no such persons as the *Grecian Argonauts;* and that the expedition of *Jason* to *Colchis* was a fable."

To

* Vol. i. *Preface*, p. 8., of a NEW SYSTEM, or an ANALYSIS OF ANCIENT MYTHOLOGY, *wherein an attempt is made to divest Tradition of Fable, and to reduce the truth to its original purity*. The Whole contains an account of the principal Events in the first ages, from the DELUGE to the DISPERSION: also of the various migrations which ensued, and the settlements made afterwards in different parts. By JACOB BRYANT; 3 vols. 4to. (Vol. i. and ii. 1774. Vol. iii. 1776.) A *Compendium* of this Work, together with some extracts from Mr. Bryant's Observations upon the Ancient History of Egypt, published in 1767, has been published in one octavo volume, by the *Rev. William Holwell*, (1793.)

To this judicious SCEPTIC my principal attention will be given in the following sections; if they contain either novelty or merit, the whole must be assigned to the pure spring whence I have drawn copiously, and without reserve. The scarcity of this valuable work will excuse long and frequent citations; for I have endeavoured, as far as the limits assigned me would admit, that the nervous language of Mr. *Bryant* should not be impaired by the interpolations of an inferior writer. I have also availed myself of the valuable publications by * Mr. *Maurice*, who has followed and extended the track of Mr. *Bryant*. The other authors referred to will be marked by an occasional reference.

M. BAILLI, in his history of Astronomy †, after describing its connection with Agriculture, Chronology, Geography, and Navigation, takes a general view of the Inventors and Origin of this science; and, in his third book, considers *the state of Astronomy before the Flood.* He scruples not to assign a knowledge of the *Mariner's Compass*, and of the *Clepsydra* ‡, to the Antediluvians; and also seems inclined to add the use of the *Pendulum.*—Mr. *Maurice*, with considerable ingenuity, supports the same opinion in his valuable History of § Hindostan; and after invalidating many of the extravagant and dogmatical assertions of M. *Bailli*, introduces *a sketch of such Arts and Sciences* as may reasonably, and without exaggeration, be presumed to have been cultivated by mankind before the Flood. Though Mr. Maurice does not

* Principally, I. His "interesting Dissertation on the Commerce carried on in very remote ages by the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Greeks*, with the British Islands, for their ancient staple of tin; and on their extensive barter of that commodity for those of the Indian Continent; the whole confirmed by Extracts from the *Institutes of Menu*, and interspersed with Strictures on the Origin and Progress of Navigation, and Ship-Building in the East. (Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 250.) II. A Dissertation on the Wealth of the Ancient World. (Ibid. vol. vii.) These valuable *Treatises* far surpass *Monsieur Huet's* imperfect History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Antients, and seem to require a separate Volume.

† *Histoire de l'Astronomie ancienne, depuis son origine jusqu' a l'Etablissement de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie.* M. *Bailli's* conjecture respecting the first discovery of the form of the earth was new and ingenious. He imagined that it was made by some philosophical travellers, who pursued a southerly course, and observed unknown stars appearing above the horizon, which they again lost on their return.

‡ According to Dr. *Hutton*, a kind of *water clock* or *hour glass*, employed by the Egyptians to ascertain the divisions of time, and the course of the sun. By means of this simple, but erroneous instrument, *Tycho Brahe* measured the motion of the stars, and *Dudley* made his *Maritime Observations.*

§ Vol. i. p. 429.

SECT. I.

not particularly contend for the existence of an *Antediluvian Sphere*, he expatiates on the probability of many invaluable astronomical records having been preserved by NOAH, among the remains of the wisdom of the antient world; and cites the few passages in profane history, from *Josephus*, *Manetho*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, that seem to illustrate this opinion *. But the most curious attestation of this occurs in the *Oriental Philosophy* of † Mr. *Stanley*, who gleaned it from the old Chaldean and Arabian authors. Kissæus, a Mahomedan writer, asserts that the *Sabians* possessed not only the books of *Seth* and *Edris*, but also others written by *Adam* himself; for *Abraham*, after his expulsion from Chaldea by the tyrant *Nimrod*, going into the country of the Sabians, opened the *Chest of Adam*; and, behold, in it were the books of Adam, as also those of *Seth* and *Edris*; and the names of all the Prophets that were to succeed Abraham.

JUBAL, *the father of all such as handle the harp and organ*, is introduced by Mr. Maurice, as the original Apollo of the East, and the Indian *Nereda*. JABAL, *the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle*, as the prototype of the rural *Pan*, the *Apollo Nonius* of the Greeks, and the *Creeshna* of India. In TUBAL CAIN we mark the ‡ first discoverer of a factitious metal, formed by a mixture of *lapis calaminaris* with copper in fusion; since this renowned antediluvian is mentioned as being the instructor of every artificer in BRASS and IRON. The origin of *Fire* § *Arms* is shadowed out in the

* Vol. i. p. 259.

† Lib. iii. c. 3. p. 36. edit. fol. 1701; cited by Mr. Maurice.

‡ Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. vi. p. 282.

§ History of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 442. "The use of FIRE ARMS in the earliest, and consequently the antediluvian period of their empire, (for to the antediluvian hypothesis I must still adhere, as the only rational mode of explaining the extravagant, though in some instances the authenticated chronological details of the Indians,) opens a wide field for reflection; since it appears to prove that the natives of this country had *immemorially the use of gunpowder*, and the metallic Instruments of death which are employed in the offensive use of that destructive article. If the AGNI-ASTER of antient times bears any resemblance to the *fire rocket* used in the modern wars of India, and which was also introduced with such success in the military school of the great *Timur*, it proves that they had the use of *iron* also; the extraction and fusion of which ore, and the preparation of it for use, are among the most complex and elaborate operations of chemistry. The FIRE ROCKET is described by a gentleman who personally examined them in India, 'to consist of a tube of iron about eight inches long, and an inch and an half in diameter, closed at one end. It is filled in the same manner as an ordinary *sky rocket*, and fastened towards the end of a piece of bamboo, scarcely as thick as

the account of the fiery Shafts of the deified *Rajahs* of India; which shafts were called AONI ASTRA, and used in the *Satya*, or first age of the world. But I have principally alluded to these remarks of the learned historian of *Hindostan*, in order to introduce his observations on those principles of *Naval Architecture* and *Navigation*, which it is probable the ANTEDILUVIANS had acquired.

"As the ANTEDILUVIANS had these ideas of *Masonry* and *Sculpture* intimately connected with *Architecture*, so must they also, in some degree, have been acquainted with the principles of NAVAL ARCHITECTURE and NAVIGATION; or the ark in which Noah was preserved, and the vessel in which the seventh *Menu*, or *Satyaurata*, sailed, under the guardian care of *Veeshnu*, could never have been built: for though in forming the proportions of these sacred Vessels, the fabricators confessedly followed the commands of the respective deities who enjoined the erection of them, yet it cannot reasonably be supposed that every plank was laid, and every joint fitted by immediate Inspiration. Romantic as the sentiment may appear, I am also inclined to think that the powers of the MAGNET were not wholly unknown to our antediluvian Ancestors; and probably by the use of it, as a secondary means under Divine Providence, *Noah* was enabled, his dreadful Voyage over, to regain the temperate Chaldean region which we have proved was the happy abode of the antediluvian Patriarchs. The Invention of the LOADSTONE has been thought a modern Discovery, and as such has been mentioned by me; but a recent perusal of *Dr. Hyde* enables me now to affirm, *that the Chaldeans and Arabians had immemorially made use of it to guide them over the vast Deserts that overspread their respective* * *Countries*; and according

as a walking cane, and about four feet long, which is pointed with iron; at the opposite end of the tube from the iron point, or that towards the head of the shaft, is the match. The man who uses it points the head of the shaft, that is shod with iron, at the object to which he means to direct it; and setting fire to the match, it goes off with great velocity. By the irregularity of its motion, it is difficult to be avoided; and sometimes acts with considerable effect, especially among cavalry.' (*Mr. Crauford's Sketches, vol. ii. p. 56. and consult the Engraving of it in the Frontispiece to his Book.*) There is another proof of the early acquaintance of the Indians with the penetrating and destructive nature of Fire, exhibited in the *Chakra* or symbol of *Veeshnu*, with which he destroys the malignant *Assoors*. It is a circular mass of fire, which, instinct with life, like the thunderbolt of the Grecian Jove, when hurled from the hand of that deity, traverses the illimitable void, and exterminates his enemies wherefoever concealed." (*See Wilkins's Bhagvat Geeta, p. 150.*)

* Hyde *de Religione Veterum Persarum*, p. 189.

SECT. I. according to the *Chinese* records, the emperor *Chingvang*, above a thousand years before Christ, presented the Ambassadors of the King of *Cochin-China* with a species of MAGNETIC INDEX, which, says Martinius, *certe monstrabat iter, sive terra illud, sive mari facientibus*. The Chinese, he adds, call this Instrument CHINAN; a name by which they at this day denominate the *Mariner's Compass* *. In respect to the *Indians*, there can be but little doubt of their having been as early acquainted with THE MAGNET, as the earliest of those nations, whom their GEMS and rich Manufactures allured to their coast, and whose shores they themselves visited in return: and that they were, in the remotest æras, engaged not less than the Phœnicians in projects of distant COMMERCE and NAVIGATION, which cannot be extensively carried on without a knowledge of the MAGNET's powers, I have this strong and curious evidence to produce; for in the most venerable of their sacred Law Tracts, *The Institutes of Menu*, that is the first, or *Swayambhuva Menu*, supposed by the Indians to have been revealed by that primeval Legislator many millions of years ago; and to which, in fact, after mature deliberation, *Sir William Jones* cannot assign a less ancient date than one thousand, or fifteen hundred years, before the Christian æra, but which is probably of a far superior traditional antiquity; there is a curious passage on the legal Interest of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, *with an exception in regard to adventures at sea*. At all events, I shall hereafter be able, by additional arguments, to prove the MAGNET to be of very ancient use in *Asia*; and the knowledge of it was probably the gift of *Noah* to his posterity, who settled on the Coast of *Phœnicia*; for without that gift it was impossible for them to have explored, as Tradition and History prove they did, in the earliest æras, the most distant quarters of the habitable globe. If, however, the first race of men should not even partially have been acquainted with the use of the *Compass*, that attention with which their prolonged lives enabled them to mark the periodical revolutions of the heavenly bodies, would probably have led them to the invention of such a simple Instrument as the *Marine Astrolabe*; by which the altitude of the Pole, and the Stars most useful in Navigation, might have been taken at sea, and their course regulated accordingly †."

Though the Egyptian *Hermes* may be derived from the Patriarch ENOCH, who, according to *Manetho*, traced the principles of antediluvian Astronomy

* Martinius, Hist. Sin. p. 106.

† History of Hindostan, p. 435.

in

in sacred characters on columns in the land of Seriad; and though Mr. *Whitehurst* may with reason * urge the possibility of the Newtonian doctrine respecting *Gravity*, *Fluidity*, and *Centrifugal Force*, having been known in remotest antiquity, but afterwards totally forgotten and lost; yet I cannot believe, notwithstanding the authority both of M. *Bailli* and Mr. *Maurice*, that the Magnet was discovered previous to the Flood. This would argue a skill in science among the antediluvians, sufficient to have counteracted, or opposed, the overwhelming chastisement of the deluge; and it is rational to conjecture, that if mankind had then possessed a knowledge of the Magnet, or had attained to any perfection in the science of Naval Architecture, the more powerful and pervading operation of Fire would have been called from its volcanic prisons, and poured forth upon the Globe. Besides, as the sacred writer has noticed the origin of many valuable arts, can we suppose that discoveries of such importance as the Magnet †, or the science of building Vessels which in the smallest degree resembled the awful and mysterious Ark, would be passed over in silence? In the divine THEBATH we first behold the origin of Naval Architecture: constructed without either Sails or Oars, Rudder or Anchor, its progress and preservation were alike miraculous, and needed not the assistance of any inferior or secondary power. The ABYSS on which this THEBATH floated, like the *Desert* through which the Children of Israel passed, offered no point to which a course might be directed by human ingenuity; in both instances, the immediate interference of Omniscience was necessary and apparent.

The most minute circumstances relative to the construction of the ARK are, therefore, on every account worthy of attention; and though, as an Historian ‡ observes, *on a narrow basis of acknowledged truth, an immense but rude superstructure of fable has been erected*, we must prefer this basis however narrow to any other, since that alone is founded upon a Rock.

In

* History of Indostan, p. 459. *Whitehurst's Inquiry*, p. 18.

† The MAGNET was probably an *Indian* or *Arabian* discovery, long before the period it was known to Europeans: though Dr. Vincent is inclined to think that the question has been set at rest by *Niebuhr*, *Mickle*, and Sir William Jones, who shew that the Arabian, Indian, and Chinese Compass is formed from that of Europe. (Periplus, p. 177.) I am informed by a gentleman lately returned from the East, that considerable light will be thrown on this discovery in a treatise which *Professor Assemani* is about to publish at *Padua*; who assigns it to the Arabians; and is of opinion that they were the first discoverers of *America*.

‡ *Gibbon*, vol. i. p. 350. ed. 8vo.

SECT. I.

In the year of the world 1656 *, two thousand three hundred and forty-eight years before the Christian æra, the epocha of the General Deluge is allowed to be placed; the universality of which the Arabians to this day strikingly express by their appropriate term of *Al Tufan*. The † royal or patriarchal family of Noah, on account of their distinguished virtues, were alone

* Dr. *Sharpe*, in his Translation of *Baron Holberg's* valuable Introduction to Universal History, which certainly in many respects is superior to the famous work of *Bossuet*, seems to prefer this date of 1656, and adds: "Concerning the difference of these large numbers, as they are found in the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, and *Greek* copies, much has been said by many writers; and yet, after all, many doubts yet remain: and if they are not made subservient to the wicked purposes of infidelity, there is certainly no greater harm in modestly doubting where the best men have differed, than in being very positive and dogmatical about matters of such remote antiquity; and where the data are so few, and mistakes in numbers of all others the most likely to happen, especially in these languages."

† Mr. *Maurice* is of opinion, (*History of Indostan*, vol. i. p. 415.) that no absolute monarchy existed in the antediluvian world, till the mild primitive patriarchal government had been exterminated by the overbearing power and violence of some successful usurper; and that character is better suited to *Tubal Cain*, than any other antediluvian descendant of *Adam*.—*Vulcan* is by some learned etymologists thought to be only the corruption of the *Tubal Cain* of Scripture, who first taught mankind the use of the forge. Now, since the inventor of brass and iron instruments became probably the first tyrannical subjugator of his fellow creatures, we may fairly conclude that the character of AGNI (*an Indian Deity*, see p. 7) has reference to some renowned antediluvian sovereign, and most probably to this gigantic descendant of the vicious *Cain*. (Ibid. p. 414.) Mr. *Maurice* then proceeds to state the names of the Antediluvian Sovereigns in the *Chaldean* history; and adds the line of SETH from *Moses*.

1. ALORUS.	1. ADAM.
2. ALASPARUS.	2. SETH.
3. AMELON.	3. ENOS.
4. AMENON.	4. CAINAN.
5. METALARUS.	5. MAHALALEEL.
6. DAONUS.	6. JARED.
7. EUEDORACHUS.	7. ENOCH.
8. AMPHIS.	8. METHUSELAH.
9. OTIARTES.	9. LAMECH.
10. XISUTHRUS.	10. NOAH.

SANCHONIATHO's Phœnician genealogy of Antediluvian Princes, consists also of ten generations; and is supposed to exhibit the succession of the Line of the impious *Cain*. SANCHONIATHO, according to *Cumberland*, wishing to establish a system of atheistical Cosmogony, conceals the event of the Flood; and derives Noah in a direct line from *Cain*, that he may carry on the genealogical descent to HAM, MISOR, and TAUT; the last of whom was the immediate founder of the PHOENICIAN empire. (*Ibid.* p. 419, 420.)

alone preferved; and to this antediluvian monarch God himfelf revealed the firft principles of *Naval Architecture* and *Navigation*.—Prior to this memorable event, the WATERS *that were under the Heavens, had at the Creation been gathered together into one place;* and probably formed a regular and circumambient boundary to the Earth, or *dry land*, then confifting of one unbroken Continent. Such fymmetry and regularity is apparent from the Mofaic Hiftory, and the wifdom of that God, "who faw every thing that he had made, and beheld it was very good." But, after the Deluge, this regularity which had not been univerfally affected by the fall of Man was totally deftroyed: the Earth, or *dry land*, was then firft broken into feparate Continents, and fcattered Iflands; and the fciences of *Naval Architecture* and *Navigation*, bequeathed by NOAH to his pofterity, became fo effential to their happinefs and mutual neceffities, that the Patriarch was foon worfhipped as a fuperior being; whilft his real hiftory was diftorted and obfcured under a cloud of fable.

Every particular relative to the conftruction of the ARK, that awful and myfterious origin of Navigation, is correctly recorded by Mofes. NOAH was commanded to felect *Gopher wood* for this purpofe; refpecting the identity of which a number of opinions has arifen. What in Hebrew is called *Gopher wood*, in the Septuagint is *Square Timbers*. The learned * *Nicholas Fuller* obferves, in his *Mifcellanea Sacra*, that the *Gopher* was what the Greeks called the Cypref tree; and that, omitting the termination of the latter, *Cupar* and *Gophar* are not very diffimilar. The great † *Bochart* confirmed this opinion, and offers many ingenious conjectures on the fubject, in the fourth chapter of his *Phaleg*. According to *Vitruvius*, CYPRESS wood was the leaft fubject to decay; the fap which pervades every part being fo offenfive, that no worm, or other corroding animal, will touch it. The particular form of the THEBATH, to ufe the Hebrew term for the Ark, was neceffarily adapted to the fervice it was intended to perform; and probably carried an equal breadth throughout, as is now done in the weft-

* Born at Southampton in 1557; died in 1622.—His *Mifcellaneain* four books were firft publifhed at Oxford in 1616, and at London in 1617; two more books were added in 1622: they are all printed in the ninth volume of the *Critici Sacri*.

† Styled by Mr. PRYANT, who could beft appretiate fuch abilities, *that curious, indefatigable, and particularly learned man*. BOCHART was born in 1599, and died in 1667. His great work, to which further reference will be made, is entitled *Geographia Sacra*; divided into two parts, *Phaleg* and *Canaan*.

SECT. I.

weſt-country barges, the bottoms of which are flat yet ſomewhat narrower than the upper works. Without maſts, ſails, and rigging, Stability was not an object in the conſtruction of the Ark, but Capacity. Its dimenſions were; in *length* three hundred cubits, in *breadth* fifty cubits, and in *height* thirty cubits. If we reckon the Hebrew cubit at twenty-one inches, which *Arbuthnot* * gives as the extent of the *ſacred cubit*, the *length* of the Ark was 520 feet, its *breadth* 87 feet, its *height* 52 feet, and its internal capacity 357,600 cubical cubits: *Arbuthnot* computes the tonnage at 81,062. If, on the contrary, we make the Cubit only eighteen inches, which *Arbuthnot* gives as the dimenſions of the *common cubit*, the *length* of the Ark would have been 450 feet, its *breadth* 75 feet, and its *height* 45. This aſtoniſhing Veſſel was divided into three *ſtories*, or *decks*; a door, or *entering Port*, was cut in the ſide; and one large window, with probably many *ſcuttles*, were ſo placed as to give light and air with the greateſt advantage and ſecurity: the whole was then paid both within and without with a thick coat of pitch, or Aſiatic *bitumen*.—Theſe dimenſions have been conſidered attentively by the moſt able geometricians and ſhip-builders; and after an attentive review of the whole they have declared, as Wilkins obſerves, that if the ableſt mathematicians had been conſulted they could not have proportioned the ſort of Veſſel more accurately. In confirmation of this opinion it may not be irrelevant to add an account of Ships that were actually built after the ſame proportions, which proved the moſt complete and perfect models ever conſtructed for veſſels of burthen.

Ships built after the proportions of the Ark.

About the middle of the ſeventeenth century, *Peter Janſon*, a Dutch merchant, cauſed a ſhip to be built, anſwering in its reſpective proportions to thoſe of Noah's Ark. At firſt this *Ark* was looked upon as a fanatical viſion of *Janſon*'s, who was by profeſſion a *Menoniſt;* and whilſt it was building, he and his Ship were made the ſport of the ſeamen. But afterwards it was diſcovered, that Ships built in this manner were, in time of peace, beyond all others moſt commodious for Commerce, becauſe they would hold a third part more, without requiring any addition of hands †. *Hornius* alſo, in his Hiſtory of the ſeveral Empires, gives an account of two ſhips built about the ſame time with that by *Janſon*, after the model and proportions of the Ark, by *Peter Hans* of *Horne*. The attempt was at firſt ridiculed, but experience afterwards atteſted its ſucceſs.

Conſider-

* Tables of ancient coins, weights, and meaſures, p. 73.

† Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. i. *Occas Annot.* 13.

Considerable learning has been employed to ascertain the exact time * of year, when this tremendous THEBATH first appeared on that Abyss which covered the ruins of the antient World. A scene more sublimely dreadful cannot be imagined; and the awful silence in which the sufferings of the Antediluvian race are shrouded by the sacred Historian, is more expressive than any description which language can convey: ALL FLESH DIED THAT MOVED ON THE EARTH!

For one hundred and fifty days the Waters prevailed; the Lord then remembered NOAH: a wind passed over the dreadful Abyss, and first agitated the solemn calm that had continued. At the command of God the Waters † returned to their volcanic retreats, and the mysterious THEBATH resting

* *Jacques Basnage*, who was born in 1653, and died in 1723, in his *Antiquités Judaïques*, (2 vols. 8vo.) gives the following *Calendar of the melancholy year of the world* 1656. (Vol. ii. p. 399.

MONTH.

I. *September*—*Methusaleh* died.
II. *October*—NOAH and his family entered the ark.
III. *November*—The fountains of the GREAT DEEP broke open.
IV. *December* 26—The rain began, and continued forty days and nights.
V. *January*—The earth and its inhabitants entirely covered by the Deluge.
VI. *February*—The Rain continued.
VII. *March*—The Deluge continued at its height until the 27th, when the waters began to decrease.
VIII. *April* 17—The Ark rested upon the Mountains of *Ararat*.
IX. *May*—The Patriarch continued waiting until the Waters returned from off the earth.
X. *June* 1—The tops of the mountains appeared.
XI. *July* 11—NOAH sent forth a Raven.
—— 18—To this succeeded a Dove, which returned.
—— 25—The Dove sent forth a second time; returned in the evening with an *olive leaf* plucked off.
XII. *August* 2—The Dove sent forth a third time; and did not return.

A. M. 1657.

I. *September*—The dry land appeared.
II. *October* 27—NOAH went out of the Ark.

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† Among the different writers who have considered the *Ark of Noah* and the *Deluge*, the following are more particularly worthy of attention.

1. *Whitehurst's* Inquiry into the original state and formation of the Earth.
2. *Cockburn* upon the Deluge.
3. *Pelletier's* Dissert. sur l'Arche de Noé.

4. Dr.

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resting upon the Mountains of ARARAT, the Patriarch removed its covering; obeyed the sacred voice that issued from the dreary solitude, and went forth to offer the first duties of a devout and grateful family.

The regions of the Indian Caucasus first inhabited.

To ascertain the particular part of *Asia* where this memorable event of *the resting of the Ark* took place, is of the utmost importance; since it not only enables us to trace with greater accuracy the subsequent colonization of the globe, but also furnishes a correct idea of that particular country, which, by first receiving from *Noah* the remains of Antediluvian science, became the deposit, or mine, whence future generations were destined to receive the invalu-

4. Dr. *T. Burnet's* admirable Theory of the Earth originally published in Latin, and translated into English with additions, on account of the uncommon approbation it received from Charles II.

5. Dr. *Woodward's* Essay towards a natural History of the Earth, &c. With an account of the *Universal Deluge*, and of the effects that it had upon the earth.

6. *Kircher's* Arca Noë.

7. Bishop Wilkins's Essay towards a real Character, and a Philosophical Language.

8. Bishop of Llandaff's Sermons, p. 122. ed. 1788.

9. CATCOTT on the Deluge, published at the end of that learned writer's remarks, on the second Part of the Lord Bishop of Clogher's Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament, chiefly with respect to his Lordship's interpretation of the Mosaic account of the Creation and Deluge.—Mr. *Catcott* exerts his abilities to prove that there is a great ABYSS of water within the earth; with which all seas, lakes, rivers, &c. communicate; and that the eruption of its waters, was what *Moses* terms *the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep.* This interesting Theory is supported by the following ARGUMENTS. I. *That all the rivers run into the Sea, and yet the sea is not full.* II. As the quantity of Water that is poured into the *Ocean* from the mouths of all the rivers upon the earth, proves the certainty of an ABYSS beneath the ocean and the land; *so the quantity that is thrown out at the heads or sources of all the rivers, equally proves the same; and especially that this Abyss lieth beneath the earth, as well as the sea.* III. Mr. Catcott's third proof of a subterranean abyss of water, is drawn from *whirlpools, under-currents,* and *gulphs in the ocean.* IV. A fourth proof of a subterranean reservoir of water is deduced from *lakes.* V. *From the consideration of some phænomena attending earthquakes.* VI. *From the quantity of water discovered within-side of the earth, on opening its strata for stone or coal; on digging wells; on searching after minerals, and by other means.* This the Moors term *Bahar tâht el Erd,* or sea below ground. Mr. Catcott strengthens his idea by some striking passages from scripture: "He stretched out the Earth above the Waters" (Psalm xxxvi. 6.) "*He gathered up the waters as in a* Bag," as the best translators have it, "*and laid up the deep as in a Storehouse,*" (Psalm xxxiii. 7.) This learned author then proceeds to prove that *the whole earth* was covered to an immense height by this SUBTERRANEAN WATER; and that the Deluge in the time of Noah was *universal*; the fountains of the GREAT ABYSS having been broken up, and the water thereof elevated above all the high hills under the whole heaven, (p. 159.)

invaluable treasure. On this subject I have ventured to dissent from general and received opinions, and have preferred the sentiments of BEN GORION, and SIR WALTER RALEGH, who place ARARAT at the sources of the river Indus; the SAMARITAN VERSION fixes it at Serendib, the name given by the eastern writers to the island of *Ceylon* *.

The first opinion is certainly worthy of more attention than it has received, and is approved by the learned *Patrick* in his Commentary. The great *Sir Walter Ralegh*, in his valuable *History of the World*, published in the year 1614, gives a variety of cogent reasons for believing, that the long ridge of mountains which runs through *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, and *Susiana*; that is, from *Cilicia* to *Paraponisus;* was called by Moses, ARARAT; and by PLINY, TAURUS. *Ralegh*, in the tenth section of his seventh chapter, supports this opinion with much ability †; and then leads the sons of SHEM, *Ophir* and *Havilah*, to the banks of the *Ganges;* and *Nimrod*, the son of CHUS, to *Babylon*. The following abstract ‡ from an History that is but little known, and less read, will enable the reader to judge for himself.

" Lastly, we must blow up this Mountain ARARAT itself, or else we must dig it downe, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or finde it elsewhere, and in a warmer country; and, withal, set it East from *Shinaar;* or else we shall wound the truth itself with the weapons of our own vain imaginations. Therefore, to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand that ARARAT, named by Moses, is not any one hill so called: all that long ledge of mountains which *Plinie* calleth by one name, *Taurus;* and *Ptolomie*, both Taurus, Niphates, Coatras, &c. until they cross the mountains of the great *Imaus*, are of one general name, and are called the Mountaines of Ararat, or *Armenia*; because from thence, or thereabout, they seem to arise. So all these mountains of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Caspii*, *Sythici*, &c. thus diversly called by Plinie and others, *Ptolomie* calls by one name, *Caucasus*, lying between the seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*; and, as these mountains of *Ararat* run east and west, so do those marvailous mountains of *Imaus* stretch themselves north and south; and being of like extent well-neer, are called by the name of *Imaus*.—All the Mountains of *Asia*, both the less and the greater,

* There is actually a province of this island named *Ararat*, or *Airarat*; which the authors of the Universal History (vol i. p. 73.) rather refer to a battle, in which *Arac* the eighth king of *Ceylon* was slain.

† See *Ralegh's* Map of *Asia*, p. 109. ‡ Ibid p. 96—109.

SECT. I. greater, have three general names, TAURUS, IMAUS, and CAUCASUS: drawing neer their waies end, they first make themselves the fouth border of *Bactria*, and are then honored with the title of *Paropanisus*, and lastly of *Caucasia*; even where the famous river of *Indus*, with his principal companions *Hydaspes* and *Zaræadrus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here do these mountains build themselves exceeding * high, to equal the strong hills called *Imaus of Scythia*.

" Now in this part of the world, it is where the mountain and river *Janus*, and the mountain *Nyseus* (so called of *Bacchus Niseus* or NOAH) are found; and on these highest mountains of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the ARK of *Noah* grounded after the Flood: of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indoscythia* he has many good arguments; and as the same *Becanus* also noteth, that as in this part of the world are found the best VINES, so it is as true, that in the same line, and in 34, 35, and 36 degrees of septentrional latitude, are the most delicate wines in the world.—If we † adde the consideration of this part of the text, that NOAH *planted a vineyard*, we shall find that the fruit of the *vine* did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the arke was supposed; for if the *vine* was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder country.

" For a final end of this ‡ question, we must appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even to the WORD of truth. The words then of Moses, which end this dispute, are these: *And as they went from the East, they found a playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode* §: which proveth, without controversie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the *East* into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Ark of Noah* rested, and tooke land, to the eastward thereof. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by Moses;

* *Major Rennell*, when considering the elevated region of *Eastern Asia*, which he proves to be on an higher level than the *western*, observes, that " the highest continuous Ridge of this part, appears to be that which passes by the south-east of the *Caspian* Sea and *Hyrcania*; between *Aria* on the north, and *Drangiana* on the south; and from thence between *Bactriana* and the Indian provinces; where, as it approaches towards *Imaus*, which (as has been said) forms a part of a yet more elevated region, it swells to a great bulk and height, and is covered with snow till the month of August. This is properly the *Indian Caucasus* of the Greeks; in modern language *Hindoo-Kho*. (*Geo. of Herodotus*, p. 179.)

† Raleigh, p. 103. ‡ Ibid. p. 108. § Genesis, c. xi. 2.

SECT. I.

Introduction. *Earliest Periods.*

Moſes; for to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journying from the *Eaſt*, nor ſo neer unto the *Eaſt* as the *North*; for *Armenia* is to the weſt of the North itſelfe.—But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth weſt from the place where the Ark of *Noah* reſted after the Floud; and therefore it firſt found ground in the Eaſt, from whence came the firſt knowledge of all things. The Eaſt parts were firſt civill, which had *Noah* himſelf for an inſtructer; and directly Eaſt from *Shinaar*, in the ſame degree of 35, are the greateſt grapes, and the beſt wine. The great armies alſo, which overtopped in number thoſe millions of *Semiramis*, prove that thoſe parts were firſt planted. And therefore did the Ark reſt on thoſe Eaſtern mountains, called by one generall name *Taurus*, and by *Moſes*, the Mountains of ARARAT; and not on thoſe mountains of the North-weſt, as *Beroſus* firſt feigned; whom moſt part of the writers have followed therein. It was, I ſay, in the plentifull warm EAST where *Noah* reſted, where he planted the *Vine*, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon.—

"Now * another reaſon which moves me to beleeve that *Noah* ſtayed in the Eaſt, far away from all thoſe that came into Shinaar, is, that Moſes doth not in any word make mention of *Noah*, in all the ſtory of the Hebrewes, or among any of thoſe nations which contended with them. And *Noah* being the Father of all mankinde, and the choſen ſervant of God, was too principall a perſon to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in reſpect of his age and weariſome experience of the world) withdrawne himſelfe, and reſted apart; giving himſelfe to the ſervice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their deſtined portions †."

As I have ventured in this inſtance to differ from that excellent Mythologiſt, whom I have otherwiſe followed as my guide, and as the further elucidation of this ſubject is of great importance in a review of the *earlieſt periods;* I cannot diſmiſs it, without introducing or recalling to the reader's attention, the powerful

* Ralegh, p. 101.

† Theſe ideas of *Goropius Becanus*, and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, did not eſcape the attention of Mr. Maurice, in his Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, (vol. ii. p. 4—13.)—They not only appear to me conſiſtent with the general ſenſe of the Sacred Writings, but as the only means by which the profeſſed high antiquity of the *Indian Annals* can be rendered conſiſtent with the INFALLIBILITY of the Moſaic records.

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powerful ſupport which theſe ideas lately received, from *Captain Francis Wilford*'s remarks on MOUNT CAUCASUS; inſerted in the ſixth volume of the *Aſiatic Reſearches*.

Ralegh recently ſupported by Wilford.

" This appellation (CAUCASUS), at leaſt in its preſent ſtate, is not *Scanſcrit*; and as it is not of Grecian origin, it is probable that the Greeks received it through their intercourſe with the Perſians. In this ſuppoſition, the real name of this famous mountain ſhould be *Caſus*, or *Cas*; for *Cau*, or *Coh*, in Perſian, ſignifies a *Mountain*.---The true Sanſcrit name is C'HASAGIRI, or the Mountain of the C'HASAS, a moſt *ancient* and powerful tribe who inhabited this immenſe range. They are often mentioned in the ſacred books of the *Hindus*: their deſcendants ſtill inhabit the ſame regions, and are called to this day, *C'haſas*, and in ſome places, *C haſyas* and *Coſſais*. They belonged to the claſs of warriors, or *Cſhettris*; but now they are conſidered as the loweſt of the four Claſſes, and were thus degraded, according to the Inſtitutes of MENU *, by their omiſſion of the holy rites, and by ſeeing no *Bráhmens*. However, the vakeel of the Rajah of *Cómanh*, or *Almora*, who is a learned Pandit, informs me, that the greateſt part of the Zemindars of that country are *C'haſas*; and that they are not conſidered or treated as outcaſts. They are certainly *a very ancient tribe*; for they are mentioned as ſuch in the Inſtitutes of MENU; and their great anceſtor C'HASA, or C'HASYA, is mentioned by *Sanchoniathon*, under the name of CASSIUS. *He is ſuppoſed to have lived before the Flood*, and to have given his name to the mountains he ſeized upon. The two countries of *Caſhgar*, thoſe of *Caſh-mir*, *Caſtwar*, and the famous peak *C'haſhgar*, are acknowledged in *India* to derive their names from the *C'haſas*.---

" The denomination of *C'haſa giri*, or *C'haſa-ghar*, is now confined to a few ſpots; and is never uſed in any *Sanſcrit* book, at leaſt that came to my knowledge. This immenſe range is conſtantly called in Sanſcrit, *Himáchel*, or *Snowy Mountain*; and *Himálaya*, or *the abode of ſnow*: from *Hima* the Greeks made IMAUS.---

" Strabo and Arrian were certainly miſtaken when they ſuppoſed, that the followers of *Alexander*, in order to flatter his vanity, had given out that the mountains to the north and north-weſt of *Cabul* were the real CAUCASUS. An extenſive branch was called by the Greeks PARAPAMISUS: it is a part of the mountainous region called *Dévanica* in the *Purânas*. I believe there is

* Page 294.

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Introduction. *Earliest Persian.*

is no general name at present for the whole range; but that part which lies between *Cabul*, *Bámíyan*, and *Anderáb*, is called *Hindu-cash*, and *Hindu-kesh*; which last denomination has been distorted by Persian authors, and travellers, into *Hindu-Coh*; at least in the opinion of the natives. We find it called also *Sheybar-Tág* or *Sheybar-Tau*, or the mountains of *Sheybar* or *Shebar*, under which appellation PROMETHEUS is generally known in the sacred books of the *Hindus*. Be this as it may, the Greeks called it also *Parapanisus*, in the same manner, I suppose, that they called the river *Famisus* (in the Peloponnesus) *Panisus*. The name of this famous Mountain is variously written in different authors and manuscripts.—The word *Parapamisus*, or *Para-Famisus*, is obviously derived from the *Sanscrit* PARA-VAMI, or the pure and excellent City of *Vámí*, commonly called *Bámíyan*. It is called in Sanscrit, VAMI-NAGARI, VAMI-GRAM, and in a derivative form VAMIYAN, or *the most beautiful and excellent City*. It is a place of great antiquity, and was considered at a very early period as the Metropolis of the sect of *Buddha*: hence it was called emphatically *Buddha-Bámíyan*; but the Musulmans have maliciously distorted this venerable title into *Bút-Bámíyan*, or *Bámían* of the Evil Spirit, or of the Idols. *Para*, which signifies *pure* and *holy*, is also one of the thousand names of VISHNU. *Para*, or *Paras*, is obviously the same with the Latin *purus*; for the letter *a* here sounds exactly like *u* in *murmur* in English.

" *Bámíyan* is represented in the books of the *Bauddhists*, as the source of holiness and purity. It is also called *Sharma-Bámíyan*, or *Sham-Bámíyan*; for in Sanscrit, *Sharma* and *Shama* are synonymous. This is also one of the thousand names of VISHNU, and of the famous patriarch SHEM; by whom, according to the Bauddhists, *Bámíyan* was built: they say that he was an incarnation of JINA, or VISHNU, and the *Bráhmens* in general are of that opinion.

Ancient city of Bámíyan.

" This famous City, the Thebes of the east, being hardly known in Europe, I beg leave to lay before the Society a short description of it, with an abstract of its history.

" It is situated on the road between *Báhlac* and *Cábul*.---The city of *Bámíyan* consists of a vast number of apartments and recesses cut out of the rock; some of which, on account of their extraordinary dimensions, are supposed to have been temples. They are called *Samach'h* in the language of the country, and *Samaj* in Persian. There are no pillars to be seen in any of them, according to the information I have received from travellers who had visited them. Some of them are adorned with niches and carved

 work;

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work; and there are to be ſeen the remains of ſome figures in relievo, which were deſtroyed or miſerably diſfigured by Muſulmans. Some remains of paintings on the walls are ſtill viſible in ſome of them, but the ſmoke from the fires made there by the inhabitants has almoſt obliterated them. It is ſaid in the *Ayeen-Akbery*, that there are about 12,000 of theſe receſſes in the *Tumán* or *Tágávi* of *Bámíyan*; this is alſo confirmed, from general report by travellers. The country of the *Afghans*, as far as *Báhlac* and *Badacſhán*, abounds with *Samach'hes* or *Samajes*; ſome of them are very rude, whilſt others are highly finiſhed and ornamented. The moſt perfect are at a place called *Móhi*, on the road between *Bámíyan* and *Báhlac*: as they are ſituated among precipices, the Muſulmans have never thought of living in them; and the paintings with which they are adorned look quite freſh.

"But what never fails to attract the notice of travellers, are two COLOSSAL STATUES which are ſeen at a great diſtance. They are erect, and adhere to the mountain from which they were cut out; they are in a ſort of niches, the depth of which is equal to the thickneſs of the Statues. It is ſaid in the Ayeen-Akbery, that the largeſt is eighty ells high, and the other only fifty. Theſe dimenſions are greatly exaggerated, according to the opinion of all the travellers I have ſeen; and the diſproportion is not ſo great between the two. According to the author of the *Pharangh-Jehangiri*, cited by TH. HYDE, they are ſaid to be only fifty cubits high; which appears to be the true dimenſions. At ſome diſtance from theſe two Statues, is another of a ſmaller ſize, being about fifteen cubits high: natives, and Perſian authors, have mentioned them.---The few *Hindus*, who live in theſe countries, ſay that they repreſent BHI'M and his conſort; the followers of BUDDHA, that they are the Statues of *Sháhámá*, and his diſciple *Sa'lſa'la'*. The *Muſulmans* inſiſt, that they are the Statues of KEY UMURSH and his conſort, that is to ſay, ADAM and EVE; and that the third is intended for SEISH or SETH their ſon; whoſe tomb, or at leaſt the place where it ſtood formerly, is ſhewn near *Báhlac*. This is in ſome meaſure confirmed by the author of the *Pharangh-Jehanghiri*, who ſays that theſe ſtatues exiſted in the time of NOAH.---According to *Perſian* authors, *Bámíyan* muſt have exiſted before the Flood; but the followers of BUDDHA inſiſt, *that it was built by a moſt religious man*, called SHAMA, who appears from particular circumſtances to be the ſame with the famous Patriarch SHEM; *and that his poſterity lived there for ſeveral generations*. Hence *Bálkh-Bámíyan* is ſaid to have been originally the

place

place of abode of *ABRAHAM, who, according to ſcripture, and the *Hindu* ſacred books, removed with his father to diſtant countries to the weſtward.

" According to DIODORUS the *Sicilian*, BAMIYAN exiſted before NINUS; for this hiſtorian, like the Perſian authors we have mentioned, has miſtaken *Báhlac* for *Bámíyan*; which he deſcribes as ſituated among ſteep hills; whilſt *Báhlac* is ſituated in a low, flat country, and at a great diſtance from the mountains.

" The natives look upon BAMIYAN and the adjacent Countries, as the place of abode of the progenitors of mankind, both before and after the Flood. By *Bámíyan and the adjacent countries*, they underſtand all the country from *Siſtán* to *Samarchand*, reaching towards the eaſt as far as the *Ganges*. This tradition is of great antiquity; for it is countenanced equally by *Perſian* authors, and the ſacred books of the *Hindus*. The firſt heroes of Perſian hiſtory lived and performed there innumerable achievements. Their ſacred hiſtory places alſo in that country their holy inſtructors, and the firſt temples that were ever erected. In the prefatory diſcourſes, prefixed to the PURANAS, and which appear to have been added by a more modern hand, a general deſcription of the whole world is inſerted; which one would naturally ſuppoſe to be extracted from that *Purána*, to which it is annexed: but the reverſe is actually the caſe; for it has no affinity whatever with ſuch geographical notions as are to be found occaſionally in that *Purána*.---*Bamíyan*, as well as *Cabul* and *Bálikh*, were at an early period in the hands of the *Muſulmans*. There were even Kings of *Bámíyan*; but this dynaſty laſted but a few years, and ended in 1215. The Kings and governors reſided at *Ghulghuleh*, called at that time the fort or palace of *Bámíyan*. It was deſtroyed by GENGHIZ-KHAN, in the year 1221; and becauſe the inhabitants had preſumed to reſiſt him, he ordered them to be butchered without diſtinction either of age or ſex.---

" According to the *Puránas* SWAYAMBHUVA or *Adima*, SATYAVRATA or *Noah*, lived in the north-weſt parts of *India* about *Caſhmir*.---From particular circumſtances it appears, that SATYAVRATA before the Flood lived generally in the countries about the *Indus*, between *Cabal* and *Caſhmir*; and if we find him in *Dravira* or the ſouthern parts of the peninſula, it ſeems that it was accidentally, and that he went there only for ſome religious purpoſes. Even after the Flood, he reſided for ſome time on the banks of

* *Th. Hyde*, p. 29, and 494.

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of the *Indus*. According to tradition, which my learned friends here inform me is countenanced by the *Purânas*, he lived and reigned a long time at *Bettoor*, on the banks of the *Ganges*, and to the south of *Canoge*. In the *Varaha-purâna*, VASU, the father of VIVASWATA, is declared to have been king of *Cashmir*, and the adjacent countries. They shew to this day the tomb of his father LAMECH, as mentioned in the *Ayeen-Akbery*, at a place called *Naulakhi*, between *Alishung* and *Munderar*, about twelve or thirteen miles to the north-west of *Jalálábád*, in the country of *Cabul*. The *Musulmans* called him PEER MAITLAM; and in the dialect of *Samarcand*, MAITER, or MAITRI BUR-KHAN.

" The *Bauddhists* say, that it is *Budd'ha-Narâyana*, or *Buddha* dwelling in the waters; but the *Hindus*, who live in that country, call him MACH'-HODAR-NATH *, or the *Sovereign prince in the belly of the fish*. All these denominations are by no means applicable to LAMECH, but to NOAH alone. The tomb is about forty cubits in length, which was actually the stature of LAMECH, according to tradition; under it is a vault of the same dimensions, with a small door which is never opened, out of respect for the remains of this illustrious personage.---

" The title of MACH'HODAR-NAT'HA is by no means applicable to LAMECH, but properly belongs to NOAH; for by the *belly* of the *fish* they understand the *cavity* or *inside* of the Ark. There is a place under ground at *Benares*, which they call *Mach'hodara*. The centrical and most elevated part of *Benares*, is also called *Mach'hodara*; because, when the lower parts of the city are laid under water by some unusual overflowing of the *Ganges*, this part remains free from water like the belly of a fish. The city also is sometimes thus called; because, during the general floods, the waters rise like a circular wall round the holy city. In short, any place in the middle of waters, either natural or artificial, which can afford shelter to living beings, is called MACH'HODARA.---

" The famous Peak of *C'haisá-ghar*, which we mentioned before, is situated on the road between *Gazni* and *Derá-Ismâhil*; the *Musulmans* call it *Tuct-Suleiman*, or the throne of SOLOMON; and to the adjacent mountains they have given the name of *Coh-Suleiman*. It is seen at the distance of one hundred *coss*, and begins to be visible near the extensive ruins of the famous city *Sângalá*, about sixty miles west by north of *Lahore*. *Sângalá* is situated in a forest, and though desolate and uninhabited, it still preserves its ancient name.

* This word is spelt *mach'h 'hodara* in *Sanscrit*.

name. It was built by the famous PURU or PURUS, great grandſon of ATRI. It is called *Sinkol* in *Perſian* romances, and its king, Raja SINKOL. It has been confounded by ARRIAN with Sálgalá or Sálgadá, which is now called *Calanore*; cloſe to which is ſtill an ancient place called Salgedá to this day, and its ſituation anſwers moſt minutely to ARRIAN's deſcription. *Sálgalá* and *Ságadá*, are two derivative forms; the firſt is *Sanſcrit*, and the ſecond is conformable to the idiom of the dialects of the *Pánjab*. The ſummit of C'haiſá-ghar is always covered with ſnow; in the midſt of which are ſeen ſeveral ſtreaks of a reddiſh hue, ſuppoſed by pilgrims to be the mark or impreſſion made by the feet of the dove which NOAH let out of the ark. For it is the general and uniform tradition of that country, that NOAH built the ark on the ſummit of this mountain, and there embarked: that when the Flood aſſuaged, the ſummit of it firſt appeared above the waters, and was the reſting place of the dove. The Ark itſelf reſted about half-way up the mountain, on a projecting plain of a very ſmall extent; there a place of worſhip was erected.---The *Bhauddhiſts*, who were the firſt inhabitants of that country, are, I am told, of the ſame opinion as to the place where the ark reſted; but hitherto I have been able to procure a ſingle paſſage only from the *Buddha-dharma-chárya-ſindhub;* in which it is declared, that SHAMA or SHEM, travelled firſt to the north-eaſt, and then turning to the north-weſt, he arrived on the ſpot where he built afterwards the town of *B'míyan*. SHAMA, they ſay, having deſcended from the mountain of *C'haiſá-ghar*, travelled north-eaſt as far as the confluence of the *Attock* with the *Indus*, where he made *Tapaſya*; he then proceeded north-weſt to *Bámíyan*.

" The *Pauranics* inſiſt, that as it is declared in their ſacred books, that SATYAVRATA made faſt the Ark to the famous peak, called from that circumſtance *Nau-banda*, with a cable of a prodigious length; he muſt have built it in the adjacent country. *Nau* (a ſhip) and *bandha* (to make faſt) is the name of a famous Peak, ſituated in *Caſhmir*, three days journey to the north north-eaſt of the purganah of *Lar*. This famous place is reſorted to by pilgrims from all parts of *India*, who ſcramble up among the rocks to a cavern, beyond which they never go. A few doves frightened with the noiſe fly from rock to rock; theſe the pilgrims fancy to be their guides to the holy place, and believe that they are the genuine offſpring of the dove, which NOAH let out of the ark.---The mountains of *Cóh-Sulciman* are ſometimes called by the natives the *Mountains of the Dove:* the whole range as far as *Gazni* is called by PTOLEMY, the *Paruetoi mountains*, probably from the

Párváta

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Párváta or Páravát, which ſignifies a Dove. The Peak of *C'haiſa-ghar* is called alſo *Cálá-Rob*, or the *black mountain*; the ſummit alone being covered with ſnow, is not always ſeen at a great diſtance; but the body of the mountain, which looks black, is by far more obvious to the ſight. *Perſian* romances ſay, that there were ſeventy or ſeventy-two rulers, called SULEIMAN, before ADAM; this has an obvious relation to the ſeventy-one *Manwantaras* of the *Hindus*; and of courſe NOAH or SATYAVRATA was a SULEIMAN. The followers of BUDDHA acknowledge that the ark might have been faſtened to *Nau-bandha*, near *Caſhmir*; but they ſay the ark reſted on the mountain of *Aryavarta*, *Aryawart*, or *India*, an appellation which has no ſmall affinity with the ARARAT of ſcripture. Theſe mountains were a great way to the eaſtward of the plains of *Shinar* or *Meſopotamia*; for it is ſaid in *Geneſis*, that, ſome time after the Flood, they journeyed from the eaſt, till they found a plain in the land of *Shinar*, in which they ſettled. This ſurely implies that they came from a very diſtant country to the eaſtward of *Shinar*. The region about *Tuckt Suleiman* is the native country of the olive-tree, and I believe the only one in the world. There are immenſe foreſts of it on the high grounds; for it does not grow in plains. From the ſaplings the inhabitants make walking ſticks, and its wood is uſed for fuel all over the country; and, as PLINY juſtly obſerves, the *Olive-tree* in the weſtern parts of *India* is ſterile, as leaſt its fruit is uſeleſs like that of the *Oleaſter*. According to FENESTALLA, an ancient author cited by PLINY *, there were no olive-trees in *Spain*, *Italy*, or *Africa*, in the time of TARQUIN the eldeſt. Before the time of HESIOD it had been introduced into *Greece*; but it took a long time until it was reconciled to the climate, and its cultivation properly underſtood; for HESIOD ſays, that whoever planted an olive-tree, never lived to eat of its fruit. The *Olive-tree* never was a native of *Armenia*; and the paſſage of Strabo, cited in ſupport of this opinion, implies only, that it was cultivated with ſucceſs in that country."

Pagan appellations of the Ark.

The ſubject of this Section may allow me ſtill further to expatiate on an event ſo awful, as the ſacred Origin of *Naval Architecture*, and *Navigation*. The ARK of NOAH was diſtinguiſhed and worſhipped by the ancients, under innumerable appellations; *Theba*, the † *Mundane Egg*, *Argo*, *Boutus*, *Cibotus*,

* Pliny, b. xii. c. 6.

† An Egg, which contained in it the elements of life, was thought no improper emblem of the ARK: it ſeems to have been a favourite Symbol, and very antient. It was ſaid

Cibotus, * *Centaurus*, *Archaius*, *Amphiprumnais*, *Laris*, *Isis*, *Rhea*, and *Atargatis*.—The principal † Heathen accounts of the Flood are given by Mr. *Catcot* of Bristol, in the treatise already noticed; and the curious reader may still gratify a laudable spirit of inquiry, by referring to the Oriental accounts of the *general* Deluge, as given by Mr. *Maurice* ‡ in his History of Hindostan. He will then perceive, to use the words of that writer, *that* MOSES *was a far more skilful geographer than Homer, whom Strabo pronounces the first and greatest of Geographers; since he goes back to the very foundations of the most ancient kingdoms and cities of the world, and recounts the names and primitive history not of a few nations of* ASIA *engaged in alliance to vanquish the Trojans, but of all that inhabit the earth: even from the Caspian and Persic seas*

said by the Persians, that *Oromasdes* formed mankind, and inclosed them in an Egg. (*Analysis*, vol ii. p. 323.)

* For this reason many of the Arkites had the name CENTAURI; and Mr. Bryant is inclined to think, that some of the earliest ships received this appellation. The AMONIANS occupied all the upper part of the Adriatic Gulf; and the *Veneti* at this day call their principal *galley* the BUCENTAUR, which *Justiniani* (L. 14.) styles *navigium maximum et ornatissimum*. This sort of Ships, and Ships in general, are supposed to have been first formed in *Cyprus*; and here Nonnus supposes the CENTAURS to have first existed. This notion arose from the original Ship, THE ARK, being built of *Gopher wood*; interpreted the wood of the island *Cupher*, which was the ancient name of CYPRUS. (Vol. ii. p. 441.)

† *Principal Heathen Accounts of the Flood.*

1. The ROMAN, as given by *Ovid*, (*Metam. lib.* i.)

2 The GRECIAN, SYRIAN, and ARABIAN, as recorded by *Lucian*, in his Treatise *de Dea Syria*. This narrative is noticed by Mr. *Bryant* (vol. ii. p. 882.): "Lucian, who was a native of *Samosata*, a city of *Comagene*, upon the Euphrates; a part of the world where memorials of the Deluge were particularly observed, gives the most particular relation of this Event, and the nearest to the Mosaic history: he describes *Noah* under the character of *Deucalion*" (*Analysis*, vol. ii. p. 215.)

3. The EGYPTIAN, as retained under the history of *Osiris* and *Typhon*, from *Plutarch*.

4. The BABYLONIAN, as preserved by *Josephus* and *Berosus*.

5. The ASSYRIAN, from *Abydenus*, as recorded by *Eusebius*, (Prepar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 12)

6. The PERSIAN, from Dr. *Hyde's Historia veterum Persarum*.

7. The accounts of The Flood, as retained by the inhabitants of the EAST INDIES. (*Lord's Discourse of the Banian Religion. Pere Bouchet.*)

8. As preserved among the CHINESE.

9 The descriptions of it, as given by the several nations of AMERICA, in general. (*Acosta's History. Hennepin's New Discovery. Herrera. Nieuhoff. Mons. Thevet.*)

‡ Vol. i. p. 505—591.

SECT. I. *ſeas to the extreme Gades, and all this in one ſhort Chapter; tracing them to their original, and recording at once the period and the occaſion of their diſperſion* *."—Continued evidence of the *univerſality* † of the Deluge is offered to the attention of mankind, at repeated intervals, in the variety of *foſſil bodies*, both animal and marine, which are dug up amidſt inland countries far removed from the ocean. Two teeth of an Hippopotamus, and the entire tuſk of an Elephant, nine feet in length, which is one of the largeſt ever known, together with other bones of the ſame animal, were found buried at the diſtance of thirty feet under ground, by ſome workmen of *Mr. Trimmer, at Brentford*, ſix miles from London; which *Mr. Maurice* ‡ perſonally examined: and in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* §, an account is given by *Mr. Baker* of the diſcovery of the remains of an Elephant; which fell, together with part of a rock, from an exceeding ſteep cliff undermined by the waves of the ſea, at *Munſley* a village ſituated cloſe to the ſea ſhore in *Eaſt Norfolk:* which animal, as *Mr. Baker* remarks, could not have been buried by the Romans, ſince it was bedded in a rock that hung over the ſea.

Foſſil bodies.

Though the Moſaic account therefore of the Deluge is conciſe, it abounds with the moſt valuable and correct information. The particulars of this aſtoniſhing event were long remembered with gratitude by the deſcendants of NOAH; but in proceſs of time, as either enthuſiaſm or vanity perverted or obſcured the truth, this *Patriarch* was worſhipped as a Deity; and the *eight perſons* who had been ſo highly favoured by Heaven, were adored in Egypt as THE SACRED OGDOAS. The ſubſequent Progreſs of the *Cuthite* Colonies, that great AMONIAN FAMILY, was marked by traces of this idolatry; until the genius or ignorance of the *Greeks* united to reduce it into a magnificent Syſtem, which obſcured the hiſtory of mankind. This obſcurity Mr. BRYANT has removed by his Analyſis of Ancient Mythology.

Pagan titles of Noah.

NOAH thus revered, was honoured by different Gentile nations under various titles: his name by the Greeks was interpreted *reſt* or *comfort;* he

* Vol. i. p. 454.—See alſo Bochart's *Geographia Sacra*, PHALEG, lib. iii. iv.

† A learned follower of *Zerátuſht* aſſured Sir William Jones, that, in the books which the *Behdins* hold ſacred, mention is made of an UNIVERSAL INUNDATION, there named the Deluge of Time.—(*Aſiatic Reſearches*, vol. i. p. 240.)

‡ Ibid. p. 526. § *Abridged*, vol. iv. p. 272.

he was alſo ſtyled *Prometheus*, *Deucalion*, *Atlas*, *Inachus*, and *Oſiris*. When the worſhip of the ſun was introduced by the poſterity of HAM the *Amonians*, the title of *Helius* was added: he was alſo called *Deus Lunus*, and *Selene*. In this patriarch we* diſcover the original *Zeus*, and *Dios*, from ZEUTH, which ſignifies *ferment*; ſince he planted the vine, and introduced *fermented liquors*. Noah was alſo DIONUSOS; compounded from the eaſtern title of the patriarch, *Nuſus*, by the Greeks, and improperly interpreted by the *Latins*, BACCHUS; a name which belonged to his grandſon CHUS.

SECT. I. Introduction. *Earlieſt Periods.*

The ancients conſidered the firſt life of NOAH or OSIRIS, as terminating on his entrance into the ARK; the interval that elapſed during the Flood was looked on as a State of Death, and what followed, as a ſecond life, or a renewed exiſtence. The patriarch therefore was repreſented with two faces, and received, in reference to the antediluvian and poſtdiluvian world, the name of JANUS BIFRONS, who was reputed the ſame as *Apollo*, and had the title of the deity of *the door*, or paſſage: in memorial of his hiſtory every door among the *Latines* had the name of *Janua*; and the firſt month of the year was named *Januarius*, as an opening to a new æra. But not to dwell too long on this individual character; NOAH, as *Mr. Maurice* obſerves †, was the *Xiſathrus* of Chaldea; the venerable *Kronos* of the Phœnicians; the ancient *Fohi* of China; and, above all, *Satyaurata*, or ſeventh *Menu*, of India.

The immediate children of the Patriarch were conſecrated to poſterity under the names of ‡ *Cabiri*, *Dioſcuri*, and *Corybantes*. Sanchoniatho and Damaſcius repreſent them as the offſpring of *Sadyc (Saturn)* the *Juſt Man*, the very appellation given by Moſes to Noah. The author of the *Orphic Argonautica* § mentions the noble gifts bequeathed to mankind by the CABIRI: they were repreſented as three in number, and are ſometimes mentioned as ſons of the great artiſt *Hephaiſtus*, the chief deity of Egypt, and

Noachidæ.

* Refer principally to the following Treatiſes in the ſecond volume of *Mr. Bryant's Analyſis*.

1. Of the Deluge, and the memorials thereof in the Gentile world.—(Page 195—253.)
2. Of ſome particular titles and perſonages; *Janus*, *Saturnus*, *Phoroneus*, *Poſeidon*, *Nereus*, *Proteus*, *Prometheus*. (Page 253—272.)
3. *Noah*, *Noas*, ΝΥΣ ΝΟΥΣ, *Nuſus*, (p. 272 – 283.)
4. JONAH, CHALDÆORUM: *a Continuation of the Gentile Hiſtory of the Deluge*, (p. 283—337.)

† Hiſt. of Hindoſtan, vol. i. p. 508. ‡ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 461. § V. 17.

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and reputed father of the Gods. The CABIRI are often mentioned as *Heliadæ*, or offspring of the sun; and also as descendants of *Proteus*, the great prophet and deity of the Sea: one of the most ancient temples of these deities was at *Memphis* *. From Egypt their worship was carried to *Canaan* and *Syria*, and thence to *Greece:* they are said to have been the first constructors of a Float or Ship; and are represented as Husbandmen, and at the same time *men of the Sea* †. The chief province of the Cabiri related to shipping, and their influence was particularly implored by Mariners for success in their Voyages. Similar to the CABIRI were the TELCHINES and IGNETES, the first who settled at *Rhodes*, and in like manner were esteemed *Heliadæ;* they carried their origin upwards to the Deluge, and universally assumed the title of SONS OF THE SEA. Under the character of *Heliadæ* they are noticed by *Diodorus* ‡, as celebrated for their skill in Navigation; and § *Nonnus*, from some emblematical representation, has described them as wafted over the Ocean upon sea-horses. The *Telchinian* and *Cabiritic* rites, consisting of *Arkite memorials*, were carried from *Greece* into the regions of the *Celtæ;* and traces of them have been observed as high up as the *Suevi*. *Tacitus* takes notice that they worshipped *Isis*, and mentions, that the chief object was an ARK or SHIP ‖. The like mysteries, according to *Artemidorus*, prevailed in one of the *British islands;* in which, he says, that the worship of Damater was carried on with the same Rites as in *Samothracia* **. I make no doubt, adds Mr. Bryant, but that this history was true; and that the *Arkite rites* prevailed in many parts of *Britain*, especially in the isle of *Mona*, where in aftertimes was the chief seat of the *Saronides*, or *Druids:* Monai signifies *insula Selenitis vel Arkitis*.

Pagan allusions to the Noachic Dove.

The history of the DOVE which *Noah* sent from the Ark, and also the circumstance of the *Rainbow*, may be traced throughout pagan history amidst other events of the *Deluge:* they were both recorded in Hieroglyphics; the latter was styled by the Egyptians *Thamuz*, and seems to have signified *the wonder*. From this original came the bows both of *Apollo* and *Diana*. *Hesiod* †† alludes to this COVENANT, and calls it the great oath. *Homer*, in two passages of the *Iliad*, makes a remarkable reference

* Herodotus, lib. iii. c. 37. † Euseb Præp. Evang. p. 38.
‡ Lib. v. p 328. § Lib. xxiv. p. 626. ‖ *De Mor. Germ.* p. 603.
** *Strabo*, lib. iv. p. 304.
†† Hesiod. Theog. v. 780 —*Bryant's Analysis*, vol. ii. p. 347.

reference to this divine Sign in the heavens: in the first, he is describing some emblazonry upon the cuirass of *Agamemnon:*

> Like to THE Bow which Jove amid the clouds
> Placed as a Token to desponding Man *.

In another place he notices this beautiful phænomenon in a manner equally striking:

> Just as when *Jove*, 'mid the high heavens displays,
> His Bow *mysterious* for a LASTING Sign †.

The crescent shape of the sacred Ship *Amphiprumnais*, with no distinction of head and stern, which is represented in the form of the canoe, seems to have originated from this circumstance.

The DOVE, with its branch of *olive*, was by many nations considered as an emblem of peace, and the *raven* which never returned, as a bird of ill omen. The *olive-tree* was reverenced at Athens, and by them reputed to be of high antiquity. Among the AMONIANS, the name of the *Dove* was Iön or Iönah. It became a favourite hieroglyphic among the *Babylonians* and *Chaldees*; was selected as the national *insigne*, or arms, and appeared on their Standards. In hieroglyphical sculptures and paintings, where an history of the Noachic Dove was represented, the bird could only be described as hovering over the face of the Deep; hence *Dione*, or ‡ *Venus*, was said to have risen from the Sea, to preside over the waters, to appease the troubled ocean, and to cause by her presence an universal calm. In like manner *Juno* the same as Iöna, was considered as presiding over the Seas, which she was supposed to agitate at her pleasure: she was also called *Inachis*, or *Inachia*, and was § described at *Samos* as standing in a *lunette*, with the lunar emblem on her head. It soon became the custom of ancient Mariners to let loose a *Dove* or *Pigeon* before they sailed; that, from its movements, an idea might be formed of the success of their intended Voyage. The rising of the ‖ *Peleiades*, or *Doves*, was always esteemed a most ** favourable season for naval Expeditions, and a fortunate time for the accomplishment of any maritime project.

The sacred origin of NAVIGATION and SHIP-BUILDING, was long commemorated by different nations in their religious processions of the *Ship* of *Isis Biprora*, the *amphiprumnais* of the Greeks; reverenced at Rome, according to

Ancient procession of the Ship.

* Iliad A. v. 27. † Iliad P. v. 547. ‡ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 317.
§ Ibid. p. 343. ‖ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 285. ** Ovid. Fasti. lib. v. v. 65.

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to their calendar during the month of March, and worſhipped as a ſacred object by the *Suevi*. Dr. Pocock * copied three curious repreſentations of this proceſſion, from ſome ruins at *Luxorein* near Carnac in the *Thebais*, but did not diſcover to what they alluded. Two of theſe repreſentations are given by Mr. *Bryant* †; who obſerves, that the Originals are of the higheſt antiquity, and were probably the moſt early ſpecimens of Sculpture in the world. In this BARIS, or *ſacred Ship*, the Patriarch is repreſented as being placed in a ſort of ſhrine or Ark; the veſſel is itſelf ſupported by eighteen attendants, preceded by a perſon bearing a kind of ſceptre, and followed by another with a rod or ſtaff in his hand. The ancient Greeks ſtyled theſe rites the proceſſion of the *P'omphi*. The Egyptians, in their deſcription of the *primary deities*, had always ſome reference to a Ship, or Float: § they oftentimes, ſays *Porphyry*, deſcribe the Sun in the character of *a man ſailing on a Float*. The broad leaf of the *Lotus* was long an Egyptian emblem of the Ark; becauſe, in the greateſt inundations of the Nile, this leaf roſe with the flood, and was not overwhelmed among the innumerable Egyptian aquatics that were eſteemed ſacred. The ſpecies of *bean*, ſtyled *Colocaſia*, deſerves alſo in this place to be noticed: it was reverenced on account of its reſemblance to the ſacred ‡ Ship of *Iſis*; and was alſo called *Cibotium*, from *Cibotus* a boat. A perſon in Athenæus ſpeaking of ſome particular cups, ſays, that they were called *ſkiffs*; and adds that they probably derived this name from an Egyptian vegetable, whoſe fruit was like a boat.

Cedar Ship of Seſoſtris.

The celebrated CEDAR SHIP built according to ‖ *Diodorus Siculus* by SESOSTRIS, is deſcribed as having been two hundred and eighty cubits in length; its outſide was plated with gold, inlaid with ſilver; and the whole, when finiſhed, was dedicated to *Oſiris* at *Thebes*. It is not credible, ſays Mr. ** Bryant, that there ſhould have been a ſhip of this ſize, eſpecially in an inland diſtrict, the moſt remote of any in Egypt: it was certainly a *temple* and a *ſhrine*. The former was framed upon this large ſcale; and it was the latter on which the gold and ſilver were expended: the whole was probably deſigned as an exact repreſentation of the ARK: this temple was

* *Pocock's Egypt*, (vol. i. plate 41.;) a work whoſe original value has increaſed ſince the reſearches which have lately been made in Egypt.

† Vol. i. p. 252. See alſo vol. ii. p. 230. ‡ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 220.

§ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 399. See alſo p. 403, for a Diſſertation on the *Scyphus*, or ſacred cup, in the form of a boat.

‖ Lib. i. p. 52. ** Vol. ii. p. 221.

was called *Theba*, and was probably constructed after the model of a Ship: both the city, as well as the province, was undoubtedly denominated from it.

Throughout the greater part of the world similar allusions to the sublime archetype of navigation, cherished the principles of this Science in the human mind; which archetype being thus made a religious Rite, and forming a leading part in the celebrated MYSTERIES of the Ancients, a proportionable degree of veneration was attached to those persons who dared to venture on maritime expeditions. The ancestors of the *Egyptians*, the MISRAIM, generally formed their shrines in the earliest periods under the resemblance of a Ship; and both *Ships* and *Temples*, in reference to the Patriarch NOAH, were styled *Naus* *, and *Naos*, and mariners themselves, *Nautæ*. According to *Pausanias* †, at *Eruthra* in *Ionia* there was a Temple of great antiquity, dedicated to HERCULES, resembling those in *Egypt;* the Deity was represented on a Float, and was believed to have been conveyed in that manner from *Phœnicia*. *Aristides* ‡ informs us, that a Ship was carried in procession at *Smyrna*, on the feast called *Dionusia*. The sacred Ship was borne with great solemnity through the streets of Athens at the Panathenæa, to the temple of *Damater* of Eleusis: at *Phalerus*, near *Athens*, honours were paid to an *unknown hero*, who was represented in the stern of a Ship. At *Olympia*, the most sacred place in Greece, a building was constructed like the forepart of a Ship, with its front towards the end of the *Hippodromus*; and on the altar placed towards the centre of this temple, particular rites were performed at the renewal of each Olympiad. *Strabo* mentions the city of *Cibotus* in Egypt, under which term the Grecians represented the Ark, and describes it as a Dock furnished in every respect for the building of ships. But the uncommon construction of the *great floating island* § CHEMMIS in Upper Egypt, near the temple of *Boutus*, displayed the most astonishing memorial of the first Ship: according to ‖ *Pomponius Mela*, it contained various altars dedicated to *Osiris*, together with a stately temple, and several groves of palm-trees: it was also designed as a repository for the Arkite rites and history. *Danaus* was reported to have come from this island to Greece, when he brought with him the *Amphiprumnon*, or sacred model of the Ark, which he lodged in the acropolis of *Argos*, called *Larissa*.

Our

* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 227.
† Lib. vii. p. 534.
‡ Orat. Smyrn. vol. i. p. 402.
§ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 329.
‖ Lib. i. c. ix. p. 55.

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Our attention is, in the next place, directed to the progrefs of the NOACHIDÆ from the region of the *Indian* CAUCASUS; and more particularly to that great *Amonian* tribe, *the* * *Cuthites* or fons of *Chus* the renowned offspring of † HAM, who journeyed towards the weft; and were the firft that ventured on the feas, and took long Voyages: having fubdued many colonies, which the defcendants of Japheth had formed, they eftablifhed thofe powerful *Amonian* kingdoms, from whofe early hiftory the fables and mythology of Greece were derived.

Progrefs of the Amonians.

Mr. Bryant is inclined to think, that the *firft migration* took place prior to any arrival in the plains of ‡ *Shinar*: he marks two diftinct events; the migration of feveral colonies according to the determination of God; and fecondly, a difperfion of others who ftood their ground, and would not obey the divine impulfe. After elucidating this fubject with his ufual ability, he then proceeds to a third great event, THE TITANIAN WAR, or the conteft between the fons of *Shem* and the rebellious Cuthite idolaters; who were ftyled *Heroes*, *Dæmons*, *Heliadæ*, or *Children of the Sun*, and alfo *Macarians*: the tribe which fettled in Egypt were diftinguifhed by the name of § *Auritæ* or *Shepherds*, the firft who reigned in that country which was originally fettled by the Mizraim; and with them the Egyptian hiftory muft commence. The SHEPHERDS maintained themfelves in this fituation for five hundred and eleven years. Under the title of *Amonians*, the learned Mythologift comprehends all nations known as inhabitants of *Egypt*, of *Phœnicia*, or

* The SUN being worfhipped under the term of *Shem* and *Shamefh*, many of the defcendants of HAM have been improperly referred to the Patriarch Shem, viz. the *Chaldeans* and the *Amalekites*: the worfhip of the Sun was very prevalent in Ancient *Syria*.—*Analyfis*, vol. i. p. 64.

† HAM was deified by his pofterity, and worfhipped as the *fun*, under the appellation of AMON, *Ammon*, *Amanus*, and *Omanus*. He was the HERMES of *Egypt*; the ZEUS of *Greece*; the JUPITER of *Latium*; and the APOLLO of the *Eaft*. He was alfo worfhipped by his defcendants, under the name of BAL, and BAAL; terms originally appropriated to Noah. The worfhip of HAM, or the SUN, was the prevailing religion of Greece, and extended throughout the fea-coaft of Europe.—(*Analyfis*, vol. i. p. 3. 284.) HAM was alfo ftyled CHAM, and his images and priefts *Chamin*: his pofterity efteemed themfelves of the *folar race*. The great founder of the Perfic monarchy was ftyled ACHAMIN; and the firft city that was built is called in Genefis (ch. x. 10.) ACHAD.—*Analyfis*, vol. i. p 84.

‡ Called alfo *Senaar*, and by Ptolemy *Singara*. (Vol. iii. p. 18.)

§ ANALYSIS, vol. i p. 362. See alfo that intereffing and valuable Differtation of Mr. *Bryant's*, ON THE SHEPHERD KINGS OF EGYPT, in his *Obfervations on various Parts of Antient Hiftory*, 4to. 1767.

or *Canaan:* distinguished by various denominations, they either settled, or traded, from Babylonia and Egypt, to beyond the Ganges eastward; and in the west, to the utmost bounds of the Mediterranean, which they soon passed. These * Cuthites were very enterprising, and commenced an extensive commerce in the earliest periods: upon the various headlands of the coast they frequented, pillars were raised as *sea marks* to direct them in their perilous expeditions. One of the principal and most ancient settlements of the *Amonians* on the ocean was at *Gades*, where *Geryon* reigned; its harbour was a very excellent one, and as several towers were built there, and also still higher on the coast of *Lusitania* to direct the shipping, by the *Herculeans*, who worshipped NOAH under that appellation; the honour of constructing these *Light-Houses* was assigned by the Greeks to *Hercules*, and thus taken to themselves †. The *Amonians* recorded the great events of their ancestors in hieroglyphics on pillars and obelisks; among these, therefore, we must search for the early history of their maritime exploits.

Posterity of Shem.

The mild and amiable character of the posterity of SHEM, is still to be witnessed in the submissive and humane disposition of the *Indians*. Mr. *Wilford* ‡ has been enabled to discover some traces of their history in the ancient books of the HINDUS; but these traces are faint and almost lost in the Maritime glory of the *Amonians*. A great part of the descendants of SHEM appear to have emigrated, in the earliest periods of the Indian history, from the southern provinces of that country to Egypt, under the name of a tribe called *Pallis*, who carried with them the *four Vedas*, or sacred books of *Indian scripture*. The character of the *Pallis* was that of distinguished herdsmen or shepherds, and the following passage seems to take from the *Cuthites* the fame of being the original AURITÆ.

"SHARMA-ST'HAN," says Mr. *Wilford*, "of which we cannot exactly distinguish the boundaries, but which included *Ethiopia* above Egypt, as it is generally called, with part of *Abyssinia* and *Azan;* received its name from SHARMA, of whom we shall presently speak. His descendants being obliged to

* As HAM was styled *Amon*, and *Ammon*, his son CHUS was called *Cuth*, *Cuthon*, and *Cothon*. Chusistan, to the east of Tigris, was the land of Chus. Several cities and temples in *India* were also dedicated to him. (*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 364.)

† Analysis, vol. i. p. 2. 262. and 399.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. "On Egypt, and other countries adjacent to the CA'LI river, or *Nile of Ethiopia*, from the ancient books of the Hindus."

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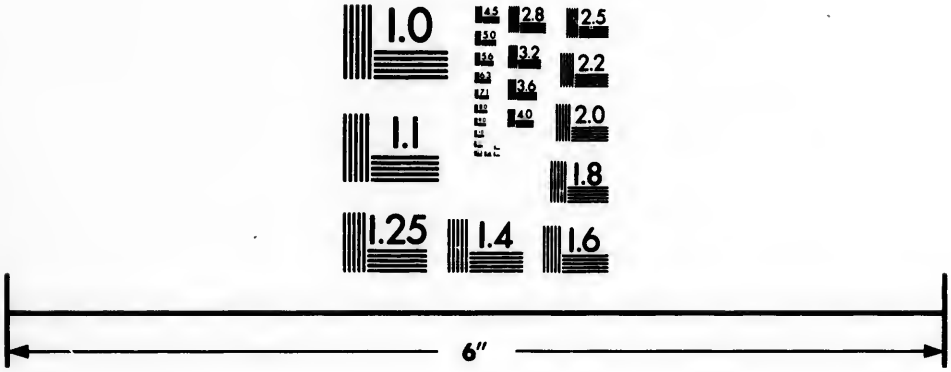

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to leave Egypt, retired to the mountains of Ajáger, and settled near the lake of the gods. Many learned *Bráhmens* are of opinion, that by the children of SHARMA we must understand that race of *Dévatás* who were forced to emigrate from *Egypt*, during the reigns of SANI and RAHU, or *Saturn* and *Typhon*. They are said to have been a quiet and blameless people, and to have subsisted by hunting wild elephants, of which they sold or bartered the teeth, and even lived on the flesh: they built the town of *Rúpavatí*, or the beautiful, which the Greeks called *Rapta*.—

"It is related in the *Padma-purán*, that SATYAVRATA, whose miraculous preservation from a *general* Deluge is told at length in the *Mátsya*, had three sons; the eldest of whom was named JYAPETI, *or Lord of the Earth*; the others were C'HARMA and SHARMA, which last words are in the vulgar dialects usually pronounced C'HAM and SHAM. The Royal *Patriarch* (for such is his character in the *Puráns*) was particularly fond of JYAPETI, to whom he gave all the regions to the north of *Himálaya*, or the *Snowy Mountains*, which extend from sea to sea, and of which CAUCASUS is a part. To SHARMA he allotted the Countries to the south of those mountains; but he cursed C'HARMA, because, when the old Monarch was accidentally inebriated with a strong liquor made of fermented rice, C'HARMA laughed; and it was in consequence of his father's imprecation that he became a slave to the slaves of his brothers.

"The children of SHARMA travelled a long time, until they arrived at the bank of the *Nilá* or *Cáli*: and a *Bráhmen* informs me (but the original passage from the *Purán* is not yet in my possession) that their journey began after the building of the *Padmá-mandira*, which appears to be the Tower of Babel, on the banks of the river *Cumudvatí*, which can be no other than the *Euphrates*. On their arrival in *Egypt*, they found the country peopled by evil beings, and by a few impure tribes of men, who had no fixed habitations: their leader therefore, in order to propitiate the tutelar divinity of that region, sat on the bank of the *Nile*, performing acts of austere devotion, and praising PADMA'-*dévi*, or the goddess residing on the *Lotos*. PADMA' at last appeared to him, and commanded him to erect a *pyramid* in honour of her, on the very spot where he then stood. It does not clearly appear on what occasion the SHARMICAS left their first settlement, which had so auspicious a beginning.—

"Several

"Several other tribes, from India or Persia, settled afterwards in the land of SHARMA. The first and most powerful of them were the *Pâlis*, or SHEPHERDS, of whom the *Purânas* give the following account:

"IRSHU, surnamed *Pingăcsha*, the son of UORA, lived in *India*, to the south-west of *Câshi*, near the *Naravindhyà* river, which flowed, as its name implies, from the *Vindhya* mountains. The place of his residence to the south of those hills was named *Palli*, a word now signifying a large town and its district; or *Pali*, which may be derived from *Pâla*, a herdsman or shepherd. He was a prince mighty and warlike, though very religious: but his brother TARACHYA, who reigned over the *Vindyhan* mountaineers, was impious and malignant; and the whole country was infested by his people, whom he supported in all their enormities. The good king always protected the pilgrims to *Câsi* or *Varânes*, in their passage over the hills, and supplied them with necessaries for their journey; which gave so great offence to his brother, that he waged war against *Irshu*, overpowered him, and obliged him to leave his kingdom; but Mahadeda (proceeds the legend) assisted the fugitive prince, and the faithful *Pallis* who accompanied him; conducting them to the banks of the Cali (the Nile), in Sancha-Dwip, where they found the *Sharmieas*, or *Shemites*, and settled among them. In that country they built the temple and town Punyavati, or Punya-Nagari; words implying holiness and purity, which it imparts (say the Hindus) to zealous pilgrims: it is believed at this day to stand near the *Cali*, on the low hills of Mandara, which are said, in the Puranas, to consist of red earth; and on those hills the *Palis*, under their virtuous leader, are supposed to live, like the Gandharvas on the summit of Himalaya, in the lawful enjoyment of pleasure; rich, innocent, and happy; though intermixed with some Mlechhas, or people who speak a barbarous dialect, and with some of a fair complexion. The low hills of *Mandara* include the tract called *Meroe* or *Merhoe*, by the Greeks; in the centre of which is a place named Mandara in the Jesuits' map, and Mandera by *Mr. Bruce*, who says, that of old it was the residence of the shepherds or *Palli* kings.

"This account of the *Palis* has been extracted from two of the eighteen *Puranas*, intitled Scanda or the God of War, and Brahmanda or the Mundane Egg. We must not omit, that they are said to have carried from India, not only the *Atharva-Veda*, which they had a right to possess, but even the three others, which (not being Brahmins) they acquired clandestinely; so that the four books of ancient Indian Scripture once existed in Egypt; and it is remarkable, that the books of Egyptian science were exactly

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actly four, called the books of Harmonia, or *Hermes* *, which are supposed to have contained subjects of the highest antiquity. Nonnus mentions the first of them, as believed to be co-eval with the world; and the Brahmens assert, that their three first *Vedas* existed before the creation."

The Cuthites.

To CHUS, the original leader of those who ventured on the seas, and to whom magic was in consequence attributed, succeeded the mighty NIMROD, whose history is concealed under that of *Alorus*, the first king of Chaldea, but more frequently under that of *Orion*; the Greeks styled him *Nebrod*, and this occasioned many allusions to a *fawn*, and a *fawn's skin*, in the *Dionusiaca*, and other † mysteries.—In the days of *Peleg*, when mankind had greatly increased, they removed to the different regions that were allotted them by God; but, as already observed, the sons of CHUS, represented under the character both of *Giants* and *Titanians*, would not obey. At length these rebels were dispersed, and some of them, after roving for a long time in an unsettled state, arrived under the command of the arch-rebel NIMROD in the plains of *Shinar*, already occupied by *Assur* and his sons. The indignant Cuthites immediately prepared for war, and overcame the sons of *Assur*: this dispersion of the sons of CHUS under the rebel Nimrod, is ‡ alluded to by the Greek poets in their description of the flight of *Bacchus*. Others of the dispersed *Cuthites* embarked, and settled on the *Erythrean Ocean*; which event Mr. *Bryant* thinks is referred to by the poet *Nonnus* §, when he speaks of the retreat of Bacchus and his associates:

"His wavering bands now fled in deep dismay
By different routes, uncertain where they passed.
Some sought the limits of the Eastern world;
Some, where the craggy Western Coast extends,
Sped to the regions of the setting sun.
Sore travel others felt, and wandered far
Southward; while many sought the distant North,
All in confusion.—

"BACCHUS all trembling, as he fled away,
Call'd on the mighty *Erythrean deep*
To yield him shelter. *Thetis* heard his cries,
And, as he plung'd beneath the turbid wave,
Receiv'd him in her arms: old Nereas too,
The Arabian god, stretched out his friendly hand,
And led him darkling through the vast abyss
Of sounding waters."

Although

* Bryant's Analysis, vol. ii. p. 150. † Ib. vol. i. p. 8.
‡ Ib. vol. iii. p. 40. § *Nonni Dionysiac.* lib. xxxiv. p. 864. Ibid. lib. xx. p. 552.

Although *Nimrod* performed so many exploits, and built the celebrated city of * *Babel* or *Babylon*, his actions were in a considerable degree lost in the superior reverence that was shewn to *Bacchus*.

Bacchus.

This celebrated conqueror was no other than † CHUS, the first who instituted triumphs; he was often, adds Mr. Bryant, mistaken for *Dionusus* ‡: the Vine was esteemed sacred both to *Dionusus* and *Bacchus*; and though confounded by the Grecians, they were two different persons. The history of the former is in reality an account of the § *Dionusians*, who were the same as the *Osirians* and *Herculeans*. Sir William ‖ Jones considered the sanscreet *Rama* as the prototype of Bacchus; and informs us, that "the *Hindus* have an Epic Poem on the subject of *Rama*'s atchievements, written by their most ancient poet *Válmic*, and called the RAMAYAN, which in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style, far surpasses the learned and elaborate work of *Nonnus*, entitled *Dionysiaca*; half of which, or twenty-four books, I perused with great eagerness when I was very young, and should have travelled to the conclusion of it, if other pursuits had not engaged me. I shall never have leisure to compare the *Dionysiacks* with the *Rámáyan*, but am confident that an accurate comparison of the two Poems, would prove *Dionysos* and *Rama* to have been the same person; and I incline to think that he was *Rama*, the son of CUSH, who might have established the first regular government in this part of Asia."

The *Cuthites*, according to *Bryant*, only occupied some particular spots in the west; but from *Babylonia* eastward the greatest part of that extensive seacoast seems to have been in their possession. Owing to the confusion of *Crusean* for *Cusean*, the Greeks formed a variety of fiction relative to the *Golden Age* and a *Golden Race*; and the country of the *Cuthim* was rendered the *golden* country. In like manner *Cal-Chus*, the hill or place of CHUS, was converted to *Chalcus* brass. *Colchis* was properly *Col-Chus*; but as *Colchion* was sometimes rendered *Chalcion*, it gave rise to the fable of the *brazen Bulls* **, which in reality were *Colchic Tor*, or *Towers*. There was according to †† *Arrian*, a region named *Golchis*, in India, near *Comar*: the *Pegadæ* of the country were what we now call *Pagodas*. In this part of the world several cities and temples were dedicated to the memory of *Chus*; some

* ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 45.
† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 257.
‡ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 273.
§ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 77.
‖ Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 258. *On the gods of Greece, Italy, and India.*
** ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 363.
†† *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, Geog. Vet. vol. i. p. 33.

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some of which are famous to this day, though denominated after the Babylonish dialect *Cutha*, and *Cuta*; as for instance, *Calcutta*, and *Calecut*: the latter seems to have been the capital of the region called of old *Colchis*.

As a colony of the Amonians settled in *Thrace*, we there * also find memorials of the deluge. The river *Danube* was properly the river of Noah; expressed *Da-Nau*, and *Da-Nauos*. † Herodotus calls it plainly the *river of Noah*, but appropriates the term only to one branch, giving the name of *Ister* to the chief stream: it is also mentioned as such by ‡ *Valerius Flaccus*. But of all the places in which memorials of *the Deluge* have been preserved with the greatest care, Mr. Bryant § seems to give the preference to the city of *Apamea*, so called from the mother of Antiochus Soter; it was the same as *Celænæ*, and originally named CIBOTUS, in memory of the Ark. *Apamea* was situated in Phrygia, far inland, at some distance from the Meander upon the fountains of the river *Marsyas*: the inhabitants were styled *Magnetes*. This city, according to Strabo, was the magazine for every article of commerce, and the greatest Asiatic staple, next to Ephesus. The representation of a coin of Philip the Elder, and another of Severus, relative to the Noachic history, is copied by Mr. Bryant from *Falconerius* and *Seguinus*; the former of whom composed a curious dissertation on the coin assigned to Philip. Its reverse displays a square machine floating upon the water; through an opening of which are seen two persons, a man and a woman; and upon the head of the woman is a veil. Over this Ark is a kind of triangular pediment, on which a dove is represented sitting; and below it another, which seems to flutter its wings, and holds in its mouth a small branch of a tree. Before the machine are two persons, who by their attitude seem to have just quitted it on reaching the dry land: upon the Ark itself, underneath the persons there inclosed, is to be read in distinct characters, ΝΩΕ ‖. The learned Editor of this account says, that it had fallen to his lot to meet with three of these Coins; they were of brass, and of the medaglion size: one of them he mentions to have seen in the collection of the *Duke of Tuscany*; the second in that of the *Cardinal Ottoboni*; and the third was the property of *Augustino Chigi*, nephew to Pope *Alexander* the seventh.

Apamean medal.

Amidst

* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 339.
† Lib. iv. c. 49. ‡ Lib. iv. v. 719. and lib. vi. v. 100.
§ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 230.
‖ See the engraving prefixed to the present section.

SECT. I.

Introduction. *Earliest Periods.*

Amidst the innumerable colonies which branched into vast empires from the * royal Triad of *Noachidæ*, or as they were styled in Scripture *Baalim*; the ANAKIM, the TITANS, and the SCYTHÆ, in the first place claim the reader's attention. The Cuthites, by their address and superiority in the science of navigation, obtained a general ascendancy; in some places they mixed with the people they invaded, but in others they maintained themselves separate.

Anakim.

ANAC, a † title of high antiquity, was originally appropriated to persons of great strength and stature; such in the plural are called in Scripture *Anakim*, and in the Book of ‡ Joshua are mentioned as the *Anakims of the mountains*; one particular tribe is § described as Canaanites, that *dwelt in Hebron, or Kirjath-arba:* some of them were also found among the *Caphtorim*, who settled in *Palestina*. From a passage in Pausanias, which mentions the tomb of *Asterion*, a son of *Anac*, as being found in Lydia, Mr. Bryant observes, that the history of the *Anakim* was not totally obliterated among the Grecians. The ‖ title of ANAC in ancient times was also given to gods, and their temples styled *Tor-Anac:* hence SICILY was denominated *Trinacis*, and *Trinacia*, and in process of time *Trinacria*.

Titans.

Of the same race as the *children of Anac* were the fierce and ambitious TITANS, or ** TITANIANS, so named from their worship of the *sun*, and the places where it was celebrated. They are mentioned by some writers as being the builders of the tower of *Babel*; which Mr. Bryant is inclined to think was undoubtedly a *Tuphon*, or altar of the *sun*, though generally represented as a temple. The terms both of *Giants* and *Titanians* were given to the rebellious sons of CHUS: their dispersion, and the feuds which preceded, are recorded by †† *Hesiod*; but he has confounded this history, by supposing the *Giants* and *Titans* to have been different persons. *Hesiod*'s fine description of this memorable event is translated by Mr. Bryant; the conclusion is the only part which the limit of this Memoir allows me to insert.

> The Gods, victorious, seiz'd the rebel crew,
> And sent them, bound in adamantine chains,
> To earth's deep caverns, and the shades of night.
> Here dwell th' apostate brotherhood, consign'd

To

* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 278. † *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 72.
‡ Ch. xi. v. 21. § Judges, ch. i. v. 10.
‖ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 407. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 423.
** *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 48. †† Theogon, v. 676.

SECT. I.

To everlasting durance: here they sit
Age after age in melancholy state;
Still pining in eternal gloom, and lost
To every comfort. Round them wide extend
The dreary bounds of Earth, and Sea, and Air;
Of Heaven above, and Tartarus below. - - -
They placed the rebels, fast in fetters bound,
Deep in a gloomy gulf; as far removed
From earth's fair regions, as the earth from heaven.

The real history of the *dispersion of the Titans* seems to have been as follows. A considerable body retreated to that part of *Scythia* which bordered on the Palus Mæotis, and was called *Keira;* another, and a very numerous Colony, settled in *Mauritania*, which was the region styled by Hesiod TARTARUS. Diodorus Siculus * mentions the arrival of *Cronus* in that part of Africa, with other leaders, as *Oceanus*, *Cœus*, *Iapetus*, *Crius*, *Hyperion*, and *Atlas;* from this last general the inhabitants of that part of the continent were named Atlantians; and owing to a confusion of a Greek word † which expressed the *west*, or *place of the setting sun*, and also *darkness*, the Titans of the west were consigned to the realms of night: they also gave the title of *Erebus* to the *Atlantic province;* since *Ereb* signified both the *west*, and *darkness*. From the following passage in the Ion of Euripides ‡, Mr. Bryant is inclined to think that it was not uncommon for those who were oppressed, to migrate to these settlements. Creusa in great affliction exclaims,

O! that I could be wafted through the yielding air,
Far, very far, from *Hellas*,
To the inhabitants of the HESPERIAN REGION:
So great is my load of grief.

The *Atlantic Ocean*, mentioned by the Nubian Geographer as the *Sea of Darkness*, was described by ancient poets as *the vast unfathomable abyss;* upon the borders of which *Homer* places the gloomy mansions where the TITANS resided.

Scythæ. Many regions in § different parts of the world were called SCYTHIA: 1. A province in Egypt; 2. Another upon the *Thermodon*, above Galatia in *Asia*

* Lib. v. p. 334. † ζόφος. ‡ V. 796.

§ ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 135 and 143. "Account of the *Scythæ*, *Scythia*, *Scythismus*, and *Hellenismus;* also of the *Iones* and *Hellenes* of Babylonia; and of the *Hellenes* of Egypt."

Asia Minor; 3. One in *Syria;* 4. The country about *Colchis* and *Iberia;* 5. A great part of *Thrace* and *Mœsia*, and all the *Tauric Chersonesus;* 6. A country far in the east, situated upon the great *Indic Ocean*, and called *Scythia Limyrica.* The genuine *Scythæ* were styled *Magog*, and were descended from *Magus*, or CHUS, the father of the Magi, worshippers of fire. *Timonax*, a writer of great antiquity, mentions fifty nations of *Scythians.* Before the dawn of learning in Greece, the Scythians of *Colchis* carried on a very extensive commerce; and, according to *Timosthenes*, no less than three hundred inland nations, each having their respective language, came to the *Colchian* marts. The Scythians went under the names of *Colchians*, *Iberians*, *Cimmerians*, *Hyperboreans*, and *Alani.* The Scythic colonies were widely dispersed; but all nations, that were styled * *Scythian*, were in reality *Cuthian*, or *Ethiopian:* they seized on the province of Susiana and Chusistan, were in possession of the navigation of the Tigris downwards; and having extended themselves beyond *Gedrosia* and *Carmania*, are thus noticed by the author of the PERIPLUS †. *After the country of Ora, the continent now, by reason of the great depth of its gulfs and inlets, forming vast promontories, runs outward to a great degree from the east, and incloses the sea coast of* SCYTHIA, *which lies towards the north; that is, in the recess of one of these bays. It is low land, and lies upon the river* SINTHUS *(Indus), which is the largest river of any that run into the Erythrean sea, and affords the greatest quantity of water.* The Scythic colonies also occupied the insular province, called in their language, from its situation, *Giezerette*, or the *Island;* and from their ancestor, *Cambaiar*, or the *Bay* of *Cham*, which it still retains. They also settled upon the promontory *Comar*, or *Comarin*; and were Lords of the great island Pelæsimunda, called afterwards *Seran-dive*, and now *Ceylon.* The principal names of the *Scythic Indians* were *Erythræi*, *Arabes*, *Oritæ*, *Æthiopes*, *Cathei*, and *Indi.*

SECT. I. Introduction. *Earliest Periods.*

Ancient Pearl Fishery of the Indo-Scythæ.

These Cuthites, or *Scythic Colonies*, possessed in India a region named Colchis, already mentioned as being noticed by Arrian; where they had the advantage of a *pearl fishery*, which is thus described in the ‡ Periplus of the Erythrean sea: — *From Elabacara extends a mountain*

* ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 192. "Cuthia Indica, or Scythia Limyrica."

† Geogr. Vet. vol. i. p. 21.

‡ Geograph. Græc. Min. vol. i. p. 33. ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 204: see also his Dissertation on the ERYTHREANS, ibid. p. 185.

SECT. I. *a mountain called Purrhos, and the Coast styled* * *Paralia* (or the Pearl Coast), *reaching down to the most southern point, where is the great fishery for pearl, which people dive for. It is under a king named* PANDION; *and the chief city is* COLCHI. *There are two places where they fish for this commodity, of which the first is called Balita: here is a fort, and an harbour.—The Coast, near which they fish for Pearl, lies all along from Comari to Colchi. It is performed by persons who have been guilty of some crime, and are compelled to this service. All this Coast to the southward is under the aforementioned King* PANDION. *After this there proceeds another tract of coast, which forms a gulf.*

Mr. Bryant concludes his admirable Dissertation on the † INDI, with an extract and translation from the poet *Dionysius* ‡; who, after describing all the nations of the known world, in his valuable geographical poem *the* § *Periegesis*, concludes with a particular account of the INDO-SCYTHÆ. "If Homer had been engaged upon the same subject, adds the learned Analysist, he could not have exceeded, either in harmony of numbers or beauty of detail." But I can only indulge the reader with a short specimen of detached lines.

"Upon

* *Paralia* seems at first a Greek word; but is in reality a proper name in the language of the country. I make no doubt, adds Mr. Bryant, but what we call *Pearl* was the *Paral* of the Amonians and Cuthites. PARALIA is *the land of Pearls*. All the names of GEMS, as now in use, and of old, were from the *Amonians*: ADAMANT, AMETHYST, OPAL, ACHATES or Agate, PYROPUS, ONYX, SARDONYX, ÆTITES, ALABASTER, BERIL, CORAL, CORNELIAN. As this was the Shore where these Gems were really found, we may conclude that *Paralia* signified the *Pearl Coast*. There was a Pearl Fishery in the Red Sea; and it continues to this day near the Island *Delagua*. (*Purchas*, vol. v. p. 778.) In these parts, the Author of the Periplus mentions Islands, which he styles μαργαλαοι, or Pearl Islands. (See Geogr. Gr. Minores, Periplus, vol. i. p. 9.)

† ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 212.

‡ Vers. 1088.

§ A translation of this geographical Poem, which is composed in Greek hexameters, would be a most acceptable present to the English reader. Pliny owns that he was under the greatest obligations to Dionysius; and when speaking of the Persian Alexandria, afterwards called *Antioch*, and at last *Charrax*, informs us that *Dionysius* was a native of that place; that he was sent by AUGUSTUS to survey the Eastern part of the world, and to make reports and observations about its state and condition, for the use of the emperor's eldest son, who was at that time preparing an expedition into *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Arabia*. The best editions of this Poem are those of Henry Stephens, 4to, 1577, with the Scholia; and by Hill, 8vo, London, 1688. A very neat edition was printed at Oxford in 1697.

" Upon the banks of the great River Ind,
The southern SCUTHÆ dwell: which River pays
Its watery tribute to that mighty Sea,
Styled *Erythræan*. Far removed its source,
Amid the stormy Cliffs of *Caucasus*:
Descending hence through many a winding vale,
It separates vast Nations. To the west
The *Oritæ* live, and *Aribes*: and then
The *Aracetii* famed for linen geer.
Next the *Satraïdæ*; and those, who dwell
Beneath the shade of *Mount Parpanisus*,
Styled *Ariani*. No kind glebe they own,
But a waste sandy soil, replete with thorn.
Yet are they rich; yet doth the land supply
Wealth without measure. Here the *Coral* grows
Ruddy and smooth: here too are veins of *Gold*;
And in the quarries deep the *Sapphire*'s found,
The *Sapphire*, vying with the empyreal blue.
To the EAST a lovely country wide extends,
India, whose borders the wide Ocean bounds.
On this the Sun new rising from the Main
Smiles pleased, and sheds his early orient beam.—
Not far from hence, but near the southern Main,
The limits of the country *Colis* reach,
By others *Colchis* named. Here towering steep,
The rock *Aornon* rises high in view,
E'en to the mid-air region; not a bird
Of boldest pinion wings this subtle clime.
There is moreover, wonderful to tell!
In the rich region which the *Ganges* laves,
A Pass esteemed most sacred: this of old
Bacchus is said, in wrathful mood, distress'd,
To have travers'd, when he fled; what time he chang'd
The soft *Nebrides* for a shield of brass;
And for the *Thyrsus*, bound with ivy round,
He couched the pointed spear. Then first were seen
The zones and fillets, which his comrades wore,
And the soft pliant vine-twigs, moving round
In serpentine direction, chang'd to asps.
These facts lay long unheeded: but in time
The natives quickened paid memorial due;
And call the road *Nusaia* to this day.
Soon as the lovely region was subdued
By the god's prowess, glorying down he came
From *Mount Hemodus* to the circling Sea.

There

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There on the ſtrand two Obeliſks he rear'd,
High and conſpicuous, at the world's extreme.—
To enumerate all, who rove this wide domain,
Surpaſſes human pow'r: the Gods can tell,
The Gods alone, for nothing's hid from heaven.
Let it ſuffice, if I their worth declare.
Theſe were the firſt GREAT FOUNDERS in the world,
Founders of cities and of mighty ſtates;
Who ſhewed a path through Seas, before unknown:
And when doubt reign'd and dark uncertainty,
Who rendered life more certain. They firſt view'd
The ſtarry lights, and form'd them into Schemes.
In the firſt ages, when the ſons of men
Knew not which way to turn them, they aſſign'd
To each his juſt department; they beſtow'd
Of Land a portion, and of Sea a lot;
And ſent each wandering Tribe far off to ſhare
A different ſoil and climate. Hence aroſe
The great diverſity ſo plainly ſeen
'Mid nations widely ſevered.—
Now farewell,
Ye Shores and ſea-girt Iſles; farewell the Surge
Of ancient *Nereus*, and old Ocean's ſtream.
Ye Fountains too, and Rivers, and ye Hills
That wave with ſhady Foreſts, all farewell.
My way I've ſped through the wide pathleſs deep,
By the bluff Cape and winding Continent;
'Tis time to ſeek ſome reſpite and reward.

Origin of Maps and Charts.

As the overflowing of the Nile, whoſe ancient name was *Ogenus* or *the Ocean*, carried away the different boundaries by which the various diviſions of landed property were aſcertained, it is with reaſon conjectured, that in * *Egypt* we muſt look for the origin of *Geometry*, and the firſt invention of *Charts* †. Clemens Alexandrinus ‡ notices the early maps of the Egyptians, and their Charts of the Nile. *Seſoſtris* (or rather *the Sethoſians*)

* ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 385. 398.—"Diſſertation on Temple Science." See alſo, in vol. iii. p. 311.—"Diſſertation on the Egyptian Kings and Dynaſties."

† Mr. *Bryant's Hypotheſis* is ſupported by HERODOTUS (lib. ii.), DIODORUS (lib. i.), STRABO (lib. xvii.), and PROCLUS. *Joſephus*, on the contrary, aſcribes the invention of Geometry to the Hebrews.

‡ Strom. vi. p. 757.

Sethosians) gave the Egyptians, and Scythians, plans of the countries he had traversed delineated upon boards, which were held in great estimation *. Porphyry mentions the *Egyptian Almanack*, a kind of nautical ephemeris, and gives an account of its contents. They thus recorded the phases of the sun and moon, the rising and setting of the stars for the ensuing year, with the aspect and influences of the planets. The inhabitants of *Colchis*, who came from Egypt, constructed *Charts* that described the Seas, and Shores, where their extensive Commerce carried them; and according to the Scholiast upon Apollonius Rhodius †, in his poem on the Expedition of the Argonauts, the Colchians had square pillars of stone, on which *Maps* of the Continent, and *Charts* of the Ocean were engraved.

Atlantians.

These remarks throw considerable light on the history of *Atlas*, feigned to support the heavens upon his shoulders: the whole of this Fable arose from not understanding some verses in the *Odyssey*:

> ATLAS her sire, to whose far-piercing eye
> The wonders of The Deep expanded lye;
> The Eternal COLUMNS which on earth he rears,
> End in the starry Vault, and prop the Spheres. POPE ‡.

Homer is speaking of Calypso, who is said to be the daughter of *Atlas* a person of deep and recondite knowledge: now by Atlas the ancients described the *Atlantians*, already noticed as a branch of the *Titans*, who were skilful mariners; and according to the Greek Poet, knew all the soundings of the deep. *They had also long pillars, or obelisks, which referred to the Sea; and upon which was delineated the whole system both of heaven and earth;* (αμφις) *all around, both on the front of the obelisk, and on the other sides.* Mr. Bryant then subjoins the following paraphrase of a passage in *Eusebius*, connected with this illustration:—*The Herculeans were a people much given to divination, and to the study of nature. Great part of their knowledge they are thought to have had transmitted to them from those Atlantians, who settled in Phrygia, especially the history of the earth and heavens; for all such knowledge the Atlantians had of old consigned to Pillars and Obelisks in that country; and from them it was derived to the Herculeans, or Heraclidæ, of Greece.* The chief ancestor of the ATLANTIANS was father of the *Peleiadæ*, or *Ionim*, the

* Eustath. *Præf. Epist. to Dionys.* p. 12.
† Lib. iv. v. 279. ‡ Pope's Translation, Book the First, vers. 67, or L. & v. 52.

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ſuppoſed brother of Saturn, and the *Hellenes* were of his race: they received their knowledge of aſtronomy, and geography, from theſe ſacred pillars of the *Atlantes;* and this knowledge was carried from Phrygia into Hellas by *Anaximander*, the firſt perſon, according to * Strabo, who introduced a geographical chart, or as † *Laertius* expreſſes it *the circumference of the terraqueous globe delineated.*

Though the origin of *Maps* and *Charts* is thus ingeniouſly traced by Mr. Bryant ‡, he cautions his readers to beware of being led into an error, by imagining that this branch of ſcience came from the Native Egyptians; ſince in fact it proceeded from the ingenuity of the *Cuthites*, or SHEPHERDS, who ſettled in that country. Among other titles they were called *Saïtæ*, by whom Athens, and Thebes in Bœotia, were founded; and from them alone aſtronomy and geometry muſt be traced.

Nautical Colleges and Light-Houſes.

The MIZRAIM did not encourage commerce; yet it nevertheleſs was carried on by the Cuthites, who inhabited the lower provinces of Egypt towards the ſea. The towers which they conſtructed as ſea-marks by day, and light-houſes by night, were at the ſame time *temples*, denominated from ſome title of the deity, *Caneph*, *Proteus*, *Phanes*, or *Canobus*: they were on both accounts much reſorted to by Mariners, and conſequently enriched by their votive offerings. Here were depoſited *Charts* of the coaſt, and of the navigation of the Nile, engraved at firſt on Pillars, and in after times ſketched upon the Nilotic *papyrus;* there is likewiſe reaſon to think that theſe charts were ſometimes delineated upon the walls.

The celebrated, though miſnamed column at Alexandria, called *Pompey's Pillar*, ſeems to have been originally conſtructed as a ſacred *beacon;* which the lowneſs of the coaſt of Egypt particularly required. The oracle of HAM was ſtyled *Omphi;* and when particularly ſpoken of as *the Oracle*, it was expreſſed *p'omphi*, and *p'ompi*. The preſent pillar at Alexandria was conſtructed ‖ on the ruins of a former one by *Soſtratus* of Cnidos, according to an inſcription which has been preſerved by Strabo **. Similar pillars ††, ſacred to HERCULES, were placed near *Gades;* others ſtill higher on

* L. i. p. 13. † Diog. Laert. *Anaximander.*

‡ The learned *Analyſiſt* is alſo inclined to think (vol. i. p. 303.) that the central part of *the ſhield of Achilles*, as deſcribed by Homer, repreſented a map of the earth, and a repreſentation of the conſtellations.

‖ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 262. ** Lib. xvii. p. 1141.

†† Dr. *White*, in the firſt part of his EGYPTIACA (1801), offers a new conjecture, and exerts his great abilities to prove, that the celebrated COLUMN called *Pompey's Pillar*, formed a part of the *Alexandrian temple of Serapis.*

on the coaſt of *Luſitania:* two of the moſt celebrated ſtood upon each ſide of the Mediterranean, at the noted paſſage *Fretum Gaditanum;* that on the Mauritanian ſide was called *Abyla*, from *Ab-El*, *parens Sol;* the other in Iberia had the name of *Calpe*, a compound of *Ca-Alpe*, the houſe or cavern of the ſame oracular god: for it was built near a cave, and all ſuch receſſes were eſteemed oracular. At places of this ſort mariners came on ſhore to make their offerings, and to inquire about the ſucceſs of their voyage. There was of old hardly any headland but what had its *Temple* or *Altar;* and as theſe * *Colonæ* were ſacred to the Apollo of Greece, he in conſequence was often called the tutelar God of the Coaſt.

The *Amonians*, who firſt conſtructed theſe ſacred Maritime Temples, gave them the name of *Tar*, or *Tor* †; which ſignified both an hill, and a tower: when compounded, they were ſtyled *Tor-Is*, or Fire-Towers; and hence the Greeks derived their τυρρις, and τυρσος, which they at length changed to ταυρος, *a bull:* thus a new opening was made to indulge their fabulous propenſity.

When the *Hetrurians* ſettled in ‡ Italy, they introduced the art of fortification, and built many ſtrong-holds; and as they occupied an extenſive tract of ſea-coaſt, they erected towers and beacons for the ſake of their navigation. Before the *Hetrurians* had invented trumpets to give warning from their towers to paſſing veſſels, the maritime watchmen were obliged to uſe the *ſea-conch*, which every ſtrand afforded.

The manner § in which the *Amonians* conſtructed their maritime beacons, or *torain*, on the ſummit of theſe towers, is thus deſcribed. The *torain* conſiſted of an iron or brazen frame, wherein were three or four *Tines*, which ſtood upon a circular baſis of the ſame metal. They were bound with an hoop; and had either the figures of dolphins, or elſe foliage, in the intervals between them. Theſe filled up the vacant ſpace between the *Tines*, and made them capable of holding the combuſtible matter with which they were at night filled. This inſtrument was put upon an high pole, and hung ſloping *ſea-ward* over the battlements of the tower, or from the ſtern of a ſhip: with this they could maintain either a ſmoke by day, or a blaze by night. Theſe towers were alſo employed to form ſome judgment of the weather,

* Being ſacred to the Sun, they were called, ſays Mr. Bryant, Col-On, or altars of that deity. † Bochart's *Geographia Sacra*, lib. i. c. 228.

‡ Analysis, vol. i. p. 403. & 408. § See the engraving prefixed to ſection the third.

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weather, and to obſerve the heavens; thoſe built in cities or towns were placed on the greateſt eminences, and were ſtyled *boſrah* by the *Amonians:* the citadel of Carthage was thus denominated. The Greeks, according to their prevailing cuſtom, confuſed this term, and changed *boſrah* into *burſa*, a ſkin.

When theſe Amonian lighthouſes were * ſituated upon eminences faſhioned very round, they were called *Tith*. TITHONUS, ſo much celebrated for his longevity, was in reality one of theſe ſtructures, a *pharos* ſacred to the ſun. THETIS, the ancient goddeſs of the ſea, was only a fire-tower near the ocean, called *Tith-Is;* and the dreadful ſlaughter of the CYCLOPES by the arrows of Apollo, merely relates to the manner in which the beacons on the *Cyclopean* turrets in Sicily, facing due eaſt, were extinguiſhed by the rays of the riſing Sun. CHIRON, a compound of Chir-On *the tower of the ſun*, ſo celebrated for inſtructing youth, was a ſacred college which probably ſtood at *Nephale* in Theſſaly, and was inhabited by prieſts ſtyled *Centauri*, from their deity *Cahen-Taur:* here young perſons were inſtructed in the Sciences; both *Achilles* and *Jaſon* received a *Chironian* education; and it was only in theſe places that the early navigators could be inſtructed. CASTOR, the tutelar god of Mariners, was in reality a *Chironian* edifice, which ſerved both as a temple and a *pharos*. CHARON, the celebrated Ferryman of the *Styx*, was a name of the like import and etymology with *Chiron:* the moſt remarkable temple, with the former appellation, ſtood oppoſite to *Memphis*, on the weſtern ſide of the Nile: near this ſpot perſons of conſequence were buried; and as the temple ſtood adjoining the catacombs, the region of which was called the *Acheronian Plain*, an offering was made at the *Charon*, or tower, when the body was landed †. CERBERUS was properly *Kir-Abor*, the place of the ſun: this was called *Tor-Caph-El*, which being changed to τρικεφαλος, Cerberus was hence ſuppoſed to have three heads. That this fable took its riſe from the name of a place ill expreſſed, may be proved from ‡ *Palæphatus*, who in his learned work explains fabulous and mythological traditions by hiſtorical facts: *they ſay of Cerberus, that he was a dog with three heads: but it is plain that he was ſo called from a City named Tricaren, or Tricarenia.*

MINOS

* ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 417. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 439.

‡ *De Incredibilibus*, p. 96. M. Bryant thinks (vol. i. p. 411.) that Palæphatus was an aſſumed name, which the author choſe to ſkreen himſelf from perſecution.

SECT. I.

Introduction. *Earliest Periods.*

Minos — Origin of the name.

Scylla.

MINOS, so greatly celebrated, was in reality a pagan deity, the * *Menes* and *Menon* of Egypt; the *Manes* of Lydia, Persis, and other countries: the lunar god *Neuas*, the same as *Noas* or NOAH, was styled in Crete *Minos*, *Min-noas*, whose city was *Min-Noa*. Diodorus mentions him as the first lawgiver, a man of a most exalted soul, and one that was a great promoter of civil society. A tower called *Men-Tor*, the tower of *Men* or *Menes*, was dedicated to this deity in the island of Crete, who, being worshipped under a particular hieroglyphic, they styled *Minotaurus*; and this Tower like the other light-houses, or naval colleges, was the scene of cruelty and injustice. Some of the principal youth of *Athens* were annually sacrificed in this building; in the same manner as the *Carthaginians* sent their children to be massacred at Tyre. SCYLLA, on the Coast of Rhegium, was another of these Towers, and therefore dreaded by Mariners: this Temple was a *Petra*, and the dogs with which the Greeks surrounded it, were *Caben*, or priests. It is believed that human flesh was eaten in these places; and accordingly Ulysses, when entering the dangerous Pass of *Rhegium*, had six of his companions seized by Scylla, and lost the same number in the cavern of the Cyclops.

Here then we discover one great and universal obstacle to NAVIGATION, during these early periods, from the cruelty of pagan rites, and the treachery of those persons who were stationed in difficult passes, to warn mariners of their danger. The LESTRYGONES, the LAMIÆ, and the CYCLOPEANS, the priests and priestesses of the *Leontini*, settled nearly in the same part of the Island of *Sicily*, and were also dispersed, with the like cruel disposition, throughout *Greece*, *Pontus*, and *Libya*. The FURIES, or *Furiæ*, and the *Harpies*, were originally these *Priests of Fire*; whose Cruelties became so enormous, that they themselves were at length enrolled with *demons*. The chief place where the *Lamiæ* settled in Italy was about *Formiæ*, the inhabitants of which had their chief temple on the sea coast at *Caiete*; so called, not from the name of the nurse of *Æneas* or *Ascanius*, but from being situated near a Cavern, sacred to the god *Ait*, who was also named *Atis*, and † *Attis*.

Mr.

* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 8. and 418.

† One mode of sacrificing strangers, and the most plausible, was to oblige them to wrestle in the area before the Light-House, or temple, with an athletic priest, trained to the exercise and skilled in the work of death. Mr. Bryant adds, (*Analysis*, vol. ii. p. 50.) that when the *Spaniards* got access to the *Western World*, there were to be observed many *Rites* and many *Terms*, similar to those which were so common among the sons of HAM. Among others was this particular custom of making the person, who was designed for a victim, engage in fight with a priest of the temple. (See *Purchas*, vol. v. p. 872.)

SECT. I.

Ancient Sphere.

Mr. * *Costard* in his valuable *History of Astronomy*, and also in his four letters addressed to Martin Folkes, offers many interesting remarks relative to the subject of this memoir; some of which are considered by † Mr. Maurice in the discussion of the following Question: *Whether there were not, in the remotest ages, a more Ancient Sphere than that which has descended to us from the Greeks; a Sphere allusive to an earlier mythology, to the transactions of a more ancient race?* The former writer is of opinion that there might have been, at some remote period of time, a different SPHERE from what we at present possess; and he gives, in the course of his letters, the name of one, or two Constellations which possibly adorned it; but adds, that all this part of *eastern astronomy* has been long since, if not totally lost, at least greatly obscured by the prevalence in Asia of the *Arabian*, and in Europe of the *Grecian* systems of astronomy. He is inclined to assign the first invention of the terrestrial Zones, as Strabo had done, to ‡ *Parmenides*, the pupil of Xenophanes or Anaximander; and mentions *Thale* as the first person who used the word *Tropics*. It is uncertain at what time the earth began to be considered, or, adds our § author, rather suspected to be *spherical*, but hardly before the undertaking long Voyages; the first of which were probably down the *Arabian Gulph*, and out of the Straits of *Bâb-Al-mandub*, by Europeans corruptly called Babelmandel.

The earliest division of the ‖ horizon was simply into four cardinal points; and this should be particularly attended to in the perusal of scripture. Mr. Costard notices the first mention of any planet, seven hundred and ten years before

* The fame of this scholar, distinguished both for *Oriental* and *Astronomical* learning, merits an higher elevation in this country. He was born in 1764, and died in 1782. His History of Astronomy, with its application to Geography, History, and Chronology, appeared in 1767. That part which treats of the *Astronomy of the Arabians* has been reprinted at Calcutta in the Asiatic Miscellany.—The first of *Mr. Costard's* four letters to Martin Folkes was published at London in 1746; the three last at Oxford in 1748. He was also author of fifteen different literary productions, chiefly on astronomical subjects, which are enumerated in Nichols's anecdotes of Bowyer.

† History of Hindostan, vol. i. c. 5. p. 160.

‡ This philosopher flourished at *Elis* 505 years before Christ.

§ History of Astronomy, p. 195.

‖ Ibid. p. 9. " The *east wind* is said to have brought the locusts into Egypt, but more properly, perhaps, the north-east wind; called, however, the *east*, because that was

before Christ, in the Star which * *Isaiah* described as *Helal-ben-Shahar*, or HELAL *the son of the morning*; the same as the planet *Venus*, to which Pythagoras gave the name of *Phosphorus*.—Observations on the Fixed Stars as guides through the trackless waste, were first made by travellers on land, and being found of so much service, were afterwards adopted by navigators: that this practice was very ancient, appears from the following passage in the *Koran*. *He (that is God) hath given you the Stars to be your Guides in the dark, both by land and sea.*

SECT. I. Introduction. *Earliest Periods.*

The mode of dividing the day and night into † watches, was introduced at a very remote period; mention is made of it as early as the time when the Israelites left Egypt, 1531 years before Christ. These watches were probably ascertained by means of water, or sand running from one vessel into another; and also by marking the progress of the fixed Stars and afterwards the Constellations, as they rose, culminated, or set; Day and night watches.

> Whose is the Watch? What Star now passes
> The dusky noon of ‡ night? - - - - -

The earliest allusion to the *directive power* of the MAGNET, if it can be admitted as an allusion, occurs in the life of *Pythagoras* by Jamblichus, who asserts, *that Pythagoras took from Abaris the Hyperborean his* GOLDEN DART, *without which it was impossible for him to find his road;* stiled *golden*, as Mr. Costard adds, on account of its usefulness as a magnetical needle: but yet nothing can be concluded from this with any certainty; and *Porphyry*, in his life of Pythagoras, increases the improbability of the above fact, by saying that *Abaris used to fly in the air.* Magnet.

Such are some of the principal facts, which appeared to elucidate the history of the earliest Periods, as connected with the Progress of ancient Maritime Discoveries. In the perusal of them the reader has beheld the light that has been thrown on the History of the Atlantian Navigators, and is therefore prepared to consider the celebrated passage in the § *Timæus of Plato*, which has given rise to so many conjectures.

CRITIAS,

was the nearest cardinal point. The like seems to have been the case, where it is said, *that the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong East wind.*"

* Chap. xiv. † History of Astronomy, p. 110. ‡ Eurip. *Rhesus*, v. 527.

§ From the translation of the Timæus by Mr. Taylor, 8vo. 1793. p. 445.

SECT. I.

Plato's island of Atlantis.

CRITIAS, the relater to *Socrates*, *Timæus*, and *Hermocrates*, confessed that he received the following account from his grandfather, of what the Egyptian priests told *Solon*, when studying under them, relative to the existence of the island ATLANTIS; and that his grandfather received it from *Solon* himself.—Upon his enquiring respecting past events of those priests who possessed a knowledge in such particulars superior to others, he perceived that neither himself, nor any one of the Greeks, as he himself declared, had any knowledge of very remote antiquity. Hence, when he once desired to excite them to the relation of former transactions, he, for this purpose, began to discourse about those most early events which formerly happened among us: but upon this one of those more ancient priests exclaimed, *O Solon! Solon! you Greeks are always children, nor is there any such thing as an aged Grecian among you. All your souls are juvenile; neither containing any ancient opinion derived from remote tradition, nor any discipline venerable from its existence in former periods of time.---Whatever has been transacted, either by us or by you, or in any other place, beautiful or great, or containing any thing uncommon of which we have heard the report, every thing of this kind is to be found described in our Temples, and preserved to the present day. While, on the contrary, you and other nations commit only recent transactions to writing, and to other Inventions which society has employed for transmitting information to posterity.---The transactions, therefore, O Solon, which you relate from your antiquities, differ very little from puerile fables.---You are ignorant of a most illustrious and excellent race of men who once inhabited your country, from whence you and your whole City descended. I will, therefore, cursorily run over the laws and more illustrious actions of those cities which existed* 9000 *years ago.*

"In the first place then, consider the laws of these people, and compare them with ours; for you will find many things which then subsisted in your City, similar to such as exist at present. For the *Priests* passed their life separated from all others. The *Artificers* also exercised their arts in such a manner, that each was engaged in his own employment, without being mingled with other artificers. The same method was also adopted with *Shepherds*, *Hunters*, and *Husbandmen*. The *Soldiers* too, you will find, were separated from other kind of men; and were commanded by the laws to engage in nothing but warlike affairs. A similar armour too, such as that of shields and darts, was employed by each: these we first used in *Asia*. ---But though many and mighty deeds of your City are contained in our sacred writings, and are admired as they deserve, yet there is one transac-

tion which furpaſſes all of them in magnitude and virtue.—For theſe writings relate what prodigious ſtrength your City formerly repreſſed, when a mighty warlike power, ruſhing from the *Atlantic ſea*, ſpread itſelf with hoſtile fury over all *Europe* and *Aſia*. For at that time the *Atlantic ſea* was navigable, and had an * *Iſland* before that mouth which is called by you *the Pillars of Hercules*. But this *Iſland* was greater than both *Libya* and all *Aſia* together, and afforded an eaſy paſſage to other neighbouring iſlands; as it was likewiſe eaſy to paſs from thoſe iſlands to all the Continent which borders on this *Atlantic ſea*. For the waters which are beheld within the mouth, which we juſt now mentioned, have the form of a bay with a narrow entrance, but the mouth itſelf is a true ſea. And laſtly, the earth which ſurrounds it is in every reſpect denominated the Continent. In this *Atlantic Iſland* a combination of kings was formed, who with mighty and wonderful power ſubdued the whole Iſland, together with many other iſlands and parts of the Continent; and, beſides this, ſubjected to their dominion all *Lybia*, as far as to Egypt; and *Europe*, as far as to the Tyrrhene ſea. And when they were collected in a powerful league, they endeavoured to enſlave all our regions, and yours, and beſides this, all thoſe places ſituated within the mouth of the *Atlantic ſea*. Then it was, O *Solon*, that the power of your City was conſpicuous to all men, for its virtue and ſtrength. For as its armies ſurpaſſed all others, both in magnanimity and military ſkill, ſo with reſpect to its conteſts, whether it was aſſiſted by the reſt of the Greeks over whom it preſided in warlike affairs, or whether it was deſerted by them through the incurſions of the enemies, and became ſituated in extreme danger, yet ſtill it remained triumphant. In the mean time, thoſe who were not yet enſlaved it liberated from danger; and procured the moſt ample liberty for all thoſe of us who dwell within the pillars of Hercules. But in ſucceeding

* Mr. *Taylor*, in his Introduction to the Timæus, obſerves (p. 397), "But that the reader may be convinced that Plato's account of the *Atlantic iſland* is not a fiction of his own deviſing, let him attend to the following Relation of one *Marcellas*, who wrote an hiſtory of Ethiopian affairs, according to *Proclus (In Tim.* p. 55 *)* *That ſuch and ſo great an Iſland once exiſted, is evinced by thoſe who have compoſed Hiſtories of things relative to the external Sea. For they relate that in their times there were Seven Iſlands in the Atlantic ſea ſacred to Proſerpine: and beſides theſe, three others of an immenſe magnitude; one of which was ſacred to Pluto, another to Ammon, and another, which is in the middle of theſe, and is of a thouſand ſtadia, to Neptune. And beſides this, that the inhabitants of this laſt iſland preſerved the memory of the prodigious magnitude of the Atlantic iſland, as related by their anceſtors; and of its governing for many periods all the Iſlands in the Atlantic ſea.*"

SECT. I.

succeeding time prodigious earthquakes and deluges taking place, and bringing with them desolation in the space of one day and night, all that warlike race of Athenians was at once merged under the earth; and the *Atlantic island* itself being absorbed in the sea, entirely disappeared. And hence that sea is at present innavigable, arising from the gradually impeding mud which the subsiding Island produced.—And this, O *Socrates*, is the sum of what the elder *Critias* repeated from the narration of *Solon*."

Opinions of Bailly, Rudbeck, and Whitehurst.

This passage contains a most important historical fact, somewhat heightened by the craft or ignorance of the original narrator. M. *Bailly* expatiated upon it in a series of letters addressed to *Voltaire*, which compose the second volume of the former's observations on the origin of science, and the Asiatic nations. Yet, deservedly high as M. Bailly's name is placed, one page of Mr. Bryant, who preceded this lively writer in a notice of the * ATLANTIANS, is worth all the elegant verbosity of this ingenious foreigner. M. Bailly leaves his reader, after rather a long voyage, seeking for the *island of Atlantis* amidst the dreary regions of the north pole.—With a greater degree of patriotism, and with infinitely more learning, *Olaus Rudbeck* strove in his elaborate work called † ATLANTICA, to make *Sweden* the celebrated island of Plato; and scruples not to derive the *English*, *Danes*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all other nations, from the same country. Mr. ‡ Maurice, when considering this passage in the *Timæus*, cites the opinions of *Buffon* and *Whitehurst*, and seems inclined to think with the latter, that this *Atlantic island* was probably the portion of land, which stretching from *Ireland* reached to the *Azores*, and from

* See preceding page xlv.

† *Olaus Rudbeck* was born at *Arosen* in 1630; and was afterwards Professor at Upsal, where he died in September 1702. His great work is entitled, *Atlantica, sive Manhein, vera Japheti posterorum sedes ac patria*, 1679, 1689, 1698. 3 vols. folio. To have this complete, there should be a *fourth* volume in manuscript; which is frequently supplied by an atlas, containing forty-three maps, two chronological tables, and a portrait of *Rudbeck*. This work is extremely rare; a good copy cannot be procured under thirty guineas, and even this price will necessarily advance.—*Olaus Rudbeck* is thus noticed by *Gibbon*, (vol. i. p. 351.) "Whatever is celebrated either in History or Fable, this zealous patriot ascribes to his country. Of that delightful region, (for such it appeared to the eyes of a native) the *Atlantis of Plato*, the country of the *Hyperboreans*, the *gardens of the Hesperides*, the *fortunate Islands*, and even the *Elysian Fields*, were all but faint and imperfect transcripts. *Bayle* has given two most curious extracts from *the Atlantica*, (*Republique des lettres*, Janvier et Fevrier, 1685.)" *Rudbeck* published many other works; the rarest of which is that entitled, *Leges Wast-Gothicæ*, folio, Upsal.

‡ History of Hindostan, vol. i. c. 13. p. 540.

Introduction. *Earliest Periods.*

from the Azores extended to the Continent of *America*. "Whoſoever, adds Mr. *Whitehurſt*, attentively views and conſiders theſe romantic rocks *(Giants' Cauſeway, and the adjoining cliffs)* together with the exterior appearances of that mountainous Cliff, will, I preſume, ſoon diſcover ſufficient cauſe to conclude, that the *Crater* from whence that melted matter flowed, together with an immenſe tract of land towards the north, have been abſolutely ſunk and ſwallowed up into the earth, at ſome remote period of time, and became the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean. A period indeed much beyond the reach of any hiſtorical monument, or even of tradition * itſelf."

Plato's Atlantis, America.

Notwithſtanding ſuch † authorities to the contrary, may I preſume to add, that I cannot change an opinion long indulged, *that* AMERICA *was the real Atlantis of Plato*. In ſupport of this idea, a paſſage from Ælian may be cited, who relates from *Theopompus*, that in a converſation which *Silenus* held with king *Midas*, he informed him, *that Europe, Aſia, and Africa, were iſlands; and that was alone* THE CONTINENT, *which lay beyond the world*. Another curious paſſage in ſupport of this opinion, occurs in ‡ *Zarate's Hiſtory of the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of Peru.*

Supported by D. Auguſtin Zarate

"Many doubts and objections have been formed concerning the firſt people who ſome ages ſince dwelt in *Peru*; and it has been often aſked, how could they get thither? ſeeing this country is parted (as is really the fact) by ſuch an extent of Ocean from that where the firſt inhabitants of this world lived. It ſeems to me that this difficulty may be ſolved by an account given by *Plato* in his *Timæus*, or *Dialogue on Nature*; and which he more fully diſcuſſes in the following (*Atlantis*) dialogue. There he relates what the *Egyptians* ſaid in honour of the *Athenians*;" that after the defeat of ſome certain Kings, who came by ſea with a numerous army, they had part of a vaſt ISLAND called *Atlantic*, juſt beyond the Pillars of *Hercules*. That this iſland

* Whitehurſt's Theory, p. 91.

† The ſubject of the *iſland Atlantis* is diſcuſſed in the French *Encyclopedie (Geographie Ancienne)* tom. i. part 1. *Monſ. Mentelle* does not, however, much perplex himſelf on this ſubject; and ſeems inclined to the opinion which Buffon entertained, (Ed. Smellie, vol. i. article 17 and 19.) that the iſlands in the Atlantic, are only the ſummits of mountains belonging to an Iſland, or Continent, ſubmerged.

‡ *Don Auguſtin de Zarate*, a Spaniard, was ſent to Peru in 1543, as Treaſurer General of the Indies. The beſt edition of his work is that printed in Spaniſh at *Anvers*, 8vo. 1555. It has been tranſlated into French, and publiſhed both at Paris and Amſterdam, in two volumes 12mo. 1700.

SECT. I.

island was larger than all *Asia* and *Africa* together; and that it was divided into ten kingdoms by *Neptune*, one of which he allotted to each of his ten sons, bestowing the largest and best on his eldest son *Atlas!*" To this he adds divers particulars concerning the customs and the Wealth of this Isle; but above all, about a sumptuous Temple in the metropolis, *the walls of which were entirely decked and covered with gold and silver*, and the roof covered with copper, with many other particulars, too long to enumerate here, and which may be found in the original. It is certain that many of the Customs and Ceremonies mentioned by this author are yet to be seen in the Provinces of *Peru*. *From this Isle one may pass to other large islands beyond, and which are not far from The Firm Land, near which is The True Sea.* But hear the words of Plato in the beginning of his * *Timæus*.----Some deem this relation an allegory, as *Marsilius Ficinus* tells us in his notes on *Timæus*. Nevertheless, most commentators on *Plato*, even *Platinus* and *Ficinus* himself, look on this account, not as a fiction, but an *historical truth*. Besides, one can by no means think that the 9000 years which he mentions, is a proof of its being a fable, because, according to *Eudoxus*, one must count them, after the Egyptian manner, not as *solar*, but as *lunar years*; that is to say 9000 months, answering to 750 years. On this subject one may observe, that all historians and cosmographers, ancient and modern, call *that sea*, in which this island was engulphed *the* ATLANTIC OCEAN; retaining even the *very name* the Island bore, which seems a sufficient proof that there had been such an island. Admitting then the truth of this history, no one can deny this island (beginning near the Straits of *Gibraltar*) to have been of that extent, from the north southward and from the east westward, as to be more than as large as *Asia* and *Africa*. By the other *neighbouring* Islands are doubtless meant *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *St. John's*, and those on the coast: by the *Continent* or *firm-land*, (opposite to those isles) mentioned by *Plato*, is certainly meant *that land*, which is even *to this day* called *Terra Firma*, with the other provinces, which from *Magellan* northward comprise *Peru*, *Popayan*, *Cas-del-oro*, *Paraguay*, *Nicaragua*, *Guatimala*, *New Spain*, *Seven-towns*, *Florida*, *the Bacallaos*, and north up to Norway. Without doubt this vast tract of land is larger than the three quarters of the then known world. And one must not be surprised at this new world's not having been discovered by the *Romans*, or any of those other nations, that at different times abode in Spain;

* See preceding page liii.

Spain: becauſe one may reaſonably imagine that the 'fore-mentioned ſuppoſed difficulty of navigating this ſea then remained. This indeed I have heard ſaid, and can ſee no difficulty in believing that it naturally prevented a diſcovery of the new world mentioned by Plato. The authority of that philoſopher is enough to convince me of the truth of this circumſtance, and I make no queſtion but our *new found world* is the ſame as that *main-land* or *continent* of which he ſpeaks, as whatever he has ſaid of it perfectly correſponds with our modern diſcoveries; particularly in what he ſays of this land, that it is adjacent to the *true ſea*, which is what we now call the *Great South Sea*; in compariſon of the vaſt extent of which, the *Mediterranean Sea*, and *Northern Ocean*, are but as rivers. Having cleared up this difficulty thus far, it ſeems no way hard to ſuppoſe that men could eaſily paſs from the *continent* or *terra firma*, and thence by land, or even by the *South Sea*, to *Peru*.

"Thus I have declared what ſeems to me moſt probable reſpecting a ſubject ſo perplexed on account of its antiquity, and alſo becauſe no intelligence can be procured from the inhabitants of *Peru*; who are ignorant of any mode by which the memory of things paſt are preſerved. In *New Spain* indeed they have certain pictures which ſerve them for letters and books, but in *Peru* they have nothing but *knotted ſtrings* of various colours. In regard to the Diſcovery of theſe vaſt tracts of land, what *Seneca* ſays as it were in a prophetical ſenſe in his *Medea*, appears to be not inapplicable:"

"Venient annis Sæcula ſeris,
Quibus *Oceanus* vincula rerum
Laxet, novoſque Tiphys detegat orbes.
Atque ingens pateat tellus,
Nec ſit terris ultima *Thule*.

"In lateſt times our hardy ſons ſhall brave
Stern Ocean's rage, and ſtem the diſtant wave;
In them reviv'd ſhall *Tiphys* wond'ring ſee
The *new-found* World emerging from the ſea;
No more ſhall *Thule* be the utmoſt bound,
But earth from pole to pole be ſearched round."

SECTION THE SECOND.

Review of the ſacred periods of Hiſtory, as connected with the Progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery.—Conjectures on the Country of Ophir and the Tarſhiſh of Solomon.—Voyage of the Phenician Navigators who ſailed under the orders of Pharaoh Necho.

Upon the Syrian Sea the people live
Who ſtyle themſelves PHENICIANS. Theſe are ſprung
From the true ancient *Erythrean* ſtock;
From that Sage race who firſt eſſayed the Deep,
And wafted Merchandiſe to Coaſts unknown:
Theſe too digeſted firſt the ſtarry Choir,
Their motions marked, and called them by their names.

Tranſlation of the Periegeſis by Bryant.

SECT. II.

THE ſubject of this Section recals us to the early periods of the Egyptian hiſtory, and particularly to that maritime people called *Phenicians*, who conducted the fleets of Solomon to *Ophir*, and regulated the commercial tranſactions of the world. Theſe celebrated navigators muſt have diſcovered many countries, the exiſtence of which, being carefully concealed, was afterwards obliterated;

obliterated; and there is every reason to suppose, but for this circumstance, some evidence would have remained that the ancients were not ignorant of so extensive a continent as America. The course of the trade winds was surely favourable both to the enterprize and skill of Phenicia; but the passage from the *Mediterranean* into the *Atlantic* to a Phenician seaman was a secret of state, and consequently all their Discoveries in that ocean were religiously concealed: yet Mr. *Costard* * is inclined to give these navigators the fame of having first visited, and named, the *Canary Islands*. Mystery to a Phenician commander was the great principle of his profession, a principle he was obliged to support even at the risk of his own existence: for, according to *Strabo* †, when the captain of a Phenician vessel, who was on a voyage to the *Cassiterides* for tin, imagined that he was observed by a Roman; he immediately ran on a shoal and was shipwrecked, rather than forfeit the mystery of his voyage, by giving the smallest degree of information to another country. For this conduct he was rewarded by a policy worthy of the Dutch, and on his return to Tyre, the honours of that city were lavished upon him. Such were the people on whose early annals Mr. Bryant has thrown considerable light, and rescued from the obscurity which their illiberal policy had such a tendency to perpetuate.

Commerce with India elucidated.

The commercial intercourse with *India* antecedent to history forms a part of Dr. *Vincent*'s Preliminary Disquisitions ‡ to his *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. This intercourse may occasionally be ascertained by different passages in Scripture, but the means by which it was supported will hardly admit of historical elucidation. *Thebes* and *Memphis*, in their respective ages, seem to have preceded *Alexandria* as the established marts of this commerce; and as neither the *Persians*, *Indians*, or *Egyptians*, ever appeared as navigators on the eastern seas, the ARABIANS are thought by Dr. Vincent to have opened the communication with *India* prior to the age of *Moses*, and by

* He conjectures that "when the *Phenicians* first discovered the *Canary Islands*, they gave the group, from the richness and fertility of the soil and temperature of the air, the name of *Hen-ara*, or *the beauty of land*. Hence the Greeks, by softening the Phenician words, formed their *Canaria Nêsos*, and came to call these Islands Εὐδαίμονες Νῆσοι; and this we see gives a better reason why these islands are called the *Canary Islands*, than that given from *Can*, which in Spanish is said to signify a *Dog*, because the Spaniards found great numbers of dogs there when they discovered them afterwards."—(*Hist. of Astronomy*, p. 60.)

† Lib. iii. p. 109. ‡ Page 57.

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by their early monopoly of eastern stores at * Sabea (the modern *Yemen*) on the coast of the *Red Sea*, to have been acquainted with the *monsoons* even before the building of Thebes.

The intercourse which SESOSTRIS is said to have established between *Egypt* and *India* is so enveloped in fable, that the reality of his Indian expedition is denied by Strabo; and though Herodotus † dwells at length on the exploits of *Sesostris*, his conquest of India is not noticed by that historian. In addition to what Mr. Bryant has said relative to the cedar ship ‡ of Sesostris, he has also inserted a separate Dissertation § on that character, and gives the preference to *Diodorus Siculus* above all other writers for the fullest and most uniform account of this questionable personage. According to the historian, *Sesostris* when young subdued the extensive tract of *Arabia*, and after his father's death, having formed a resolution to conquer all the nations upon earth, invaded the *Ethiopians* to the south, and made them tributary to Egypt; he then built a fleet of ships on the *Red Sea*, and is mentioned as the first person who constructed Vessels adapted for the purposes of distant navigation. By Sir *John Marsham* and Sir *Isaac Newton*, Sesostris is supposed to have been the same with the *Sesac* of Scripture. The author of the *Chronicon Paschale* mentions him as first of the line of Ham who reigned in Egypt; he is also represented under the names of *Sethos*, *Sethosis*, and *Sesonchosis*. Apollonius Rhodius notices the great actions of this prince, but omits his name, as if he did not know by which properly to distinguish him. *In this instance, as in many others*, adds Mr. Bryant, *the ancients have given to a person what related to a people.*

Assyrians of Niniveh.

The irruption of the *Ninivites* into *India* under SEMIRAMIS, and their return by the route which Alexander afterwards followed, is an event of great importance in tracing the progress of ancient Maritime Discoveries; and must render every writer on the subject particularly anxious to glean some portion of truth, from the fictitious or real character of *Semiramis*. Mr. *Wilford* has published

* PERIPLUS, p. 61.—Mr. Bruce (vol. i. book ii.), in his *Account of the first Ages of the Indian and African Trade*, places the territory of Saba along the Coast of Africa, extending to the eastward of the Straits of Babelmandib, as far as Cape Gardefan. The subjects of the *Queen of Sheba*, or Saba, were, according to Mr. Bruce, a distinct people from the Ethiopians, or the Sabean Arabs. (Vol. i. p. 471.) *Josephus* makes her the Queen of *Meroe*; but the greater part of his countrymen say she came from *Al jemin*, THE SOUTH part of the Red Sea.

† Euterpe, cii. ‡ See preceding p. 30. § ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 85.

published a *Dissertation on Semiramis, from the Hindu sacred Books*, in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Researches;* which Mr. Maurice, in his History of Hindostan *, thinks abundantly demonstrates the existence of that character. This dissertation is however, as he confesses, almost inextricably blended with mythology; and though he has analysed the narrative, I still resort to the excellent conjectures of † Mr. Bryant, many of which have been confirmed by this Asiatic treatise: for, as Dr. Vincent ‡ remarks, *where history stops, an ingenious hypothesis is all that rational inquiry can demand.*

NINUS and SEMIRAMIS, according to the former writer, were ideal personages who represented the great exploits of the *Ninivites* and *Samarim;* for what credit can be given to the history of *Semiramis* as an individual, when the period of her having existed cannot be ascertained within 1535 years? The supposed marriage of Ninus and Semiramis alludes to the period when Niniveh was ruined, and the kingdom of *Assyria* became united with that of Babylon. The *Ninivites and Samarim* were powerful both by sea and land; they conquered the *Medes* and *Bactrians*, extended their dominions to the west as far as *Phrygia* and the *Tanais*, and to the south as far as *Egypt* and *Arabia*. The *insigne* of the Babylonian Samarim was a *dove;* and the very term SEMIRAMIS, which has occasioned so much confusion, was a compound of *Suma-Ramas*, or *Ramis*, the former of which signified a sign or token, and the latter something exalted and great. *Semiramis* was therefore an emblem of the dove, the token of the Most High, the type of Providence; and as a military ensign, it may with some latitude be interpreted THE STANDARD OF THE MOST HIGH: it consisted of the figure of a dove, probably encircled with the *Iris*, as those two emblems were often represented together.

Mr. Bryant § reduces the unwarrantable height to which the Egyptian Annals had been carried, by shewing that the number of years (36,525) which misled so many writers, belonged to an ancient *Ephemeris*, and that days were thus taken for years. *Plutarch* ‖ was himself sensible of the difficulties which attend the history of Egypt, and says, *There are after all some slight and obscure traces of true history here and there to be found, as they lie scattered up and down in the ancient writings of Egypt; but it requires a person of uncommon address to find them out, one who can deduce great truths from scanty premises.*

Ancient Egypt: Mizraim.

UPPER EGYPT was early occupied by the *Mizraim*, who retired to their place of allotment before the Titanic war, and were attended by their brethren

* Vol. ii. p. 99. 303. † ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 99. 303. ‡ Perip. of the Erythrean.
§ ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 311—367.—*Dissertation on the Egyptian Kings and Dynasties.*
‖ Ερωτικα, p. 762.

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thren the sons of *Phut*: this settlement was called Mezor, and the land of Cham, from their two chief ancestors, *Misor*, and his father *Ham* or *Amon*. HAM, worshipped as the sun, was styled *Ait*; and Egypt, or the land of Ham, was called *Ait*, and *Ai-Ait*, expressed by the Greeks *Aetia*. Two of the most ancient names of Egypt, according to the scholiast on the Periegesis of Dionysius, were *Mysara* and *Eëria*: and as the front of the ancient Amonian temples were ornamented with figures of the eagle and vulture, the insignia of that country; it also obtained the name of Ai-Gupt, from *ait* and *gupt*, an eagle and a vulture.

The first series of Egyptian princes, according to the old chronicle preserved by *Syncellus*, was that of the *Auritæ*, who were also called *Demigods*, *Phœnices*, or SHEPHERDS; the second was that of the MIZRAIM; and the third that of the EGYPTIANS. The original list consisted only of fifteen * dynasties; the remainder are spurious, and have been a chief cause of the uncertainty that prevailed. The *Auritæ* were expelled from Egypt a few years before the arrival of the Israelites; and settling in different parts of Greece, were styled *Pelasgi*, *Leleges*, *Inachidæ*, *Danaidæ*, *Heraclidæ*, and *Cadmians* †. The following curious fragment from *Diodorus Siculus*, preserved by *Photius*, wonderfully elucidates both the sacred and profane history of mankind; though the latter event mentioned should have preceded the other: *Upon this, as some writers tell us, the most eminent and enterprising of those foreigners who were in Egypt and obliged to leave the country, betook themselves to the Coast of Greece, and also to other regions; having put themselves under the command of proper leaders for that purpose. Some of them were conducted by Danaus and Cadmus; who were the most illustrious of the whole. There were besides these, a large, but less noble body of people, who retired into the province called now* JUDEA, *which was not far from Egypt, and in those times uninhabited: these emigrants were led by* MOSES, *who was superior to all in wisdom and prowess; he gave them laws, and ordained that they should have no images of the gods, because there was only one Deity, the Heaven which surrounds all things, and is Lord of all.*

The very term *Okeanos*, by which the *Grecians* expressed the sea, in its most extensive sense, was borrowed from *Ogenus*, an ancient name of the Nile. Ogenus, originally written *Ogehonus*, was a compound of *Oc-Gehon*, and signified the noble *Gehon*, a name taken from one of the rivers in Paradise ‡. The Egyptians were never debtors to the Greeks §, whereas they on the contrary seem to have derived every thing from

* ANALYSIS, p. 315.
† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 407.
‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 391.
§ Herodotus, *Euterpe*, 49.

from a kingdom, which became an intellectual storehouse to Europe. Mr. *Costard, in his History of Astronomy* *, declares that the Greeks procured the first rudiments of that science from abroad, and quotes a passage from the *Epinomis of Plato* as his authority: *The first who observed these things was a barbarian who lived in an ancient country, where, on account of the clearness of the summer season, they could first discern them: such are Egypt and Syria, where the Stars are clearly seen, there being neither rains nor clouds to hinder their sight; and because we are more remote from this fine summer weather than the barbarians, we came later to the knowledge of these Stars.* In this passage, the *Egyptians* and *Syrians* are principally alluded to under the term *barbarians;* and by the *Syrians*, the Greeks comprehended the *Assyrians*, the *Chaldeans*, and the *Arabians*.

The Sphere.

Sir Isaac Newton assigns the invention of the SPHERE to *Chiron* †, or *Musæus;* others give it to Atlas (*the Atlantians*), or to *Palemedes;* but Mr. Bryant brings forward some strong arguments to prove, that the SPHERE was in reality of Egyptian origin, and was an invention of the *Mizraim*. The *Zodiac*, which Sir Isaac Newton thought had some relation to the *Argonautic expedition*, is shewn by this learned Mythologist to have been an assemblage of Egyptian hieroglyphics: *Aries*, of Amon; *Taurus*, of Apis; *Leo*, of Arez, the same as Mithras and Osiris; and *Virgo*, of Isis. The Egyptians in their sphere necessarily omitted constellations which could not be seen in their degrees of latitude, or in those which they frequented; hence many Asterisms near the southern pole, such as the *Croziers*, *Phœnicopter*, and *Toucan*, remained for a long time unnoticed; and have only been inserted since our voyages on the other side of the line.

Cunocephali.

Whoever is led to examine the progress of Maritime Discoveries by the Ancients, will find himself often bewildered with their strange accounts of men with *dogs' heads*, of others with *dogs' teeth*, and of some without any heads. The earliest travellers into Tartary ‡, and the eastern parts of Asia, found the same fables existing, and brought them back to Europe with other wonders of strange countries: for this confusion we are indebted to the Greeks, and for its elucidation to Mr. Bryant. *Cahen*, and the Hebrew term *Cohen* §, denoted a *priest*, or professor; but the Greeks and Romans, deceived from the sound of a word so nearly resembling κυων and *canis*, misconstrued it a dog.

The

* Page 113. † ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 482. 484.—See preceding page 50.
‡ See *Carpini's Narrative*, Chap. i. sect. ii. p. 98.
§ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 329.; and *Observations*, &c. p. 162.

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The Egyptians founded their colleges for aſtronomy, in Upper Egypt, upon Rocks and Hills, and called them *Caph:* as they were ſacred to the ſun they were alſo denominated *Caph-El*, *Caph-Aur*, and *Caph-Arez*, this the Greeks uniformly changed to *Cephale;* and from *Cahen-Caph-El*, the ſacred Rock of *Orus*, the royal Seminary in Upper Egypt, they formed the term *Cunocephalus*, which they ſuppoſed muſt relate to an animal with the head of a dog. The *Cunocephali* were in fact members of a ſacred college, whoſe profeſſors were perſons of great learning, particularly converſant in aſtronomical obſervations; they were not only eſtabliſhed in Egypt, but likewiſe in India, and other parts of the world.

Near the *Cunocephali*, or men with dogs' heads, whom the earlieſt travellers ſpeak of as being ſeen by the ſide of rivers, were generally found men *without heads*, or the *Acephali*, to whom Herodotus * out of humanity gave eyes in their breaſt: they were thus named from their place of reſidence, *Ac-Caph-El*, the ſacred rock of the ſun. The Men *with teeth like dogs*, mentioned by *Solinus* and *Iſidorus*, were denominated like the reſt from their deity *Chan-Adon*, whoſe votaries the Greeks called CUNODONTES. Nor does Mr. Bryant adduce this merely as the parade of a learned etymologiſt, or the illuſtration of a German Commentator; he by this means enables his reader to unravel ſome of the moſt perplexed and knotty parts of ancient hiſtory; and until ſome more perfect Clue can be formed to guide us through the labyrinth of Grecian Mythology and Fable, they ſurely prefer darkneſs to light who attempt to depreciate the labours of our learned Analyſer.

Phenician purple.

The ſtrange ſtory relative to the Dog of *Hercules*, who diſcovered the *purple dye*, is by this means brought within the limit of belief; and we no longer wonder that the animal ſhould feed on ſhell-fiſh, or be inſenſible to the ſharp and ſtrong protuberances of the murex. *Hercules of Tyre*, like other † oriental divinities, was ſtyled *Cahen* and *Cohen;* and we are told ‡, *that Hercules in the language of the Egyptians is called Chon.* Johannes Antiochenus, who gives the ſtory of the dog at large, ſays that *purple* § was the diſcovery, *kunos poimenikou*,

* Herodotus, *Melpomene*, chap. cxci. Mr. Bryant's conjecture is certainly fraught with erudition, though Mr. *Larcher* does not approve it.

† ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 343. ‡ Etymologicum Magnum.

§ A learned paper by M. *Biſchoff*, on the hiſtory of the art of dyeing, from the earlieſt ages, appeared in the *Verſuche einer geſchichte der Färberkunſt;* a tranſlation of which was inſerted by Mr. Tilloch in his Philoſophical Magazine (vol. ix. p. 200.). M. *Biſchoff* obſerves

poimenikou, which in the original history was undoubtedly a *Shepherd King*.

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Introduction. *Sacred Periods.*

Canaanites.

The CANAANITES, descended from *Canaan* the son of Ham, formed an extensive and maritime branch of the great Amonian Family *. Their national appellation was varied and confused by different people: by the Egyptians and Syrians it was pronounced *Cnaan*, by the Greeks *Cnas* and *Cna*. Their commercial and enterprising spirit appears from the extensive works they accomplished: one of their numerous colonies settled in *Liguria*, on the banks of the *Eridanus*, where they drained the river towards its mouth, and formed some vast canals, called by Pliny † *fossæ Philistinæ*. This river declares the original settlers by its name, which has no relation to the Celtic, but is apparently of Egyptian or Canaanitish etymology; it occurred in the ancient Sphere of Egypt, and was thence conveyed to Greece.

The *Canaanites* probably joined the Cuthite rebellion in *Babylonia* ‡, and afterwards formed one of the dispersed tribes; for when Abraham traversed the country, it is repeatedly said, that *the Canaanite was then in the* § *land*. The region which the Canaanite invaded was in great measure vacant, and had been reserved by divine appointment for the children of Israel; who afterwards only held it at will, as it was ever *the Lord's* ‖ *portion*. The sons of CHUS first usurped the region allotted to *Ashur*, and afterwards transgressed still farther upon the property of their neighbours; but of all others the offence of *Canaan* was the most heinous, for he voluntarily invaded God's peculiar territory, and seized it for himself. *Eusebius* marks the daring character of the Canaanite: *Canaan the son of Ham was guilty of innovation, and trespassed upon the allotment of Shem, and took up his habitation therein contrary to the commandment of* ** *Noah*.

serves, that DOG and *Colour* are expressed in the *Syrian language* by the same word. (*Bochart de Animal.* p. iv. lib. v. cap. xi.) The purple shell-fish was styled by the Hebrews *argaman*. It is thus described by Pliny: *The purple shell-fish has a conical shell, surrounded with a seven-fold row of prickles which proceed to the mouth, through which the animal can project its tongue; the latter is as long as the finger, and so hard that it can penetrate the shells of other fish, and nourish itself on their substance.* (Lib. ix. ch. 38.) There were two kinds of this shell fish, and both employed in dyeing purple: one was termed *buccinum*, from its figure; the other was the shell-fish properly so called, *purpura*.

* ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 367; & vol. iii. p. 265.
† L. iii. p. 173.
‡ See preceding page 36.
§ Genesis, c. xii. v. 6; c. xiii. v. 7.
‖ Leviticus, c. xxv. v. 23.
** Eusebius, Chron. p. 10.

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The land of *Canaan*, a term which ſignifies *merchant* or *trader*, was very advantageouſly ſituated for commerce; its inhabitants therefore ſoon appeared as navigators, and were among the firſt who viſited the diſtant boundaries of the Mediterranean. They traded chiefly from *Sidon* *, afterwards the metropolis of *Phenice*, before that city was taken by the king of Aſcalon: when their commerce at this mart was interrupted, they removed it to the ſtrong hold of Tyre, and the city, which had been previouſly founded, was ſoon greatly enlarged. A *ſwan* was the *inſigne* of Canaan, as the *eagle* and *vulture* were of Egypt, and the *dove* of Babylonia: hence many idle legends were formed or heightened by the poets. In all places where the Canaanites ſettled they became famous for their muſic, and the ſublime hymns which they chanted to the honour of their gods; this the Greeks transferred to *ſwans*, and at length believed that they were gifted with melody.

The affecting ſcene which the death-bed of *Jacob* † preſents, when the patriarch is ſurrounded by his children, the future anceſtors of great and powerful nations, offers ſome important facts relative to the early periods of hiſtory. *Zebulon*, ſaid Jacob in his prophetic viſion, *ſhall dwell at the Haven of the Sea; and he ſhall be for an haven of ſhips; and his border ſhall be unto Zidon.* The lot of *Zebulon* was accordingly placed near the lake of Tiberias, *the Scripture ſea of Galilee:* by *Zidon*, Patrick thinks, the ſacred hiſtorian intended no alluſion to the city ſo called, ſince this tribe did not extend beyond Mount Carmel, which is at leaſt forty miles diſtant, but that he meant Phenice, or a part of Canaan ſo called, which the Zebulonites touched.

As the *Red Sea* is neceſſarily mentioned in conſidering the commerce of *Phenice*, it may not perhaps be deemed irrelevant to remind the reader of that curions paſſage in Strabo ‡, which Mr. Maurice § has cited, reſpecting the miraculous *Exodus* of the Iſraelites: "There is an ancient tradition among the ICHTHYOPHAGI, who live on the borders of the Red Sea, which they had received from their anceſtors who inhabited that ſhore, and was preſerved to that time. Upon a great receſs of the Sea, every part of that GULPH became quite dry; and the Sea falling to the oppoſite part, the bottom of it appeared green; but returning with a mighty force, regained its former place."

* *Trogus* derives SIDON from a Phenician word ſignifying a *fiſh*; and its modern appellation, SEID, may be rendered a fiſhing place.

† Geneſis, chap. xlix.

‡ Lib. xvi. p. 760.

§ Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, vol. ii. p. 204.

place." *The rude Ichthyophagi*, adds Mr. Maurice, *remembered this calamity, but the Egyptians chose to erase the memory of it from their minds and their annals.*

Phenicians.

A correct knowledge of the early history of the Phenicians is of the utmost importance in tracing the progress of ancient Maritime Discoveries; yet few writers have attempted the task, and unless I apply to Mr. Bryant, who in his Observations * on various parts of ancient history, has published a distinct essay on these renowned Navigators, I must be compelled to repeat the confusion that has so long prevailed on this subject: either blending the *Phenicians*, as † *Bochart* does with the *Canaanites*, or confounding them with the various colonies that preserved this prevailing ‡ title.

The *true Phenicians* were the sons of ESAU, who was in Scripture § called *Edom:* their first settlement was at *Mount Seir*, on the coast of the *Red Sea*, which from them received its name; both *Phoinic* and *Edom* signify *red*, which the Greeks changed into a word of the same meaning, *Erythrus* ‖. No connected annals of this celebrated nation remain, yet as much as can be gleaned from the rapacious grasp of time serves to prove, that they were extremely rich and powerful, that they carried on a most extensive commerce, and by being masters of the adjacent gulf, and of all that was explored of the ocean that stretched beyond it, they engrossed the trade of the East. The dignity

* Page 222.

† Geogr. Sacra, *Pars Poster.* lib. i. cap. 43; & Ibid. *Pars Prior*, lib. iv. cap. 34.

‡ *Phenician* was originally a title assumed by different people, but was used by the Greeks as a separate provincial name. (Analysis, vol. i. p. 324.) The learned reader will find many points discussed relative to the progress of Maritime Discovery by the *Phenicians*, in GESNER's Observations *de Navigationibus extra Columnas Herculis* (Præl. i.). Some observations respecting their acquirements in science occur in M. Gosselin's *Geo. des Grecs Analysée*; where he remarks (p. 43.) that they never attained to any perfection in the knowledge of *astronomical geography*; even two centuries after *Eratosthenes*, the principles which they had then acquired of this science were very erroneous.

§ Genesis, c. xxv. v. 30.

‖ Dr. Vincent considers the various tales relative to a king called *Erythras*, in his Voyage of *Nearchus* (p. 318.).—" The *Arabians* carried the name of the *Red Sea*, whence they commenced their course, to the utmost extent of their Discoveries; and hence the INDIAN OCEAN received the title of RED. The Arabs, or at least the Orientals, delight in appellations similar to that of the Red Sea; thus the *Euxine* is the *Black Sea*, the *Propontis* is the *White Sea*, the *Mediterranean* is the *Blue Sea*, and the *Indian Ocean* the *Green Sea*."

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dignity of their national character survives in a page that cannot deceive: *The wise Men* * *out of Edom, and Understanding out of the Mount of Esau; and thy mighty men, O Teman!*"—"*Concerning Edom* †, *thus saith the Lord of Hosts; Is Wisdom no more in Teman? is Counsel perished from the prudent? is their Wisdom vanished?*" and (adds Mr. Bryant) so truly noble and royal do they seem to have been, that the prophet *Isaiah* borrows his ideas from their supposed dignity and appearance, when he mystically describes our Saviour in his state of manhood, making his glorious advances upon earth: *Who is this that cometh from* EDOM, *with dyed garments from* BOSRAH? *this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength?*

In the time of the Greeks, the Arabians, whose early skill in navigation has been already mentioned, got possession of Edom; and hence the Arabians have been mentioned as coming from Phenice, and are sometimes called Phenicians. The dangers and perils which the *Edomites* endured in navigating the Red Sea, or what with more propriety might be termed the *Phenician Gulf*, are still visible in the different names of its headlands, as explained by *Bruce*, from the Abyssinian language: "The strait of Babelmandeb is *the gate or Port of affliction;* the last cape on the Abyssinian shore, *Cape Dafui*, or *Defan, the Cape of burial;* the point which stretches out before ships arrive at Babelmandeb, *Cape Gardefui*, or *Gardefan*, signifies *the Straits of burial;* a small port in the kingdom of Adel, called *Mete*, means in Abyssinian *death*, or *he or they are dead;* a cluster of islands situated in the canal, after passing *Mocha*, is called *Jibbel Zekir*, or the *islands of prayer for the remembrance of the dead;* and still in the same course, up the gulf, others are called *Sebaat Gzier*, or *praise be to God*, as we may suppose, for the navigators' return from so many dangers ‡."—Yet after all, these names might have been given by an artful people, to deter others from following the track which they originally had explored, and found so productive of commercial wealth.

Dangerous navigation of the Red Sea.

The *Edomites* in process of time obtained possession of *Tyre* and *Sidon* cities of Canaan, and the adjacent country afterwards called *Phenicia;* but how early they settled there is uncertain §; we can only learn from an extract

* Obadiah, v. 8, 9. † Jeremiah, xlix. v. 7.

‡ Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 443.

§ The *Phenicians*, says Herodotus, by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea, but migrated from thence to the maritime parts of Syria; all which district, as far as Egypt, is denominated Palestine. *Beloe's translation.* (Polymnia, v. iii. ch. lxxxix.)

extract in *Eusebius* *, that *Phœnix and Cadmus, retiring from Thebes in Egypt towards the coast of Syria, settled at Tyre and Sidon, and reigned there.* Judea, Palestine, Syria, and Idume, were all separate and distinct from Phenicia. A considerable part of Canaan long retained its original appellation, and as such is mentioned by the Apostles †, who seem industriously to distinguish the coast of *Tyre* and *Sidon* from it, which they call *Phenice;* and this word, though not generally received, is the most correct orthography of that national term. PHENICE, properly so called, was only a slip of the sea-coast of Canaan, situated within the jurisdiction of the Tyrians and Sidonians, between the 34 and 36 degrees of north latitude, and signified *Ora Regia*, or, according to the language of the country, the *coast of the Anakim* ‡. TYRE, anciently *Sor*, is commonly denominated the daughter of Sidon; and three different cities appear in order of time of this name: Tyre on the continent, or *Pæle-Tyrus (Old Tyre);* Tyre on the island; and Tyre on the peninsula, after the island was joined to the main land §. *Byblus*, the seat of the famous superstition in memory of *Adonis*, is thought to have been the city first built in Phenice. The glass of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and the fine linen which they wove, soon became valuable articles of commerce. Their language of the country was a dialect of the Hebrew.

Bochart ‖ is inclined to think that the *Phenicians* must have been conversant with the west of *Africa*, before the time of *Joshua;* and Dr. Borlase ** adds, that it is probable they then came as far west as *Tingis* (*Tangier*), if two pillars really existed with this Phenician inscription: "WE ARE THOSE WHO FLED FROM THE FACE OF JOSHUA THE SON OF NAVE." *Eusebius* †† mentions, that some Canaanites escaped from the avenging sword of the children of Israel, and inhabited *Tripoli* in Barbary. Of the numerous Phenician colonies, New and Old Carthage were the most distinguished; and according to Appian ‡‡, the latter was built fifty years before the taking of Troy. The exact date of the discovery of the BRITISH ISLES, by the *Phenicians*, is not known: according to *Strabo*, they first passed the Straits soon after the Trojan war; but probably both the building of *Old Carthage*, and the latter event, are only referred to the above Expedition, from our possessing no certain chronology by which periods so remote can be regulated.

The

* Chron. p. 27. † Acts, xi. v. 19; chap. xv. v. 3.
‡ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 323.
§ Universal History (Ancient), vol. ii. *History of the Phœnicians.*
‖ Vol. i. p. 326. ** Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 26.
†† Græc. Chron. p. 11. ‡‡ P. 638.

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The PHENICIANS, from the greatness * of their national character, soon added a new and more exalted signification to the term *Phonic*, which, from their renown, came to denote any thing that was stately or noble: it was accordingly given to persons of great stature, or was conferred on people of eminence and power. The inhabitants of that part of *Canaan* which the *Phenicians* occupied on leaving the coast of *Edom*, were styled *Phenices* before the birth of Homer; but Mr. Bryant † thinks the term was never used by the natives, as a provincial appellation, until they were conquered by the Greeks, and even then but partially.

When the Phenicians, under the appellation of *Edomites*, first monopolized the Commerce of the East, they probably laid the foundations of the wealth of *Sabéa*, the modern *Yemen*, on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, as an intermediate Mart for the commodities of *India*; but their maritime transactions in this respect seem to have been too much blended with the enterprize of the Arabians. The *Sabeans* are mentioned by *Job* ‡, by the prophets *Ezekiel* § and *Joel* ||, and above all by *Isaiah* ** : *The labour of Egypt, and merchandise of Ethiopia* †† *and of the Sabeans, men of stature.* Agatharchides, president of the *Alexandrian* library, to whom Diodorus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and many others are so greatly indebted; in his work on the Erythrean Sea preserved in an extract of Phocius, gives the earliest account now extant of the commerce of the *Sabeans*. Dr. Vincent's Periplus pays due attention to this learned native of *Cnidus* in *Caria*, who flourished one hundred and seventy-seven years before the Christian æra; and from this work I have selected the following ‡‡ extract:

Sabea

* Should the reader be rather inclined to favour the opinion which traces the origin of the PHENICIANS from the savage *Ichthyophagi*, or *Fish Eaters*; and the *Acridophagi*, or *Locust-Eaters*; he may be gratified by referring to Dr. R. Forster's Account of the Voyages and Discoveries of the Phenicians, prefixed to his *History of Voyages and Discoveries made in the North.* † ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 319. 324. ‡ Ch. i. v. 15.

§ Ch. xxiii. v. 42. || Ch. iii. v. 8. ** Ch. xlv. v. 14.

†† The sons of Chus were denominated *Ethiopians*, and *Athopians*, according to Mr Bryant (vol. i. p. 486.), from *Ath-Ope*, and *Ath-Opis*, the god which they worshipped. They established the serpent worship, which began in *Chaldea*, in the island Eubœa, or Oub-Aia (p. 480.), which signifies the *Serpent Island*. They settled under the title of *Heliadæ* at RHODES, which island is said to have received its name from *Rhod*, a Syriac word signifying a serpent. They also settled in CRETE, and at ARGOS. The whole continent of AFRICA, as well as the Islands, *Rhodes*, *Cythnus*, *Besbicus*, and *Tenos*, was formerly called OPHIUSA, from the worship of the Serpent.

‡‡ Dr. Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 31.

"Sabêa (says *Agatharcides*) abounds with every production to make life happy in the extreme; its very air is so perfumed with odours, that the natives are obliged to mitigate the fragrance,... *myrrh*, *frankincense*, *balsam*, *cinnamon*, and *casia*, are here produced from trees of extraordinary magnitude. The king, as he is on the one hand entitled to supreme honour, on the other is obliged to submit to confinement in his palace; but the people are robust, warlike, and able mariners, they sail in very large vessels to the Country where the odoriferous commodities are produced, they plant colonies there, and import from thence the *Carimna*, an odour no where else to be found. In fact there is no nation upon earth so wealthy as the *Gerrhéi* and *Sabéi*, as being in the centre of all the commerce which passes between *Asia* and *Europe*. These are the nations which have enriched the SYRIA of *Ptolemy* *; these are the nations that furnish the most profitable agencies to the industry of the *Phenicians*, and a variety of advantages which are incalculable. They possess themselves every profusion of luxury, in articles of plate and sculpture, in furniture of beds, tripods, and other household embellishments, far superior in degree to any thing that is seen in Europe. Their expence of living rivals the magnificence of princes. Their houses are decorated with pillars glistening with *gold* and *silver*. Their doors are crowned with vases, and beset with jewels; the interior of their houses corresponds in the beauty of their outward appearance, and all the riches of other countries are here exhibited in a variety of profusion. Such a nation, and so abounding in superfluity, owes its independence to its distance from Europe; for their luxurious manners would soon render them a prey to the European sovereigns, who have always troops on foot prepared for any conquest; and who, if they could find the means of invasion, would soon reduce the *Sabéans* to the condition of their agents and factors, whereas they are now obliged to deal with them as principals."

Cyprus first discovered.

The island of CYPRUS, or *Cupher*, was first discovered, according to *Eratosthenes* †, by the *Phenicians*, about one thousand and six years before the Christian æra, it formed one of their earliest settlements; since, according to Herodotus ‡, *Cyprus* was in part peopled by them. When these navigators landed, they found the Island covered with trees; and although their own country furnished excellent timber, the durable wood of Cyprus proved of essential service for the purposes of ship-building, whilst the refuse provided fuel

* It ought to be the *kingdom of Ptolemy*, and not the *Syria of Ptolemy*. (Dr. Vincent.)

† Apud Strabonem, lib. xiv. p. 684.

‡ *Polymnia*, cap. 90.

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fuel to ſmelt the copper with which the iſland abounded. From the innumerable names * by which *Cyprus* was known to the ancients, the following may be ſelected: *Macaria*, from the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil, *Æroſa*, from its copper mines, and *Ceraſtis*, from its innumerable promontories. The more modern name of *Cyprus* is derived by ſome writers from the Greek *cryptos* (*hidden*), ſince the iſland is often concealed from mariners by the waves. If the iſlands of *Rhodes* and *Crete* were not firſt diſcovered by the Phenicians, they were at leaſt viſited and explored by them at a very remote period.

Amidſt the *Phenician* idolatry, a curious circumſtance occurs which illuſtrates a ſingularity in their veſſels. They were accuſtomed to place ſome ſmall ſtatues, called *Pataeci*, on the poops of their ſhips, as the tutelar gods of ſea-faring men; and to theſe images the unfortunate mariner was taught in that age of darkneſs to look for ſupport. According to *Heſychius*, the *Baal* of *Sidon* was called THALASSIUS, or the *Sea Baal*.

Sacred record of Phenician commerce.

A conſideration of the origin of *Phenice*, and its maritime character during the periods of Sacred Hiſtory, naturally leads me to that memorable teſtimony; which the prophet EZEKIEL, who flouriſhed two hundred and ſixty years before the fall of Tyre, gave of this city and its moſt ancient commerce. The whole of that ſublime record ſhall therefore be preſented to the reader's attention, from the tranſlation † by Biſhop Newcombe, with a ſelection of his notes.

(CHAP. xxvii.)—"O Thou ‡ that art ſituated at the entering § in of the Sea, that art a merchant of the people to many iſles, thus ſaith the Lord Jehovah: 'O TYRE! thou haſt ſaid, I am perfect in beauty. Thy borders are in the heart of the ſeas; thy builders have perfected

* Univerſal Hiſtory, *Ancient*, vol. vii. p. 129.

† Printed at Dublin, 1788, in quarto.

‡ *Marſham* (Can. Chron. ſect. 18. p. 537.) thus extols this deſcription by Ezekiel: "*Fuit Tyrus emporium totius orientis nobiliſſimum, ditione non tam terreſtri quam per mare late ſparſa, opibus copiiſque florentiſſimum. Ultimus ſplendorem, rem nauticam, vires conductitias, mercatumque ubertimum graphice deſcripſit Ezechiel!*

§ Which formed its harbour. *Newcombe* adds in a preceding note (p. 93.); Probably Old Tyre, or its ſuburbs, ſtood in the ſea on a peninſula. *Vitringa* thinks it probable that *inſular Tyre* ſerved as a ſtation for the ſhips of Old Tyre. *Alexander* employed the ruins and rubbiſh of the old city in making his cauſey from the continent to the iſland, which henceforward were joined together. It is no wonder therefore, as Biſhop *Pocock* obſerves (Travels, v. 6. 1. c. xx. p. 81, 82.), that there are no ſigns of the ancient city; and as it is a ſandy ſhore, the face of every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct in many parts is buried in the ſand. (Newton's Diſſ. xi.) However, Dr. *Pocock* mentions a great Bay ſouth of Tyre, and aſſigns ſome reaſons for ſuppoſing that *Old Tyre* ſtood in a corner of this bay.

perfected thy beauty. Of fir trees from * *Senir* they have made thee all thy † ship-boards: they have taken Cedars from *Lebanon* to make masts for thee; of the oaks from *Bashan* have they made thine oars: thy ‡ benches have they made of ivory, inlaid in box from the Isles of § *Chittim*. Fine linen, with embroidered work from *Egypt*, was spread forth by thee to be thy standard: blue and purple from the Isles of ‖ *Elisha* were thy ¶ covering. The inhabitants of *Sidon* and ** *Arvad* were thy rowers: thy wise men, O *Tyre*, that were in thee, were thy pilots: the ancients of †† *Gebal*, and the wise men thereof, were in thee thy calkers. All the ships of the sea, with their mariners, were in thee to trade in thy market. They of *Persia*, of ‡‡ *Lud*, and of §§ *Phut*, were thy warriors in thine army; they hanged the shield and the helmet in thee; they set forth thy glory. The men of Arvad, and thine army, were upon thy walls round about, and the ‖‖ *Gammadim* were in thy towers: they hanged their quivers upon thy walls round about; they made thy beauty perfect. ¶¶ *Tarshish* was thy trafficker, through the multitude of all thy substance; with silver, iron, and lead, they furnished thy fairs. (*a*) *Javan*, *Tubal*, and (*b*) *Meshech*, these were thy merchants in the *persons of* (*c*) *men*; and with vessels of brass they furnished thy market. They of the house of (*d*) *Togarmah* furnished thy fairs with horses, and horsemen, and mules. The men of (*e*) *Dedan* were thy merchants: many Isles were the Mart of thy handy-work: they returned thee for thy price (*f*) *horns*, *ivory*, and *ebony*. *Syria* (*g*) was thy trafficker, through the multitude of thine handy works; with *rubies*, *purple*, and *embroidered work*, and *fine linen*, and

* A part of the ridge of Mount *Hermon*, in the eastern half-tribe of *Manasseh*.

† Some account for the use of the *dual* number, by supposing the planks on each side of a ship to be meant. *Dathius* understands the word, of the ornaments placed at the *head* and *stern* of a ship.

‡ Perhaps the seats in the cabins of the royal galleys.

§ ITALY—The islands and coasts of the Mediterranean. *Corsica* was famous for the box tree.

‖ *Peloponnesus*, famous for its purple.

¶ Perhaps the awning. (*Harmer*. ii. 520.)

** The island *Arados*, at the mouth of the river Eleutherus, on the coast of Phœnicia.

†† Probably Biblos on the coast of Phœnicia.

‡‡ We read that *Lud* was a son of Shem. (Gen. x. 23. 22.) *Bochart* thinks that *Lud* denotes African Ethiopia; but *Michaelis* places this people eastward in Africa: both think *Lud* an Egyptian colony.

§§ The African *Nomades*.

‖‖ Probably a people of *Phœnicia*, and perhaps the inhabitants of *Ancon*.

¶¶ *Michaelis* thinks that there was only the Spanish *Tarshish*, and that ships sailed to it from *Ezion-geber* round Africa. Spain was anciently remarkable for silver mines.

(*a*) *Greece*.

(*b*) The people called *Tibareni* and *Moschi*, situated towards Mount *Caucasus*.

(*c*) *Bochart* observes that *Pontus*, to which the *Tibareni* extended themselves, was remarkable for SLAVES; and that the Greek slaves were the most valuable of any.

(*d*) Some think that the *Turcomanni* are thus called. Bochart supposes that Cappadocia is meant. Michaelis prefers Armenia; which abounded in horses, and among the inhabitants of which a tradition prevailed, that they were descended from *Thorgom*.

(*e*) A city in the Persian Gulph, now called *Daden*. To this place the inhabitants of the eastern isles, or sea coasts, brought their wares.

(*f*) Some think that the long horns of the *Ibex*, a kind of goat, are meant; of these, cups and bowls were formed.

(*g*) The SYRIAN TRADE is mentioned afterwards, under the name of Damascus; and some merchandises are also mentioned, which are not proper for Syria: the Syrians could buy purple from Tyre, but sell none to Tyre. (*Michaelis*.)

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and *coral*, and * *carbuncles*, they furnished thy fairs. *Judah*, and the land of Israel *were* thy merchants; with *wheat*, *myrrh*, and † *panic*, and *honey*, and *oil*, and *balm*, they furnished thy market. *Damascus* was thy trafficker in the multitude of thine *handy* works, through the multitude of all *thy* substance; in the *wine of* ‡ *Helbon*, and in white wool. § *Dan* also, and *Javan* from ‖ Uzal, *were* in thy fairs; they furnished ¶ *wrought iron*: *cassia* and *Sweet Reed* were in thy market. *Dedan* was thy merchant in gorgeous apparel for horsemen. ARABIA, and all the princes of *Kedar*, these were traffickers in thine handy-work: in *lambs*, and *rams*, and *goats*, in these they became thy traffickers. The merchants of ** *Sheba* and *Raamah*, these were thy merchants: with the chief of all *Spices*, and with all *precious Stones*, and with *gold*, they furnished thy fairs. †† *Haran* and ‡‡ *Calneh*, and §§ *Eden*, were thy merchants: ¶¶ *Sheba*, *Asshur*, and *Chilmad*, were in thy market. These were thy merchants in excellent wares; in *mantles of blue*, and of *embroidered work*; and in *chests of rich apparel*, bound with (*a*) cords and made of *cedar*, among thy merchandise. The Ships of *Tarshish* were thy chief traders in thy market; and thou wast filled, and wast made very glorious, in the heart of the Seas.

' The Rowers have brought thee into (*b*) great waters; the east wind hath broken thee in the heart of the seas. Thy Substance, and thy Fairs, thy Markets, thy Sailors, and thy Pilots, thy Calkers, and the Traders in thy market, and all thy Warriors that are in thee, and all thy company that is in the midst of thee, *shall fall in the* (*c*) *heart of the seas, in the day of thy fall.* At the (*d*) sound of the cry of thy Pilots the suburbs shall shake: and all that

* Some sparkling gem.

† Though, according to *Galen*, it is dry and affords not much nutriment; it might be useful in Voyages, because it could be preserved for a long time. Many suppose the word to mean *balsam*. Mr. Dimock conjectures, that the *fig* is intended.

‡ *Strabo* and *Hesychius* mention *Chalybonian* wine as the produce of *Syria*. It was so excellent that the Persian king drank no other, and *Posidonius* says, that it grew in Damascus of Syria. Mr. *Lowth* thinks that *Helbon* is the same part of Syria which is called *Chalybonitis* by Ptolemy; and that it is now called *Aleppo*.

§ *Grotius* thinks that DAN, in the kingdom of Israel, can scarcely be meant here; and finds that a city named *Dana* is placed by *Ptolemy* in the island of *Ceilon*.

‖ Inhabitants of the district of *Javan*, or *Jeman* in Arabia, from *Uzal*, a city of that district.

¶ Or bright.

** A people of Arabia Felix. *Raamah* was son of *Cush*, and father of *Sheba*. (Gen. x. 7.) According to *Bochart*, Raamah is a city of Arabia on the Persian Gulph. But *Michaelis* (Spic. geogr.) alleges authority for supposing that it may be a city of Arabia Felix.

†† Not *Charan* or *Charræ*, a city of Mesopotamia, but *Haran Alcarin* in Arabia. (*Michaelis*.)

‡‡ This is the reading of Grotius and Houbigant. *Calneh* or *Clesiphon* in Babylonia, is mentioned, (Gen. x. 10. Is. x. 9. Am. vi. 2.) But Michaelis observes, that *Chald.* here understands *Canneh* of the city Nesibis in Mesopotamia. (Spic. geogr. 227. 9.) However, in his note on this verse, he says, that *Canna* is a cape and Port of Arabia Felix on the *Indian Sea*, in the country of *Hadramant*.

§§ Mentioned with *Haran*, 2 Kings, xix. 12. *Michaelis* understands it of *Aden*, a port of Arabia Felix.

¶¶. This is probably another *Saba*, as it appears from (Gen. x. 7. 28.) that there were three nations of this name. (*Michaelis*.)

(*a*) It is very difficult to propose a satisfactory sense: possibly it may denote cords of fine linen, purple or silk.

(*b*) *Altum urges*, Hor. Under these beautiful and expressive figures, Tyre is represented as brought into danger by her Statesmen, and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Grotius refers to Hor. Od. l. i. xiv.

(*c*) Shall fall, notwithstanding thy strong situation in the sea.

(*d*) Some of the Tyrian pilots endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted in the *suburbs*. (See ch. xxvi. 15.)

that handle the oar shall come down from their Ships, the mariners and all the pilots of the sea shall stand upon the * shore, and shall cause their voice to be heard for thee, and shall cry out bitterly, and shall cast dust upon their heads, they shall wallow themselves in ashes; and they shall make their head bald for thee, and gird them with sackcloth; and they shall weep for thee with bitterness of soul, and bitter mourning: and in their wailing they shall take up for thee a lamentation, and shall lament over thee, saying, *What City is as Tyre, which is cut off in the midst of the sea?* When thy wares went † forth from the seas, thou didst satisfy many people; with the multitude of thy substance, and of thy merchandise, thou didst enrich the kings of the earth. Now art thou broken in the Seas, and thy merchandise in the midst of the waters; and all thy company in the midst of thee are fallen. All the inhabitants of the Isles are astonished at thee; and their kings are horribly afraid, they are troubled in their countenance. The Traffickers among the people hiss at thee; thou art become a terror, and thou shalt not be any more for ever.'

* * * * * *

Hebrews.

The Origin of the HEBREWS is illustrated by Mr. *Bryant* in his learned Dissertation on the ‡ *Sparto-Hebræi*, where he thus paraphrases the accounts given of *Judea* by *Alexander* ‖ *Polyhistor*, and *Claudius Iölaus*. *Judea, says Alexander Polyhistor, was so denominated from one Judah; who, together with Edom, was looked upon as of the ancient stock of the Semarim in Chaldea; for their ancestors came from that country. But according to Iölaus, the region had its name from Judæus, styled Sparton; so named, because his ancestors were among those of the dispersion in Babylonia. They were of the family of those who came out of the ark with Dionusus; and who were confederate with the sons of Chus in some of their first enterprises.* In respect to the HEBREWS and ISRAELITES, adds the learned analyser, whom *Claudius Iölaus* deduces from *Judæus Sparton*, they were, according to the scriptural account, the sons of *Heber*, by which name is signified, *one who passes over*; an appellation that was prophetically given: since it marked the Apostacy of his posterity, who passed over from the stock of their fathers, the descendants of *Shem*, and dwelt on forbidden ground among the sons of *Ham* and *Chus*, in *Shinar* and *Chaldea*, where they served other gods; from this land *Abraham* was called, who therefore did not give, but received the name of *Hebrew*.

The

* The Shore of the adjoining Island, from which they viewed the conflagration of their city. *Jerom* says, from the antient histories of the Assyrians, that, when the safety of the city was despaired of, great numbers of the *Tyrians* secured themselves and their riches in their ships.

† Were landed at the several marts.

‡ ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 416.

‖ Stephanus Byzant.

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The HOLY LAND, called originally the land of * *Chanaan*, from a grandson of Noah, and also *Paleſtine*, from the *Paleſtines* or *Philiſtines*, did not take the name of *Judea*, until after the return of the Jews from their Babyloniſh captivity. According to the lateſt and moſt accurate Maps, it extended near two hundred miles in length, and to about eighty in its greateſt breadth; from 31°, 30′, to 33°, 20′, north latitude, and from 34°, 50′, to 37°, 15′, eaſt longitude. *Judea*, in its largeſt ſenſe, was divided into *maritime* and *inland*, as well as into *mountainous* and *champain*; the country, properly called *Judea*, contained the tribes of *Benjamin*, *Judah*, *Dan*, and *Simeon*. This Canton was the moſt ſouthern of any, having *Samaria* or *Ephraim* on the north, the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, *Idumea* and *Egypt* on the ſouth, and *Jordan*, with the *Dead Sea*, or *Lake of Sodom* on the eaſt. But of the twelve Tribes among whom the *Holy Land* was divided, the maritime tribe of *Zebulon* particularly claims our attention. It had the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, and the Sea of *Galilee* on the eaſt, ſo that it was waſhed by two ſeas: on the north it was parted from Aſher by the river *Jepthael*, and on the ſouth from Iſſachar by the river *Kiſhon*. *Zebulon* was enriched with nineteen Cities, beſides its capital; and in the number of its Ports, and the extent of its commerce, ſtrikingly verified the bleſſings that were pronounced both by the Patriarch *Jacob*, and by *Moſes*. The five *Philiſtine* Satrapies confined within very narrow limits along the coaſts of the Mediterranean, conſiſted of *Gath* fourteen miles ſouth of Joppa; *Ekron* or Accaron, ten miles ſouth of Gath; *Azoth*, *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, a celebrated ſea-port, about fifteen miles ſouth of *Ekron*; *Aſcalon*, a maritime town about nine miles ſouth of *Aſhdod*; and *Gaza*, ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from the Mediterranean about fifteen miles ſouth of *Aſcalon*, ſurrounded with the moſt fertile valleys, through which the river *Bezor* directed its courſe.

Hebrew Voyages.

Reſpecting the earlieſt Voyages of the HEBREWS, hiſtory is entirely ſilent; nor has conjecture been able to furniſh any ſurmiſe to elucidate the ſubject previous to the reign of *David*. Probably, as the more enterpriſing ſpirit of *Phenice* ſupplied the ſhips of the Hebrews with mariners, the whole of their commerce had been blended with that of their neighbours, until the riches and fame of *David* and *Solomon* gave it a more diſtinct character than it had previouſly received: for it is difficult to ſuppoſe that the *Iſraelites*, who had ſo long reſided in *Egypt*, and muſt have obſerved

* Univerſal Hiſtory, *Ancient*, vol. ii. p. 50.

observed the commerce of the Red Sea; and who also, when established in *Canaan*, had, as * *Huet* remarks, a nearer view of the maritime industry of the *Phenicians*, and the immense treasure it produced; it is difficult to suppose that the Israelites, thus situated, should not have been led to imitate so splendid an example. They were certainly thus incited to attempt the conquest of a small part of *Edom*, in order to secure the harbours of *Elath* and *Esiongeber*, on the † Red Sea.

Eupolemus, an ancient author quoted by Eusebius, affirms that David built a fleet at *Achamis*, (Esiongeber) a city of Arabia; and ordered it to sail with several miners on board to URPHEN, an *island* that abounded in gold. The quantity of bullion imported during this reign was immense; since the gold and silver which David ‡ bequeathed his son, amounted to three thousand talents of the gold of *Ophir*, and seven thousand talents of the purest silver. The sum thus amassed, if reckoned according to § *Prideaux* by the Mosaic talent, amounted to eight hundred millions sterling.

Reign of Solomon.

SOLOMON having succeeded his father, prepared without delay to encourage a voyage that had proved so lucrative. He ‖ visited the ports of *Elath* and ¶ *Esiongeber*, superintended the construction of their fortifications, and ordered

* Hist. of the Commerce of the Ancients, (p. 18.) *Note*.

† Dr. Vincent observes, (Voyage of Nearchus, p. 318. 88.) that what our translators have rendered *the Red Sea*, was, in the original, 1 Kings, ch. ix. 26. *The weedy sea*; and he refers to *Parkhurst* for a further elucidation of the propriety of this term.

‡ 1 Chron. ch. xxix. v. 4. § *Connection*, book the first. ‖ 2 Chron. viii. 17.

¶ *Esiongeber*, or *Asiongaber*, is thus described by the editor of Harris's Voyages (vol. i. p. 378.). "The Arabian Gulph, running up between Arabia and Egypt, branches out into two lesser bays, with a track of country between them. The lesser bay on the Arabian side, is by ancient writers styled *Sinus Elaniticus*, from the port of *Elath* or *Elan*, as the Greeks called it, that stands upon it. The port of *Esiongeber* stood on the point of land, that by running out into the Arabian Gulph produced these smaller gulphs." *Josephus*, as Bishop Patrick observes, makes *Esiongeber* the same as *Berenice*, a city on the African shore, over against *Syene*; whereas the scripture expressly says, that it was a port of *Idumea*, not far from *Aela* upon the Red Sea. *Gossellin* considers the situation of Esiongeber, in his Dissertation on the Arabian Gulf (*Recherches*, vol. ii. p. 99.). "The scite of *Esiongeber* presents some uncertainty, since the *Ælanitic* Gulph is not precisely known: all that we can glean from antiquity is, that *Asiongaber* was not far distant from Ælana, (Deuteronomy, ch. ii. v. 8.—1 Kings, ix. 26.—2 Chron. viii. 17.) and that Ælana is situated on the northern extremity of this gulf. The remains of the ancient *Ælana*, are now called *Ailah* or *Akaba-Ila*. I know not of any authority that will enable me to form an opinion on this subject, preferable to the report of the monks of Mount Sinai. They informed *Sicart*, *Shaw*, and *Pococke*,

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ordered a considerable number of new ships to be built: thus making every exertion to establish that permanent foundation of a kingdom's welfare, which his great wisdom pointed out as being superior to all the vanities of military ambition.

In these commercial arrangements, Solomon received considerable assistance from his father's stedfast friend and ally, *Hiram* king of Tyre; who no sooner heard of the maritime spirit which pervaded the mind of this young monarch, than he ordered a considerable number of shipwrights, experienced pilots, and skilful mariners from *Phenice*, to hasten the equipment of the Jewish fleet, and to conduct it to the land of OPHIR. This Commerce, begun by David, and thus supported by his son, was afterwards encouraged by the kings of *Judah*; with whom the province of *Edom* or *Idumea* remained after the division of the kingdom. JEHOSHAPHAT and AHAZIAH fitted out a * joint fleet at *Esiongeber*, which consisted of ten sail, and was destined to visit *Ophir* for gold; but on leaving port, it was wrecked on the ridge of rocks, whence † *Esiongeber* received its name. *Jehoshaphat* afterwards separated himself from his commercial alliance with the king of Israel, and was induced to prefer, during the succeeding year, the port of *Elath* for the equipment of a second squadron. JEHORAM lost both Ports by the rebellion of the *Edomites*, and this occasioned a considerable chasm in the Commerce of the Jews, until at length the port of *Elath* was recovered and fortified by UZZIAH; which for a time restored the maritime ‡ occupation of his subjects. But in the reign of

Pocock, that at the distance of two or three days' journey to the north-east of their convent, there appeared a spacious harbour, called *Minah ed-Dahab*, or the GOLDEN PORT; and that, according to a tradition preserved among the Arabs, it received this name from *gold* being brought thither by the fleets of *Solomon*. It therefore follows, that *Asiongaber* is situated on the western side of the Ælanitic Gulph, and not on the eastern, as it is placed by *D'Anville*. This opinion is rendered more probable, because the latter coast was occupied by the *Midianites*, whom neither *David* nor Solomon could subdue."

* 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37. 1 Kings, xxii. 48, 49.

† This ridge of rocks was covered by the sea at high water, but, when it was low, appeared at intervals in a line, and gave the name of *Esiongeber*, or the *Back-bone*, to the port.

‡ Among the innumerable articles of *Hebrew Commerce*, the following have been selected for the curious reader. Sir *William Jones* published two Dissertations on the SPIKENARD of the ancients, in the Asiatic Researches (vol. ii. 405. and vol. iv. p. 108.). As a supplement to these interesting observations, Dr. *Roxburgh* printed (vol. iv. p. 451.) a botanical account of the same plant.—The best sort of *spikenard*, or *Nard of India*, grew,

of AHAZ, this ſource of wealth was finally diverted from the Jews; firſt to *Rezin* king of Damaſcus, and afterwards to *Tilgath Pileſer* king of Aſſyria.—

We

grew, according to Ptolemy, about *Rangamritica* or *Rangamati*, and on the borders of the country now called *Butan*. It is alſo mentioned by *Dioſcorides*. It was thought by *Linnæus* to be a ſpecies of *andropogon*. The word *Nard* occurs in the *Song of Solomon*, but the thing itſelf, and its name, were both exotic: the Hebrew lexicographers imagine both to be *Indian*, but the word is in truth *Perſian*. Sir W. Jones traced the Indian ſpikenard, by the name of *jatamanſi*, to the mountains of Nepal. The following *articles of Hebrew commerce*, are noticed by Mr. *Bruce*, (Appendix, vol. v.) BALM, BALSAM, or *Baleſſan*, brought by the *Iſhmaelites* or Arabian merchants to *Egypt*. Strabo ſays, that *its native ſoil is among the myrrh trees behind Azab, all along the Coaſt to the Straits of Babelmandeb: It grows to a tree about* 14 *feet high*. Joſephus ſays, (lib. v.) that a tree of this *balſam* was brought to Jeruſalem by the queen of Saba. The *Opobalſamum*, or juice flowing from the *balſam tree*, is of an acrid, rough, pungent taſte; is uſed by the Arabs in all complaints of the ſtomach and bowels; is reckoned a powerful antiſeptic, and of uſe in preventing any infection of the plague. MYRRH, JASSA, and OROCALPASUM, grows in the Troglodyte country of Mr. Bruce; who gives directions for knowing the *Arabian* myrrh from the *Abyſſinian*: the tree grows to a great height, not inferior to an Engliſh elm.—It is hardly credible that the pearl fiſhery ſhould have been entirely neglected during the time when the navigation of the Arabian Gulph was at its height. *Pearls*, accordiug to Mr. Bruce, were found in every part of the *Red Sea*, and he particularly mentions three ſorts of ſhell fiſh, which are regularly ſought after as producing *pearls*. 1. A *Muſſel*, which is the rareſt; chiefly found in the north-end of the gulph, and on the Arabian ſide. 2. The *Pearl* called *Pinna*, found in a ſhell-fiſh that is broad and ſemicircular at the top; rough and figured on the outſide; within, clothed with a moſt beautiful lining, called *nacre* or *mother of pearl*. I can have no doubt, adds Mr. Bruce, that this *pearl* is the *penim* or *peninim*, to which alluſion is often made in ſcripture. 3. The third ſort is what ſeems to have been called the *Oyſter*, though it cannot be ſaid in any way to reſemble it. *Bochart* ſays theſe pearls were called *Darra* or *Dora* in Arabic, which ſeems to be the general word uſed in ſcripture for Pearls. (See more on this ſubject, ch. i. ſect. 2. p. 83. *note*.)

Mr. Bruce alſo obſerves, that "the Egyptian ſhips in the time of Seſoſtris, were all made of the reed *papyrus*. The head of this plant was employed to make cables for ſhips. *Antigonus* made uſe of nothing elſe for ropes and cables to his fleet, before the uſe of *Spartum* or beat-graſs was known. It was likewiſe uſed for caulking veſſels. According to Pliny, (Nat. Hiſt. lib. xiii. c. 11.) the whole plant together was uſed for making boats; a piece of the *acacia tree* being put in the bottom to ſerve as the keel, to which plants were joined, being ſewed together, then gathered up at ſtem and ſtern, and the ends of the plant tied faſt there. This is the only Boat they ſtill have in *Abyſſinia*, which they call *tancoa*: I imagine alſo, that the junks of the Red Sea, ſaid to be of leather, were firſt built with *papyrus*, and covered with ſkins." This indefatigable traveller alſo deſcribes the *rack tree*, which abounds in *Arabia*, the low part of *Abyſſinia* and Nubia. Mr. Bruce firſt ſaw it at *Raback*, a port in the Red Sea, growing in the ſea within low-water mark. The Arabians are ſaid to make boats of its wood, *which is ſo hardened by the ſea, and ſo bitter in taſte, that no worm will touch it*.

SECT. II. We now return to the more renowned reign of Solomon, in order to take a brief review of the different opinions that have prevailed respecting *Ophir* and *Tarshish*.

Ophir. The first mention of OPHIR in scripture, occurs in the book of * Genesis; where *Moses*, recording the generations of the sons of *Noah*, informs us, that *Joktan* the brother of *Peleg*, had a son of that name, whose territory or place of abode, like that of his brother *Havilah*, was to the *eastward*. *Ophir* afterwards appears as the name of a distant country, in the † first book of Kings; when the ships fitted out by *Solomon* at *Esiongeber*, and conducted by Phenician pilots, are described as bringing four hundred and twenty talents of *gold* from *Ophir*, and *almug trees*, and *precious stones*.

PURCHAS ‡ paid an early attention to this subject, and justly observes, (p. 25.) that "this golden Country is like gold, hard to find and much quarrelled, and needes a wise myner to bring it out of the labyrinths of darknesse, and to try and purifie the myners themselues and their reports: and here our best *Athenians* seeme owles indeed, which dazzled with *Salomon's* splendour hide themselves affarre off, and seeke for easterne Ophir in Peru and the West Indies....The *Ophirian voyage*, it is probable, comprehended all the gulfe of *Bengala*, from *Zeilan* to *Sumatra*, on both sides: but the region of *Ophir* we make to be all from *Ganges* to *Menan*, and most properly the large kingdome of *Pegu*; from whence it is likely in process of time, the most southerly parts, euen to Sumatra inclusiuely were peopled before Salomon's time." (Page 32.) To the abilities of *Purchas*, if it were needful, ample testimony has been given by § *Boissard*, who styles him *a man exquisitely skilled in languages, and all arts divine and human; a very great philosopher, historian, and divine*. His opinion respecting *Ophir*, though rather too vague and extensive, seems to have directed the attention of learned men towards that part of the globe, where it is most probable Ophir was situated. This first volume of *Purchas* appeared in 1613; and in the year 1646, *Bochart* condensed and brought the above ideas of our countryman more to a point, in his valuable work on sacred geography, entitled *Phaleg* and *Canaan*. He there demonstrates with equal ability and reason, that *Ophir* was the great island *Taprobana*, since

* Chap. x. 29, 30.

† Ch. ix. 26, 27, 28. Ch. x. 11. See also 1 Chron. 1. ch. 23. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. ix. 10.

‡ Vol. i. ch. 1. *A large Treatise of King Salomon's navie, sent from Exiongeber to Ophir*, and vol. v. p. 858.

§ In Biblioth. Joannis Boissardi.

ſince called *Zeilan* and *Ceylon*; which * produces gold, ivory, precious ſtones, and peacocks. Dr. *Caſtell* thinks that by the almug trees, the wood called † *Sanctulum* was alluded to, which is ſtill found in *India*; but *Kimchi* on the contrary prefers the red wood called brazil, in which, adds *Patrick*, he was confuſed by the Hebrew word *Bargel*, which ſignifies iron; and a dark coloured wood reſembling it is now found in the kingdom of ‡ *Java*. *Coſtard*, in his hiſtory of aſtronomy, notices ſome of the different opinions reſpecting *Ophir*; and obſerves, that the name of TAPROBANE, which the Greeks gave to *Ceylon*, agrees with the ſignification of the Arabic verb *waphar*, and the participle *waphir*, whence the Phenicians probably formed the word *Ophir*. For in the Hebrew the word *Eben* and in the *Chaldee Eben* and *Abana* ſignify a ſtone, and ſo might the laſt word in the Phenician; if then from *Aphar* or *Waphar* they formed, according to their dialect, *Thophar* or *Thaphar*, then THAPHAR-ABANA, or *Taprobana*, will be as much as to ſay, a land rich in, or abounding with ſtones that were precious. *Hadrian Reland* in his diſſertation follows *Purchas* more cloſely than *Bochart*, and thinks that *Ophir* ſhould be placed in the country where the city of *Oupara* or *Soupara*, Ophir or Sophir, was ſituated on the Indian Cherſoneſus, within Ganges, between 112° and 113° of eaſt longitude, and about 15° of ſouth latitude.—Such have been the moſt plauſible accounts of this celebrated and myſterious country; among which, after much conſideration, I am inclined to give the preference to that diſtinguiſhed ſcholar, *Samuel Bochart*; and have therefore prefixed a view of the coaſt of his *Ophir*, as a frontiſpiece to the preſent volume. But for thoſe readers who cannot ſubſcribe to his ſentiments, it may be neceſſary to mention the opinions of other writers; and firſt thoſe to whom venerable *Purchas* gave the appellation of *Owls*.

1. Poſtellus, Goropius Becanus, Arias Montanus, Vatablus, Poſſevinus, Genebrad, Marinus Brixianus, Sa, Engubinus, Avenarius, Garcia, and Morney, *place Ophir in Peru*.

2. CALMET,

* For a more minute account of the riches of *Ceylon*, refer to Profeſſor's *Thunberg's Voyage*; and Dr. Vincent's *Periplus*, *Appendix*, (p. 21.) and *Knox*'s hiſtory of the iſland. Spice, according to Dr. *Vincent*, is not to be found nearer Egypt or Paleſtine, than *Ceylon*, and the coaſt of Malabar (ibid. p. 58.). *Varenius* obſerves, (vol. i. ed. 1734, p. 160.) that this iſland is ſtill called by the Indians *Tenerafin*, or *the land of delights*, as repreſented by the ancients. It was probably diſcovered by the *Phenicians*, as their Seamen conducted the fleets of Solomon to OPHIR.

† Patrick's Commentary.

‡ Gouſſet, from *Thevet*, and other authors, in his *Comment. Linguæ Hebr.*

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2. CALMET, in his Prolegomena to the sacred history, has written a long dissertation to prove, *that Ophir was in Colchis on the banks of the Phasis.*

3. Cornelius a Lapide prefers *the western coast of Africa.*

4. Vatable, Génébrad, and Robert Etienne, *the island of St Domingo.*

5. Juan dos Santos, Raphael de Volterre, Barros, Ortelius, Thomas Lopès, Le Grand, Huet, Pluche, Montesquieu, D'Anville, L'Abbe Mignot, and Bruce who is supported by Dr. Vincent, (Voyage of Nearchus, p. 280, n. 284.), are all inclined *to place Ophir in the kingdom of Sofala, on the eastern coast of Africa.*

6. The learned Jesuit *Jean Baptiste Riccioli*, who published his Treatise of Geography and Hydography, in twelve books, at Boulogne in 1661, *assigns Ophir to Sumatra:* but Mr. Marsden in his history of that island, does not subscribe to this opinion, (p. 2.) and informs us, that the mountain in *Sumatra*, called by the name of *Ophir*, has a modern appellation.

7. GOSSELIN, in his late publication, *Recherches sur la Géographie systématique et positive des anciens*, (2 vols. 4to, 1798,) after reciting the greater part of the above authors, favours an opinion, in some measure exploded by * Bochart: and wishes *to place Ophir* at *Dofir on the Arabian side of the Red Sea, below Saba, the capital of Yemen;* in about 15° 30′ of north latitude.

In the above account I have necessarily omitted many authors, such as *Josephus*, St. *Jerome*, and *Theodoret*, who place *Ophir* in the golden Chersonese of India; as well as *Rabanus Maurus*, *Lucas Holstenius*, and others who fix it higher up in the Continent. After all, the best and only mode of determining this historical question, is to follow the instructions of † *Grotius* to his brother; which may here be offered to our *Orientalists*, and the different members of the *Asiatic Society:* 'To consider what commodities were brought by Solomon's fleet from thence, and to enquire of merchants trading to the remote parts of the world, where gold, and silver, and precious stones, and ivory, are found in the greatest plenty.' Dr. *Vincent*, in his *Periplus of the Erythrean*, seems inclined to doubt the validity of his former opinion, that by *Ophir*, Sofala was intended; for in speaking of *Rhapta*, he adds, 'The articles of import here are nearly the same as an African invoice at the present moment; and in the exports it is *some degree of disappointment* not to find *gold.* For as the fleets of Solomon are said to have obtained gold on this Coast, as well as the Arabs of a later age, and the Portugueze, we naturally look for it in a commerce which is intermediate; and the nearer we approach to *Sofala*, the more reason there is to ‡ expect it.' Professor *Michaelis*, in one of his forty-nine learned works, entituled *Spicelegium Geographiæ Hebræorum exteræ, post* § *Bochartum*, reprobates the idea of

* Phaleg, lib. ii. c. 27. † Epistol. 483. ‡ Periplus, p. 156.
§ Two Vols. 4to. Goett. 1769. 1780. (Pars II. p. 199.)

of tracing any resemblance between the names of *Sofala* and *Ophir*, or *Sophir* as it is written in the Septuagint, and by Josephus; and adds, that *Sofala* in Arabic signifies the *sea shore*.

These various and opposite opinions respecting *Ophir*, are nearly equalled by a similar diversity and confusion concerning TARSHISH. The first mention of *Tarshish* or *Tharshish* in scripture, appears in that valuable historical document, preserved in * Genesis; as being the name of one of the four sons of *Javan*, amongst whom the Isles, or extensive regions of the Gentiles, were divided. It afterwards does not occur until the time of Solomon: *The † King had at sea a navy of* THARSHISH *with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the Navy of* THARSHISH, *bringing gold and silver, and ivory*, (senhabim) *and apes*, (kephim) *and peacocks* (thuccijim.). The same term is afterwards used by the ‡ Psalmist and § prophets, and particularly occurs in the || book of Jonah: *But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to Tarshish: so he paid the fare thereof, and went down into it, to go with them unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord.* The following are the writers, cited by *Gosselin*, who have considered Tarshish as a commercial mart; or who, like *Bochart*, have imagined there were *two* of the same name, situated in different quarters of the globe.

Tarshish.

1. Eusebius, Pinéda, Bochart, Riccioli, Pluche, Lowth, and Michaélis, all refer their readers to *Tartessus in Spain*. Bishop Patrick thinks, that the navy mentioned in the first book of Kings belonged to *Hiram*, and went out of his port of *Tyre*; and that *Solomon* had only liberty to trade in it to Tarshish, which was a very ancient commercial mart to the Tyrians: *Hiram*, therefore, was the chief in this voyage, as *Solomon* was in that to *Ophir*. Bochartus, adds *Patrick*, hath made it very probable that this place was *Tartessus* in *Spain*, where gold and silver in ancient times, if we may believe Strabo and others whom he quotes, was plentiful; but I do not find any proof that *ivory*, *apes*, and *peacocks* were the commodities of that country. To this it may be added, that no mention is made in scripture, of either *iron*, *lead*, or *tin*, being ever brought home by the fleet from *Tarshish*.

2. The Septuagint, St. Jerôme, Théodoret, Robert Etienne, and L'Abbé Belley, *place Tarshish at Carthage*.

3. L'Edrisi, *at Tunis*.

4. Bruce, *on the eastern coast of Africa at Melinda*.

5. Bishop Huet, *on the western coast of Africa*.

6. Le Grand, *on the southern coast of Arabia*.

7. Saint

* Ch. x. 4.—1 Chron. ch. i. v. 7.

† 1 Kings, x. 22.—2 Chron. ix. 21.

‡ Psalm xlviii. 7. and lxxii. 10.

§ Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel.

|| Ch. i. v. 3.

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7. Saint Jerôme, Théodoret, Robert Etienne, Le Clerc, and L'Abbé Mignot, *in India.*
8. Bochart, *in Ceylon.*
9. Josephus, Saint Augustin, Vatable, Don Calmet, and L'Abbé Belley, *at Tarsus in Cilicia.*
10 Josephus, *on the shore of the Black Sea, and in Thrace.*

PURCHAS in his first * volume has given a dissertation on this subject, and cites the authors of a new and more rational opinion, that by *Tarshish was meant the* SEA *in its most extensive signification*, as opposed to the other Hebrew, or rather Syriac term, *Iam;* which was expressive of inland seas, like the *Red Sea* or the *Mediterranean*, or of lakes, like that of the *Dead Sea*, and the *Sea of Galilee.* This supposition first originated with the *Septuagint*, which is noticed by St. † Jerome in his learned Commentary, who was born about the year 340. The learned *Emmanuel Tremellius*, who was born at Ferrara in 1510, and died in 1580, in his latin translation of the Hebrew bible, followed the same idea: *Nam classis oceani pro rege cum classe Chirami erat: semel ternis annis veniebat classis ex oceano afferens aurum, &c.* (1 Kings, x. 22.). The devout *Matthew Beroaldus*, in his latin ‡ *Chronicon*, supported during the year 1575 the above conjecture; which was afterwards followed by many later writers, and has been recently illustrated in an able manner by M. § *Gossellin*, who confines the maritime commerce of Solomon to the Arabian gulf. Thus, when Isaiah styles Tyre the daughter of *Tarshish*, the epithet becomes intelligible and appropriate, if we translate it, *the daughter of the sea.* The expression of mariners, as Purchas observes, is sufficiently common, *that gold, silver, and ivory came from sea; that they brought this or that from sea; that shortly they are to go to sea, or have lately come from sea, without naming any Port.* It may also be added, that when *Jonah* attempted to fly from the presence of God, it is more natural to suppose that he went to *sea*, than that he could hope to conceal himself in any quarter of the globe, because it was distant from *Niniveh.* His punishment strikingly

* Page 44.

† Pro *Tharsis*, quod omnes similiter transtulerunt, soli LXX *mare* interpretati sunt. Hebræi putant linguâ propriè suâ mare *Tharsis* appellari: quando autem dicitur *Iam*, non hebraïco sermone appellari, sed syriaco. . . Melius autem est *Tharsis*, vel mare, vel *pelagus* absolutè accipere. (Commen. in Esaiam, vol. iii. p. 29, 30.)

‡ This work on chronology solely and wisely regarded the authority of scripture, as its title evinces. *Chronicon. scripturæ sacræ auctoritate constitutum.* Beroaldus died in 1584.

§ RECHERCHES (tom. ii. p. 126.) *Des Voyages de Tharsis.*

ſtrikingly accords with this idea; when the *Tarſhiſh*, or *ocean*, to which he had truſted for concealment, threatened his inſtant diſſolution: for the Lord raiſed a mighty tempeſt, and declared unto the prophet, that, though he ſhould *take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermoſt parts of the ſea*, (Tarſhiſh) he could not eſcape from the knowledge of his God.

In the retroſpect ſubjoined to Harris's * Collection, a curious paſſage is extracted from *a treatiſe on Trade and Commerce*, relative to theſe Voyages that were made under the auſpices of Solomon. The author's object is to prove, that *the Arabians were the firſt traders by ſea in the world;* but in treating of this he ſeems, like other writers, to have greatly neglected the anceſtors of the Phenicians, and to have loſt the fame of the *Edomites* in the more general term of *Arabians*: the whole paſſage is too long for inſertion. "By this adventurous Navigation he brought into his country, curioſities not only unſeen, but unheard of before; and riches in ſuch abundance, that as the ſcripture finely expreſſes it, *He made ſilver in Jeruſalem as ſtones, and cedar trees as ſycamores that grow in the plains.* The metaphor is very bold and emphatical; but when we conſider it is recorded in this hiſtory, that the return of one Voyage only to *Ophir* produced 450 talents of gold, which make 51,328 lb. of our Troy weight, we cannot doubt of the immenſe profit that accrued from this Commerce. It is alſo obſervable, that the queen of *Sheba* or *Saba*, which lies in that part of Arabia before mentioned, ſurpriſed at the reports that were ſpread of the magnificence of this prince, made a journey to his court on purpoſe to ſatisfy herſelf, whether fame had not exaggerated the fact; and from the preſents ſhe made him of 120 talents of *gold*, of *ſpices* in great abundance, and *precious ſtones*; we may diſcern the true reaſon of her curioſity, which proceeded from an opinion that no Country could be ſo rich as her own. And there is another circumſtance very remarkable, and which ſeems ſtrongly to fortify what we have advanced in the beginning of this diſcourſe; it is added, *neither was there any ſuch Spices as the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon;* which ſeems to intimate, that the *Arabians* had penetrated farther into the *Indies* then even the fleets of this famous prince, and brought from thence other Spices, (perhaps Nutmegs and Cloves) than had ever been ſeen before."

Eſtabliſhment of inſular Tyre.

The ſiege of OLD TYRE by *Nebuchadnezzar*, recals our attention to the intereſting country of *Phenice*. The *Edomites*, on their arrival in that part of the ſea coaſt.

* Vol. ii. p. 1044. ed. 1764.

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coast of Asia Minor, which had been occupied by the *Canaanites*, early established at * *Rhinocolura*, the nearest port in the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf, an intermediate mart; to which the various articles of commerce brought by them from *India*, were conveyed across the isthmus of Suez, and reshipped for Tyre. Here they established their great magazine for the valuable goods of the East; and by keeping them at a distance from the Tyrian market, they were enabled to raise its price, as circumstances might prompt them. In this channel, for upwards of eight hundred years, the commerce of *Sidon* and of *Tyre*, and their extensive trade with India, was conducted; until the Assyrian tyrant, *Nebuchadnezzar*, came forward to chastise the monopolies and arrogance *of the crowning city*. This memorable event took place in the destruction of *Old Tyre*, after a siege of thirteen years, 572 years before Christ. Its suffering inhabitants having abandoned their city to the conqueror, transported their principal effects to an island, situated at the distance of about half a mile from their harbour; and as the Assyrian monarch was entirely ignorant of the rudest principles of Navigation, or Shipbuilding, the Phenicians commenced on this Island a new career of commercial splendour; which continued until their final overthrow by Alexander, who was destined to scourge their obduracy, and to complete the immutable ordinance of God.

Phenician Periplus of Africa.

Previous to this destruction of *Old Tyre*, and about two years after Nebuchadnezzar had taken and plundered the city of *Jerusalem*; some Phenician navigators are said by *Herodotus* to have sailed, according to the orders of *Pharaoh Necho*, from the Red Sea, and to have circumnavigated Africa. This monarch, who flourished 601 years before the Christian period, was the son and successor of *Psammetichus*, and the same who slew † *Josiah*, king of Judah. In the beginning of his reign *Necho* had in vain attempted to cut a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea; nor did he desist until an incredible number of his subjects had perished in the undertaking. His perseverance or vanity were equal to the most Herculean tasks; and after the failure of the above project, he fitted out some vessels for the purpose of making discoveries on the eastern coast of Africa. It is probable that a mortified spirit was prompted on their return to magnify what they had performed; and that

* The learned Editor of Harris's Voyages, (vol. i. p. 378.) has given a curious account from *Diodorus Siculus*, (lib. i.) and *Strabo*, (lib. xvi.) of the manner in which this port was originally founded by some banished Egyptian malefactors.

† 2 Kings, xxiii. 29.—2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

that some ingenious geographer composed a fabulous report which *Pharaoh Necho* issued, as the public notice of this incredible voyage. How otherwise can we account for the origin of a tradition, which rests upon a single testimony; and is only thus noticed by one historian, who lived 160 years after the event is supposed to have * taken place: *When he (Necho) had desisted from his attempt to join by a canal the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, he dispatched some vessels, under the conduct of Phoenicians, with directions to pass by the columns of Hercules, and after penetrating the northern ocean to return to Egypt. These Phoenicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean: on the approach of autumn they landed in Lybia, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves; when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the third doubled the columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt. Their relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible, for they affirmed, that having sailed round Africa, they had the sun on their right † hand.*—No account is given of the capes which they passed, nor of the dangers they surmounted; no mention is made of the illustrious commander who atchieved what surpasses all other events in history, nor did a single direction remain, by which other navigators might have been induced to follow the same track. But it is unnecessary to dwell on this subject, after the clear and decided ‡ verdict which one of the most liberal scholars of the present age has given, respecting the progress of ancient maritime discoveries. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF A FARTHER PROGRESS TO THE SOUTH, ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA, THAN THAT OF HANNO, NOR ON THE EASTERN, THAN THAT OF THE § PERIPLUS.

The following remarks therefore, extracted from the full and judicious opinion which Dr. *Vincent* has ‖ delivered, are best adapted to close the present Section. " It does not appear in the whole history of Ancient Navigation,

* This Voyage is placed by Blair, 604. A. C.
Herodotus read his history, 445
159.

† Melpomene, 42. Beloe's transl. vol. ii. p. 216.

‡ Dr. VINCENT, *Periplus of the Erythrean*, (p. 170.)

§ Whose last Harbour, *Rhapta*, on the coast of Azania, Dr. VINCENT is inclined to place at *Quiloa*, (p. 162.) and if he is allowed to fix the position of the *Prasum* of Ptolemy at *Mosambique*; the final limit of Ancient Discovery is still further advanced towards the south.

‖ Ibid. p. 168.

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vigation, that any Voyage was performed either in the *Mediterranean*, or on the *Ocean*, by any other means than coasting, except the Voyages from *Arabia* and *Africa* to India, and back again by the MONSOONS. It does not appear that there was any sort of embarkation known in the world which was fit to encounter the mountainous billows of The stormy Cape. History speaks of no Vessels fit for the Ocean, but those which Cæsar describes on the Coast of *Bretagny*; and if the Phenicians came to our Island for tin, assuredly it was a summer voyage.

"It is with great reluctance that I controvert the testimony of * *Herodotus*, for it is no light offence to question historical facts upon evidence of mere speculation. It must be confessed likewise, that the facts he gives us of this Voyage, though few, are consistent. The Shadow falling to the South, the delay of stopping to sow Grain and reap an harvest, and the space of three years employed in the Circumnavigation, joined with the simplicity of the Narrative, are all points so strong and convincing, that if they are insisted upon by those who believe the possibility of effecting the Passage by the Ancients, no arguments to the contrary however founded upon a different opinion,

* (P. 173.) Dr. *Vincent's* opinion respecting the impossibility of AFRICA's having been circumnavigated by the ancients, corresponds with the sentiments of *Robertson*, and of M. *Gossellin*. (Recherches sur la Geograph. vol. i. p. 199.) *Examen des principales autorités d'apres lesquelles on pense communément que les anciens ont fait le tour de l'Afrique:* he also cites the principal authors who have given credit to the report of Herodotus. 1. HUET. 2. MONTESQUIEU, (*Espr. des Lois*, l. 21. c. 10.) 3. PLUCHE, (*Concorde de la Geographie des différens âges*, p. 333. *Spectacle de la Nature*, tom. iv. p. 331. 335.) 4. DAPPER's *Description of Africa*. 5. L'ABBE PARIS, *Memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres*, tom. vii. p. 79. 6. L'ABBE MIGNOT, *Memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres*, (tom. xxxi. p. 193. tom. xlii. p. 39. 54.) 7. BOUGAINVILLE, *Memoires de l'Academ des Belles Lettres*, (tom. xxviii. p. 309.) 8. SALMASIUS, *Exercitationes Plinianæ*, (p. 877.) 9. MICHAELIS, *Spicilegium Geo. Hebræorum exteræ*, (pars. I. p. 98.) 10. Bruce's *Travels*, (vol. i. p. 532.) To these may be added, 11. MAJOR RENNEL, *Geo. of Herodotus*, (p. 672.) "Relying on so many authorities, I was induced, adds M. *Gossellin*, in my work intitled *Geographie des Grecs analysée*, (p. 108.) to affirm that the ancients had circumnavigated Africa; but a more minute investigation of the subject has made me sensible of *the impossibility of making such an opinion correspond with the knowledge they possessed*." This ingenious geographer then enters into a long discussion of every particular relative to the Voyage under the directions of *Pharaoh Necho*; and afterwards pays an equal attention to *the supposed voyage of Eudoxus of Cyzicus, from the Arabian Gulf to Cadiz*, which he esteems the most imposing narrative of any that remain. It is preserved in a fragment which *Pomponius Mela* (lib. iii. c. 9. p. 294.) extracted from a work of *Cornelius Nepos*, since lost.—See in APPENDIX, *Galvano's Progress of Maritime Discovery*, (p. 19.)

opinion, can leave the mind without a doubt upon the question. *That different opinion I confess is mine*, but I wish to state it with all deference to the Father of History, and with the profession that I am still open to conviction, whenever the weight of evidence shall preponderate against the reasons I have to offer.

" I allow with *Montesquieu*, that the attempt, commenced from the eastern side of the Continent, presents a much greater facility of performance than a similar attempt from the west; for we now know that both the *winds* and *currents* are favourable for keeping near the coast from the *Mosambique channel* to the Cape; and that after passing the Cape from the east *, the current still holds to the northward up the western coast of Africa. But the prodigious sea, raised by the junction of the two oceans, almost perpetually, and at every season of the year, is such, that few of the Fleets of *Portugal*, in their early attempts, passed without loss; and the danger is now avoided only by standing to the † south. The latter means of safety could not have been adopted by the *Phenicians*, they could not stand out to sea; and if they adhered to the coast, by all that we can now judge from the construction of their ancient vessels, shipwreck must have been inevitable.— Had this fleet no difficulties to encounter, because we read of none but the want of provisions? Can we suppose the *Phenicians* so superior to the *Greeks* in the Art of Navigation, as to have no dread of passing the greatest promontory in the world, when *Nearchus* and his officers shuddered at *Mussendon*, and dare not attempt *Ras-el-had?*—Were all these, which the *Portuguese* surmounted only by repeated attempts, and by a persevering spirit exerted for almost an hundred years, to be passed by *Phenicians* on their first expedition, and in the course of a few months? Raise them as we please above *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Arabians* in science, they were doubtless inferior in courage to them all. And whatever science we allot them, the smallest bark could have been conducted by the knowledge of a Portuguese pilot in greater safety, than the largest vessel ever fitted out of Egypt.—

" But as it is not in our power to prove a negative, let us now examine the positive testimony of other authors in opposition to that of *Herodotus*. The author of the *Periplûs* says directly, *that the ocean never was explored on the Eastern side to the point of Africa*.—The last author we shall adduce is *Ptolemy*,

* Forest on the monsoons, (p. 10. 13.)

† In attempting which, several ships have fallen in with the [illegible] islands so graphically described by the illustrious Cook.

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Ptolemy, who certainly must have been acquainted with *Herodotus*, however ignorant we may suppose *Hanno*, *Scylax*, or the author of the *Periplus*. And *Ptolemy* is so far from believing the report of *Necco* or the Egyptians, that he not only supposes the Voyage never performed, but *declares it impossible*; that is, he brings round the Continent of Africa unbroken with a sweep to the East, till he makes it join the continent of Asia to the eastward of the *golden Chersonese*.---*D'Anville* supposes that *Ptolemy* assumed this System from the prevailing idea among the ancients, that there ought to be *Antipodes* in the south, correspondent to those of the northern hemisphere. Perhaps also a counterbalance of Continents was as favourite a notion in the early ages as in modern. But however this error originated, the conclusion of * *D'Anville* is remarkable: *Nothing*, says he, *was less ascertained among the ancients, if we may judge from Ptolemy, than the account of some Voyages which were said to have been effected round the continent of Africa by the south.* And parallel to this is the opinion of † *Vossius*.—*Certain it is, whatever may be said to the contrary, that the ancients were so far from passing the Cape of Good Hope, that they never approached it.* Both these opinions are likewise supported by ‡ Strabo."

It is however highly probable that the assertion of such a fact, as the possibility of sailing round Africa, must have had its due weight on those early Portuguese navigators, who were formed in the maritime school of *Sagres*. Such an idea is favoured by Dr. *Vincent* in his § voyage of *Nearchus*; where he observes that a remarkable coincidence exists, between the date of the first edition of *Herodotus*, and the voyage of *de Gama*. This coincidence is still more apparent, if, instead of noticing de Gama's voyage, we subjoin the year when the Cape was first doubled by *Bartholemew Diaz*.

First edition of Herodotus,	—	1474
The Cape first discovered by Diaz,	—	1486

* Geog. Ancien. tom. iii. p. 68. † Vossius ad Melam. p. 303.

‡ Lib. i. p. 32.

§ Page 276. Note 270. 'It is not impossible,' adds Dr. *Vincent*, 'that all these assertions of Circumnavigation arose from the idea of the ancients, that the ocean surrounded the earth like an island,' (p. 281. n. 286.)

SECTION THE THIRD.

Prevailing errors in the Grecian History. Progress of the Maritime Colonies from Egypt. Examination of the fabulous Navigators of Greece.—Perseus.—Danaus.—Argonautic expedition. Satasps. Cyclopes. Sirens. Grecian Navy, and character of their Seamen. Voyage of Nearchus.

Les différens systèmes de Géographie Astronomique des Grecs, avoient tous pour base une Ancienne Carte dont ils ont meconnu la construction: et tout paroit annoncer que cette Carte, qu'ils ont sans cesse altérée, offroit dans son origine les resultats d'une longue suite d'observations aussi exactes que celles que nous possédons aujourd'hui.

Gosselin's Recherches sur la Geographie des Anciens, vol. ii. p. 68.

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Introduction. *Grecian Periods.*

THE above assertion, which *M. Gosselin* endeavours to support throughout his learned and valuable, though in some measure erroneous work, corresponds with the researches of *Mr. Bryant*; and must induce every writer to consider with increased distrust the vague opinions, and lying vanities of the Greeks. The *ancient Chart*, alluded to by *M. Gosselin*, was probably

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probably composed by the *Egyptians*, *Atlantians*, *Edomites*, or some other branch of the numerous AMONIAN navigators; he * is inclined to think that this Chart was a *carte plate*, or plain chart, on which the meridians and parallels were marked by straight lines at an uniform distance; and that *Marinus of Tyre*, who lived towards the close of the first century of the christian æra, was thus led into an error which continued, according to Ptolemy, for seventeen centuries. *Marinus* had perused the greater part of the writings of the ancients, and thus formed a complete body of geography from the voyages or travels that had appeared. The works of this philosopher have long since perished; it is however to these that *M. Gosselin* ascribes all the merit which Ptolemy has surreptitiously enjoyed: but on so important a subject this learned foreigner must speak for himself: *C'est en s'appropriant l'ouvrage de cet auteur, en le présentant sous une forme mieux ordonnée, plus rapide et plus imposante, que Ptolémée a usurpé une partie de cette grande célébrité qu'il a conservée jusqu'à nous. C'est ce Larcin qui a fait croire, pendant plus de quinze siècles, qu'on lui devoit toutes les connoissances accumulées dans son livre; tandis qu'elles ne sont dûes qu'aux recherches de Marin. Il est donc juste de détruire une erreur trop long-temps accréditée, et de rendre à la mémoire de cet homme laborieux la portion de gloire qu'il s'est acquise par ses utiles et pénibles † travaux.*

The confined nature of an Introduction will not allow me to enter at large on this, and other various discussions, connected with the *navigation* or *hydrography* of the ancients, and for some of these omitted particulars, the reader is necessarily referred to the ‡ Dissertations subjoined in the Appendix. To reflect light, borrowed from *Mr. Bryant*, on the fables of Greece; to describe, with his assistance, the establishment of its maritime powers; to consider their skill in navigation and ship-building, and to mark the most authentic of their voyages; such are the leading subjects of the present Section.

The

* Géographie des Grecs analysée, (p. 39.) and *Recherches sur la Geograp.* (vol. ii. p. 65.)

† Recherches sur la Geog. vol. ii. p. 6[illegible].

‡ *Galvano's Progress of Maritime Discovery*; *Locke's History of Navigation*; (p. 75.) and other similar Tracts of equal merit, by which these will be succeeded. It has been my anxious endeavour, not to introduce the subject matter of such Dissertations in the present memoir; in order that the four Sections, which compose it, might furnish observations that should not be again repeated in the course of the present work: and in consequence of this, many things relative to the navigation, or maritime commerce of the ancients, omitted in this Introduction, will hereafter appear in the Appendix.

The first inhabitants of the country called HELLAS, were descendants from * *Japheth; by these were the Isles of the Gentiles*, the regions of Greece and Europe, *divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families*,

* ANALYSIS, (vol. i. p. 182, and *Ibid.* p. 143.) *Dissertation upon the Helladian and other Grecian writers.* As Mr. Bryant follows a path unbeaten by preceding historians, he thus informs his reader of the *authorities* he has preferred, and his reasons for doing so. 'All knowledge of Gentile antiquity must be derived to us through the hands of the Grecians: the Helladians however, from whom we might expect most light, are to be admitted with the greatest caution. They were a bigotted people, highly prejudiced in their own favour; and so devoted to idle tradition, that no arguments could wean them from their folly. Hence the surest resources are from Greeks of other countries. Among the poets, *Lycophron*, *Callimachus*, and *Apollonius Rhodius* are principally to be esteemed. *Homer* likewise abounds with a deal of mysterious lore, borrowed from the ancient Amonian theology; with which his commentators have been often embarrassed.---Much light may also be obtained from those learned men, by whom the *Scholia* were written. *Nonnus* too, who wrote the Dionysiaca is not to be omitted. He was a native of Panopolis in *Egypt*, and had opportunity of collecting many ancient traditions, and fragments of mysterious history, which never were known in *Greece*. To these may be added, *Porphyry*, *Proclus*, and *Jamblichus*, who professedly treat of Egyptian learning. The *Isis* and *Osiris* of Plutarch may be admitted with proper circumspection.---But the great resource of all is to be found among the later antiquaries and historians. Many of these are writers of high rank; particularly *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pausanias*, on the Gentile part; and of the fathers, *Theophilus*, *Tatianus Athenagoras*, *Clemens*, *Origenes*, *Eusebius*, *Theodoretus*, *Syncellus*; and the compiler of the *Fasti Siculi*, otherwise called *Chronicon Paschale*. Most of these were either of *Egypt* or *Asia*. They had a real taste for antiquity; and lived at a time when some insight could be obtained.---The native Helladians were very limited in their knowledge. They had taken in the gross whatever was handed down by tradition; and assumed to themselves every history, which was imported.---The writers to whom I chiefly appeal, lived in parts of the world, which gave them great advantages. The whole theology of Greece was derived from the East. We cannot therefore but in reason suppose, that *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, *Tatianus of Assyria*, *Lucianus of Samosata*, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, *Porphyry of Syria*, *Proclus of Lydia*, *Philo of Biblus*, *Strabo of Amasa*, *Pausanias of Cappadocia*, *Eratosthenes of Cyrene*, must know more upon this subject than any native Helladian. The like may be said of *Diodorus*, *Josephus*, *Cedrenus*, *Syncellus*, *Zonaras*, *Eustathius*, and numberless more. These had the archives of ancient temples, to which they could apply, (Philo Biblius mentions many authors in *Phenicia* to which he applied;) and had traditions more genuine than ever reached *Greece*. And though they were posterior themselves, they appeal to authors far prior to any Helladians; and their works are crowded with extracts from the most curious, and the most ancient histories. Such were the writings of *Sanchoniathon*, *Berosus*, *Nicholaus Damascenus*, *Mocus*, *Muaseas*, *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, *Apion*, *Manethon*; from whom *Abydenus*, *Apollodorus*, *Asclepiades*, *Artapanus*, *Philastrius*, borrowed largely. We are beholden to *Clemens*, and *Eusebius*, for many evidences from writers, long since lost; even *Eustathius*, and *Tzetzes* have resources, which are now no more.'

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lles, in their * *nations.* Whence these descendants of *Japheth* originally came, is no where exactly ascertained; they however soon degenerated into barbarians, and became a rude uncivilized people. According to † *Thucydides*, Greece was not formerly possessed by any fixed inhabitants, but was subject to frequent transmigrations, as constantly every distinct people easily yielded up their seats to the violence of a larger supervening number. Commerce there was none, and mutual fear prevented intercourse both by sea and land.

Helladians.

The HELLADIANS, properly so called, were ‡ colonies of an Amonian family distinct from that of *Japheth*; they introduced themselves later from *Egypt* and *Syria*, but originally from *Babylonia*, for though by family *Ionians*, the HELLADIANS were not of that race. A long interval of darkness succeeded their first settlement, and even when they emerged from it, few attempts were made to retrieve any knowledge of past events.—*What history*, exclaims Mr. Bryant, *was there of Corinth, or of Sparta? What annals were there of Argos, or Messena; of Elis, or the cities of Achaia? None: not even of Athens.* So true is this, that when in process of time the Greeks came to be sensible of their ignorance, their philosophers, as Larcher observes, sought for improvement in other regions; and *Homer*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Plato*, and *Pythagoras* visited Egypt their mother country, to obtain § information.

Ionians.

The most considerable of the other Amonian colonies that settled to the westward, were found in ‖ *Ionia*, and *Hellas*, about *Cuma*, and *Liguria* in Italy, on the coast of *Iberia* in Spain; in *Cyrene*; in *Mauritania*, and the adjacent islands. The coast of the *Captborim*, a Cuthite colony who brought the symbolical marks of the Deluge into Palestine, was at one time called the coast of the Iönim, and the sea by which it was bounded received the name of the Iönian sea, quite to the Nile. Under the fable of the flight of Io, the poets represented the progress of the Iönim on their dispersion from *the plain of Shinar*: the *Iönim*, called afterwards *Ionians*, were in fact colonies from *Egypt*, and are sometimes mentioned under the name of ¶ *Atlantians*. Besides the above colonies, the Amonians also possessed many of the best islands in the *Ægean Sea* **, particularly *Lesbos*, *Lemnos*, *Samos*, *Chios*,

* Genesis, x. 5. † Smith's Translation, vol. i. p. 4. book i.
‡ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 150. § See Larcher. *Euterpe*, c. 49.
‖ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 353.
¶ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 369. *Progress of the* IONIC WORSHIP; *and of the* IONAH-HELENIC COLONIES.
** Ibid. vol. iii. p. 429.

Chios, and *Cos*, which latter island is often expressed *Coüs*, from the Grecian name of CHUS. *Stephanus* besides informs us, that *Cos* was formerly named *Meropis* from *Merops, one of the earth-born giant brood.* The sons of Chus may be traced by their worship of the serpent to the island *Eubœa*, which signifies the *serpent island* (oub-aia); they also settled under the title of Heliadæ at *Rhodes*, and this island is said to have received its name from *Rhod*, the Syriac term for a serpent; they moreover established themselves in *Crete*, and at *Argos:* from all these places the Cuthites expelled the sons of *Japheth.* The * whole continent of Africa, as well as the islands of *Rhodes*, *Cythnus*, *Besbicus*, and *Tenos*, formerly received the title *Ophiusa*, from this worship of the serpent.

HELLEN was originally a sacred term, confined to those priests who migrated from Egypt, and introduced the rites of *the ark and dove* at Dodona; which country was the first *Hellas*, and here were the primitive *Hellenes.* This opinion is supported by † Aristotle, who affirms that *ancient Hellas was the country which lies about Dodona, and upon the river Acheloüs.*

Dorians.

The DORIANS, a branch of the *Hellenes*, came originally from ‡ Egypt, and received a name from their deity *Adorus.* Their early § history, and contests with the original inhabitants of the region they afterwards occupied, may be traced in the account of the Heraclidæ, for the Dorians were the same as the Herculeans. They not only settled in Greece, but like other branches of the *Amonian* family, in various parts of the world: their chief resort was on the sea-coast of the Mediterranean, where they possessed many excellent ports. In Greece, they at first occupied the country adjoining *Parnassus*, called *Tithorea*, and afterwards the Thessalian *Pthiotis.* The Dorians also penetrated by force into *Laconia* and *Messenia*, and were besides found in *Phenicia*, *Caria*, *Crete*, and *Hetruria.* Even the *Persians* were in great measure of the same family. The Dorian language was the true Hellenic, and according to *Pausanias*, all the ancient hymns of Greece in every province, were composed in their dialect.

Amidst

* Ibid. vol. i. p. 487. † Aristot. Meteorol. l. i. c. 14. p. 772.

‡ For a general view of the Migrations from Egypt, see *Analysis*, (vol. ii. p. 189.) where among other writers Mr. Bryant mentions an ancient historian *Istrus*, who composed a curious treatise respecting these *colonies*, long since lost; and cites the following short passage from *Zonaras*, (vol. i. p. 22.) as the best account of the progress of Science from the East. *All these things came from Chaldea to Egypt; and from thence were derived to the Greeks.*

§ ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 385. *Of the Dorians, Pelasgi, Cauconeſ, Myrmidones, and Arcadians.*

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Myrmidons.

Amidst these various branches of the Dorian race, or Heraclidæ, one of the most renowned yet least understood in history was that of the MYRMIDONS who settled in Thessaly, and were supposed to be descended from *Myrmidon* a king of the country. This term in the ancient *Doric* was expressed Murmedon, which *Mur-Medon* denotes *Maris Dominum*, the great Lord of the Ocean; and clearly related to *Noah*, who was said to have first constructed a ship, and to have escaped from the abyss. The *Myrmidons* are accordingly thus distinguished by Hesiod:

> These first composed the manageable Float.

They accordingly obtained the name of *Mur-Medons*, or sea Captains.

Pelasgi.

Another and a very ancient appellation of these colonies, before the terms of *Ionians* and *Dorians*, or that still more universal one of HELLENES grew so predominant, was that of PELASGI. Strabo speaks of them as a mighty nation; and says, that according to *Menecrates Elaites*, the whole coast of *Ionia*, from Mycale, and all the neighbouring islands, was once occupied by them: they also possessed the entire region of *Hetruria*, and extended through such a space, that it is now impossible for the historian to ascertain their utmost limit.—The country about *Dodona*, at the same time that it was styled *Hellas*, was also called *Pelasgia*: this name was in fact the oldest and most general, of any; it included the ancient *Hellenes*, *Iones*, and *Dores*. Inachus, Pelasgus, and Danaus, are titles of the same person. Mr. Bryant cites a passage from the Greek poet * *Asius*, of Samos, who wrote respecting the genealogy of ancient heroes and heroines; in which a manifest allusion is made to the Patriarch NOAH, under the character of *Pelasgus*,

> On a high mountain's brow
> The gloomy cave gave back again to light
> Godlike PELASGUS, that the race of man
> Through him might be renewed.

Perseus.

Among the renowned demigods of Greece, the *Murmedons* or illustrious navigators of antiquity, the name of PERSEUS often occurs to perplex and astonish the reader: he is spoken of by *Natalis Comes* as a great astronomer, a person of uncommon knowledge. *Perseus* instructed mariners to direct their way in the sea by the lights of heaven, and particularly by the polar constellation;

* ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 405.—Pausan. l. 8. p. 599.

constellation, which he is said to have first observed, and to have then given it the name of *Helice:* he also subdued the Gorgons, defeated the Ethiopians upon the Western ocean, and was famed to have been the only person besides *Hercules*, that had passed *Mount Atlas*. PERSEUS, was in reality a * title of the Amonian deity the SUN, chief god of the Gentiles; and Herodotus informs us that † *Chemmis*, a place of considerable note in the Thebaid, was remarkable for a temple of *Perseus:* "They informed me, adds the historian, that *Perseus* was a native of their country, as were also *Danaus* and *Lynceus*, who made a Voyage into Greece." There was also a temple at Memphis dedicated to *Perseus*, beside others in different parts of Egypt; and upon the Heracleotic branch of the Nile, near the sea, a celebrated Watch Tower was named from him. The ancient history of the exploits of *Perseus*, relates to the *Peresians*, *Parrhasians*, and *Perezites*, the same people with the *Heliadæ* and *Osirians:* their great progenitor is described as having enjoyed a renewal of life; as having been inclosed in an ark, and exposed when a child upon the ‡ waters.

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The characters of ORPHEUS § and ZOROASTER in some respects correspond with each other. The former travelled over the most distant regions of the globe, and in all places where he came, was esteemed both under the character of a priest and a prophet. He was not only celebrated for his skill in music, and in various other branches of science, but was also famed for calming the Winds, and appeasing the rage of the Sea. The name of *Orpheus* occurs in the lists of the ARGONAUTS, and he is mentioned in the two principal poems upon that subject: yet some writers place him ten generations before the period assigned the *Argonauts*, and *Pherecydes Syrus* declares he had no share in that expedition. The truth, as unveiled by Mr. Bryant, seems to have been, that under the appellation of *Orpheus*, a people called *Orpheans* or *Orphites* were designated; who, according to *Vossius*, were the same as the *Cadmians:* they obtained their name from *Orphi*, by which is meant the oracular temple of *Orus*, or the God of Light. They were celebrated for their skill in astronomy, music, and medicine, and were revered by the

Orpheus.

* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 62.—*Dissertation on Perseus.*

† *Euterpe*, Beloe's Transl. ch. 91. vol. i.

‡ Mr. *Bryant* cites as his authorities, *Schol. in Lycophr.* v. 838.—*Chron. Pasch.* p. 38. *from Euripides.*

§ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 126. *Dissertation on Orpheus.*

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the barbarous natives of Thrace with whom they settled: among other places they founded a college of science on mount Hæmus, but the greater part of the professors, or priests, were at length destroyed for their cruelty.

Dionusus.

DIONUSUS *, the Fingal of the Grecian bards, was multiplied into as many persons as *Hercules*, in whose exploits an history of the † *Herculeans* is recorded; and the history of *Dionusus* is closely connected with that of *Bacchus*, though they were in fact different characters. It is said, that the expedition of *Dionusus* into Lybia as far as the *Atlantic*, was celebrated by *Thymætes* in an ancient Phrygian poem. His *Indian* expedition took up three years. During a Voyage in the Mediterranean he visited many places, particularly Campania, and the coast of Italy, where he was taken prisoner by Hetrurian pirates. *Dionusus* was in reality the same as *Osiris*, and acknowledged as such by the later mythologists.

Cadmus.

CADMUS, like the other fabled heroes of Greece, is recorded to have been a great ‡ traveller, and by birth a Phenician; but his Voyages or Expeditions, like those of Perseus and others, relate to Colonies which at various periods left *Egypt* or *Syria*, and settled in different regions. Thus *Cadmus* is said to have sailed first to *Phenicia* and *Cyprus*, and afterwards to *Rhodes*; he then visited *Ionia*, and all the coast upwards to the *Hellespont*, and *Propontis*. He was also at *Lesbos*, and at *Anaphe*, one of the *Sporades*: he resided for some time in *Thrace*, where he discovered a mine of gold, as he had before one of copper at *Cyprus*. The progress of his maritime discoveries afterwards extend to *Euboea*; he remained a considerable time in *Attica*, then visited Bœotia, and built *Thebes*: he was likewise at *Sparta*; and having crossed the Mediterranean, he founded many cities in Africa, and, according to § *Silius Italicus*, was ranked among the founders of the city of *Carthage*. But these were not the atchievements of an individual, nor of a single age. Cadmus was one of the names of *Osiris*, chief deity of Egypt; and this title was accordingly assumed by those colonies that sailed from thence to the above places, where they settled.

Mr.

* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 77. *Dissertation on the character of Dionusus*, who was celebrated by the bards, *Linus*, *Orpheus*, *Panopides*, *Thymætes*, and *Dionysius Milesius*.

† The Sardinians, Corsicans, Iberians, Celtæ, Galatæ, and Scythæ, were all *Herculeans*.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 138. *Dissertation on Cadmus*.—Bochart supposes that *Cadmus* was a Canaanite, who fled with others from the face of *Joshua*.

§ Sacri cum perfida pacti
Gens Cadmea super regno certamina movit. L. i. v. 5.

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Introduction. *Grecian Periods.*

Danaus.

Mr. Bryant is of * opinion that the name DANAUS does not relate to an individual, but was originally da Näus, THE SHIP, and that therefore the æra of Danaus is the *æra of the ſhip;* or the exact period when ſome model of the ſacred † ſhip of Iſis, was brought from Egypt to Greece. The fifty daughters of *Danaus* were the fifty prieſteſſes of the Argo, who bore the ſacred veſſel on ſolemn feſtivals. Plutarch ‡ informs us, that the object in the celeſtial ſphere, called by the Grecians *The Argo,* is a repreſentation of the ſhip of *Oſiris,* which out of reverence has been placed in the heavens. Argo, or *Argus* ‡, as Mr. Bryant would expreſs it, ſignified an *ark,* and was ſynonymous to *Theba.*

Argonautic Expedition.

Of the innumerable Fables, which the ingenuity or ignorance of the Greeks conſpired to form, none has experienced greater ſucceſs in deluding poſterity, than their celebrated ARGONAUTIC VOYAGE. It gratified and increaſed at a very early period that love of the marvellous, which pervades their writings; and it allowed their predominant vanity to attribute a merit to their anceſtors, they would not otherwiſe have received. JASON therefore appears as a luminary amidſt the darkneſs of the Grecian annals; he was not only an expert and daring navigator, but alſo the illuſtrious founder of the empire of the *Medes* §; and in like manner *Armenus* his companion was accounted the father of the *Armenians.* Nor was this ſufficient: the *Peluſium* of Egypt could only derive its name from a Grecian original; *Sais* muſt receive its buildings from a Greek; the foundation of *Heliopolis* was claimed by the Athenians; *Canobus* was named from a pilot of *Menelaus*; and even the walls of MEMPHIS could not be conſtructed without bringing *Epaphos* from *Argos* as the architect.

It is not perhaps ſo aſtoniſhing that a vain people, who accounted all other nations *Barbarians,* ſhould have been induced to forge theſe, and other ſimilar falſehoods, as that ſome of the moſt eminent and learned of modern hiſtorians

* Vol. ii. p. 247.

† Iſis et Oſiris, vol. ii. p. 359.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 238. 'It is made uſe of,' adds Mr. Bryant, 'in that ſenſe by the prieſts and he diviners of the *Philiſtim;* who, when the ark of God was to be reſtored to the *Iſraelites,* put the preſents of atonement, which were to accompany it, into an *Argus,* or ſacred receptacle. (1 Samuel, vi. 8. 11. 15.) The word occurs only in the hiſtory of this Philiſtine tranſaction.'

§ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 155.

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rians, ſhould ſo long have been the dupes of impoſtors, to whom, as * *Jamblichus* obſerves, *the inveſtigation of* TRUTH *was always too fatiguing*. In the examination of this celebrated Voyage, as well as in the illuſtration of other facts, Mr. Bryant always learned, always ingenious, may ſometimes expatiate with too much freedom amidſt the regions of conjecture: but ſurely we ought not too ſeverely to reprehend or mark the falſe ſteps of a commendable zeal; when, in attempting to let in light on apartments that have been long haunted by ideal, and viſionary monſters, it occaſionally ſtumbles over the rubbiſh with which the edifice had been lumbered.

It is in vain to follow our great mythologiſt, through his excellent Diſſertation *On the Argo, and Argonautic* † *expedition*: ſome ſcattered rays may however ſerve to direct my readers to the original. *Sir Iſaac* ‡ *Newton* who endeavoured to aſcertain the date by the place of the *Colures* then, and the degrees, which they have ſince gone back, argues on a ſuppoſition, that there really had been ſuch an aſtronomer as *Chiron*, and that he, or *Muſæus*, formed a Sphere for the Argonauts. This argument has been combated by *Rutherforth* § in a manner tending to prove, that if either *Chiron* or *Muſæus*, or any other Grecian aſtronomer had delineated ſuch a Sphere, they muſt have comprehended under a figure, and given the name of *Argo* to a collection of ſtars, with many of which they were unacquainted; conſequently their longitude, latitude, and reciprocal diſtances, could not be known.

The ancients themſelves were equally in doubt, as to the æra of this expedition, the architect who built the ſhip, or the place to which its courſe was directed; whether to *Colchis*, or the *Ganges*. The Greeks, by taking the merit of this Voyage to themſelves, were plunged in difficulties. What can be more ridiculous than to hear that the firſt conſtructed ſhip was purſued by the fleet of *Oetes*, which was prior to it: beſides *Danaus*, many ages before, was ſaid to have come into Greece in a *long ſhip*; and we are alſo informed that

* Jamblichus de Myſter. (ſect. 7. c. 5.) quoted by Mr. *Bryant*.—The moſt eminent of the ancient authors who admitted the *Argonautic expedition*, as an hiſtorical fact, were *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*. Among the fathers, *Clemens*, *Euſebius*, and *Syncellus*; among the moderns, *Scaliger* and *Petavius*; and of our own countrymen, *Archbiſhop Uſher*, *Cumberland*, *Dr. Jackſon*, and *Sir Iſaac Newton* take the lead.

† Vol. ii. p. 475. ‡ *Chronology*, p. 83, 84.

§ Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy, (vol. ii. p. 849.) See alſo preceding p. lxiii. (ſect. 2.)

that *Minos*, if such a person ever existed, had a fleet constructed in the same form. In the course of this expedition, which is said to have occupied from two to four months, these fifty navigators performed feats that would have required ten times their number. They built temples, founded cities, passed over vast continents, and through unknown seas; and this in an open boat which was dragged over mountains, and occasionally carried on their shoulders.

Whence then could this Nautical Romance arise, similar in point of credit with the circumnavigation of Africa by the * Phenicians? The question is thus answered: *the preservation of the family of Noah, and the subsequent dispersion of the Arkite colonies, gave birth to this tradition;* which the Greeks assigned to the *Arcades*, *Argæi*, and *Argonautæ* of their own Country. *Jason* was in reality a title of the *arkite* god, the same as *Arcas*, *Argus*, *Inachus*, and *Prometheus*. Many temples built in the east, and also on the coast of the *Great Atlantic*, and all along the coast of *Hetruria*, were styled *Jasonea*. It is even said of Jason, that he underwent a similar fate during childhood with *Osiris*, *Perseus*, and *Dionusus*, and like them *was concealed and enclosed in an ark, as if he had been* † *dead*. Some parts of this Voyage, like the history of *Danaus* already mentioned, had a reference to the sacred ship of *Isis*.

An

* Mr. Maurice, in his Dissertation on Ancient Commerce, (Indian Antiq. v. 6. p. 427.) takes a different view of the subject. " *Eratosthenes* in Strabo informs us, (lib. ii. p. 87.) that the merchandize of *India* passed by the *Oxus* through the *Caspian*, which the ancients, with inflexible obstinacy, persevered in supposing to have a communication with the *northern*, and some even with the *Indian Ocean*, into the sea of *Pontus*. We also learn from *Pliny*, that it was but a journey of seven days from the frontiers of *India*, through the country of the Bactrians, to the river *Icarus*, which falls into the *Oxus*, down which stream the commodities of *India* were transported into the *Caspian Sea*. Thence, he adds, they were carried up the river *Cyrus* to a place within five days' journey over land to *Phasis*, the capital of *Colchis*, in Grecian fable renowned for its *golden fleece*; which, in all probability, was nothing more than the golden produce of *India*, which the *Argonauts* secured by opening the Commerce of the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Black Sea*. At this day, the *Oxus* no longer flows into the *Caspian*, the miserable policy of the modern Tartars having induced them to divert its Course, as well as that of the *Iaxartes*; and these two noble rivers are now lost and swallowed up in the sands of that boundless desert. *Colchis* itself is now only a vast forest, and its few inhabitants are not only slaves themselves, but carry on the horrid traffic in human flesh to a vast extent."

† Natalis Comes, lib. vi. p. 315.

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Sataſpes.

An Expedition of greater plauſibility, and to the truth of which no objections ariſe, occurs in the Voyage that was made along the weſtern coaſt of Africa, during the reign of XERXES, by *Sataſpes* the Perſian. This nobleman, who was of royal deſcent, having been guilty of a flagrant act of violence, was condemned to die: through the importunities of his mother, ſiſter of Darius, his ſentence of crucifixion was changed; and Sataſpes haſtened to attempt the perilous taſk which his parent had ſuggeſted to XERXES *of ſailing round Africa, until he ſhould arrive at the Arabian Gulf.* "To this, adds * *Herodotus*, XERXES aſſented, and Sataſpes accordingly departed for *Egypt*, where he embarked with his crew, and proceeded to the Columns of *Hercules;* paſſing theſe, he doubled the promontory which is called *Syloes*, keeping a ſouthern Courſe. Continuing his Voyage for ſeveral months, in which he paſſed over an immenſe tract of Sea, he ſaw no probable termination of his labours, and therefore ſailed back to *Egypt*. Returning to the court of XERXES, he amongſt other things related, that in the moſt remote places he had viſited he had ſeen a people of diminutive appearance, cloathed in red garments; who on the approach of his veſſel to the ſhore, had deſerted their habitations, and fled to the mountains. But he affirmed, that his people, ſatisfied with taking a ſupply of proviſions, offered them no violence. He denied the poſſibility of his making the circuit of Africa, as his veſſel was totally unable to proceed. XERXES gave no credit to his aſſertions; and, as he had not fulfilled the terms impoſed upon him, he was executed according to his former Sentence."

Cyclopes.

The hiſtory of a maritime nation ſtyled † CYCLOPES, has been particularly obſcured by the Greeks. Theſe *Cyclopes* were of the ſame family as the *Phoenices*, and *Cadmians*, and alſo as the *Hivites* or *Ophites* who came from *Egypt* that African mother of many European nations. The *Cyclopes*, with the *Galatæ*, *Illyrii*, and *Celtæ*, appear to have belonged to an *Amonian* tribe ſtyled *Anakim;* they ſettled among other places in *Sicily*, but memorials of them remained in many parts of Greece, where their ſkill in various branches of ſcience was known and encouraged.—It is the obſervation of one well verſed in maritime hiſtory, that liberty and ſcience, and that independent character which can alone diſplay or encourage the originality of mind which promotes diſcoveries, have always appeared either in iſlands, or on peninſular

* Herodotus, *Melpomone*, 43. Beloe's Tranſ. (vol. ii. p. 217.)

† ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 491. *Diſſertation on the Cuclopes, or Cyclopes.*

lar * ſituations. The noble and ſtupendous efforts of the *Cyclopes* in architecture, are viſible in hiſtory, by the general acceptation of *Pelorian* for any thing magnificent or great; an epithet originally given to edifices ſacred to the Cyclopian deity *Pélorus* or the *ſun*. The *Idæi Dactyli*, who are generally ſaid to have been the firſt that forged metals, and brought them into general uſe, were † *Cyclopians*. An Inſular ſituation, joined to their celebrity in ſcience, and the high eſtimation in which their works were held, may allow me to conjecture, that the *Cyclopians* paid a very early attention to the improvement of naval architecture. Their forges near mount Ætna, which afforded ſuch a ſcope to the imagination of ancient poets, enabled theſe iſlanders to render iron ſubſervient to the purpoſes of navigation; and if they were not the firſt to introduce the uſe of iron anchors, they at leaſt ſupplied the *Phenicians* with ſome of the moſt valuable materials, and tools, for the conſtruction of their ſhips.

The Cyclopes are alſo mentioned as being employed to form the maritime cities of ancient *Mycene* and *Tiryns*. Euripides ſays, that they built the walls of the firſt after the *Phenician rule*; and Strabo ‡ obſerves, *Prætus ſeems to have been the firſt, who made uſe of Tiryns as an Harbour; which place he walled round by the aſſiſtance of the Cyclopians. They were ſeven in number, ſtiled Gaſtrocheirs, and lived by their* § *labour*. Theſe ſeven *Cyclopes*, adds Mr. Bryant, were, I make no doubt, ſeven Cyclopian towers built by the people of whom I have been treating. Some of them ſtood towards the harbour to afford light to ſhips, when they approached in the night.

The deſcription which the ancient poets gave of the *Cyclopians* was founded on truth; the dreadful eye, that glared in the centre of their forehead, was in reality the circular caſement that was placed at the top of their light-houſes, as a direction to mariners; and what confirmed the miſtake, into which the Grecians were led reſpecting this circumſtance, proceeded from an eye which the Cyclopian artiſts repreſented over the entrance of their ſacred temples. The *Arimaſpians* were *Hyperborean Cyclopians*, and had temples named *Charis* or *Chariſia*, on the top of which a perpetual fire was preſerved. The great architects *Trophonius*, and *Agamedes*, ſeem to claim an affinity with this celebrated

* Sir John Macpherſon, who will, I truſt, collect the various MS. remarks on this ſubject, at preſent in his poſſeſſion. This idea is alſo encouraged by Major Rennell in his geography of Herodotus, (p. 292. *note*).

† Apollonius Rhod. L. i. v. 1129.

‡ Eurip. Herc. Furens. v. 944.

§ L. viii. p. 572.

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brated people, who not only built the cities of *Hermione* and *Argos*, but alſo enjoyed the fame of ſending forth a colony ſtyled *Academians*, who ſettled in Attica, where they founded the *Academia* and *Ceramicus*. There was however a ſavage and terrible character, which hiſtory ſeems to have aſſigned with reaſon to thoſe Cyclopians who poſſeſſed the Sicilian province of *Leontina*, called *Xuthia*, and of whom *Polyphemus* is imagined to have been chief. I was their horrid cuſtom to ſacrifice all ſtrangers who were driven on their Coaſt; and perhaps the * poet is correct, when he makes *Silenus* declare, *that the fleſh of the unfortunate ſufferers was looked on as a delicious repaſt.*

Obſtacles to Maritime Enterpriſe.

Notwithſtanding therefore the ſkill, or enterpriſe, of the various *Cuthite* colonies we have now conſidered, the progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery, and the improvement of navigation, muſt have been conſiderably impeded by thoſe inhuman cruelties, which formed an eſſential part of the *Amonian* † religion. Nor is it eaſy to imagine, even if the ingenuity or perſeverance of ancient navigators had attained that perfection which many learned writers are inclined, or wiſh to believe; that the immenſe continent of Africa could have been circumnavigated, and have afforded a place ſufficiently ſecure for the purpoſes of ſowing and reaping corn, when its coaſt was occupied at intervals, by the ſavage deſcendants of the *Titans*, the ‡ *Amazons*, and the *Hyperboreans*. But notwithſtanding this obſtacle to Diſcovery, another, and a very powerful one, exiſted in that ſtrange union of the character of merchant and pirate, which the early navigators diſplayed; and even when ſeparate, the profeſſion of the latter was not conſidered as diſhonourable. Accordingly Neſtor, after he had given a noble repaſt to *Telemachus* and *Mentor* at *Pylos*, aſks the following queſtion of Strangers whom he meant to treat with reſpect: *It is now time*, ſaid the aged prince, *to aſk our gueſts who they are, as they have finiſhed their meal. Pray Sirs whence come you, and what buſineſs has brought you over the ſeas? Are you merchants deſtined to any port? Or are you mere adventurers and pirates, who roam the ſeas without any place of deſtination; and live by rapine and ruin* §? Thucydides alſo informs us, in the beginning of his firſt book, that Piracy *was by no means an employment of reproach, but was rather an inſtrument of glory. So alſo in the*

* Euripid. *Cyclops.* v. 126. † See alſo preceding page xlix.

‡ See Mr. Bryant's Diſſertations, (vol. iii. p. 457. and 487.). The fabulous hiſtory of the *Amazons* is among the moſt intereſting of thoſe events which this great mythologiſt has developed.

§ Homer's Odyſſ. Γ. v. 69.

the ancient poets, those that sail along the coasts are every where equally accosted with this question, Whether they are pirates? as if, neither they to whom the question is put would disown their employment, nor they, who are desirous to be informed, would reproach them with it. And to this very day many people of Greece are supported by the same practices; for instance the Ozolian Locrians, and Ætolians, and Acarnanians, and their neighbours on the continent: and the custom of wearing their weapons, introduced by this old life of rapine, is still retained amongst * *them.*

These Piratical depredations gave rise to innumerable *Sea Monsters*, which disgrace and obscure the history of Greece: they were in reality mariners and pirates, styled † *Ceteï*, *Ceteni*, and *Cetonei*, from *Cetus* which signified a sea monster or Whale, and also a large ship; but they were more generally mentioned under the term of *Ceteans* or *Cetonians*.

In the ‡ SIRENS, when their real history is considered, another and a tremendous obstacle, was opposed to the enterprise of ancient mariners. Like the cruel *Lanii*, these *Sirens* were Cuthite, or Canaanitish priests and priestesses, who lived chiefly in their temples on the coast of Campania, and particularly near three small Islands, that were called after them. The fame of these temples was considerable, on account of the women who officiated; their cruelty and profligacy was beyond description. The shores on which they resided, are described by § Virgil as being covered with the bones of mariners, seduced thither by the plaintive harmony of the Canaanites, which was exquisitely expressed in the artful warblings of these Sirens. Their sacred hymns, accompanied by this ancient music, were too often fatal to the passing crew: Circe therefore advised Ulysses to avoid their places of resort. Sirens.

" Next

* Smith's Translation, (vol. i. p. 6.)

† ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 550. The learned writer also observes in a note, that the Greek term κατος; was by the *Dorians* expressed *catus*. Among us, there a relarge unwieldy vessels called *Cats*, particularly in the north. *Cat-water*, near Plymouth, signifies a place for vessels to anchor; a harbour for *katol*, or ships.

‡ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 17—25. Mr. Bryant is inclined to think, that among the many symbols of *The Ark*, that of Seira or the Hive prevailed; (vol. ii. p. 377.) As the *Melittæ* and *Melissæ* were priestesses of *Melitta*, and the *Cupselides* of the *Cupselis*; so the *Seirenes* were priestesses of the *Seira* or *Seiren*: all which terms related to the ARK.

§ Æneid. L. 5. v. 873.

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"Next where the SIRENS dwell, you plough the seas;
Their Song is death, and makes destruction pleaſe.
Unbleſt the man, whom muſic makes to ſtray
Near the curſt Coaſt, and liſten to their lay.---
Fly, fly the dangerous * Coaſt!" POPE.

Similar rites prevailed at *Cyprus*, and as it was cuſtomary in the perilous voyages of the ancients, for mariners to haſten to the altar of the chief deity of the country, on which their ſhip had been wrecked; they who experienced this calamity on the weſtern coaſt of *Cyprus*, were only ſaved from a watery grave, to endure a more dreadful death. The natives of *Curium* eſteemed it a religious rite, to ſeize on ſuch defenceleſs ſtrangers, as had thus fled to their altar of Apollo; and without compunction aſſembled to ſee them hurled from the precipice, on which his temple was placed. This reign of ſatanic cruelty is noticed by † *Herodotus*, as prevailing in the Tauric Cherſoneſus: *The people of this place worſhip the virgin goddeſs* ARTEMIS: *at whoſe Shrine they ſacrifice all perſons who have the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked upon their coaſt; and all the Grecians that they can lay hold of, when they are at any time thither driven. All theſe they without any ceremony brain with a club; though others ſay, that they ſhove them off headlong from a high precipice; for their temple is founded upon a cliff.* The *Lycaonian* prieſts of fire, in their maritime towers, dedicated to *Jupiter Lycæus*, or *Apollo*, firſt introduced human ſacrifices, and gave a preference to thoſe of infants. Into ſuch enormities was the reaſon of man led by natural religion, and from ſuch miſeries was it at length delivered by Chriſtianity.

Acquirements in nautical Science.

A conſideration of the hydrographical knowledge which the Greeks poſſeſſed, and their method of accounting for thoſe various phenomena of the ocean that have ſince occupied the attention of ſcientific men, will in ſome gree aſcertain how little can be expected from their hiſtory, towards elucidating the progreſs of ancient maritime diſcoveries. The writings of *Herodotus* ‡, as Major Rennell obſerves, contain the earlieſt known Syſtem of geography; and from his hiſtory "it may be inferred, that the *Greeks* knew but little concerning the Weſtern parts of *Europe*, beſides the mere ſea coaſt; and although *Herodotus* ſeems to entertain no doubt of the exiſtence of a *Northern Ocean*, he confeſſes his ignorance, whether, or not, Europe was bounded on

* Odyſſ. L. M. v. 39. † *Melpomene*, c. 103.
‡ Geography of Herodotus, *Preliminary Obſervations*.

on the north and eaſt by the Ocean....The *Britiſh Iſlands* he knew in part, as being the place from whence the *Phenicians*, and from them the Greeks, had their tin....As a man of ſcience he ranks very low indeed, as is too conſpicuous in ſeveral parts of his work. Such is his ignorance of the exiſtence of Snow in elevated ſituations in warm climates; (*Euterpe*, 22.) his belief that the Sun was vertical in *India* before mid-day; (*Thalia*, 104.) and his very unphiloſophical way of accounting for the ſwelling of the Nile; in which he talks of the ſun's being driven out of his courſe; (*Euterpe*, 24.) It appears alſo, that he did not believe that the Earth was of a globular form;" (*Melpomene*, 36.) *I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear ſome men talk of the Circumference of the earth, pretending, without the ſmalleſt reaſon or probability, that the Ocean encompaſſes the Earth; that the Earth is round, as if mechanically formed ſo; and that Aſia is equal to Europe.*

His great error conſiſted in not perceiving how inſeparably *hydrography* and *aſtronomy* are united; and that the former can only be eſtabliſhed on ſound principles from obſervations made by thoſe, who have attained a ſkill in the latter. It was this that rendered the Voyages of the *Phenicians* of ſo little ſervice. HIPPARCHUS, the great aſtronomer of the ſchool of Alexandria, who lived near four hundred years before Ptolemy, is * generally eſteemed the firſt by whom aſtronomy was reduced to a ſyſtem, and he applied it to correct his geographical reſearches; his own words may be cited from Strabo: *For we ſhould not know, whether Alexandria in Egypt, lay north or ſouth of Babylon, nor how far they were aſunder, was it not for our knowledge of climates. Nor would any one know, with certainty, whether places lie eaſt or weſt of each other, unleſs by comparing together eclipſes of the ſun and moon.* But as Dr. Robertſon † obſerves, this method of fixing the poſition of places, invented by *Hipparchus*, though known to the geographers between his time and that of *Ptolemy*, and mentioned both by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, was not employed by them. The prejudices of Strabo and his countrymen, are thus recorded by himſelf. *A geographer is to pay no attention to what is out of the earth; nor will men engaged in conducting the affairs of that part of the earth which*

* The merit and labours of Hipparchus are conſidered by M. Goſſellin, (*Recherches ſur la Geo. des Anciens*, vol. i. p. 1. and *Geo. de Grecs*, p. 51.) *Hipparchus* was born at Nice in Bithynia. He diſcovered the preciſion of the equinoxes; and invented inſtruments by which the reſpective magnitudes, and places of the ſtars could be aſcertained: his firſt obſervations were made in the *Iſle of Rhodes*. This philoſopher compoſed many works, but the only one extant is his Commentary upon *Aratus's Phenomena*.

† Ancient India, (p. 80.)

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which is inhabited, deem the distinction and divisions of Hipparchus worthy of * *notice.*

The MEDITERRANEAN was the first and principal division of the ocean that occupied the attention or exercised the skill of the Greeks; but like the inhabitants of other nations by whom it was also frequented, the former were unable to ascertain its extent. *M. Gossellin* † is of opinion, that the particular distances given by *Eratosthenes*, can only be considered as the result of the errors of its different navigators. Great as were the acquirements of *Hipparchus*, who came after Eratosthenes, his ideas respecting the other divisions of the Ocean were extremely vague and confused: he imagined that it was separated by extensive isthmus's, which formed, as ‡ M. Gossellin expresses it, *de grands bassins isolés les uns des autres;* and this idea prevailed in the school of *Alexandria*, even to the time of Ptolemy.—It is probable the Greeks derived from Asia an opinion, supported in the time of *Strabo*, that the sea skirted the earth in parts adjacent to the equator, and that under it no land existed. *Eratosthenes* therefore called the *eastern*, or *south-eastern* ocean, the *Atlantic*; since he imagined it was a part of that sea which thus formed a boundary at the equator, and flowed without interruption into the ocean to the west of *Iberia*. The same philosopher, and many of his successors, believed the *Caspian* to be a gulf in the Scythic or northern ocean; an idea which it is § imagined was first introduced by the Greeks, who accompanied *Alexander* in his expedition. The ignorance of that nation respecting the *polar seas*, is evident from a remark made by *Larcher* in his translation of Herodotus. This historian had ‖ declared that the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and adjacent sea, were frozen over during eight months of the year; but his countrymen would not believe it, and were confident that the salt water of the ocean was never congealed: they accordingly rejected this observation of their countryman as fabulous.

The celebrated Cape St. Vincent, near which the maritime school of *Sagres* was afterwards established by the illustrious Duke of Viseo, was early distinguished as the *promontorium sacrum* of the ancients, at the south corner of their *Sinus Gaditanus*. Parallels of latitude were first drawn by *Eratosthenes*, who lived 223 years before the Christian æra; the meridians of longitude

* Lib. ii. 194. C. (cited by *Dr. Robertson.*)

† Geo. des Grecs, p. 45. M. *Chabert* was employed by the French Ministry to take an actual Survey of the Coasts of the Mediterranean; and some account of his labours appeared in the 45 tom. of the *Histoire de l'Academie de Sciences* for 1767.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 52. 131. § *Ibid.* p. 31. ‖ *Melpomene*, c. 28.

gitude were a subsequent invention, that soon succeeded the former: and it is a singular fact, which M. Gossellin has recorded, that at the promontory of Cape St. Vincent, *Eratosthenes*, *Hipparchus*, *Possidonius*, and *Strabo*, began to reckon their longitude.

Ancient Maps.

The origin of *Maps* or *Charts* has been already mentioned; some of the earliest are noticed by * Herodotus, and other Greek writers; but none prior to those formed to illustrate the geography of Ptolemy, have survived. *Anaximander*, a disciple of *Thales*, who lived 550 years before the Christian æra, is highly commended by Diogenes Laërtius for having first discovered the perimeter or circuit of the terraqueous globe; and to him the invention of geographical tables or maps is ascribed. Those published by Ptolemy, about the middle of the second century, contained meridians and parallels by which the situation of places might be ascertained with greater accuracy; but this geographer owns that his maps were copied, with some improvements of his own, from those made by *Marinus of Tyre*. Ptolemy, however, as *Varenius* observes in his excellent and comprehensive † Work, proposed in the last chapter of his first book of geography, a new method of constructing maps; according to which, *the equator and circles of latitude, are also arches of circles; and the meridians, arches of an ellipsis: The eye is supposed to be above the meridian, which is in the middle of the earth inhabited, and in the middle between the greatest and least latitude known.* *Ptolemy*, and the *Arabian* geographers who succeeded him, distinguished the latitudes of places by the ‡ *climate* they were in; by which term they meant, according to Dr. *Hutton's*

* *Terpsichore*, 49. "During the reign of Cleomenes, *Aristagoras* prince of Miletus, arrived at *Sparta*, with a Tablet of brass, upon which was inscribed *every known part of the habitable world, the Seas, and Rivers.*"

† Entitled, a *Complete System of General Geography*, originally written in Latin by BERNARD VARENIUS, M. D. a Dutch physician, and printed at Amsterdam in 1650. It was republished at Cambridge in 1672, with great improvements by *Sir Isaac Newton*; and afterwards in 1712 by *Dr. Jurin*, at the request of *Dr. Bentley*, to whom this edition was dedicated. It was then translated into English by *Mr. Dugdale*, revised and corrected by D. Shaw; and a second edition appeared in 1734. M. de *Puisieux* translated it into French, and printed his edition at Paris 1755, in four vols. 12mo. *Varenius* also published a curious Latin description of *Japan*, and the kingdom of *Siam*; printed at Cambridge, 8vo. 1763. This writer died in 1660.

‡ The editor of Harris's Collection of Voyages has paid considerable attention to this ancient mode of representing countries. (Introduction, p. 4.) "The Ancients finding that this division of the surface of the Globe into five *Zones*, was too general; and, as they supposed several of these to be uninhabitable, that it was subject to many inconveniencies, they

SECT. III. *Hutton's* definition, "a part of the surface of the earth, bounded by two lesser Circles parallel to the Equator; and of such a breadth, as that the longest day

they had recourse to another invention, the most useful indeed of any they introduced into this Science; and this was their distinguishing the world into CLIMATES. The old Geographers reckoned but seven Climates, from the mistake they made in imagining only a small part of the earth to be inhabited; but the Moderns have corrected this error, and carried the distance of Climates to its utmost perfection. They reckon 24 between the equator and the arctic polar circle; from hence to the Pole they reckon but six, each of which differs in the length of its longest days a month. By this distinction into *Climates*, we have an opportunity of looking round, and comparing the several Countries of a like temperature at once: by it we are enabled to judge what commodities may be expected in a new-discovered land.

Twenty-four Climates from the Equator to the Polar Circle.

1. This commences at the Equator, and ends in the latitude 8° 34′: *At its extremity the day is twelve hours and an half.* Within this climate lie the *Moluccas*, the *Maldives*, *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, and other smaller islands in the *East Indies*.

2. Extends from 8° 41′ to 16° 43′: *The longest day in this Climate consists of thirteen hours.*

3. Reaches 16° 43′ to 24° 11′: *The longest day here is thirteen hours and an half.*

4. Takes in from 24° 11′ to 30° 47′: *The longest day in this Climate is fourteen hours.* In it lies the famous Island of ORMUZ in the *Persian Gulph*, *Agra* the capital, and a great part of the dominions of the Great Mogul, *Fochu* in *China*, *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and the *Canary Islands*.

5. Extends from 30° 47′ to 36° 30′: *The longest day is fourteen hours and an half.*

6. Commences in 36° 30′, and reaches to 41° 22′: *The longest day here is fifteen hours.*

7. Reaches from 41° 22′ to 45° 29′: *The longest day is fifteen hours and an half.*

8. Extends from 45° 29′ to 49° 1′: *The longest day is sixteen hours.*

9. Commences at 49° 1′, and ends at 51° 58′: *The longest day sixteen hours and an half.* In this Climate lie *London*, *Rouen*, *Amiens*, *Prague*, *Frankfort*, *Cracow*, the southern Provinces of *Muscovy*, and both *Tartaries*. In North America, part of *Canada*, the *Streights of Bell-Isle*, and some of *Newfoundland*.

10. Beginning at 51° 58′, and reaching to 54° 29′: *The longest day seventeen hours.*

11. Extends from 54° 29′ to 56° 37′: *The longest day seventeen hours and an half.*

12. Begins from 56° 37′, and reaches to 58° 26′: *The longest day here is eighteen hours.*

13. Begins at 58° 26′, and extends to 59° 59′: *The longest day in it being eighteen hours and an half.*

14. Commences at 59° 59′, and ends at 61° 18′: *The longest day under this Climate is nineteen hours.*

15. Comprehends from 61° 18′ to 62° 25′: *The longest day being nineteen hours and an half.*

16. Begins at 62° 25′, and ends at 63° 23′: *The longest day is twenty hours.*

17. Commences at 63° 23′, and ends at 64° 16′: *The longest day is twenty hours and an half.*

18. Extends from 64° 16′ to 64° 55′. *The longest day is twenty-one hours.*

19. Com-

day in the parallel nearer the Pole, exceeds the longeſt day in that next the equator, by ſome certain ſpace, as half an hour, or an hour, or a month." It is hardly poſſible to determine by whom the firſt * *globe* was made; Strabo mentions one conſtructed by a philoſopher named *Crates*.

The

19. Comprehends all between 64° 55′, and 65° 25′: *The longeſt day being twenty-one hours and an half.*

20. Begins at 65° 25′, and extends to 65° 47′: *The longeſt day is twenty-two hours.*

21. Extends from 65° 47′ to 66° 6′: *The longeſt day is twenty-two hours and an half.* In this climate lies the *Port* of *Torna* in *Bothnia*, ſo often mentioned by *M. Maupertius*, in his account of the expedition of the French academicians for determining the length of a degree under the arctic Circle.

22. Reaches from 66° 6′ to 66° 20′; *The longeſt day is twenty-three hours.*

23. Commences at 66° 20′, and extends to 66° 28′: *The longeſt day being twenty-three hours and an half.*

24. Comprehends from 66° 28′ to 66° 31: *The longeſt day is twenty-four hours.*

Six Northern Climates.

1. Commences at 66° 31′, and ends at 69° 48′: *The longeſt day conſiſts of a complete month.* In it lies *Muſcovite Lapland.*

2. Reaches from 69° 48′ to 73° 37′: *The longeſt day is of two months, or ſixty-two days continuance.* In this Climate lies *Groenland.*

3. Begins at 73° 37′, and extends to 78° 30′: *The day is three months complete.*

4. Comprehends from 78° 30′ to 84° 5′: *The longeſt day in this Climate takes in four months.*

5. Extends from 84° 5′ to the very Pole; *The longeſt day here conſiſts of five months, or one hundred fifty-five days compleat.*

6. Immediately under the NORTH POLE, *where there is ſix months day, and ſix months night.*

See alſo the Tables of *Climates* in *Varenius's Geography*, (vol. ii. c. 25. prop. 13.).

* The different, and incorrect ideas which the ancients poſſeſſed of the figure of the *earth* are thus detailed by the learned editor of Harris's Voyages; (vol. i. ſect. 1.) "THALES the father of the Greek philoſophy believed, that it floated upon the water like a Bowl; and *Anaximander* would have it, that it reſembled a Column or Stone Pillar; *Democritus*, otherwiſe a very great man, thought it hollow like a Diſh; and *Anaximenes* taught, that it was flat, like a Table, and ſuſtained by the inferior air. *Leucippus* deſcribed it as approaching neareſt the figure of a Drum. In ſucceeding times *Lactantius* and *Auguſtine*, thought the *earth* infinitely extended downwards, grounding this notion upon the Scriptures, or rather ſeeking aſſiſtance from them, in ſupport of their opinion. It is moſt evident from this diverſity of ſentiments, that they could draw no juſt concluſion, either as to the parts of it that were then undiſcovered, or of the means of diſcovering them."

SECT. III.

Phenomenon of Tides.

The knowledge which the Greeks acquired of TIDES, is examined by *Mr.* * *Costard.* The first mention of them is assigned by Strabo to *Homer*, when describing *Charybdis* in the † Odyssey;

"For thrice each day it rises, thrice retires."

Herodotus was the next Grecian, by whom the *tide* was noticed; who, in speaking of the Red Sea, says, *there is a flux and reflux of water in it every* ‡ *day. Diodorus Siculus* § describes it to be *a great and rapid tide.* In the *Euripus*, the Streight between Eubœa and Bœotia, the sea was observed by the ancients to ebb and flow seven times in the day, and as often in the night, and this with such violence, as would, according to *Strabo* and *Mela*, arrest a vessel in full sail: it is believed that *Aristotle* destroyed himself, because he could not explain the cause.

The first person among the Greeks who knew more than the mere phenomenon of tides, was *Pytheas* of Marseilles. This philosopher lived about the time of Alexander the Great, and had some idea of the influence of the moon in this respect. But his observations in general were strangely erroneous, particularly when he ‖ declared, that after having passed the Streight of Gades, and being arrived off the *sacred Cape*, (St. Vincent) the flux and reflux of the sea could not be perceived. M. ¶ Gossellin is therefore inclined to think that *Pytheas* had discovered some ancient documents, which he mutilated in order to conceal their author; and that these *desiderata* could only be the counterpart of others which *Eratosthenes* confused and altered.

Maritime States.

The principal Maritime States of ancient Greece, were CORINTH, ATHENS, and RHODES. The advantageous situation of the first, near the south-west point of the *isthmus*, made it an intermediate Mart between the north and south of Greece; whilst its two ports, the one on the *Saronic*, and the other on the *Corinthian* Gulf, attracted all the Commerce both of the east and west. *Syracuse* and *Corcyra* were only Corinthian colonies, which for a long time increased the riches, and power of the parent state. The pre-eminence of the mother country was celebrated by Pindar:

"Lot

* History of Astronomy, p. 256.
† Lib. xii. ver. 105.
‡ Page 92. edit. Gronov.
§ P. 172.
‖ Strab. lib. iii. p. 148.
¶ Geo. de Grecs. p. 50.

" Let my lays
The fame of happy CORINTH bear afar;
Which as a gate to Neptune's Isthmus stands,
Proud of her blooming youth, and manly bands."

Pye's OLYM. xiii.

Though Eusebius, and Africanus, present a catalogue of seventeen nations among the ancients who held the dominion of the sea, it may afford a less confused idea of the subject, to follow this authority of *Pindar*, which is supported by *Thucydides* *: " The CORINTHIANS are said to have been the first, who, by varying the make of their Ships, brought them to that model which, adds the historian, is now in use; and *Corinth* to be the first place of Greece where *triremes* were built. It is a known fact, that *Aminocles*, a ship-carpenter from Corinth, built four ships for the *Samians*: Now, from the arrival of *Aminocles* at Samos to the conclusion of the *war* which is now my subject, there passed at most but 300 years. The oldest sea-fight we know any thing of, was that of the CORINTHIANS against the CORCYREANS: but the distance between *that* and the same period is not more than 260. For the city of the Corinthians, being seated on the isthmus, hath ever been a place of trade, as formerly the *Grecians* both within and without *Peloponnesus*, more accustomed to land than sea, could have no traffic with one another without passing through their territory. They were also remarkable for wealth, as clearly appeareth from the ancient poets, who have given that city the epithet of *rich*: and, when once NAVIGATION was practised in Greece, they lost no time in their own equipments; they cleared the sea of pirates; and, opening their town as a Public Mart both by land and sea, made Corinth powerful by the increase of its revenue. The IONIANS had no Naval force till a long time after this, in the reign of *Cyrus* first king of the Persians and his son *Cambyses*: and waging war with Cyrus, they were for a time masters of the sea which lieth upon their own Coasts. *Polycrates* also, who was tyrant of Samos in the reign of *Cambyses*, having a powerful Navy subdued many of the Islands, and among the rest *Rhenea*, which as soon as conquered he consecrated to Delian Apollo. The PHOCEANS also, when planting their colony at Marseilles, had a successful engagement at sea against the *Carthaginians*.

" These

* Smith's Translation, (book i. p. 13.)

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"These were the most remarkable equipments of a Naval force; and these, though beyond contest many generations later than the war of Troy, had a very small number of *triremes*, but consisted chiefly of vessels of fifty oars and *Barges* of the more ancient model. And it was but a little while before the *Median war* and the death of *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyses* in the kingdom of Persia, that the tyrants of Sicily and the *Corcyreans* became masters of any considerable number of *triremes*: for these last were the *only* instances of a Naval strength in Greece, before the invasion of it by *Xerxes*, that deserve particular attention."

Athens.

CECROPIA, the ancient capital of *Attica*, was built on a rock about three miles from the sea-shore; and as it gradually reached the zenith of maritime power, under the more celebrated name of *Athens*, its three harbours, * *Piræus*, *Munychiæ*, and *Phalerum*, displayed the commerce and enterprise of a volatile nation, which at length became a prey to its own intolerable levity and caprice.

Mr. Maurice is of † opinion that the ruin of the elder Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar first called forth the maritime ambition of this republic, whilst the final destruction of *Tyre*, and *Carthage*, threw the whole commerce of the Mediterranean into the hands of the Athenians. "Their progress, however, in Navigation was necessarily slow, from the infant state of astronomical science among them: they only steered the Course of their Vessels by the Stars in *Ursa Major*, a most uncertain guide in remote and hazardous Voyages; since that constellation very imperfectly points out the Pole; and the Stars in its extremities are at the distance of above forty degrees from it. It was not till *Thales*, the inventor, according to the Greeks, of the asterism of the *Lesser Bear*, whose prior name was ‡ *Phœnice*, had returned from *Egypt*, that they became acquainted with, and were able to sail by, the unerring light of the Pole Star. . . . The Athenians were not without rivals in the contest

* The best account of the antiquities of this Harbour is given in a Tract by *Meursius*, called PIRÆUS. Lord Sandwich, in his Voyage round the Mediterranean, describes its modern state. It is now called *Porto Leone*. Mr. *Gibbon* observes, in a note, (vol. ii. ed. 8vo. p. 257.) "the arsenal in the port of *Piræus* cost the Republic two hundred and sixteen thousand pounds; and whilst the *Athenians* maintained the Empire of the Sea, their fleet consisted of three, and afterwards of four hundred Gallies of three ranks of Oars, all completely equipped and ready for immediate Service."

† Dissertation on the Ancient Commerce with the *British Islands*. (Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 398.)

‡ Ibid. p. 256.

conteſt for Maritime dominion; the indefatigable race of *Ægina*, and the voluptuous, yet mercantile ſons of *Corinth*, long combated their claim to that enviable diſtinction; ſill, at length, the former being ſubdued by the *Athenian* arms directed againſt them by the immortal *Pericles*, and the latter having called in the ſame power to aid them againſt the *Spartan* army, which, under the command of *Ageſilaus*, had laid ſiege to their ſumptuous metropolis, the ATHENIANS became triumphant on the Ocean; and, cloſely purſuing the tract of the *Phœnician* Veſſels, diſplayed the banners of Greece on the ſhores of the *Caſſiterides*, and in the gulph of *Cambay*. . . . Inſurance as well as * ſpeculation, frequently ran as high on the Exchange at *Athens*, as ever they have been known on that of *London*.—Whatever might be their ambition to rival the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*, they were compelled in general both to employ veſſels of leſs magnitude, and load them with cargoes leſs valuable than thoſe nations; though in their more diſtant voyages to *India* and *Britain*, they muſt of neceſſity have made uſe of larger veſſels. An account which we have in *Xenophon*, in his *Oeconomica*, of a *Phœnician* merchant-Veſſel, then in the Port of *Piræus*, in which the dimenſions of that Veſſel are compared with thoſe of *Greece*, is an unanſwerable confirmation of this ſtatement.---Their EXPORTS conſiſted of a great variety of rich wines; of the pureſt Oil; the valued Honey and Wax of Mount *Hymettus*; the inimitable productions in ſtatuary, painting, metallurgy, and every branch of Mechanic Science: and, finally, the rich ſilver mines with which *Attica* was ſtored, afforded her the abundant means of carrying on an extenſive traffic in that precious metal with *India*.---From *India*, their veſſels, in return for the Silver of *Sunium*, and the Copper of *Colonos*, of which their admirable works in bronze were fabricated, brought the precious Gems and Spiceries native to the Peninſula; the fine and delicate Muſlins which the ancients called *Sindones*; and the Sugar, Indigo and dyed Cottons brought down the *Indus* to *Pattala*. From *Perſia* and *Arabia* they imported Brocades, Carpets, and various rich Drugs, Perfumes, and Coſmetics. . . . The Nautical Genius of the *Athenians* arrived to an aſtoniſhing height of ſplendour, which they enjoyed for nearly 300 years."

Athenian Commerce on the Euxine.

Among the important commercial events in ancient hiſtory, which have been too much neglected for the more dazzling exploits of the military character, the

* Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 430.

SECT. III. the important Trade which ATHENS eſtabliſhed on the * *Euxine*, particularly merits our attention.—It was this extenſive Commerce that furniſhed ſeamen for the republic, and gave a new impulſe to the invention and ingenuity of their artiſts. In tracing the *Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and Engliſh* † *Coins*, my grandfather has introduced ſome intereſting obſervations on this commerce. The *Mileſians* ‡, a colony of the *Athenians*, were the firſt to open ſo lucrative a branch of trade; but their example was ſoon followed by the mother country and the other ſtates of Greece; and from the variety of Grecian colonies, that in conſequence ſettled on the coaſt, it received, according to *Strabo*, its name of the EUXINE or *hoſpitable ſea*.

The influence which ATHENS enjoyed as the principal maritime power of *Greece*, aroſe from her taking a lead in this Commerce. Its Exports conſiſted of all ſorts of furniture, both for uſe, elegance, or improvement. The iron works of *Attica* furniſhed arms to the ſavage warriors of the north, and prepared the ſcourge hereafter deſtined to chaſtiſe the arrogance of Imperial Rome. A taſte for literature was alſo introduced through the medium of

* The *Periplus of the Euxine*, by *Arrian*, would form a new field of geographical reſearch to Dr. Vincent, who has already paid ſuch attention to this writer, in the Voyage of *Nearchus*. The commerce of the *Pontus Euxinus* is conſidered in a curſory manner by *Huet*, (p. 142.) who alſo mentions the fiſhery on the Euxine, for ſturgeons, and the tunny-fiſh.

† Forming a *Chyſical hiſtory of ancient and modern Money*. To repreſs my own opinion of its diſtinguiſhed author, and to juſtify my inſertion of the above remarks on the *Euxine*, I ſhall content myſelf with giving the following criſis of our literary cenſors on this commercial publication. "We have lately had occaſion, on account of Mr. *Bryant*'s Diſſertations, to aſſert the honour of the preſent age, and of our own Country in particular, with regard to the exiſtence among us of the profoundeſt Literature. A freſh reaſon for maintaining the ſame claim is furniſhed by the work now before us, which is as eminent as Mr. *Bryant*'s for its great learning, though exerted and diſplayed in a different way. The ſubject which Mr. *Clarke* has choſen promiſes, upon the very face of it, much curious and difficult inquiry; but he has extended his views ſtill farther than could at firſt be expected. Some of his Diſquiſitions might, indeed, on a haſty judgment, be thought to fly too far from his main point; but, when we take in the whole object he has in view, we ſhall find that they riſe out of it, and are connected with it in a peculiar manner." (*Monthly Review* vol. xxxviii. p. 55.).

‡ Connexion of coins, p. 54. "The ancients were much indebted to the induſtry and genius of the *Mileſians* for ſome of the firſt improvements in Trade and Navigation. The firſt map was made by *Anaximander*, and the firſt treatiſe of geography written by *Hecateus*, both of them *Mileſians*."

of the *Euxine* merchants into diſtant regions; and the claſſical productions of Athens, conveyed in the ſame veſſel with implements of war, might ſometimes ſoothe, or enlarge the mind, of the ambitious chieftains of *Thrace*. The Imports from the *Euxine* conſiſted of corn, ſkins, leather, honey, wax, ſalt-fiſh, cavear, anchovies, ſlaves, and, above all, timber and naval ſtores.

The Naval temple of *Jupiter Urius*, if it did not owe its exiſtence to the Euxine trade, was indebted to it for many ſplendid ornaments, and for the veneration in which it was held by mariners. The *Euxine*, owing to the adjacent mountains, was always expoſed to dangerous ſqualls of wind; it was therefore at this temple (built near the moſt dangerous paſs) that votive offerings were made, and probably ſome inſtructions given relative to the nature of the coaſt.—The * Turks, who loſe yearly one Ship out of fifteen, in conſequence of theſe ſqualls, have called the *Euxine*, the *Black* or ſtormy ſea. From the *Greeks* it received the title of *Pontus* by way of eminence; which ſeems to prove that they were acquainted with the *Euxine*, before they had explored the extent of the *Mediterranean*. The *Athenians* were ſo jealous of this Trade, that Centinels were conſtantly ſtationed on a tower at *Seſtus*,

* M. *Olivier's Travels in the Ottoman empire, Egypt and Perſia*, (1801,) give the moſt recent account of the *Euxine*, with a Chart of the *Boſphorus* conſtructed from plans drawn by order of *M. de Choiſeul*: a part of it was alſo rectified from the obſervations of Citizen *Monnier*, engineer. " The Current is ſo ſtrong, that the Channel in ſome places, rather reſembles a river than an arm of the ſea: it is ſeen to oppoſe the progreſs of a Ship when the ſouth wind blows but faintly. The direction of the coaſts compels the waters to ſet more towards thoſe of *Aſia*, and to form on that ſide a more rapid Current; however, at the point of *Arnaoud-keui*, one is obliged to aſcend by tracking, by means of a rope which is thrown to ſome ſailors who remain continually on the ſhore (p. 72.). The Turks having always oppoſed a barrier to the navigation of the European powers on the BLACK SEA; it follows that the Charts publiſhed to this day are very defective. Citizen *Beauchamp*, having been requeſted by the National Inſtitute to determine, in a preciſe manner, the true poſition of the Capes and principal Towns ſituated on that Sea, could only procure from the CAPTAIN-PACHA;—*We have navigated on this Sea for a long time paſt; we do not want to be better acquainted with it, and all your obſervations would tend only to give a more exact knowledge of it to our enemies.* However, by dint of ſolicitations, Citizen *Beauchamp* obtained permiſſion to travel as a Naturaliſt; and it was under this title that he ſurveyed the Coaſt as far as *Trebiſond*. It reſults from his *Obſervations*, that the South Coaſt advances in ſome places about a degree more towards the North; that Capes *Kérenpé* and *Indjè* are nearly in the 42°, that the *Gulf of Samſon* is much deeper, and that *Trebiſond* is five or ſix leagues more to the weſtward than it is laid down on the Charts." (p. 80.)

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Sestus, commanding a prospect of the Hellespont, in order to observe the number and force of the Ships that passed. The *Euxine Commerce* at length passed with the liberties of Greece into the hands of the Romans; when a considerable portion found a new Channel in the mart of *Alexandria*.

The attention paid by the *Athenians* to *Delus* affords a memorable instance of their mercantile genius, which even induced them to render the appearances of religion subservient to an improvement of trade. *Delus* had long been considered as sacred and inviolable, when the *Athenians* availed themselves of this superstition, to establish there an Exchange for the whole world; and though a Board of Trade was held at *Athens*, they had also a Judge or superintendant at *Delus*, to hear and determine all maritime Causes.

Greek Colony of Marseilles.

Of the different maritime colonies which the Greeks formed, the celebrated one of MARSEILLES reminds us of the navigators *Euthymenes* and *Pytheus*, who were both natives of that place. It was founded by a colony of *Phocæans*, and according to *Solinus* 600 years before the Christian æra. They afterwards made other settlements on the coasts of *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, and were among the earliest of the navigators that ventured into the north Atlantic. Mr. Maurice conducts the Grecian vessels to the *Scilly Islands* for tin, from the harbour of Marseilles, about the period of Alexander the Great; and it was in consequence of this traffic, that the Phenician term of *Baratanac* for *Britain*, was changed into the Grecian *Cassiterides*. To *Pytheus* our country was known by the appellation of the *Hyperborean Isles* *.

Rhodes.

The island of † RHODES sustained for a short period the title of *Sovereign Lady of the Sea*, which Strabo assigns it; but the Rhodians long merited their ‡ historian *Simias*'s appellation of *Sons of the Ocean*. Their shipwrights acquired an early superiority in their construction of vessels; and if the dock yards at *Rhodes* had been opened to foreigners, with the same liberality those of our own country have been to Russia, from the reign of the CZAR to the present hour, the improvement of naval architecture would

* Maurice's Dissertation on Ancient Commerce, p. 435.

† An excellent account of the islands of *Crete*, *Cyprus*, and *Rhodes*, and their antiquities, was published in a quarto volume by the learned Professor *J. Meursius*, at Amsterdam in 1672.

‡ Beloe's Herodotus, vol. iii. p. 260, *n.* 118.

would not have been cramped by maxims, which diſtinguiſh and diſgrace the annals of ancient hiſtory.—The *Marine Laws* of Rhodes were the product of a founder policy, and form the baſis on which thoſe of *Oleron* were compoſed: the remains of the former are preſerved in two fragments by *Peckius* in his Commentaries *de Re* * *Nautica*. The learned *Selden* in his *Mare Clauſum*, or *Treatiſe on the Dominion of the Sea*, pays a juſt tribute to the wiſdom contained in the above fragments: "Of all the antient Lords of the Sea the *Rhodians* are moſt renowned; chiefly in this reſpect, becauſe the Sea-Laws which were uſed and in full force and virtue in both the empires, were borrowed from them, and put into the Digeſts by Juſtinian. 'Saith the emperor Antoninus to *Eudæmon* of Nicomedia, *let Suits about Navigation be decided according to the law of the Rhodians.*' And by the Teſtimonie of *Conſtantinus Harmenopulus*, a judge of *Theſſalonica*, they are the moſt antient of all Sea-Laws, *that have not been loſt*. They were taken into uſe among the Romanes from the time of *Tiberius*. Their beginnings are placed about the reign of *Jehoſaphat*: But the RHODIANS are wholly omitted both by *Marianus* and † *Florentius*."

Grecian Ships.

The principal antiquarians who have exerted their talents in an elucidation of ancient nautical terms, and the manner in which they formerly conſtructed, rigged, and ornamented ſhips, are firſt, Vegetius *de re militari*, who lived 386 years before the Chriſtian æra, with the dictionaries or lexicons of *Heſychius* and *Suidas*; to theſe ſucceeded *Scheffer*, who in 1659 publiſhed a quarto treatiſe at Upſal, *de militia navali veterum*; to whom may be added the monuments publiſhed by ‡ *Bayſius*, and the ſplendid volumes of *Montfaucon*. Our learned antiquarian, Evelyn, in 1674 printed ſome remarks on the ſhips of the ancients in a ſmall treatiſe, entitled, *Navigation and Commerce, their original and progreſs*; but the ſubject is diſcuſſed at greater length by ARBUTHNOT in his tables of *ancient coins*. General *Melville* an ingenious foreigner reſident in this country, has perhaps formed if not the beſt, at leaſt

* Should the reader wiſh to enter on a further conſideration of this ſubject, he is referred, among other books, to the *ſecond ſection* of a valuable work on the *laws, ordinances*, and *inſtitutions* of the *Admiralty of Great Britain*, publiſhed in two octavo volumes, by Miller, 1746, and dedicated to the Duke of Bedford, then firſt Lord of the Board: wherein a diſſertation is introduced *on the Naval Inſtitutions of the Ancients*.

† Page 59. *Nedham*'s tranſlation.

‡ This work, which is ſcarce, is entitled, *Lazari Bayſii annotationes in* L. II. *De Captivis, et poſtliminio reverſis: in quibus tractatur de re navali. Lutetiæ, ex officina R. Stephani*, 1549. 4to.

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leaſt a moſt curious * model of a *quinquireme*: it is to be hoped ſo valuable a ſpecimen of his naval talents will be carefully preſerved, and repreſented by an engraving ſuitable to its merit. The lateſt modern writer who has given this ſubject the attention it deſerves, is Mr. *Charnock;* when in 1796, he publiſhed a proſpectus of his very extenſive work on marine architecture, which has not yet appeared. In this *proſpectus* an abridged account was given of the *Ancient galley*, and the following rational explanation of its different rates, or banks of oars, is cited from *L'Eſcalier.* " 1. The *Uniremes*, we ſuppoſe to have been thoſe Galleys or Veſſels, which had only one row of oars extending between their maſts, or, perhaps, the entire length of the veſſel, like the modern *Feluccas* of *Barbary*; and conſequently required only one rank of rowers. 2. The *Biremes* had one tier of oars between their maſts, and another abaft the main or principal maſt. 3. The *Triremes* appear to have been galleys of a ſtill more formidable deſcription than the preceding; having one tier of oars extending between the maſts, a ſecond abaft the main-maſt, and a third forward, near the prow or ſtern, before the fore-maſt. 4. The *Quadriremes* had their oars ranged like the *Triremes*, with the difference of having two tier of oars, one above the other, abaft the main-maſt. 5. The *Quinquiremes* were alſo of the ſame deſcription, with the addition of a ſecond tier of oars forward. 6. The *Octoremes* had two tier of oars in the midſhips, and three at the ſtem and ſtern, making in the whole eight. We cannot deny that ſome veſſels had three entire tier of oars."

The † Grecians in the conſtruction of their veſſels ſought only to form a compact row-galley, and the helmet at the maſt-head denoted it to be a ſhip of

* An officer of high rank in the navy favoured me with the following brief deſcription of this ſingular model, which the general has conſtructed in his court. " The higheſt ſtation aſſigned the rowers does not require an *Oar* much larger than the *launch* of a ſhip of the line; there is a rullock and an hole for each oar. The projecting ſides, where the rowers are placed, are at an angle of 45 degrees from the plane of the deck of the veſſel."

† The *Greeks* at preſent vary but little in their mode of navigating ſhips, from their anceſtors: the curious reader will find many ingenious remarks relative to their *Maritime Character*, in a *Journey through Greece*, by *M. de Guys of the academy of Marſeilles.* " The Greeks are in ſome meaſure ſeamen by nature. The Turkiſh ſhips are manned with them. They make uſe of the *Compaſs*, but have no *Charts* to direct them; and are therefore obliged to truſt to their knowledge of the Coaſts for the ſafety of their navigation. Of courſe they never venture far from land. The greateſt part of their Ships reſemble thoſe of

of war: their merchantmen were called *olkades*, and were usually of a round form. The row boats, or galleys, were at first without decks, with a moveable mast, and a single leathern sail; and as hempen cordage was unknown, thongs of leather were employed for their rigging. The Greeks were long strangers to any use of *anchors*; nor does that opinion seem correct, which supplies the early navigators with some made of * stone; their prevailing custom being either to draw each vessel ashore, or to moor them to large stones, placed for that purpose on the beach. It is more probable that the first anchors were constructed of hard wood, to which a considerable quantity of lead was attached; even afterwards when those of iron were introduced, the single fluked anchor continued to be used: experience necessarily suggested its present form, and gave to each vessel, as its safeguard, one of larger dimensions than the rest; which they styled the *Sacred Anchor*, and never used but in times of imminent peril.

In a Grecian fleet, the principal officers varied but little from the modern list; though naval and military duties were too much blended with each other. The *commander of the troops* appears to have preceded the *admiral*; of which rank, the Greeks had usually from one to three officers in a squadron: yet such was the prejudice, or jealousy of the times, that when an admiral had once discharged the important duties of that illustrious station, he was ever afterwards deemed by the *Spartans* incapable of occupying the same rank. His title as Commander of a fleet was *Dux præfectusque Classis*. To the *Admiral* succeeded the *captain* (*Navarchus*), and then followed a post of great honour and

of the ancients, having but one mast, which is crossed with very long yards. They have also great sails, and a high flat poop; the prow projecting like that of *Theseus'* ship, described in the paintings of the *Herculaneum* (tom. ii. pl. 149.). You will frequently see a Greek seated on the poop of his *volik* (a Greek vessel), sailing on that beautiful canal the *Black Sea*, the coasts resounding with his lyre; while a favourable wind, swelling the sails, wafts him along the water with a pleasing rapidity. No man can view this scene without imagining he exists in the finest age of Greece. . . . Fishery was the prelude, and, if I may be allowed the expression, the apprenticeship of navigation. . . . Some fisherman, accustomed to coast the *Mediterranean*, was probably the first person who pointed out to our ancestors the spot on which they built the famous city of *Marseilles*. M. *Carry* conjectures (Fondation de Marseilles, p. 59.) that the *Phocians*, touching on that part of the coast, discovered a fisherman to whom they threw a rope, in order to lash their ship to the shore; and the two Greek words, which signify *to fasten*, and *fisherman*, gave, he thinks, the name of *Massilia* to the future city; (μαστιω to fasten, and ἁλιευς a *fisherman*.)."

* Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 175. 8vo. ed.

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and responsibility, *the pilot* (*Gubernator*), to whom the charge of the vessel and the discipline of its crew were assigned. Under the Pilot was appointed a sort of mate called *Proreus*, from his station at the prow; he had the keeping of stores for the ship's rigging, and was allowed to distribute places to the Rowers. Commanders of gallies, in addition to the above title of *Navarchus* or *captain*, were styled *Trierarchs*; and, when two were on board, each commanded for six months. This appellation of *Trierarchs* was also given to those cities, that in time of war were appointed to fit out gallies. The modern *Boatswain* is discovered in those duties which the *Keleustes* of the Greeks performed; he passed the word of command throughout the vessel, and also assisted in distributing the ship's allowance of provisions. The appointments of *Purser* and *Secretary* were always united, as they sometimes are at present; and the sprightly notes of the drum and fife, by which the labour of the capstan-bars is at present so much abated, was a delightful task assigned to the Grecian *Trieraules*, who stood before the mast, and cheered his weary shipmates with the exhilarating music of the Canaanites:

> Against the Mast the tuneful Orpheus stands,
> Plays to the weary'd Rowers, and commands
> The thought of toil away! STATIUS, Theb. V. v. 343.

Whilst on board, the hardships which the Grecians endured, must have been considerable, from the smallness of their vessel, and the badness of its accommodations. The Rowers had only a wooden bench to repose on, and even the situation of their officers differed but little from the rest of the crew; since it was objected against *Alcibiades*, as a mark of great effeminacy, that he was the first Grecian who had ordered his bed to be slung, in order to break the motion of the vessel. The Crew was divided into *rowers* (Remiges *), *mariners* (Nautæ), and the *soldiers* or *Marines*, who were styled *Classiarii*. A ship's complement rarely exceeded 200; the usual pay of their seamen was three *oboli* a day; and if we add the *fourth*, that was given by *Cyrus* at *Lysander*'s request, it would amount on the whole to nearly sixpence-halfpenny. This however was sometimes raised to a *drachma*, or about ninepence,

* These were again subdivided into the lower rank called *Thalamite*, the middle *Zugita*, and the uppermost *Thranite*. Thucydides adds that the latter were paid the best, because they worked an heavier oar.

pence, though ſome authors make it leſs; as when the Athenians fitted out a fleet againſt Sicily.

Introduction. *Grecian Periods.*

In all ages the grateful piety of a devout mind ſeems to have exalted and conſecrated the Naval Character. Before the Grecians ſailed they implored the protection of Heaven by prayer and ſacrifice, and in theſe duties the ſurrounding ſpectators fervently joined. A *Dove*, that ſtriking memorial of the Deluge, was then ſet at liberty; if *it returned*, the omen was deemed auſpicious. Every thing being prepared, the ſignal was given during day by Trumpets, and at night by Torches. When in Action, a gilded ſhield or red banner, that was ſuſpended on board the *Admiral*, regulated the duration of an engagement; and by its inclination to the right or left, their plan of attack was changed, or the direction of a retreat made known. The firſt duty of a Grecian officer on his return, was to offer a portion of honourable ſpoil to the gods of his country: ſometimes entire veſſels were thus preſented; for the Grecians, after their victory over the Perſians, at Salamis, dedicated * three Phenician *triremes* to their gods.

Naval Character of the Greeks.

The profeſſional Character of Grecian ſeamen was influenced by the manners of the different ſtates to which they belonged; and it therefore fluctuated on an extenſive ſcale, from the cold or forbidding policy of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the capricious yet captivating diſpoſition of the *Athenians*. The firſt was too haughty and auſtere to gain the hearts of thoſe who ſerved; the other of too unequal a temper to ſecure or reward the enterpriſing ſpirit of thoſe who commanded.—Even among the *Athenians*, the naval character had not ſufficiently emerged from the warehouſe of their merchants; and at *Lacedæmon*, where the higheſt object of ambition was a command in the cavalry, that valuable nurſery for ſeamen which the honourable avocations of commerce furniſh, was purpoſely neglected. The iron coinage of *Sparta* ſhackled the ſpeculation of its inhabitants; and when *Lycurgus* prohibited Navigation and Commerce throughout an extent of coaſt that furniſhed ſo many excellent harbours, he proved how impoſſible it was for a rigid moraliſt to entertain a due conviction of thoſe liberal principles, which are eſſential to the character of a legiſlator. He allowed but of little intercourſe with foreigners; and never ſuffered his countrymen to diveſt themſelves of

* Herodotus, *Urania*, ch. 121.—In the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharſis*, a chart is inſerted to illuſtrate this celebrated Naval action.

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of national partialities, by associating with those, to whom by the chance of war they were occasionally opposed as enemies. *Lacedæmon* therefore, like *Prussia*, could furnish legions of soldiers, but had not one able mariner to send on board her ships.

Naval Prejudices of Plato.

The prejudices of *Lycurgus*, strange as it may appear, darkened the comprehensive mind of Plato, who, in this respect, displayed a memorable instance of the fallacy of human wisdom. *Plato*, as Dr. * Robertson observes, delivered it as his opinion, *that in a well-regulated commonwealth the citizens should not engage in Commerce, nor the State aim at obtaining maritime power. Commerce, he contends, would corrupt the purity of their morals, and by entering into the sea-service, they would be accustomed to find pretexts for justifying conduct so inconsistent with what was manly and becoming, as would gradually relax the strictness of military discipline. It had been better for the Athenians to have continued to send annually the sons of seven of their principal citizens to be devoured by the Minotaur, than to have changed their ancient manners, and to have become a maritime † power.*

Whilst opinions so erroneous were encouraged by the sages of philosophy, it is astonishing that the *Athenians*, otherwise so capricious, should so long have persevered in sustaining a naval power. They were, however, blessed with men of extraordinary genius; and the brilliant talents of such statesmen as *Pericles* would more than counteract the most specious sophisms of closet reasoners.

Pericles on the Naval Character.

Let us therefore hear the sentiments, which this Athenian delivered, on the necessity of encouraging and sustaining the Naval Character of his countrymen; for as the learned ‡ translator of Thucydides remarks, "PERICLES is an Englishman both in heart and judgment. *England* hath adhered and will adhere to the lessons which *Athens* neglected and forgot."—*I firmly persevere, Athenians, in the same opinion that I have ever avowed, to make no concessions to the Lacedæmonians; though at the same time sensible, that men never execute a war with that warmth of spirit through which they are at first impelled to undertake it, but sink in their ardor as difficulties increase. . . . The Peloponnesians are a people, who subsist by their bodily labour, without wealth either in the purses of individuals, or in any public fund. Again, in wars of long continuance, or wars by sea, they are quite unpractised; since, the hostilities in which they have been embroiled*

* Ancient India, 8vo. ed. p. 366.

† *De Legibus* (Lib. iv.).

‡ *Smith's* Thucydides, vol. i. *Introduction*, (p. 44.) and the *History*, book i. (p. 111.).

embroiled with one another have been short and transient, in consequence of their poverty. Such people can neither compleatly man out a Fleet, nor frequently march land armies abroad, abandoning the care of their domestic concerns, even whilst from these they must answer a large expence, and more than this, are excluded the benefit of the Sea. . . . . As for any forts they can erect within our territory, or their application to a Navy, it is beneath us to form any apprehensions from thence. . . . . For, we are better qualified for Land Service by the experience we have gained in that of the Sea, than they for service at sea, by their experience at Land. To learn the Naval Skill they will find to be by no means an easy task. For even you, who have been in constant exercise ever since the Persian invasion, have not yet attained to a mastery in that science. How then shall men, brought up to tillage and strangers to the sea, whose practice farther will be ever interrupted by us, through the continual annoyance which our larger number of Shipping will give them, effect any point of eclat? Against small squad-ons they might indeed be sometimes adventurous, emboldening their want of skill by multiplying their numbers: But, when awed by superior force, they will of necessity desist; and so, by practice interrupted the growth of their skill will be checked, and in consequence of it their fears be increased. The Naval, like other Sciences, is the effect of art. It cannot be learned by accident, nor usefully exercised at starts; or rather, there is nothing which so much requireth an uninterrupted application. . . . . We have Commanders Athenian born, and Seamen to man our fleets, in larger numbers and of greater skill than all the rest of Greece together. . . . OF VAST CONSEQUENCE INDEED IS THE DOMINION OF THE SEA. *But, consider it with attention. For, were we seated upon an Island, which of us would be subdued with greater difficulty——The greatest dangers are ever the resource of the greatest honours to Communities as well as individuals. It was thus, that our fathers withstood the Medes, and rushing to arms with resources far inferior to ours, nay abandoning all their substance, by resolution more than fortune, by courage more than real strength, beat back the Barbarian, and advanced this State to its present summit of grandeur. From them we ought not to degenerate, but by every effort within our ability avenge it on our foes, and deliver it down to posterity, unblemished and unimpaired.* In this manner, adds *Thucydides*, Pericles spoke; and the Athenians, judging that what he advised was most for their interest, decreed in conformity to his exhortation.

The theoretic visions of *Plato*, so adverse to the naval character, were however adopted by many philosophers, and among others by his student *Aristotle*. Yet they could not affect the enterprising mind of his Macedonian pupil;

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and it is singular that a prince educated under the Stagyrite, should have decidedly made it the principal object of a short life, to destroy by real facts, the delusive ideas, which his preceptor encouraged respecting the pernicious consequences of * Commerce. *Alexander*, by the force of his own reason and discerning judgment, acted in opposition to the fatal systems which philosophy would have imposed; and thus laid the foundation of that extensive maritime trade by which so many nations have since been enriched.

Grecian knowledge of India.

The earliest *Grecian* writers who mention *India*, previous to the *Voyage of Nearchus*, were † *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and *Ctesias*. HOMER appears only to have known it under the name of *Ethiopia*, and, as Dr. Vincent observes, 'when he conducts *Neptune* thither, he seems to place him in the centre between two nations both black, but both perfectly distinguished from each other; and he adds, that they lived at the opposite extremities of the world, East and West.' HERODOTUS mentions the eastern *Ethiopians* considered as *Indians*, and differing from those of Africa in their long hair, as opposed to the woolly head of the Cafre. CTESIAS the physician of Artaxerxes Mnemon, at the distance of rather more than 60 years from *Herodotus*, gives an account of *India*, as preserved in the abridgement by *Photius*, which, when divested of fable, contains little more than a description of the cochineal plant. This writer was contemporary with *Xenophon*, and preceded *Alexander* by nearly 70 years. The Greeks, therefore, for a long period had no correct knowledge of *India*; and, according to the curious Asiatic documents which the researches of our countrymen have explored, the *Indians* had long preceded the *Greeks* in their maritime or commercial character. The date which *Sir William Jones* assigned to the INSTITUTES OF MENU, places this curious record of the ancient transactions of India, in about the twelfth century before Christ. The following article, says ‡ Mr. Maurice, decidedly proves, that 1200, if not 1500 years before Christ, the *Indians*, not less than the *Phœnicians*, navigated the vast Ocean: *For a long* § *passage, the freight must be proportioned to places and time; but this must be understood of passages up rivers:* AT SEA THERE CAN BE NO SETTLED FREIGHT. But the subsequent

* *Aristotle*, in his Treatise *de Repub.* (Lib. vii. c. 6.) states as the subject of argument, *Whether a State rightly constituted should be commercial or not?*

† Dr. Vincent's Periplus, (p. 9. 11. 15.)

‡ Dissertation on Ancient Commerce, (p. 360. vol. vi. *Ind. Antiquities.*).

§ *Institutes*, p. 241.

quent extract is still more curious. *Whatever* * *interest, or price of the risk, shall be settled between the parties, by men* WELL ACQUAINTED WITH SEA VOYAGES, *or journies by land, with times and with places; such interest shall have legal force.* In another passage we find, that the ancient Indians not only possessed the art of obtaining *Sugar* from the cane, but were also able to extract a Spirit from *melasses* resembling *rum*, and another from rice resembling *arrack*; and these doubtless reached the distant regions of Greece, through the medium of the Phœnician commerce: *Inebriating* † *liquor may be considered as of three principal sorts; that extracted from dregs of sugar, that extracted from bruised rice, and that extracted from the flowers of the madhuca.*

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Introduction. *Grecian Periods.*

That connection between *Greece* and *India*, which the daring mind of ALEXANDER attempted and opened, has been most ably elucidated by Dr. *Vincent*; and as his valuable ‡ work is unavoidably intermixed with many learned digressions, it may possibly be rendered more known, and sought after by *professional men*, if I avail myself of his liberal permission to make use of it in any manner that may promote the object which the present volume has in view. A short ABSTRACT is therefore subjoined, in order to give the reader a more correct idea of the *Voyage of Nearchus* than what is generally referred to, in the Collection of Voyages by *Harris*, improved by Dr. *Campbell*.—The narrative of this Voyage from the *Indus* to the *Euphrates* has

Macedonian Discoveries.

* *Institutes*, p. 210. † *Ibid.* p. 320.

‡ Entituled, *The Voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates*, collected from the ORIGINAL JOURNAL preserved by ARRIAN, and illustrated by authorities ancient and modern; containing an account of the First Navigation attempted by EUROPEANS in the INDIAN OCEAN. To which are added, *Three Dissertations:* Two on the *Acronychal rising of the Pleiades*, by Dr. *Horsley*, Bishop of Rochester, and by Mr. William *Wales*; and one by Mr. de la *Rochette* on the first *meridian of Ptolemy*, (4to.) with five maps and charts, 1797. (530 pages.) The *Voyage of Nearchus* had been previously considered in a general manner by *Ramasio*, *Ablancourt*, and *Rook*; and more particularly by *Campbell* in his improved edition of *Harris's Voyages*. An abridged extract is also given by *Purchas*. It was too hastily condemned as spurious by *Dodwell*, who followed Strabo and Pliny in this respect; its veracity had also been impeached by *Hardouin* and *Huet*.—The supporters of its authenticity are *Salmasius*, who points out the errors of *Pliny*; *Usher*, *Sainte Croix* who particularly answers *Dodwell*; *Gossellin*, *D'Anville*, and *Dr. Vincent* who gives the following decided opinion, (p. 64.) "The circumstantial detail of minute facts, the delineation of the coast with the same features it bears at present, the description of manners, customs, and habits, all characteristic of the natives; the peculiarity of the climate, seasons, winds, and natural productions, all bespeak a knowledge which could have been obtained from actual inspection only; and all present a Work which *Antiphanes*, *Euemerus*, *Jambulus*, *Euthymanes*, and all the forgers of antiquity could not have put together."

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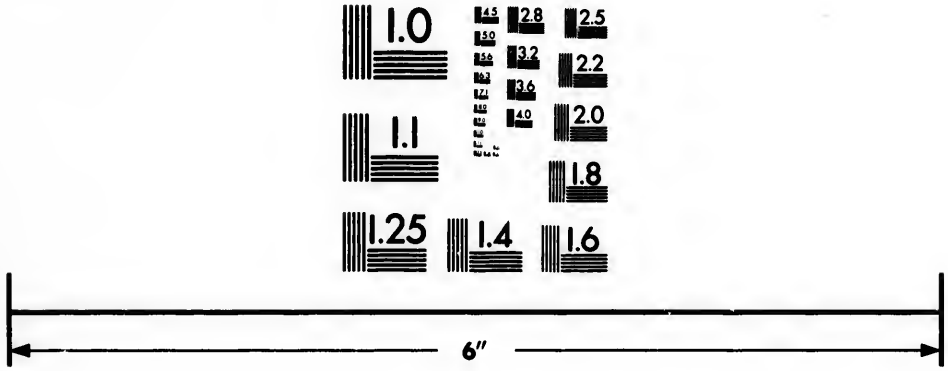

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has been preserved by *Arrian*, and he professes to give an extract from the Journal of *Nearchus*; whose report, as well as that of *Onesicritus* the pilot, is still extant in the writings of Strabo, Diodorus, and * Pliny. *Arrian* declares that he had read with great attention the works of *Onesicritus* and *Megasthenes*, as well as that of *Nearchus*; the first of whom was the master of Alexander's Ship, and drew up a long account of the *Indies*. Of ARRIAN, the celebrated disciple of *Epictetus*, some further particulars may be acceptable. He is styled by † Gibbon, "the eloquent and philosophic *Arrian*;" and ‡ Dr. *Campbell* informs us, that he was a man of distinguished quality, as well as excellent learning; a native of the city of *Nicomedia* in Bithynia, who flourished under the emperor *Adrian*, and was by him made governor of *Cappadocia*. He is also said to have been preceptor to the famous philosopher and emperor *Marcus Antoninus*. The *Indian History* of Arrian was long supposed to have been lost, with some of his other works; until at length it was discovered, that this treatise existed under the supposed title of the eighth book of the § Life of Alexander. *Arrian* so entirely followed *Xenophon* as his model, that he was called a *second Xenophon*; and as the ANABASIS is the finest *military* narrative that has descended to us from the ancients, we are fortunate in also possessing, through the industry of Arrian, and the elucidation of Campbell and Dr. Vincent, an accurate account of the most important *naval* expedition which the Greeks ever accomplished for the purposes of maritime discovery. The author of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, has been often confounded with Arrian of *Nicomedia*; but Dr. Vincent is of opinion, that if *Arrian* be the real name of the former writer, he must have preceded the *disciple of Epictetus* by little less than a century.

NEARCHUS was the son of *Androtimus* a Cretan, and early in life was enrolled a citizen of *Amphipolis*, on the river *Strymon*, one of the most considerable places in *Macedonia*; where he probably gained some experience in the Naval profession. When *Amphipolis* was taken from the Athenians by Philip, *Nearchus* was received at the Macedonian court, and attached himself to

* Dr. Vincent's Nearchus, p. 13. † Vol. vii. p. 327.

‡ Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 407.

§ Printed at *Leyden*, in folio, 1704. At *Amsterdam*, in 8vo. 1668. *Ibid.* cum notis Variorum, 8vo. 1757. There have been four Latin translations. Leo of Modena also published one in Italian at Venice, 1554: *Claudius de Vivart* one in French at Paris in 1581: *D'Ablancourt* gave a second, which has been thrice reprinted. An English translation was published by *Rooke* in 2 vols. 8vo. with notes, 1729.

to the fortune of Alexander. The former was afterwards banished on account of some family dissensions, but was recalled to enjoy the honours he merited on the accession of the young monarch. After the death of Alexander, *Nearchus* was made governor of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, and followed the adherents of * Antigonus. Professional skill, enterprise, and perseverance, are all equally visible in the subsequent Voyage.

When ALEXANDER had gained his two decisive victories over *Darius* at *Issus* and *Arbela*, and had sacked the city of † TYRE after an obstinate resistance, which opposed his valour during the course of seven months, he received the submission of Egypt; and having given orders to the architect *Dinocrates* for building the celebrated city of ‡ Alexandria, he directed his daring

* Vincent's *Nearchus*, p. 457.

† The date of these Events appears to have been,

1. Battle at *Issus* in Cilicia, 333 years before the Christian æra.

2. Tyre and Egypt conquered by Alexander during the subsequent year, 332 B. C.

3. Battle of *Arbela*, or rather, according to Arrian and Plutarch, of *Gaugamela* near the above town, during the ensuing year, 331 B. C.

A Dissertation on the birth of Alexander is given in the work of *Baron de Sainte Croix* (p. 325.). Nor has this event been neglected in Dr. Vincent's volume. 'According to Plutarch, Alexander was born in the first year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, on the sixth day of *Hecatombæon*, answering to the Macedonian month *Lous*. This, according to *Usher*, was on the 24th of September, but by *Dodwell* is made the 26th of July, 356 years before the Christian æra. *Alexander* succeeded to the throne in the year 336 B. C., and, as Usher thinks, on the 24th of September.' (p. 31.)

‡ The motives of *Alexander* for building this celebrated *emporium* of Commerce are detailed in an interesting manner by Mr. Maurice (Hist. of Hindostan, vol. ii. p. 590.).—"It was the result of an accurate Survey on that part of the Coast, and of the advantageous situation it afforded for establishing there an emporium for the commerce of the whole world, on the conquest of which he firmly depended, that induced him to give immediate orders for the erection of a city to be called after his own name. Of this celebrated City, which, for *eighteen centuries*, continued the Glory of the East, and, from its opulence, was denominated *the Golden*, Alexander himself projected the magnificent plan, and marked the extensive boundaries. It is said to have originally resembled, in form, a *Macedonian mantle*, having one vast street a hundred feet in breadth, and no less than five miles in length; open through its whole extent to the salubrious *Etesian* breezes blowing from the *Mediterranean* that bounded it on the north, while the great lake *Marcotis* constituted its southern limit. . . . . Its excellent PORT he caused to be cleansed and deepened, but it was reserved for his successors, the *Ptolemies*, to add the stupendous mole that joined *Alexandria* to the Isle of *Pharos*, and divided the spacious Harbour into two, as well as that majestic PHAROS itself, erected entirely of white marble, which, for beauty and grandeur,

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daring mind to new objects. From this time Alexander seems only to have considered Conquest as the means by which an extensive system of commerce might be formed. His conduct at *Babylon* displayed a zeal for literature, and proved that even in the most splendid moments of a military career, the Taste which he had imbibed from *Aristotle* was not inactive, or subdued by the din of arms. Under the immediate sanction of *Alexander*, a search was diligently made for the Astronomical Observations of the *Chaldæan* priests at the observatory of *Belus*; these curious documents which, according to Porphyry, were afterwards sent by *Calisthenes* to *Aristotle*, first * opened to the *Greeks* an acquaintance with *India* beyond the Euphrates, and laid the foundation of our present knowledge of that country. Instead therefore of being regarded as what † *Warburton* styles, "that moral plague, an Hero or a Conqueror," Alexander in pursuit of this object deserved the praise which the *Bramin Mandanis* bestowed, *You are the only man whom I ever found curious in the investigation of philosophy, at the head of an* ‡ *army*.

The five rivers of the *Panje-ab*, commencing from the west, which fall into the INDUS, are the *Hydaspes* or Chelum, the *Akesines* or Chen-ab, the *Hydraotes* or Ravee, the *Hyphasis* or Biah, and the *Saranges* or Satludj. The progress of the Macedonian § arms was arrested at the *Hyphasis* by the refractory

deur, had no rival, and was justly enumerated among the wonders of the ancient world. Its superb Palace, its famous Museum, its vast Gymnasium, its noble Library, though not all the immediate work of *Alexander*, but probably exactly finished by *Ptolemy Lagus* according to the plan of his sovereign, his friend, and his brother; all combined to render Alexandria a lasting monument of the towering genius of its founder, while it exhibited indubitable testimony of the grand Commercial Designs, which he had thus early formed, but which unfortunately he lived not to mature."

* Maurice's History of Hindostan, vol. ii. p. 54. 172. 601.

† Vol. i. 4to. ed. p. 344. ‡ Strabo (p. 715.) cited by Dr. Vincent.

§ The reader is referred for an excellent narrative of the *military* career of *Alexander*, to Mr. Maurice's History of Hindostan (vol. ii. p. 572.). *Invasion of the eastern bank of the Indus* (p. 634.). *Refusal of the Macedonians to pass the Hyphasis* (p. 658.) *First departure of the Fleet* (p. 668.). "Taking his station conspicuously on the Prow of his Ship, the King then poured out libations from a golden goblet, and solemnly invocated the three great Rivers, the *Hydaspes*, the *Acesines*, and the *Sinde*, down whose Streams he was successively to descend to the *Ocean*: *Hercules* also, and *Jupiter Hammon*, he endeavoured to render propitious by renewed sacrifice. Immediately after, all the trumpets sounding, which was the appointed Signal, the Fleet unmoored, and under the guidance of those experienced Mariners who assisted in its fabrication, glided leisurely and majestically down the tranquillized current." (*Arrian, lib.* vi. *cap.* 4. *Curtius, lib.* ix. *cap.* 4.)

refractory spirit of the soldiers, who refused to advance any further. Alexander therefore returned to the *Hydaspes*, and having vanquished *Porus*, the Macedonian fleet, chiefly selected from the innumerable vessels employed in the commerce of the Indus, left Nicæa which is situated on a bend of the *Hydaspes*, on the * 23d of October, 327 years before the Christian æra. The commanders of gallies, whose names are given, amounted to thirty-three †; their crews consisted of *Phenicians*, *Egyptians*, *Cyprians*, and *Ionians*; and the number of vessels employed, from the galley to the tender, has been estimated at 2000 ‡, of which 800 were Ships of war.

Alexander's navigation of the INDUS was attended with considerable danger; and the rapid eddies of its stream, where the *Hydaspes* and *Akesines* form a junction, had nearly proved fatal to this monarch. *While they were still at some distance*, says § Arrian, *upon hearing the noise and dashing of the waters, the Rowers rested on their oars, the Modulators were silent with astonishment; but as the Stream carried them nearer, the commanders recalled both to their duty, and directed them to exert their utmost strength, that the vessels might not be caught in the eddies, but pushed through by dint of force. It turned out, however, that the transports from their built, by yielding to the eddy, escaped with little injury, except the alarm excited in those on board; but the gallies, which from their length and sharpness were less adapted to encounter a danger of this sort, suffered greatly; and some, from having two banks of oars and the difficulty of managing those which were nearly on a level with the water, were exposed to the most imminent danger. Alexander's Vessel, however, escaped to a projecting point on the right hand shore, which covered him from the violence of the stream; but he saw two of his vessels sink, and with difficulty saved such of their crews as were able to swim.* Their progress was also delayed in order to subdue such of the adjoining tribes, as shewed an hostile disposition; and as Alexander considered the *Indus* as the eastern frontier of his empire, he on that line built three cities, and fortified two others. On his arrival in the ‖ *Pattalene*, which resembles lower Egypt, he ordered *Hephæstion* to construct a fortress at *Pattala* at the head of the *Delta*; and then setting sail with several half-decked vessels, and some of the best sailing transports,

* Dr. Vincent's *Nearchus*, p. 100.
† For their names refer, *ibid.* p. 102.
‡ Ibid. p. 106.
§ Ibid. p. 112.
‖ Ibid. p. 142.

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ports, the king in person, assisted by the experience of the native pilots, explored the *western* branch of the river to its mouth, and afterwards the *eastern*: *for in every scheme of magnitude*, adds * Dr. Vincent, *after procuring the best information, he was the first to try the ground himself, before he committed the execution of it to others.* It was during the first expedition down the western branch, that the Macedonians were with reason alarmed at the extraordinary † Tide, or *bore* as it is termed by Major Rennell, which operates in a most alarming manner along the Coast, and round the whole peninsula of *Guzerat.*

Either ‡ on *Alexander*'s return to *Pattala* from exploring the eastern branch of the river, or before the departure of the fleet from *Nicæa*, a scene took place between himself and *Nearchus*, which *Arrian* thus relates: "He dreaded the length of the Voyage, the danger of a desert coast, the want of harbours, and the difficulty of supplies; he was fearful least a failure should tarnish the splendour of his former actions; still, however, the desire of attempting something new and extraordinary prevailed. But who was to command such an expedition? Who was capable of inspiring the men with confidence, or persuading them, that in undertaking such a service they were not abandoned to destruction?—Such, says *Nearchus*, was the perturbation of ALEXANDER when he ordered me to attend him, and consulted me on the choice of a commander. *One*, said he, *excuses himself because he thinks the danger insuperable; others are unfit for the service from timidity; others think of nothing but how to get home; and many I cannot approve for a variety of other reasons.* Upon hearing this, says *Nearchus*, I offered myself for the command, and promised the King that, under the protection of God, I would conduct the Fleet safe into the *Gulph of Persia, if the sea were navigable, and the undertaking within the power of man to perform.*" Nearchus was probably acquainted with the general effect of the *Monsoons*, even at this early period, since his native island Crete, and Amphipolis where he long resided, both lie within the track of the *annual* or *Etesian winds*; under which name *Arrian* has mentioned the § MONSOON: *These Etesian winds do not blow from the*

* P. 154. † Ibid. p. 149.

‡ This anecdote appears in Arrian after the fleet had reached *Pattala*, and in this he is followed by Dr. Campbell (Harris's Collection, vol. i. p. 401.). Dr. Vincent on the contrary thinks (p. 101.), 'it is much more probable that the consultation took place before the appointment of *Nearchus* at *Nicæa*, than after he was actually in command.'—The above translation is extracted from Dr. Vincent's work.

§ Ibid. p. 38, 39.

the north in the ſummer months, as with us in the Mediterranean, but from the ſouth. On the commencement of winter, or at lateſt on the ſetting of the Pleiades, the ſea is ſaid to be navigable till the winter ſolſtice. This however does not remove the difficulty of paſſing through an unknown ſea, in ſhips ſo inadequate to the ſervice. *Nearchus* therefore deſerves our utmoſt praiſe, both for his courage and profeſſional ſkill; and his Voyage will ever be conſidered as the moſt valuable naval relic of antiquity. *We learn from this* * *Voyage the true ſtate and condition of Maritime affairs at that time. We plainly diſcern, that their Veſſels drew very little water, that they were managed chiefly by Oars, that they neither carried, nor were capable of carrying, any conſiderable quantity of proviſions; but that they truſted chiefly for theſe, either to magazines erected on ſhore, or, where theſe were wanting, to what they could obtain by making deſcents. We learn from hence, what ſervices theſe Veſſels were fit for, and for what they were unfit; and, in ſhort, what they could, and what they could not perform.*

Every thing being finally arranged to the ſatisfaction of ALEXANDER, and the honour of his admiral, the former did not long remain at † *Pattala*, but began his march into Gadroſia, near a month earlier than the ſailing of the fleet, in order to explore the dreary ‡ coaſt, and facilitate the Voyage of Nearchus. To *Craterus* he aſſigned the more pleaſing taſk of conducting a diviſion of the army through the midland provinces: *in all expeditions he perſonally executed that part which preſented the greateſt difficulties.*

* Campbell, *Harris's Voyages* (vol. i. p. 408.).

† Dr. Vincent's *Nearchus*, p. 157.

‡ For a general view of the Coaſt, and the peculiarities connected with it, ſee ibid. p. 159.

ABSTRACT

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Abstract of the Voyage of *Nearchus.

(From Dr. Vincent's learned illustration.)

Only names of Officers mentioned, are those of Archias *the son of Anaxidotus, and* Onesicritus *of Astypalea, the Pilot, who had been master of Alexander's ship.—Time employed from the Indus to Cape Jask, from seventy, to seventy-five days: real distance, about six hundred and twenty-five miles.*

Voyage of Nearchus.

I. I have already fixed the departure of *the Fleet* from the Indus on the †*second* of October, in the year 326 B. C. Nearchus, after having cleared the river, was obliged to lie in harbour twenty-four days, till the season was favourable. The reason for proceeding before the *monsoon* commenced, is ascribed by Strabo to the discontent of the natives: *Nearchus says, that after* Alexander *was upon his march, he set sail himself on the evening rising of the* Pleias, *though the wind was not yet favourable. But the natives attacked them, and drove them out, having resumed their courage on the departure of the king, and wishing to recover their independence.* If these circumstances, adds Dr. Vincent, were in the journal of Nearchus, which there is every reason to believe, *Arrian* cannot be justified in suppressing them.—The ‡ Fleet did not take its departure from *Pattala*, but from a Station near the mouth of the river. This Station is doubtless the port *Alexander* had formed, and probably at Killuta (*Killoota*); for there, one author says, he had found water and good anchorage, with protection both from the Tides and the Monsoon.

When the Fleet weighed from this station, the *first day*'s course down the River was only six miles, and they anchored at a creek or inlet called Stura (*Stoura*), where they continued two days; on the *following day* they weighed again, but came to an anchor at *Kaumana* before they had proceeded two miles. In the Creek here they found the water salt, or at least brackish, even upon the tide of ebb. The next day's course was little more than one mile to *Koreatis*; and scarce had they weighed from hence before they were checked by the violent agitation now visible at the bar; for as they had proceeded with the tide of ebb, the wind was consequently in a direction exactly opposite. This brought them to an anchor again immediately; when, after waiting till it was low water, they observed that the projecting sand (which probably formed the bar) was soft and oozy near the shore, and

* Principally from the *third* Book, p. 167.

† Dr. *Vincent*, who throughout his work is indefatigable to preserve accuracy, afterwards shews how easy it is for a liberal mind to acknowledge any errors, *quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura.* He therefore desires the reader to carry back the date one day, throughout the Voyage, and for October 2. to read October the first (Appendix, p. 495.).

‡ I have looked in vain, says *Dr. Vincent* (p. 189), for authority to give *the number of gallies, or other Vessels of which the Fleet consisted.* The number of Commanders appointed at *Nicaa* was thirty-three; and by these I estimate the Gallies. There was also a greater proportion of half-decked vessels, and Transports in abundance. That *Nearchus* had Transports as well as Gallies appears by the wreck of one on the preceding day; and if we were to allot him all the Gallies, it would perhaps not appear like exaggeration. The Gallies were all of *thirty oars*; if therefore there were only one man at an oar, we cannot estimate less than *sixty* or *seventy* men to each vessel, which makes the whole number about two thousand, exclusive of those on board the Transports.

and little more than a quarter of a mile in breadth. This they determined to cut * through, as the readiest and safest passage into the open sea. They had so far effected their purpose during the recess of the Tide, that upon the return of the flood they carried their Vessels through it in safety, and after a course of about nine miles reached † *Krokala* the same day. Here they remained the day following.

At *Krokala*, Arrian places the commencement of the territory of the ‡ *Arabies*, and its termination at the river *Arai*. . . . . Weighing from *Krokala*, the fleet proceeded to the *west*, having a promontory named *Irus* (*Cape Monne*) on the right, and a low island almost level with the sea on the left; this Isle runs parallel with the coast, and so near as to leave only a narrow § channel winding between both. They cleared this passage, and doubled the Cape, apparently under the protection afforded by the Islet against the prevailing wind; the Coast, as soon as they had passed the streight, presented a bay or harbour under cover of a second island called Bibacta (*Chilney Isle*) not more than three hundred yards from the entrance.

This Harbour *Nearchus* thought so large and commodious, that he honoured it with the name of ALEXANDER, and determined to avail himself of the security it afforded, till the season should be more favourable for his progress. A camp therefore was formed on shore, and fortified with an inclosure of stones to guard against any attempt of the natives; and this precaution was no more than necessary, as they were now within the confines of the *Arabita*, whom ALEXANDER had attacked and dispersed not many days before their arrival. Security both from the natives and the season they found; but the people suffered greatly, having no water but what was brackish, and little food to support life except muscles, oysters, and another species of large shell-fish (the *lima cochle*), which they collected on the shore. . . . . In this Camp Nearchus continued four-and-twenty days; during all which time the *monsoon* continued without wavering, and with unremitted violence.

From *Port Alexander*, upon a relaxation of the ‖ wind, the Fleet ventured once more to proceed on the *third of November*; the Course, however, was apparently close in with the Coast, and the progress short of four ¶ miles. They took refuge under an Isle called *Doma*. The Coast itself was without inhabitants and without water; but the latter was found, and of a good quality, at the distance of little more than a mile from the shore. The following day (*Nov. 5th, thirty-fourth day*), they proceeded nearly nineteen miles to *Saranga*, and arrived not till night. Water was found here at half a mile from the shore. Weighing from *Saranga*, they reached *Sakala* and anchored on an open coast; when finding this possibly unsafe, they seem to have advanced again the same day, and passing two rocks

* I have allowed two Tides for this, or twenty-four hours; it possibly was one only. . . The difficulty of carrying a fleet of Greek galleys out to sea in opposition to the *monsoon*, is at least as great as the danger *Xerxes* would have encountered in doubling *Athos*: and even after the neck of that promontory was cut, he had two more to pass.

† *Crotchey Bay*, the first harbour in the *Indian Ocean*, which received an *European navy* (p. 172.).

‡ Page 174.

§ I would render it, adds Dr. Vincent in a note, with an allowable licence, *a passage curving with the land*.

‖ P. 178. ¶ Sixty *stadia*.

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Voyage of Nearchus.

rocks so close to each other that the oars of a Galley might touch * both, after a course of about nineteen miles they came to *Morontobara*, the † harbour of which is large, well protected from wind on all sides, runs far within the land, and is perfectly quiet; the entrance into it is narrow. They thought it no small atchievement to have passed these rocks in safety, for the waves ran high, and the Sea was in great agitation. . . . . They left the harbour of *Morontobara* on the following day, and proceeded towards the river *Arabis*, having an Island on their left, and the Main on their right. The passage through this channel was somewhat more than four miles, but so narrow, as to appear like a work of art; the coast was woody, and the island in a manner overgrown with trees of all sorts. They did not clear the passage till the following morning, when they found the Tide out, and the water *shoal* and *broken*; they got through however without damage, and, after a Course of between seven and eight miles, anchored at the mouth of the ‡ *Arabis*. No mention is made of any stay at the *Arabis*, we must therefore make the Fleet sail the following day (*Nov.* 9.), and proceed twelve miles and an half to *Pagala*. The Course is described as close along the Coast, and a surf at the place where they finished their progress, but the Anchorage was good. The men were forced, however, to continue on board, and only a few landed to procure water. They sailed the *next morning*, and after a Course of almost nineteen miles, reached *Kabana* in the evening. The place was only an open and desert shore, on which a violent Surf broke, which hindered the vessels from approaching the land. The progress of these two days sufficiently indicates that the Wind was not yet settled at north-east, and in the present day's Course they experienced directly the reverse; for a strong Gale came on from the south-west, in which two of the gallies and a transport foundered, but the course was so near the shore that the men were saved by swimming.

They left this desolate place at Midnight, and reached *Kokala* next morning (*Nov.* 11. *fortieth day*), after a Course of about twelve miles. The Coast here was such, that the vessels could not be drawn on shore, but rode at anchor without the Surf. The suffering of the people was however so great, from being confined on board *two* § *nights*, that it was found

* They did not pass between them, if we may judge from the expressions used.

† (P. 180. N. 44.) As Dr. Vincent has given two descriptions, I have preferred the most literal. "This harbour, or something to represent it, I have no doubt will be found, if ever this Coast should be explored *again*; *for* the description of it is very precise in *Arrian*." This Coast had been explored in 1774, by a small squadron equipped at Bombay, consisting of (1.) *The Fox, Lieutenant Robinson Commodore.* (2.) *Dolphin, Lieutenant Porter.* (3) A Patamar boat, in which *Mr. Blair* and *Mr. Maskall* were occasionally employed. From the materials collected by these officers, *Mr. Dalrymple* constructed a Chart, containing the Survey of *Lieutenant Robinson*, and accompanied it with a memoir drawn up by Lieutenant Porter, which he prefaces with the following observation: *The Coasts here described are so little known, that every particular must be acceptable, as we have scarcely any account of them since the time of Alexander the Great.* (Preface to Nearchus, p. 5.)

‡ The number of *stadia* given by *Arrian* and *Strabo* from the *Indus* to the *Arabis*, is a thousand; Dr. Vincent makes the distance something short of eighty miles. The mouth of the *Arabis* is placed by *Ptolemy* in longitude 105°, and latitude 20° 25′, and by Major Rennell in longitude 65° 34′ from Greenwich, latitude 25° 26′, and about 44′ west from the western mouth of the Indus. (*Nearchus*, p. 183.).

§ In Vessels like those of the Greeks, which afforded neither Space for motion, or convenience for rest, the continuing on board at night was always a calamity. The *Gallies* of Alexander had perhaps a deck; but the *Hyarchus* are exactly the vessels of *Homer*'s age, the forepart and waist open for the rowers, with a deck raised over

found necessary to disembark them, and form a Camp on shore, which Nearchus fortified as usual. . . : It should seem they knew that relief was at hand, for here it was that *Leonnatus* joined them, who had been left in the country by *Alexander*, with a particular charge to attend to the preservation of the fleet. He had, after the departure of the main Army, fought a battle with the *Orite* and their allies, in which he had defeated them, killing six thousand of the enemy, and losing only fifteen of his own horse, with *Apollophanes* the new-* appointed Satrap of *Gadrosia*. He now joined Nearchus, bringing with him a supply of ten days' provisions, collected by the order of *Alexander*, and possibly spared out of his own immediate wants. . . . The attention of *Alexander* is still conspicuous; and a second unsuccessful attempt he made in *Gadrosia*, when he would have hazarded famine himself to preserve his fleet, ought to exculpate him from the charge of useless vanity in penetrating through that desert region; a charge which even *Nearchus* is said to have countenanced.

I should have wished to have placed *Kokala* with precision, on account of the transactions which took place here; for besides the supply obtained from the army, *Nearchus* discharged several of his people, who appeared not to have sufficient spirit or fortitude for the enterprise, and received others in exchange from *Leonnatus*: he likewise repaired here several of his Vessels which had suffered in the Voyage or the Storm. This proves that the weather grew more moderate during his continuance at this place, for upon his first arrival the Surf was too high to admit of drawing them on shore.

On the † *twenty-first* of November, at which period the wind, if it had fixed at north-east, would be off shore, and the Surf consequently diminished, the fleet proceeded with a fair wind, and made good a ‡ course of thirty-one miles to the river *Tomérus*: and it is the first time Arrian specifies their sailing with the wind settled in their favour. . . . At the *Tomérus*, inhabitants were found living on the low ground, or *marshes*, near the sea, in cabins, which seemed calculated rather to suffocate their inhabitants than to protect them from the weather; and yet these wretched people were not without courage. Upon sight of the Fleet approaching, they collected in arms on the shore, and drew up in order to attack the strangers upon their landing; perhaps they were not unacquainted with similar visits of the *Sanganians*. Their arms were spears, not headed with iron, but hardened in the fire, nine feet long, and their number about six hundred. *Nearchus* ordered his Vessels to lay their heads towards the shore, within the distance of bow-shot, for the enemy had no missile weapons but their spears. He likewise brought his Engines to bear upon them (for such it appears he had on board); and then directed his light-armed troops, with those who were the most active and the best swimmers, to be ready for commencing the attack. On a Signal given, they were to plunge into the sea; the first man who touched ground was

over the hinder part; this in *Homer* is called *πρμνα*, and formed an elevation on which the steersman stood. On this deck, or under it, the persons on board sometimes slept; and there perhaps the Cables were coiled; but, when a whole Crew was to sleep on board, this was impossible, and the suffering was in proportion to the confinement. (*Nearchus*, p. 186. N. 59.)

* In the journal, *Arrian* follows *Nearchus*; in the history, *Ptolemy* or *Aristobulus*. (Ibid. p. 187. N. 61.)

† Ibid p. 190.; and preceding pages 188, 189.

‡ *Lieutenant Porter* repeatedly mentions the lowness of the coast, and the appearance of the high country inland. So does the journal of the *Houghton Indiaman*. A journal curious, because this ship kept the Coast in sight from Scindi to Gomeroon, and back again. (Ibid. p. 191. and N. 71.)

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was to be the point at which the line was to be formed, and was not to advance till joined by the others, and the file could be ranged three deep. These orders were exactly obeyed; the men threw themselves out of the ships, swam forward, and formed themselves in the water, under * cover of the engines. As soon as they were in order, they advanced upon the enemy with a shout, which was repeated from the ships. Little opposition was experienced, for the natives, struck with the novelty of the attack, and the glittering of the armour, fled without resistance.

Nearchus staid at the *Tomérus* six days, during which time he drew some of his Vessels on shore and repaired them. . . . The Fleet left the *Tomérus* on the sixth day; and, after a passage of nearly nineteen miles, reached *Malana* in the evening. At *Malana*, Arrian fixes the boundary of the *Orita*. . . . He describes them as being dressed and armed like the *Indian tribes*; but their customs, manners, and language, mark them as a different race.

At † *Malana* we find a circumstance recorded by *Arrian*, which demands no small degree of attention; for here it is that he introduces the mention of ‡ *Phenomenon*, which, however familiar to the Navigators of the present day, was, in his own age, a matter of no small curiosity. *The Sun*, he tells us, *was seen by Nearchus in the meridian to the north, and the shadows fell to the south.* As they sailed along the Coast of *India*, that is the country of the *Arabita* and *Orita* (for the *Icthyophagi* are not accounted an Indian tribe), *Nearchus* says, that the Shadows had not the same effect as in those parts of the earth with which they were acquainted; for when they stood out to Sea a good way to the southward, the Sun was either vertical at noon and no shadow was to be seen, or so far to the North that the shadow fell to the South. The *Northern Constellations*, which are always above the horizon, set almost as soon as they rose; and others which they were used to contemplate, were either close to the horizon or not visible. In this *Nearchus* appears to assert nothing improbable; for at *Syene* in Egypt, when the sun reaches the summer tropic, they shew

* Will not the reader, adds *Dr. Vincent*, think that I describe the landing of a party, from the *Endeavour*, in *New Zealand*, under protection of the ship's guns? (p. 192. N. 74.)

† Ibid. p. 198.

‡ *Dr. Vincent* is much perplexed with this passage, and enters on a digression respecting it, in which he displays equal candour and learning. "Nearchus was in N.lat. 25° 16', where these circumstances could not occur. If this phænomenon, however, was to be recorded, it is extraordinary that it should not have found its place at the point farthest southward which the Macedonians ever reached.—I must acknowledge I have found *Nearchus* a most faithful and unerring guide. If I cannot excuse him in the present instance, I can join him in his error with companions so illustrious, that I hope the reader will pardon me for entering upon a digression, in which the knowledge of the Ancients in geography is materially concerned.—*Thales* was acquainted with the spherical figure of the earth, and *Anaximander* had described the known world on a globe; yet it was not till 350 years after *Thales*, that *Eratosthenes* drew a line parallel to the equator, which suggested the doctrine of LATITUDES to the *School of Alexandria*, and finally enabled Ptolemy to apply both *longitude* and *latitude* universally to the science. *Arrian* is contemporary with *Ptolemy*, but so little was he acquainted with this great discovery, or rather the application of it, that he has in no one instance made use of the term.—

"It will at least be some palliation, and a matter of no small curiosity, to shew how generally the vanity which gave rise to this error, existed in the writings of the ancients.—Travellers, poets, and historians, have all conspired in placing a true phænomenon in a false latitude. They had all heard that this took place somewhere in the north, and they have all fixed it at the extremity of their own knowledge, or the knowledge of the age they lived in." (Page 199—205.)

ſhew a well, in which at noon there is no ſhadow; and as the ſame circumſtance occurs in *Meroe*, it is probable that in *India* alſo, which lies towards the South, the Shadow ſhould be ſubject to the ſame law, and more particularly in the *Indian Ocean*, which extends ſtill farther to the ſouthward.

No Commentator has ventured to trace the Voyage of Nearchus along the * COAST OF THE ICTHYOPHAGI; *where he experienced every calamity but adverſe winds. This deſolate coaſt, extending from Cape Malán to Cape Jaſk, is not leſs than 450 miles in a right line; and nearly 625, or 10,000 ſtadia, by the courſe of the Fleet. The modern name of* MEKRAN *appears to be the Perſian or Indian appellation for the whole of this Coaſt from the Indus to Kerman or Karmania. . . . In the time of Alexander the title of* ICTHYOPHAGI *was confined to the inhabitants of the Coaſt, while the Country within land, from the confines of the Orita to Karmania, was ſtyled Gadroſia, almoſt equally deſolate, and as incapable of ſupporting an army as the Coaſt.*

Nearchus ſtayed only that day at *Malana*; and, weighing at night, proceeded thirty-ſeven miles to † *Bagaſira*. There was a good harbour here, and a village called *Paſira*, about four miles up the country. The fleet weighed from *Ba-gaſira* early in the morning, and ſtretched out round the Cape (*Arraba*) which projected far into the ſea, and appeared high and bold. After doubling the head, they were obliged to ride at anchor without landing the men, as the Surf ran high upon the ſhore: ſome of the people, however, were with difficulty landed, in order to procure water; this was effected by opening pits upon the beach, but the quantity was ſmall and bad. The Next Day's ſail was only twelve miles and an half to *Kolta*; and that of the day following ſomething more than thirty-ſeven to *Kalama* (*Churmut river*). At *Kalama* the natives were diſpoſed to be hoſpitable; they ſent a preſent of Fiſh on board, and ſome Sheep; but the very mutton was fiſhy, as were all the fowls they met with on the Coaſt; neither is this extraordinary, for there was no herbage to be ſeen; and the animals, as well as the inhabitants, fed on fiſh. A few Palm ‡ trees were obſerved about the village, but the Dates were not in ſeaſon. From *Kalama*

* *Edward Barboſa*, who was Pilot on board one of the PORTUGUESE Fleets which firſt viſited this Coaſt about the year 1519, has the following remarkable paſſage, as corroborating the teſtimony of Arrian. "They have few Ports, little corn or cattle; their Country is a low plain and deſert; their chief ſupport is fiſh, of which they take ſome of a prodigious ſize; theſe they ſalt, partly for their own uſe and partly for exportation; they eat their Fiſh dry, and give dried fiſh likewiſe to their horſes, and other cattle." ſo invariable, adds Dr. Vincent (p. 207.), has been the miſery of this Coaſt for 2000 years! and ſo poſitive are the aſſertions of modern voyagers in correſpondence with the teſtimony of *Arrian*. NEARCHUS dwells upon ſome further particulars (p. 265.). Theſe people, though they live on fiſh, are few of them Fiſhermen; for their barks are few, and thoſe few very mean and unfit for the ſervice. The fiſh they obtain, they owe to the flux and reflux of the tide; for they extend a net upon the ſhore, (as is the cuſtom in Sandwich Bay on the coaſt of Kent) ſupported by ſtakes, of more than 200 yards in length; within which, at the tide of ebb, the fiſh are confined, and ſettle in the pits or inequalities of the ſand. Their nets are compoſed of the bark or fibres of the palm, which they twine into a cord. . . The generality of the people live in cabins, ſmall and ſtifling; the better ſort only have houſes conſtructed with the bones of *Whales*; many of theſe monſters are found fifty yards in length.

† Upon the mention of *Ba-gaſira*, I muſt be permitted to notice, (p. 212.) that the term *Gaſira* indicates an *Arabian navigation* on this Coaſt previous to the age of *Alexander*; for it is neither more or leſs than *Geſira*, ſignifying in Arabic an iſland or Peninſula, confeſſedly, and as I apprehend, a Cape likewiſe.

‡ Several Voyagers acquaint us, (p. 210.) that wherever the Palm Trees grow, however arid the ſoil, there is always water to be found, by opening the ground to the depth of from ten to fifteen feet.

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Kalama, they set sail the following day, and, after a Course of little more than twelve miles, anchored at *Karbir*, which is the name of an open shore, with a village called *Kysa*, about two miles from the sea. The inhabitants fled upon the approach of the Ships, and nothing was found in the place but the Boats which the wretched fishermen of the Coast used, and some goats which they seized and carried on board. Corn they searched for without success, and their own stock (probably what they had obtained from *Leonnatus*) was almost exhausted. The following day they doubled a Cape (*Posmee*) which projected nine miles into the sea; and, after getting round, anchored in a safe harbour called * *Mosarna*.

MOSARNA *is the Station at which the Voyage is to assume a new appearance. At Mosarna, Nearchus found a Pilot who undertook to conduct the Fleet to the Gulph of Persia; he was a native of Gadrosia, and from the name (Hydraces) given him by Arrian, Ilmagine, an inhabitant of Hydriacus, a town near the bay of Churbar or Chewabad. The minute circumstance of meeting with a Pilot at this place denotes something more Commercial than any thing that has yet occurred on the Coast; and Arrian suggests, that from hence to the Gulph of Persia, the Voyage was more practicable, and the stations better known. Upon the acquisition of Hydraces, or the Hydriacan, two circumstances occur, that give a new face to the future course of the Voyage; one is, the very great addition to the length of each day's course; and the other, that they generally weighed during the night: the former depending upon the confidence they acquired by having a pilot on board; and the latter, on the nature of the land breeze.*

II. It does not appear that any Supply was procured for the Fleet at *Mosarna* but water, and perhaps fish; but taking the Pilot on board, *they weighed anchor in the night*, and proceeded † forty-seven miles to *Balomus* (*Dec. 4., sixty-third day*), a Village on an open shore.

We have seen the Fleet past two Capes, ARRABA *and* POSMEE, *with some symptoms of alarm or difficulty, and both noticed in the Journal; but we are now approaching a third at Guadel, which Arrian never mentions. We should reasonably be surprised at this, as the doubling of a Cape is always an atchievement in the estimation of a Greek navigator; but having now a native Pilot on board who was doubtless acquainted with the nature of the Winds, it is evident he took advantage of the land Breeze to give the Fleet an offing, and an head-land was no longer doubled by creeping round the shore to its extreme point.*

The next Station is the village of *Barna*, twenty-five miles from *Balomus*, containing fruit-trees, and gardens producing flowers and myrtle, of which they made chaplets. From *Barna* the Fleet proceeded twelve miles to *Dendróbosa*; and here the Ships could not approach the shore, but rode at anchor. From *Dendróbosa* the Fleet weighed at midnight, and reached ‡ *Kophas*, after a passage of twenty-five miles. From *Kophas*, in the eastern Bay of *Guadel*,

* Which Dr. Vincent thinks must be placed at some short distance to the westward of Cape *Passence*.

† The length of this day's Course is such as has not occurred before, and must therefore be imputed to the charge *Hydraces* had taken of the Fleet; and we shall find, on some of the following days, their Course extended to even 55 or 60 miles. (p. 221.)

‡ This Dr. Vincent is inclined to place to the eastward of *Alambateir*, or *Cape Guadel*; and adds, (p. 227.) " The Fleets from *Egypt* which sailed with the *Monsoon* from the promontory *Syagros* in *Arabia*, if they ever made the Coast of *Gadrosia*, made it at this Cape of *Alambateir*, as a point of eminence; and left all the Coast from

Guadel, the Fleet failed early in the evening, *(about the first Watch, six o'clock)* and after a Course of fifty miles, reached * *Kyiza*, or *Guttar*. At *Kyiza* the men could not land, as it was an open shore with a great Surf; they therefore took their meal on board at anchor, and then weighing, proceeded upwards of thirty miles to a small City placed on an eminence, at no great distance from the shore.

Nearchus says, † that on the morning he was off *Kyiza*, they were surprised by observing the Sea thrown up to a great height in the air, as if it were carried up by a whirlwind. The people were alarmed, and inquired of their Pilot, what might be the cause of the phænomenon; he informed them, that it proceeded from the blowing of a WHALE, and that it was the practice of the creature as he sported in the Sea. His report by no means quieted their alarm; they stopped rowing from astonishment, and the Oars fell from their hands. *Nearchus* encouraged them, and recalled them to their duty, ordering the heads of the Vessels to be pointed at the several creatures as they approached, and to attack them as they would the Vessel of an enemy in battle: the Fleet immediately formed as if going to engage, and advanced by a signal given; when shouting all together, as loud as they could shout the *alala*, or cry of war, and dashing the water with their Oars, with the trumpets sounding at the same time, they had the satisfaction to see the enemy give way; for upon the approach of the Vessels the Monsters a-head sunk before them, and rose again a-stern, where they continued their blowing, without exciting any farther alarm. All the credit of the Victory fell to the share of *Nearchus*, and the acclamations of the people expressed their acknowledgment, both of his judgment and fortitude, employed in their unexpected delivery.

When the fleet reached this place (*Kyiza*) it was totally without bread or grain of any kind; and *Nearchus*, from the appearance of stubble in the neighbourhood, conceived hopes of a supply, if he could find means of obtaining it; but he perceived that he could not take the place by assault; and a siege, the situation he was in, rendered impracticable. He concerted matters, therefore, with *Archias*, and ordered him to make a feint of preparing the Fleet to sail, while he himself with a single vessel, pretending to be left behind, approached the town in a friendly manner, and was received hospitably by the inhabitants. They came out to receive him upon his landing, and presented him with baked fish, (the first instance of cookery he had yet seen on the Coast) accompanied with cakes and

from Cape *Jask* on their left out of sight. The head of Cape *Guadel* (p. 229.) stretches out parallel with the Coast like the *Pharos* of *Alexandria*, and being joined to the Main by a neck of land not half a mile over, makes two bays, one to the eastward and the other on the opposite side; that on the west is largest and most sheltered, with twelve or thirteen fathoms at the entrance, and shoaling to the upper part... There are still the remains of a town built with stone; possibly a work of the *Portuguese*, who had a settlement here, if not of more ancient date: the present inhabitants live in mat houses. Water is procured by opening pits on the beach; goats, sheep, and fowls are likewise to be purchased. Good water is a commodity specified in the JOURNAL, which adds, *that the place was inhabited by fishermen, who were possessed of small and wretched Boats, which they managed with a Paddle instead of an Oar.* The expression is characteristic, for Arrian says, *it was like digging the water with a spade.* No where have I found more difficulty to render the narrative consistent, than from *Mosarna* to this place"

* We must place (p. 231.) *Kyiza* on the Coast somewhat short of the *Nva Point* of Lieutenant Porter. *Marcian* places it at 50 miles from *Alambatcir* or Cape Guadel.

† P. 269.

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and dates. These he accepted with proper acknowledgments, and informed them he wished for permission to see the town: this request was granted without suspicion; but no sooner had he entered, than he ordered two of his archers to take post at the gate, and then mounting the wall contiguous, with two more and his interpreter, he made the signal for *Archias*, who was now under weigh, to advance. The Natives instantly ran to their arms: but *Nearchus*, having taken an advantageous position, made a momentary defence till *Archias* was close at the gate; ordering his interpreter to proclaim at the same time, that if they wished their City to be preserved from pillage, they must deliver up their Corn, and all the provisions which the place afforded. These Terms were not rejected, for the gate was open, and *Archias* ready to enter; he took charge of this post immediately with the force which attended him, and *Nearchus* sent proper officers to examine such Stores as were in the place, promising the inhabitants that, if they acted ingenuously, they should suffer no other injury. Their Stores were immediately produced, consisting of a kind of meal or paste made of fish, in great plenty, with a small quantity of wheat and barley. This, however insufficient for his wants, *Nearchus* received, and abstaining from farther oppression, returned on board with his supply. The fleet hauled off to a * Cape in the neighbourhood called *Bageia*, and there anchored at no great distance, as I conclude, from the town.

The † Fleet weighed from *Bageia* at midnight, and proceeded a thousand *stadia*, sixty-two miles and an half to *Talmena*. No circumstances relating to *Talmena* are recorded in the Journal, but that it was a safe harbour. From *Talmena*, the distance to ‡ *Kanasida* is estimated at twenty-five miles. *Nearchus* does not mention a River here, and probably did not advance far enough into the Bay to see it; but they found a Well ready dug, which saved the trouble of opening the sands, and the wild Palm Tree, from which they took the tender shoots of the head to support life. From *Kanasida*, *Nearchus* proceeded four-and-twenty hours without intermission to a Desert Coast §, where he was obliged to anchor at some distance from the Shore, as the distress of the people was now risen to such a height, that, if he had suffered them to land, he had reason to suspect that they would not have returned on board. This desert shore has neither name or distance, and the day and night allotted to the course, as well as the number of *stadia* given to *Kanaté*, the following Station, apparently comprehend both the space and time to that place. The Journal assigns no attributes to *Kanaté* but that of an open shore, with the mention of some shallow water courses, intended possibly for the purposes of agriculture, and the bettering of an arid Soil. It does not appear by the Journal that the people were suffered to land at *Kanaté*; neither is there any mention made of a supply being procured.

I assign

* The western point of *Guttar* Bay, (p. 233.).

† Page 240.

‡ The river at Tiz or Tidaj, which *Otter* calls the *Kiour-Kienk*, or *Salt River*.

§ The point I would assume (p. 243.) for this Anchorage is *Godeim*, at the western extremity of the second curve in *Churbar* Bay. *Godeim* is an Headland very level along the top, with steep cliffs next the sea; from whence *Coelat* or *Kalat* is seen, which is a remarkable object, and somewhat short of which is the mouth of the *Tanka Creek*. It is observable, that headlands of this kind frequently attract the Fleet to an Anchorage; but whether for the purpose of surveying the Coast before doubling them, or any other reason, does not appear. This stream therefore naturally corresponds with the *Kanaté* of the Journal.

I * assign another day for the passage to † *Troesi*, the *Troisin* of Arrian; the Course made good was fifty miles; and here, at last, a scanty supply of provisions was obtained. The place presented several mean and wretched Villages, deserted by the inhabitants upon the approach of the Fleet; but a small quantity of Corn was found, with some ‡ dried Dates, and these, with the flesh of seven Camels which the natives had not carried off upon their flight, afforded a repast, of which perhaps nothing but the utter distress of the people could have induced them to partake.

From *Troesi* to *Dagasira*, the Course was short of nineteen miles. The Fleet sailed at § *day-break*; and as this is the first instance since *Hydrakes* was on board, it may not be improper to observe, that if we fix the hour between six and seven in the morning, the land breeze would hold good for an hour or more to secure an offing. The shortness of the Course was determined either by this circumstance, or by another which occurs frequently, the appearance of a Cape. The distress of the people, and the impossibility of procuring a supply at *Dagasira*, urged a hasty departure of the Fleet. They sailed in the evening, and continuing their course all that night and the following day without intermission, they reached, after a stretch of almost sixty-nine miles, a ‖ Promontory projecting far out into the sea, with a Surf beating upon it to a great extent. This they did not dare to approach, or to double the Cape while it was dark. They rode at anchor consequently during the night, as near shore as the Surf would permit, and the following morning got round into a bay, where they found the town of Badis, (*Jask Town*) and where they were at last relieved from the miseries they had experienced on this desolate Coast. This Promontory is the boundary between the country of the *Icthyophagi* and *Karmania*; and, at *Badis* they found Corn, Vines, and Fruit-Trees of every kind except the Olive, a town inhabited, and the inhabitants ready to relieve their wants.

We are now to enter upon the Navigation of the Gulph of Persia, and fortunately for this part of the Voyage our materials are as ample as could be desired. (*Vincent's Nearchus*, Book iv. 285. 289.)

III. After weighing the following day, the Fleet proceeded fifty miles, and came to an anchor again upon an open Coast, (at *Elbourz*, in a curve previous to the Cape *Armozon* of *Ptolemy*.) . . . *Arrian* seems to consider the *Gulph of Persia* as commencing at a line drawn between Cape *Mussendon*, and the shore where the Fleet now rode. His language is

* P. 235.

† Adhering to the measures of *Arrian*, Dr. Vincent, with allowance for the excess attending the whole of this Coast, places *Troesi* short of the Cape which succeeds first westward of the *Tanka*, and fixes (p. 247.) on that Cape for the *Dagasira* of *Arrian*.

‡ The copiousness of the Greek language did not supply a term for this fruit. It is literally the Acorn of the Palm.

§ On all other occasions from *Mosarna*, sailing in the night is mentioned, or the time is omitted altogether.

‖ Upon the approach to the *Gulph of Persia* (p. 252.) there are two Capes about twenty-seven miles asunder; the easternmost of which is the Cape *Muckfa* of Robinson, Porter, &c. and the westernmost their Cape *Jask*. Here is the origin of that embarrassment which involves the whole question in obscurity; for in reality *Muckfa* is the true *Jask*, and their *Jask* is Cape *Bombareek*. It is this *Bombareek* which is the *Karpella* of Ptolemy, and consequently when *D'Anville* brings *Badis* to this point, he fixes it at twenty-seven miles farther to the *west* than it really is.—Dr. Vincent pays considerable attention to this subject.

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is so precise, that I shall adduce his very words: "Near *Armenon* lies the round mountain of *Semiramis*; opposite to which is mount * *Pasabo* in Arabia, and the Promontory formed by it: these two mountains, with their promontories, form the Streights at the entrance of the Gulph of Persia."

The sight of Mount *Pasabo* (Mussendon) gave rise to a dispute which renders this Anchorage important; for this Promontory *Onesicritus* proposed to explore, with the intention, it should seem, of extending the Voyage to the *Gulph of Arabia*. He asserted that they were in distress, and likely to be driven about the gulph they were now entering, without knowledge of the Coast, or any determinate point to which they might direct their course. *Nearchus* resisted this proposal with the utmost steadiness; he represented to the council of officers, that *Onesicritus appeared ignorant of the Design of* ALEXANDER, *who had not put the people on board, because there were no means of conducting them by land; but that his express purpose was, to obtain a knowledge of the Coast, with such Harbours, Bays, and Islands as might occur in the Course of the Voyage; to ascertain whether there were any towns bordering on the Ocean; and whether the country was habitable or desert.* He added, *that they had now almost obtained the object of their expedition; and that they ought not to hazard the completion of it, by the pursuit of a different design; that the Cape in view proved, that the Coast below it tended to the south, where the country might be more directly under the influence of the Sun, more torrid, parched, and destitute of water; and that, since they had reached the Coast of Karmania, they were no longer in despair of support. These were all reasons*, he alleged, *for pursuing the Course they were now in, rather than deviating from it; and if Alexander had completed his expedition by land, there was reasonable ground for hope that a communication with the army might be obtained; when all the dangers they had experienced would be rewarded by the approbation of the King, and the applauses of their countrymen.*

This address had its due effect upon the Council; the advice of the Admiral was adopted; and in this instance, says *Arrian*, I am persuaded that the success of the Expedition, and the preservation of all that had embarked in it, is imputable solely to *Nearchus*: an encomium to which no one can refuse to subscribe who is acquainted with the Coast of *Arabia*, and considers the total unfitness of the Fleet for such a navigation.

According to Pietro della Valle, who visited the Coast of Persia in 1621, *every Village where a vessel can land her cargo, or whence there are a few vessels sent to sea, obtains the name of Bender.* Such a Port as this was probably *Neoptana*, a place which the Fleet reached the following day, after a course of forty-four miles. *Bender Ibrahim*, the port at the river *Ibrahim*, or † ANAMIS, seems to occupy the very same ground on which *Nearchus* formed his Naval Camp,

* The *Sabo* and *Asabo* of Ptolemy, the *Mussendon* of our modern Charts; (p. 292.) and *Strongylus* or the *Round Mountain*, is the *Elbourz* of D'Anville, transformed by our English navigators into *Ebowers*, *Howrez*, *Howse*, and *Chowse*.

† The River ANAMIS (p. 295.) is fixed by *Arrian* in the country of *Harmozeia*, an appellation which immediately suggests the resemblance it bears to *Harmuz* or *Hormuz*, the celebrated Isle of *Ormuz*, in the neighbourhood. The same title is given to this Tract by *Ptolemy*, of which his Cape *Armozon* is the boundary; and the means by which the name passed from the Continent to the Island are common to almost every Island in the gulph. This Tract is styled *Moghostan*, or the desert country, in oriental geography, extending to *Karpella*, or perhaps *Jask* . . . The present *Ormuz* (p. 297.) is an Island known to *Nearchus* by the name of *Organa*, and to the subsequent ages by the title of *Corum*; and however fanciful a recurrence to transposition may be deemed, *O-gerana*

Camp, when he arrived at that river the succeeding day; the distance from *Neoptuna* is stated at about six miles, making in the whole an hundred miles from *Badis*.

Nearchus informs us that he found the natives hospitably disposed, and the country abounding in every kind of supply, but oil. The disembarkation here is expressed in terms of joy, that intimate the previous confinement of the people on board for many days; a grievance almost intolerable, considering the * construction of a Greek Vessel, and a deliverance from which was the greatest of all refreshments. A *Naval Camp* was established here immediately, by drawing a line from the river to the beach; and fortified by a double rampart with a mound of earth, and a deep ditch, which seems to have been filled with water from the river. Within this inclosure, the vessels were hauled on shore, and all the proper measures adopted both for their security and repair. It was the intention of the Commander to leave his people in this Camp, under the command of proper officers, while he tried himself to obtain an interview with the King.

At the river ANAMIS, then, *Nearchus* took his † measures for discovering the situation of the ‡ Army, and he had the satisfaction to find upon inquiry, that it had arrived in safety, and was not at a greater distance than five days' journey from the Coast.

The pleasure of being once more § on land, after all the distresses they had experienced, is painted in strong colours by *Nearchus*; and as they were now in a friendly Country, without apprehension either of famine or danger, the people were soon dispersed over the neighbouring tract, either from curiosity, or a desire of supplying their several wants. One

Oregana converted into *Ogarana* is probably the medium for uniting them both. . . . *D'Anville* finds two periods, when the *Hormozeians* on the Main might have fled to *Gerun*, and carried their name with them to their new abode. *One* in the beginning of the 13th century, when *Balud-din*, a native chief on the Coast, fled from an inroad of the *Atabek Turcomans*, who about that time established themselves in *Pharsistan* and *Kerman*; and *another* in the year 1273, when the descendants of *Gengis-Khan* were masters of the Persian empire. To these two periods I must add a *third*: in the year 1407, or rather 1397, for there is an error of 10 years in the chronology of *Cheref-eddin*; when *Mahomet* the son of *Timour* was sent down from *Schiras* by his father to this Coast, in order to subdue *Mahomet Shah*, the sovereign of *Ormuz*, Ormuz was at that time evidently on the continent; for the son of *Timour* took seven fortresses which were the defence of the *Shah's* kingdom, and compelled him to fly to *Gerum*, exacting even there from him a tribute of six hundred thousand dinars. This transaction proves, that the Island was not yet called *Ormuz* in 1407; while it is almost evident that *Gerun* was the place of retreat for the inhabitants of the Continent on these three different occasions; and, according to the observation of *Niebuhr* just mentioned, this is the custom of the Coast. The fluctuation of this word in European orthography justifies much greater liberties in regard to names, than any which occur in this work. ORMUZ, *Ormuz, Ormutz, Hormus, Hormez, Hormuzd, Hormuzeja, Armozufa, Armomufa, Armuza*, are all applied either to the Island, or the neighbouring Continent; and I conclude have all a derivation common also to *Hormisdas*, which is *Oromasdes*, or *Hormudsch*, the *good Principle* in the superstition of the *Persees*, and a name assumed by several princes of the fourth dynasty, and some of a later date.

* ULYSSES in all his wanderings (p. 298.) never appears to have slept in the after-part of the Ship, when he could find another bed. In Homer's Galliss there was an *After-Deck*, on which the *Steersman* was elevated above the rowers in the waist. . . . Whether, when they slept on board, they slept on the *Deck*, or under it, does not clearly appear: either was bad lodging.

† Ibid. p. 302.

‡ Dr. Vincent places Alexander's camp (p. 304.) at *Giroft* in *Karmania*, the *Djirift* of *Otter*.

§ Ibid. p. 311.

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Voyage of Nearchus.

One of these parties accidentally fell in with a straggler, whose dress and language discovered him to be a *Greek*: tears burst from their eyes upon seeing once more a native of their own Country, and hearing once more the sound of their own Language. Inquiries commenced with the eagerness natural to their distress; when they learnt *that he had not long left the Army, and that the Camp was at no great distance.* They instantly hurried the Stranger with all the tumult of joy to *Nearchus*: in his presence, the same happy discovery was repeated, with assurances that the King was within five days' journey, and that the governor of the province was upon the spot, from whom further intelligence might be obtained.

This Circumstance of good fortune occurred on the day of their arrival. *Nearchus* instantly determined to undertake the journey, and the next day ordered the Ships *to be drawn on shore*, and the camp to be fortified. While he was engaged in these transactions, the Governor, who was not unacquainted with the anxiety of *Alexander* on account of the Fleet, and thinking to recommend himself by carrying the first intelligence of its arrival, hurried up to the camp by the shortest route; and gaining admittance to the king, informed him, *that the Fleet was safe, and that Nearchus himself was coming up in a few days.* The joy of *Alexander* may be readily conceived, notwithstanding he could scarcely allow himself to give full credit to the report. Impatience succeeded to his doubts; day passed after day without confirmation of the fact; and at length, when due allowance had been made, and calculation was exhausted, he dispatched parties different ways in search of *Nearchus*, either to find him out if he were upon his road, or, if found, to protect him from the natives: but when several of these parties returned without success, concluding the Governor's information was a delusion, he ordered him into confinement, not without the severest reproaches for rendering his vexation more acute from the disappointment of his hopes.

In this state of suspense he continued for several days, manifesting by his outward deportment the anguish he suffered in his heart. *Nearchus*, however, was actually on the road; and, while he was proceeding with *Archias* and five or six others in his company, fortunately fell in with a party from the army, which had been sent out with horses and carriages for his accommodation. The Admiral, and his attendants, from their appearance, might have been passed unnoticed. Their hair long and neglected, their garments decayed, their countenances pale and weather-worn, and their persons emaciated by famine and fatigue, scarcely roused the attention of the friends they had encountered. They were *Greeks*, however, and of *Greeks* it was natural to inquire after the Army, and where it was now encamped. An answer was given to their inquiry; but still they were neither recognised by the party, nor was any question asked in return. Just as they were separating from each other, *Assuredly*, says Archias, *this must be a party sent out for relief; for on what other account can they be wandering about the desert? There is nothing strange in their passing us without notice, for our very appearance is a disguise. Let us address them once more, and inform them who we are, and learn from them on what service they are at present employed.* NEARCHUS approved of this advice, and approaching them again, inquired *which way they were directing their Course? We are in search of Nearchus and his people*, replied the officer. *And I am Nearchus*, said the admiral, *and this is Archias; take us under your conduct, and we will ourselves report our history to the king.* They were accordingly placed in the Carriages, and conducted towards the Army without delay. While they were upon their progress, some of the horsemen, impatient

patient to carry the news of this happy event, set off for the camp to inform the king, that *Nearchus* and *Archias* were arrived, with five or six attendants, but of the rest they had no intelligence. This suggested to *Alexander*, that perhaps these only were preserved, and that the rest of the people had perished, either by Famine or Shipwreck; nor did he feel so much pleasure in the preservation of the few, as distress for the loss of the remainder. During this interval, *Nearchus* and his attendants arrived. It was not without difficulty that the king discovered who they were, under the disguise of their appearance; and this circumstance contributed to confirm him in his mistake, imagining that both their persons and their dress bespoke shipwreck, and the destruction of the fleet. He held out his hand, however, to *Nearchus*, and led him aside from his guards and attendants, without being able to utter a word: as soon as they were alone, he burst into tears, and continued weeping for a considerable time; till at length recovering, in some degree, his composure, *Nearchus*, says he, *I feel some satisfaction in finding that you and Archias have escaped; but tell me where, and in what manner, did my Fleet and my People perish?—Your Fleet*, replied Nearchus, *is all safe; your people are safe; and we are come to bring you an account of their preservation.* Tears, but from a different source, now fell much faster from his eyes: *Where then are my Ships?* says he.—*At the Anamis*, replied Nearchus, *all safe on shore, and preparing for the completion of their Voyage.—By the Libyan Ammon, and the Jupiter of Greece, I swear to you*, rejoined the king, *that I am more happy at receiving this intelligence, than in being the conqueror of all Asia; for I should have considered the loss of my Fleet, and the failure of this expedition, as a counterbalance to all the glory I have acquired.* Such was the reception of the Admiral, while the Governor, who was the first bearer of the glad tidings, was still in bonds: upon the sight of *Nearchus*, he fell at his feet, and implored his intercession. It may be well imagined that his pardon was as readily granted, as it was asked.

The joy was now universal through the army; a solemn Sacrifice was proclaimed in honour of *Jupiter* the Preserver, of *Hercules*, of *Apollo* the averter of destruction, of *Neptune*, and every deity of the Ocean: the games were celebrated, and a splendid procession exhibited, in which *Nearchus* was the principal ornament of the pomp, and the object which claimed the attention of every eye. Flowers and chaplets were wreathed for his head, and showered upon him by the grateful multitude; while the success of his enterprise was proclaimed by their acclamations, and celebrated in their songs. At the conclusion of the festival, the king informed *Nearchus*, that he should no longer expose him to the hazard of the Sea, but send down some other officer to conduct the Fleet to *Susa*. *I am bound to obey you*, replied the Admiral, *as my King, and I take a pleasure in my obedience; but if you wish to gratify me in return, suffer me to retain my command, till I have completed the expedition. I shall feel it as an injustice, if, after having struggled through all the difficulties of the Voyage, another shall finish the remainder almost without an effort, and yet reap the honour of completing what I have begun.* ALEXANDER, scarcely permitting him to conclude his request, granted all that he desired, and sent him down again to the Coast. . . . . .

THE FLEET took its departure with the commencement of the new Year (325 B. C.); and after passing a desert Island called *Organa*, the celebrated Ormuz of modern geography, they anchored in safety at the* *Arosis* on the 5th of February, the hundred and twenty-seventh day of this memorable Voyage. Thence they proceeded on the navigation of the Coast of *Susiana*;

* For the intermediate detail of the voyage the reader is referred to *Dr. Vincent*'s Illustration (p. 317—378.).

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Sydonia; and, on the ninth of February, arrived at * *Diridotis*, a village at the mouth of the Euphrates.—*Nearchus* then entered the *Pasitigris*, and † terminated this Expedition on the 24th of February, 325 years before the Christian æra. The admiral accompanied his grateful sovereign to *Susa*; where among the eighty marriages that were celebrated, that of *Nearchus* with the daughter of *Mazaeus* and *Barsine*, must have been attended with particular honours. He alone as Admiral, and *Onesicritus* as the Navigator of the Fleet, received crowns of gold, such as Alexander bestowed on the officers of his body-guard. *Nearchus* was also continued in command, and was destined, had Alexander lived, to have attempted the circumnavigation of *Arabia* to the *Red Sea*. Even a few days before his death, ALEXANDER conversed while in the bath, with *Nearchus* upon his Voyage from *India*, and gave him fresh orders to be ready.—To assist this project of Discovery, three light gallies of thirty oars each, had sailed at different times, since *Alexander*'s arrival at Babylon, which he had fixed on as his capital, down the Arabian side of the gulph of Persia. The ‡ first, commanded by *Archias*, proceeded only to *Tylos* or *Bahrein*, the centre of the modern *Pearl-Fishery*: in this Voyage two Islands were discovered; one at the distance of 120 Radii from the mouth of the Euphrates, to which Alexander gave the name of *Iscurus*, the other *Tylos*, described as being large, well wooded, and productive, situated at the distance of a day and night's sail in a light Vessel, and with a fair wind.—The Second Galley was commanded by *Androsthenes*, who is said to have advanced to some distance along the Coast of *Arabia*. The third, commanded by *Hiero* of Soli, stretched far beyond either of the former, and appears to have made great exertions to obey the orders of Alexander to *circumnavigate Arabia, to go up the Red Sea, and make the Bay of § Heroopolis, or the Egyptian coast*; by which is implied, that he was actually to go to *Suez*, the extreme point of the *Red Sea* nearest Alexandria. *Hiero*, however, was not able to accomplish this design; for his report, when he returned, was, that he had advanced to a great ‖ Promontory (Cape Ras-el-Had, or *Rasfagum*, the *Syagrus* of the ancients) which he did not dare to double; and that the Continent of *Arabia* was of much greater extent than had been conceived. . . . . .

After the death of *Hephæstion*, Alexander had endeavoured to restore the activity of his afflicted mind, by attempting to explore the *Caspian*; and *Heraclides* was in consequence sent into *Hyrcania* (Mazanderan) with orders to cut timber, and prepare a fleet of vessels, built

* Ibid. p. 426. † Ibid. p. 454.

‡ Ibid. p. 477.

§ SUEZ is supposed (p. 478.) to occupy nearly the site of *Arsinoe*, built at the western extremity of the *Gulph of Arabia* by the Ptolemies, at a later period. The actual Bay was styled *Klysma*, or *Klysma*, from which the Orientals still call this Sea, the *sea of Kolsum*, by a transposition congenial to all their corruptions of foreign terms. *Heroopolis* was inland from *Suez*, and Capital of a *Nome* from which the *sea of Suez* was named the *Bay of Heroopolis*; one proof that no City had been yet built like *Suez* at the extreme angle; that no Trade had hitherto been carried up so high in the *Red Sea*; and that *Alexander* viewed this point of communication with Alexandria with the eye of a master. The *Sea of Suez* is not very practicable; and the *Ptolemies* afterwards fixed upon *Myos Hormus*, from which point there was a Caravan road to *Ghiana* on the Nile, which *Bruce* travelled, and has described most admirably with all that relates to *Myos Hormus*, *Cossir*, *Portus Albus*, and *Oranon*. There is a beautiful map of the Red Sea by Mr. de la Rochette.

‖ The Coast of *Arabia* (p. 480.) is highly dangerous from *Musfendon* to Ras-el-Had; the winds fluctuate near Shore; and, except *Mashat*, there is hardly an Inlet which a Vessel can enter without hazard of Shipwreck, when the wind is boisterous.

built after the Grecian manner. If ALEXANDER had lived only a few years longer, the progress of Maritime discovery would have been astonishingly advanced. *Millinda* was sent into *Phenicia*, with no less a sum than one hundred and six thousand, eight hundred and thirty pounds, to procure mariners; from the same country forty-seven vessels, having been taken to pieces, were conveyed over land to Thapsacus, and thence brought to Babylon; others also were ordered to be built on the spot, of cypress wood; and, above all, a dock was directed to be formed at *Babylon*, capable of containing 1000 Vessels; with buildings and arsenals in proportion to the establishment. . . . . .

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It is * not the length of the Course that ought to raise the name of *Columbus* higher than that of *Nearchus*; the consequences derived from the Discoveries of both are equally important, and the Commerce with the East Indies upon a level with that of America: but if the communication fixed at *Alexandria* is the origin of the *Portuguese Discoveries*, and the Circumnavigation of *Africa*, NEARCHUS IS IN FACT THE PRIMARY AUTHOR OF DISCOVERY IN GENERAL, AND THE MASTER BOTH OF GAMA AND COLUMBUS.

* Ibid. p. 273.

Published Jan.1.1803, by Lackell & Davies, Strand.

SECTION THE FOURTH.

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I. CARTHAGE. *Situation of the Metropolis. Syrtes. Treaties of Peace and Commerce preserved by Polybius. Gades. New Carthage. Spain the Peru of the ancient World. Ingenuity of the Carthaginian Shipwrights. Ancient mode of Traffic on the Western Coast of Africa. Trade for Gold Dust. Decline of Carthage. Intentions of Alexander. Hanno's Voyage of Discovery. The Magnet. Himilco's Voyage. North Atlantic. Cassiterides.* II. ROME. *Rise of the Republic.—First Appearance as a Maritime Power.—Singular Mode of training their Mariners.—Corvi.—Naval Victory.—Naval Defeat. Naval Skill of a Rhodian. Destruction of Carthage. Voyage of Discovery by Polybius. Atlantic Islands. Hydrographical Divisions of the Ocean. Winds.* III. ROMAN EMPIRE. *Augustus. Egypt a Roman Province. Indian Ambassadors from Porus. Phenicia. Claudius. Monsoon.—Hippalus. Maritime Discoveries on the Eastern Coast of Africa. Hyperborean Ocean. Goths. Rise of the Modern Commercial States. Roman Commerce.*

"THE SUN from darkness rose
Illumining the landscape wide,
The Tents, the far-off Ships, and the pale morning Tide;
Now the Prophetick Song indignant flows—
Thine, ROMAN, *is the victory;*
ROMAN, *the wide World is thine.*
. . . . *I feel forsaken here—*
This rugged ROCK *my Empire, and this seat*
Of Solitude, my Glory's last retreat!
Yet boast not Thou,
SOLDIER, *the laurel on thy other brow;*
THEY SHALL WITHER, *and thy Fate*
Leaves thee, like me, despairing, desolate!"

BOWLES, *vol. ii. p. 76.*

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Introduction. *Carthaginian and Roman Periods.*

THE history of the maritime Discoveries, and Commerce of the CARTHAGINIANS, has been often neglected in order to allow a more extensive space to describe the bold and rapacious flight of the Roman Eagle. In the conquest of *Carthage*, historians have only beheld the subjugation of a mighty Republic overwhelmed by its own factions, and the arms of Rome; whereas, in truth, the destruction of this metropolis of *Africa* affected the whole system of civilized life throughout the world. The triumph of Rome was THE TRIUMPH OF THE SWORD over the milder and more beneficent reign of commercial power. When *Carthage* fell, the naval and mercantile character was buried amidst its ruins, and the military Mariners of Rome came forward to subjugate and to delude mankind. What a field for reflection is here open to the historian: had *Carthage* triumphed, and the *Roman* power been subdued, how greatly would the progress of Nautical Science have been advanced; whilst the various nations of the globe, united by the golden chain of commerce, might have cultivated the arts of peace, and respected the influence of the trident. The discovery of the *Cape of Good Hope*, and of *America*, would have afforded at an earlier period an ample scope for the genius of ancient commerce, whose resources and influence, increased with the lapse of ages, would thus not only have meliorated the condition of mankind, but would also have prevented the monopoly of power, and the long night of slumber. The scenes which mark the establishment and decline of the Roman empire, could not then have disgraced the page of history, nor would the actions of a Caligula have insulted the dignity of human nature.—Yet it was otherwise ordained, and assuredly for wise purposes: the reign of Commerce was never suffered to extend to any long duration,

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ration, during the continuance of *Paganism*. The fall of Tyre, the death of *Alexander*, and the flames of Carthage, are all memorable and awful instances of the truth of this remark. The SWORD, on the contrary, was allowed to remain as a scourge; and the triumph of the *Roman* Republic prepared the devastations of this Scourge, in the venal cruelty of *Prætorian* despotism; in a slavery both of mind and body by Mahomet; in feudal tyranny and darkness; in the tilts and bloody tournaments of chivalry, and in its horrid offspring, an appeal for justice to the sanguinary combat: but I trespass beyond the limits of my subject, and having paid this tribute to the excellency of the naval and commercial character, I hasten to the early periods of Carthaginian history.

Of the various Colonies which the *Phenicians* formed, those of * *Carthage*, and *Gades* had a decided superiority, and shew the progress of Discovery from the former beyond the *Mediterranean*. It is however extremely difficult to ascertain the exact date of these settlements; we only know from history that it was a considerable time, before even these enterprising navigators had courage to pass the Straits of Gades, and dared to venture on that boundless expanse which the *Atlantic* presented. There is every reason to suppose that *Carthage* was the earliest settlement; for if we follow † *Petavius*, who has paid great attention to the subject, the Carthaginian æra commences 137 years before the foundation of Rome, when the sister of *Pygmalion* of Tyre landed in *Africa*: but there seems sufficient authority to give this City a different origin; and either to believe with ‡ *Eusebius* and *Procopius*, that it was founded by the *Canaanites*, who escaped thither from *Joshua*; or with § *Philistus* of Syracuse, that it derived its existence from two Phenicians, *Zorus* and *Charcedon*, thirty years before the *Trojan* War. *Servius* in his annotations on Virgil, declares that this city received its name, according to the *Carthaginians*, from *Charta*, a town at no great distance from *Tyre*. ‖ *Bochart* is of opinion that it was originally called *Carthada*, from an oriental word signifying The City. *Eustathius* and *Stephanus* observe, that the original

* *Utica*, *Hippo*, *Adrumetum*, and *Leptis*, are all thought to have been founded before *Carthage*. ARISTOTLE (de mirabilibus) places the building of *Utica* 280 years before the former City.

† Ration. Tempor. lib. ii. cap. 13.

‡ Euseb. in Chron. lib. i. p. 11. Procop. de Bell. Vand. lib. ii. cap. 10.

§ Apud Euseb. in Chron. ad ann. 804.

‖ CANAAN de Col. Phœn. lib. i. cap. 24.

original *Punic* name was *Caccabe*, from the circumstance of finding an horse's head in digging for foundations; according to the *columna rostrata* of *Duilius*, it was first known to the Romans by the term * *Cataco*. The national term *Carthaginian* was sometimes changed by the Greeks into that of *Libyan*, and at others blended with the more ancient appellation of *Phenician*: this also the Romans contracted into *Pœni*, *Pœnic*, and *Punic*.

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Introduction. *Carthaginian and Roman Parallels.*

The colony of Carthage must have been planted at an early period of the *Phenician* empire, since *Herodotus* places a celebrated naval engagement between the *Carthaginians*, and *Phocæans*, in the reign of Cyrus, 500 years before the Christian æra; and also gives an additional proof of the antiquity of their naval power, by informing us, that the whole marine of *Persia* in the reign of *Cambyses*, son of *Cyrus*, was considered as insufficient to oppose the Carthaginian fleet. Mr. *Falconer*, in his excellent † Dissertations on the Periplus of Hanno, offers many interesting remarks relative to the *Carthaginian* history, which he divides into three periods. According to *Cato the elder*, Carthage existed as a political state during the space of 737 years, during six hundred of which she continued Sovereign of the sea. Mr. Falconer's *first period* extends from the foundation of this republic, to the invasion of Sicily by the Carthaginians, and of Greece by Xerxes, in the year 480 B. C., containing a space of 403 years. The *second period*, commencing from this point, terminates in the year 264, when the rivalship of Rome and Carthage manifested itself by a celebrated breach. The *third part*, which comprehends the three Punic wars, consists of 118 years only, and extends from the year 264 to 146, when *Carthage* was destroyed.

Date of its Settlement.

The City of *Carthage* consisted of its citadel called *Byrsa* from the Phenician *Busra*, signifying, according to *Scaliger* and *Bochart*, a fortress; this was surrounded with *Megara*, or *Magaria*, the Phenician term for *houses*, and together formed a double town; which, with the inner port, or *cothon*, composed the three parts of Carthage, forming the *Stonehouse*, *Plymouth*, and *Dock*, of that celebrated metropolis.

View of Carthage.

The

* See the history of this Republic, admirably given by the editors of the ancient Univ. Hist. (vol. xv. p. 216.).

† Falconer's *Voyage of Hanno* (p. 83.), 1797, accompanied with the Greek text, a translation, and two dissertations, with maps.

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The inner port, or *Cothon*, displayed the genius and resources of this Republic. It was lined with innumerable storehouses, and contained docks sufficiently capacious to shelter from the weather two hundred and twenty Vessels of war: marble pillars of the Ionic order adorned the entrance of these docks, and gave additional beauty to the scene. On the Island, in the centre of the harbour, appeared the admiral's palace, commanding a delightful view of the opening to the sea. Their merchant ships were separated by a double wall in the outer harbour from the men of war; and to each division a particular landing place, and entrance to the city, was allotted.

Carthage, in the zenith of its power, had three hundred cities under her jurisdiction, and possessed a line of Coast, nearly 2000 miles in length, extending from the * *Syrtis Major* to the *Pillars of Hercules*. The climate was

* Major Rennell, in his illustration of *the Geography of Herodotus*, pays considerable attention to these SYRTES, the terror of ancient mariners (p. 646.). "The *greater Syrtis* bordered on the west of the province of *Cyrenaica*, and penetrated to the depth of about 100 miles within the two Capes, that formed its mouth or opening; which were, that of *Boreum* on the East, *Cephalus*, or *Tricorium*, on the West. In front, it was opposed to the opening of the Adriatic sea: and the Mediterranean in this part expanding to the breadth of near 10 degrees, (which is its greatest breadth,) exposed this gulf to the violence of the northerly winds.—*Scylax* reckons it a passage of three days and nights across its mouth, which, however, measures no more than 180 G. miles, on the best modern maps. It is not, however, pretended, either that the whole extent of this space was equally dangerous, or that there were dangers in every part: on the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that the dangers were confined to particular parts of it.—The *lesser Syrtis* lay opposite to the Islands of Sicily and Malta. It appears to be no more than 40 to 50 G. miles in breadth, but penetrates about 75 within the continent; and we have Scylax's word, that it was the most dangerous of the two. The Islands *Cercina* and *Cercinnitis* (Cyranis of Herodotus), bounded its entrance to the North; *Meninx*, or that of the *Lotophagi*, on the South.—Pliny informs us that *Polybius* had written a description of them; which, perhaps, from the acuteness and accuracy of that author, might have been a better one, than any that has come down to us. It may be supposed to have been a part of the information collected by him, whilst employed in exploring the coasts of *Africa*, by Scipio (lib. v. c. 1.). It is certain that the single fact of wading a mile or two into the sea, does away all idea of quicksands in this place *(the lesser Syrtis)*, so that these must necessarily be confined to the other *Syrtis*, although this one may be equally, or even more dangerous.—Dr. *Shaw* was informed (p. 194.), that frequently at the Island of Jerba on the south side of the *Syrtes*, the sea rose twice a day, a fathom or more above its usual height: but during his stay on the Coast, the easterly winds were too violent to enable him to notice it; that is, we may suppose, the sea was kept up to a pitch nearly equal to high water mark, by the pressure of

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was so healthy, that, according to *Sallust*, few of the inhabitants died of any infirmity but old age. They enjoyed a free government consisting of three estates, the *Suffetes*, the *Senate*, and the *Commons*; in which, according to Polybius, *Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy were all centered:* nor was the stability of this great nation ever impaired, until the power of the people obtained an undue ascendancy; from that period, says ancient history, the celebrated state of Carthage began to decline, and in a few years the circle of its glory, which for centuries had never ceased to enlarge itself, was dispersed for ever.

Early Commercial States.

Two most curious documents, respecting the Naval History of Carthage, have descended to us in the Treaties of peace and commerce preserved by *Polybius*. The first, concluded twenty-eight years before the expedition of Xerxes, in the Consulship of *Junius Brutus* and *Marcus Horatius*, is marked by a watchful commercial spirit, anxious to encourage Navigation. *Polybius* declares, he had given the sense of it with all the skill and accuracy of which he was master; but the language used in those times was so different from any spoken among the Romans at a later period, that frequently the best interpreters, even after the closest application, were unable to explain it.

"Between the * *Romans* and their allies, and the *Carthaginians* and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. Neither the Romans nor their Allies shall sail beyond the *Fair* † *Promontory*, unless compelled

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of the wind on the waters, in the mouth of the gulf. The *Marquis de Chabert*, during his short stay on this Coast in 1766, remarked that the tides rose three feet: but the marks on the shore shewed a rise of five (French) feet, at the highest tides; agreeing nearly with the report of Dr. Shaw. The Marquis perceived the rise and fall to be more sensible along the Coast of *Africa proper*, between *C. Bon* and *Kabes*, than elsewhere; and that it diminished, all the way eastward to the *Greater Syrtis* (*Hist. de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1767.). This might reasonably be expected. The wave of Tide is suddenly opposed in front by the eastern coast of *Tunis*; and also compressed laterally by the island of Sicily.—The Tides in *the Syrtes* are spoken of by several of the ancient authors, as well as by *Edrisi*, amongst the moderns; but none of them mention the height to which they rise."

* Translation by *Hampton*, vol. i. p. 312. book iii.

† The *Pulchrum Promontorium*, or *Fair Promontory*, was the head land of a long Cape, projecting northward into the sea, on the east side of the bay at the extremity of which Carthage was situated. This Cape divided the bay from the *Syrtis Minor*. POLYBIUS imagines that the design of the *Carthaginians* in not permitting the *Romans* to sail to the southward of this Promontory, arose from their wish to conceal

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pelled by bad weather or an enemy. And in caſe that they are forced beyond it, they ſhall not be allowed to take or purchaſe any thing, except what is barely neceſſary for refitting their veſſels, or for Sacrifice; and they ſhall depart within five days. The Merchants, that ſhall offer any goods to ſale in *Sardinia*, or any part of *Afric*, ſhall pay no cuſtoms, but only the uſual fees to the Scribe and Crier: and the Publick Faith ſhall be a ſecurity to the Merchant, for whatever he ſhall ſell in the preſence of theſe officers. If any of the Romans land in that part of *Sicily* which belongs to the Carthaginians, they ſhall ſuffer no wrong or violence in any thing. The *Carthaginians* ſhall not offer any injury to the *Ardeates*, *Antiates*, *Laurentines*, *Circæans*, *Tarracinians*, or any other people of the *Latins*, that have ſubmitted to the Roman juriſdiction. Nor ſhall they poſſeſs themſelves of any city of the *Latins* that is not ſubject to the Romans. If any one of theſe be taken, it ſhall be delivered to the Romans in its entire ſtate. The *Carthaginians* ſhall not build any fortreſs in the *Latin* Territory: and if they land there in a hoſtile manner, they ſhall depart before night."

This Treaty, concluded in the firſt year of the Roman Commonwealth, was ſucceeded by a ſecond, the great Navigation Act of *Carthage*. It probably was framed at no great diſtance from the other; but the date unfortunately is not known, and therefore conjecture muſt be allowed to ſupply what has been loſt by time, and the neglect of hiſtorians. In this Treaty the *Carthaginians* include the States of *Tyre* and *Utica*, and extend their line of limitation to the Roman commerce from the *Fair Promontory*, to the cities of *Maſtia* and *Tarſeium* near the Pillars of *Hercules*; which at once excluded their rivals from the whole extent of the Carthaginian Coaſt.

" Between

conceal the knowledge of the country that lay round *Byzacium*, and the *leſſer Syrtis*; which, on account of its uncommon richneſs and fertility, was called THE MARKETS. Dr. *Taylor*, in his Elements of *The Civil Law*, notices this Treaty (p. 506. ed. 4to.). 'In this Treaty, and ſome renewals of it afterwards, it is pleaſant to obſerve the future Maſters of Mankind ſtipulating, like very ſmall Merchants, to keep within proper bounds at Sea, to confine their *buccaniering*, for it was no better, within a particular point, and never to double a certain Cape, that lay off *Carthage*, unleſs they were compelled by ſtreſs of weather. Theſe conditions, on the ſide of the *Carthaginians*, ſhew a great Power at that time of day, or a great ſpirit, that could in a manner give laws to trade: and on the ſide of the *Romans*, it ſpeaks little of a Maritime Power, to ſubmit to Terms which muſt be of the hardeſt digeſtion to any people that turned their thoughts, with the ſmalleſt degree of attention, to the conſiderations of Commerce and Navigation.'

"Between the *Romans* and their * allies, and the *Carthaginians*, *Tyrians*, *Uticeans*, and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. The *Romans* shall not sail in search of plunder, nor carry on any traffick, nor build any city, beyond the *Fair Promontory*, *Mastia* and *Tarseium*. If the *Carthaginians* take any city of the Latins, not belonging to the Roman jurisdiction, they may reserve to themselves the prisoners, with the rest of the booty, but shall restore the city. If any of the *Carthaginians* gain any captives, from a people that is allied, by a written Treaty with the *Romans*, though they are not the subjects of their empire, they shall not bring them into the *Roman* ports: in case they do so, the Romans shall be allowed to claim, and set them free. The same condition shall be observed also by the *Romans:* and when they land in search of water, or provisions, upon any Country that is subject to the *Carthaginians*, they shall be supplied with what is necessary, andthen depart; without offering any violence to the Allies and friends of *Carthage*. The breach of these conditions shall not be resented as a private injury, but be prosecuted as the publick cause of either people. The *Romans* shall not carry on any trade, or build any City in *Sardinia*, or in *Afric: nor shall they even visit those Countries, unless for the sake of getting provisions, or refitting their Ships*. If they are driven upon them by a Storm, they shall depart within five days. In those parts of *Sicily*, which belong to the *Carthaginians*, and in the city of *Carthage*, the *Romans* may expose their goods to sale, and do every thing that is permitted to the citizens of the Republick. The same indulgence shall be yielded to the *Carthaginians*, at Rome."

Gades.

To *Carthage* succeeded the valuable Phenician colony of † GADES; and in supporting the cause of the mother country, at this settlement, against the native *Iberians*, the Carthaginians are first recorded to have passed the Straits. In the performance of this duty Carthage was not unmindful of her own interests, since she eagerly embraced the opportunity to secure considerable possessions in the adjoining province of Bœtica. *Phenicia* at length yielded the palm of maritime glory to her aspiring offspring; the foundation of a commercial mart in the province of *Tarraconensis*, now *Valentia*, gave an additional scope to the enterprise of the Carthaginian settlers, and

* Ibid. vol. i. p. 213.

† *Sir Isaac Newton*, in his Chronology (p. 109.), cites a passage from *Solinus* (C. 23. edit. Salm.), to prove, that among the many places called *Erythra*, the island GADES received from the Phenicians the name of *Erythea*, or *Erythræ*.

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and as its advantageous ſituation in ſome meaſure reminded them of their own metropolis in *Africa*, they endeavoured to abate the painful idea of abſence, by giving the appellation of * *New Carthage* to this riſing city; the ſite of which may ſtill be traced in modern *Carthagena*. They alſo occupied many valuable iſlands in the Mediterranean, and eſtabliſhed factories in the *Baleares*; whence they procured excellent honey, corn, and wine. *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Malta* and *Goza*, all belonged to the Carthaginians, and a conſiderable part of the iſland of *Sicily* was even ſubject to their republic, before

* Maurice's Diſſertation, p. 323. (Indian Antiq. vol. vi.). The following deſcription of NEW CARTHAGE is given by *Polybius* in his tenth book, who declares, that he viſited this celebrated emporium of ancient commerce, and examined it with particular attention. " New Carthage then is ſituate near the middle of the Coaſt of *Spain*, upon a gulph that looks towards the ſouth-weſt, and which contains in length about twenty ſtadia, and about ten ſtadia in breadth at the firſt entrance. The whole of this gulph is a perfect harbour. For an Iſland lying at the mouth of it, and which leaves on either ſide a very narrow paſſage, receives all the waves of the ſea: ſo that the gulph remains entirely calm; except only that its waters are ſometimes agitated by the ſouth-weſt winds blowing through theſe paſſages. All the other winds are intercepted by the land, which incloſes it on every ſide. In the inmoſt part of the gulph ſtands a mountain in form of a peninſula, upon which the City is built. It is ſurrounded by the Sea, upon the eaſt and ſouth; and on the weſt by a lake, which is extended alſo ſo far towards the north, that the reſt of the ſpace, which lies between the lake and the Sea, and which joins the City to the Continent, contains only two *ſtadia* in breadth. The middle part of the City is flat; and has a level approach to it from the Sea, on the ſide towards the ſouth. The other parts are ſurrounded by hills; two of which are very high and rough; and the other three, though much leſs lofty, are full of cavities, and difficult of approach. Of the former two, the largeſt is that which ſtands on the ſide of the eaſt. It extends itſelf into the Sea, and has a temple conſecrated to *Æſculapius* upon the top. The other is in like manner ſituated oppoſite to the former upon the weſt. Upon this laſt, is a magnificent and royal palace, which was built for *Aſdrubal*, when he deſigned, as it is ſaid, to declare himſelf Sovereign of the country. The other three hills, which are of ſmaller ſize, incloſe the City on the ſide towards the north. The firſt of theſe, which ſtands neareſt to the eaſt, has the appellation of *Vulcan*. The ſecond, that of *Aletes*; who is ſaid to have obtained divine honours, from having firſt diſcovered the *Silver Mines*. The third is called the hill of *Saturn*. For the conveniency of thoſe who uſe the Sea, a communication is made by art between the lake and the Sea. And acroſs the narrow Channel which joins the two together, there is alſo a bridge; which ſerves for the paſſage of carriages and beaſts of burden as, they come loaded with neceſſaries from the country into the City..... This City formerly contained not more than twenty *ſtadia* in circumference. Many writers indeed affirm it to have been forty. But in this they are miſtaken. For my own part, I can ſpeak of this matter with aſſurance."

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before the foundation of the *Persian* empire. But the *Carthaginians* derived their principal source of wealth, from the valuable mines of *Andalusia* and *Corduba*, which they probably shared with the *Phenicians;* as also from others which their own ingenuity and perseverance had discovered in the rich and productive soil of * SPAIN, stiled by *Silius Italicus*, *Aurifera Terra*. According to *Aristotle*, as cited by † Mr. Maurice, when the *Phenicians* first visited the rich coast of *Iberia*, they found Gold and Silver in prodigious abundance; so that the Spaniards of that age wonderfully resembled the unfortunate *Mexicans*, whom the avarice of succeeding generations was doomed to persecute. The *Phenicians* beheld, with the astonishment of *Cortez*, the riches of *Iberia;* the tonnage of their ships was ill adapted to satisfy the monopoly in which they invariably had indulged; and they at length proceeded not only to make their anchors and other implements of silver, but actually to use it as ballast. The *Carthaginians*, according to *Strabo*, found the very mangers in *Iberia* constructed of silver, and their horses shod with it. *Pliny* mentions several of the rich silver mines that were worked by the Carthaginians in Spain; and we are ‡ informed that from the mine called *Bebel*, Hannibal daily received three hundred pounds of silver.

Their Commerce and Ingenuity.

The situation of *Carthage*, as a commercial state, was greatly superior to that of the mother country; since the former enjoyed a more centrical situation in the Mediterranean. The Carthaginian commerce was various and extensive, and the profession of a merchant was esteemed the most honourable. A lucrative branch of trade was carried on with the *Persians*, *Garamentes*, and *Ethiopians*, for carbuncles of inestimable value; and from the abundance

* The origin of the term *Espanna*, first pointed out by *Bochart*, is thus given by Mr. *Wyndham Beawes*, in his *Dissertations on Spain and Portugal* (1793. p. 37.), from the fathers *Mohedanos:* "The most likely then that we find concerning the origin of the word *Espanna*, is its being derived from the *Phœnician* monosyllable *span*, or *saphan*, which signifies a *rabbit:* and so the Phœnicians would call it *sphanijam*, or *spanisan*, which is the same as a *rabbit burrow*." If we may credit *M. Varro*, cited from *Pliny* (L. viii. c. 29.), at least what the said *Pliny* refers to (Ibid. c. 55.), and *Strabo* (Lib. iii.), the inhabitants of the Islands *Baleares* found themselves so oppressed by rabbits, that they intreated the emperor *Augustus* to send some troops to attack them. A couple of rabbits had been carried from the continent of *Spain* to those Isles. They were then unknown to all *Europe*, except *Spain* and *Languedoc*. Father *Florez* has two medals of *Spain*, coined at Rome during the reign of *Adrian*, each with the figure of a rabbit."—Compare this account by Mr. *Beawes*, with the Portuguese settlement at *Puerto Santo* (*chap.* ii. p. 156.).

† Ibid. p. 261.

‡ Strabo, lib. xxxiii. cap. 6.

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abundance of these precious gems at Carthage, they derived, according to Pliny, the name of *Charchedonian*, or *Carthaginian*. The ingenuity of her artificers soon became superior to those of other countries; the different *Punic* wares, on which taste or fashion stamped an imaginary value, were always distinguished by the peculiar neatness and elegance of the workmanship; *Punic* beds, *Punic* windows, and *Punic* * tables, were even celebrated by the implacable enemies of this Republic. A learned † writer thinks it probable that the *Carthaginians* were the first who made Cables for large vessels of the shrub *spartum*, or at least that they communicated this invention to the *Romans*; and as the latter nation certainly derived their principles of ship-building from the *Carthaginians*, we may be justified in attributing to them, what has generally been esteemed the modern art of caulking and sheathing ships: since a vessel, thus secured, which had belonged to *Trajan*, was ‡ weighed out of the lake of *Riccia*, by the order of Cardinal *Prospero Colonna*. All kinds of Naval Stores were procured in the greatest perfection at Carthage; the first *quadrireme*, or four-oared Galley, was, according to *Aristotle*, launched from the dock yard of this republic; and the ingenuity which planned it, must have awakened the emulation of other artists to suggest improvements in the same line. In the equipment of their ships the Carthaginians encouraged the talents both of the painter and sculptor: with the productions of the first their ships were ornamented, the exploits of their illustrious ancestors afforded a constant subject of emulation to the crew, and the sacred *pataeci*, or images, that were placed on the most elevated part of the ship, called forth whatever firmness the imperfect principles of paganism could supply. The Romans, however, exerted such continued diligence, and cherished such implacable malice, in blackening the character of this ingenious nation, that it behoves every one to preserve a constant scepticism in perusing their accounts. The dark § picture of Carthaginian manners

* The fashion for the *Citron wood* of *Africa* prevailed to such a degree at Rome, that, according to *Pliny*, as cited by Gibbon (vol. ix. p. 457, *note*), a round board, or table, of this wood, four or five feet in diameter, sold for ten, or twelve thousand pounds sterling.

† *Universal History*, vol. xv. p. 264.

‡ APPENDIX (p. 86.).

§ A writer in the Universal History exclaims (vol. xv. p. 274.), "Had the writings of *Philistus Syracusanus*, *Ephorus*, *Timaeus Siculus*, *Aratus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books of *Diodorus Siculus*, or any of the Punic historians, been now

extant,

ners which has survived the wreck of time and barbarism, is drawn by that remorseless enemy, who destroyed all the archives of *Carthage*, and trampled on talents, long exerted to promote the elegance and comfort of social intercourse.

Ancient Mode of Traffic.

Even *Herodotus* condescended to favour the envy or prejudices of his countrymen respecting *Carthage;* however, he was, as an historian obliged to record some transactions, and the following is more particularly interesting, since the * same custom remained when the Portuguese first re-discovered the north-western coast of Africa. " The *Carthaginians* sailing beyond the Straits or pillars of Hercules, traded with the *Libyans* of those parts in the following manner: after they had run into some creek, they landed their goods; and leaving them exposed on a point of land, returned on board their ships. They then caused a great smoke to be raised, at the sight of which the *Libyans* came to the place where the wares had been left; and depositing a quantity of *Gold*, retired at a good distance from them. The *Carthaginians* then land a second time; and if the *Gold* appeared to them an equivalent, they carried it off, and sailed without delay; if not, they continued quiet on board for some time. The *Libyans*, finding them not yet satisfied, return and add more gold; and if this proved insufficient, they continued increasing it, until the Carthaginians were satisfied, and the bargain made. Neither of these nations offered the least injustice to the other. The *Carthaginians* did not touch the Libyan gold until it was of equal value with their wares; and the *Libyans* did not attempt to remove the Carthaginian merchandise, until the *Gold* which they offered as an equivalent, was † accepted."

Trade for Gold Dust.

From the same historian may be derived some information, respecting the places on the African coast, whence the Carthaginians procured Gold Dust, and Pitch. " According to the ‡ *Carthaginians*, we next meet with an Island called

extant, we might have received sufficient light from them, in many material points, relating to the first ages of *Carthage;* but these have, for a long series of ages, been no more. These the Roman Virtue, Generosity, Greatness of Soul, and Love of Truth, thought proper to deny posterity."

* See *Cada Mosto*'s voyage (p. 245.).

† *Melpomene*, (lib. iv.) ch. 196.

‡ Ibid. ch. 195. (Beloe's translation, vol. ii. p. 353.)

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called * *Cyranis*, 200 ſtadia in length. It is of a trifling breadth, but the communication with the continent is eaſy, and it abounds with Olives and Wines. Here is a lake from which the young women of the iſland draw up *Gold Duſt* with bunches of feathers beſmeared with *Pitch*. For the truth of this I will not anſwer, relating merely what I have been told. To me it ſeems the more probable, after having ſeen at Zacynthus (*Zante*) Pitch drawn from the bottom of the water. At this place are a number of lakes, the largeſt of which is ſeventy feet in circumference, and of the depth of two *orgyiæ*. Into this water they let down a pole, at the end of which is a bunch of myrtle; the Pitch attaches itſelf to the myrtle, and is thus procured. It has a bituminous ſmell, but is in other reſpects preferable to that of *Pieria*. The Pitch is then thrown into a trench dug for the purpoſe by the ſide of the lake; and when a ſufficient quantity has been obtained, they put it up in caſks."

The maritime power of *Carthage* had attained its ſummit, when *Tyre* was taken by Alexander; from that period the ſtrength of this republic gradually declined. It was the intention of the Conqueror, had he lived, according to ſome memoranda found on his tablets, to have entirely deſtroyed the commerce of a nation ſo intimately connected with the *Tyrians*; and the magnitude of the deſign was worthy of the ſon of Philip. A thouſand gallies, on the return of the Macedonian monarch, would have ſailed from *Alexandria* throughout the Mediterranean; nor would the ſubjugation of *Carthage* have been deemed complete, until the whole of the adjacent coaſts, both of Africa and Spain, had acknowledged *Alexander* as their ſovereign. A broad and regular road for the convenience of commerce, was to have extended along the conquered line of coaſt, to *Ceuta* and *Tangier*; whilſt the eſtabliſhment of Arſenals, Havens, and Dock-yards, at proper intervals, would have diſplayed the naval ſupremacy of Macedonia. Theſe deſigns of Alexander were in part ſuſpected by the *Carthaginians*, who accordingly employed the addreſs of *Hamilcar* to avert the impending ſtorm: but the report of their ambaſſador ſerved only to confirm their apprehenſions. On his arrival in Egypt, *Hamilcar* beheld with aſtoniſhment the riſing metropolis of eaſtern commerce: the alarm was quickly conveyed to *Carthage*; and the trembling meſſenger, who bore

* The *Ceramin* of Bochart. Major *Rennell* places *Cyranis* in the Mediterranean, near Carthage, and remarks that Diodorus *miſtook* it for Cerne (Arguin), *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 639.

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bore this unwelcome intelligence, was sacrificed to the pusillanimous agitation of an ungovernable and ferocious democracy.

The commerce that existed between *India*, and *Phenice*, is traced by Mr. Maurice in the works already * cited; who also observes, that the celebrated foundress of Carthage perished on the funeral pile of her husband *Pygmalion*, according to the religion of the Gentoos. A maritime intercourse of such importance as that with *India*, must therefore have been known and encouraged by the *Carthaginians;* and if the conjecture is not too bold, I could wish to believe, that on the perfect establishment of their naval power in *Africa*, and its extent towards the shore of the Atlantic; its government was prompted by the Voyage of *Nearchus*, and the information received from caravans respecting the interior of Africa, to fit out a squadron of discovery under the command of *Hanno;* in order to explore a more expeditious and less perilous course to INDIA round the southern extremity of their Continent. This, which is mentioned by † *Pliny* as the original object of the Voyage, would have effectually ruined the rising mart of *Alexandria* so much dreaded by the Carthaginians; and the Voyage of *Hanno*, when thus considered, was worthy of the wisdom, and policy, of a great commercial State.

Hanno's Voyage.

The authenticity of this curious ‡ Voyage, like the valuable travels of *Bruce* in our own days, has been the subject of considerable altercation. *Dodwell* in vain exerted his great talents to invalidate the journal; and even the learning of my friend Professor § *Symonds* has injudiciously been employed to support the same arguments. Not to dwell on the contrary opinions of ‖ *Campomanes*, *Bougainville*, and *Robertson*, our principal attention shall be

* Sect. I. p. 5. † Lib. ii. 57.

‡ Among the Dissertations by Mr. *W. Beawes*, on *Spain and Portugal*, (p. 75.) the reader will find one of considerable length relative to the Voyage attempted by the ancients; in which the learned illustration of *Hanno's Voyage* by *Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes*, is deservedly commended. Mr. *Beawes* also mentions another work, as likely to be published by the same author; *Historia Nautica de Espanna.*

§ Dr. SYMONDS' Remarks on an Essay, intitled the History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity (1778.).

‖ Don Pedr. Rodrig. CAMPOMANES, antiquedad maritima de Cartago, con el Periplo de su General Hannon traducido è illustrado. *Madrid*, 4to. 1756. BOUGAINVILLE (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom xxvi.). ROBERTSON's History of America, 8vo.

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be given to the remarks of *Ramusio*, *Purchas*, *Montesquieu*, *Falconer*, and *Rennell*. Mr. Falconer published a most ingenious and able defence of *Hanno*'s voyage; and, as he purposed, has stated the arguments of *Dodwell* with accuracy, and answered them with candour.

Mr. *Falconer*, after *Bougainville*, places it in the year * 570 before the Christian æra, during the latter's first period of Carthaginian history, when the Republic, after the lapse of 333 years, was in the most flourishing condition; and he fixes on the *Hanno*, who was contemporary with *Solon*, and to whom *Anacharsis* addressed a letter which *Cicero* has preserved, as the navigator employed. The conjecture which I have ventured to adopt respecting the motive of this Voyage, makes an advance of more than 200 years, and places this expedition in *Bougainville*'s second period of the Carthaginian history, to which it is generally confined, about half a century before the open animosity of the rival republics.

The *Romans*, as already remarked, lost no opportunity to render every thing dubious that tended to reflect honour on the republic of Carthage. It is not therefore surprising, if their poets and historians neglected to celebrate the fame of *Hanno* as a navigator. *Pliny*, at the distance of many centuries, strives to discredit the Journal, because no vestige could then be traced of the Cities, or Towns, which *Hanno* founded on the coast of *Africa*. But let the sentiments of the great *Montesquieu* be cited, to counteract whatever the envy, or prejudice of the Romans may have effected. "It would indeed have been a wonder, *if any such vestiges had remained*. Was it a *Corinth*, or an *Athens*, that Hanno built on those Coasts? He left *Carthaginian* families in those places most commodious for trade, and secured them, as

8vo. (vol. i. p. 351.) II. Ramusio, Racolte de Viaggi (vol. i. folio 112.). Purchas (vol. i. p. 78.). Montesquieu Esprit des Loix, (L. xxi. c. 8.) Rennell's Geography of Herodotus (p. 719.).

* *Fabricius*, and *Mélot*, fix it in the year 300 B. C.

Dodwell, in about -	340.
Campomanès, - -	407.
Florian d'Ocampo, -	440.
Mariana, - -	448.
De Bréquigny, about -	500.
Bougainville, -	570.

† Esprit des Loix (L. xxi. c. 11.).

as well as his hurry would permit, against savages and wild beasts. The calamities of the *Carthaginians* put an end to the Navigation of *Africa*; their families must necessarily then either perish or become savages. Besides, were the ruins of these cities even still in being, who would venture into the woods and marshes to make the discovery? We find, however, in *Scylax* and *Polybius*, that the *Carthaginians* had considerable Settlements on these coasts. These are the vestiges of the Cities of *Hanno*; there are no other, for the same reason that there are no other of *Carthage* itself. . . . HANNO'S VOYAGE was written by the very man who performed it. His recital is not mingled with ostentation. *Great commanders write their actions with simplicity, because they receive more honour from facts than from words.*"

Ramusio, and *Purchas*, were among the first who favoured their respective countrymen with translations of this interesting Voyage. The former subjoined an elucidation from the verbal narrative of a Portuguese commander, who was accustomed to trade to the island of St. Thomas, which is thus translated by Mr. Falconer: "Having observed, in this *Voyage of Hanno*, many parts worthy of attention, I thought I should give great satisfaction to the learned, if I wrote out some few remarks that I have inserted at different times in my Journals, and which I have heard related in conversation by a * *Portuguese Pilotto*, a native of the town of *Condi*, whose name is concealed for proper reasons. This person, who had arrived at *Venice* with a ship laden with sugars from the island of *St. Thomas*, became the familiar friend and acquaintance of the Count *Rimondo della Torse*, a nobleman of *Verona*, who was residing for his amusement at *Venice*; being known to every person distinguished for his skill in the Art of Navigation, for his elegant knowledge, or extensive reading. He himself likewise had collected a great store of information, and had studied the *Tables of Ptolemy* in particular. He was continually soliciting the *Portuguese* with invitations to his house whilst he remained at *Venice*, because he received peculiar pleasure from the accounts of the *New Voyages*. This commander having frequently sailed to the *Island of St. Thomas*, which lies under the † Equinoctial Line, had not neglected either Port, River, or Mountain, on the Western Coast of Africa. He had seen and described them, with all the circumstances of height, extent, and number of leagues, and had noted them down on certain papers, so that

* Racolte de Viaggi (vol. i. F 112. A.). A further account of this Voyage is given in chap. ii. sect. 2.

† Subsequent observations have corrected this idea; see Chart the third.

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that he could converſe on theſe ſubjects very particularly, and very intelligently. The *Count Rimondo* having read the Voyage above mentioned, the *Portugueſe* was much pleaſed and aſtoniſhed to find, that this Coaſt had been diſcovered 2000 years; for it had not been explored, by the command of any prince, the entire Space of an hundred years before the time of the INFANTE DON HENRY of Portugal. It appeared to him likewiſe an extraordinary circumſtance, that this Commander, *Hanno*, ſhould have poſſeſſed ſo much courage to navigate it at ſo early a period, ſince, from his own account, and the *Tables of Ptolemy*, he had proceeded within a degree of the equinoctial line; having neither Compaſs nor Chart, things invented a long time afterwards."

The Greek text of the Periplus of *Hanno* was publiſhed by *Sigiſmond Gelenius* at Baſil in 1533, and this was ſucceeded by the edition of *Conrad Geſner*: it afterwards was printed by Hudſon in his valuable collection of the minor Greek geographers. Of the modern tranſlations, Mr. Falconer's is certainly in many reſpects ſuperior to that by *Purchas*: the latter is however preferred on this occaſion, as poſſeſſing its ſhare of merit, and being the leaſt known. A ſelection from the remarks of Mr. Falconer, and Major Rennell, compoſe the notes.

Hanno's Voyage.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF HANNO, COMMANDER OF THE CARTHAGINIANS, ROUND THE PARTS OF LIBYA BEYOND THE PILLARS OF HERCULES, WHICH HE DEPOSITED IN THE TEMPLE OF * SATURN.

I.

"THE CARTHAGINIANS determined that Hanno ſhould ſaile without Hercules Pillars, and there build cities of the † *Liby-phenicians*. He ſet ſaile with threeſcore Ships of fifty oares a-peece, conducting with him a great multitude of men and women, to the number of thirty thouſand, with victuals and all other neceſſaries.

"*We*

* Works of genius and literature are ſtill hung up in the Moſque at Mecca, of ſeveral of which the late Sir William Jones has given elegant tranſlations *(Falconer)*.

† The Carthaginians being of Phenician original from *Tyrus*, and *Lybian* habitation and empire, called their cities *Libyphenician*. *(Purchas.)*

" *We* * arriued at the Pillars, and passed them; and hauing sailed without them two dales, we built the first citie; calling it † *Thymiaterium*. It had round about it very large champaignes. After turning toward the *West*, we came to a promontorie of *Africa*, called *Soloente* ‡ (Soloeis), couered all ouer with

* The commencement has a very singular Introduction, which contains the decree of the Senate of Carthage, and the name of *Hanno* is the third person singular; and the narrative immediately follows, beginning in the first person plural. I am inclined to think, that this Title might have been affixed by the *Carthaginians* themselves, as a kind of explanation, or an index, for the use of those persons who might resort to the temple of *Saturn* to examine such public records.—The Narrative seems to have been originally designed for the information of the *Carthaginians*, or of such traders as resorted to Carthage alone; and, for this reason, the detail of the Voyage from Carthage to the Pillars is entirely omitted. The parts of *Africa* immediately following are slightly described, in order to give a general notion of the situation of the new Colonies; because the places were familiar to those who were addressed, and by whom they had probably been formerly examined. *(Falconer.)*

† The first city was founded at no great distance beyond the Strait of Gibraltar, the rest short of *Cape Bojador*; so that the passengers did not continue on board any great proportion of the time employed in the voyage *(Rennell)*. THYMIATERIUM seemes to the Portugall pilot in *Ramusio* to be *Anamor* in 32 and an halfe, where runneth a spacious Plaine to Morocco *(Purchas)*.

‡ The position of the Promontory of SOLOEIS, becomes of great importance towards the measure of regulating our ideas of the ancient system of African geography; and of adjusting the limits of ancient Navigations. . . There are few parts of Ptolemy's geography, in which the Latitudes agree so well with the modern observations, as in the part between the Strait of Gibraltar, and C. Bojador;—so that this part of the coast must have been much frequented: but it is remarkable, that, although the Parallels are so generally exact, the bearing is out full four Points of the Compass; it being nearly S. by E. in Ptolemy, when it is in reality about S. W. by S. And hence it may be collected, that, when the latitudes could not be applied to the correction of the bearings, the Ancients formed very erroneous calculations of them. . . . . From a review of the argument, then, it appears, that the *Soloeis* of *Hanno*, and of *Scylax*; and the *Solis* of Pliny, and of Ptolemy, must have been situated between the Capes *Blanco* and *Geer*, on the *Coast of Morrocco*: in which quarter also, the *Soloeis* of Herodotus, as being a part of the inhabited tract, must of necessity be situated. . . . On the whole we must conclude that to be the Promontory intended, from whence the Coast turns sensibly to the Southward, after projecting Westward, from the neighbourhood of Gibraltar. For, the circumstance that seems to have marked it, was, the difficulty of doubling it from the northward, with the prevalent winds of that region; which are westerly; and which difficulty was greatly increased by an indraught of current towards the mouth of the Strait. . . . In a word, it may be conceived, that only the Capes *Cantin* and *Bojador* can have any claim to a preference in this matter; and *that*, from their *prominency* beyond the line of the Coast; and for which quality the Promontory

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with woods. And hauing here built a temple to *Neptune*, we sailed halfe a day towards the *East*, till we arriued at a fenne, which is situated not farre from the sea, very full of great and long canes; and there were in it, feeding, elephants and many other creatures.

"Then hauing gone about a daies saile beyond that fenne, we built Cities on the Sea-coast, calling them by their proper names * *Murus*, *Caricus*, *Gitta*, *Acra*, *Melitta* and *Arambis*. Departing from thence we came to The great Riuer LIXUS, which descends from *Africa*: by it there were certaine men called *Lixitæ*, feeders of cattell, tending their flockes; with whom wee continued so long, that they became verie familiar. Moreouer, vp in the countrie aboue them, the Negros (Ethiopians) inhabited, who will not traffique with any, and their countrie is verie barbarous and full of wilde beasts, and enuironed with high mountaines, from which, as they say, issues the riuer † *Lixus*; and round about the mountains inhabit men (Troglodytæ) of ‡ diuers shapes, which haue their abiding in canes; they runne swifter than horses

Promontory of SOLOEIS seems to have been distinguished. In point of relative situation, *Bojador*, from what has appeared, is absolutely out of the question: and it must then be concluded, that *Cantin* was the Promontory intended by Herodotus, and the Greeks in general; whilst *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* placed it more to the South, perhaps from misapprehension (*Rennell*).

* Mr. *Falconer* keeps nearer to the original,—*Caricon-teicos*, *Gytte*, *Acra*, *Melitta* and *Arambys*, and adds, 'these names seem to have been translated from the *Punic* into the *Greek* language, and to have been originally chosen as indicating the predominant local peculiarities.' *Bochart* supposes *Arambys* to have been named from the Vines growing in the neighbourhood, or on the situation of the colony. *Melitta* he derives from a word that signifies a City in which a great quantity of mortar was employed... Dr. *Shaw* (p. 23.) describes a city constructed in a similar manner, and on the same Coast. *Most of the walls of Tlem-san have been built, or rather moulded in frames; a method of building which Pliny informs us* (lib. xxxv. c. 14.) *was used by the Africans and Spaniards in his time. The Mortar of which they consist, is made up of sand, lime, and gravel, which, by being at first well tempered and wrought together, has attained a strength and solidity not inferior to stone.*

† Thought by the *Portuguese pilot* to be the river Ius, which runs into the sea at Messa (*Purchas*).

‡ Mr. *Falconer* translates αλλοιοφυεις with more propriety, of *various appearances*, or rather 'of an appearance different from the natives whom we had seen before.' A similar observation was made by *Cada Mosto*, when he first reached the river *Senega*. (See p. 251.) We are left totally in the dark during the early, and greater part of the Voyage, respecting both the rate of sailing, and the number of days they were in motion. This interval includes the space, generally, between the Strait of Gibraltar, and the river St. *Cyprian* (taken

horses as the *Lixians* report: from thence taking some interpreters we sailed by a desart Countrie towards the South two daies. And then we vered one day towards the East, where in the bottome of a gulfe we found a like Island, that was fiue furlongs in compasse, which we inhabited, naming it * Cerne (Κέρνν) and by the way that we had sailed we judged that island was † opposite to *Carthage*, for the Nauigation from Carthage to The Pillars, and from thence to *Cerne*, seemed ‡ equall.

" Parting from thence, and § sailing by a great Riuer called *Crete (Chretes)*, we arriued at a Lake, which had in it three Islands greater than *Cerne*.

(taken for the greater *Lixus*), with the exception of the two first days' sail, between the Strait and *Thymiaterium*, supposed to be *Marmora*. But from the *Lixus*, the time seems to be regularly given, to the conclusion of the Voyage, southward *(Rennell)*.

* The Isle of *Arguin*.—The island *Cerne* probably derived its name from the abundance of Flies. *Bochart* explains it by the Arabic *acher* or *achir*, which corresponds, he says, with the Hebrew *acharon*. Now *Accaron* was the fly-god, and hence *Cerne* might be the Island of flies *(Falconer)*.

† The words of *Hanno* appear to convey as scientific a description of the situation of the Island as the state of his knowledge would express. . . . If we suppose the Pillars of Hercules to be the vertex of an isosceles triangle, and the distance from Cerne to be its equal sides; *Cerne*, the point terminating one extremity, may be said to be opposite, and in a straight line with *Carthage*, the point terminating the extremity of the other side. This idea, though rude, is not perhaps unnatural *(Falconer)*.

‡ The Navigators of antiquity seem rarely to have had recourse to astronomical observation. They had no instruments suited to a moveable and unsteady Observatory; and though by their practice of landing frequently, they might, in some measure, have suppiled that defect, yet no ancient author, as far as I know, has given an account of any astronomical observation made by them during the course of their Voyages. It seems to be evident from *Ptolemy* (lib. i. c. 7—14.), who employs some chapters in shewing how Geography may be improved, and its errors may be rectified, from the reports of Navigators, that all their Calculations were founded solely upon reckoning, and were not the result of Observation *(Robertson's Ancient India)*.

§ In our idea, it is impossible to refer the first seventeen days to any part of the coast of Africa, except to that between the river *St. Cyprian*, and the mouth of the *Gambia*. The *two first days, southward, from the Lixus, and the third, eastward, to the island of Cerné*, express the sailing round the land of *Cape Blanco*, and from that Cape, across the bay to *Arguin*; which they found situated *in a recess of a bay*. *Next the twelve days southward, coasting the shore of the Ethiopians*, on the last of which days, *they approached some large mountains covered with trees, (the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated)*, agrees to the description of the Coast between *Arguin* and *Cape Verd*; *for, sailing round those mountains, in two days*, they came to

 " an

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Cerne. From whence failing the ſpace of a day, we came to the further part of the lake: there we ſaw very high mountaines which ouerlooked all the lake: where were ſauage people cloathed in beaſts ſkins, who chaſed vs away with ſtones, not ſuffering vs to land: ſailing from thence we came to another great and large Streame full of *Crocodiles*, and * *River Horſes.*"

II.

Second diviſion of the Voyage, confined ſolely to Objects of Diſcovery.

"FROM THENCE turning † backe againe, wee returned to *Cerne.* Sailing then twelue daies *Southerly*, not going farre from the Coaſt, which was peopled with *Negros* (Ethiopians), who upon ſight of vs fled away, and ſpake

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"an immenſe *opening* of the *ſea*; on *each ſide* of which, towards the Continent, was a *plain*:" now this is perfectly deſcriptive of ſailing round the *high land* of Cape *Verd*, which is covered with trees of a lively verdure; and of their arrival at the *wide embouchure* of the *Gambia* river, known to them only as "a great opening of the ſea." *(Rennell.)*

* Theſe animals were formerly ſaid to bear a natural antipathy to each other, and conſequently ſome ſuſpicion of a forgery might ariſe, ſince they are here ſaid to be in a kind of ſocial ſtate. But we learn from *Pennant* (Hiſt. of Quadrup. vol. i. p. 146.), and the authors quoted in his work, that, "among other errors related of them *(the hippopotami)*, is that of their enmity with the Crocodile, an eye-witneſs declaring he had ſeen them ſwimming together." *(Falconer.)*

† This was the *ſecond* time that our voyagers had ſailed to the ſouthward from Cerné: the firſt time they went no farther apparently, than the *Senegal* river. Leaving *Cerné*, the firſt time, they ſailed up the River *Chretes*, by which we underſtand the river of *St. John*, ſituated at about 60 miles ſouthward from Arguin, or Cerné. This River led them to a Lake, which had in it *three Iſlands larger than Cerné*. . . . At preſent, there are four large iſlands in the ſpace of about 30 miles, ſurrounded partly by the Coaſt, partly by banks in the ſea; and which ſpace may probably be meant for *The Lake*; but it is certain that the River of *St. John*, at this time, falls into that part of the lake, which is the moſt diſtant from *Arguin*. The land at the extremity of the lake, may well be underſtood by *Cape Mirie*; which is about a day's ſail (of the ancient ſtandard) from the oppoſite ſide of the above deſcribed *incloſed ſpace*.—"Sailing thence, they came to another River, which was large and broad, and full of *Crocodiles* and *River-Horſes*; whence returning back, they came again to Cerné." In this river then, we recogniſe the *Senegal*. At preſent its *embouchure* is more than 200 miles beyond *Cape Mirie*; but it has been ſhewn that there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that it once joined the ſea, at a place 60' higher up, towards *Mirie*.—Had the great River in queſtion been *The Gambia*, we ſhould have heard of *ſailing round the mountains*, (i. e. Cape *Verd*) in the *firſt* Voyage. On the contrary it appears, that Cape *Verd* was a *new* object in the *ſecond* Voyage *(Rennell)*.

ſpake ſo, as the *Limitæ* that were with vs vnderſtood them not; the laſt day we arrived at a * Mountaine full of great trees, the wood whereof was † odoriferous, and of various colours. Hauing now coaſted two daies by this mountaine, wee found a deepe and troubleſome race of Sea; on the ſide whereof towards the land was a plaine, where by night we ſaw ‡ fires kindled on euery ſide, diſtant one from the other ſome more ſome leſſe. Hauing watered here, we ſailed by the land fiue daies, ſo that we arriued in a *great Bay*, which our interpreters ſaid was called § *Heſperus his horne* (the

* Mr. *Falconer* more correctly tranſlates it—" Towards the laſt day we approached ſome large *mountains* covered with trees."

† Theſe trees were noticed by Adanſon (*Voyage to Senegal*, p. 83.). *Here are moſt beautiful Tamariſks, red gum Trees, and ſeveral other ſorts of thorny Acacias, the wood of which is extremely hard, and in the colour and beauty of its veins, not unlike thoſe which we uſe in inlaid work.* It was from this Coaſt, adds Mr. *Falconer*, that the wood was procured, from which the cedar tables were fabricated, that were ſuch expenſive articles of luxury at Rome. The perfume, which is mentioned, is obſerved by Pliny (Nat. Hiſt. lib. xiii. c. 14.). *Inſulavum arbores ambitu Æthiopiæ, et nemora odorata, in mentione earum dicta ſunt.* Solinus (*cap.* 27.), ſpeaking of the trees that grew on mount Atlas, has this expreſſion, *Quarum odor gravis.*

‡ This Circumſtance is noticed by Pliny, and is thus deſcribed by *Ramuſio* (vol. i. *folio* 115. E. ed. 1618.). Diſcorſo ſopra la navigatione di Hannone. *Queſti fuochi dicena il Pilotto vederſi infino al preſente, da tutti quelli che nauigano la Coſta di Senega, et Ghinea, et delle malghettue perciache i negri, che habitano alle marine, e colli vicini a qlle, ſentono grãdiſſimo et intolerabile caldo, e per queſto ſtanno naſcoſti tutto il giorno nelle caſe loro, quando il ſole è in queſti noſtri ſegni ſettentrionali, et hãno il maggior giorno doddici hore, et meuzo, et che come ſi fa notte cõ faceſſe e legni aueſi che ardono come torchi, ſi veggono andar hor quà, hor là facendo le lor biſogne: et di lontano in mare apparono ſimil fuochi, et ſi ſentono molti rumori et ſtrepiti di corni e d'altro che fanno i detti negri.*—See alſo Bruce's Travels (*vol.* ii. *p.* 565.).

§ Dr. Robertſon (Hiſt. of America, ed. 8vo. vol. i. p. 352.) is inclined to make *Cape Palmas* the Weſt Horn, and *Cape de Tres Puntas*, the South Horn. But Major Rennell illuſtrates the paſſage in a different manner. " The Bay or Gulf of Biſſago (or *Biſſao*) is about 190 G. miles from the mouth of the *Gambia*, and the Iſland of *Bulam*, which forms a part of its ſouthern ſhore, ſhort of 200. There are ſeveral Iſlands within the bay, and oppoſite to the Coaſt lies the extenſive range of Iſlands and ſhallows, known by the name of the *Biſſagoes* (the *Gorgades* of *Pliny*); ſheltering the Coaſt for about 120 miles. . . No other part of the Coaſt, within ſuch a diſtance as is at all applicable to the queſtion, forms a SOUND of ſuch a ſhape, as anſwers in any degree, to the idea of a *Horn*. We are aware that *Ptolemy* and *Pliny*, in which they are followed by *M. D'Anville* and M. *Bougainville*, refer the *Horns* to *Promontories*, and not to *Inlets of the ſea*. However probable ſuch an idea might have been, had the Term been given, without the deſcription, yet here the deſcription is perfect in both the *Weſtern* and *Southern Horns*: they were Bays, or

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(the weſtern horn). In this there was a great Iſland, and in the Iſland a lake, which ſeemed a ſea, and in this there was another Iſland; where hauing landed, by day wee ſaw nothing but woods, but in the night many fires were kindled, and we heard Phifes and the noiſe and ſound of cimbals and drummes, and beſides infinite ſhouts; ſo that wee were exceedingly afraid, and our diuiners commanded us to abandon the iſland: then ſwiftly ſailing from thence, we paſſed by a countrie * ſmelling of ſpices; from which ſome fierie † riuers fall into the ſea, and the land is ſo hot that men are not able to goe in it; therefore being ſomewhat affrighted, we ſuddenly hoiſed out our ſailes, and running along in the maine the ſpace of four daies, we ſaw by night the country full of flames, and in the middeſt an exceeding high fire, greater than all the reſt, which ſeemed to reach unto the Starres: but wee ſaw this after in the day time, which was a very loftie mountaine, called the

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or Gulfs, and contained Iſlands; and The Weſtern Horn, in particular, was ſaid to be *a large bay*. Moreover, the deſcription of The Iſland in the latter, is that of a flat alluvial tract, covered with trees; agreeing to that of The Iſlands, in and about this gulf, which are formed of the depoſitions of *The Rio Grande*, and other Streams, that roll down vaſt quantities of mud and ſand, when ſwoln by the periodical rains. . . . The *Weſtern Horn*, according to *D'Anville*, is *Cape Roxo*; the Southern one *Cape St. Anne*, or the *Point of Sherbro' Sound*. . . . As to M. *Bougainville*, his judgment appears to have forſaken him entirely. The foundation of his principal error lies in the ſuppoſition that the ancient Ships ſailed at much the ſame rate, as the modern ones."

* Mr. Falconer with more propriety tranſlates it, *A Country burning with fires and perfumes*.

† This paſſage is illuſtrated by Mr. *Bruce*. " After the fire (which was lighted for the purpoſes of deſtroying the cover of the animals which they hunt) has conſumed all the dry graſs on the plain, and, from it, done the ſame up to the top of the higheſt mountain; the large ravines or gullies, made by the torrents falling from the higher ground, being ſhaded by their depth, and their being in poſſeſſion of the laſt water that runs, are the lateſt to take fire, though full of every ſort of herbage. The large bamboos, hollow canes, and ſuch like plants, growing as thick as they can ſtand, retain their greenneſs, and are not dried enough for burning, till the fire has cleared the graſs from all the reſt of the country. At laſt, when no other fuel remains, the Herdſmen on the top of the mountains ſet fire to theſe, and the fire runs down in the very path in which, ſome months before, the water ran, filling the whole gully with flame; which does not end till it is checked by the Ocean below where the torrent of water entered, and where the fuel of courſe ceaſes. This I have often ſeen myſelf, and been often nearly encloſed in it; and can bear witneſs, that, at a diſtance, and by a ſtranger ignorant of the cauſe, it would very hardly be diſtinguiſhed from a River of fire." (vol. ii. p. 553.)

the * *Chariot of the Gods*. But hauing ſailed three daies by fierie rivers, we arriued in a gulfe called *Notuceras*, that is, the † *South Horne*: in the inner part thereof there was a little iſland like vnto the firſt, which had a lake in it, and in that there was another ‡ Iſland full of ſauage men, but the women were more; they had their bodies all ouer hairie, and of our interpreters they were called § Gorgones *(Gorillæ)*: we purſued the Men but could take none, for they fled into precipices and defended themſelues with ſtones; but we tooke three of the Women, which did nothing but bite and ſcratch thoſe that led them, and would not follow them. Therefore they killed them and flead them, and brought their ſkins to Carthage: and becauſe Victuals failed vs we ſailed no further."

The

* *Sierra Leona* is that Chariot of the Gods. *(Purchas.)*—Dr. *Afzelius*, who viſited it during his reſidence in that country, pronounces that it is not a volcanic Mountain. . . A ſuſpicion might ariſe that an interval of time has been omitted, between the *Weſtern Horn*, and the Hill named the *Chariot of the Gods*; but beſides that a mountain anſwering to the deſcription and poſition, is found in that of *Sagres (vulg. Sangarse)*, there is a notice in *Pliny*, that ſerves to confirm the ſtatement of the four days' ſailing only, from the *Weſtern Horn* (lib. vi. c. 30.). The deſcription of the Mountain of *Sagres*, combined with that of the adjacent Coaſts, impreſſes more conviction reſpecting its being the hill intended by *The Chariot of the Gods*, than the meaſure of the diſtance alone; whether that might be either four, or five days' ſail. *(Rennell)*.

† The next and laſt interval of diſtance, is between this Mountain (chariot of the gods) and the *Southern Horn*; and was three days' ſail. *Sierra Leona* is 50 miles only from *Sagres*, and therefore is too near. But *Sherbro'*, as we have ſaid, agrees. For, if the entrance of this Sound, or Inlet, is admitted to be formed by *Plantain Iſland*, on the one ſide, and the *Iſlands of St. Anne*, on the other, the diſtance is no more than 92 miles from *Sagres*: but admitting the Sound to commence at *Cape St. Anne*, then 112; which allows 34 miles per day: or taking the whole diſtance from the Gambia, 482 miles; this divided by 12, the number of ſailing days, gives a rate of about 40 per day; which does not much exceed the mean rate. . . . We feel no heſitation in pronouncing this *(Sherbro' Sound)* to be *The Southern Horn* deſcribed by *Hanno*; and the Term of his expedition ſouthward *(Rennell)*.

‡ The Iſland is thought to be that of *Fernando Poo*: but my learned friend *Maſter Hoelſtin* a *German*, which is now preparing a learned Treaſury of geographicall antiquities to the Preſſe, ſuppoſeth that hee paſſed not the *Cape tres Puntas*, or that *de Palmas*.

§ It is probable, remarks Mr. *Falconer*, that the *Carthaginians* uſed the ſame language as Sir J. Mandeville has employed, ſpeaking of the ſame kind of animal, as it is juſtly ſuppoſed. He ſays he came to "another yle where *the folk* ben alle ſkynned roughe heer, as a rough beſt, ſaf only the face, and the pawme of the hand."

SECT. IV.

Goffellin's opinion of Hanno's Voyage.

The principal arguments in favour of the authenticity of HANNO's VOYAGE, have now been detailed with candour; but it is also requisite to consider the opinion of an able and ingenious foreigner, M. *Goffellin*, who seems to have formed a more judicious estimate of the nautical skill of the ancients, than any preceding writer. This geographer fixes on Cape *Bojadore*, as the limit of ancient navigators on the Western Coast of *Africa*; he therefore reduces their discoveries in that part of the Atlantic, from 12 to 1500 marine leagues, to 214, and accordingly confines the voyage of *Hanno* within very narrow bounds: nor can it be denied that these ideas accord with the subsequent tenour of the Portuguese discoveries, and with the general opinion that has been received, respecting the advance that was made by the ancients towards the south. M. *Goffellin* places *Thymiaterion* on Cape *Mollabat*; the promontory *Soloeis* he assigns to Cape *Spartel*; the *Lake* which they afterwards reached, is *la baie de Jérémie*; and the river *Lixus*, the *Lucos* of Leo the African. *Cerne* *, on the site of which particular attention is paid, he at length fixes at the small island of *Fedalle*; the river *Chretes* is the *Buragrag*, or *riviere de Salé* of M. Goffellin; and the *Lake* the *lac des Nègres*, or *lacus Nigrorum* of Abulfeda, between *Kasr Abdel-Karimi*, and *Sala*. The Coast *inhabited by Ethiopians* he places in the *kingdom of Morrocco*; the *high mountains covered* with sweet-scented trees, at Cape *Ger*; the deep and troublesome *race of the sea*, which succeeded, is *le golfe de Sainte-Croix*; the Western Horn *le Cap d'Agulon*; and the *great bay adjoining*, the gulph that lies between the above Cape and Cape *Non*. In placing *the Chariot of the Gods* at the southern extremity of *Mount Atlas*, M. Goffellin cites the description given by Pliny in his sixth book; the southern Horn he assigns to Cape *Non*, and scruples not to terminate the Voyage of Hanno at the *Nun*, or *Mona river*. The progress of ancient navigators towards the south, is thoroughly investigated by this geographer, who has carefully examined every document that history could furnish; the voyage of *Hanno*, the voyage of *Scylax*, the voyage of *Polybius*, the tables of *Ptolemy*, and whatever scattered traditions remained respecting the *Atlantic islands*.

The

* ORTELIUS makes the *Island of Cerne* to be *Puerto Santo*; MARMOL one of the *Açores*; GESNER and CAMPOMANES confine it to *Madeira*; whilst others, who confound it with *Thule*, place it in the situation of *Iceland*: MERCATOR, the SANSONS, and P. HARDOUIN, extend the site of *Cerne* to *Madagascar*.

The Voyage of *Hanno* is placed by M. *Gossellin* in a very early period, about 1000 years before the Christian æra; and according to his opinion, the narrative we possess is only an abridgment of the original journal, drawn up to record the principal heads of the expedition. The progress of *Hanno* along the Western Coast of *Africa* was extremely slow; not merely on account of the number of ships that sailed in company, but from the innumerable havens, creeks, and bays, which he was purposely sent to examine, as well as the particular spots that appeared most favourable for the establishment of colonies. *Hanno* has unfortunately only marked the length of his Voyage by the number of days that * elapsed: this opens an extensive field for conjecture,

* Major Rennell in his *Geography of Herodotus* (p. 678.) has collected the following Examples of the *Rate of Sailing*, by the best managed, and best constructed Ships of the *Phenicians*, *Grecians*, and *Egyptians*.

'1. MILTIADES, under favour of an easterly wind, passed in a single day from *Elaos* in the Chersonese (of Thrace), to *Lemnos* (Erato 140.). The distance is only 38 G. miles.

2. The Fleet of XERXES sailed in three days from the *Euripus* to *Phalerus*, one of the ports of Attica (Urania, 66.). This is about 96 G. miles, or 32 per day. The Fleet was unusually great.

3. NEARCHUS reckoned the Promontory of *Macta* a Day's Sail from him, when he first discovered it; and it is shewn by circumstances, that the distance was about 38 G. miles. (Arrian's Voyage of Nearchus.)

4. SCYLAX allows 75½ days for the Navigation between *Canopus* and the *Pillars of Hercules*; equal to about 32 per day. (Periplus of Scylax, p. 51.)

5. The RED SEA is forty days of Navigation, (Euterpe, 11.) The track which a Ship must necessarily make through it, is about 1300 G. miles, or less; so that the rate may be taken at 32 per day.

6. The EUXINE is said by the same author (Melpom. 186.) to be 16 days' navigation from the *Bosphorus* to the *Phasis*; producing about 38 per day. He says, indeed, nine days and eight nights; which, according to his own rule, given in the same place, is equal to 16 days.

7. The CASPIAN SEA, is said by the same author (Clio, 203.) to be 15 days' navigation, for a swift rowing Vessel: and being about 630 miles long, this allows a rate of 42.

8. *Pliny* (Lib. vi. 23.) says, that it was 40 days' sail from the *Outlet of the Red Sea* to the *Coast of India* (Malabar) which is about 1750 G. miles, equal to 44.—He also reckons it 30 days' sail from *Berenice* to the outlet of the Red Sea: this would give about 30 per day only.

MEAN OF THE EIGHT EXAMPLES, - - 37
MEAN OF THE SIX FIRST, which may be reckoned the fairest, and are the most to the purpose, - - - 35

We may add that the mean rate of *Nearchus*, was no more than 22½, during his whole Voyage; and less than 30, through the Persian Gulf. But we regard his rate as unusually low, for the reasons above stated.'.....

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conjecture, and enables M. *Bougainville*, who in this respect is more moderate than *Campomanes*, to conduct the Carthaginian fleet in two days from *Cape Spartel* to Cape *Cantin*; whereas the ancients, in M. *Gossellin*'s opinion, assigned only twelve hours for each day's work of their vessels.

The generality of those writers who have considered this interesting subject in maritime discovery, give to Hanno without scruple, a Navigation unembarrassed by any difficulties, and a Course which demanded neither time nor circumspection to explore, though it was then probably first attempted. In this Expedition the *Carthaginian* commander, when in danger, could only rely on the experience he had acquired in other Seas, and on such resources as his professional skill might suggest. In order therefore to ascertain the extent of *Hanno's voyage* with more correctness, M. *Gossellin* prefers a comparison with some modern Navigator, whose discoveries may appear to offer such particular circumstances as accord with the expedition in question, and our great circumnavigator *Cook* is selected for this purpose; whose Survey of the Coast of *New Holland* offers, in M. *Gossellin*'s opinion, a position favourable for the intended * comparison.

Whether

* As the *Geographical Researches* of this learned foreigner, are not generally known in our country, the reader may on this occasion prefer the original:

" Nulle part Cook ne s'est trouvé dans une position plus semblable à celle du général Carthaginois, qu'en arrivant sur la côte orientale de la Nouvelle Hollande. Cette côte étoit inconnue: *Cook* se propose de la visiter toute entiére. Après avoir terminé ses observations à la baie de Botanique, il en part le 6 Mai 1770, et arrive au Cap Grafton le 9 Juin au matin. C'est trente-trois jours employés, sur lesquels il faut déduire le temps qu'il a passé dans la baie de l'Outarde et dans celle de la Soif, ainsi que le temps où il a été forcé de jeter l'ancre ou de mettre à la Cape, pour eviter les dangers qui le menaçoient. Nous trouvons dans son journal (Cook's first voyage), qu'il a consumé dans ces différentes circonstances, cent quatre-vingts heures, qu'il faut ôter des trente-trois jours; restent vingt cinq jours et demi qu'il a employés pour faire quatre cent cinquante lieues, depuis la baie de Botanique jusqu' au Cap Grafton. Ainsi, il n'avançoit guères que de dix-sept lieues et demie par vingt-quatre heures. Sa marche a donc été moitié plus lente que la course moyienne de nos navires, fixée ci-devant à environ trente-cinq lieues.

" La Marche d'Hannon doit être soumise à une réduction à-peu-près semblable. Si la vîtesse des vaisseaux anciens pouvoit fournir mille stades, ou vingt-huits lieues en vingt-quatre heures dans des parages fréquentés, ils n'en auroient fait que la moitié, comme celui de Cook, le long d'un rivage inconnu, et n'auroient pu avancer que de cinq cents stades or quatorze lieues. Mais Cook marchoit jour et nuit, tandis qu' Hannon ne naviguoit que pendant le jour: la moitié de son temps se passoit donc dans l'inaction: et au lieu de cinq cent stades, il n'auroit pu faire dans les douze heures que deux cents cinquante

 stades,

Whether *Hanno* therefore really advanced so far along the western Coast of *Africa* as many of his commentators have endeavoured to prove, is still an object of rational doubt, though his skill as an experienced navigator, for that early age, cannot be questioned. Had he possessed a knowledge of the Compass, he might probably have reached, and even doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and though some writers are inclined to give this knowledge to the *Phenicians*, their arguments however ingeniously adduced, are dubious and hypothetical.

Among the most respectable advocates for this theory, Mr. * *Maurice*, whose opinion has been already noticed, deserves to be placed. He is inclined to think that the stations of the *Abury temple*, and the stupendous solar one of the *Druids* at *Stonehenge*, were fixed with mathematical precision, to correspond with the four Cardinal Points, an idea which is supported by Dr. † *Stukeley*; who imagines, that, in thus fixing their situation, they used a Compass, or magnetic instrument: and the same writer has most ingeniously attempted to ascertain, from the variation of that needle, the exact æra of the construction of either building. Mr. Maurice then adds, 'that the *Magnet* is mentioned by the most ancient classical writers, under the name of *Lapis Heraclius*, in allusion to its asserted inventor *Hercules*. One ‡ of the most curious and remarkable of the mythologic feats of *Hercules* was his sailing in a *golden cup*, which *Apollo*, or the *Sun* had given him, to the Coasts of *Spain*, where he set up the Pillars that bear his name. . . . It ought not to be concealed, however, that by some mythologists, and especially

stades, c'est-à-dire, sept lieues. Observons encore que Cook n'avoit qu'un seul Vaisseau, toujours flottant, toujours prêt à partir: au lieu qu' Hannon en trainoit soixante après lui; que leur marche, nécessairement inégale, ralentissoit celle de la flotte entière; que le soin de chercher tous les soirs un Havre, ou une plage qui pût les contenir, celui de les y arranger, l'heure de la marée qui devoit les remettre à flot et qu'il falloit attendre pour le depart; tout devoit lui prendre un temps considerable: et comme nous avons tenu compte des plus petits retards éprouvés par Cook, nous devons en accorder également à Hannon. En n'évaluant ces retards qu' à deux heures et demie par jour, sa marche se trouveroit encore redulte d'un cinquième; et la journée commune de la flotte Carthaginoise, n'auroit été que d'environ deux cents stades, ou de cinq à six grandes lieues de vingt au degré." *(Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens, vol. i. p. 63.)*

* Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 189. † Stukeley's *Abury*.

‡ Ind. Antiq. p. 197.

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cially by the author of ſome letters, on this ſubject, to Sir *Hildebrand Jacob*, this myſterious Vaſe, given by *Apollo* to *Hercules*, is contended to have been itſelf the *Mariners Compaſs Box*; by which, not in which, he ſailed over the vaſt Ocean. The ſame author contends, that the image of *Jupiter Hammon*, whoſe Libyan temple according to *Herodotus* took its riſe from *Phenicia*, was nothing more than a *Magnet*, which was carried about by the prieſts, when the Oracle was conſulted, in a *golden ſcyphus*: that the famous *Golden Fleece* was nothing elſe: whence, he ſays, the Ship which carried it is ſaid to have been ſenſible, and poſſeſſed of the gift of ſpeech; and, finally, that the high authority of *Homer* may be adduced to corroborate the conjecture, that the *Phæacians*, a people renowned for nautical Science, had the knowledge of the *Magnet*; for he obſerves, either that certain lines in the eighth Book of the Odyſſey, deſcribing the *Phæacian* veſſels as inſtinct with ſoul, and gliding, without a pilot, through the pathleſs ocean to their place of deſtination, allude to the attractive power of the *Magnet*, or elſe are utterly * unintelligible. Whatſoever truth there may be in this ſtatement, it is evident, from the extenſive intercourſe anciently carried on between nations inhabiting oppoſite parts of the globe, *where the Stars, peculiar to their own native region, could no longer afford them the means of ſafe Navigation*; that the important diſcovery muſt be of far more ancient date than the year of our Lord 1260; to which it is generally aſſigned, and by the means of *Marco Polo*, a man famous for his travels into the Eaſt.'

To theſe obſervations I ſhall not preſume to oppoſe any remarks of my own, but ſhall reſort to men of equal talents and attainments with Mr. *Maurice*, and firſt to my learned relation Dr. *Wotton*; who was of opinion, in his reflections upon ancient and modern † learning, *that the Magnet was known and admired by the ancients, but was never employed for the purpoſes of navigation.* " But I ſhall rather chuſe to ſpeak here of the diſcoveries which have been made in the mineral kingdom without the help of chemiſtry: the greateſt of which is, of a Stone which the ancients admired (their opinions are collected by *Gaſſendi* in his animadverſions upon *Laertius's Life of Epicurus*, p. 362.), without ever examining to what uſes it might be applied; and that is the *Magnet*; the nobleſt properties whereof Sir *William Temple* acknowledges to be anciently unknown: which is more indeed than what ſome

* See an Inquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical Religion, by the Rev. Mr. *Cooke*, (p. 27.).

† Printed in 1705 (p. 247.).

ſome do: this they have collected from a paſſage in *Plautus*, where by *vorſoria* they underſtand the Compaſs, becauſe the needle always points towards the north: whereas *vorſoria* is nothing but that rope with which the mariners turned their ſails." In this opinion Dr. *Wotton* had been preceded by an earlier * writer, whoſe valuable Treatiſe on Navigation appeared in the ſecond volume of the Harleian Miſcellany. Mr. *Philipott* ſtudent of Clare Hall obſerved, that, 'although the *Loadſtone* was certainly called by the Greeks *Lapis Heraclius*, it was not becauſe *Hercules Tyrius* firſt made known the virtue of it, but from its being diſcovered near *Heraclea*, a city of Lydia. It was alſo called for the ſame reaſon *Lapis Lydius:* but to the ancients it was only known under the idea of a *Touchſtone.*—Nor does the name of *Magnes*, promiſcuouſly uſed both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, owe its original etymology to any other root, or cauſe, than that it was found near *Magneſia*, a city of *Lydia*, of which *Heraclea* above mentioned was likewiſe a part; whence it hath ever ſince obtained the denomination of *Lapis Magnes:* this *Suidas* aſſerts for the Greeks, and *Lucretius* affirms the ſame for the † *Latins.*'

At the ſame time that *Hanno* ſailed on his African Voyage of Diſcovery, another *Carthaginian* Navigator was ſent by that Republic to the northward of the Straits of *Gades;* whoſe orders were probably to ſurvey the adjacent Coaſt of *Spain* and *Luſitania*, and to explore parts of the *North Atlantic.* Of this intereſting Voyage little is known, for it related to countries, whence the Carthaginians imported their moſt valuable articles of commerce. If HIMILCO however was not the firſt diſcoverer of the ‡ *Caſſiterides*, his expedition might

Himilco's Voyage.

* An Hiſtorical Diſcourſe of the firſt invention of Navigation, and the additional improvements of it. With the probable cauſes of the Variation of the Compaſs, and the Variation of the Variation. Likewiſe ſome reflections upon the name and office of Admiral. To which is added a catalogue of thoſe perſons that have been from the firſt inſtitution dignified with that office. By *Thomas Philipott*, M. A. formerly of *Clare Hall in Cambridge. London:* printed in 1661.

† The author of an Introductory Diſcourſe concerning Geography, prefixed to the ſeventh volume of *Churchill*'s collection of Voyages, introduces theſe remarks of Mr. *Philipott* (p. 22,), but does not refer to the original.

‡ Obſervations on the ancient and preſent ſtate of the *Caſſiterides*, or *Scilly Iſlands*, were publiſhed by Dr. *Borlaſe* (1756) in a letter to Dr. Charles Lyttleton, Dean of Exeter, F.R.S. "That the *Phenicians* accounted their trade to theſe Iſlands for Tin of great advantage, and were very jealous of it, is plain from what Strabo ſays (ſee p. 59.). The *Romans*, however, per-

SECT. IV. might have tended to ascertain the situation of the *Scilly Isles*, and the adjacent coast of *Cornwall*, with greater correctness; whilst his observations served

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persisting in their resolution to have a share in this Trade, at last accomplished it. Now, plain it is, that the few workings upon TARSCAW were not worthy of such a competition; *Whence then had they their Tin?* I will answer this question as well as I can. Some Tin might have been found in the low grounds washed down from the hills, and gathered together by the flood and rain. Some found pulverized among the sands of the sea shore washed out of veins covered by the sea, and thrown in upon the sand by the same restless agent. In *Cornwall* we often find Tin in the like situation. There may be also Tin-veins in those cliffs which we did not visit, although the inhabitants, upon enquiry, could not recollect that they contained any thing of that kind; as the *Guêl-Hill* of BRAHAR, *Guêl* Island; the name Guêl (or *Huêl*) in *Cornish* signifying a working for Tin. Other Tin they had from their Mines, for though their Mines at present extant are neither ancient nor numerous, yet the ancient natives had mines, and worked them, as appears from *Diod. Siculus* (lib. v. ch. 2.), and from *Strabo* (Geogr. lib. iii.), who tells us, that, "after the "*Romans* had discovered a passage to these Islands, *Publius Crassus* having sailed thither "and seen them work their mines, which were not very deep, and that the people loved "peace, and, at their leisure (when they were not employed about their tin) navigation "also, instructed them to carry on this trade to a better advantage than they had done "before; though the sea they had to cross was wider than betwixt it and Britain;" intimating (if I understand him rightly) that, before that time, the *Phenicians* and *Greeks* had engrossed the sole benefit of buying and exporting their Tin; and that *Publius Crassus*, seeing their mines shallow, taught them how to pursue the *Ore* to a greater depth; and, finding the inhabitants peaceably disposed with regard to their neighbours, and therefore the fitter for Commerce and very apt at Navigation, and therefore able themselves to carry the product of their country to market, encouraged them to enter upon this gainful trade, and depend no longer on foreign merchants and shipping; although it was somewhat farther for them to sail to the Ports of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, than to the Coasts of *Britain*, which had till that time been their longest Voyage. Besides the Tin therefore, which they found granulated and pulverized in valleys and on the sea-shore, they broke Tin out of their Mines, though those Mines are not now to be found; and, in the last place, it must not be forgotten that the ancients had great part of their Tin from the neighbouring coasts of *Cornwall*, famous for their Tin-trade as anciently as the time of *Augustus Cæsar*; and whoever sees the land of *Cornwall* from these Islands, must be convinced that the *Phenicians* and other traders did most probably include the western part of *Cornwall* among the Islands called CASSITERIDES. . . . *Diod. Siculus* (lib. iv. p. 301. ed. Han. 1604) does as plainly confound, and in his description mix, the western parts of *Cornwall* and the CASSITERIDES indiscriminately one with the other; for talking of the promontory *Belerium*, alias *Bolerium*, the Tin-commerce, and courteous behaviour of the inhabitants; he says, that they carried this Tin to an adjoining *British* isle called ICTIS, to which at low tide they could have access. Now there was no such Island as ICTIS on the western Coasts of *Cornwall* in the time of *Diod. Siculus*, neither is there at present any one

ſerved to regulate the future courſe of the Merchant Veſſels from Carthage, and pointed out ſuch intermediate marts as were beſt calculated to furniſh provisions

one with the properties he mentions, unleſs it be St. *Michael's Mount*, and the ſeparation between that and the continent muſt have been made long ſince that time. By the firſt, therefore, *Diod. Siculus* can mean nothing but the *Lands end*, by the geographers called *Belerium*; but (confounding the Tin-trade of thoſe weſtern parts of *Cornwall* with that carried on in SCILLY) by the ſecond, he means one of the SCILLY Iſles, to which they conveyed their Tin before exportation from the other ſmaller iſlands; for thus he goes on: "There is one thing peculiar to theſe Iſlands (meaning, that there was no ſuch thing in the *Mediterranean*, where the ſea ſtands nearly of one height) which lie between *Britain* and "*Europe*; for at full ſea they appear to be Iſlands, but at low water, for a long way, "they look like ſo many *Peninſula's*;" a deſcription exactly anſwering the appearance of the SCILLY Iſlands, which were at that time ſucceſſively *Iſlands* and *Peninſula's*, and lie between *Europe* and *Britain*, as the old authors all agree, but, through the inaccuracy in geography, were not able to point out the ſituation of theſe Iſlands more diſtinctly. This ICTIS of *Diod. Siculus* is probably the ſame Iſland which *Pliny* (lib. iv. c. 16.), from *Timæus*, calls "MICTIS, about ſix days' ſail from *Britain*, ſaid to be fertile in Tin;" where I muſt obſerve, that the diſtance here laid down is no objection to MICTIS's being one of the SCILLY Iſles, for when the ancients reckoned this place ſix days' ſail, they did not mean from the neareſt part of *Britain*, but from the place moſt known, and frequented by them (i. e. by the *Romans* and *Gauls*), which was that part of *Britain* neareſt to, and in ſight of *Gaul*, from which to the SCILLY Iſlands the diſtance was indeed ſix days' uſual ſail in the early times of navigation; therefore I am apt to think, that, by MICTIS here, *Pliny* meant the largeſt of the SCILLY Iſles (as Baxter, Gloſſ. in voce *Sigdeles*), as I do not at all doubt but *Diodorus Siculus* alſo did, in the paſſage mentioned above. . . . How came theſe ancient Inhabitants then, it may be aſked, to vaniſh ſo, that the preſent have no pretenſions to any affinity, or connexion of any kind either in blood, language, or cuſtoms? How came they to diſappear and leave ſo few traces of trade, plenty, and arts, and no poſterity that we can hear of behind them?—In anſwer to which, as this is the moſt remarkable criſis in the hiſtory of theſe Iſlands, you will excuſe me if I enlarge; and if I make uſe of the ſame arguments which I had the honour lately to lay before the Royal Society. (in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Birch, Secretary.) Two cauſes of the extinction of the old Inhabitants, their habitations, and works of peace, war, and religion, occur to me; *the gradual advances of the Sea, and a ſudden ſubmerſion of the land.* . . It has before been mentioned that many hedges now under water, and flats which ſtretch from one Iſland to another, are plain evidences of a former union ſubſiſting between theſe now diſtinct iſlands. Hiſtory ſpeaks the ſame truth. *The Iſles of* CASSITERIDES, ſays Strabo (lib. iii. geog.), *are ten in number, cloſe to one another, one of them is deſert and unpeopled, the reſt are inhabited*: but ſee how the Sea has multiplied theſe Iſlands; there are now reckoned more than 140, into ſo many fragments are they divided. . . Again; Tin Mines they certainly had in theſe Iſlands 200 years before Chriſt. . . I conclude, therefore, that theſe Iſlands have undergone

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provisions for the crew, or commodities for the trader. Some mutilated Latin verses comprise all that has survived of this important Voyage; their author * *Avienus*, who also turned the history of *Livy* into iambics, flourished under *Theodosius* the elder, and vouched for the authenticity of every thing contained in these lines, since the facts mentioned were taken from the *Journal of Himilco*, which *Avienus* himself examined. The annals of *Carthage* were † extant about the middle of the fifth century, when *Avienus* wrote, and in these an accurate narrative of the Voyage in question was preserved. In this Journal the British Isles are mentioned under the name of *The Œstrymnides*, islands infected by the *Œstrum*, or gad-fly.

Cassiterides.

It is a curious fact, that the oldest classical appellation for the extreme western point of *Cornwall* should be BELERIUM, or the *Promontory of Hercules* the reputed founder of Tyre, also known by the title of *Melicartus*; and, according to ‡ Pliny, a person of that name corruptly written *Midacritus*, was the Navigator who first brought Tin from the Island *Cassiteris*. Without the assistance of this metal the celebrated shield of *Achilles* could not have been § wrought, for Tin is absolutely necessary to the painter, the gilder, and the dyer. It was an article of great value in ancient commerce; and Homer seems to have alluded to the high estimation in which it was early held by introducing ‖ *Minerva* as a foreign merchant going to TEMESE, to procure tin. From another passage in ** *Pliny*, it would seem as if Tin, or *plumbum album*, was first †† discovered in *Lusitania*, but in a small quantity and of an inferior

gone some great catastrophe, and besides the apparent diminution of their Islets by Sea and Tempest, must have suffered greatly by a subsidence of the Land (the common consequence of earthquakes), attended by a sudden inundation in those parts where the abovementioned Ruins, Fences, Mines, and other things, of which we have no vestiges now remaining, formerly stood." (p. 72—91.)

* *Ora Maritima*, vers. 17—415.

† Dr. *Reinold Forster* on the Discoveries of the ancients, prefixed to his Discoveries in the north (p. 10.).

‡ Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 56.

§ Indian Antiquities, vol. 6. (p. 434.)

‖ Odyssey, lib. i. V. 182.

** Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 16.

†† The *Carthaginians* might have found this metal in their own continent: for according to Rymer's Fœdera (vol. xx. p. 423.), King Charles the First was alarmed on hearing

inferior sort; and it was probably the sight of this Lusitanian Tin which induced the *Carthaginians* or *Phenicians*, as they were often called, to fit out a squadron under *Himilco*, in order to search the distant regions of the North Atlantic for a more ample and perfect supply of this precious metal.

Whether the CASSITERIDES were first discovered by the *Phenicians*, or by the *Carthaginian* navigator *Himilco*, it is certain that this event took place at a very early period of history. The ancient Pharos of *Corunna*, on the coast of Galicia in *Spain*, offers a favourable point whence it is highly probable the Phenician or Carthaginian ships embarked for *Baratana* the *tin Island*. The Spanish writer * *Orosius* is of opinion, that this *Pharos* was built by *Hercules*, and was purposely constructed for the direction of ships bound to the continent from Britain; and it is a remarkable circumstance, noticed by Mr. † Maurice, 'that the opposite land, consisting of a promontory running about three miles into the sea, on the Cornish, or rather Devonshire coast, is called *Hertland* or *Hertey Point*; that is *Herculis Promontorium*, or as it may be expressed in maritime phrase, *Cape Hercules*.'

Romans.

Whilst the *Phenicians* and *Carthaginians* thus divided the empire of the Sea, and possessed the commerce of the world, they heard without concern of an ‡ establishment of robbers in the heart of Italy; and inadvertently suffered the Roman eagle to build its nest without molestation. The adjacent country is § described as resembling some of the lately discovered Islands in the *Southern* or *Pacific Ocean*; where every height is represented as a fortress, and every little township, that can maintain its possessions, as a separate state. The Republic of *Carthage* was not apprehensive of the ambitious designs of her implacable rival, until the *Romans* ventured to interfere with the Carthaginian commerce in Sicily. To command the passage of the Straits

ing, during the year 1640, that a *tin mine* had been discovered in *Barbary*. Since the time of the Carthaginians, Tin has been found in *Bohemia* and *Saxony*, and on the island of *Malacca* in the East Indies. The tin of Cornwall is now carried to the East Indies and China: of 3000 tons raised in the year 1791, 800 were exported to the above places.

* Pauli Orosii adversus Paganos Hist. lib. i. p. 17.

† Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. (p. 306.)

‡ The foundation of Rome, if Varro is followed, may be placed in the 754th year before Christ: but, according to *Gibbon*, 'so little is the chronology of *Rome* to be depended on, in the more early ages, that *Sir Isaac Newton* has brought the same event as low as the year 627.'

§ Progress and termination of the Roman Republic, admirably narrated by *Ferguson*.

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Straits of *Messina*, was the great political object of that period. A Roman garrison had been sent to *Rhegium* at the desire of the inhabitants; the opposite coast of *Sicily* was defended by some Italians, called *Mamertines*, who had been placed there by the king of *Syracuse*; whilst the *Carthaginians*, beside other posts in the island, were established at *Lilybæum*, which they had thus named from its situation opposite the promontories of *Libya*, at the distance of one thousand stadia. Whilst things were in this state, the *Mamertines* suddenly rose on the citizens of *Messina*, whom having murdered, their effects were seized; and the same tragedy was admired and imitated by the Roman legion at *Rhegium*. The perpetrators of it were, however, conducted in chains to Rome, and many of them lost their heads by fifty at a time: but when this tribute had been paid to justice, the scruple of the Roman Government did not greatly affect their subsequent proceedings; and an early opportunity was embraced to support the cause of the *Mamertines*. Their * historians attempt to palliate this, by observing that the Carthaginians had been received into *Messina*:—a principal part of the island had long been under the jurisdiction of *Carthage*, and was essential to its commerce, and they seem only to have interfered in order to afford some security to the terrified *Sicilians*. The subsequent success of the Romans formed the events of the first *Punic* war, and led them to attempt what demanded their utmost talents and perseverance, for nothing less than the conquest of Sicily, and the destruction of Carthage, would satisfy the unbounded desire of their ambitious and restless spirit.

When the *Romans* thus commenced the first *Punic War* (U. C. 490.); according to the testimony of Polybius, which must not be † taken in too literal

* The learned Dr. Taylor, in his Elements of Civil Law, presents an ingenious source of literary scepticism respecting the Romans, (ed. 4to. p. 512.) " I would recommend to my reader this consideration, viz. *Whether he is certain, that all the Roman Writers, that the present Age thinks themselves possessed of, are Originals; and to ask himself, if he does not recollect, that there may be some, upon this suggestion, which look like translations—and bad ones.*"

† As the *Sallust* of the French nation, the celebrated *Abbé de Saint Real*, observes in his Essay *De la Navigation des Romains*;—notwithstanding what *Polybius* asserts, the Romans had certainly given their attention to their Navy before the first Punic war. Not to mention the early *Treaties* between them and the Carthaginians, which Polybius has recorded, there is one noticed by *Livy*, in which it was stipulated that *Rome* should be supplied with Ships from *Carthage*, both for the purposes of Commerce and War. Also in the year 416, which preceded the first *Punic war* by seventy-four years, the *Romans* destroyed the Port of *Antium*,

teral a ſenſe, they had neither decked veſſels, a ſingle ſhallop, nor any barks they could uſe as * tranſports. But their fertile invention was never at a loſs; and having borrowed ſome fifty-oared Veſſels, and a few *triremes* from the *Tarentines*, *Eleates*, *Locrians*, and *Neapolitans*, their legions were compelled to † embark on a new element, under the command of *Appius Claudius*, one of the Conſuls. On this motley ſquadron, if the fact has not been miſrepreſented by the prevailing falſehood of the Roman hiſtorians, the *Carthaginians* bore down with too much eagerneſs; in conſequence of which, one of their *quinquiremes* unfortunately ſtruck upon a ſand-bank. From this perilous ſituation it was afterwards extricated by the Romans, and employed as a model for their ſhipwrights.

The ‡ genius of *Rome* at this period was not depreſſed by the indolence of an *Heliogabalus*, and it had been ordained, that the deſcendants of the *Tyrians* ſhould ſuffer in a diſtant generation, for the iniquities of THE CROWNING CITY. Every exertion was accordingly made by their enemies to profit by the late unexpected event, and made with ſucceſs: whilſt their workmen clumſily attempted to imitate the ſkill of the Carthaginian Shipwrights, a ſchool was formed on the adjoining beach, in order to diſcipline and inſtruct a ſufficient number of Naval Seamen to man the intended fleet. This ſingular ſcene is thus [illegible] by § Polybius: "While the workmen were buſy in building and fitting the Ships, others were employed to draw together a body of ſailors, and inſtruct them in the exerciſe of the Oar. This was

Antium, whoſe name ſtill remains in the *Capo d'Anno*, and took twenty-two galleys, and with ſome of the beaks or *roſtra* of theſe veſſels, they adorned their ROSTRA in the Forum, which from this circumſtance received its name. Beſides this it ſhould be remembered that a *Naval* Duumvir, or *Lord High Admiral* was eſtabliſhed at Rome in the year 445 (Livy, l. xii.), whoſe duty it was to fit out and man the Roman navy.—The credit, therefore, of *Polybius* himſelf is queſtionable, and muſt not be conſidered as infallible when he alludes to the government, or Character of the *Carthaginians*.

* Polybius, lib. i.

† This part of the naval hiſtory of *Rome* is illuſtrated by *Sir Walter Raleigh* in his Hiſtory of the World (p. 295.).

‡ It is ſingular that in the year before the firſt Punic war (489.), the Romans, who had previouſly uſed only ſtamped pieces of braſs in trade, began to coin Silver, and to introduce it into commerce. This early Mint was eſtabliſhed at the temple of *Juno Moneta*; and hence, according to *Suidas*, came the word Μονητα, and the modern term *money*.

§ Book i. c. 2. *Hampton's Tranſlation* (vol. i. p. 59.).

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was done in the following manner. They placed benches along the ſhore, upon which the rowers were ranged in the ſame order as at Sea, with a proper officer among them to give the command. In this ſituation, they accuſtomed themſelves to perform all the neceſſary motions of the body: to fall back together, and again to bend forwards; to contract and extend their arms; to begin, or leave off, according to the Signals." Thus in ſixty days, from the time the timber was felled, did the *Romans* fit out, and ſend to ſea, one hundred Gallies of five tier of oars, and twenty of two tier; the firſt of theſe rates carried three hundred rowers, and two hundred ſoldiers.

The ſubſequent ſucceſs of the *Romans* was equally rapid, and aſtoniſhing, and the fatal progreſs of this Military Marine is well known. The *Carthaginians* were particularly baffled in their different actions, by the Roman invention of tremendous machines called *Corvi*, conſiſting of a round wooden * pillar, placed on the prow of every veſſel, about twelve feet in height, and three palms breadth in diameter, with a pully at the top. When the *Carthaginian*

* To this Pillar, ſays *Polybius*, was fitted a kind of Stage, eighteen feet in length, and four feet broad, which was made ladder-wiſe, of ſtrong timbers laid acroſs, and cramped together with iron: the Pillar being received into an oblong ſquare, which was opened for that purpoſe, at the diſtance of ſix feet within the end of the ſtage. On either ſide of the ſtage lengthways was a parapet, which reached juſt above the knee. At the fartheſt end of this ſtage, or ladder, was a bar of iron, whoſe ſhape was ſomewhat like a peſtle; but it was ſharpened at the bottom, or lower point; and on the top of it was a ring. The whole appearance of this machine very much reſembled thoſe that are uſed in grinding corn. To the ring juſt mentioned was fixed a rope; by which, with the help of the pully that was at the top of the Pillar, they hoiſted up the Machines, and, as the Veſſels of the enemy came near, let them fall upon them, ſometimes on their Prow, and ſometimes on their ſides, as occaſion beſt ſerved. As the Machine fell, it ſtruck into the decks of the enemy, and held them faſt. In this ſituation, if the two Veſſels happened to lay ſide by ſide, the Romans leaped on board from all parts of their ſhips at once. But in caſe that they were joined only by the Prow, they then entered two and two along the Machine: the two foremoſt extending their bucklers right before them, to ward off the ſtrokes that were aimed againſt them in front; while thoſe that followed reſted the boſs of their bucklers upon the top of the parapet on either ſide, and thus covered both their flanks (lib. i. c. 2. *Hampton's Tranſlation*, vol. i. p. 61.). An engraving of the *Corvus* is given by *Rollin* in his Hiſtory of the Arts and Sciences of the Ancients (vol. ii. p. 129.). The idea ſeems to have been taken from the iron Dolphin of the Greeks. An ingenious foreigner, *M. le Roy*, has publiſhed a curious Memoir in the *Memoires de l'Inſtitut National*, 1798, in order to recommend the adoption of the *Corvus* to French privateers. This Diſſertation is entitled, *New Reſearches reſpecting the Ships employed by the Ancients, from the origin of the Punic Wars to the battle of Actium; and on the uſe which might be made of them in our Marine.*

thaginian Fleet advanced under the command of an officer, with the auspicious name of *Annibal*, the fatal *Corvi* of the Romans were suspended over their enemy's ships in every direction. In vain did the *Carthaginian* officers display the dexterity of their manœuvres, and their professional skill; the novelty of the ponderous *Corvi* struck their crews with a sudden panic, and enabled the *Romans* to exert the strength and solidity of their legions. The *Carthaginian* fleet was obliged to retire before the Roman commander *Duilius*, and reluctantly conveyed the disgraceful tidings to Africa that fifty of their ships had been captured.

It may interest the professional reader, and enable him to form some idea of the Naval Tactics of the distant period we are considering, beyond a * detail of the names and rates of their vessels, if an account is given of two Naval Actions between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*. In the first the *Romans* were so successful, that they were enabled to land on the territory of Carthage, and alarm the metropolis; the second, on the contrary, was favourable to their rivals, and for a time enabled the *Carthaginians* to regain the Sovereignty of the Ocean.

Naval Action, ante Ch. 245. U. C. 503.

The *Carthaginian* Coast, at the commencement of the first Punic War, and for a considerable time afterwards, was too open to an invading enemy. Unaccustomed to any rival, they implicitly trusted to the wooden walls of the republic. This circumstance did not escape the watchful ambition of Rome; and orders were accordingly issued to their Naval *Duumvir*, to fit out a † fleet of 330 decked ships; which sailed under the command of the Consuls

* See *Aulus Gellius* (lib. x. c. 25.). This has been also accurately performed by Dr. *Adam* in his Roman Antiquities (p. 398. *Naval Affairs of the Romans.*). Line of battle ships were called *naves longæ*; merchant vessels, *onerariæ*; light built ships for expedition, *Actuariæ*, the most remarkable of which were the celebrated *naves liburnæ*. The name painted on the prow of each ship, was called its PARASEMON, or INSIGNE. The Commander's Ship was distinguished by either a red flag, or a light. In some Vessels a rudder was placed at each extremity. The Sails were usually white, as being esteemed fortunate. The top-sails were called *suppara velorum*; the ballast *saburra*; the rigging of a ship, *armamenta*; the Gangways, *fori*; the Lead for sounding *bolis*, or *catapirates*; the Yards, *antennæ*, or *brachia*. The wood employed for Ship-Building was fir, alder, cedar, and cypress; the *Veneti* are first mentioned by Cæsar (Bell. Gall. iii. 13.) as employing oak. The ADMIRAL of the fleet was styled, *dux præfectusque classis*, and the Flag Ship, *navis prætoria*. The CAPTAINS had the titles of *navarchi*, *trierarchi*, or *magistri navium*. The *Marines* were called *Classiarii*, or *Epibata*.

† Polybius, lib. i. Each Vessel carried 120 soldiers, and 300 rowers.

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Consuls *M. Attilius Regulus* so renowned in history, and *L. Manlius Vulso.* Leaving *Sicily*, they doubled the promontory *Pachynus*, now *Cape Passaro*, and steered for *Ecnomus*, in order to co-operate with the army there stationed. The first *Punic War* was at this time extended to its eighth year; during which the Carthaginians had lost the valuable islands of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, and only retained, of their settlements in Sicily, *Lilybæum*, *Panormus*, and a few adjoining places. The turbulent spirit of the people had not yet, however, quite exhausted the energy of government, and preparations were immediately made to repel force by force. Under the command of *Hanno*, and *Hamilcar*, a fleet of 350 ships sailed from *Lilybæum*, and arriving off *Heraclea Minoa* prepared for action. The principal object the *Romans* had in view, was to counteract the lightness and celerity of the Carthaginian ships, by preserving the four divisions of their own fleet firm, and compact. To accomplish this, the two Consular gallies of six banks of oars, were stationed abreast each other in front, followed by the first and second squadrons on the right and left, in separate lines of battle, forming an angle whose apex was towards the admiral gallies. The Prows of the vessels were all turned outwards; and when the third division was drawn up frontways, extending from point to point, it formed a base to the triangle; by means of small boats, this division of the fleet towed the transports, with the horses and baggage. The fourth squadron, styled *triarii*, followed in the rear, and preserved a line parallel with the third division.—*How impossible, is it*, exclaims Polybius, *I do not say to behold so vast an Armament, but even to hear a bare description of it, without being fixed in admiration, both of the importance of the contest, and of the power and strength of the two great Republics that were thus engaged.*

The Carthaginian Seamen were sensible that the liberty of their country, and the safety of their families, depended on their present exertions; for their commanders *Hanno*, and *Hamilcar*, had employed every argument to animate the respective crews. The signal for sailing was therefore obeyed with cheerfulness; and they left the harbour of *Heraclea Minoa* full of hope and determined resolution. The disposition of their Fleet was calculated to surround the Roman triangle: three divisions were ranged in a single line; extending the right wing under *Hanno*, composed of all the *quinqueremes* and *galleys*, far out to sea with the prows turned towards the enemy; the remaining squadron of observation was stationed under the command of *Hamilcar* near the shore, and was drawn up in the figure called *Forceps*.

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Introduction. *Carthaginian and Roman Periods.*

Notwithstanding the stratagem which *Hamilcar* executed by signal, in order to deceive and detach the Roman ships by an appearance of flight, and which separated the battle into three detached actions, victory at length declared for the Romans. *Hamilcar* was obliged to retreat; and *Hanno* seeing himself assaulted on all sides, at length closed a tremendous contest. The Romans, if their historian is to be credited, captured sixty-four vessels, and destroyed more than thirty; and this with only the loss of twenty-four ships which sunk during the engagement.

Naval Action, ante Ch. 237. U. C. 511.

In a subsequent Action between the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* fleets, which *Polybius mentions, the skill and enterprise of the latter were more successful; but the historian, in bearing witness to this event, seems with reluctance to yield the palm of victory to the enemies of his country. The siege of *Lilybæum* in Sicily, now *Marsala*, had been carried on by the *Romans* for a considerable time with unwearied resolution; when during the Consulate of *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Junius Pullus*, the naval power of the republic experienced a severe wound. *Pulcher*, who inherited the pride and rashness of the *Claudian* family, became impatient of that caution which officers of greater experience had observed. Having gained the tribunes, he embarked at midnight with a fleet of 120 gallies, then lying at anchor before *Lilybæum;* and carrying with him some of the bravest of the legionaries, he hoped to surprise the Carthaginian admiral *Adherbal* at Drepanum, now *Trepano del Valle*,, a port on the western side of Sicily. The hour of midnight seemed propitious to this bold attempt: keeping the Island on his right, he proceeded in close order along the shore, unperceived by the enemy; and the break of day first rendered *Adherbal* sensible of the impending danger. The promptitude of his resources displayed the greatness of his professional character; his soldiers immediately embarked with ninety gallies, and the orders of *Adherbal* quickly circulated throughout his squadron—*Observe, and follow the course of your Commander!* Some projecting rocks concealed the inferiority of his force, until the *Romans* began to enter the harbour's mouth; and *Adherbal* afterwards supplied his deficiency in point of number, by a knowledge of the coast, the situation of the shoals, and the rapidity of his manœuvres. The disorder of the *Romans* was complete; but after considerable difficulty, *Claudius* was enabled to form in line of battle along the shore. The Consul *Publius*, who at first sailed in the rear, and had been carried

*Lib. i.

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carried out to ſea, took his ſtation on the left. *Adherbal* paſſed him with five of his largeſt ſhips, and then gaining the open ſea, turned the prow of his Galley towards the enemy: the remainder of his ſquadron, as they came up, extended the line, and on the ſignal being given, advanced with rapidity againſt the *Romans*. The conteſt was for ſome time equal. But at length a conſiderable part of the Conſular fleet being either a-ground on the ſhoals, or wrecked upon the rocks, *Pulcher* retreated with only thirty gallies. "The *Carthaginians*," ſays Polybius, "drew the victory to their ſide, *by the help of many favourable circumſtances*, in which they were ſuperior to the Romans during the whole engagement. Their Veſſels were light, and ſwift in ſailing: their rowers ſkilful and experienced: and laſtly, they derived no ſmall advantage from having ranged their Fleet in battle on the ſide of the open ſea. Whenever they were cloſely preſſed, as they had full room to retreat, ſo were they able alſo by their ſwiftneſs to tranſport themſelves at once out of the reach of danger. If the enemy advanced too far in the purſuit, they then turned ſuddenly upon them, and making their attack with vigour and agility, now upon the ſides, and ſometimes on the ſtern, ſunk many of the *Roman* veſſels; which being unwieldy by their bulk, and incumbered with unſkilful rowers, performed all their motions heavily and without ſucceſs. When any of their veſſels ſeemed ready to be maſtered by the enemy, they advanced ſecurely through the open ſea, and by ranging ſome freſh Gallies in the ſtern of thoſe that were engaged, reſcued their friends from danger. But on the part of the *Romans*, every circumſtance was contrary to theſe. When preſſed, they had no room to retreat: for every veſſel, that retired before the enemy, either ſtuck faſt upon the Sands, or was daſhed againſt the ſhore. As their Ships were alſo heavy, and their rowers deſtitute of ſkill, they were quite deprived of the advantage, the greateſt that is known in Naval Battles, of *ſailing through the Squadron of the enemy, and attacking in ſtern the ſhips that were already engaged with others.* Nor could they on the other hand ſend any ſuccours, or ſupport their own veſſels from behind, as the diſtance was ſo narrow between them and the * land."

Previous to this celebrated Victory, a curious anecdote is recorded by the ſame hiſtorian, which may give the reader a further inſight into the nautical ſkill of the Roman officers.

The

* Hampton's Tranſlation, vol. i. p. 108. Book the firſt.

The inhabitants of Carthage had for a long time anxiouſly expected news from their countrymen at *Lilybæum*, without being able to elude the vigilance of the beſiegers, when a perſon of rank in the metropolis, ſurnamed *Hannibal the Rhodian*, undertook to elude the blockade of the Roman admiral. This daring offer was accepted with joy; a quick ſailing veſſel, that belonged to him, was equipped without delay; and *Hannibal* with no ſmall degree of exultation, left the port of *Carthage* amidſt the prayers and acclamations of innumerable ſpectators. At ſun-ſet he caſt anchor near one of the ſmall Iſlands oppoſite to *Lilybæum*. In the morning a favourable breeze carried him through the midſt of the Roman fleet; the enemy in mute aſtoniſhment ſuffered his galley to paſs. Hannibal glorying in his ſucceſs, entered the harbour. In the morning he prepared to return. The Conſul during the night had ſtationed ten of his ſwifteſt ſhips with ſuſpended oars, as near the harbour's mouth as the ſhallows would permit; and in conſiderable agitation waited the event. At length the *Rhodian* appeared: the indignant *Romans* eagerly purſued, but in vain. *Hannibal* glided without moleſtation over the calm ſurface of the Mediterranean, and even brought-to in order to inſult the enemy; yet not a ſingle ſhip would again advance. This perilous duty was repeatedly performed with equal ſucceſs, and his example followed by others: when at length, either from raſhneſs, or the exaſperated ſpirit of the Romans, the brave *Rhodian* was taken after a ſevere engagement, by a galley conſiderably ſuperior both in ſtrength and numbers.

For nearly three hundred years, the Carthaginians had ſtruggled to ſupport the ſovereignty of maritime Commerce, and their dominion of the ſea, againſt the progreſs, and inſatiate ambition of military power; when *Scipio Æmilianus* in the year 146 before the Chriſtian æra, was enabled to ſatiate the revenge of his country. The choiceſt treaſures of the ancient world were conſumed in the auguſt Metropolis of *Africa*; nor could its riſing flames be viewed even by *Scipio* without emotion: he openly lamented the dreadful conſequences of ſuch implacable animoſity, and, in the ruin of * Carthage, its conqueror was alarmed for the ſubſequent degradation of Rome.

The

* Dr. Shaw, in his learned *Geographical Obſervations on the Coaſt of Barbary*, endeavours to aſcertain the *ſite of ancient Carthage* (p. 150.). Neither hath *Carthage*, the next place to be deſcribed, much better ſupported itſelf againſt the encroachments of the N. E. winds, and

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The learned geographer, so often cited in this memoir, * *M. Gossellin*, has rendered hydrography a particular service by illustrating the almost forgotten fragment

and the Me-jerdah (or river *Bagrada*, so famous in history), which together have stopped up its ancient Harbour, and made it almost as far distant from the sea as *Utica*. The place still continueth to be called *(El Mersa)* The Port, lying to the N. and N. W. of the city; and formeth, with the Lake of *Tunis*, the peninsula upon which Carthage was built. Upon the other side of the Peninsula, towards the S. E. *Carthage* hath been a loser to the sea; for, in that direction, near three furlongs in length and half a furlong or more in breadth, lyeth under water. A little to the northward of these ruins, but to the S. E. of El Mersa, are the traces of a Cothon, scarce a hundred yards square. This was probably the *New Port* which the *Carthaginians* built, after *Scipio* had blocked up the old; and might be the same that was called the *Mandracium* in the time of *Procopius*.

" The greatest part of *Carthage* hath been built upon three hills, somewhat inferiour to those upon which *Rome* was erected. Upon that which overlooketh the S. E. shore, there is the Area of a spacious room, with several smaller ones hard by it. Some of them have had tessellated pavements; but neither the design nor the materials are worthy of our notice. The *Byrsa*, I presume, had formerly this situation. In rowing along the Sea Shore, the common sewers discover themselves in several places; which, being well built and cemented at first, time hath not in the least injured or impaired. The cisterns are other structures, which have submitted the least to the general ruin of this city. . . . Besides these, there are no other tokens left us of the grandeur and magnificence of this ancient City, and rival of *Rome*: we meet with no triumphal arch, or sumptuous piece of architecture; no granite Pillars, or curious entablatures; but the broken walls and structures that remain to this day, are either built in the Gothick manner, or according to that of the later inhabitants.

" *Pliny* seems to make the Ancient Carthage much bigger, than when it was a Roman colony; which, according to what Livy informeth us, was twenty-three miles in circuit. *Strabo* circumscribeth the Peninsula upon which *Carthage* was built, with 360 furlongs, or 45 miles, but doth not assign any number for the extent of the city. According to an estimate made upon the spot, I judge the Peninsula to be about thirty miles round, and that the City may have taken up near half that space; and more, I presume, it could never lay claim to. For *Livy* telleth us, that *Carthage* was twelve miles nearly from *Tunes*; which is the distance that still subsists betwixt this city, and a fragment (we meet with near the greater Cisterns) of the old wall of *Carthage*. And as there are several Salt Pits immediately under this wall, which reach as far as the S. E. shore, *Carthage* could not have extended any farther to the W. or S. unless these pits, which cannot well be supposed, were received within the city. Nay, if *Polybius* is to be credited, who maketh the distance betwixt *Tunes* and Carthage 15 miles, the boundary this way will be thrown farther backward, and we may be induced to suspect, that the wall I have mentioned, was erected

* Recherches sur la Geo. des Anciens (tom. i. p. 106.).

fragment in * *Pliny*, respecting the Voyage of Discovery by the historian *Polybius*, the tutor or confidential friend of *Scipio Æmilianus*. Having studied with minute attention the different Nautical journals preserved by the *Carthaginians*, this historian indulged a hope that he should be able to pass beyond his predecessor *Hanno*.

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Introduction. *Carthaginian and Roman Periods.*

Upon the destruction of Carthage, the restless jealousy of Rome soon suggested an expedition to the Western Coasts of Africa, in order to destroy the celebrated city of *Lixa*, and whatever colonies might remain that had been established by their rivals. POLYBIUS was the person appointed; and though it is probable he was considerably assisted by *Carthaginian* pilots, there are

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erected by the *Romans*, and took in a greater space of the Peninsula, than might be the *Area* of the ancient City. A large morass, that was formerly the Port, continues to be the same limit, it always was, to the N. and N. W., whilst, to the E. and N. E. the whole extent of the Capes *Carthage* and *Commart*, to the distance of one, sometimes two furlongs from the sea shore, do not appear to have been ever included in the city. If we may be then permitted to calculate the extent of the ancient Carthage from these Circumstances, fifteen miles I presume will be sufficient to circumscribe it.

" Adjoining to the Greater Cisterns, we see the first ruins of the ancient and celebrated Aqueduct, which may be traced, as far as *Zow-wan*, and *Zung-gar*, to the distance of at least fifty miles. It hath been a work of extraordinary labour and expence; and that portion of it, which runs along the *Peninsula*, was beautifully faced with hewn stone. . . . . There was a temple erected, both at *Zow-wan* and *Zung-gar*, over the fountains which supplied this aqueduct with water. The aqueduct appears to be of much greater antiquity than the temple, having been probably a work of the *Carthaginians*."

* (*Africæ Descriptio*, lib. v.) The reader may probably wish to compare the original, with the translation given in a subsequent page. ' SCIPIONE ÆMILIANO *res in* AFRICA *gerente*, POLYBIUS *annalium conditor, ab eo accepta classe, scrutandi illius orbis gratia circumvectus, prodidit à monte eo ad occasum versus, saltus plenos feris, quas generat* AFRICA, *ad flumen* ANATIN CCCCLXXXV. *M. pass. Ab eo* LIXUM CCV. *M. passuum: à* GADITANO *freto* CXII. *M. pass. abesse. Inde sinum qui vocetur* SAGUTI. *Oppidum in promontorio* MULELACHA. *Flumina,* SUBUR, *et* SALAM. *Portum* RUTUBIS *à* LIXO CCXIII. *M. pass. Inde promontorium* SOLIS: *portum* RISARDIR: GÆTULOS AUTOLOLES: *flumen* COSENUM: *gentes,* SCELATITOS *et Masatos. Flumen* MASATAT: *flumen* DARAT, *in quo crocodilos gigni. Deinde sinum* DCXVI. *M. pass. includi montis* BARCE *promontorio excurrente in occasum, quod appellat* SURRENTIUM. *Postea flumen* PALSUM, *ultra quod* ÆTHIOPAS PERORSOS, *quorum à tergo* PHARUSIOS. *Iis jungi Mediterraneos* GÆTULOS DARAS. *At in ora* ÆTHIOPAS DARATITAS, *flumén* BAMBOTUM, *crocodiles et hippopotamis refertum. Ab eo montes perpetuos usque ad eum, quem* THEÔN OCHEMA *dicemus. Inde ad promontorium* HESPERIUM *navigatione dierum ac noctium* X, *in medio eo spatio* ATLANTEM *locavit, à cæteris omnibus in extremis* MAURITANIÆ *proditum.*'

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are paſſages in his hiſtory, which would lead us to believe that he was fully qualified for the anxious duties of a circumnavigator: we alſo learn *, that contrary to the general opinion, he pronounced the Torrid Zone to be habitable, and compoſed a Treatiſe to juſtify this aſſertion.

In his third book of *General Hiſtory*, we meet with the following † digreſſion. " The firſt and moſt general notion then, in which all mankind agree, and which even the vulgar apprehend, is that by which we conceive the heavens round us to be divided into the four quarters, of Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South. The next ſtep is, to conſider the ſeveral parts of the earth, as lying beneath the one or other of theſe diviſions: and thus we are able to refer, even the places which we have never ſeen or known, to ſome ſettled and determined conception. This being done with regard to the whole earth, it remains that we obſerve the ſame method of diviſion, in ſpeaking of that portion of it which we know to be inhabited. Now this conſiſts of three ſeparate parts. . . . *Afric* lies between the *Nile*, and the *Pillars of Hercules:* under that part of the heavens, which extends from the ſouth, to the ſouth weſt; and from thence, forwards to the weſt, which coincides with the Pillars of Hercules. . . Oppoſite, on the north ſide of the ſame Sea, lies *Europe;* being extended alſo, without any interruption from eaſt to weſt. . . . The reſt of *Europe*, from theſe mountains weſtward to the *Pillars of Hercules*, is bounded partly by the *Mediterranean*, and partly by *The Ocean*, or exterior Sea. The Country which lies along the former is called *Spain*. But that which is waſhed by the *Exterior*, or *Great Sea*, having been but lately diſcovered, has not yet obtained any ſettled name. It is poſſeſſed by a race of barbarous people, who are very numerous; and of whom we ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak more particularly in another place. But as it has never yet been known with any certainty, whether *Æthiopia*, which is the place where *Aſia* and *Africa* meet together, be a Continent extending forwards to the South, or whether it be ſurrounded by the Sea; ſo thoſe parts of Europe likewiſe, that lie between *Narbo* and the *Tanais* towards the *North*, have hitherto been quite concealed from our Diſcoveries. In ſome future time, perhaps our pains may lead us to a knowledge of thoſe Countries. *But all that has hitherto been written or reported of them, muſt be conſidered as mere Fable and Invention, and not the fruit of any real ſearch, or genuine information.*"

In

* Polyb. apud Geminum, Elementa Aſtronom. cap. xiii. in Uranolog. p. 31.
† Hampton's Tranſlation, vol. i. p. 332.

In a subsequent part of the same * book, Polybius resumes the subject: "Many will be ready to inquire from whence it happens, that we have made no mention of *The Straits* that are formed by the *Pillars of Hercules*, and of the Sea beyond; together with the properties and accidents that are peculiar to them: of *the British Islands;* with the manner of making Tin: and of the Gold and Silver Mines that are found in *Spain:* especially since other writers, who have treated of these subjects in a very copious manner, differ greatly from each other, in all that they report. It must indeed be acknowledged, that these things are by no means foreign to the design of history. But I considered with myself, that a separate discussion of every one, as they occurred, would too much break the course of the narration, and divert the reader from those transactions which are the proper subject of this work.....

"With † regard to the reasons that induced me to reserve the full consideration of all these Subjects for a professed and separate inquiry, there are many that might now be mentioned. But the chief and most considerable of them is, that by much the greater part of those Historians, who have ever treated of the situation and the properties of the extreme Parts of the Habitable World, *have fallen into numberless mistakes, in almost all which they relate.* It will be necessary therefore to refute and rectify their accounts, not by some slight and cursory remarks, but in a full and deliberate examination of them. We must be careful however to remember, that their labours deserve upon the whole rather praise than censure; and that their errors are always to be corrected in the gentlest manner: since it is certain, that they would themselves retract and alter many passages in their works, if they were now alive. For in former times, there were but few among the *Greeks*, that made any attempt to extend their search into those places which we call the boundary of the earth. The difficulties in their way were indeed almost insuperable. Many dangers were to be encountered by Sea; and more, and greater upon land. And when any, either by choice or accident, had gained an entrance into those countries; yet because some parts were destitute of all inhabitants, and others possessed by a race of men, whose manners were uncultivated and wholly barbarous, it was scarcely possible, that they should be able to examine with their own proper eyes, even into a small part only of the things that deserved their notice. Nor could they, on the other hand, as

* Hampton's Translation vol. i. p. 366. † Ibid. p. 367.

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as they were ſtrangers to the language of the natives, ever gain the information that was requiſite, in thoſe which they had opportunity of ſeeing. And even thoſe few, that were able in ſome degree to ſurmount theſe difficulties, were all diſpoſed to enlarge their deſcriptions far beyond the bounds of probability: and having neither ſenſe nor candour to be ſatisfied with the plain and ſimple truth, invented ſtrange and incredible Fictions of prodigies and monſters; reporting many things, which they had never ſeen, and many alſo, that had no exiſtence. Since therefore all theſe circumſtances concurred to render it not only difficult, but utterly impoſſible to gain any accurate and certain knowledge of thoſe countries, we ought by no means to paſs too ſevere a cenſure upon the old Hiſtorians, for their miſtakes or omiſſions in theſe matters: but on the contrary, ſhould rather be perſuaded, that they deſerve our acknowledgements and thanks; on account even of the little information which they have left behind them; and that, amidſt thoſe numerous difficulties, they were able as it were to lay the foundation of more genuine Diſcoveries.

"But in theſe times, ſince *all Aſia* has been opened to us by the arms of *Alexander;* and *the other parts of the World* by the Roman victories, ſo that every Place and every Country is now become acceſſible either by Sea or Land; and ſince men of eminence in the world have ſhewn great eagerneſs and zeal in making theſe reſearches; employing in them all that leiſure which they now enjoy from the buſineſs of War, and the care of public affairs; it may with reaſon be expected, that, by the help of theſe advantages, *we ſhould at laſt be able to remove the obſcurity, in which theſe inquiries have hitherto been involved, And this is the Taſk, which I ſhall undertake in its proper place: and ſhall endeavour to give thoſe readers, whoſe taſte is gratified by ſuch deſcriptions, a clear and perfect inſight into all theſe ſubjects. For I have expoſed myſelf, without reſerve, both to great fatigue, and many dangers, in traverſing all Afric, Spain, and Gaul; and in voyageing alſo upon the* EXTERIOR SEA, *by which theſe parts of the World are bounded; that I might be able to correct with ſome aſſurance the miſtakes of former writers, and lay open the knowledge of theſe countries to the* * *Greeks.*"

The

* POLYBIUS, in his *fourth book*, makes ſome remarks on the favourable ſituation of *Byzantium* with reſpect to the ſea; explains at large the cauſes to which it was indebted for the great advantages it enjoyed; and offers many ingenious remarks relative to the *Pontus*, *Boſphorus*, and *Palus Mæotis*. "We may alſo add, that the Mæotis, as all writers have

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Introduction. *Carthaginian and Roman Periods.*

Voyage of Polybius.

Instead of beginning the Journal of *Polybius*, as Pliny did from Atlas, M. *Gossellin*, after restoring the rivers *Anates* and *Lixus* to their proper places in the narrative, conjectures with reason that the following is more calculated to describe the Course of our Navigator: since by introducing the name of *Atlas* so early in the Voyage, previous to his arrival at the Straits, *Polybius* could only mean that the squadron sailed from that part of the northern coast of *Africa*, where the mountainous ridge called *Atlas* first arises.

The following is the fragment, according to the illustration of *M. Gossellin*, which contains some particulars of the Voyage conducted by this historian. "*Whilst Scipio Æmilianus governed in Africa, he gave Polybius the command of a squadron in order to explore the western Coast of that Continent.*"

Having reached *The Pillars*, and gained the *Atlantic*, POLYBIUS arrived at the gulf *Saguti*, which answers to the *Cotes* of *Scylax*, or rather to the Bay *Al-cazar*. He then doubled the promontory *Mulelacha*, which appears in the modern *Mollabat*; and observed on its summit, though he does not mention its name, the ancient city *Thymiaterion* founded by *Hanno*. The adventurous historian, before his arrival at the harbour of * *Rutubis*, which during the height of the *Carthaginian* Commerce was a flourishing city, passed the river *Lixus*, first discovered by *Hanno*, and afterwards named *Lucos*; the

have declared, was anciently a Sea, and flowed intermingled with the Pontus." (*Hampton's Translation*, vol. ii. p. 85)—In the same book a passage occurs, which informs us what the ancient Navigators really intended, when, in describing an unknown Coast, they used the technical expression of an *Horn*. "Now the water, coming from the *Pontus*, at first flows on in the same uniform and unbroken course, because the Coast on either side is smooth and equal. But as it approaches near *Hermæum*, being now inclosed, as we have said, in the most narrow part of all the Strait, and driven with violence against this Promontory, it is suddenly struck back, and forced over to the opposite Shore of *Asia*. From thence it again returns to the side of *Europe*, and breaks against the *Hesliæan Promontories*. From these again, it is once more hurried back to *Asia*, to the place called *Bos*; where *Io* is fabled by the poets to have first touched the Land, when she passed this Strait. And lastly, falling back again from *Bos*, it directs its Course towards *Byzantium*: and there breaking into eddies, a small part of it winds itself into a *Pool*, which is called, the *Horn*." (*Ibid.* p. 90.) The reader will find this subject more fully discussed by Tournefort (*Voyage into the Levant*). His fifteenth letter contains a scientific account of the Canal of the *Black Sea*, with an occasional reference to the writings of the Ancients; and the sixteenth describes its Southern Coasts.

* Traces of which appear in the Fort of *Mazagan*, described by *Dapper* (p. 136.).

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Voyage of Polybius.

the *Sabur* and * *Sala*, now the rivers *Subu* and *Salee;* and the *Anatis*, the *Ommirabih* of Leo, which runs into the Sea at *Azamao*, a small port town of Morrocco.

The Squadron then doubled the Promontory of the Sun, or Cape *Cantin*, and afterwards reached a second harbour called RISARDIR, which M. *Gosselin* assigns to *Safi* or *Asafi*, the Coast of which was inhabited by the *Getulian Autololas*. *Risardir*, which is the last Port mentioned in the journal, exactly corresponds with this situation; since *Edrisi* relates, that in the time of the ancients, *Asafi* was the last Station of their ships on the African Coast.—*Polybius* however having left this harbour, prepared to extend his Voyage towards the south; and having passed the mouths of the Cosenum or *Tensist*, and the Masatat or *Mogador*, he arrived off the promontory Surrentium, or *Cape Ger*, which forms the western extremity of the gulf where the *Portuguese* built their town of *Santa Cruz*. Our navigator then passes the river Darat, or *Sus*, which descends from *Atlas* into the above gulf, and also the river Palsum or *Assa*, flowing midway between *Cape Ger* and *Cape Agulon*. On the banks of the latter river *Polybius* found the *Perorsi* and *Pharusii Æthiopes*, who according to Strabo had destroyed the most remote of the Phenician settlements; and heard of the *Gætuli Daræ* further inland, who confine on the territory of the *Daratitæ Æthiopes*.

Having at length reached the river Bambotum or *Nun*, *Polybius* returned; and therefore, not being able to give an account of the Coast beyond this River, subjoins the best information he could procure:—*that from the* Bambotum *to* THEON OCHEMA *the chariot of the gods, an unbroken ridge of mountains succeeds; it requires a voyage of ten days and nights to sail thence to the Western Promontory or Horn.* This erroneous report is a sufficient evidence that the historian did not advance beyond the river *Bambotum:* since, if he had, he would have discovered an immense *Plain of Sand*, raised in some places towards the Sea by the action of the Winds and Waves, and also, that agreeing with the Journal of *Hanno*, it was only four days' sail from the *chariot of the gods*, to the *Western Horn*.

In a note, which *M. Gossellin* has subjoined to a subsequent Dissertation on the Geographical System of † Polybius, he favours us with the following additional

* The *Asmir* of Edrisi (*Geo. Nubiensis pars prima Climatis tertii*, p. 77.), and the *Buragrag* of Leo (Africæ Descrip. lib. ix. p. 733.).

† *Recherches*, tom. ii. p. 1—30.

additional argument, *that the ancients never passed the tremendous Bojadore.* 'I am informed by the French Consul resident at *Mogador*, that a Sand Bank extends seaward to the distance of more than two leagues, from the mouth of the *River Nun.* This obstacle *entirely prevents small vessels from keeping in shore*, and has been the cause of many * Shipwrecks.'

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Introduction. *Carthaginian and Roman Periods.*

The different Colonies of the *Carthaginans* on the Western Coast of *Africa*, and whatever other Settlements, or Discoveries, they had made among the neighbouring *Atlantic Islands*, passed with the rest of their empire under the dominion of the Romans. It is therefore necessary, before we consider the progress of Maritime Discovery during the decline of the Roman empire, to take a brief view of the knowledge which the ancients possessed of the SOUTHT ALANTIC.

Atlantic Islands.

HESIOD is generally considered as the first writer, who has made any mention of the *Atlantic Ocean*, since he places on its Coast the *Hesperides* and *Gorgons*: and yet his ideas in this respect could not have been taken from any maritime Discoveries of his countrymen; for, according to the evidence of the † Greeks, it was not until three centuries afterwards, and about the year 639 before the Christian æra, that *Colæus of Samos* was driven by an easterly wind, without the Straits, to *Tartessus*, at the mouth of the river *Bætis.*

It is however I trust apparent from the preceding pages, that long before the age of *Hesiod*, some of the illustrious navigators or *Murmedons*, whose exploits have been noticed, were either driven by adverse winds, or impelled by an enterprising disposition, to explore parts of the *Atlantic*; and that such occasional trips, then attended with perils far beyond the present circumnavigation of the globe, gave rise to various traditions respecting the renowned country ‡ *Atlantis*, the § *Fortunate Islands, the gardens of the Hesperides*,

* *Recherches*, tom. ii. (p. 28.).

† Herodotus, *Melpomene* (lib. iv.), ch. 152.—"On leaving this island *(Platea)* with a wish to go to *Egypt*, the winds compelled them to take their course westward; and continuing without intermission, carried them beyond the Columns of *Hercules*, till, as it should seem, by somewhat more than human interposition, they arrived at *Tartessus*. As this was a Port then but little known, their Voyage ultimately proved very advantageous." (Beloe's Translation.)

‡ M. *Gossellin* terms it (*Recherches*, vol. i. p. 144.). 'L'ile fantastique que le philosophe d'Athènes avoit crée, et qu'il avoit eu soin d'abimer au fond de l'ocean, pour qu'on ne la cherchât plus après lui.'

§ M. Gossellin, to whose Dissertation, *des Traditions sur les isles de l'ocean Atlantique* (Ibid. p. 135.), I am greatly indebted, exerts his geographical learning to prove, that the term *Fortunate*,

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perides, the Iſland * *Aphrodiſias*, and other delightful ſolitudes; whoſe beauties were either heightened by the vanity of the diſcoverer, or accurately repreſented in a deſcription of the rich ſcenery of *Madeira*.

Ariſtotle †, the diſciple of Plato, in his account of the uninhabited Iſland beyond the Straits of GADES, which the Carthaginians ‡ diſcovered, muſt either allude to *Fortaventura*, or *Lancerota* among the Canary Iſles, or elſe to *Madeira*. The great fertility of this country, when firſt viſited, rendered the *Carthaginians* ſo anxious to emigrate, that the ſenate was compelled by a ſevere decree to repreſs the romantic ſpirit that prevailed.

Sertorius.

When SERTORIUS, a native of *Nurſia* in Sabinina, fled before the arms of *Sylla*, and having paſſed the *Straits* of Gades, reached the coaſt of the river Bœtis; he there met with ſome ſeamen, who were but lately returned from the *Fortunate Iſlands*, and ſpoke in the higheſt terms of the beauty of the country. This fact is identified by *Plutarch* in his life of *Sertorius*, with the additional information that the Iſlands mentioned were two in number, diſtant about § 10,000 *ſtadia* from the coaſt of Africa. Theſe happy regions ſeemed to offer ſo much tranquillity to the haraſſed partizan of *Marius*, that Sertorius in a moment of deſpondency had reſolved to embark; but the war which broke out in *Africa*, awakened the military talents he poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree. He therefore returned to ſcenes more congenial with his nature; delivered the *Mauritanians* from the yoke of a tyrant; and having accepted the proffered friendſhip of the ‖ *Luſitanians*, was inveſted by them with abſolute authority. The information which Sertorius had received reſpecting theſe Iſlands, and the diſpoſition he had ſhewn to reſide there, induced others to make the voyage: about twenty years afterwards

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Fortunate, as given by ancient navigators, was advanced *weſtward* from one beautiful Country to another, until it at length was fixed on the *Canary Iſlands*, the final limit of their diſcoveries in the Atlantic (p. 139—142.).

* *Appendix*, p. 13.

† Ariſtot. de Mirabil. Auſcultat. vol. i. p. 1157.

‡ See alſo *Appendix*, p. 16.

§ It is the opinion of M. *Goſſellin* (Recherches, vol. i. p. 147.), that an error has in this place been introduced into the text of Plutarch. for *Libya* he propoſes to read *Iberia*.

‖ An excellent Memoir *On the State of Luſitania, till it became a Roman province*, was publiſhed by M. A. C. *Do Amaral*, in the firſt volume of *Memorias da Acad. R. das Sciencias de Liſboa*, 1797.

terwards, *Statius* * *Sebosus* collected the various accounts that had prevailed, and whatever journals had appeared; but vainly attempting to make such different narratives agree, he was led into errors that required more than fourteen centuries to correct.

Juba's Discoveries.

The short account which JUBA, the young king of *Mauritania*, composed respecting some Islands in the *Atlantic*, was preserved and confused by *Pliny*. The *Insulæ purpurariæ*, where *Juba* established his manufactory of *Getulian* purple, are placed at the distance of 625 M. P. from the *Insulæ Fortunatæ*, described as situated to the south-west. In order to navigate a vessel from the former to the latter islands, seamen are to steer at first for the space of 250 M. P. towards the west, and afterwards 75 M. P. towards the east. In this royal Journal of maritime Discoveries, a new Island is added to the number which *Sebosus* had previously noticed. (1.) *Ombrios*, is described as being uninhabited; the Mauritanian seamen found a lake in the mountains, and also observed many curious trees, some of which yielded a bitter kind of water, whilst from others they procured water by no means unpleasant to the taste: a circumstance which induces D'Anville to style this the Island of *Ferro*, since a celebrated tree was afterwards found there which distilled water from its leaves. (2.) The *second* island is called *Junonia*; it presented nothing worthy of notice except a small stone temple. (3.) Near *Junonia*, they fell in with a smaller island, to which they assigned the same name. (4.) They afterwards visited *Capraria*, infested with enormous lizards. (5.) The *Mauritanian* navigators thence stretched across to an opposite island, which from the continual mist and snow that enveloped it they called *Nivaria*. (6.) Adjoining *Nivaria*, they discovered another island, to which they gave the name of *Canaria*, from the number of large dogs found upon it.

If to the above account that information is added, which the Chart of *Ptolemy* contains, we shall have considered the principal sources of hydrographical knowledge possessed by the *Romans* respecting the *Atlantic*. But in ascertaining the situation of the *Fortunatæ Insulæ*, Ptolemy, in point of correctness, must yield both to *Strabo* and *Pliny*; since these islands are placed by the former nearly fifteen degrees more to the south, than a learned † Geographer

* Stat. Sebosus, apud Plin. lib. vi. cap. 36, 37.

† Gossellin, tom. i. p. 156.

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grapher will allow; and this has induced ſome writers to think that Ptolemy had in view the Cape de Verde iſlands. *Strabo*, on the contrary, places the *Inſulæ Fortunatæ* oppoſite the coaſt of *Mauritania*, and Pliny deſcribes them as being ſituated over againſt the Libyan nation of *Autololes*.

The following table by M. *Goſſellin*, at one view connects and elucidates theſe remarks, and will enable the reader to form a more correct idea of the ſubject.

ATLANTIC ISLANDS, KNOWN TO ANCIENT NAVIGATORS.

HANNO.	HESIOD.	PLATO.	ARISTOTLE.	SERTORIUS.	PLUTARCH.	SEBOSUS.	JUBA.	PTOLEMY.	MODERN NAMES.
Cerne.	- -	- -	- - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Fedalle.
Gorillæ.	Gorgons.	- - -	- - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	at the mouth of the river Nuo.
		Atlantis.	Deſert Iſle.	Atlantic.	Fortunate.	Heſperides.	*Purpuraria.*	*Aproſitos.*	Fortaventura.
				Atlantic.	Fortunate.	Heſperides.	*Purpuraria.*	*Junonia Autolola.*	Lancerota.
						Junonia.	*Junonia parva.*	- -	Gracloſa.
						Pluvialia.	*Ombrios.*	*Pluitalia.*	Ferro.
						Capraria.	*Capraria.*	*Caſperia.*	Gomera.
						Convallis.	*Nivaria.*	*Pinturia.*	Teneriffe.
						Planaria.	*Canaria.*	*Canaria.*	Canary.
							Junonia.	*Junonia.*	Palma.
								Pœna.	Mazagan.
								Erythia.	Mogadore.

Hydrographical diviſions.

Though the Romans gave the name of *Mare* or *Sea*, to any large collection of water, they in general conſidered the Ocean as divided into MARE EXTERNUM, and MARE INTERNUM. The *firſt* of theſe was again ſeparated into *Oceanus Septemtrionalis*, or the Northern Ocean; *Oceanus Eous*, or the Eaſtern Ocean; *Auſtralis Oceanus*, or the Southern Ocean; and *Oceanus Heſperius*, or the Weſtern Ocean. The *ſecond* was ſubdivided into eight portions: *Mare Sardoum*, or Sea of Sardinia; *Mare Inferum*, flowing between Sardinia, Corſica, and the fare of Meſſina; *Mare Ionium*, extending from Sicily to Crete; *Mare Ægeum*; *Mare Parthenium*, now the gulf of Satalia; *Mare Lybicum*, refreſhing the coaſts of Tripoli and Biſerta; the *Pontus Euxinus*; the *Palus Mæotis*; and the *Propontis*, or Sea of Marmora.

To the FOUR WINDS, *Venti Cardinales*, which the ancients at firſt diſtinguiſhed, and worſhipped as deities; intermediate diviſions were ſoon added by

their

their earliest navigators; and these points of the Compass were * increased until they amounted to 24. This subject is discussed at length by † *Pliny* and *Solinus*. Winds that blew off the land were called *altani* or *apogæi*, and those arising from the sea *tropæi*. To HIPPALUS is generally, though perhaps erroneously, assigned the first discovery of the *monsoon*; and Dr. ‡ *Vincent* assumes the seventh year of *Claudius*, answering to the forty-seventh of the Christian æra, for this event. *Aulus* § *Gellius* describes the names and regions of the winds, as discussed at the social table of his friend *Favorinus*; but Mr. Bryant thinks that the whole of this Dissertation is a burlesque upon criticism, the chief speaker being so confused and inconsistent. The former author however afterwards discusses this subject in a more philosophical manner, and seems to give the opinion of the Roman navigators *on the motion of the waves, and their different undulations, according to the blowing of the wind from the south or north.*

" A difference", says ‖ *Aulus Gellius*, " has always been remarkable in the swelling of the Waves as affected by the *north wind*, and those blowing from that quarter of the heavens, and those from the *south* and *south-west*. The Waves raised by the *north-wind* are large and rapid as possible; but as soon as the wind subsides they disperse and become calm, and the surface is almost instantly without any swell; but it is not so when the *south* and *south-west* blow, which, if not very high, make the Swell continue longer; and when the wind ceases to be felt the Sea continues for a long time tempestuous. The cause of this is supposed to be, that the Winds from the north coming to the Sea from the more elevated parts of the heavens, fall downwards perpendicularly, as it were, into the depths of the waters, and do not agitate the Waves so much from its outward impulse as its internal commotion, which continues

* In Mr. *Bryant*'s work, already quoted, *Observations relating to various parts of Ancient History*, the nautical reader will find many remarks connected with the above subject, in a treatise on that particular wind which St. Paul styled *Euroclydon*. In this Dissertation (p. 15.) Mr. *Bryant* introduces an account of the *Alexandrine* ships which conveyed corn to Rome, and composed a fleet called *Commeatus Alexandrinus*; the light frigates that preceded the Squadron, received the names of *Præcursores* and *Tabellariæ*.

† Pliny, l. ii. c. 27. *Solinus ad Salmasium*, pages 1239. 1244, 5, 7, and 57.

‡ Periplus of the Erythrean, p. 46.

§ Lib. ii. C. 22.

‖ Lib. ii. C. 30. *(Beloe's Translation.)*.

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continues no longer than its outward force affects the ſurface. But the *ſouth* and *ſouth-weſt*, acting in an horizontal direction, rather impel the Waves upon each other than raiſe them aloft. The Waves, therefore, not acted upon perpendicularly, but rather compelled againſt each other, retain, after the wind ſhall have ſubſided, for a ſhort time, its original motion. What I intimate receives farther confirmation from the verſes of *Homer*, if they are peruſed with ſuitable attention. Of the ſouth winds he ſpeaks thus:

'When the *South* impels the Wave of the Sea againſt a Rock.'

"On the contrary, he ſays of *Boreas*, which we call *Aquilo*,

'And the calming *Boreas* rolling a great wave.'

"He repreſents the *north winds* as acting in a more elevated and perpendicular direction, to raiſe the waves, as it were, from their inmoſt depths, whilſt thoſe from the ſouth, which are lower, impell them with greater violence backwards and forwards.

"It has alſo been remarked by the moſt accompliſhed philoſophers, that when the *ſouth winds* blow, the ſea is of a blueiſh colour; when the *north* blows, it is dark and * black, the cauſe of which, as I have extracted it from the problems of *Ariſtotle*, I here inſert: *Why, when the ſouth wind blows, is the Sea blue; when the north, darker and more gloomy?—Is it becauſe the north agitates the ſea leſs? for every thing which is not moved ſeems black.*"

As the power of the *Roman Republic* haſtened to its cloſe, the wretched ſtate of their Navy is apparent, from that extraordinary and daring manner, in which the ſovereignty of the Mediterranean was entirely uſurped by a ſquadron of Pirates, who acted under the protection of *Mithridates*. A thouſand gallies defied all the legions of Rome, and for a long time inſulted Italy unmoleſted. Its villas on the ſea-ſhore were plundered; the ports of the Republic blockaded; a part of the conſular Fleet was deſtroyed at *Oſtia*; *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, two prætors, were ſurpriſed and carried off in their

* Virgil, adds *Mr. Beloe* in a note, ſpeaking of the Waves as agitated by the *North Wind*, calls them *black*:

'Interea medium Æneas jam et eſſe tenebat,
Certus iter, fluctuſque atros aquilone fecabat.'

their purple robes; and a general ſcarcity of proviſions was produced, which extended from *Europe* into *Aſia* and *Africa*: ſo dreadful was the name of theſe ancient *Buccaneers*, whom the ſuperior genius of *Pompey* at length extirpated in four months; although a puſillanimous ſenate allowed him three years to accompliſh what they deemed an *Augean* labour.

Roman Empire.

If from the haughty ambition or tyranny of the *Roman Republic*, we deſcend to the ſplendid yet meretricious annals of THE EMPIRE when a corrupt diſſoluteneſs of character cloſed the tragedy of Military oppreſſion, and avenged the cauſe both of *Carthage* and of *Corinth*; we ſhall find but few events that diſplay any zeal for naval enterpriſe, or which ſerve to mark the progreſs of maritime Diſcovery.—The learned *Warburton* conſiders *Virgil* as recommending to *Auguſtus*, in the ninth book of the *Æneis*, the great advantages of cultivating a Naval * power: "Every thing in this poem points to great and public ends. The turning the Ships into ſea deities, in the ninth book, has the appearance of ſomething infinitely more extravagant, than the myrtle dropping blood, and has been more generally and ſeverely cenſured; and indeed, if defended, it muſt be on other principles. . . Yet here and there, our poet, to convey a political precept, has employed an ingenious allegory in paſſing. And the adventure in queſtion is, I think, of this number. By the transformation of the Ships into Sea Deities, he would inſinuate, I ſuppoſe, the great advantages of cultivating a Naval Power; ſuch as extended Commerce, and the dominion of the Ocean; which, in poetical language, is becoming *Deities of the Sea*.

"He explains the allegory more clearly in the following book, where he makes theſe transformed ſea-nymphs accompany *Æneas*, and his fleet of auxiliaries, through the Tyrrhene ſea. . . . This Miniſterial hint was the more important and ſeaſonable, as all Octavius's traverſes, in his way to Empire, were from his want of a ſufficient Naval Power; firſt in his war with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and afterwards with *Sextus*, the ſon of Pompey the Great. Nor was it, at this time, leſs flattering to Auguſtus; to whom the *Alexandrians* erected a magnificent Temple, Porticoes, and ſacred Groves, where he was worſhipped under the title of CÆSAR THE PROTECTOR AND PATRON OF SAILORS."

The

* Warburton's Works, 4to ed. vol. i. p. 233.

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The ſcattered events in hiſtory deſcriptive of the naval character of the Roman emperors, have been ably collected by * *Dr. Campbell*, who gave an intereſt to every ſubject he conſidered.—Auguſtus, according to this writer, reduced the *maritime* as well as the *civil* affairs of the Romans into a regular ſyſtem: the former conſiſted in keeping three numerous ſquadrons, well equipped, conſtantly ready for ſea. The firſt was ſtationed at *Frejus* on the coaſt of the *Narbonnenſian Gaul*, in order to awe the *Spaniſh* coaſt, and the maritime diſtricts of *Provence* and *Languedoc*; the ſecond acted as guard-ſhips at *Cape Meſſina*; and the *third* commanded the *upper*, or *Adriatic* † *Sea*.

This emperor alſo, in order to obtain a correct knowledge of the diſtant provinces under his dominion, fitted out veſſels for the purpoſe of making diſcoveries on the coaſt of *Africa*, towards the equator; others were ſent to ſurvey the coaſt of *Europe*, as far as the *Cimbrican Cherſoneſus (Jutland)*, whilſt a third diviſion, ſtyled *Naves Luſoriæ*, received orders to aſcend the ſtream of ſome of the principal rivers in the Roman empire, whoſe courſe had not hitherto been explored.

Egypt.

The reduction of EGYPT to a province of the empire by AUGUSTUS, opened an extenſive nurſery for ſeamen, and an ample ſcope of commercial occupation to his ſubjects. The Præfect that ſat on the ſplendid throne of the Ptolemies,

* Harris's Voyages, ed. 1764. (vol. i. p. 425.) THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN TRADE, AS CARRIED ON THROUGH EGYPT BY THE RED SEA, UNDER THE ROMANS.—1. *The* Romans *little addicted to maritime affairs before the ſecond Punic war, and incited thereto chiefly by the deſire of deſtroying* Carthage. 2. *The progreſs of their Naval Power, till they became maſters of the ſea.* 3. *The extraordinary eſtabliſhments of* Auguſtus, *for the ſupport of the Maritime Force of the* Roman *empire.* 4. *His maxims for the government of* Egypt, *conſidered as inviolable laws by the ſucceeding emperors; and contributed greatly to the preſervation of the province.* 5. *An account of the expedition of* Ælius Gallus *into* Arabia, *the many difficulties he met with therein; and the conſequences which it produced.* 6. *The* Ethiopians *invade* Egypt; *are repulſed by* Publius Petronius, *the Roman Preſect, who penetrated as far as* Nepata, *the capital of* Ethiopia. 7. *The ſame of* Auguſtus *reaching the* Indies, Porus *ſends ambaſſadors to deſire his friendſhip.* 8. *The hiſtory of this Commerce continued to the end of the reign of* Veſpaſian, *including the Embaſſies of* Indian *princes.* 9. *An exact deſcription of the annual fleets ſent within this period to the* Indies; *the nature of their Voyages; the ſums employed in them, and the profit.* 10. *Obſervations upon the State of that commerce, within this period; and the objections raiſed againſt it by* Pliny. 11. *Of the new channels of trade opened from* Egypt *by the* Romans, *within the compaſs of this period; and the advantages derived from them.*

† Dion. Halicarn. lib. i.—Veget. de Re milit. lib. v.

Ptolemies, to avoid the danger of a powerful rival was always selected from among the Roman knights; and such was the wakeful distrust of AUGUSTUS and his * successors, that no senator or other person of rank, was allowed to enter this province without a passport. The whole system of its government was considered as one of the great mysteries of † State: this, united to the jealousy of its former sovereigns, and the policy of the *Phenicians*, occasions the silence which prevails in history respecting any Discoveries that had been made in different parts of the *Indian*, or *Erythrean* Ocean. On this account, "whatever was done is not ‡ recorded; the Course of Discovery was doubtless in progression; but there is a great difference between effecting the discovery, and bringing it into general § knowledge." *Ptolemy*, who professed to derive his information from the best authorities, extended the coast of *Malabar* east and west; a memorable proof that science had derived but little benefit from the maritime commerce of his countrymen.

Cornélius Gallus, the poetical friend of *Virgil*, was appointed first præfect of Egypt; but either his talents, or principles, were not adapted to support the station. After four years he was succeeded by *Publius Petronius*, during whose government the troops of Augustus, in search of GOLD, first entered the wilds of *Arabia* under the command of *Ælius Gallus*. In this unsuccessful expedition the emperor was assisted by *Herod*, king of Judea; whilst an Arabian prince ‖ *Obodas*, employed his minister *Syllæus*, to render the exertions of *Gallus* ineffectual. According to the crafty Arabian there was no safe passage by land; the Roman general therefore provided 130 transports, and sailed from *Cleopatris*, at the extremity of the Arabian Gulf, to *Lucocome* a port of the *Nabatheans*, on its eastern side. The navigation was found extremely dangerous, owing to innumerable rocks and shoals, but after a voyage of fifteen days, and the loss of many ships, the troops reached their destination. *Campbell* observes, "that it was undoubtedly a well laid design; and if it had taken effect, must have contributed greatly to the opening a free commerce throughout the whole gulph, from the city of *Arsinoe* to the city of *Ptolemais*; and as *Strabo* likewise suggests, it would have afforded a short and easy passage across

* *Germanicus* visited the province of *Egypt* without asking the permission of Tiberius; *and was afterwards poisoned.*

† Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 59.

‡ Dr. Vincent's Periplus (p. 41.).

§ This maritime subject is considered by Gibbon (vol. vii. p. 95.)

‖ Dion. Cassius, lib. iii. p. 512. Sueton. in Augusto, C. 66.

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acrofs the Streights of *Babel-mandel*, to the region of the *Troglodytes*; the reduction of which muft have been very advantageous, becaufe, the Commerce of that Country when opened proved very beneficial to the *Egyptians*. One good effect, and perhaps the only one that followed from this expedition, was the fpreading the fame of the *Romans*, and of *Auguftus*, through the INDIES, which produced two feveral embaffies; an honour the Romans never received before, and which might, very probably, operate favourably for their Commerce; and, if fo, the expence of this undertaking (which fell, however, moftly on the allies) was not wholly thrown * away."

Though *Auguftus* had according to Gibbon relinquifhed the ambitious defign of fubduing the whole earth; the expedition under *Gallus* proves, that he looked with an eye of curiofity or avarice, towards the regions of *Arabia* and *India*. In the tenth year of his reign he refolved to vifit the eaftern parts of the empire; and accordingly fpent a winter in the ifland of *Samos*: there Auguftus received the ambaffadors from Candace, queen of *Ethiopia*, and at their entreaty concluded a peace which continued for many years. From *Samos* the emperor failed for the coaft of *Syria*, and obtained a reftitution of thofe Enfigns which the *Parthians* had taken from *Craffus*. The name of Auguftus by thefe means reached the ears of *Porus*, who was monarch of *India*, on this fide the Ganges: a remembrance of the exploits of *Alexander*, gave an additional terror to the report that circulated of the power of *Auguftus*: and a folemn embaffy was therefore prepared without delay: but of the perfons whom *Porus* deputed to execute this important truft, only three lived to deliver his letter and prefents to the emperor at *Antioch*. Thefe were borne by eight flaves, and feem to have been calculated to deter the Romans from penetrating into the country. When *Auguftus* had feen the Indian birds purpofely felected of a prodigious fize, he was fhewn Serpents that meafured fifteen feet in length, and fhells of Tortoifes four feet and an half acrofs: but what muft have been the terror of the Roman courtiers, when for the firft time they beheld the bulk and fiercenefs of Indian Tigers: the curiofity of *Auguftus* was fatisfied, and having vifited *Athens* he returned to Rome. Of thefe three ambaffadors, who thus furmounted the perils and fatigue of the journey, *Dion* † *Caffius* mentions one, as being a *Brahmin*: delighted with the reception he had experienced, he followed *Auguftus* to *Athens*; and having there ordered his funeral Pile to be raifed

* Harris Collection, vol. i. p. 427.

† Lib. liii. p. 527.

raised, the venerable *Indian* resolved to terminate an existence hitherto unruffled by either calamity or sickness. He accordingly anointed his body; advanced naked to the scene of death, and having extended himself with the utmost composure on the wood, was immediately consumed. In the same manner *Calanus* is reported to have expired in the presence of *Alexander*. A tomb was raised by the *Athenians* to the memory of the devoted *Brahmin*, and * Strabo has preserved the inscription: HERE LIES ZAIMANOCHAGAS, AN INDIAN OF BAROOSA, WHO, ACCORDING TO THE CUSTOM OF HIS COUNTRY, THE INDIES, VOLUNTARILY QUITTED THIS LIFE.

Phenicia.

The situation of *Phenicia* under the Roman empire, was nearly like that of *Carthage* in the present day. 'Phœnicia † and *Palestine* were sometimes annexed to, and sometimes separated from, the jurisdiction of *Syria*. The former of these was a narrow and rocky Coast; the latter was a territory scarcely superior to Wales either in fertility or extent. A sandy desert alike destitute of wood and water, skirts along the doubtful confines of *Syria*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Red Sea*.'

Perhaps the only instance which *Caligula* displayed of being the son of *Germanicus*, was his constant attention to the interests of commerce, and the support he thus gave to the Maritime Force of the empire. Whatever were his motives, they at least produced a beneficial effect to the state, and raised the Roman navy to its greatest height. During the reign of *Claudius* his successor, the effect of the ‡ *monsoons* was discovered, and first made known to

* Lib. xv. p. 686. † Gibbon, vol. i. p. 39.

‡ Some remarks are made on this subject by BRUCE (vol. i. p. 368.). "It would appear he *(Sesostris)* revived, rather than first discovered, this way of carrying on the trade to the *East Indies*; which, though it was at times intermitted, (perhaps forgot by the Princes who were contending for the Sovereignty of the Continent of *Asia*), was nevertheless, perpetually kept up by the trading nations themselves, from the ports of *India* and *Africa*, and on the *Red Sea* from *Edom*. The Pilots from these Ports alone, of all the world, had a Secret confined to their own knowledge, upon which the success of these Voyages depended. This was the phænomenon of the TRADE WINDS and MONSOONS (far from being synonimous terms), which the Pilots of *Sesostris* knew; and which those of *Nearchus* seem to have taught him only in part, in his Voyage afterwards. History says further of *Sesostris*, that the Egyptians considered him as their greatest benefactor, for having laid open to them the Trade both of *India* and *Arabia*. . . . I will not enter into the defence of the probability of his reasons for having built a ship of this size, and for such a purpose; as one of ten yards would have sufficiently answered. The use it was made for, was apparently to serve for a hieroglyphic of what he had accomplished, viz. that

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Monsoons known to the Romans.

to the Romans, by the freedman of *Plocamus*; prior to observations that afterwards reflected so much credit on the name of *Hippalus*.

In order to receive the produce of the Egyptian customs, which probably were first farmed by *Claudius*, who also, according to *Suetonius*, projected Insurances on ships and merchandize; the freedman of *Annius Plocamus* visited the Coast in a revenue galley, and having passed the Straits of *Babelmandeb*, his vessel was suddenly driven out to sea by an heavy gale from the north, that continued for fifteen days. The coast of *Carmania* at length presented the prospect of deliverance; but the fears of the Roman did not abate, until he had reached the more distant port of *Hippurus*, in a remote Island *(Ceylon.)*. The freedman of *Plocamus* was here most hospitably entertained, by the king of the country, for six months, who was delighted with the accounts he thus received of the Romans, and above all was astonished at the different specimens of their coin. At length, when a vessel was provided to carry back this interesting stranger, as a respect for the power of *Rome* four ambassadors were appointed to attend, with a person of superior rank, who, according to the opinion of *Paolino* and Dr. *Vincent*, was a * *Rajah*. "We must conclude that they came in an Indian vessel

that he had laid open the Gold and Silver Trade from the mines in Ethiopia, and had navigated the Ocean in Ships made of wood; which were the only ones, he thereby insinuated, that could be employed in that Trade. The *Egyptian Ships* at that time were all made of the reed *papyrus*, covered with skins or leather, a construction which no people could venture to present on the Ocean."—It is singular that the real character of the MONSOON, should even at the close of the eighteenth century not be generally understood. For as Mr. *Cepper* remarks, in his preface to an excellent Treatise on the subject (p. 19.), both *Bailey* and *Dr. Johnson* have given very erroneous explanations of the *Trade winds* and the *Monsoon*. "*The* TRADE WIND *blows always, not at certain times, from the East toward the West; and in all parts of the Ocean within the tropics, where it is beyond the influence of the Land, it is subject to very slight variations from that point: In the northern tropic, a few degrees beyond that side of the equator, it varies only a point or two, more or less, to the northward; and so likewise at the same distance to the south of the equator, it inclines occasionally rather more or less to the southward. But as those Winds are equally useful both to Trading Ships, and Men of War, they might, I think, with more propriety be called* THE PERENNIAL WINDS, *being the only current of air which constantly moves the same way in any part of the world. The term* MONSOON *is not derived, as is often supposed, from the name of a famous Mariner, but from the Persian word* monsum *Season. There are two Winds of this name, distinguished in* India *by the N. E. and S. W. monsoons, which in some respects may be said to change alternately every six months, according to the situation of the Sun in the ecliptic.*"

* *Principe eorum Rachiâ (Pliny). Dr. Vincent's Periplus* (p. 55.).

veſſel to *Arabia*, and that the freedman learned the nature of the *monſoon* in the courſe of his Navigation; this is ſo near in point of time, that we cannot be miſtaken in ſuppoſing it connected with the attempt of *Hippalus*, and in conſequence of it, the revolution in the whole courſe of Oriental Commerce. The advantage which *Claudius* made of this diſcovery, and the proſecution of it ſo beneficial to Egypt, rendered his name dear to the *Alexandrians;* his writings were rehearſed in their Muſeum, and the account he gave of this Commerce is juſtly believed by *Dodwell* to be the ſource of *Pliny*'s information."

According to the account drawn up by **Pliny* of this curious maritime event, he had himſelf ſeen and converſed with perſons who heard the report given by the *Rajah*. The remote Iſland whence he came, is deſcribed as containing no leſs than 500 extenſive towns. Its capital was ſtyled *Palæſimundum;* ſituated on the ſouthern coaſt with a capacious harbour, and a population eſtimated at two hundred thouſand inhabitants. A large promontory ſtretched out from the continent of *India*, at the diſtance of four days' ſail from the Iſland; and midway, between both, there was an iſlet ſacred to the Sun. The adjacent ſea was remarkable for its deep green tint, and at the bottom were obſerved trees whoſe branches were often broke by the paſſage of veſſels. The Coaſt of the *Rajah*'s country that lay oppoſite to the *Indian continent*, extended for the length of 10,000 ſtadia, in a ſouth eaſterly direction, beyond the *Emodian* mountains: within ſight lay the region of the Seres *(Chineſe)*; and the *Rajah* affirmed that his father had traded with them. As to the name of this Iſland, *Pliny* declares that it was † *Taprobana;* and

* Hiſt. Nat. lib. 6. c. 31.

† As the profeſſed intention of this work is to bring into a more general view, the merits of thoſe by whom my labours have been preceded, I ſhall here introduce the title and contents of another valuable Diſſertation by *Dr. Campbell*, in Harris's Collect. of Voyages (vol. i. p. 493.). AN ACCOUNT OF THE DESCRIPTIONS LEFT US BY THE ANCIENTS OF THE EASTERN AND NORTHERN PARTS OF THE INDIES, THE NOTIONS THEY HAD OF THEIR RICHES, TOGETHER WITH AN ENQUIRY INTO THE REASONS WHICH HINDERED THE EXTENDING THEIR DISCOVERIES ON THAT SIDE. (1.) *A brief deſcription of the country of the* Sinæ *or* Thinæ *from ancient authors.* (2.) *Obſervations on the foregoing deſcription, proving that this Country was the Kingdom of* Siam. (3.) *Of the* Indian *Iſlands, as deſcribed by old authors; and more particularly of the famous Iſland of* Taprobana, *and their miſtakes about it.* (4.) *This point more particularly inquired into, and the* Taprobana *of the ancients ſhewn to be no other than the Iſland of* Ceylon. (5.) *Of the country called* Serica, *and the nation of the* Seres, *from the beſt*

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and according to the report of the ambaſſadors, gold and ſilver, together with precious ſtones and pearls, were in high requeſt among the inhabitants. It alſo produced fruit-trees in great abundance, but no vines. The *Indian* ambaſſadors on their arrival at *Rome* were particularly ſtruck at their ſhadows falling to the north, and often mentioned the brightneſs of the ſtar *Canopus*, that was viſible in their hemiſphere.

Hippalus.

We poſſeſs no information by which the date of the ſubſequent obſervations of the Pilot HIPPALUS, reſpecting the monſoon, can be correctly aſcertained. Dr. Vincent prefers the ſeventh year of *Claudius*, anſwering to the forty-ſeventh of the Chriſtian æra. "*Dodwell* ſays, in *primis annis Claudii*, and ſuppoſes that Pliny takes his account of *Hippalus* from a work which *Claudius* himſelf * wrote."

Diſcoveries on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa.

The Roman commerce from *Egypt* to the *Eaſt Indies*, and their diſcoveries on the *eaſtern coaſt of Africa*, are admirably elucidated in the PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA, an ancient nautical journal which has recently employed the geographical abilities of the liberal and learned Dr. Vincent. The original text, as he informs us, was firſt printed at *Baſle* in 1533; afterwards at *Zurich* in 1577; and then by Hudſon at Oxford in 1698. It ſtill however remains a doubt to whom this curious geographical Tract may be aſſigned. Dr. Vincent was at firſt inclined to † think that *Marinus*, who preceded *Ptolemy*, might have compoſed it, but changed his opinion on reflecting that *Marinus* was no navigator. The author, from internal evidence, ſeems to have been a Greek merchant of *Alexandria*, who ſailed on board the fleet from Egypt as far at leaſt as the gulf of ‡ *Cambay*. Its date may be fixed to the laſt years of the reign of Claudius, or beginning of Nero; and in the diſcuſſion of this point, Dr. Vincent introduces the following remark: 'There is a *Diodôrus Samius*

writers of antiquity. (6.) *An objection arising from the knowledge which the ancients had of the Chineſe fully ſtated, and clearly reſolved.* (7.) *A ſecond objection taken from the Commerce of the ancient Chineſe, ſtated and examined.* (8.) *A third objection from the ſeeming diſcordancy of theſe accounts, explained and refuted.* (9.) *An account of the iſland of Panchaia (Diodorus Siculus, lib.* v. *p.* 220.), *and a full proof of its being abſolutely imaginary.* (10.) *The high ideas which the ancients had of the riches of the undiſcovered Indies.* (11.) *Their errors as to the poſſibility of eſtabliſhing a regular commerce with thoſe countries.* (12.) *The cauſes which impeded their Diſcoveries, and occaſioned the decline of that Trade which they actually had to the Indies.*

* Periplus of the Erythrean (p. 46.).

† Ibid. p. 186. ‡ Ibid. p. 5.

Samius mentioned in *Ptolemy* from *Marinus*, who notices the course held by vessels from the *Indus* to the coast of *Cambay*, and from *Arabia* to the coast of *Africa*. He asserts that in the former Voyage they sailed with the *Bull* in the middle of the heavens, and the *Pleiades* on the middle of the main yard; in the latter that they sailed to the South, and the star *Canobus*, which is there called the *Horse*. I can find no mention of this *Diodôrus Samius* in any other author; but whoever he is, if the date of his work could be fixed, it would go farther to ascertain the progress of the ancients, the navigation of Hippalus, and the account of the Periplûs, than any discovery I have been able to make. I have reasoned only from the materials before me; and if future inquiry should develope *Diodôrus*, it is not without great anxiety that I must abide the issue of the * discovery.' This *Periplus* or circumnavigation is divided into two parts: one comprehending the *Coast of Africa* from † *Myos Hormus* to *Rhapta*; the other, commencing from the same point; includes the coast of *Arabia* both within the *Red Sea* and on the Ocean; and then passing over to *Guzerat* runs down the Coast of *Malabar* to *Ceylon*. It is the first part only which has yet been compared with the observations of modern navigators.

Eastern coast of Africa.

A Survey of the Eastern Coast of Africa, from the Straits of *Babel-mandeb* to the Cape of Good Hope, forms one of the great *desiderata* in the geographical researches of the present age; and our ignorance of a considerable part of this Coast, however attempted to be concealed, disgraces the Charts of the first commercial nation in the world. The country that extends from the Straits to *Cape Gardefan* was ravaged by the *Portuguese*, under the command of *Soarez*, during the years 1516 and 1517; since which it has seldom if ever been visited by our ships. It may therefore be acceptable to my professional readers, if an abstract is given of that part of Dr. Vincent's, learned ‡ work, which describes the establishments or marts on this coast, from the Straits of *Babel-mandeb* to *Rhapta*.

These

* Periplus, p. 183.

† Bruce remarks (vol. v. Appendix, p. 222.), that the name of this Ancient Port has been improperly translated by commentators, *The Port of the Mouse*, whereas it literally signifies, *The Harbour of the Muscle*; one of the three sorts of shell-fish in the Red Sea, which is sought after for PEARLS. (See *Introduction*, sect. ii. p. 79. *note*).

‡ THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA, Part the first, containing an account of the Navigation of the Ancients from the Sea of Suez to the Coast of Zanguebar, by Dr. Vincent: with Dissertations, 4to. 1800. (pages 314.)

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Adel.

These tremendous * Straits, are called by *Ptolemy* Δειρα, or the Neck. The Periplus only observes, that the point of contraction is close to *Abalites*, or the *Abalitick Mart*, the first of the four Marts, or Anchorages on the African Side of the channel, called *Ta-pera*, or † *Marts beyond the Straits*. In the modern *Adel*, styled *Barbaria* in the Periplus, Dr. Vincent traces a resemblance to the ancient *Abal-ites*; and observes, that when the *Portuguese* first entered these Seas, they found the country and commerce in the same state, as the Greeks described it 1500 years before. *Abalites* only furnished a roadsted to the Roman ships, and the articles of merchandise were conveyed to and from the ships, in boats or rafts. The *imports* are described as being *Flint Glass* of various Sorts, *Tin* in small quantity, &c. Its *exports*, conveyed by the natives in small craft to *Kelis* and *Moosa*, on the *Coast of Arabia*, consisted of *gums*, *ivory*, *tortoise shell*, and a small quantity of the finest sort of *Myrrh*.

From

* Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, p. 111.

† See also P. 129. A view of the Straits was given by *Mr. Irwin* in the quarto edition of his dangerous Voyage up the Red Sea. They are thus described by Bruce, (Vol. I. P. 311—322,) "On the 30th (July, 1769,) at seven in the morning, with a gentle but steady wind at west, we sailed for the Mouth of the Indian Ocean. The *Coast of Arabia*, all along from *Mocha* to the Straits, is a bold Coast, close to which you may run without danger night or day. About four in the afternoon we saw the Mountain which forms one of the Capes of the Straits of Babelmandeb, in shape resembling a Gunner's *Quoin*. The 31st, at nine in the morning, we came to an anchor above *Jibbel Rahon*, or *Pilot's Island*, just under the Cape which, on the Arabian side, forms the north entrance of the Straits. At noon, I made an observation of the sun, just under the Cape of the Arabian Shore, with a *Hadley's Quadrant*, and found it to be in Lat. 12° 38′ 30″; but by many passages of the stars, observed by my large astronomical quadrant in the island of *Perim*, all deductions made, I found the true latitude of the Cape should be rather 12° 39′ 20″ north.

"This Entrance begins to shew itself, or take a shape between two Capes; the one on the Continent of Africa, the other on the Peninsula of *Arabia*. That on the *African* side is a high land, or Cape, formed by a chain of Mountains, which run out in a point far into the sea. The *Portuguese*, or *Venetians*, the first Christian Traders in those Parts, have called it *Gardefui*, which has no signification in any language. But, in that of the country where it is situated, it is called *Gardefan*, and means the *Straits* of Burial. (or perhaps *Cape*, sea Dr. Vincent's Periplus, P. 131.) The opposite Cape is *Fartack*, on the east coast of *Arabia Felix*, and the distance between them, in a line drawn across from one to another, not above fifty leagues. The breadth between these two lands diminishes gradually for above 150 leagues, till at last it ends in the Straits, whose breadth does not seem to me to be above six leagues. After getting within the Straits, the channel is divided into two, by the island of *Perim*, otherwise called *Mebun*. The utmost and northern channel, or that towards the Arabian Shore, is two leagues broad at most, and from twelve to seventeen fathom of water. The other entry is three leagues broad, with deep water, from twenty to thirty fathom. From this, the Coast on both sides runs nearly in a north west direction, widening as it advances, and the Indian Ocean grows straiter. The coast upon the left hand is part of the kingdom of *Adel*, and on the right, that of *Arabia Felix*. The passage on the Arabian Shore, though the narrowest and shallowest of the two, is that most frequently sailed through, and especially in the night; because, if you do not round the south-point of the Island, as near as possible, in attempting to enter the broad one, but are going large with the wind favourable, you fall in with a great number of low small islands, where there is danger. At ten o'clock, with the wind fair, our course almost north-east, we passed three rocky islands about a mile on our left. On the 2d, at Sun-rise, we saw land a-head, which we took to be the Main, but upon nearer approach, and the day becoming clearer, we found two low islands to the leeward; one of which we fetched with great difficulty... About four we passed a rocky Island with breakers on its south end, we left it about a mile to the windward of us. The *Rais* called it *Crab-Island*. About five o'clock we came to an anchor close to a Cape of no height, in a small Bay, in three fathom of water, and leaving a small Island just on our stern. While lying at *Crab-Island*, I observed two Stars pass the Meridian, and by them I concluded the latitude of that island to be 13° 2′ 45″ north."

From *Abalites* our navigator proceeded eighty miles to *Malaò*, or *Delaqua*, where he found the inhabitants of a more peaceable disposition than their neighbours. Among the *imports* are mentioned *cloaks*, or *blanketing*, manufactured at *Arsinoe* or *Suez*, with the knap on, and dyed. *Brass*, or *copper*, prepared to imitate gold. *Iron*; and *Cassia* or inferior cinnamon.—*Moondus*, the next anchorage may probably be fixed at the *Zeyla* of Bruce; and the succeeding grand Mart of the ancients, *Mosyllon*, distant two or three days' sail, at the town of *Barbora*, or *Berbera*. In the Periplus no description is given of this place, but it is twice mentioned by *Ptolemy* as a promontory.

Delaqua. Zeyla.

The anonymous navigator on leaving *Mosyllon*, stood along the Coast for two days, and after a run of an hundred miles, arrived at *Nilo-Ptolemêion*, (*Soel*,) which seems to have been the last of the *Ta-pera*. The next places that occur are *Tapatégé*, with the lesser *Daphnôn*, and the promontory Arômata or *Gardefan*, with its inferior capes *Elephant* and *Tabai*. The country is represented as having two rivers, one called the *Elephant* river, and the other the greater *Daphnôn*, or *Akannai*; these Dr. Vincent allots to the synonymous town and cape, and thinks they may be represented by the *Metè* river, and the *Rio da santa Pedra* of the Portuguese. CAPE ELEPHANT, which presents itself the first, is formed by the land jutting up to the north from the direction of the coast, which is nearly east and west, and from its northernmost point the land falls off again south-east to Cape *Gardefan* the *Arômata* of the Periplus.

Soel.

Cape Elephant.

The Promontory of *Arômata*, which next succeeds, deserves particular attention. It is the extreme point east of the continent of *Africa*; it forms the southern point of entrance upon the approach to the *Red Sea*; and is the boundary of the *Monsoon*, from causes that are almost peculiar. * *Beaulieu*, who anchored within four leagus of *Gardefan*, describes it as a very high bluff Point, and as perpendicular as if it were scarped. The Current comes round it out of the gulph with such violence, that it is not to be stemmed without a brisk wind; and during the south-west *Monsoon*, the moment you are past the Cape to the north, there is a stark calm with insufferable heat. The *Periplus* marks in the most pointed manner, that the Coast falls in at *Arômata* to the south; and in another place specifies its southerly, or south westerly † direction, to the limits of Ancient Discovery. The author also expressly mentions that *Arômata* is the most eastern point of the Continent; the Anchorage, he adds, is totally exposed, and in some seasons very dangerous, because it is open to the north. The certain prognostick of an alteration in the weather is when the Sea changes colour, and rises turbid from the bottom. Upon the sight of this, the vessels which are at anchor here weigh instantly, and fly to *Tabai* for shelter. At *Arômata* terminates the modern kingdom of Adel, the *Barbaria* of the Periplus, and here the imaginary kingdom of *Aden* commences with the coast of *Ajan*, or according to the Periplus *Amania*. *If any accident should lead an English navigator again to this barbarous and neglected* ‡ *coast, it is very possible that the descriptions of places, brief as they are, may be recognised by a judicious observer, and the ancient narrative be established on modern investigation.*

Cape Gardefau.

CAPE

* Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 726.

† Dr. Vincent notices the discordancy of the Points of the Compass, or rather of *the quarters of the Heavens*, in the Periplus, and corrects them, (p. 126, note 147. p. 127. n. 152); and in the *Appendix*, (p. 68,) observes that the Navigator had certainly not more than eight quarters of the Heavens, the same number as is marked upon the eight fronts of the Temple of the Winds at *Athens*. Not that the whole eight occur in the *Periplus*, but it certainly has not more than eight. He uses *Apartias* for the *North*, and *Dusis* for the *West*.

‡ A Fleet was sent to cruise at the mouth of the Red Sea in 1798 and 1799.

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Cape d'Orfui.

Coast of Azania.

Ban-del-Caus.

CAPE TABAI, the d'Orfui of the *Portuguese*, lies about 75 geographical miles south of *Gardefan*. Its *Exports* consisted of different sorts of cinnamon, and frankincense. The Coast that extends between *Arômata* and *Tabai*, is called the Bay of *Belba*, or *Beyla*.

The state of the inhabitants on the *Coast of Azania* is thus described in the *Periplus*: *Every city was a separate government, and every government had its independent chief.* Such they were, adds its learned * illustrator, in that age, and such they might have continued if an European power had not arisen, which overwhelmed them all in a period of less than twenty years. *Sofala*, *Mosambique*, *Quiloa*, *Angoxa*, *Ocha*, *Patè*, *Mombaxa*, *Brava*, and the *Zanguebar islands*, all submitted to *Diego Almeida*, and *Tristan d'Acugna*, before the year 1508. *Melinda*, which had always been friendly, lost all her importance, and *Magadoxo* only resisted with effect.

Ptolemy's † *Azania* commences at *Zengisa*, which he places at Mount *Phalangis*, described as a forked mountain with three heads, answering probably to the *Morro Cabir* of the Portuguese, in 8° of N. latitude. The mention of a Current setting round *Tabai* or *Cape d'Orfui* down this coast, is in all probability consistent with the experience of the navigators of that age; but whether this Current is constant or changes with the monsoon, must be determined by those who visit this Coast in different seasons of the year. The first place mentioned in the Periplus on this Coast, is ‡ *Opônè*, or *Ban-del-Caus*, a bay or port, at the distance of forty miles from *Tabai*: both this navigator and *Ptolemy* honour it with the title of a mart. The *exports* were two sorts of *cinnamon*; *fragrant gums*; *slaves of a superior sort, and principally for the Egyptian market*; *tortoise-shell in great abundance, and of a superior quality*. The season for sailing from Egypt to all these ports beyond the Straits, is described as being in Epiphi or *July*; and many articles of commerce are mentioned as being regularly imported from the Marts of Ariakè, § *Malabar*, and Barygáza, *Cambay* or *Guzerat*; such as *corn*, *rice*; *butter* or *ghee*, being the former in a half liquid state; *oil of sesamum*; *cottons coarse and fine*; *sashes*; *honey from the Cane called* ‖ *Sugar*. The Navigator, adds, that many vessels are employed in this Commerce, expresly for the importation of these articles; and others which have a farther destination, dispose of part of their cargoes on this Coast, and take in such commodities as they find here in return. This passage ** I have rendered literally, as containing one of the most peculiar circumstances in the Ancient Commerce of this Coast. It manifestly alludes to an Intercourse, totally distinct from the Navigation of the *Egyptian Greeks*, carried on by the *native merchants of Guzerat and Malabar*, with the inhabitants of the Coast of Africa, whom we shall presently find to be *Arabs*; it speaks of this Intercourse as established, and that seemingly previous to the appearance of the Greeks in the Country; and when it is immediately subjoined, that there is no Potentate who has an extensive influence, but that each Mart has its own peculiar Sovereign; it presents a picture both of the trade and country, identically the same as the *Portuguese* found them after an interval of fifteen centuries. I cannot contemplate this picture without indulging my imagination, in supposing that the *East India trade* existed in this form, as long before the

* Dr. Vincent's Periplus, p. 224. † Lib. i. c. 17. ‡ *Dr. Vincent*, p. 143.

§ MALABAR is properly the coast lower down towards *Cape Comorin*; but the whole WESTERN COAST takes this name generally. *Ariakè* is confined to the part between *Guzerat* and *Bombay* (Dr. Vincent, p. 145).

‖ Μίλι τὸ καλούμενον τὸ λεγόμενον σάκκαρι. ** Dr. Vincent's Periplus, p. 145.

the interference of the *Greeks*, as it continued after the destruction of the Roman power in Egypt; and that the nature of the *Monsoons* was perfectly known to the inhabitants of the two opposite Coasts, as many centuries before it was discovered for the *Greeks* by *Hippalus*, as it continued afterwards till the arrival of GAMA at *Melinda*.

The PERIPLUS then advances during a run of six days, and the distance of 300 miles from *Opônè*, along the coast of *Azania*, tending still more to the south-west, to APÓKOPA the less and the greater: and it is evident from a previous passage in the *Periplus*, where *Cape Arómata* is peculiarly marked as more to the east than *Apókopa*, that the latter is itself a promontory; answering to the *Southern Horn* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Cape Baxas* of the Moderns. It is worthy of remark, adds * Dr. Vincent, that the termination of ancient knowledge on the Western Coast of *Africa*, was a *Horn*, as well as on the Eastern; the *Western Horn* is a limit to the *Voyage of Hanno*, and the Geography of *P. Mela*, as this *Southern Horn* formed the boundary of the *Eastern Coast* in the age of Strabo; (*the Southern Horn is the last Promontory on this Coast*. Lib. 16. p. 774). Yet it is not quite certain that the Southern Horn of *Strabo* is the same as † *Ptolemy*'s. But Discovery had advanced to *Rhapta* before the writing of the *Periplus*, and to *Prasum* in the time of *Ptolemy*: by comparing this progress of knowledge, it seems as well ascertained that the Author of *the Periplus* is prior to *Ptolemy*, as that he is posterior to *Strabo*."

The PERIPLUS next describes its two last divisions of the navigation of the Eastern Coast of Africa. The *first* occupied a Course of six days; along what is termed, *the little and great Coast*, amounting nearly to five degrees of latitude, and terminated, according to Dr. Vincent, at the modern *Brava*, which corresponds sufficiently with the *Essina* of *Ptolemy*: but no name is mentioned, neither is there an Anchorage noticed, or the least trace of Commerce to be found; even on the modern Charts only one place, *Magadasho*, is mentioned. The *second* division, which employed a Course of seven days, is marked by a river being specified at each anchorage; and the part of the Coast, now called the *Coast of Zanguebar*, can be precisely ascertained where these ‡ Streams begin to make their appearance. Not that the Seven Anchorages can be distributed to the Seven Rivers, but there are seven rivers, or probably more, and the general picture of the tract is all that is contended for as true. They are the more remarkable, because from *Cape Gardefan* to *Brava*, a space of more

* Dr. Vincent's Periplus, p. 148.

† In a subsequent part of his work, Dr. Vincent offers further remarks on this subject. (p. 170.) "The *Southern Horn* of *Ptolemy*, on the Eastern Coast, is in Latitude 4° 50′ 0″ North, and the extreme Point of AFRICA (Cape Agulhas) is nearly in 35° South, making more than thirty-nine degrees difference; the *Southern Horn* of *Hanno*, on the Western Coast, is in Latitude 7° North, making two and forty degrees from the same extremity; but if we take both together, reckoning eighty-one degrees from one *Southern Horn* to the other, this is a space that *Pliny* reduces as it were to a Point, and considers the junction of the *Atlantick Ocean*, as taking place almost instantly; *Juba* takes a much bolder flight, and reckons the commencement of the *Atlantick Ocean* from the Bay of *Mosyllon*, annihilating by this method, if it were possible, the immense Triangle of this vast Continent, and bringing his own *Mauritania* almost in contact with *Arabia*."

‡ SEVEN RIVERS are noticed on this Coast by *Resende*, (Sheet 26, M.S. Brit. Mus.) commencing from the north.

1. *Bouba.*
2. *Jugo.*
3. *Mane.*
4. *Quiami.*
5. *Punta de Bagona.*
6. *Patte.*
7. *Mandara.*

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more than 760 miles, water is found at only three places; at *Bandel d'Agoa*, north of *Cape Banas*; at *Doura*, an obscure stream where we find *Bandel veijo*; and at *Magadasso*. The two first Anchorages are called *Serapion*, and *Nicôn*, both in Ptolemy, and the Periplus. The first must have been the name of an Egyptian, or an Egyptian Greek; and probably this place was so named from him, by some navigator, or he might have been himself a navigator on this coast. *Cicero* * mentions a *Serapion* as a geographer, who contradicted *Eratosthenes*. Among the number of these STREAMS must be comprehended the mouths of the *Quilimancè*, or *Grand River* of d'Anville, (the Obii,) which falls into the Sea not far from *Melinda* by three mouths, or perhaps more. My own † desire is, to assume these spots surrounded by the divided streams of the River for the *Pyralâan Islands*, and to make up the number of the Seven Rivers with those separate streams which occur previously on the coast. . . . . The general character of the Coast is clearly marked by the actual existence of the Rivers; and the termination of the Seven Courses at the *Pyralâan Islands*, points to *Mombaça* almost to a certainty.

Island of Zanguebar, or Monfia.

From the PYRALAAN ISLANDS, and the place called the NEW CANAL, the Course in the Periplus is ‡ described as not directly south-west, but something more to the south; and after two Courses of twenty-four hours (in this direction) you meet with the Island *Menûthesias*, lying almost directly south from the Pyralaan Islands, at the distance of about thirty stadia from the continent. *Menûthesias* itself is low and woody; it has rivers, and abounds with a variety of birds, and with the mountain or land tortoise. It has no noxious animals, for, though it produces *crocodiles*, they are harmless. The natives use the *Rhapta* or sewen vessels, both for fishing and catching Turtle; and they have likewise another method peculiar to themselves for obtaining the latter, by fixing baskets insteadof nets at the interstices of the breakers, through which the sea retires, when the Tide is going out.

Quiloa.

Rhapta (Quiloa) is mentioned as the last Harbour on the *Coast of Azania*, and the *Periplus* adds, that it obtained this name among the Navigators who were Greeks, from the greek *rapto* to sew; which was applied to this place, because they found here Vessels not built like their own, but small, and raised from a bottom of a single piece, with planks which were § sewed together (with the fibres of the cocoa) and had their bottoms paid with some of the odoriferous refins of the country. The inhabitants are described as men of the tallest stature and the greatest bulk, and the Port as being subject to the sovereign of *Mapharitis*, which is in *Yemen*, lying between *Moosa*, and the Straits; besides this power of the king, the merchants of *Moosa* likewise exacted either a tribute, or demanded custom; for they had many ships themselves employed in the trade, on board of which they had *Arabian* Commanders and Factors, employing such only as had experience of the country, or had contracted marriages with the natives, and who understood the Navigation and the language. The *Imports* at *Rhapta* were, *Javelins*, more especially such as were actually the manufacture of Moosa; *hatchets*, or *bills*; *knives*; *awls*; *crown glass* of various sorts; besides a store of *corn* and *wine* carried out by the traders to ingratiate themselves with the natives.

THUS

* Epist. ad Atticum, lib. 2. Ep. 6. † Dr. Vincent, p. 152.

‡ Dr. Vincent's Periplus (p. 158.), and Appendix (p. 75.).

§ "Is it not," exclaims Dr. Vincent, (p 154.) "one of the most extraordinary Facts in the History of Navigation, that this peculiarity should be among the first objects which attracted the admiration of the Portuguese upon their reaching the same Coast, at the distance of almost fifteen Centuries? They saw them first at *Mesambique*, where they were called *Almeidas*, but the principal notice of them in most of their writers is generally stated at *Quiloa*, the very spot which we have supposed to receive its name from Vessels of the same construction."

THUS THE PERIPLUS FIXES * ITS OWN LIMIT, WITHOUT MONSTERS, PRODIGIES, OR ANTHROPOPHAGI; A CIRCUMSTANCE THIS, ABOVE ALL OTHERS, WHICH GIVES REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT THE AUTHOR VISITED IT HIMSELF; FOR THE MARVELLOUS USUALLY COMMENCES WHERE KNOWLEDGE ENDS.

Hyperborean Ocean.

The HYPERBOREAN, or *Scythic Ocean*, occupied at different periods the attention of the Roman Navigators; their progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery on the northern coaſts of Europe, may in ſome meaſure be compared with the more daring and ſucceſsful exertions of our own countrymen in the *Pacific*. In the remote darkneſs of the north *Great Britain* was heard of at Rome the *New Holland* of the ancient world; but it was not until the reign of *Domitian*, that a ſquadron was purpoſely fitted out, under the directions of *Agricola*, to circumnavigate the Iſland, during which expedition many of the adjacent iſlands were diſcovered. Previous to this event, as we learn from † *Dio*, a cohort of *Uſipians* levied in Germany, having ſlain their centurion, embarked in three veſſels from the eaſtern Coaſt of *Britain* with the vain hope of reaching their own country. A refractory ſpirit, increaſed by the obſtacles which every hour preſented, at length incited them to murder the pilots whom they had forced into this ſervice: thus they were abandoned to the mercy of the winds and waves; and after ſuſtaining the greateſt hardſhips, completed the circumnavigation of *Britain*, and landed on its weſtern Coaſt.

During the reign of the noble and upright *Pertinax* many oppreſſive reſtrictions were removed that had been laid on commerce: but the Pretorian guards ſoon levelled an authority which had dared to reſpect the maritime intereſts of Rome, and theſe military tyrants, having firſt murdered their emperor, proceeded to offer the purple to the higheſt bidder, who according to hiſtory was the lawyer *Didius Julianus*.

Carauſius.

Whilſt ‡ *Diocletian* and his three aſſociates divided and diſtracted the government, the appearance of BRITAIN as a Maritime Power, whoſe Fleets rode

* Dr. Vincent, p. 161. † Lib. 66. p. 754.

‡ During this reign, *Alexandria* waſted by the ſword of Diocletian, and by famine, experienced the cruel ſeverity of its conqueror; and, with the ancient cities of *Buſiris* and of *Coptos*, increaſed the triumph of a Nation, whoſe ambition was unſatiated by the ruins of *Carthage* and *Corinth*.

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rode triumphant in the Channel, and carried terror beyond the *Straits of Gades*, afforded no unfavourable presage of its future pre-eminence. The skill of *Carausius* as a Pilot, and his valour as an Officer, are noticed by the * historian, who will not allow with Dr. † *Stukeley*, that he was a native of St. David's and a prince of the blood royal. The Roman fleet, under the command of this admiral, had been for some time stationed at *Gessoriacum*, or *Boulogne*, when *Carausius* was induced through his ambition, or fear of *Maximian*, to assume the Purple in Britain. The power of *Carausius* was afterwards acknowledged by the other emperors; and for the space of seven years the Naval Character having regained an ascendancy, was not oppressed by the military despotism of Rome. But the celebrated Island of ALBION which thus early raised the ‡ trident, was afterwards enveloped with other Maritime Discoveries of the ancients, in the obscurity, that pervaded the world on the fall of the *Roman empire* in the west. " The § dark Cloud, which had been cleared by the *Phœnician discoveries*, and finally dispelled by the arms of Cæsar, again settled on the shores of the *Atlantic*, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous Islands of the Ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of *Honorius*, the gravest historian of the times describes the wonders of a remote Isle, whose eastern and western parts are divided by an antique wall, the boundary of life and death, or, more properly, of Truth and Fiction. The East is a fair country, inhabited by a civilised people: the air is healthy, the waters are pure and plentiful, and the earth yields her regular and fruitful increase. In the West, beyond the wall, the air is infectious and mortal; the ground is covered with Serpents; and this dreary Solitude is the region of departed spirits, who are transported from the opposite shores in substantial boats, and by living rowers. Some families of Fishermen, the subjects of the *Franks*, are excused from tribute, in consideration of the mysterious office which is performed by these *Charons* of the Ocean. Each in his turn is summoned, at the hour of midnight, to hear the voices, and even the names, of the Ghosts; he is sensible of their weight, and he feels himself impelled by an unknown, but irresistible power. After this

* Gibbon, vol. ii. 8vo. p. 124. † Hist. of Carausius, p. 62.

‡ From the time of Diocletian the appointment of a Naval officer is noted to protect the Coast of *Kent*, who was styled *Count of the Sea Coast*.

§ Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 400.

this Dream of Fancy, we read with astonishment, that the name of this Island is BRITTIA, that it lies in the Ocean, against the mouth of the *Rhine*, and less than thirty miles from the Continent; that it is possessed by three nations, the *Frisians*, the *Angles*, and the *Britons*; and that some *Angles* had appeared at Constantinople, in the train of the French ambassadors."

Goths.

Such were the visions of that dreary night which so long continued throughout the civilized kingdoms of the earth, concealing amidst its darkness the various Maritime narratives we have now reviewed. It may, therefore, on concluding the present Section, be interesting to the reader to glance at some leading events in the *Naval History* * of the *Goths*, and mark the eruption which, during the third century of the Christian era, burst forth from the *Euxine*.

Naval power of the Goths.

We find the GOTHS first mentioned when *Decius* was emperor of Rome, during the year 250: their swarms, according to *Jornandes*, issued originally from the *peninsula* of *Scandinavia*, which comprised *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Finmark*, imagined by the ancients to have been an island. From the ninth to the twelfth century, the *Goths* and *Swedes* divided the inhospitable regions of the north. Their celebrated temple at *Upsal* was enriched by Spoils of the *Scandinavian Pirates*; and at their general festival that was held on every ninth year, its sacred grove displayed the horrors of paganism. The Vandals and Goths are allowed to have been originally the same: the first branched out into the *Heruli*, the *Burgundians*, and *Lombards*; whilst the latter were termed Ostrogoths, or *eastern Goths*, Visigoths, or *western Goths*, and Gepidæ; for, according to *Jornandes*, as cited by † Gibbon, "when they first departed from *Sweden*, the infant Colony was contained in three Vessels; the third being a heavy sailer lagged behind, and the crew, which afterwards swelled into a nation, received from that circumstance the appellation of *Gepidæ*, or *Loiterers*."

The origin of the Naval Power of the *Goths* is beautifully illustrated by the same ‡ historian, in the three expeditions which they made from the ports on the Bosphorus between the years 253, and 260. The construction of the Vessels they employed partook of the daring character of the nation: their

* The naval history of the Goths is considered by Burchet (p. 183.), and the general narrative by the writers of the Universal History (*Ancient*), vol. xvii. p. 166. Gibbon has combined the different facts, and given an elegant diction to the confused narrative of their traditions, particularly in his first and seventh volume.

† Vol. i. p. 393 (*note*).

‡ Ibid. p. 423—430.

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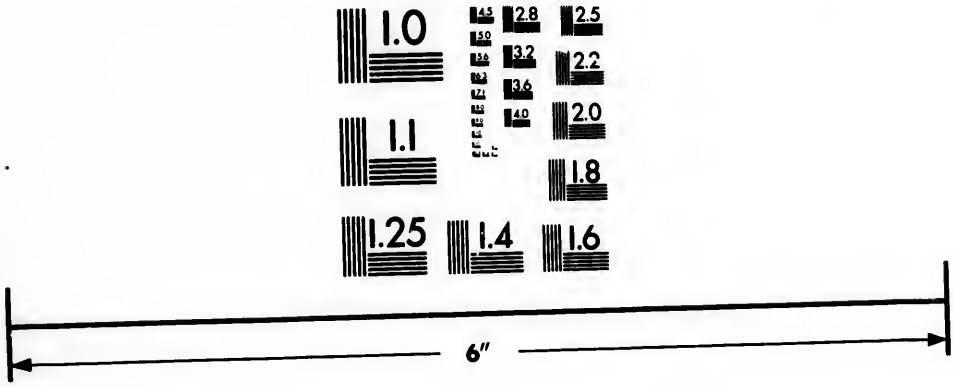

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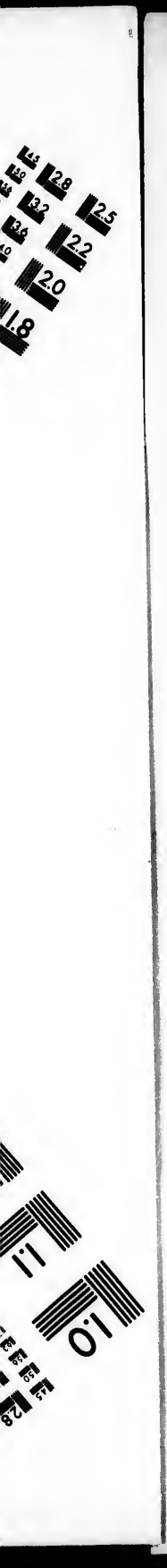
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their *Camera*, as they were called, were merely flat-bottomed boats, of a very slight construction, without any iron-work; over which a shelving roof was occasionally fitted, as some defence against the weather. Their Mariners consisted of trembling fishermen who were pressed into the service; and a striking contrast was formed between the daring spirit of the northern warriors, and the timid apprehension of their guides, who were accustomed only to embark in a settled calm. "When we are * informed that the *third* Fleet, equipped by the *Goths* in the Ports of *Bosphorus*, consisted of 500 sail of ships, our ready imagination instantly computes and multiplies the formidable armament; but, as we are assured by the judicious † *Strabo*, that the Piratical Vessels used by the barbarians of *Pontus* and the *Lesser Scythia*, were not capable of containing more than twenty-five or thirty men, we may safely affirm, that 15,000 warriors, at the most, embarked in this great expedition. Impatient of the limits of *the Euxine*, they steered their destructive course from the *Cimmerian* to the *Thracian Bosphorus*. When they had almost gained the middle of the Straits, they were suddenly driven back to the entrance of them; till, a favourable wind, springing up the next day, carried them in a few hours into the placid sea, or rather lake, of *Propontis*. Their landing on the little Island of *Cyzicus*, was attended with the ruin of that ancient and noble City. From thence issuing again through the narrow passage of the Hellespont, they pursued their winding Navigation amidst the numerous Islands scattered over the *Archipelago*, or the *Ægean Sea*. The assistance of captives and deserters must have been very necessary to pilot their vessels, and to direct their various incursions, as well on the coast of *Greece* as on that of *Asia*. At length the Gothic Fleet anchored in the Port of *Piræus*, five miles distant from *Athens*, which had attempted to make some preparations for a vigorous defence. *Cleodamus*, one of the engineers employed by the emperor's orders to fortify the Maritime Cities against the *Goths*, had already begun to repair the ancient walls fallen to decay since the time of *Sylla*. The efforts of his skill were ineffectual, and the Barbarians became masters of the native seat of the muses and the arts. But while the conquerors abandoned themselves to the license of plunder and intemperance, their fleet, that lay with a slender guard in the harbour of *Piræus*, was unexpectedly attacked by the brave *Dexippus*, who, flying with the engineer *Cleodamus* from the sack of *Athens*, collected a hasty band of volunteers,

* Gibbon, vol. i. p. 498. † L. xi. p. 495.

volunteers, peasants as well as soldiers, and in some measure avenged the calamities of his Country.

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Introduction. *Carthaginian and Roman Periods.*

"But this exploit, whatever lustre it might shed on the declining age of *Athens*, served rather to irritate than to subdue the undaunted spirit of the northern invaders. A general conflagration blazed out at the same time in every district of Greece. *Thebes* and *Argos*, *Corinth* and *Sparta*, which had formerly waged such memorable wars against each other, were now unable to bring an army into the field, or even to defend their ruined fortifications. The rage of war, both by Land and Sea, spread from the eastern point of *Sunium* to the western coast of *Epirus*. The GOTHS had already advanced within sight of *Italy*, when the approach of such imminent danger awakened the indolent *Gallienus* from his dream of pleasure. The emperor appeared in arms; and his presence seems to have checked the ardour, and to have divided the strength, of the enemy. *Naulobatus*, a chief of the *Heruli*, accepted an honourable capitulation, entered with a large body of his countrymen into the service of *Rome*, and was invested with the ornaments of the consular dignity, which had never before been profaned by the hands of a barbarian. Great numbers of the *Goths*, disgusted with the perils and hardships of a tedious voyage, broke into *Mæsia*, with a design of forcing their way over the *Danube* to their settlements in the *Ukraine*. The wild attempt would have proved inevitable destruction, if the discord of the Roman generals had not opened to the barbarians the means of an escape. The small remainder of this destroying host returned on board their vessels; and measuring back their way through the *Hellespont* and the *Bosphorus*, ravaged in their passage the shores of *Troy*, whose fame, immortalized by Homer, will probably survive the memory of the Gothic conquests. As soon as they found themselves in safety within the bason of the *Euxine*, they landed at *Anchialus* in *Thrace*, near the foot of Mount *Hæmus*; and, after all their toils, indulged themselves in the use of those pleasant and salutary hot baths. What remained of the Voyage was was a short and easy navigation. Such was the various fate of this third and greatest of their Naval Enterprises."

Rise of the Modern Commercial States.

Amidst the subsequent havoc of Military ambition as at intervals it burst forth in all its fury to chastise the despotism of Rome; whether appearing in the ravages of *Alaric* the Goth, in the conquests of *Attila* the Hun, or in the splendid victories of the LOMBARDS under their renowned but inhuman *Al-*

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bain; the mind is occasionally gratified, and relieved, by the gradual re-establishment of Maritime Power. The emigrants who fled before the ferocity of the *Huns*, abandoning the fertile country which, under the name of *Venetia*, extended from the confines of *Pannonia* to the river *Adduq*, and from the *Po* to the *Rhætian*, and *Julian* Alps; found an asylum at the extremity of the gulf, where, to use the appropriate expression of * Gibbon, 'the Hadriatic feebly imitates the Tides of the Ocean.' In their retreat they were, seventy years afterwards described by *Cassiodorus* the minister of *Theodaric*, as *water fowl who had fixed their nests upon the waves*. This infant dominion of the *Venetians* was composed of the numerous Islands that extend from *Grado* to *Chiozza*. *Cassiodorus* notices their twelve maritime tribunes, who were chosen annually, and presided over the twelve principal Islands.

From the nature of so complex and extensive a subject as the progress of Maritime Discovery among the Ancients, I have been unable to pay any great attention to their Commerce; and therefore subjoin the following valuable Dissertation, not generally known, originally printed in Dr. Taylor's Elements of Civil Law; who styles it *a curious discourse by a very good hand*; I may add with more propriety than this learned Chancellor did, "which my Reader will perceive, without my information, to be the best thing in this performance."

*** The reader may here be reminded, that he will find further remarks in a Dissertation by Mr. *Coverhill*, entitled, *Some attempts to ascertain the utmost extent of the knowledge of the Ancients in the East Indies*, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1767: See also Gentleman's Magazine, (1768. vol. 38. p. 499. and 547.) for a criticism on the above Dissertation, with Mr. *Coverhill's* reply.

* Vol. vi. 8vo. edit. p. 127.

DISCOURSE

DISSERTATION * *on the* COMMERCE *of the* ROMANS, *by the late Rev.* WILLIAM CLARKE *of* CHICHESTER.

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Introduction. *Carthaginian and Roman Periods.*

By the Roman law, whosoever lent money to repair or re-build a house in the city of Rome, had, without any farther agreement, a tacit pledge or mortgage *(jus tacitæ hypothecæ)* of such house (*a*): so as to be preferred to other creditors (*b*). And this is said to be enacted for the *public utility*, that the aspect of the City might not be deformed by ruins; for the Romans with incredible pains and care promoted the splendour, ornament, and magnificence of their City; and to this end many laws were made by the *Decemviri*, the emperors *Augustus*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Marcus*, and that remarkable law of *Vespasian's*, mentioned by *Suetonius*, in his life of that emperor (*c*), by which it was lawful for any one to "build up all empty shells of houses, and enjoy them as his own, if the owners of them "left them unfinished."

Most interpreters of the Civil Law are of opinion, that the same law obtained in favour of Commerce, and that Ships, built or refitted with money lent, were tacitly pledged or mortgaged to the lender. But, with great deference to learned names, I believe the contrary may be proved to be true, and beg leave to observe, that such a law would most certainly be prejudicial to Navigation; for so it might often happen that Ships would be detained by creditors, and Commerce hindered. *Constantine* the emperor, in three constitutions, which are extant in the *Theodosian* Code, forbids the detaining or damaging of Ships, so as to prevent or retard their Voyage, on any pretence whatsoever (*d*). And it was wisely provided by the laws of *Athens*, that all law-suits relating to Commerce should be carried on in those six months only in which Ships were not used to put to Sea, that so they might not lose their Voyage by the impediments of law-processes: husbandry-tools, and instruments likewise were forbidden to be pledged, and whosoever detained them on any pretence was fined fourfold the value of them, lest by such detention the Lands should lie uncultivated.

It is most certain that the *Romans* did not take the same care of Ships as they did of Houses, since they appointed particular officers called *Aediles*, whose business it was to see that the buildings of the City were kept in good repair: but where do we find that they ever appointed any magistrate, whose particular business was to inspect the affairs of Navigation? Not one law was made in favour of Commerce, in the times of the commonwealth: on the contrary, it was greatly discouraged, as introductory of riches and luxury, which were esteemed to ill suit with the severity of their manners.

Livy (*e*) and *Cicero* (*f*) inform us, that in the year of *Rome* 535, a law was made, that no senator, or the father of a senator, should have any Ship above the burden of 300 *amphoræ*, (a Ship of that size was held to be large enough to carry all his own corn and fruit); and all *Gain* was held scandalous in a senator. This law was confirmed by *Julius Cæsar*, when

* Reprinted by Mr. Nichols, in his Miscellaneous Tracts by Mr. Bowyer, and several of his learned friends. (p. 275.) See also Taylor's Elements of the Civil Law, 4to. p. 497.

[*a*] D. 20. 2. 1. [*b*] D. 20. 4, 5. l. 6. eod. [*c*] § 8.
[*d*] Tit. de Naviculariis. [*e*] XXI. 63. [*f*] Verr. VII. 18.

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when he was dictator (*g*). The *Thebans* also made a law, that no person should be capable of any office in the state, unless he had desisted for the space of ten years from all Trade. The *Romans* went still farther, when they absolutely *forbid all merchandizing to the nobility* (*h*). Nay sometimes Merchants themselves were compelled to refrain from Trade by way of punishment, though no man could be compelled to be a Merchant (*i*). Moreover the *Romans* were prohibited to trade beyond *Nisibis*, *Callinicus*, and *Artaxata* (*k*). And confiscation of goods, and perpetual exile, was the punishment of the offenders (*l*).

It may be asked, why so many laws against Trade? I answer, because it was so far from being serviceable, that it was *prejudicial to the Roman State*. This will seem very strange to the inhabitants of this Island, who every day find the benefit and advantage of Commerce. It is expressly said (*m*), *that merchandizing is pernicious to cities*. The reason of this will appear hereafter.

Commerce may be advantageous to a State for divers reasons. *Plutarch* says, it is of service in gaining the friendship of Princes, and the good-will of foreign states; besides, it increases the public customs, and revenues of a State; and the more Merchants flock to any city, the greater tribute and gain is acquired, as *Xenophon* expresses it in the beginning of his book *de Reditibus*. And lastly, hence proceeds plenty, and affluence of riches, and the multitude of people in a State. *Diodorus Siculus* (*n*) tells us, that *Themistocles* persuaded the people of Athens to build 20 new ships every year, and to grant privileges and immunities to artificers, that so the number of inhabitants might be encreased, and variety of arts be introduced; for he looked upon both these as conducive towards establishing a power at Sea.

But the *Romans* went another way to work. They, by humanity, terror, triumphs, tributes, and taxes, imposed on the conquered countries, encreased the riches of their City. They drew all nations to Rome by the splendour of their buildings, and the magnificence of their public games and spectacles, and the freedom of the City, which they granted to strangers. And such was the vast concourse of people to Rome, that they sent above 160 colonies into Italy alone:

" Jampridem Syrus in Tyberim defluxit Orontes (*o*)."

It would be very idle to cite passages from ancient writers to prove that the Romans were an immensely rich people. It is a well-known saying of *Crassus*, that " no man ought to be esteemed rich that could not maintain an army out of his own revenue:" but so far was commerce from adding to their riches, that it greatly diminished them.

Pliny gives a remarkable instance of this (*p*), where he complains that the *Indies* and *Arabia* took away every year from the Roman empire near 30,000,000 l. sterling of our money (Qu. not half a million?). Add to this the great sums of money sent to so many other provinces, from whence the Romans had " in exchange the most delicate things that could in any wise contribute to luxury," according to *Sidonius Apollinaris* (*q*). For all these things they paid silver and gold, having *nothing* of the product of their own Country to *exchange for merchandizes*. Hence it was that the Emperors forbad the people to

[*g*] D. 50. 5. 3.
[*h*] C. 4. 63. 4.
[*i*] XI. 43.
[*q*] Carm. V. 42.
[*k*] C. 4. 63. 3.
[*l*] l. ult. eod.
[*o*] Juvenal. III. 62.
[*d*] D. 48. 19. 9.
[*m*] l. 3. eod.
[*p*] VI. 23.

to send gold to the Barbarians (*r*); which law was in force before, as appears from *Cicero*'s oration for *L. Flaccus* (*s*): *Exportari aurum non oportere, cum saepe antea senatus, tum me consule, gravissime judicavit.* The reason of this discouragement given to Commerce was, that it *carried away* their money, and *brought them nothing in return but luxury*, the bane of virtue and destruction of empire. I need not observe that, after the conquest of Asia, all sorts of luxury were introduced into *Rome*, and utterly enervated and overturned an empire, which seemed to be eternal.

"Saevior armis
"Luxuria incubuit; victumque ulciscitur orbem (*t*)."

I expect it will be objected that many passages of the Roman Law, and of the ancient writers, seem to contradict what is here advanced. We read in *Suetonius* (*u*), that the emperor granted great privileges and immunities to Ship-builders and Merchants, particularly that if any trading ships were cast away, or damaged by storms, the State should bear the loss. We also find in *Tacitus* (*x*) mention made of a constitution of *Nero*'s, that the Ships of Merchants should not be entered in the books of rates, nor any customs paid for them. *Lampridius*, in the life of *Alexander Severus*, tells us, that emperor granted to Merchants divers immunities. And *Ulpian* (*y*), speaking of a certain privilege granted to Merchants, gives this general reason, because "Navigation is of the greatest advantage to the State."

In answer to this I observe, that all these passages relate to Corn-Merchants, who imported provisions in their own Ships for the use of the City. *Claudius* gave great and certain advantages to Merchants for this reason: that once, in a time of great scarcity of provisions, he was stopt in the Forum by the populace, and so disagreeably entertained with scandal and crusts of bread, that he with great difficulty got out of their clutches by a back-door; and from that time he made it his great care and concern to get corn imported even in the winter. The same *Claudius* granted the freedom of the City to him that built a Ship capable of 10,000 *modii* of bread-corn, and had applied it to that service for six years, as *Ulpian* informs us (*z*). And to this may be referred the *senatus consultum* produced in the Digest (*a*).

It is said that *Nero* granted privileges and immunities to Merchants and traders: but what sort of Merchants and traders they were, *Scaevola* (*b*) informs us, *viz.* such as built Ships for the importation of corn, capable of 50,000 *modii*. So long as they were employed in that service, or others in their room, *such persons were exempted from public offices*. It is certain that this privilege granted by *Nero* extended to none but the traders for corn, as appears from *Tacitus* (*c*).

The occasion of this constitution we learn from *Suetonius* (*d*), where he says, the populace were highly incensed against that emperor, because, in a time of great scarcity, a Ship from

[*r*] C. 4. 63. 2. [*s*] § 28. [*t*] Juven. VI. Sat. 292. [*u*] Claud. § 18.
[*x*] XIII. Annal. 5. 1. [*y*] D. 14. 1. 1. 20. [*z*] Tit. III. 6.
[*a*] D. 47. 9. 3. 8. [*b*] D. 50. 5. 3. [*c*] XIII. Annal. 51.
[*d*] Ner. § 45.

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from Alexandria, instead of *Corn*, was said to have brought nothing but a cargo of *Dust* for the Court wrestlers.

The same may be said of the immunities granted by *Alexander Severus*. They extended only to Corn-Merchants, as appears from *Callistratus* (*e*), who lived in the emperor's time, and *Paulus* (*f*), to whose counsel *Severus* paid a very great regard, and from *Ulpian* (*g*), who was in good repute with that emperor. These Corn Traders were likewise a corporation, which enjoyed many privileges and immunities (*h*), which to entitle themselves to, they were obliged either to navigate Ships in person, or to employ the greatest part of their substance in the Corn Trade.

The same immunities were granted to the same sort of people by the emperor *Constantine*, as appears from a whole title of the Theodosian code (*i*). This law seems to have been made, that the city of Constantinople, which *Constantine* had built about four years before, might be the more readily supplied with provisions.

From what has been said it appears that these privileges were granted in favour of the Corn Trade, and extended no farther. But it may be asked, why so many provisions made, and encouragements given, for the importation of Corn? I answer, the Roman territory did not produce sufficient for the sustenance of so great a number of inhabitants, for which reason it was imported from Sardinia, Sicily, Africa, and Spain (*k*). At first the *Aediles* distributed Corn at a very low price, in process of time *gratis*. *Clodius* was the author of a law by which Corn was to be distributed to the people *gratis*; nor was the expence of it small. *Plutarch* tells us, that in *Cato*'s time there were spent in that commodity 1250 talents. *Julius Cæsar*, after the conquest of Africa, imported 1,200,000 bushels for the use of the people. A bushel weighed ordinarily about 25 pounds. *P. Victor* relates, that *Augustus* imported yearly from Egypt 20,000,000 bushels; double the quantity was sent from Africa, as *Josephus* informs us. In the times of the emperor *Justinian*, 8,000,000 bushels were carried from Egypt to Constantinople (*l*). Of so great concern was the provision of Bread-Corn, that *Augustus*, finding in the granaries but enough for three days, determined to kill himself by poison, had not the Corn Fleets arrived from the provinces within that space of time.

'I have but little,' adds * *Dr. Taylor*, 'to subjoyn to these just Reflections. I would only add, that every branch of the Roman History and character justifies the truth of these Observations. A *People of Soldiers*, whose Trade was their Sword, and whose Sword supplied all the advantages of Trade; who brought the Treasures of the World into their own Exchequer, without exporting any thing but their own personal bravery; who raised the Public Revenues, not by the culture of Italy, but by the tributes of Provinces; who had Rome for their mansion, and the World for their farm; a people, I say,

[*e*] D. 50. 6. 5. 3.
[*f*] D. 50. 5. 9. 1.
[*g*] D. 14. 1. 1.
[*h*] D. 3. 4. 1.
[*i*] De Navicularis.
[*k*] Tacit. XII. Annal. Plin. Paneg.
[*l*] Edict. Justin. XIII. 8.

* *Elements of Civil Law*, 4to. p. 501.

I say, of this Discipline and Constitution, could have no leisure to set forwards the article of Merchandize, nor were they very likely to pay any regard to the character of its Professors.

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Introduction. *Carthaginian and Roman Periods.*

'No employment with these people was reputed honourable but the Plow and the Sword. It was the original Trait of the Constitution, and of the appointment of the founder himself, that his subjects should be brought up to those two professions alone; and that the illiberal counter and Ship-board, though ever so necessary, should be consigned to Aliens and Slaves; because he imagined that the domestic and sedentary Arts would tend to break the spirits, and enervate the limbs of a people, that he destined to be masters of the world. And my * Author adds, that for a long period the mercantile professions were looked upon as unsuitable to the Roman Character: and not a citizen was found to practise them. Every Roman therefore was a *Soldier* by Birth, and a *Gentleman Volunteer* by nature. . . .

'The *Romans* were indeed Adventurers, but of another sort: their Gain was Glory, and tradesmen were little better than Sutlers. For it is but a cold compliment that † Tully pays to Commerce, when he says, that it is impossible for the counting-house to admit of any thing ingenuous: that Trade, when confined to a narrow circle was sordid and illiberal; and the most extensive, *sin magna et copiosa, multa undique apportans, non admodum vituperanda*. . . .

'But it was not the National *Genius* of this people alone, that turned aside their attention from trade. The terms of Defiance, upon which they lived, in consequence of it, with all mankind, would have prevented all the good effects of Commerce, had their Martial Spirit given them leave to pursue it. That restless spirit *Imperii propagandi*, which kept their Levies afoot, and their Swords in their hands, for a succession of centuries, was fatal to Factories and Correspondence. The World was in Arms, and Insurances, and Under-Writing were but a dead letter. . . . It is no wonder, therefore, that in all the magnificence of Rome, and the splendour of some very unnecessary buildings, we meet with nothing like a *Burse*, or public Exchange for the resort of Merchants, and the circulation of Commerce. And upon this principle it is, that all the terms of her traffic amount to no more than the articles of Farming and Excising.

* Dionys. Halic. II. 28.

† I. De Offic. 42.

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'It is not to be understood by this, as if they never put to sea, and neglected all intercourse with their neighbours. The contrary is true in many instances. And I come now to give some account of their Navigation.

'They began with *Sicily*. When *Demosthenes* said of *Athens* (and he said it more than * once), *There is no country in the world, that imports so much Corn as they did*, he had no idea of the people I am concerned with: to whom it might be applied with much greater propriety. The attention, therefore, which they had to *Sicily*, their interest in securing the tenure of it, both from the commodiousness of its situation, and the growth of the soil, made a very considerable part of their history. . . .

'But their dealings were not confined to Sicily alone: for so far back as A. V. C. 244., the very Aera of the Common-Wealth, we † find them carrying on a kind of illicit trade upon the Coasts of *Africa*. . . . *Polybius* very justly observes, that they never made any figure by Sea. Indeed they never engaged in a Naval Action before the Punic War, A. V. C. 493., or scarce knew the first principles of Ship-Building. For some time after this, so far down as the year 563, when they were engaged with *Antiochus*, it was remarked of them, that they were very unskilful in the Art of Navigation. And when they arrived at their utmost perfection, the general use they made of their Fleet was, to convoy home the Spoils of ruined Provinces, and bring to the *Roman* Market the Corn from the several Granaries of *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Aegypt*.'

* C. Leptin. p. 17. T. III. and pro Corona, p. 501. T. II. Edit. Cant.

† See preceding page, 155.

THE

PROGRESS

OF

MARITIME DISCOVERY.

M,CCCC.

Portuguese Voyages.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF COMMERCIAL HISTORY, AS CONNECTED WITH THE PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY. REVIEW OF THE CHARACTER OF THE PORTUGUESE MONARCHS. DEVELOPEMENT OF THE EASTERN BOUNDARIES OF THE ATLANTIC, AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE INDIAN OCEAN BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY IN THE SEAS OF INDIA, BY THE PORTUGUESE, TO THE DECLINE OF THEIR SUPREMACY IN THE EAST.

Then from ancient gloom emerg'd
The rising world of Trade! the Genius then
Of Navigation, that in hopeless sloth
Had slumber'd on the vast ATLANTIC DEEP
For idle ages, starting, heard at last
The LUSITANIAN PRINCE, who, heaven-inspired,
To love of useful glory rous'd mankind,
And in unbounded Commerce mixt the world. THOMSON.

SUCCESSION OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF MARITIME STATES

DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

The different Kingdoms are arranged according to the rank they held in the progress of Maritime Discovery.

Kings of Portugal.

John the Bastard, to	1433.
Edward, to	1438.
Alphonso V. to	1481.
John II. to	1495.
Emanuel the Great, to	1500, *and beyond.*

Kings of Castile, or Spain.

Henry III. to	1406.
John II. to	1454.
Henry IV. to	1474.
Isabella and Ferdinand V. to	1500, *and beyond.*

Kings of England.

Henry IV. to	1413.
Henry V. to	1422.
Henry VI. to	1461.
Edward IV. to	1483.
Edward V. to	1483.
Richard III. to	1485.
Henry VII. to	1500, *and beyond.*

Kings of Scotland.

Robert III. to	1406.
James I. to	1437.
—— II. to	1460.
—— III. to	1488.
—— IV. to	1500, *and beyond.*

Kings of Denmark.

The Monarchs of this Kingdom early engaged in Maritime Expeditions.

Margaret, to	1412.
Eric VII. to	1439.
Christopher III. to	1448.
Christian I. to	1481.
John, to	1500, *and beyond.*

Kings of France.

Last among the great European powers, its national character being always rather military, than commercial.

Charles VI. to	1422.
—— VII. to	1461.
Louis XI. to	1483.
Charles VII. to	1498.
Louis XII. to	1500, *and beyond.*

BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

I. *Illuſtrations of Modern Commercial Hiſtory to the beginning of the fifteenth century, connected with the Progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery.* II. *Conſideration of the Riſe and Progreſs of Maritime Intereſts, as cheriſhed by the different Monarchs of Portugal to the reign of John the Firſt; father of the illuſtrious Prince Henry, Duke of Viſeo, the great Patron of Diſcovery.*

SECTION I.

Reflections.—Beginning of the fifteenth century the commencement of the liberties of Europe.—Prevailing ignorance in the early periods of Modern Hiſtory.—Riſe of the Maritime Character.—Connection between Europe and India preſerved.—Conſtantinople.—The Italian States.—Trade of Alexandria.—Mediterranean ſea not favourable to a renewal of the progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery.—Seven United Provinces.—Netherlands.—Hanſeatic League.—View of the early Maritime Character of the Normans and Danes.—France. England.—Spain.—General view of European Commerce.

To illuſtrate the courſe of the renovated ſpirit for Maritime Diſcovery, which, during the more remote periods of modern hiſtory that preceded the fifteenth century, cheered the gloom that had chilled or

BOOK I. overshadowed the commercial genius of Europe, is the arduous task I shall next endeavour to perform. Looking forward with a becoming diffidence of my own abilities, and feeling a respectful anxiety for the suffrage, or gratified perusal of my readers.

We have contemplated the progress of maritime discovery from the remotest ages; and, having beheld its devious or uncertain course, struggling with surrounding obstacles in the confined limits of the ancient world, which the superior mind of Alexander first attempted to pass; have seen its benign spirit sink amidst the more than Egyptian darkness, into which the irruption of the northern hordes plunged the nations both of Europe and Asia. The rude and destructive clans that poured in from Scandinavia, and the Cimbrian Chersonesus, came, like the visitation of Divine wrath at Babel, to confound the language of all the earth, and to scatter its different nations. Human pride and vanity were thus arrested in their career; but at the same instant an awful pause was formed in the history of mankind: *these were times*, says Rymer, in the dedication of his third volume of the Fœdera, *of great struggle and disorder all Europe over, and the darkest period of times.*—Perhaps it was an interval [a] of repose, which infinite wisdom had decreed for the restless mind of man: like the long dreary night of winter, it preceded discoveries of the most momentous consequence, which the ensuing day of science has

[a] Many instances of the almost stagnation of human reason and improvement in the middle ages, are selected from different authors by Dr. Robertson, in one of his notes (page 391, 8vo. ed.) to the first volume of Charles V.—At the beginning of the twelfth century, the Monks of Ferrieres, in the diocese of Sens, did not know that there was such a city as Tournay in Flanders; and the Monks of St. Martin of Tournay were equally unacquainted with the situation of Ferrieres. The mutual interest of both monasteries prompted each to find out the situation of the other. After a long search, the discovery was made by accident. The most ancient geographical chart, which now remains as a monument of the state of that science in Europe during the middle ages, is found in a manuscript of the *Chronique de St. Denys*. There the three parts of the earth then known are so represented, that Jerusalem is placed in the middle of the globe, and Alexandria appears to be as near to it as Nazareth.

has displayed. The compass [b] encouraged the mariner to leave the shore, and trust his spreading canvas to the wind: astronomy taught him to detect its variations, to determine the correct situation of countries that were hitherto but imperfectly known; and by what course the expectation of hope, as it led him onward through unfrequented seas, might be gratified with the fairest prospect of aggrandisement or renown.

The necessity of repelling the disciples of Woden, and the milder Arabs of the east, early incited the revival of maritime enterprise. The great improvements that were made in ship-building, during the fourteenth century, soon encouraged that hardihood, or spirit of adventure, which the invention of the compass had such a tendency to call forth; and impelled men to lay the foundations of the future commerce, and naval power of their respective countries, on a wider basis than those which the ancients had constructed: though the Feudal System, and the inquisitorial supremacy of the Court of Rome, created many obstacles against the renewal of maritime science and discovery; the persevering energy of its character gradually levelled the tyranny of the feudal powers, and even surmounted the caballing jealousy of the Jesuits.

Voltaire dates the commencement of the liberties of Europe, and the abolition of servitude, from the reign of King Charles the VIIth; who succeeded to the throne of France in 1422, and died in 1462: commerce

[b] Dr. Robertson places this discovery soon after the close of the Holy War, 1291; and is of opinion that the Arabs, who gave it the Italian name *Bossola*, had it from Europeans. Others date this invention from the year 1200, and think it originated with the French, as the north is always marked by a fleur de lis, the arms of France. Most authors fix on the year 1302, and give the credit of the discovery to Flavio de Gioia, a native of Amalphi in the kingdom of Naples. For a more minute discussion of this interesting subject, I must refer the curious reader to the *Essays on Philosophical and Astronomical Instruments, as employed for the purposes of Navigation*, in the Appendix, H.

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> The goodly golden chayne, wherewith yfere
> The vertues linked are in lovely wize,
> And noble mindes of yore allyed wera
> In brave pourſuit of chevalrous emprize. SPENSER.

I ſhall therefore take a curſory view of the maritime ſtate of Europe at the beginning of the fifteenth century; and ſhall conſider ſome of the preceding events, as connected with the ſubject of this work, which combined to reveal the naval character in the earlier periods of modern hiſtory.

The city of Conſtantinople was above all places well adapted by its ſituation, to preſerve or renew, during more than two centuries, the commercial intercourſe which ſubſiſted between Europe and Aſia, after the port of Alexandria had been ſhut to the Europeans by the Arabs[c]; who, inſpired with the enthuſiaſtic ardour of Mohammed, had wreſted Egypt from the Greek empire, and had alſo added the extenſive kingdom of Perſia to the empire of their caliphs.—Conſtantinople, ſays Huet[d], had all Aſia in its front, and all Europe behind it. The factors who ſupplied the Greeks, having purchaſed their goods of the caravans that travelled from India through Candahar into Perſia, expoſed them for ſale at the great fairs, on the frontiers of the two empires; a conſiderable part alſo of the Indian commerce, carried on by the northern routes, and the [e] Caſpian ſea,

[c] The curious and early voyages of two Mohammedan merchants in the ninth century, (ſee Appendix, D.) from the Perſian Gulf towards the eaſt, preſerved by Monſ. Renaudot, will give the reader an accurate idea of the early attention paid by the Arabians to the progreſs of maritime diſcovery. The Journal des Scavans is of opinion it was written in the twelfth century.

[d] Hiſtory of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, p. 252.

[e] The Abbe Raynal has ſome ingenious remarks relative to the Caſpian, (vol. i. p. 43.) "The Caſpian Sea alone has preſerved its ſtation within the limits of this vaſt tract of land *(the continent of Aſia)*, which has been emerging from the deep through a ſeries of ages. It is evidently the reſervoir of thoſe large rivers that fall into it. Some philoſophers have imagined, but without any foundation, that it communicated with the Ocean and the Black Sea by ſubterraneous paſſages. Againſt ſuch conjectures it may be urged, that the evaporation would be

 ſufficient

ſea, found its way to [f] Conſtantinople. So far back as the age of Charlemagne [g], the Italians, particularly thoſe of Amalphi and Venice, eſtabliſhed an intercourſe with the Greek cities for the ſpices of India, and were ſoon imitated by the inhabitants of Marſeilles.

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This maritime ſpirit, together with their mutual exertions in ſupporting the cruſades, eſtabliſhed, at an early period, a friendly alliance between the Greek emperors, and the northern ſovereigns of Europe; and thus diffuſed a general deſire to participate in the lucrative trade with India: which after being carried on, firſt by the Tyrians, then by the Greeks of Alexandria, and afterwards by the Romans, centered, for a conſiderable time, in the Conſtantinopolitan empire; until the Venetians, finding the aſcendency which the Genoeſe had acquired at Conſtantinople, obtained the ſanction of the Pope to conclude a treaty of commerce with the infidel ſubduers of Egypt; and, thus ſanctioned, reſorted to Alexandria, which the Soldan of the Mamelukes under certain reſtrictions had rendered a free port.

Conſtantinople affords a memorable inſtance of the gradual decline of the firſt emporium in the world, through a neglect of cheriſhing and maintaining her naval power. Contented with the immenſe riches ariſing from her Indian commerce, ſhe ſuffered the Italian States, particularly thoſe of Genoa, Venice, and Florence, to derive, from the conveyance of this merchandiſe to the different ports in the Mediter-

ſufficient to carry off the water, as faſt as it was conveyed there by the rivers; and that ſubterraneous paſſages might eaſily be obſtructed by the mud and ſand which the waters would carry along with them. It is for this reaſon alſo that the Caſpian Sea is ſalt, as all lakes are which receive the waters of rivers without pouring them out again. It appears certain from the obſervations made with the barometer at Aſtracan, that the ſurface of the Caſpian is below the level of the two neighbouring ſeas; conſequently, it is equally probable that it ſhould communicate with thoſe ſeas by overflowings from their ſurface, as that it ſhould furniſh them with water by means of ſubterraneous canals." See alſo the oriental geography of Ebn Haukal, an Arabian traveller of the tenth century, tranſlated by Sir W. Ouſeley, 4to, page 183, for the ſea of *Khozr*; and the valuable chart tranſlated from the original Ruſs, under the direction of Arrowſmith.—Obſ. by Buffon, vol. i. 37—253. vol. ix. p. 99. Smellie's edit.

[f] Univerſal Hiſt. Modern, vol. viii. laſt 8vo. ed.

[g] Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i.—Murat. Antiq. Ital. vol. ii. p. 882.—Gibbon's Hiſt. vol. x. p. 279. for *the trade of Amalphi.*

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The fifteenth century early claimed the pre-eminence, which it gradually eſtabliſhed over preceding ages, in the improvement of commerce, and

[g] Anderſon's Commerce, page 189, vol. i. 4to. edit.

[h] Gibbon, vol. xi. p. 390.

[i] The Greek or Conſtantinopolitan Chriſtian Empire had exiſted one thouſand one hundred and twenty three years.—The Siege, April 26—May 29, is given by Mr. Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 209.—To the ſame hiſtorian, vol. xii. p. 142. I refer the curious reader for a deſcription of Conſtantinople as given by the learned Emanuel Chryſoloras, whoſe anceſtors migrated with Conſtantine.

Ch. I. § 1. *Early periods of Modern History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

and in the attention paid to navigation: owing to the superior construction of ships, remoter voyages, even prior to the discovery of India, were undertaken; the names of at least the eight principal winds, or points of the compass, were then ascertained by the merchants of Bruges; the advantages of the mariner's compass began to be known, though not generally established; the states of Genoa, Venice, and Florence, had obtained an high maritime character, and nursed its rising powers with peculiar solicitude. The country of Columbus was the first to obtain an ascendency at sea: so early as the year 1064, a fleet of merchant ships from Genoa arrived at Joppa, as we are informed by Ingulphus abbot of Croyland in his voyage to [1] Jerusalem; and

[1] This curious voyage of Ingulphus is preserved by Hackluyt in his second volume, page 8, and is thus quaintly rendered by him into English from the original Latin.—"I Ingulphus, an humble servant of reverend Guthlac, and of his monastery of Croiland, borne in England, and of English parents, at the beautifull citie of London, was in my youth, for the attaining of good letters, placed first at Westminster, and afterwards sent to the universitie of Oxford.—And as I grew in age, disdayning my parents meane estate, and forsaking mine owne native soyle, I affected the courts of kings and princes, and was desirous to be clad in silke, and to weare brave and costly attire. And loe, at the same time WILLIAM our sovereigne king now, but then Erle of Normandie, with a great troup of followers and attendants, came unto London (1051), to conferre with King Edward the Confessour, his kinsman. Into whose company intruding myselfe, and proffering my service for the performance of any speedy or weightie affayres, in short time, after I had done many things with good successe, I was knowen and most entirely beloved by the victorious Erle himselfe, and with him I sayled into Normandie.—When as therefore, being carried with a youthfule heat and lustie humour, I began to be wearie even of this place, wherein I was advanced so high above my parentage, and with an inconstant minde, and affection too ambitious, most vehemently aspired at all occasions to climbe higher: there went a report throughout all Normandie, that divers archbishops of the empire, and secular princes were desirous for their soules health, and for devotion sake, to goe on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.—Where we were received by the most reverend, aged, and holy patriarke Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch light, and were accompanied unto the most divine church of our Saviour his sepulchre, with a solemne procession as well of Syrians as of Latines.—Howbeit, the theevish Arabians lurking upon every way, would not suffer us to travell farre from the city, by reason of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the Spring there arrived at the port of Joppa a fleet of ships from Genoa. In which fleet, when the Christian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coast townes, and had likewise visited the holy places, wee all of us embarked, committing our selves to the seas: and being tossed with many stormes and tempests, at length wee arrived at Brundusium: and so with a prosperous journey travelling thorow Apulia towards Rome, we there visited the habitations of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. - From thence the archbishops and other princes of the empire travelling towards

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and throughout the twelfth century, the dominion of the ſea on their own coaſts was ſo decided, that the government granted licences to different ſtates or merchants to trade on the coaſts [k] of Genoa. Nor was their ſupremacy in the Mediterranean diſputed by any other powers, than the republics of Venice and Piſa, who ſhared with them the commerce of that ſea. Raymond, Count of Toulouſe, Marquis of Provence, and Duke of Narbonne, yielded to Genoa, in 1174, the cities of Marſeilles and Monaco, and all the ports between the caſtle of Turbia and Narbonne; and was obliged to prohibit the merchants of his dominions from going themſelves, or ſending others to ſea, on account of trade, without the conſent of the conſuls, and majority of the counſellors of Genoa; under forfeiture of all the profits of their voyage, and of one-third of the principal or ſtock exported. Having taken Ceuta on the Barbary coaſt, oppoſite to Gibraltar, in the year 1231, the Genoeſe gained a complete aſcendency over their rivals; and ſeem to have merited the following encomium of Baptiſta Burgus [l]—"ſo ſuperior was the maritime ſkill of the Genoeſe in thoſe days, that authors have preferred them before all other nations whatever: and indeed our city has ſo excelled in maritime ſkill at all times; that no commander of any other ſtate can ſcarcely be found, who has taken ſo many towns, ſubdued ſo many iſles and barbarous nations, or ſo frequently brought home the enemies' ſhips and ſpoil triumphantly, as many of our commanders have done."—The dominion of Genoa extended from Marſeilles weſtward, to Tuſcany eaſtward; the iſles of Sardinia and Corſica were among their poſſeſſions;

wards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed aſunder, taking our leaves with unſpeakable thankes and courteſies. And ſo at length, of thirty horſemen which went out of Normandie fat, luſty, and frolique, we returned thither ſkarſe twenty poore pilgrims of us, being all footmen, and conſumed with leanneſſe to the bare bones."

[k] Pet. Baptiſt. Burgus de Dominio ſereniſſimæ Genuenſis reip. in mari Liguſtico; Lib. ii. cap. 14.

[l] Ibid. Lib. ii. cap. 13.

ſeſſions; and they bore, moreover, a conſiderable ſway in the Eaſt through the favour of the Greek emperors. During this height of their mercantile ſkill and power, an attempt was made by the Genoeſe, in the year 1291, to renew the progreſs of maritime diſcovery, but without effect: both Baptiſta Burgus and De Mailly affirm, that at this time two gallies were ſent from Genoa under the command of Theodoſius Doria, and Ugolin Vivaldo, to ſearch for a new world: they were directed to ſail far weſtward, without the Straits of Gibraltar, but never returned to relate the ſtory of their perils.

The advantageous ſituation of the ancient city of Theodoſia on the ſhore of the Pontus Euxinus [m], or Black Sea; induced the Genoeſe, when in the thirteenth century they carried their arms into the Crimea, the Taurica Cherſoneſus of the ancients, to reſtore it to its former eminence as the emporium of the Euxine. The Genoeſe had already founded Azoph and Jambold; when, perceiving the advantages they would derive from rebuilding Theodoſia, they ſent a colony thither of their own countrymen about the year 1261, whoſe poſterity form its preſent inhabitants, and at the ſame time changed its name from Theodoſia to Caffa. To this celebrated ſtaple, the ſpices, and coſtly produce of India, convèyed by different routes acroſs the extenſive plains of Aſia, traverſing the Caſpian and its adjacent rivers, were firſt brought to Sinope [n], Trebiſond [o], and other cities

[m] Its more ancient name was *Axenus*, from Aſhkenaz the ſon of Gomer, who ſettled near it. The latter Greeks, when its original was forgot, explained the appellation from *Axenos*, inhoſpitable; and ſince the inhabitants of the adjacent countries had become more civilized, the later term *Euxinus* was preferred.

[n] Sinope. This had been the moſt famous of the Pontic cities, and, according to Strabo, poſſeſſed an excellent port on each ſide of the iſthmus on which it was built: It was a city of very great antiquity; its origin by this geographer is referred to the Argonauts: but it did not riſe into note until a colony of Mileſians ſettled in it. It obtained the ſurname of *Julia Auguſta* on receiving a colony of Romans. This was the birth-place of Diogenes the Cynic.

[o] Anciently ſtyled *Trapezus*, a colony from *Sinope*: a radiated Apollo was impreſſed on

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cities on the Black Sea. This lucrative ſtation the Genoeſe preſerved for near two centuries; and many remains of their [p] magnificence are yet viſible.

The naval power of Genoa, which, during the whole of the thirteenth, and part of the fourteenth centuries, had held the balance of commerce in Europe; ſubdued Smyrna, vanquiſhed Piſa, cleared the Mediterranean ſea of pirates, and overcome the combined and ſuperior fleet of Venice, Arragon, and the Greek Emperor John Cantacuzene, gradually declined towards the year 1390—"from the violent conteſts," ſays De Mailly, "between her old and new nobles, and between the nobility and plebeians: ſeveral of her own nobles had now uſurped the ſovereignty of ſundry places in her ancient dominions; ſuch, for inſtance, as the Grimaldi family did of Monaco, and the Interiani of Portoveneri."—Owing to theſe inteſtine commotions,

their coins, to indicate their Greek origin and inſtitutions, and application to learning. *Mela* mentions its ſplendour and magnificence. *Euſtathius* ſpeaks of it as a great ſtaple for commerce; and Pliny as ſituated on a peninſula ſurrounded by mountains. Burchet in his naval hiſtory ſays, that when *Mucianus* was ſent by *Veſpaſian* to ſupport his pretenſions to the empire, *Anicetus*, who took up arms for *Vitellius*, invented a new kind of ſhips, ſomething reſembling the deſcription we have of Noah's ark, and having got together a conſiderable number of veſſels of that build, ſeized on *Trapezus*. Mr. Gibbon deſcribes the manner in which this city was taken by the Goths; and the ſucceſsful exertions of its Duke to render himſelf independent of the Greek empire (vol. i. ed. 8vo, 425. xi. 254). Anderſon cites a curious paſſage from *Grotius's Annals of the Netherlands*, in which the SPICE TRADE is traced to *Trebiſond*. About the year 1013, according to this author, (book xv.) the Chineſe, who had great dealings all over India, got poſſeſſion of the *Spice Iſlands* after much bloodſhed: yet they quitted them in about ſixty years. Next the people of Malacca poſſeſſed them; but they were driven out by the natives. The Arabians and Perſians ſucceeded them, and introduced Mahometaniſm amongſt them. Theſe iſles were utterly unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans; yet they enjoyed the merchandize of cloves, by means of the people of the Eaſt. Long after the fall of the weſtern empire, when the Genoeſe got the port of CAFFA, in the peninſula of the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, they for a time enjoyed the ſpice trade; and to them ſucceeded the Venetians. When a new Greek empire was eſtabliſhed at *Trebiſond*, that trade was drawn thither through the *Caſpian Sea*; and on the increaſe of the Turkiſh power, they brought the ſpices from thence by caravans to Aleppo. The Soldans of Egypt reſtored the trade by the *Red Sea* to India, and back again to Alexandria down the Nile. The Portugueſe obtained poſſeſſion of the Spice Iſlands in the year 1512.

[p] Sir John Chardin's Voyages.

commotions, the power of Genoa was gradually diminiſhed; and was obliged to become ſubject to Charles the VIth of France for protection, from 1396 to the year 1411: her former ſplendour afterwards revived, like the doubtful flame of the expiring taper; but the effort was feeble and tranſient: having ventured to encounter the fleet of Philip Viſconti, Duke of Milan, four out of ſix of the Genoeſe gallies were captured; and the ſtate of Genoa found itſelf obliged to ſubmit for a ſhort period to that Prince. A Genoeſe armament of eighteen gallies, was in 1424 ſent out by the Duke to oppoſe the ſuperior force of Alphonſo King of Arragon, combined with that of the Florentines: this fleet was alſo unſucceſsful; and thus the commerce of the ſtate received a freſh wound, which was rendered more fatal by the final overthrow of the Greek empire.

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Venice, ſo called from *Venetia*, a Roman province in Italy, was founded about the year 452, and ſucceeded Genoa in a maritime point of view: ſhe had already excited the jealouſy of the Italian ſtates, and the admiration of Europe. Her conſular power yielded to that of the tribunes, about thirty years after the building of the city; and this was ſucceeded by the authority of the doge or duke in the year 697. The Doge Sebaſtian Zani having taken a ſucceſsful part with Pope Alexander the third, againſt the Emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, his Holineſs as a pledge of gratitude, during the year 1173, preſented him with a gold ring, in token of his marriage with the Adriatic; adding, *Take this ring, and bind the Adriatic Sea therewith to thee in wedlock; which ceremony, you and your ſucceſſors ſhall annually perform, that lateſt poſterity may know you have acquired the dominion of this ſea by right of conqueſt; and that as the wife is ſubject to her huſband, ſo is this ſea to your republic.* About the middle of the fourteenth century, the commerce of Venice was very extenſive in conveying the ſpices of the Eaſt from Alexandria, to the different marts of Europe; which the great fairs, firſt eſtabliſhed by Charlemagne, circulated throughout their reſpective kingdoms.

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kingdoms. The uſe of cannon was introduced by the Venetians during the ſiege of Tenedos in the Archipelago (1376), then attacked by the Genoeſe: Machiavel, in his hiſtory of Florence, is of opinion that theſe guns were invented by the Germans.

Even the Cruſades, which ſo much exhauſted the ſtrength and reſources of other European kingdoms, augmented the commerce and maritime power of Venice, and of the principal Italian ſtates. The fleet that conveyed the troops, or attended the motions of the army, was ſupplied by them: Taſſo beautifully introduces this at the cloſe of his firſt canto—

[p] Along the ſands his armies ſafe they guide,
By ways ſecure, to them well known before:
Upon the tumbling billows fraughted ride
The armed ſhips, coaſting along the ſhore,
Which for the camp might ev'ry day provide
To bring munition good, and victuals ſtore:
The iſles of *Greece* ſent in proviſion meet,
And ſtore of wine from *Scios* came, and *Crete*.

Great *Neptune* grieved underneath the load
Of ſhips, hulks, gallies, barks, and brigandines;
In all the *Mid-earth* ſeas was left no road,
Wherein the *Pagan* his bold ſails untwines;
Spread was the huge armado wide and broad,
From *Venice*, *Genes*, and towns which them confine,
From *England*, *Holland*, *France*, and *Sicil* ſent,
And all for Juda ready bound, and bent. FAIRFAX.

The Cruſades, though the hiſtorian may conſider them at this diſtance of time with too ſcrutinizing an eye, were of great importance in removing the abſurd prejudices reſpecting foreigners, which injudicious [q] ſtatutes had ſo much encouraged: navigation and

[p] La Geruſalemme Liberata, Canto I. 78, 79.

" Conduce ei ſempre alle marittime onde
" Vicino il campo per diritte ſtrade—"

[q] Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i. p. 395. By the ancient laws of Wales, three ſorts of perſons might be murdered with impunity; a madman, a ſtranger, and a leper.

and commerce were indebted to them for an early ſupport. Different cities that had long traded with India were ſubdued; and Antioch and Tyre were opened to the merchants of Europe.—The pilgrims of Europe, who in crouds viſited the Holy Land both before and after the cruſades, concealed the character of a merchant, like the Faquirs of India, under the cowl of a devotee; and thus were of ſervice in furniſhing information reſpecting the riches or countries of the Eaſt.

Ch. I. § 1. *Early periods of Modern Hiſtory, preceding the Fifteenth Century.*

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Venice was rapidly increaſing her commerce and territory: ſhe at this time poſſeſſed, on the eaſtern ſide of the Adriatic, a conſiderable part of the ancient Greek empire; was alſo miſtreſs of the Morea, as well as of many of the Greek iſlands; and had poſſeſſed herſelf of Vicenza, Feltro, Baſſano, Verona, and Padua, to which ſhe ſoon added the iſland of Cyprus; in conſequence of the aſſignment of Catherine, daughter of Marco Cornaro, a noble Venetian, the widow of James, baſtard ſon of John the laſt king. Venice was at this time more connected with the potentates of Europe, than any other of the Italian ſtates, except the Papal See [r]. The jealouſy of its government did not extend to the naval department; and though it only truſted foreigners in the more ſplendid ſtations of military allegiance, it readily allowed the nobles of Venice to become admirals or merchants.

As the ſpice trade was long carried on by the Venetians from the port of Alexandria, and was at this time the great ſupport of their maritime power; I ſhall here ſubjoin the curious remarks concerning this branch of commerce at Alexandria, which the diligent Hackluyt has preſerved [s].

"Alexandria in Egypt is a free port; and when a man commeth within the caſtles, preſently the Ermyn ſends aboord to have one come and ſpeake with him, to know what goods are aboord; and then

[r] Robertſon's View of the State of Europe; Charles V. vol. i. ed. 8vo.

[s] Vol. ii. page 176.

then hee will set guards aboord the ship to see all the goods discharged. And then from the Ermyn you goe to the Bye (another officer) onely for that he will inquire newes of you; and so from thence to the consul's house, where you lie. The Venetians have a consul themselves; but all other nations goe to the French nation's consul, who will give you a chamber for yourselves apart, if you will so have it.

"The customs inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, and the custom is paid in wares also that you buy; for the same wares in barter you pay also ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you sell for mony, you pay no more custome but the ten aforesaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the custome of the goods you lade for the sayd mony; for more custome you pay not. But for all the mony you bring thither, you pay nothing for the custome of the same. And if you sell your wares for mony, and with the same mony buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the custom thereof. And if you steale any custome, if it be taken, you pay double custome for that you steale.

"The waight of Alexandria is called *Pois Forforelne*, which is a kintal in that place; which maketh at Marsells 109 li. of Marseils' weight, at fifteen ounces the pound, which is 103 li. of sixteen ounces to the li. There is another waight called *Pois Gerrin*, which is 150 li. of Marseils' waight, by which are sold all things to eate; but spice is sold by the former waight. From Alexandria to Cairo is three daies journey, but you must take a Janissarie with you: and to go up thither by water it is eight dayes journey. Roials of Spaine are current money there, and are the best money you can carry; and four roials are woorth thirteen medins; and two medins are three aspers. Pistolets and crownes of France, and dollers, will goe, but of all roials are best. Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but

is kept for a victual; but with a present to the Bye and Ermyn some may passe.

Ch. I. § 1. *Early periods of Modern History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

"All sortes of spices be garbled after the bargaine is made; and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people, and not ill disposed. And after you be searched, and have leave to passe, you must presently depart out of the port; and if you doe not, they will search you againe; and you must depart in the day, for in the night the castles will not suffer you to depart. The duetie to the consul is two in the hundred for his aide, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good, when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Silver is better currant than gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

"Commonly the caravans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices; and therefore the spices are brought most to Alexandria, where each Christian nation remaineth at the consul's houses. Yet oftentimes the Christians go up to Cairo to buy drugs and other commodities there, as they see cause. And the commodities there vendible are all sorts of kersies, but the most part blewes; and of clothes all colours, except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is usually sold for twenty-four ducats the quintal; ginger for fourteen ducats. You must take canvas to make bags to put your commodities in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good store of buffe hides."

The celebrated republic of Florence, on whose history so much light has been thrown by the genius of Mr. Roscoe, continued to support an high maritime character throughout the whole of the fifteenth century. Situated in the centre of contending powers, she had constant opportunities of increasing her wealth or influence; whilst commerce, conducted under the munificent auspices of the illustrious House of Medici, gave a favourable distinction

BOOK I.

to the naval profeſſion. Mr. Roſcoe informs us, that a conſiderable commerce aroſe from their trade carried on, in the early part of the fifteenth century, to Alexandria for the productions of the Eaſt, at the earneſt entreaty of Taddeo di Cenni; who was ambitious that his countrymen ſhould, in this reſpect, rival the States of Genoa and Venice: Coſmo de Medici was at this time the chief of the republic. Six maritime conſuls were accordingly appointed to prepare at Leghorn, which had been [t] lately purchaſed from the Genoeſe, two large gallies, and ſix guard ſhips. "A public proceſſion [u]," ſays Mr. Roſcoe, "took place, and the Divine favour, which had always accompanied their domeſtic undertakings, was ſolicited upon their maritime concerns. At the ſame time, the [x] firſt armed veſſel of the republic was fitted out on a voyage for Alexandria, in which twelve young men of the chief families in Florence engaged to proceed, for the purpoſe of obtaining experience in naval affairs. Carlo Federighi, and Felice Brancacci, were appointed ambaſſadors to the Sultan, and were provided with rich preſents to conciliate his favour. The embaſſy was eminently ſucceſsful. Early in the following year the ambaſſadors returned, having obtained permiſſion to form a commercial eſtabliſhment at Alexandria for the convenience of

[t] I here follow with confidence the authority of Mr. Roſcoe, who in this reſpect ſeems to differ from Anderſon, and Mr. Robert Lewis in his work ſtyled "*The Treaſure of Traffic.*" Theſe writers are of opinion (vid. Anderſon's Hiſt. of Commerce, vol. i. p. 410.) that the French, aſſiſted by the Genoeſe and Florentines, conquered the Republic of Piſa in the year 1405; that the town and port of Leghorn were then given up to the *Genoeſe*, who held it until the *next* century, when it was purchaſed by the Duke of Florence for one hundred and twenty thouſand dollars.

[u] Vol. i. page 136.

[x] Dr. Robertſon, in his *Hiſtorical Diſquiſition reſpecting India*, remarks—That the Florentines, originally a commercial democracy, in their firſt mercantile tranſactions, when they did not poſſeſs any commodious ſea-port, moſt probably confined their exertions to the improvement of their manufactories; and did not partake of the commerce with the Eaſt, until the commonwealth, by the conqueſt of Piſa, had acquired a communication with the ocean.

of their trade, and with the extraordinary privilege of erecting a church for the exercise of their religion. In this branch of traffic, which was of a very lucrative nature, and carried on to a great extent, the Medici were deeply engaged; and reciprocal presents of rare, or curious articles, were exchanged between them and the sultans, which sufficiently indicate their friendly intercourse."

Yet although the situation of Florence was thus advantageous in a political, and commercial point of view, it was by no means favourable towards a renewal of the progress of maritime discovery. The Mediterranean Sea conveyed the treasures of the East from Alexandria to the different marts, whence they were afterwards exported to the colder regions of the North; but there was little in this sea calculated to awaken the daring resolution and spirit of maritime enterprise: already explored by the patient industry of other ages, its limits were narrow and determined. The inhabitants of Florence, continually viewing an expanse of water whose boundaries were ascertained; on which the gigantic billow and mountainous swell of the ocean were seldom if ever seen [r]; enjoyed no incentive to the spirit

[r] The Mediterranean is what seamen term *a short hollow sea;* soon down from the proximity of the shores: when the wind has spent its fury, it immediately becomes smooth. The sailors of the different states, whose shore is washed by this sea, to the present hour never stand out a gale; but, having always some good harbours under their lee, they immediately resort thither. It is even difficult for the more experienced mariners of the north to keep this sea in a gale of wind, the popple is so considerable. The storm which Virgil, in his first book, describes Eneas to have been in, is an exact representation of a gale of wind in the Mediterranean; such as the poet must have often beheld:

"Hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens
Terram inter fluctus aperit; furit æstus arenis."

The great epic poet of Indian commerce, as translated by Mickle, when describing the boundaries of Europe, accurately marks the difference between the roaring of the Northern and Western Oceans, and the generally smoother undulation of the Mediterranean:

"Around her northern and her western shores,
Throng'd with the finny race, old ocean roars;
The Midland Sea, where tide ne'er swell'd the waves,
Her richest lawns, the southern border, laves." Book iii. p. 86. 8vo. ed.

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ſpirit of diſcovery, no object adapted to create that train of ſearching doubt and bold conjecture, which the boundleſs ſweep of the Atlantic ſo much tended to encourage in the mind of Henry Duke of Viſeo.

It is however probable, that among the innumerable manuſcripts, and antiquities, collected by the diligence of the family of Medici, their claſſical erudition often led them to preſerve or illuſtrate ſuch works of the Greek philoſophers and geographers, as became of eſſential ſervice to the heroic monarchs of Portugal in proſecuting their deſigns. A continued intercourſe ſubſiſted between Florence and Conſtantinople: and in the library of S. Marco, founded by Coſmo de Medici with the books collected by Niccolo Niccoli, we are informed by Mr. Roſcoe, that the Greek and oriental manuſcripts formed a diſtinct claſs. The recovery of the three firſt books, and a part of the fourth of the Argonautics, the intereſting naval poem of [a] Valerius Flaccus, by Poggio Bracciolini in the convent of St. Gallo, during the year 1415, muſt ſoon have been known throughout Europe; and have had its effect on the inquiſitive and learned minds of the maritime princes, who ſo much adorned the reign of their illuſtrious father John the Firſt, king of Portugal.

The Seven United Provinces, conſiſting of the northern part of the Netherlands, more commonly known under the general appellation of HOLLAND, were not yet incorporated by that bond of amity which they formed in the ſucceeding century; when the memorable league at Utrecht (1579) oppoſed the tyranny and oppreſſion of Philip II. of Spain. Probably at this early period, the very coaſt of diſtricts that afterwards compoſed ſo powerful a maritime ſtate, was

[a] This naval poet, who flouriſhed under Veſpaſian, and who in point of merit has been placed by critics next to Virgil, continues to be ſtrangely neglected in the firſt commercial kingdom of Europe—

"Ira maris, vaſtique placent diſcrimina ponti."

was different from what it appears in the prefent day. Sir William Temple is inclined to believe, that the Bay which now feparates the provinces of Holland and Groningen, under the name of the Zuyder Zee, was formerly a tract of land confifting of low fwampy marfhes: the Netherland hiftorians affirm, that it was for the moft part dry land, and a well inhabited country. Morifotus, who publifhed his *Orbis Maritimus* in 1643, places the date of the dreadful inundation in 1421, whilft others on the contrary make it ftill later, in the year 1446.—After the fail of the empire of Charlemagne, the provinces which now form the Republic of Holland experienced frequent revolutions: the great Lords and officers of the crown rendered their governments hereditary; fome provinces were under the authority of dukes, others were fubject to counts; whilft that of Friefland was termed a kingdom, and that of Utrecht a bifhoprick. Voltaire is of opinion that the foundation of the Republic of Holland, during the fucceeding century, was laid without defign, and againft all the rules of probability.—" A little corner of the world," fays that lively writer, " almoft buried under water, and which fubfifted only by its herring fifhery, became a formidable power; made head againft Philip the Second; ftript his fucceffors of almoft all their poffeffions in the Eaft Indies, and in the end became the protectors of them." So early as 1408, the towns of the province of Holland poffeffed a naval force refpectable for that age: fince penfionary De Witt, in his *Intereft of Holland*, informs us, " that the feas being infefted by certain Eaft Friefeland pirates, thofe of Amfterdam, and fome of the cities of North Holland, with the affiftance of the Lubeckers, Hamburgers, and Campeners, fuppreffed thefe [a] robbers." In 1441, we find the Hollanders and Zealanders with the Spaniards, Venetians, and Pruffians, as their allies. Eleven of their affociated towns, in which Dort, Haarlem, Amfterdam, and Rotterdam, are mentioned, having fitted out a formidable fquadron to

[a] De Witt's Intereft of Holland, part ii. chap. 1.

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to chaſtiſe the depredations committed by the Hanſeatic Eaſterlings, overcame them twice at ſea; and at length brought them to agree to a truce for twelve years with the Hollanders, Zealanders, and their confederates.

In the year 1444, when King Henry, the Sixth of England [b], renewed her ancient commercial correſpondence and friendſhip with the places, countries, and dominions of Holland, Zealand, and Frieſland, it is remarkable that there is no mention of any prince or ſovereign of theſe countries; which confirms what Penſionary De Witt, Sir William Temple, and others relate concerning the great independent power of the ſtates of thoſe provinces in old times. In the ſame year, as Mr. Anderſon informs us, the old French book, intitled the *Grand Chronique de Hollande*, Zelande, &c. relates, "that Henry Burſſele, or Van Borſelen, Lord of Veere, or Campveere in Zealand, did in that year fit out ſeveral large merchant ſhips, with which he traded far and near on the ſeas, and thereby gained a vaſt eſtate in lands and lordſhips in Zealand; and by which means likewiſe the city of Veere became flouriſhing in navigation and commerce."

The city of Amſterdam, which in the year 1585 enjoyed a complete triumph over its rival Antwerp; when the latter was for three days abandoned without remorſe to the mercileſs ſoldiers of the Duke of Parma; was originally, in 1203, a ſmall caſtle named *Amſtel* from the river whoſe banks it defended. Some peaſants, induced by the liberality of its lord, *Giſbert*, to build their cottages near its walls, began a conſiderable traffic by means of their fiſhery. Theſe labours being crowned with ſucceſs, the riſing hamlet, which had cheered the gloom of the adjoining caſtle, ſoon loſt all traces of its former poverty: the fiſhing boats were turned into merchant ſhips, and the fiſhermen into merchants. The new town was ſoon ſurrounded with

[b] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 67.

with bridges and a dyke: when the term *Dam* was added to that of *Amstel;* since corruptly turned into *Amsterdam.*

That extensive territory, which in general is styled the LOW COUNTRIES, or NETHER-LANDS, from their situation in respect to Germany, came under the dominion of the House of Burgundy in 1433. Its commerce was of such a magnitude, that, according to the anonymous author of the *Annales Flandriæ*, no less than one hundred and fifty merchant ships were seen in the year 1468, arriving at once at the port of Sluys, which was then the harbour of Bruges. The alliance made by the maritime cities of Hamburg and Lubec to open a trade with the Baltic, encouraged other towns to follow their example; and thus was formed the famous [c] Hanseatic League, consisting of eighty of the most celebrated cities situated in the

[c] Werdenhagen the historian of the Hanseatic League, according to Anderson, fixes on the year 1370, as the period when this famous confederacy was at the summit of its glory. Their exact number was generally fluctuating. Werdenhagen, in his second volume, page 89, gives the following curious list of sixty-four of these cities, with the annual sum paid by each into the public treasury:

	Imperial Dollars.	
Lubeca	100	*Lubeck.*
Colonia	100	*Cologne.*
Brema	60	*Bremen.*
Hamburgum	80	*Humburgh.*
Rostochium	50	*Rostock, in Mecklenburg dutchy.*
Straelsunda	50	*Straelsund, in Pomerania.*
Wismaria	25	*Wismar, in the dutchy of Mecklenburg.*
Magdeburgum	40	*Magdeburg.*
Brunsviga	50	*Brunswick.*
Dantiscum	80	*Dantzick.*
Luneburgum	60	*Lunenburg.*
Stetinum	40	*Stetin, the capital of Pomerania.*
Gryphiswalda	25	*Grypeswald, in Pomerania.*
Hildesheimium	30	*Hildesheim.*
Goslaria	30	*Goslar, in the dutchy of Brunswick.*
Gottinga	30	*Gottingen, in the same.*
Eimbecca	10	*Eimbeck, in the same.*
Hanovera	25	*Hanover.*

Hamela

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the countries, that extend from the bottom of the Baltic, to Cologne on the Rhine. Of the different towns where they eſtabliſhed ſtaples for the ſupport of their commerce, Bruges was the moſt celebrated:

	Imperial Dollars.	
Hamela	20	*Hamelin, in the dutchy of Brunſwick.*
Colberga	25	*Coleberg, in Pomerania.*
Stargarda	25	*Stargard, in Pomerania.*
Anclamum	18	*Anclam, in the ſame.*
Stada	20	*Staden, in the dutchy of Bremen.*
Boxtehuda	20	*Boxtehude, in the ſame dutchy.*
Golnovia	8	*Golnaw, in the dutchy of Pomerania.*
Thoruna	20	*Thorne, in Poliſh Pruſſia.*
Elbinga	20	*Elbing, in the ſame.*
Koningſberga	60	*Koningſberg, the capital of Brandenburg, Pruſſia.*
Braunſberga	20	*Braunſberg, in Poliſh Pruſſia.*
Riga	50	*Capital of Livonia.*
Revalia	50	*Revel, in the ſame.*
Dorpatum	20	*Dorpt, in the ſame.*
Parnovia	20	*Parnaw, or Pernaw, in the ſame.*
Culmenum	10	*Culm, in Poliſh Pruſſia.*
Neomagium	35	*Nimeguen, in Guelderland.*
Davantria	50	*Daventer, in Overyſſel.*
Campenum	40	*Campen, in the ſame.*
Schwolla	23	*Swoll, in the ſame.*
Zutphania	30	*Zutphen, in Guelderland.*
Arnhemia	30	*Arnheim, in the ſame.*
Bommelia	10	*Bommel, in the ſame.*
Thiela	10	*Tiel, in the ſame.*
Hardervicum	30	*Harderwick, in the ſame.*
Duiſburgum	20	*Duiſburg, in the dutchy of Cleves.*
Stavera	35	*Stavern, in Frieſland.*
Groninga	35	*Groningen, in the ſame; ſince made a diſtinct province.*
Bolſwerda	30	*Bolſwerd, in Frieſland.*
Ruremunda	25	*Ruremonde, in Guelderland.*
Venloa	20	*Venloo, in the ſame.*
Emericum	30	*Emmerick, in the dutchy of Cleves.*
Oſnabruga	30	*Oſnaburg, in Weſtphalia.*
Suſatum	35	*Soeſt, in the ſame.*
Tremonia	30	*Dortmunde, in the ſame.*
Monaſterium	40	*Munſter, in the ſame.*
Veſalia	30	*Weſel, in the dutchy of Cleves.*
Minda	30	*Minden, in Weſtphalia.*

Paderborna

brated: to this port the Lombards conveyed the productions of India; which rendered it the great emporium of trade, and the intermediate ſtore-houſe for merchandiſe, between the more northern countries of Europe, within the Baltic Sea, and the moſt remote ſouthern parts, within the Mediterranean. When the glory of the Netherlands was at its ſummit, and its extenſive woollen manufacture without a rival; their illuſtrious chief, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, eſtabliſhed in the year 1429 at Bruges, the ſplendid order of the Golden [d] Fleece; on the day of his marriage with

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	Imperial Dollars.	
Paderborna	20	*Paderborn, in Weſtphalia.*
Hervorda	15	*Hervorden, in the ſame.*
Lemgovia	15	*Lemgow, in the ſame.*
Lippeſtadium	10	*Lipſtadt, in the ſame.*
Unna	20	*Unna, in the ſame.*
Hamma	25	*Hamm, in the ſame.*
Warbergum	15	*Warberg, in the ſame.*
Bilefeldia	10	*Bielfield, in the ſame.*

The four great COMPTOIRS of the Hans Towns were, *Bruges*, *London*, *Novogrod*, and *Bergen*.

To the above ſixty-four cities and towns, the hiſtorian adds forty-four, who did not pay any annual contribution, and may therefore be termed allies: to theſe many more were afterwards added.

[d] It is ſingular that Dr. Robertſon, in his intereſting View of the Progreſs of Society in Europe, from the ſubverſion of the Roman empire, to the beginning of the ſixteenth century, ſhould not notice this celebrated inſtitution; and alſo that he ſhould entirely paſs over the kingdom of Portugal, which by this marriage formed an alliance with the firſt maritime prince in Europe. The inſtitution of this Order, as founded by one of the earlieſt of the modern maritime ſtates; and on account of its alliance with Portugal, the parent of maritime diſcovery; deſerves our particular attention. This Order, in every point of view, muſt be conſidered as a *commercial* and *naval* inſtitution; and though it afterwards was beſtowed as a reward for the valour of military men, it ſurely cannot properly be deemed a military order. May we not expreſs a wiſh to ſee this celebrated inſtitution, or one eſtabliſhed on a ſimilar plan, kept apart in our own country, as the badge of merit for the naval profeſſion? The Golden Fleece was the prize of Jaſon and the Argonauts!—OLIVER DE LA MARCHE, ſays "that he ſuggeſted to Philip I. Archduke of Auſtria, that the Order was inſtituted by his grandfather Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, with a view to that of Jaſon." The Order conſiſted at firſt of the Sovereign and thirty Knights. Charles XII. augmented them to fifty-one; but at preſent the number is undetermined. SEVENTY-FOUR ſeems to be the number to which the Knights Companions of any naval order ſhould be limited. The King of Spain is the

BOOK I. with Isabella, daughter of John the first, king of Portugal, by Philippa, eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

In the year 1469, the Netherlands had attained to such a pitch of maritime strength, that the Duke of Burgundy possessed the most formidable naval power in Europe. "His navy," says Philip de Commines*, "was so mighty and strong, that no man durst stir in these narrow seas for fear of it; making war upon the King of France's subjects, and threatening them every where: his navy being stronger than that of France, and the Earl of Warwick's joined together. For he (the Duke of Burgundy) had taken at Sluys, many great ships of Spain, Portugal, and Genoa, and divers hulks of Germany."—Thus the associating spirit of Commerce, which had arisen in the thirteenth century, combined to establish the colossal power, that prepared the way for the maritime discoveries of Europe: but we shall find that the progress of the latter, though greatly assisted by such an impelling force, chiefly depended on the daring efforts of individuals; who, amidst a variety of perplexity and disappointment,

Chief, and Grand Master of this Order, as having inherited the rights of the House of Burgundy. The Emperor also creates Knights of the Golden Fleece, in virtue of his pretensions to the same rights. The habit of state is most brilliant: it consists of a splendid crimson velvet cloak, lined with white sattin, open on the right side, and tucked on the left arm; under this cloak is a robe of silver tissue. The head is covered with a chaperon or hood, fashioned as it was worn at the time of the institution of the order, and is of violet coloured velvet. The cloak is bordered with an embroidery of gold, imitating the great collar. The COLLAR of the Order is composed of double steels, and flint stones emitting streams of fire; imitated in enamel in their proper colours, on gold, with these words, *Ante ferit quam flamma micat.*—MOTTO of the Order, PRETIUM NON VILE LABORUM!—If the crimson cloak was changed into one of dark blue, and anchors were embroidered on the collar, it might with singular propriety be established in this country as the reward of naval merit; and the Order of the Bath, remain what it always was—a Military Order. I avail myself of this opportunity, to mention another order of great antiquity; which in some respects might perhaps claim a preference as a Naval Order; it was styled *The Order of the* OAK *of Navarre*, and is said to have been instituted by Garcias Ximenes so early as the year 722. The badge was *an oak tree proper, on the top a cross moline gules.* An oak saved the person of royalty, and has long preserved the sceptre: why not then institute The most honourable Naval Order of the Royal Oak?

* Book iii. ch. 5.

pointment, at length taught the world to respect the bold conceptions of genius; which the *profanum vulgus*, "both the great vulgar and the small," is always prone to neglect, and ever ready to despise.

Ch. I. § 1. *Early periods of Modern History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

My intention at present is to take a general view of the principal maritime states in Europe, at the beginning of the fifteenth century; giving a retrospective glance at the earlier periods of modern history, as connected with the subject of this work: in order to assist the reader in carrying back his ideas with greater facility, from the improvements of the present age, to the remote period of the Portuguese discoveries. I shall therefore now confine myself, in this respect, to a brief survey of the then naval character of Norway, Denmark, France, England, and Spain; reserving for another section that of Portugal; from whom I date the origin of maritime discovery among the moderns, and whose voyages will consequently be first considered.

The NORMAN Mariners who early ventured on the ocean from the frozen regions of Norway, and who, towards the decline of the power of the Saracens, laid waste the coasts of the more southern countries of Europe; until they compelled the French to assign to the followers of Rollo, the genial and fertile province of Normandy; have not been sufficiently considered, as renewing the progress of maritime discovery in periods so far back, that they are almost lost in oblivion. The Normans were the [f] first Europeans who explored

[f] See Appendix, F. for Mr. *Glas's observations on the discovery of the Canary Islands.*—The author of an *Introduction to the literary history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* also notices these early navigators; whose maritime discoveries have escaped the observation of many writers: "Scarcely could a reasonable hope be entertained of these Gothic governments acquiring order and stability, when fresh tribes of barbarians made their appearance from the old and yet exhausted storehouse of nations. Their numbers appear to have suffered little diminution; but they chose a different element for their exploits, better calculated for sudden invasion, and expeditious retreat. The *Normans*, a name which includes Scandinavia, and the shores of the Baltic,

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plored the north-weſt coaſts of Africa, nearly a century before the voyages of the Portugueſe; and formed ſettlements on that continent, which continued until the year 1410: the Portugueſe were in many reſpects, as Mr. Glas [g] obſerves, the revivers of the Norman diſcoveries.—There is a chaſm in the hiſtory of [h] Norway for ſix hundred years, viz. from A. D. 200 to 800: in the year 837, they were acquainted with a country, on the north ſide of Davis's Straits, called GRONELAND, or Greenland, which the Daniſh Chronicle declares to have been diſcovered about the year 770. Theſe forgotten navigators continued to be idolators until 994; when their King Olaus was converted and baptized in England: he was nevertheleſs murdered in 1006 by his pagan ſubjects; and has ſince been regarded as the patron ſaint of Norway.

The kingdom of Denmark, one of the moſt ancient [i] monarchies in Europe, ſo early as the eleventh century poſſeſſed a powerful maritime force; when its ſhips under the conduct of Canute the Great, who ſucceeded Olaus on the throne of Norway, invaded England: and by breaking through that bulwark, which has ſince become invincible, placed this celebrated monarch upon the throne. The original inhabitants of Denmark, the gloomy and cruel diſciples of WODEN, who, with thoſe of Sweden and Norway, were ſtyled Scandinavians or Saxons, diſplayed a formidable naval character, which ſtruck the coaſts of Europe with awe, and ſubdued ſome of its

Baltic, free-booters and pirates, from the owners of ſhips became the maſters of fleets, extended their viſits of ſlaughter and depredation, and kept the moſt powerful kingdoms of the weſt, in a ſtate of terror and alarm. Charlemagne ſaw, dreaded, and repreſſed their power; his death was the ſignal for bolder and better concerted attempts." (P. 50.)

[g] Ibid. Appendix.

[h] Werdenhagen's tractatus de rebus-publicis Hanſeaticis, folio. Francof. 1641. Anderſon's Commerce, vol. i.

[i] A ſeries of kings may be traced from the year 1038 before Chriſt; forming the ſpace of two thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-nine years.

its moſt fertile [k] kingdoms. The Danes, almoſt from the foundation of their empire, poſſeſſed a conſiderable maritime force: and, though it appeared in the garb of piracy, they in this reſpect purſued only the ſame courſe, which all naval powers in their infancy have held; which the heroes of Greece ennobled, and their bards ſelected as the claſſic ſubjects of their ſong.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Denmark ſuſtained its commercial character with conſiderable ability and renown: and perhaps it was more owing to the favourable ſituation of Portugal for renewing the progreſs of maritime diſcovery, than to any ſuperior ſkill, or love of enterpriſe, that ſhe took the lead of her northern ſiſter in the developement of unfrequented ſeas.

Queen Margaret at the period whence the preſent work commences, ſat on the triple throne of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and ſhe held its ſceptre with ſo much firmneſs, and iſſued her decrees with ſuch profound wiſdom, as to be ſtyled, THE SEMIRAMIS OF THE NORTH. This aſtoniſhing character, who proved to what an height the female underſtanding may be raiſed, not only repreſſed the daring attempts of piracy, but curbed the [l] domineering ſpirit of the Hanſeatic Aſſociation, by the celebrated union of Calmar; which her abilities and eloquence conſpired to form during the year 1397. In the preceding year her attentive ſolicitude for the maritime intereſts and [m] character of her ſubjects particularly appears: ſhe declared *that*

[k] One of their kings named FROTHO, who reigned about the year 761 before Chriſt, is ſaid to have conquered all Britain, Sleſwick, Ruſſia, Pomerania, Hollſtein, &c.

[l] A ſtriking inſtance of this is recorded in the eighth volume of Rymer's Fœdera, (p. 722) King Henry the Fourth of England complains, during the year 1412, "that about five years before, one hundred fiſhermen of Cromer and Blakeney in Norfolk, flying from their enemies into the port of Windford in Norway, were aſſaulted by 500 armed men belonging to the Hanſeatics reſiding at Bergen: who bound the poor Engliſhmen hands and feet, and threw them into the ſea; where they all periſhed."

[m] It is a curious circumſtance, and one that is particularly intereſting to the Britiſh mariners of the preſent age, that the government of Denmark, ſome years ſubſequent to the reign of Margaret,

BOOK I. *that all ports lately opened to the prejudice of eſtabliſhed marts, ſhould be ſhut up; that no duties ſhould be exacted but where they were impoſed by law; that all manner of aſſiſtance ſhould be given to foreign merchants, and ſailors, particularly in caſe of Shipwreck and misfortune; without expectation of reward, except what was provided for by law: in a word, that every circumſtance enjoined by humanity and ſound policy, ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved with reſpect to ſtrangers.*

During the reign of Margaret's ſucceſſor, the impolitic Eric the tenth; who though formed to reign by the counſels and example of this diſtinguiſhed woman, yet was irreſolute, imprudent, and diſregardful of the laws and liberties of his ſubjects; the commerce of the Hans-Towns was conſiderably [n] affected by the active genius of the Hollanders; who taking advantage of the diſturbances in the North, rendered their trade ſo conſiderable, that they reſorted to all the ports of Muſcovy, Livonia, and Pruſſia. On the renewal of their ancient treaties; which in 1426 took place between Eric the tenth, and James the firſt, of Scotland; we find that the right to the Iſles of

Margaret, though at that time one of the moſt powerful, if not the firſt maritime ſtate in Europe, yet did not reſpect the Neutrality of other powers. In the reign of Chriſtian, the firſt prince of the illuſtrious Houſe of Oldenburgh; which to this day continues ſeated on the throne of Denmark; the Daniſh fleet in the year 1469 attacked a rich fleet of Lubeckers, under pretence of their ſupplying with proviſions and warlike ſtores the enemies of Denmark. The booty was prodigious, and the Lubeckers ſent deputies to demand reſtitution; but Chriſtian anſwered, that it was impoſſible; the booty having been divided among his whole fleet and army: an anſwer with which the Lubeckers were forced to remain [o] ſatisfied.

[n] Universal History, Modern. Vol. xxix. page 148. – Mr. Anderſon in his valuable work on Commerce, ſeems to have fallen into an error, by ſaying "that about the year 1403, Eric the VIII. king of Denmark, being engaged in a deſperate war with the Hanſeatic League, called in the Zealanders and other Netherland ſhips to his aid, whoſe aſſiſtance enabled him to humble the Hans-Towns." If I am correct, for I ſpeak with deference of one to whoſe labours I am ſo much indebted, Eric the X. ſucceeded to the dominions of Margaret about the year 1412; and Eric the VIII. furnamed the Pious, ſucceeded his diſſipated parent Eric the VII. in 1286, and died in 1318.

[o] Meurſius, p. 10.—The paſſage is cited by the writers of the Modern Part of Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. xxix. p. 192, *Note* —(Ed. 1783.)

of Man and Sodor, or Icolmkill, and that to the Orkney Isles, was ceded by the king of * Denmark to James; who annulled the treaty by which the sovereigns of Scotland were engaged to pay tribute for these islands: the original treaty, *super insulis Ebudis*, had been formed by Alexander the third, of Scotland, and Magnus the fourth, king of Norway. The maritime force of the vandalic Hans-Towns, which during the whole of the fifteenth century continued very great, was in 1428 directed against the kingdom of Denmark. A fleet of no less than two hundred and sixty ships, on board of which 12,000 men embarked, sailed from the usual station, the port of Wismar, to attack Copenhagen: they were however obliged to return, without succeeding in their bold design. Eric, throughout the whole of his reign, proved an inveterate enemy to the confederacy. During the violent war which this monarch carried on with the Holsteiners, and the vandalic Hans-Towns; the English and other foreign nations, as well as the Hollanders, began to appear in the Baltic; which gave a fatal wound to the maritime ascendency of the Hanseatic Association. This wound, once inflicted, was considerably increased by Eric's successor, Christopher the third; who, from his inveterate hatred towards the combination, granted in 1443 a free commerce throughout his kingdom of Norway, formerly almost entirely monopolized by the Hanseatics, to the people of Amsterdam; and also to those of Zirickzee in Zealand. This monarch also, in the same year, removed the seat of government from the bishoprick of Roschild, which had hitherto been the capital of Denmark; and on account of the fine harbour, and favourable situation of Copenhagen, established it at the latter city, originally the property of the bishop of Roschild.

The genius of France appeared late, when compared with other nations, in the progress of maritime discovery; and for this reason among

* Meurs. Hist. Danica, lib. v.

BOOK I. among others, becauſe a maritime character was never congenial with the habits or employments of its inhabitants: their minds were too volatile, and too fond of military parade, to find any charms in the plain manners and patient abiding of the mariner. The crews of her ſhips were intrepid, ſkilful, and enterpriſing; but yet it was not the enterpriſe, or ſkill, or intrepidity of ſeamen: like thoſe of the preſent day her mariners were rather military, than naval; the latter appellation was loſt, in the more brilliant pageantry of the former.

The commercial ſpirit of trade which Dagobert had excited in the ſeventh century, and which [p] Charlemagne, at the concluſion of the eighth, and beginning of the ninth, had revived; by various wiſe inſtitutions; by repairing the cities of Genoa and Florence, and particularly by rendering Hamburg a place of conſequence; was conſiderably injured and abated at the period we are now conſidering. The unfortunate ſtate into which Charles the ſixth was thrown, by the irritation and fatigue of his mind, increaſed by the imprudent follies of a maſquerade, at which he with difficulty eſcaped from being burnt to death; fatally prepared the way for that confuſion and anarchy, which the implacable ſpirit of the houſes of Burgundy and Orleans combined to ſtrengthen.—The inſtitution of a NAVAL [q] ORDER in France, called the SHIP AND ESCALLOP-SHELL, or as it was ſometimes ſtyled, the order of the SHIP AND DOUBLE CRESCENT, was celebrated by St. Louis in the year 1269: yet even this had little effect in creating a maritime ſpirit, or in rewarding

[p] Charlemagne ſucceeded his father Pepin in 768, and died in 814.

[q] This order was inſtituted by St. Louis, in commemoration of the hazardous naval expedition which he undertook with his three ſons, PHILIP, JOHN, and PETER, to aſſiſt the Chriſtians againſt the Infidels. The collar was compoſed of gold eſcallop ſhells intermixed with double creſcents; to which was pendant *a ſhip rigged argent, floating upon waves of the ſame.* The eſcallop ſhells are ſuppoſed to repreſent the port of *Aigues-Mortes*, where St. Louis and his ſons embarked; and the creſcents, his intention of waging war with the Turks.

warding what had appeared: moſt writers are of opinion, that the Order did not ſurvive its founder.

The Negotiation which was opened between the crowns of France and England, on the acceſſion of Henry the fifth, of Lancaſter, (20th of March 1413,) inſtead of promoting the general intereſts of trade, or tending to renew the progreſs of maritime diſcovery, ſerved only to deceive both kingdoms: it involved them in the miſeries of war; and even rendered the conqueror the dupe of his own ambition. It was an age of military expeditions and conqueſt; without an Alexander or a Nearchus to render them ſubſervient to the purpoſes of commerce. Yet notwithſtanding the turbulency that prevailed, we have a memorable example given us in France, about the year 1449, of what the diligence of a ſingle individual may produce: it is recorded in the preface to the memoirs of the Dutch trade, which is believed to have been written by Biſhop Huet. Charles the ſeventh, having reſolved to regain Normandy,

 if

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if poſſible, from Henry the ſixth; Jacques Couer, intendant general of the French finances; and who at the ſame time, as appears, was the moſt celebrated merchant, not only of France, which indeed had very few merchants in thoſe times, but of all Europe; became the leading inſtrument of that great revolution in Normandy: and though he ſupplied King Charles with an army, and with ſeveral millions of money, he yet had conſiderable wealth remaining. Couer was ſuch a patron of commerce, that even whilſt he held this high ſtation under the crown, he had a great many large ſhips trading to the Levant, to Egypt, and Barbary; whence he imported gold and ſilver ſtuffs, ſilks of all kinds, and furs: which merchandiſe he ſold by his factors, clerks, and agents, at the Hotel Royal; in all the principal cities of France; and in foreign courts: where the people greatly admiring them, they were purchaſed at high prices. He employed three or four hundred commiſſaries or factors; and gained more in one year than all the merchants of the kingdom together.

A very conſiderable increaſe of ſtrength was given to the maritime power of France, in 1453, by the taking of Bourdeaux from the Engliſh by Charles the ſeventh: who beſides the reduction of the dutchy of Normandy, ſubdued Aquitaine, or Gaſcony. In three months the expence of blood and treaſure, which the Engliſh had laviſhed for a century, was rendered of no avail; their only acquiſition that remained was the town of Calais, and the adjacent town and country of Guines. In 1457 the French even ventured to turn the miſeries of invaſion on their enemies; and diſtreſſed their trade, by burning the conſiderable town of Sandwich in Kent, and that of Fowey in Cornwall.

Lewis the eleventh, who aſſumed the title of MOST CHRISTIAN KING, and to whom the appellation of Majeſty was firſt given in the addreſſes offered by his own ſubjects and foreigners; notwithſtanding

ſtanding his innumerable crimes, and the errors in the early part of his reign; which on his death-bed he acknowledged to the Dauphin, had brought him within an hair's breadth of deſtruction; had ſcarcely ſucceeded to the throne, before he diſplayed a keen attention to promote the maritime power of his ſubjects. In 1462 he eſtabliſhed the fairs at the city of Lyons, which afterwards became ſo famous for the aſſiſtance they gave to commerce. Under this monarch's reign the kingdom of France, which from the time of Hugh Capet had been of little or no conſideration, and had been almoſt entirely deſtroyed by the Engliſh, became a conſiderable ſtate: but this greatneſs was purchaſed by ingratitude and treachery; by the poniard and poiſon of the aſſaſſin; and the tortures of a Baſtile.

A diſpoſition for maritime enterpriſe appeared in England about the reign of Alfred; but its efforts were weak, and expired when the ſun, that called forth ſuch powers, had ſet. Even the law made by the Saxons, that if a merchant croſſed the wide ſea three times, he ſhould be honoured with the title of Thane; muſt have had its influence during the turbulent periods of that barbarous age. Henry[r] cites a paſſage from *Oſſian*[s], whom he juſtly ſtyles the BRITISH HOMER; which informs us of the name of the daring Prince who firſt invented ſhips, and led a colony into Ireland. *Larthon, the firſt of Bolga's race, who travelled on the winds.—Who firſt ſent the black ſhip through the ocean, like a whale through the burſting of foam? I ſee him dark in his own ſhell of oak!—Sea-toſſed Larthon, thy ſoul is ſtrong! He mounts the wave on his own dark oak in Cluba's ridgy bay. That oak which he cut from Lumon, to bound along the ſea.—Now he dares to call the winds, and to mix with the miſt of ocean.*

The

[r] Rapin, page 15.—Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. 8vo. p. 266.

[s] Oſſian, *Temora*, p. 129—131. 4to. and the note. The beſt edition of this poet is that firſt publiſhed in quarto; the octavo is very inferior. The Highland Society has it in contemplation to print the original. The Italians have publiſhed an excellent tranſlation in two ſmall volumes.

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The fiſheries of Europe moſt effectually conſpired to entice the genius of navigation from its long night of ſlumber; and to cheriſh that maritime character which they have ſince ſo much continued to ſupport. Both England and Scotland had their ſhare in promoting this extenſive nurſery of naval power: and the herring fiſhery, which began in Holland about the year 1164, became a conſiderable ſource of wealth to the town of Yarmouth, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. King Edward the firſt, in a charter at the cloſe of his reign (1306), thus notices the herring fiſhery of this port, as well as that carried on by the adjoining towns of Little Yarmouth and Gorlſton: *quod ſemper, retroactis temporibus, naves ingredientes portum illum in ſeiſona piſcationis allecis, diſcareari ſolebant.* The diſpute ran high at this time between Great Yarmouth, and the men of Little Yarmouth and Gorlſton; the [t] latter claiming a privilege time out of mind, to have ſhips load and unload in their harbours; but the former prevailed, as being a free burgh: and it is curious alſo to remark, that great complaints were made, even at this period, in the town of Yarmouth againſt the inhabitants foreſtalling each other in the ſale of imported merchandiſe [u].—Rymer in his Fœdera informs us of the capture of a Yarmouth ſhip ſailing from Rouen (1308), by a French pirate; the cargo of which, conſiſting of woollen and linen cloth, iron, canvas, cables, gold, and ſilver, was valued at four hundred pounds ſterling.

The town of Hull, founded in 1296, by King Edward the firſt, ſoon eſtabliſhed a conſiderable trade to the Baltic, and became a place of general reſort for the North Sea fiſhery. The more ancient and neighbour-

[t] Anderſon, vol. i. p. 273.

[u] The ſtatute of herrings made in the year 1357, is a memorable record of this. King Edward the third enacts, "that herrings ſhould be brought freely and unſold, into the haven of Yarmouth, where the fair was kept; and that none ſhall buy any herrings to hang in their houſes by covin, nor in other manner, at an higher price than forty ſhillings per laſt, containing ten thouſand herrings."

neighbouring port of Heydon in Yorkſhire was thus entirely deſerted. In Sir Robert Cotton's [x] abridgement of the records, King Henry the ſixth, in the year 1440, directs the fees and liveries of his juſtices, attorney, and ſerjeants, to be paid yearly out of the cuſtoms of the ports of London, Briſtol, and Hull: which ſeems to indicate at that period a leading ſuperiority in their commerce. But owing to ſubſequent diſputes with the Hanſeatic towns, the port of Hull, at the cloſe of the fifteenth century, loſt much of its maritime influence. We are informed by Rymer [y] that in the year 1484, "King Richard the third—in conſideration of the ruin, decay, and poverty, which his town of Hull had lately fallen into; and alſo on account of the great expences and ſervices, which the magiſtrates and people of that place had been at, and done to him, in his voyage to Scotland, when Duke of Glocester, and on other occaſions; grants them for their relief, and for the repair of their harbour, a licence for twenty years to come, to ſhip, and export as much merchandiſe (wool and woolfels excepted) as will make the cuſtoms and ſubſidies of exportation, and the duties on the exportation of other merchandiſe in return, amount to ſixty pounds per annum; without paying any of the ſaid cuſtoms, ſubſidies, and duties, during the ſaid term."

The city of Briſtol, mentioned by Gildas under the appellation of BRISTOU ſo early as the year 430, received its charter in 1165 from Henry the ſecond; at which time it was ſtyled the king's own town. Camden is of opinion that it took its riſe on the decline of the Saxon government.

Hackluyt gives the following account of what William of Malmeſburie writeth of traffike in his time (about 1139) to Briſtowe, in his fourth booke *de geſtis pontificum Anglorum*, after this manner: "In the ſame valley ſtands the famous towne of Briſtowe, with an hauen belonging thereunto; which is a commodious and ſafe receptacle

[x] Page 623. [y] Vol. xii. p. 213.

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tacle for all ſhips directing their courſe for the ſame; from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandiſh and foren countreys: namely that a region ſo fortunate, and bleſſed with the riches that nature hath vouchſafed thereupon, ſhould not be deſtitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands." Towards the cloſe of the fourteenth century it became a place of conſiderable commerce; and was eſteemed of ſuch importance, that in 1374 it obtained a charter from King Edward the third, conſtituting it a county within itſelf: *in conſideration*, ſays that great monarch, *of the good ſervices done to us by their ſhipping*. In 1461 Briſtol was become ſo conſiderable, as to obtain a charter from Edward the fourth, in the firſt year of his reign; exempting both the city, and its diſtrict, from the juriſdiction of the king's admiral both by land and water.

London, founded about the year 52, during the reign of Claudius, is mentioned by Tacitus who reſided there for ſome time, as a place of commerce—*Londinum, copia negotiatorum et commeatu, maxime celeberrimum*: owing to this circumſtance it made a more rapid progreſs than its rival Paris, and by the year 1355 had increaſed near a tenfold degree in the number of inhabitants. Its coal trade with Newcaſtle, which forms another valuable nurſery for ſeamen, began to be [1] eſtabliſhed about the year 1379.—In the eighth volume of Rymer's Fœdera [2], we find the following mention of a merchant ſhip from London being detained at Liſbon. King Henry the fourth complains to king John of Portugal, that the ſhip Thomas of London, of two hundred tons burden, had been violently ſeized in the port of Liſbon; having beſides the commander, a merchant, and a purſer *(burſæ-magiſter)* belonging to her: her lading, taken in at Liſbon, was oil, wax, and ſundry other wares; and the owner valued her freight at ſix hundred crowns.

It

[1] Anderſon, vol. i. p. 370. [2] Page 727.

It might be deemed inattentive to notice a maritime occupation, so much connected with the interests of Great Britain as the coal trade, and which certainly has a considerable effect on the character of its navy; without giving some account of its beginning, and increase. The town of *Newcastle-upon-Tyne* was founded in the year 1078 by Duke Robert, son of William the Conqueror; who caused a fort or castle to be built in what had been previously called the Village of Monkcester. The quantity of pit coal which abounded in its neighbourhood, opened a valuable trade with foreign countries, long before the demand for that article in the port of London became considerable.

King John, who though a slave himself, was the origin of liberty to others, first incorporated the town of Newcastle in 1213: he granted to the honest men, the *probi homines* of Newcastle, and their heirs, his said town, with all its appurtenances, to fee-farm for one hundred pounds yearly; saving to the king the rents, prizes, and assizes in the port thereof. He also granted and confirmed to them one hundred and ten shillings and sixpence rent in the said town; which they had, by the said king's gift of escheat; to be divided amongst such of the townsmen, who lost their rents by occasion of a ditch, and the new work made under the castle towards the river. He also granted, that in nothing they should be answerable to the sheriff, nor to the constable, for what belonged to them: that they should hold the town, with all the liberties and free customs, which they enjoyed in the time of Henry the second.

King Henry the third confirmed this charter of his father to Newcastle in 1234: whereby the inhabitants obtained leave to dig coals and stones, in the common soil without the walls, called the Castle Moor, and to convert them to their own profit; in aid of their fee-farm rent of one hundred pounds *per annum*. To this Edward the third, in 1357, added an absolute grant from the Crown in

BOOK I. in favour of the rising town; assigning to the burgesses the Castle Moor, and Castle Field in propriety, for the purpose of digging coals, stone, and slate.

The first statute relative to the coal trade is an act, the ninth of Henry the fifth (c. 10.) 1421: in which it is enacted; "That whereas there is a custom payable to the king of twopence *per* chaldron on all coals sold to people not franchised, in the port of Newcastle upon Tyne; and whereas the keels (or lighters) which carry the coals from the land to the ships in that port, ought to be of the just portage of twenty chaldron, according to which burden the custom aforesaid is paid; yet many now making their keels to hold twenty-two or twenty-three chaldrons, the king is thereby defrauded of his due: Wherefore it is now enacted, That all keels are measured by commissioners, to be appointed by the king; and are also marked of what portage they be, under pain of forfeiting all the said keels which shall be found not marked." This, as Anderson remarks, is a proof that the coal trade of Newcastle at this period must have been very considerable: they were not however brought into common use until the reign of Charles the first.

Hakluyt informs us [b], that towards the close of the fourteenth century, an English ship from Newcastle of 200 tons burden; on her voyage up the Baltic Sea towards Prussia, was captured by some ships belonging to Wismer, and Rostock. This circumstance is thus quaintly noticed, in the state paper drawn up as a pacific agreement between Henry the fourth, and the cities of Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Sund, and Gripeswold: "About the feast of Easter in the yeere of our Lord 1394, Henry Van Pomeren, Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howfoote, Peter Howfoote, Clays Boniface, Rainbek, and many others; with them of Wismer and of Rostok; being of the societie of the Hans, tooke by maine force a ship of Newcastle

[b] Vol. i. page 166.

Newcaſtle upon Tine, called GODEZERE, ſailing upon the ſea towards Pruſſia, being of the burthen of two hundred tunnes, and belonging unto Roger de Thorneton, Robert Gabiford, John Paulin, and Thomas de Cheſter: which ſhip, together with the furniture thereof, amounteth unto the value of foure hundred pounds: alſo the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the ſummes of money contained in the ſaid ſhip, amounted unto the value of 200 marks of Engliſh money: moreover they unjuſtly ſlew John Patanſon, and John Ruſſell, in the ſurpriſing of the ſhippe and goods aforeſaide, and there they impriſoned the ſayde parties taken, and, to their utter undoing, detayned them in priſon for the ſpace of three whole yeeres." The ſhip's cargo was worth about one thouſand pounds of our preſent money.

This maritime ſtate paper tends to illuſtrate the naval character of Great Britain during the reign of Richard the ſecond; and clearly proves that its enterpriſing ſpirit ſtruggled with a moſt powerful obſtacle, in the domineering ſupremacy of the Hans-Towns. This alone was ſufficient to repreſs whatever the glowing mind of our mariners might have attempted, or the induſtry of our merchants might have explored; and certainly had a conſiderable influence in reſtraining the genius of our countrymen from taking an early [c] lead in the progreſs of maritime diſcovery: ſhips that ſailed from the principal commercial

[c] Even when Camoens wrote the firſt books of his LUSIAD, which his elegant tranſlator Mickle conjectures to have been about the reign of Henry the VIII, of ſo little importance did *England* appear in the commercial and maritime ſcale, that the poet in his deſcription of Europe (*book the third.*) entirely omits this country: and in the beautiful epiſode (*book the ſixth*) reſpecting the chivalry of the twelve Engliſh knights, ſo intimately connected with the hiſtory of Portugal, which VELOSO introduces to cheer his companions of the mid-watch, Camoens merely notices England as being always covered with ſnow:

> "Là na grande Inglaterra, que de neve
> Boreal ſemper abunda—"

BOOK I.

mercial marts in the kingdom were plundered without remorſe, and their crews murdered. King Henry cites no leſs than twenty-eight inſtances in his treaty of pacification: but I ſhall only add the following, to the one already given: "Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1402, certaine of the Hans, of Roſtok, and of Wiſmer, tooke upon the coaſt of England neere unto Plimmouth, a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (whereof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the maſter), laden with bay ſalt, to the quantitie of 130 wayes, and with a thouſand canvaſſe clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detaine the ſaide goods in their poſſeſſion; the ſaide Hugh being endamaged, by the loſſe of his ſhip, and of his goods aforeſaid 800 nobles; and the foreſaid maſter and the mariners looſing, in regard of their wages, *canvas, and armour*, 200 nobles." Owing to theſe depredations which were encouraged by the Hans Towns; to the [d] piracies and cruel conduct of the ſeamen of the Cinque Ports; and to the prevailing diſlike for merchant ſtrangers, who were alone ſupported by the [e] favour of thoſe in power; England was later than the kingdoms both of Portugal and Spain, in renewing the progreſs of maritime diſcovery: yet ſtill, even before this period, ſhe had formed a moſt reſpectable naval force. Richard Cœur de Lion in the year 1189, when he joined the cruſade, drew up at Chinon in France ſome curious [f] regulations for his navy; which Hackluyt

[d] "The mariners of the Cinque-Ports having provided a powerful fleet, ſcoured the ſeas, and greatly interrupted trade; ſeizing every ſhip they met, and barbarouſly butchering their crews, whether they were foreigners, or their own countrymen; they threw their bodies into the ſea, and applied the ſhips, and cargoes, to their own uſe." Chronicon Tho. Wykes, ad ann. 1264; cited by Henry, vol. viii. p. 338. 8vo. ed.

[e] Henry's Hiſt. vol. viii. p. 336.

[f] *The Laws, and Ordinances appointed by Richard the firſt for his Navy.*

1. That whoſo killed any perſon on ſhipboord, ſhould be tied with him that was ſlaine, and throwen into the ſea.

Hackluyt has inſerted (vol. ii. p. 21.) from Foxe's acts and monuments of the church of England. This monarch alſo on his return, after being releaſed from his cruel impriſonment in Germany, enacted in 1194 the famous code of marine laws, ſtyled THE LAWS OF OLERON; which ſhall be noticed more fully in another part of this work. Theſe laws ſucceeded to the ſtatutes of Rhodes, and at preſent form the foundation of our judicial proceedings in maritime cauſes: they occupy forty-ſeven chapters, and are inſerted in Godolphin's view of the admiralty juriſdiction.

The brilliant action off Sluys in the year 1340, would bear a compariſon even with the glorious atchievements of the preſent age; but this muſt at preſent be deferred, until an illuſtration of Engliſh voyages ſhall induce us to take a more minute view of the early maritime character of our countrymen. Henry dates [g] the origin of the gold coin, called the noble, from this action, and differs from Evelyn [h]; who, though he ſtyles it the golden royal of Edward the third, gives it rather a later date in 1360; and thinks it was ſtruck when the treaty between that monarch and John king of France, was confirmed at Calais in Picardy. As being the earlieſt of our naval medals, it becomes valuable not only in an hiſtorical, but alſo in

2. And if he killed him on the land, he ſhould in like maner be tied with the partie ſlaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that ſhall be convicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to ſtrike any man, or that hath ſtriken any to the drawing of blood, ſhall looſe his hand.

4. Alſo he that ſtriketh any perſon with his hand without effuſion of blood, ſhall be plunged three times in the ſea.

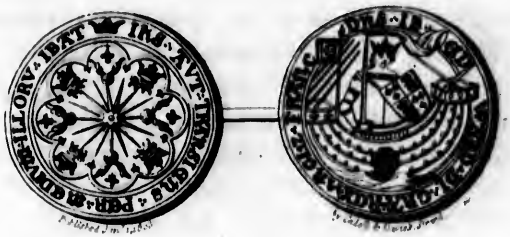
5. Item, whoſo ſpeaketh any opprobious or contumelious wordes in reviling or curſing one another, for ſo oftentimes as he hath reviled, ſhall pay ſo many ounces of ſilver.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath ſtollen, being lawfully convicted, ſhall have his head ſhorne, and boyling pitch powred upon his head, and feathers or downe ſtrawed upon the ſame, whereby he may be knowen, and ſo at the firſt landing place they ſhall come to, there to be caſt up.—(Rymer's Fœdera, tom. i. p. 65.—Brompt. Chron. Col. 1173.)

[g] Henry's Hiſt. of England, vol. viii. p. 346.

[h] NUMISMATA. A diſcourſe of medals, ancient and modern, page 85.

BOOK I. in a maritime point of view: an exact copy is therefore subjoined from the [l] engraving in Evelyn's discourse of medals.



EDWĀRD. DI. GRĀ. REX. ĀNGL. Z. FRĀN. DNS. IB.

We have also the testimony of the monk of Malmsbury, in favour of the high character of English sailors, so early as the year 1315—" *English ships visit every coast, and English sailors excel all others, both in the arts of navigation, and in* [k] *fighting.* But the greatest singularity of the age is the naval parliament, which King Edward

[l] King Edward is represented as standing completely armed in the centre of a ship at sea; holding a sword in his right hand, and the shield, with the arms of England and France, in his left. The royal standard is arboured, and displayed at the stern. A rose, thence called the rose noble, with many rays extending to four *lions passant*; over them a ducal coronet, and as many *fleur de lis*, in a compartment of eight goderoons, inscribed

IDS ĀVT. TRĀNSIENS. PER. MEDIVM. ILLORV. IBĀT.

" Which some " says Evelyn" interpret *enigmatically* of the secret of the famous *elixir*, by which the gold was made: others for an *amulet*, superstitiously applying the words of the gospel, which rendered the wearer thereof invulnerable. But this remark is obvious, that we find no such pretence by any authentic medal or claim of the French kings, or of any other potentate: that stamp in the late wapen or arms of *Zeland*, being nothing to this purpose; as importing only the situation of those few islands: concerning which, and of all that is said of *Aleatus* to corroborate our claim and ancient right, see the learned *Selden's Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. cap. 25.

" There was another of Henry the fifth, and queen Mary, of less value, which likewise bare the same shield, and a cross in the midst of a ship; *reverse*, St. Michael and the dragon; but neither of these, or of the former, have I seen in silver." Mr. Pinkerton in his work on Medals, has inserted a similar coin that was struck in Scotland, during the reign of James.

[k] Mon. Malms. Vita Ed. II. an. 1315. p. 157.

ward the third ſummoned in the year 1344: every ſea port ſent a certain number of commiſſioners to the metropolis, who brought up an exact ſtatement of the navy. London and Yarmouth were the only towns that returned four commiſſioners; Briſtol and Newcaſtle ſent two, and many only one.

In order to give the reader a more general view of the maritime power of England about the middle of the fourteenth century, the following naval document is inſerted from the firſt volume of Hackluyt[1].

The Roll of the huge fleete of Edward the third before Calice (1347), *extant in the king's great wardrobe in London; whereby the wonderfull ſtrength of England by ſea in thoſe dayes may appeare.*

THE SOUTH FLEETE.

The Kings—	Shippes	-	25	*Sandwich*—	Shippes	-	22
	Mariners	-	419		Mariners	-	504
London—	Shippes	-	25	*Douer*—	Shippes	-	16
	Mariners	-	662		Mariners	-	336
Aileford—	Shippes	-	2	*Wight*—	Shippes	-	13
	Mariners	-	24		Mariners	-	220
Hoo, or Morne—	Shippes	-	2	*Winchelſey*—	Shippes	-	21
	Mariners	-	24		Mariners	-	596
Maydſtone—	Shippes	-	2	*Waymouth*—	Shippes	-	15
	Mariners	-	51		Mariners	-	263
Hope—	Shippes	-	2	*Lyme*—	Shippes	-	4
	Mariners	-	59		Mariners	-	62
New Hithe—	Shippes	-	5	*Seton*—	Shippes	-	2
	Mariners	-	49		Mariners	-	25
Margat—	Shippes	-	15	*Sydmouth*—	Shippes	-	3
	Mariners	-	160		Mariners	-	62
Motue—	Shippes	-	2	*Exmouth*—	Shippes	-	10
	Mariners	-	22		Mariners	-	193
Feuerſham—	Shippes	-	2	*Tegmouth*—	Shippes	-	7
	Mariners	-	25		Mariners	-	120

Dartmouth

[1] Page 118.—The curious reader may alſo refer to the *ſeventeenth* page of the ſame volume; where he will find *The State of the Shipping of the Cinque Ports from Edward the Confeſſor, and William the Conqueror, down to Edward the firſt* (1272), *drawn up by William Lambert from the moſt antient records.*

BOOK I.

Dartmouth—	Shippes	-	31	*Hoke*—	Shippes	-	11
	Mariners	-	757		Mariners	-	208
Portsmouth—	Shippes	-	5	*Southampton*—	Shippes	-	21
	Mariners	-	96		Mariners	-	576
Plimouth—	Shippes	-	26	*Leymington*—	Shippes	-	9
	Mariners	-	603		Mariners	-	159
Loo—	Shippes	-	20	*Poole*—	Shippes	-	4
	Mariners	-	315		Mariners	-	94
Yalme—	Shippes	-	2	*Warham*—	Shippes	-	3
	Mariners	-	47		Mariners	-	59
Fowey or Foy—	Shippes	-	47	*Swanzey*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	770		Mariners	-	29
Briſtol—	Shippes	-	22	*Ilfercombe*—	Shippes	-	6
	Mariners	-	608		Mariners	-	79
Tenmouth—	Shippes	-	2	*Patrickſtowe or*	Shippes	-	2
	Mariners	-	25	*Padſtow*	Mariners	-	27
Haſtings—	Shippes	-	5	*Polerwan*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	96		Mariners	-	60
Romney—	Shippes	-	4	*Wadworth*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	65		Mariners	-	14
Rye—	Shippes	-	9	*Kardiſe*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	156		Mariners	-	51
Hithe—	Shippes	-	6	*Bridgwater*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	122		Mariners	-	15
Shoreham—	Shippes	-	20	*Kaermarthen*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	329		Mariners	-	16
Soſord or Seford—	Shippes	-	5	*Cailechefworth*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	80		Mariners	-	12
Newmouth—	Shippes	-	2	*Mulbrooke*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	18		Mariners	-	12
Hamowlhooke—	Shippes	-	7				
	Mariners	-	117				

Summe of the South Fleete - Shippes - 493
Mariners - 9630

THE NORTH FLEETE.

Bamburg—	Shippes	-	1	*Walcrich*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	9		Mariners	-	12
Newcaſtle—	Shippes	-	17	*Hertilpoole*—	Shippes	-	5
	Mariners	-	314		Mariners	-	145

Hull

Hull—	Shippes	-	16	*Donwich*—	Shippes	-	6
	Mariners	-	466		Mariners	-	102
Yorke—	Shippes	-	1	*Orford*—	Shippes	-	3
	Mariners	-	9		Mariners	-	62
Rauenser—	Shippes	-	1	*Goford*—	Shippes	-	13
	Mariners	-	27		Mariners	-	303
Woodhouse—	Shippes	-	1	*Herwich*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	22		Mariners	-	28
Strokhithe or	Shippes	-	1	*Ipswich*—	Shippes	-	12
Stockhith	Mariners	-	10		Mariners	-	239
Barton—	Shippes	-	3	*Mersey*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	30		Mariners	-	6
Swinefleete—	Shippes	-	1	*Brighteingsey,*	Shippes	-	5
	Mariners	-	11	*now Brickelsey*	Mariners	-	61
Saltfleet—	Shippes	-	2	*Colchester*—	Shippes	-	5
	Mariners	-	49		Mariners	-	90
Grimesby—	Shippes	-	11	*Whitbanes*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	171		Mariners	-	17
Waynefleet—	Shippes	-	2	*Malden*—	Shippes	-	2
	Mariners	-	49		Mariners	-	32
Wrangle—	Shippes	-	1	*Derwen*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	8		Mariners	-	15
Lenne or Linne—	Shippes	-	16	*Boston*—	Shippes	-	17
	Mariners	-	382		Mariners	-	361
Blackney—	Shippes	-	2	*Swinhumber*—	Shippes	-	1
	Mariners	-	38		Mariners	-	32
Scarborough—	Shippes	-	1	*Barton*—	Shippes	-	5
	Mariners	-	19		Mariners	-	91
Yernmouth or	Shippes	-	43				
Yermouth	Mariners		1950 or 1075				

The Summe of the North Fleete - Shippes - 217
Mariners - 4521

The summe totale of all the English Fleete - Shippes - 700
Mariners - 14151

ESTRANGERS THEIR SHIPPES AND MARINERS.

Bayon—	Shippes	-	15	*Spayne*—	Shippes	-	7
	Mariners	-	439		Mariners	-	184

Ireland

BOOK I.

Ireland—	Shippes	-	1	*Gelderland*—	Shippes	- 1
	Mariners	-	25		Mariners	- 24
Flanders—	Shippes	-	14			
	Mariners	-	133			
The summe of all the Estrangers					Shippes	- 38
					Mariners	- 805

To the Cinque Ports Hastings in Sussex, Dover, Hythe, Romney, and Sandwich in Kent, were added in 1268 Winchelsea and Rye as principals, and some other towns as members; though they still retained the original appellation. Their merchants were styled barons; four of whom had the privilege of supporting the king's canopy at his coronation, and dining at a table on his right hand.

The commercial treaty with England and Portugal in the year 1308, the first that appears in Rymer's Fœdera [m] between these two powers, restored a friendly intercourse which had long subsisted between them; but which the conduct of the Spaniards interrupted, who, under English colours, had attacked and plundered the ships of Portugal. In 1381 King Richard the second, during the fourth year of his reign, passed the [n] first navigation act that had been made in England: this was of essential service to the naval interest, and the augmentation of maritime power; as it in some measure broke through the pernicious custom that had hitherto prevailed of employing foreign ships, for the purposes of commerce or security. It enacted, "that for increasing the shipping of England, of late much diminished, none of the king's subjects shall hereafter ship any kind of merchandise, either outward or homeward, but only of ships of the king's subjects, on forfeiture of ships and merchandise; in which ships also, the greater part of the crews shall be the king's subjects."

During the fourteenth century, and for a considerable time afterwards, the ships of war were merchant vessels, partly hired by the crown, and partly

[m] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 107.

[n] The first commercial treaty, on record, between England, and a foreign power, was concluded by Henry the third in his minority, 1217, with Haquin king of Norway.

partly ſupplied by the Cinque [n] Ports: the bullets uſed for their cannon were long made of ſtone: there is preſerved in [o] Rymer an order of Henry the fifth, to the clerk of the works of his ordnance, for making ſeven thouſand ſtone balls for his cannon, of various ſize, from the quarries at Maidſtone in Kent. But the benefits ariſing from the navigation act of Richard the ſecond, were conſiderably abated before the following year had elapſed; ſince it then appears, that where no Engliſh ſhips were to be had, merchants might export, or import in foreign ſhips.—Thus did indolence, and ignorance, co-operate to depreſs the naval character of England during [p] infancy: it however poſſeſſed an energetic ſpirit, which no obſtacle could ſubdue; and like Hercules in the cradle diſplayed an early promiſe of future renown.

The legendary tale of Macham, who is reported to have diſcovered the iſland of Madeira in the year 1344, and which in another part of

[n] Anderſon extracts from the Fœdera a mandate by king Richard the ſecond, in the year 1394 to John Beauchamp, conſtable of Dover Caſtle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, relative to this ſervice: the number of ſhips to be thus ſupplied was fixed at fifteen, well armed; each having a maſter and twenty men. After ſailing to whatever port the king ſhould appoint, and continuing there fifteen days at their own coſts, they were to receive the following pay:

1. The Maſter of each ſhip ſixpence *per* day.
2. The Conſtable, the ſame, who probably was commander in chief.
3. Each of ſhip's company threepence *per* day.

Henry eſtimates, that three halfpence in the fifteenth century, contained as much ſilver as threepence; and would purchaſe as many of the neceſſaries of life, as fifteen pence of our money would do at preſent. (Vol. x. p. 262. 8vo. ed.) When wheat was 6s. 8d. *per* quarter, a famine was dreaded, and the ports were opened for importation.

[o] Vol. ix. p. 552.

[p] A remarkable inſtance of the imperfect ſtate of navigation, and of the ideas that prevailed reſpecting the perils of a voyage, towards the middle of the fifteenth century, occur in the tenth volume of Rymer's Fœdera; where a licence is preſerved, which Henry the ſixth gave the biſhop of Hola in Iceland, to hire the maſter of a London ſhip going thither; who was to be his proxy to viſit that biſhoprick for him: he, the ſaid biſhop, being afraid of the great diſtance by ſea.

BOOK I.

of this work shall be considered more fully, might have had, whether true or fabulous, a considerable effect in calling the attention of his countrymen to the subject of maritime discovery. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the commerce of England was so much increased; that in 1413 several merchant ships sailed from London to the [o] western parts of Morocco, laden with wool, and other articles, to the value of twenty-four thousand pounds; and in 1481, two Englishmen, under the auspices of Edward the fourth, and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, undertook a trading voyage to those parts of the coasts of Africa, which had then been lately [p] rediscovered by the Portuguese. During this century the English, by studying the construction of the Venetian and Genoese carracks, made considerable improvements in their naval architecture; and though their attempts in this science were probably but few, the persons who thus exerted their abilities were treated with a marked respect. Kennedy bishop of St. Andrew's is celebrated [q] for constructing a vessel of uncommon magnitude, called the *Bishop's Berge*; and John Tavernier of Hull was pointedly distinguished by Henry the sixth, for constructing a ship as large as a great carrack—*navem adeo magnam sicut magnam carrakam, seu majorem, says Rymer.*—The king ordered it to be called, on account of its superior dimensions, *the Grace Dieu Carrack*; and licensed it (1449) to carry merchandise from the ports of London, Southampton, Hull, and Sandwich, belonging either to English or foreign merchants, and freely to export it through the Straits of Morocco [r] (Gibraltar) to Italy.

The

[o] *Versus partes occidentales per districtos de Marrok*, without mentioning any port. These ships were captured by the Genoese.

[p] See page 27, for the discoveries of the Normans.

[q] Henry's History, vol. x. p. 274.

[r] Gibraltar was at this time in the hands of the Moors, but was soon afterwards, in 1463, taken from them by the Castilians. In the geographical tract of Eba Haukal (10th century) it is termed *Jebal al Tarek*, and is described as a well inhabited mountain, with villages or small towns on it; the extreme point and last pass of *Andalus*, or Spain. P. 25.

Ch. I. § 1. *Early periods of Modern History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

The Commons of England in 1442 began to turn their attention towards the maritime interests of their country, and brought forward a Bill for the Guard of the Sea; in which they ascertained the number of ships, assessed the wages of seamen, and made an arrangement for the sale of prizes. During the reign of Edward the fourth, we first meet with ships that actually belonged to the king; yet even these were employed by him more in the capacity of a London merchant, than to sustain the character of a naval monarch.

That the English, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, began to indulge an ambition of sharing the sovereignty of the seas, though then [s] surpassed by other kingdoms in maritime experience, we have indubitable and interesting proof, from the quaint rhymes of an anonymous author in the year 1433. This venerable portraiture of the commercial character of our ancestors, which Hackluyt [t] has preserved, is termed *The Prologue of the Processe of the Libel*

[s] Dr. Robertson in his *Proofs* and *Illustrations*, subjoined to the first volume of Charles the V. (page 406,) assigns the following reasons for this assertion: "During the Saxon Heptarchy, England, split into many petty kingdoms, which were perpetually at variance with each other; exposed to the fierce incursions of the Danes, and other northern pirates; and sunk in barbarity and ignorance, was in no condition to cultivate commerce, or to pursue any system of useful and salutary policy. When a better prospect began to open by the union of the kingdom under one monarch, the Norman conquest took place. This occasioned such a violent shock, as well as such a sudden and total revolution of property, that the nation did not recover from it during several reigns. By the time that the constitution began to acquire some stability, and the English had so incorporated with their conquerors as to become one people, the nation engaged with no less ardour than imprudence in support of the pretensions of their sovereigns to the crown of France, and long wasted its vigour and genius in its wild efforts to conquer that kingdom. When by ill success, and repeated disappointments, a period was at last put to this fatal phrenzy, and the nation beginning to enjoy some repose, had leisure to breathe and to gather new strength, the destructive wars between the houses of York and Lancaster broke out, and involved the kingdom in the worst of all calamities. Thus, besides the common obstructions of commerce occasioned by the nature of the feudal government, and the state of manners during the middle ages, its progress in England was retarded by peculiar causes. Such a succession of events adverse to the Commercial Spirit, was sufficient to have checked its growth, although every other circumstance had favoured it. The English were accordingly one of the last nations in Europe who availed themselves of those commercial advantages which were natural or peculiar to their country."

[t] Vol. i. p. 187.

BOOK I. *Libel of Engliſh policie; exhorting all England to keepe the ſea, and namely the narrowe ſea: ſhewing what profite commeth thereof, and alſo what worſhip and ſaluation to England, and to all Engliſhmen.*

I.

" The True Proceſſe of Engliſh Policie,
Of utterward to keepe this regne in
Of our England; that no man may deny
Her ſay of ſooth but it is one of the beſt,
Is this—that who ſeeth South, North, Eaſt, and Weſt,
Cheriſh marchandiſe, keepe the admiraltie,
That we bee maſters of the narrowe ſea.—

V.

" Therefore I caſt mee by a little writing
To ſhewe at eye this concluſion;
For conſcience, and for mine aequiting
Againſt God and ageyne abuſion,
And cowardiſe, and to our enemies confuſion:
For foure things our [t] Noble ſheweth to me,
King, ſhip, and ſwerd, and power of the ſea."

We are informed, in a marginal note, that the Flemings, and others, made the golden coin of King Edward a ſubject for their raillery; and recommended to the Engliſh to remove the ſhip, and add a ſheep: this circumſtance is thus noticed in the prologue—

VI.

" Where ben our ſhips, where ben our ſwerds beeome?
Our enemies bed for the ſhip, ſet a ſheepe!"

He then proceeds,

VII.

" Shall any Prince, what ſo be his name,
Which hath nobles moch leche ours,
Bee lord of the ſea; and Flemings to our blame,
Stop us, take us, and ſo make fade the flowers
Of Engliſh ſtate, and diſteyne our honours?
For cowardiſe alas it ſhould ſo bee,
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the ſea."

Our

[t] Alluding to the gold Noble already mentioned, caſt by Edward the third. P. 44.

Our anonymous author, who feels all the enthusiasm of a poet for the naval interests of his country, after noticing the various branches of European commerce in that age, which are introduced at the end of this section, thus begins his [u] *Woful complaint of lacke of navie if need come:*

> " For I would witte why now our Navie fayleth
> When manie a foe us at our doore assayleth;
> Now in these dayes, that if they come a nede
> What navie should we have it is to drede,
> In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
> In time past, full worthy warriours:
> Which when they had their marchants destroyed
> To poverty they fell; thus were they noyed.
> And so they stand at mischiefe at this day;
> This learned I late well writon, this no nay.
> Therefore beware, I can no better will,
> If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
> For if marchants were cherished to her speede,
> We were not likely to fayle in any neede;
> If they be rich, then in prosperitee
> Shal be our Londe, Lords, and Commontee."

The author of this commercial prologue has obtained due notice from Anderson in his chronological deduction of the Origin of Commerce, and from Henry in his valuable history of England: in the [x] *conclusion of this depending of keeping the sea*, which merits the perusal of every one, he appears to have possessed a just knowledge of his countrymen:

> " Than I conclude, if never so much by land
> Werre by carres brought unto their hand;
> If well the sea were kept in governance,
> They should by sea haue no deliverance:
> Wee should them stop, and wee should them destroy,
> As prisoners wee should them bring to annoy.
> And so wee should of our cruell enimies
> Make our friends for feare of marchandies,

If

[u] Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 195. l. 33.

[x] Ibid, p. 197.

If they were not suffered for to passe
Into Flanders. *But wee be frayle as glasse,*
And also brittle; not thought never abiding,
But when grace shineth soone are wee sliding."

I shall only at present extract another passage from this anonymous writer, which gives a maritime view of * Ireland in those days; and shews his opinion of the necessity of a perfect Union between the two kingdoms:

"The Irishmen have cause like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend;
That no enemie should hurt ne offend
Ireland ne us; but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:
For they have havens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good assayes,
At Waterford; and Coves many one:
And as men sayne in England, be there none
Better havens ships in to ride,
No more sure for enemies to abide.
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland:
For all so much as I can understand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien; loke who lust to knowe!
So large, so good, and so commodious,
That to declare is strange and marvailous."

The various and extensive fisheries, which at present form so admirable a nursery for our seamen, were in earlier ages the first, and principal feature of naval power, in all maritime countries. So far back as the year 836, we are informed by Anderson, that some writers speak of the inhabitants of the Netherlands resorting to SCOTLAND, for the purpose of buying salted fish of the Scotch fishermen: a trade, thus early commenced, gradually led to the establishment of maritime power. The commerce which this nation carried on with Flanders, Brabant, and other parts of the Netherlands,

* Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 199. l. 14.

therlands, about the year 1302, appears by the liberal [1] anſwer, which Robert Earl of Flanders made to Edward the firſt of England, who had requeſted him to prevent it.—*Our country of Flanders is common to all the world, where every perſon finds free admiſſion. Neither can we withhold this privilege from perſons concerned in commerce, without bringing ruin and deſtruction on our country. If the Scots come into our ports, and our ſubjects go to theirs; it is not thereby our intention, nor that of our ſubjects, to encourage them in their error; but merely to carry on our traffic, without taking part with them.* Notwithſtanding the obſtacles, which Edward the firſt thus endeavoured to oppoſe to the riſing maritime character of the Scots; they had the addreſs, during the reign of Richard the ſecond, to procure a treaty of free navigation with England: accordingly, in the truce made during the year 1386, between the Lord Nevill warden of the Eaſt Marches of England, and the Earls of Douglas and March, wardens of the Eaſt Marches of Scotland—*It is accordit, that ſpecial aſſurance ſall be on the See, fra the water of Spee, to the water of Tamyſe, for all merchandes of both the roiolmes, and their godes.*

The Maritime Power of Scotland was conſiderably injured, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, from the ſucceſsful expedition under Sir Robert Umfreville, vice-admiral of England, in the year 1410; who had long blocked up the port of Leith with ten ſhips of war: he brought home in triumph fourteen tall ſhips, and burnt many others, with the *great galliot* of Scotland. The Scots, however, throughout the fifteenth century, never loſt ſight of the importance of their fiſheries: and by an act of parliament (1471) it was ordained, "That the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and burowes, gar mak greit ſchippis, buſches, and uther greit pinkboiltis, with nettis and abelzements for fiſching; for the common gude of the realme, and the great entres of ryches, to be brought within the realme, of uther [2] countries."

When

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 771.

[2] Acts James III. ch. 60.

BOOK I.

When King James the firſt, of Scotland, was in 1424 releaſed from his long captivity in England of eighteen years, the towns of Edinburgh, Perth the ancient metropolis, Dundee and Aberdeen, iſſued obligatory letters, under their ſeals, as collateral ſecurity for the payment of their monarch's ranſom. This is a proof of their being eſteemed, at this period, conſiderable places in Scotland, both in point of general commerce, and of ſhipping. The city of Glaſgow did not appear under its mercantile, and opulent character, until about the year 1430. The firſt promoter of commerce in that city is recorded to have been a Mr. ELPHINGSTON, of a noble family, who ſettled there, after the return of James from England. The moſt ancient ports on the eaſt coaſt of Scotland, advantageouſly ſituated for the trade of Norway, the Baltic, Germany, and Holland, beſides that of Dundee already mentioned, were thoſe of Aberdeen, Montroſe, Dyſart, Kirkaldie, Leith, Borrowſtonneſs, and Dunbar.

During the reign of James the third, of Scotland, a conſiderable reſtraint was laid on maritime enterpriſe, by the law which allowed all his mariners to be cowards with impunity, from St. Simon's and St. Jude's day (October 28) to Candlemas: ſailing being eſteemed particularly dangerous during this period, an embargo was accordingly laid, for that [a] time, on all the ſhipping of Scotland. In the year 1466, the ſtaple for the merchants of Scotland was removed from [b] Bruges in Flanders to Middleburg; and not long afterwards to its preſent reſort, Campvere in Zealand. It was uſual in this century for the prelates, lords, and barons of this kingdom, to be their own merchants; which, though it muſt have ſhackled the general intereſts of commerce, yet at the ſame time tended to cheriſh a naval character in the country, and in ſome degree aſſociated it with the higher orders of ſociety.

The

[a] Acts James III. ch. 18.

[b] Ibid, ch. 19, 20.

The kingdom of Spain, though it appeared next to Portugal in the progreſs of maritime diſcovery, was a mere ſcion in this reſpect; taken from an older tree, which the ſtate of Genoa had long cultivated. Columbus, a Genoeſe, having firſt offered his ſervices to Portugal, and other countries, in vain, at length forced them on the attention of Ferdinand and Iſabella.

The ſame cauſes, mentioned by Dr. Robertſon, which have been already noticed as preventing England from attaining an early maritime aſcendency, had an equal effect on Spain: but for the fortunate circumſtance above mentioned, that kingdom would have appeared equally late in the progreſs of diſcovery. In the hiſtorical introduction which my Father prefixed to his valuable [c] letters on the Spaniſh nation, he has tranſlated the judicious remarks of the [d] Marquis de Mondecar on their hiſtorians; which, in a conciſe manner, clearly trace the riſe and progreſs of the kingdom of Spain from the innumerable petty ſtates, into which it was originally ſeparated. After being invaded by the Vandals, the Suevi, the Goths, and the Moors; the mountaineers of the Aſturias, having ſhaken off the yoke they had impatiently ſuſtained, revived the power of the Goths, by placing Don Pelayo, a prince of the blood, on the throne; who headed thoſe nobles that retired to the mountains after the fatal battle of Xeres: and thus the firſt monarchy was eſtabliſhed. As the chriſtians gained ground on the infidels, other kingdoms gradually ſucceeded; until the different independencies that aroſe amounted to nearly as many as there were provinces: theſe were gradually loſt in the reſpective ſovereignties of CASTILE and ARRAGON; which were afterwards united by the [e] marriage of Ferdinand and

[c] Letters concerning the Spaniſh nation, written at Madrid during the years 1760, and 1761, by the Rev. Edward Clarke, chaplain to the embaſſy.

[d] Noticia de los mas principales hiſtoriadores de Eſpana, par el Marquis de Mondecar, 4 vol. folio.

[e] Dr. Robertſon dates this event from the year 1481; Voltaire, and the authors of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory refer it to 1469. As the alliance was fought by the king of Portugal,

BOOK I.

and Isabella. The Spanish troops took Gibraltar from the Moors in 1463, and subdued their kingdom of [e] Granada in 1492; and thus the independence of Spain became finally confirmed: but before this was effected, according to the magnificent style of the Spanish historians, eight centuries of almost uninterrupted war elapsed, and three thousand seven hundred battles had been fought.

Though Alphonso the eleventh, king of Castile, is thought to have composed his famous astronomical tables, about the year 1253, and was the celebrated mathematician of that age; we do not find that such researches were of any service, in promoting the progress of either maritime discovery, or the interests of commercial intercourse. In 1308 some attempts were made, by the first [f] treaty that appears between England and the monarchs of Castile, to establish peace between the two countries; and to open a maritime intercourse for trade. During the war carried on between England and France in the year 1340, an order was issued by King Edward the third, for the protection, and safeguard of the Spanish merchant ships, trading from Castile, Catalonia, and Majorca, in great numbers to Flanders; and, about the same time, their large ships of burden, which derived a name from the Spanish word *Caraca*, and answer in some respect to what are now styled galleons; began to make a formidable appearance on the ocean, both from their size and strength. To such a degree had the dread of them increased by the year 1350; that the same English monarch, who only ten years before had ordered his subjects to allow those ships to pass unmolested, then desired [g] his bishops,

tugal, and also by the king of France for his brother, the marriage was performed at first in secret at Valladolid by the archbishop of Toledo, which may have occasioned an uncertainty respecting the date.

[e] The conquest of the last Mahometan power in Spain required six years to effect. For this service Ferdinand obtained the title of Catholic, from the Pope. Henry the seventh of England ordered a *Te Deum* to be performed in St. Paul's cathedral to solemnize the event.

[f] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 112.

[g] Page 679.

bishops, and clergy—" to put up prayers, make processions, say masses, and to distribute alms, for the appeasing of God's anger; in that the Spaniards had not only taken and destroyed many English ships, and much merchandise of wines coming from Bourdeaux, and also of wool, and killed the men; but were now arrived to such a degree of pride, that having drawn together a vast armed fleet on the coast of Flanders, well furnished with soldiers, they threatened no less than the total destruction of the English navy; and boasted, that they would reign masters of the English seas, and even that they would invade our kingdom, and subdue our people:" threats, which at the beginning of the ninteenth century can hardly be credited. These carracks of Spain, are described by historians as huge floating castles; and prove, that even at this period, Spain was skilful in naval architecture, and constructed her ships on a larger scale than those of other nations. The English monarch however dared to oppose their fleet; and embarking with the Prince of Wales, the Earls of Lancaster, Northampton, Warwick, Salisbury, Arundel, Huntington, and Glocester, fell in with the enemy off Winchelsea, and obtained a complete victory: taking [h] twenty-six of their best ships, laden with rich merchandise, which doubtless served to improve the models of the English shipwrights.

The Spaniards, however, seem at this period to have possessed the unsubdued ardour of maritime enterprise. When the truce had expired, which they concluded with England, after the above defeat, for twenty years; they in 1372, combined with the French fleet, surprised an inferior squadron of the English, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke; totally defeated it, and took that nobleman prisoner. The English were going to the relief of Rochelle,

[h] Burchett, in his Naval History, makes the number taken only seventeen; and declares, that the remainder escaped with difficulty under covert of the night.

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Rochelle, then besieged by the French, and had twenty thousand marks on board for the payment of their army.

The discovery of the Canary Islands by the Normans between the years 1326, and 1334, induced a Spanish nobleman, Don Luis, to procure a grant of them from the Pope: these, as well as the Cape de Verd Islands, have improperly been esteemed the Fortunate Islands of Ptolemy; and, as such, were sought for by [l] John de Betancourt. Sugar, mentioned by the Greek writer *Paulus Æginetа*, as reed or cane honey, came originally to China by way of the East Indies and Arabia: an attempt was made in Sicily to cultivate some plants, which had been brought from Asia, about the middle of the twelfth century. Herrera observes, that formerly sugar grew in Valencia, probably brought thither by the Arabian Moors: thence it was transmitted to Granada, and afterwards to the Canary Isles. Ludovico Guicciardini, enumerating the goods imported into [k] Antwerp about the year 1500, mentions the sugar received from Spain and

[l] For a more particular account the reader is referred to the Appendix, F.

[k] The first time that *Antwerp* is mentioned in history is in the year 517, when, as *Mascou* relates in his *History of the ancient Germans*, Theodoric the bastard son of Clovis, king of the Franks, drove the Danes or Normans from *Antwerp*. Wheeler, who was secretary to the English *Merchant-Adventurers Company*, and published in 1601 a quarto treatise on commerce, relates, "that in the year 1444 the said company, under its then name of the *Merchants of the Brotherhood of St. Thomas a Becket*, quitted their residence at Middleburg in Zealand, then judged unhealthy, and settled at *Antwerp*; where," says he, "and at Bergen-op-Zoom, the company has for the most part resided: save that in king Henry the eighth's reign, they removed to *Calais* for a time; till, by the earnest intercession of the lady Margaret the Duchess of Savoy, they settled again in the low countries at *Middleburg*, and afterwards at Antwerp: on their arrival at which last named city, they were met by the magistrates and citizens without the town, and conducted with solemnity to an entertainment." He adds, "that when Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, first granted privileges to this company, in the year 1446, under the name of the *English Nation*," a name, says Wheeler, they have ever since been known by there, "there were but four merchants in the city of Antwerp, and only six vessels, merely for river navigation, they having then no Maritime Trade: but in a few years after this company's settling there, that city had a great number of ships belonging to it, whereby it was soon much enlarged; and houses therein, which used to be let for forty or sixty dollars, were

and Portugal as a confiderable article; which he confiders as the produce of the Madeira and Canary iflands. Spain therefore, at the period we are about to confider, was poffeffed of a powerful marine force; and difplayed a greater extent of commerce than her prefent fituation might have led us to fuppofe.

The inhabitants of Catalonia and Arragon, even after they were refcued from the Moors, difplayed confiderable remains of the boldnefs, and impatient ferocity of the Saracens; and fupported a character, on which a difpofition for maritime difcovery might have been engrafted with fuccefs. The principality of Catalonia, then annexed to that of Arragon, was fo favourably fituated in this refpect; that we foon behold a germe of the naval oak again unfolding its embryon powers. Edward the third of England, in 1353, granted his protection, and a liberty of commerce, to the merchants of Catalonia, fubjects of his kinfman, the king of Arragon; that they might freely refort to England, with their fhips and merchandife, and there buy wool, leather, and lead. De Mailly's hiftory of Genoa, informs us, that fome years fubfequent to this, the Catalans had obtained fuch an increafe of naval power, as to contend at fea with Genoa, and capture fome of her richeft fhips: during the year 1411, the Catalans proceeded to threaten a defcent on the ifle of Chios, belonging to the latter ftate, but were repulfed with lofs. Their capital, Barcelona,

were now, that is in the year 1601, let for three hundred or four hundred, and fome for eight hundred dollars yearly rent." We are however, fubjoins Anderfon, to diftinguifh carefully between this company, and that of the merchants of the ftaple, which was, in the year 1313, fixed at Antwerp; but was merely for wool, and at a time when commerce was, every where weftward, at a low ebb: whereas, the other company was for wool, woollen cloth, leather, lead, tin, and all other Englifh ftaple wares, and in a time of much more advanced ftate of commerce. During the war, which the Flemings, in 1482, commenced with their prince the arch-duke Maximilian, *Sluys* the celebrated port of Bruges was much injured: which both the inhabitants of Antwerp and Amfterdam turned to their future advantage; and began to partake in the vaft commerce of Bruges. This the city of Antwerp gradually augmenting, in the year 1516 fhe fucceeded to the trade of Bruges, for nearly a century; which fhe continued to fupport, until in turn fhe yielded the fway of Commerce to Amfterdam.

BOOK I.

Barcelona, in point of dimenſions, was compared [l] by H. Paulus, in 1491, with the city of Naples; and vied with Florence in the elegance of its buildings, and the variety of manufactories: its commercial tranſactions, and connections, were at that time very extenſive. The maritime laws of Barcelona were held in equal eſtimation, if not poſſeſſing a more general ſway, than the code of Oleron: they equally form at preſent the ſtandard of maritime juriſprudence; and by theſe the commercial ſtates of Italy regulated their proceedings. Barcelona thus acquired a conſiderable weight in the government of the king of Arragon; and by degrees obtained ſuch a ſupremacy on account of her naval power, that the magiſtrates claimed the privilege of being covered in the preſence of their ſovereign, and of being treated as grandees of his kingdom.

To refreſh the memory of thoſe, who have already conſidered that portion of commercial hiſtory on which I have dwelt in the preceding pages; and to inſtruct others, who may be unacquainted with a ſubject ſo intimately connected with the progreſs of maritime diſcovery, is the object of the preſent ſection. In contemplating a ſcene of ſuch extent, I have endeavoured rather to form an outline of its moſt leading features, than to make a regular or finiſhed diſplay of the whole view: beyond this neither the limit or intention of the work allowed me to advance. It appeared to me, that a preliminary [m] ſurvey of this nature was equally eſſential, as an

[l] Hieron. Paulus ap. Schottum Script. Hiſp. ii. 844.

[m] To what I have already inſerted, the following extract by Mr. Mickle from the work of *Faria y Sousa*, which gives a view of the commerce of the eaſtern world, and the channels into which it flowed *before the arrival of the Portugueſe*, forms a valuable addition. "Before theſe our diſcoveries, the ſpicery and riches of the eaſtern world were brought to Europe with great charge and immenſe trouble. The merchandiſe of the clove of Malacca, the mace and nutmeg of Banda, the ſandal-wood of Timor, the camphire of Borneo, the gold and ſilver of Luconia, the ſpices, drugs, dyes, and perfumes, and all the various riches of China, Java, Siam, and the adjacent kingdoms, centered in the city of Malaca, in the golden Cherſoneſus. Hither all the traders of the countries, as far weſt as Ethiopia and the Red Sea,

an hiſtorical memoir of commerce, and the progreſs of maritime diſcovery, during the periods of ancient hiſtory; and that without ſuch an illuſtration, the minds both of the learned and unlearned reader, would enter on the glorious ſubject of the ſucceeding pages, without being previouſly impreſſed with a juſt idea of the naval character of Europe, at the period when the Portugueſe diſcoveries began. For the ſame reaſon, I ſhall ſubjoin a further extract from the valuable *Prologue of the Proceſſe of Engliſh Policie*, already noticed; as giving a general view of mercantile tranſactions in every country we have conſidered, in or near the year 1430. On this occaſion I have preferred the mode, in which Mr. Anderſon has condenſed the words of this maritime poet, to its original and more venerable ſtructure.

"From SPAIN come wines, figs, raiſins, dates, liquoriſh, oil, grain (probably for dyers), ſoap, wax, iron, wool, wadmol, kid ſkins, ſaffron, and quickſilver; all which," ſays our author, "are tranſported to Bruges, the then great emporium of Flanders, by her haven of Sluys, where are ſo many fair and large ſhips: but then," ſays our poet, "they muſt all paſs between Dover and Calais."

"From FLANDERS, the Spaniſh ſhips lade homewards fine cloth of Ypres, and of Courtray, of all colours; much fuſtian, and alſo linen cloth. Thus," ſays he, "if we be maſters at ſea, both Spain and Flanders, who have ſuch a mutual dependence on each other, muſt neceſſarily

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Sea, reſorted; and bartered their own commodities for thoſe they received: for ſilver and gold were eſteemed as the leaſt valuable articles. By this trade the great cities of CALICUT, CAMBAYA, ORMUZ, and ADEN, were enriched; nor was Malaca, the only ſource of their wealth. The weſtern regions of Aſia had full poſſeſſion of the commerce of the rubies of PEGU, the ſilks of BENGAL, the pearls of CALICARE, the diamonds of NARSINGA, the cinnamon and rubies of CEYLON, the pepper, and every ſpicery of Malabar; and wherever in the eaſtern iſlands and ſhores, nature had laviſhed her various riches. Of the more weſtern commerce ORMUZ was the great mart; for from thence the eaſtern commodities were conveyed up the Perſian Gulph to BASSORA on the mouth of the *Euphrates*; and from thence diſtributed in caravans to ARMENIA, TREBISOND, TARTARY, ALEPPO, DAMASCUS, and the port of BARUT on the Mediterranean. SUEZ on the Red Sea was alſo a moſt important mart. Here the caravans loaded and proceeded to Grand Cairo, from whence the Nile conveyed their riches to Alexandria; at which city, and at Barut, ſome Europeans, the Venetians in particular, loaded their veſſels with the riches of the eaſtern world; which at immenſe prices they diſtributed throughout Europe."

BOOK I.

neceſſarily keep meaſures with us. And if England ſhould think fit to deny to Flanders her wool and tin; and ſhould alſo prevent the Spaniſh wool, which they work up with Engliſh wool, from getting to Flanders; the laſt named ſmall country would ſoon be ſtarved."

"PORTUGAL is our friend; it ſends much merchandiſe into England, and our people reſort thither for trade. They have wines, oſey, wax, grain, figs, raiſins, dates, honey, cordovan leather, hides, &c. all which are carried in great quantities to Flanders," (which our author here juſtly terms, the ſtaple at that time for all Chriſtendom;) "and as Portugal is eſteemed changeable, ſhe is in our power, whilſt we are maſters of the narrow ſeas."

"BRETAGNE ſupplies Flanders with ſalt, wines, linen, and canvas. The Bretons, eſpecially thoſe of St. Maloes," whom their Dukes, who were generally friends to England, could ſeldom keep under due ſubjection, "have been great ſea robbers; and have often done much hurt on our coaſts, landing, killing, and burning, to our great diſgrace: whereas if we kept poſſeſſion of the Narrow Seas, they durſt not be our foes."

"SCOTLAND's commodities are wool, woolfels, and hides; their wool is ſent to Flanders to be draped, though not ſo good as the Engliſh wool, with which it is there worked up. The Scotch muſt paſs by the Engliſh coaſt in their way to Flanders, and may therefore be eaſily intercepted. Scotland brings from Flanders ſmall mercery," which, in thoſe times, meant many kinds of ſmall wares, "and haberdaſhery ware in great quantities: moreover, one half of the Scottiſh ſhips are generally laden home from Flanders with cart wheels and wheel-barrows."

"The EASTERLINGS, PRUSSIA, and GERMANY, ſend beer and bacon into Flanders; Oſmond, copper, bow-ſtaves, ſteel, wax, peltry, pitch, and tar, fir, oak boards, Cologne thread, wool cards, fuſtians, canvas, and buckram. And they bring back from Flanders, ſilver plate and wedges of ſilver, which come to Flanders in great plenty from Bohemia and Hungary, alſo woollen cloths of all colours. They alſo venture greatly into the Bay (of Biſcay) for ſalt, ſo neceſſary for them: all which they could not do without our permiſſion, if we kept the narrow ſeas."

"GENOA reſorts to England in her huge ſhips named Carracks, bringing many commodities; as cloth of gold, ſilk, paper, much woad, wool," (of Spain, probably,) "oil, cotton, rock allum, and gold coin. And they bring back from us wool and woollen cloth, made with our own wool: they alſo often go from England to Flanders, where their chief ſtaple is: ſo that the Genoeſe we have likewiſe in our power."

"The VENETIANS and FLORENTINES, in their great Gallies, bring all ſorts of ſpices and grocery wares, ſweet wines, and a great variety of ſmall wares and trifles, drugs, ſugar, &c. And from us they carry home wool, cloth, tin, and our gold coins. They alſo deal much in uſury, both in England and Flanders."—This ſhews that the balance was then againſt us with thoſe Italian republics.

"To the BRABANT MARTS, which we call fairs, we ſend Engliſh cloth, and bring back mercery, haberdaſhery, and grocery."

"To

"To those marts repair the English, French, Catalans, Lombards, Genoese, Scots, Spaniards; and the Irish also live there, and deal in great quantities of hides, &c." But he adds, as he says, on good authority, "The English buy more goods at those marts, than all the other nations do together. Wherefore," says he, "let us keep the sea well, and they must be our friends." And here he laments, with great propriety, the neglect of our shipping for the guard of the sea.

"BRABANT, HOLLAND, and ZEALAND, afforded little merchandise properly of their own, but madder and woad for dyers, garlick, onions, and salt fish: For the other articles of rich merchandise which the English buy at their marts, come in carts over land from Burgundy, Cologne, &c."

"IRELAND's commodities are hides and fish, as salmon, herrings, and hake; wool, linen cloth, and skins of wild beasts," (here we may remark the antiquity of a linen manufacture in Ireland). "To keep Ireland in obedience to us is of great importance, and cannot be done without our being masters at sea. The same may also be said in respect to Calais."

To this abstract of Commercial History I wish to add a few remarks, somewhat out of the limit of time I had assigned myself in this section, which tend further to illustrate the subject of this work, and to prepare the minds of my readers for an unprejudiced perusal.

The general idea which prevailed respecting the south polar regions, until the Portuguese had made a considerable progress in maritime discovery; was founded on an error originating in Ptolemy, that the continent of Africa extended in breadth towards the west: the countries also in the torrid zone were deemed uninhabitable, according to the opinion of the ancients. Venice, and Europe in general, had been greatly indebted to the voyages of [n] Marco Polo, a Venetian nobleman, who about the middle of the thirteenth century penetrated into the distant regions of Asia, as far as the frontier of China: yet the eastern part of India was but imperfectly known; and it was the opinion of the age that this country was the next land to the west of Spain. The account given by Antonio Galvano [o] of a chart of Africa, one hundred and twenty years old, copied from the manuscripts of Marco Polo, which had been found in the monastery of

[n] See Appendix E.

[o] Appendix, p. 11. *Galvano's Progress of Maritime Discovery.*

BOOK I. of Acoboça during the year 1526, a considerable time after the voyage of De Gama; was an idle tale fabricated by Venetian disappointment, to discredit the maritime reputation of HENRY DUKE of VISEO. This illustrious prince, finding, by the observations of his navigators, that the African coast extended at least to the line, and, hearing from the most respectable travellers that the Arabian sea washed its eastern limit, first surmised that this continent was terminated by a southern promontory.

When the Portuguese renewed the progress of maritime discovery, and at length attained the gratification of commercial hope, the discovery of the Cape; all European intercourse with India had nearly centred in the republic of Venice. Denina, in his Revolutions of Italy, translated by the Abbe Jardin, affirms, that Venice was at this time superior, in naval power, to all the commercial states that appeared in the Mediterranean: about the year 1420, this republic supported three thousand merchant ships, on board of which were seventeen thousand seamen: she employed also three hundred sail of superior force, manned by eight thousand seamen; and had also forty-five carracks with eleven thousand men to navigate [o] them: her public and private arsenals at this time employed sixteen thousand carpenters. The expences requisite to fit out a squadron for discovery, and to have continued its progress, must have been very heavy to any kingdom, and almost ruin to individuals, in an age when the [p] interest of money was at twenty *per cent.* and upwards: even over this resource, Venice had a commanding influence by the first establishment of a bank in Europe about the year 1157: the period of the commercial ascendency of the Italian states, during which the interest of money continued most exorbitant, extended from the close of the eleventh century to the beginning of the sixteenth.

Thus

[o] Mar. Sanuto Vite de Duchi di Venezia, ap. Mur. Script. Rer. Ital. vol. xxii. p. 959.

[p] Philip IV. of France fixed the interest to be demanded at the fairs of Champagne, 1311, at 20 *per cent.* The interest of money at Placentia in 1490 was 40 *per cent.*

Ch. I. § 1. *Early periods of Modern History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

Thus in Europe the whole power and dark intrigues of the republic of Venice, at that time the miſtreſs of the ſeas, were ready to ſtrangle the hopes of the Portugueſe navigators at their birth; by preſenting the moſt powerful obſtacles to the gradual progreſs of their maritime diſcoveries. In INDIA, the implacable and ſecret animoſity of mooriſh Arabs, with all the clan of Venetian factors and agents; though their machinations were prepared with greater ſecrecy, they were ſtill ready, like the ſudden exploſion of the mine, to overwhelm the firſt European mariner who ſhould dare to paſs the ancient limits of the Atlantic. Such were the difficulties which the genius of maritime diſcovery had to encounter and to ſubdue. The combination of ignorance, and credulity, was purpoſely encouraged by the narrow principles of a monopoliſing ſpirit; and the darkneſs, which pervaded Europe, was treacherouſly continued, to conceal the oppreſſion and riches of a few individuals. Let us now view the hiſtory of a nation, whoſe heroic ſovereigns poſſeſſed ſufficient courage, and perſeverance, to withdraw the veil: and having placed ourſelves, as it were, in the town of SAGRES, which the Patron of diſcovery, Henry duke of Viſeo, founded near the Cape St. Vincent, let us attentively contemplate the progreſs of their navigators towards [q] the Cape of Tempeſts—

CRAS INGENS ITERABIMUS ÆQUOR.

[q] *Il Cabo dos Tormentos.* The name which the Cape received from the ſeamen of Bartholomew Diaz in 1486; who then firſt doubled this tremendous promontory.

SECTION II.

Rise of the Maritime Kingdom of Portugal: view of the early periods of its History, previous to the reign of John, the Father of Henry duke of Viseo.—Corresponding illustration of the curious narratives of the first European travellers into Tartary, and the eastern provinces of Asia; by whom the earliest accounts of China, Japan, and India were conveyed to Portugal.—Benjamin of Tudela.—John de Plano Carpini.—William de Rubruquis.

> " The Heroes of those happier days,
> When LUSITANIA, once a mighty name,
> Outstripp'd each rival in the chace of Fame."
>
> *Hayley's Essay on History.*

Portuguese History. A. D. 1087—1385.

THE fertile banks of the rivers Minho, and Douro, were the boundaries of a province of Castile, whence the kingdom of Portugal gradually arose to give laws to the submissive realms of *India*, and to direct the course of its European commerce. The sceptre of the East, held by a precarious tenure, has since caused the prosperity or adversity of other nations; whilst Portugal exhibits a striking example in the revolutions of its history, to humble the arrogance of maritime power, and to moderate the excesses of commercial aggrandisement.

The history of this country commences with the arrival of its renowned COUNT HENRY on the banks of the Douro; from that period to the death of Pedro *the just*, the title of Hero was equally merited by the sovereigns, and subjects of Portugal: Yet no English writer of eminence has hitherto illustrated a subject of so much import-

importance to a [r] maritime kingdom, as the rise and fall of this commercial power. Human nature, in the early history of Portugal, is seen in its most favourable colours: without the aid of fable, or the exaggerations of romance, an heroic age is held up to our emulation; an age, which the epic muse might have taught her historic sister to admire.

Ch. I. § 2. *Early periods of Portuguese History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

III.

" que conte, declarando
De minha gente a graõ genealogia,
Naõ me mandas contar estranha historia,
Mas mandas-me louvar dos meus a gloria.

IV.

Que outrem possa louvar esforco alheyo,
Cousa he, que se costuma, e se ocieja,
Mas louvar os meus proprios, arreceyo,
Que louvor taõ suspeito mal me esteja:
E para dizer tudo, temo, e creyo,
Que qualquer longo tempo curto seja:
Mas pois o mandas, tudo se te deve,
Irey contra o que devo, e serey breve.

V.

Além disso, o que a tudo em fim me obriga
He naõ poder mentir no que disser,
Porque de feitos taes por mais que diga,
Mais me ha de ficar inda por dizer:
Mas porque nisto a ordem leve, e siga,
Segundo o que desejas de saber,
Primeiro tratarey da larga terra,
Depois direy da sanguinosa guerra."

Os Lusiadas, C. III.—*Lisboa*, 18mo, 1749.

——" At

[r] No lesson," says Mickle in his Introduction to The Epic Poem of Commerce, The Lusiad, " can be of greater national importance, than the history of the rise and the fall of a commercial empire. The view of what advantages were acquired, and what might have been still added; the means by which such empire might have been continued, and the errors by which it was lost; are as particularly conspicuous in the Naval and Commercial History of Portugal, as if Providence had intended to give a lasting example to mankind: *a Chart, where the course of the safe voyage is pointed out; and where the shelves and rocks, and the seasons of tempest, are discovered and foretold.*

—" At thy command
The martial ſtory of my native land
I tell; but more my doubtful heart had joy'd
Had other wars my praiſeful lips employ'd.
When men the honours of their race commend,
The doubts of ſtrangers on the tale attend:
Yet though reluctance faulter on my tongue,
Though day would fail a narrative ſo long,
Yet well aſſured no fictions glare can raiſe,
Or give my country's fame a brighter praiſe;
Though leſs, far leſs, whate'er my lips can ſay,
Than truth muſt give it, I thy will obey."

Mickle's Tranſlation, Book III.

On a threatening eminence commanding the mouth of the river Douro, and a delightful proſpect of the adjacent country, ſtood, in ages whoſe annals are ſhrouded in darkneſs, a town called CALE, ſtrong, and well inhabited. When a commercial ſpirit had rendered the inhabitants ſenſible of the diſadvantages of their ſituation; and that other objects were to be conſidered in the ſite of a town, beyond the high or inſulated ſecurity of the craggy [s] cliff, they relinquiſhed the ſtrong holds of their anceſtors; and built their huts in a lower ſituation adjoining the Douro; which, becoming a place of great reſort, obtained the name of *Portus Cale*, and in proceſs of time [t] *Portucalia*. Its ſituation, even at that early period, was favourable

[s] Thucydides, in the valuable introduction to his firſt book of the Hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, notices, with his uſual accuracy of obſervation, a ſimilar change which maritime occupations wrought in the ſituation of the towns of Greece. " As for cities, ſo many as are of a later foundation, and better placed for the increaſe of wealth ſince the improvement of Naval Skill; all theſe have been built *on the ſea ſhore* and walled about, and are ſituated on necks of land jutting out into the ſea; for the ſake of traffic, and greater ſecurity from the inſults of neighbouring people. But thoſe of an earlier date, having been more ſubject to piratical depredations, are ſituated at a great diſtance from the ſea, not only on iſlands, but alſo upon the main. For even thoſe who lived upon the coaſt, though inexpert at ſea, were uſed to make excurſions up into the country for the ſake of plunder: and ſuch inland ſettlements are diſcernible to this very day." *Smith's Tranſlation.*

[t] Cenſuræ *Duardi Nonii* in *Joſeph. Texeira* Libell. de Reg. Portugall. origine. Cens. II.

vourable to the mercantile transactions of Europe, and, like Hamburgh, it soon became a bishop's see [u]: his successors signed themselves *Portucalenses*; and thus the name of the diocese, whose limits nearly extended as far as the sovereignty in its infant state, was transferred to the latter.

Ch. I. § 2. *Early periods of Portuguese History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

Chivalry, which rendered the most essential benefits to mankind, and by blending the mild and humane character of christianity with the plumes and trappings of the warrior, made the former an object of emulation to the rude disciples of Woden,—gave the first chief, or leader, to the state of PORTUCALIA; which, though not of any great extent, was so fertile, as to have obtained, whilst a province under the dominion of the monarchs of Leon and Castile, the title of *Medulla Hispanica*, or the marrow of Spain.

An illustrious stranger, in the romantic character of the age, appeared with the Counts of Burgundy, and Thoulouse, at the court of Alphonso the sixth, king of Castile and Leon; and fought with other knights and warriors under the standard of that monarch, who had requested assistance from the neighbouring potentates: after displaying signal proofs of his courage, COUNT HENRY was distinguished, amongst the foreign noblemen, by the liberality of the Spanish monarch; and having received from him the hand of his daughter Theresa, obtained as her dower, the frontier province to the south of the Minho, which had been conquered from the Moors; with the privilege of enlarging the narrow boundaries of his domain, by the further expulsion of the infidels.

Count Henry.

Thus

[u] The first mark of distinction, or consequence, that was given to the principal Commercial marts and ports of Europe, seems generally to have consisted in the establishment of an episcopal chair. The duties and avocations of the diocesan, were in these periods rather inconsistent with his spiritual character; and resembled the employments of the *episcopus* or *commercial inspector* among the Romans: thus Cicero styles himself *Episcopus oræ, et Campaniæ*.

BOOK I.

Thus did the infant kingdom of Portugal receive from chivalry its firſt governor, who as yet aſſumed only the title of Count. Hiſtorians are much at variance reſpecting the identity of this illuſtrious ſtranger, and the particular time of his arrival in Spain. The whole of theſe doubts are conſidered in the Chronicle of the abbey of Fleury, compoſed by a Benedictine monk, containing an account of the events in France from the year 897 to 1110. We are enabled to diſcover, by means of this ancient manuſcript, that Count Henry was grandſon to Robert, the firſt duke of Burgundy, younger brother to Henry the firſt, of France. It appears moſt probable that the Count was born about the year 1060; and went into Spain towards the year 1087, to fight under the banners of King Alphonſo of Caſtile: who in the year 1080 married Donna Conſtance, ſiſter of Count Henry's father, and daughter to Duke Robert.

Count Henry availed himſelf of the permiſſion that had been granted him by his uncle, to extend his government by the expulſion of the Moors, with a gallantry peculiar to his character. He completely reduced the fertile Province between the rivers Minho and Douro, which was rendered more valuable by its comprehending ſix harbours; the *Tralos Montes*, extending beyond the mountains, and containing the dutchy of Braganza; and the Mooriſh part of the province of *Beira*, advantageouſly placed between the Douro and Tagus, including the DUTCHY of VISEO, which afterwards gave a title to the patron of maritime diſcovery.

It is the opinion of ſome hiſtorians, that Count Henry, when he had fixed his capital in the town of Guimaraenz, the ancient *ara ducta*, ſituated in a delightful plain on the banks of the river Ave, and had conſiderably extended his dominions; on being appointed general of the Spaniſh cruſaders, accompanied them to the Holy Land. Camoens, whom in the following pages I ſhall

often introduce to my readers, as [x] the *Lusitanian Homer*, gives an authority to this opinion:

Ch. I. § 1. *Early periods of Portuguese History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

XXVI.

—Em premio destes feitos excellentes
Deolhe o supremo Deos em tempo breve
Hum filko, que illustrasse o nome usano
Do bellicoso Reyno Lusitano.

XXVII

Ja tinda vindo Henrique da conquista
Da Cidade Hierosolyma sagrada,
E do Jordaõ a arcya tinha vista,
Que vio de Deos a carne em si lavada.——Canto iii.

To Him is born, heaven's gift, a gallant son,
The glorious founder of the Lusian throne.
Nor Spain's wide lands alone his deeds attest,
Deliver'd Judah Henry's might confest.
On Jordan's bank the victor-hero strode,
Whose hallow'd waters bath'd the Saviour God. *Mickle.*

As this celebrated Portuguese must have had access to many authorities, now lost, or not generally known, [y] he is justly entitled to the confidence of

[x] It would be well worthy of the munificence of the East India Company, or the Board of Controul, to give a new and elegant edition of their commercial Poet, and his elegant translator.

"From every hand let grateful Commerce shower
Her tribute to the Bard who sung her power;
As those rich gales, from whence his GAMA caught
A pleasing earnest of the prize he fought,
The balmy fragrance of the East dispense,
So steals his Song on the delighted sense;
Astonishing, with sweets unknown before,
Those who ne'er tasted but of classic lore.
Immortal Bard! thy name with GAMA vies,
Thou, like thy hero, with propitious skies
The sail of bold adventure hast unfurl'd,
And in the Epic ocean found a world." *Hayley's Essay on Epic Poetry.*

[y] LUIS DE CAMOENS, respecting whose distinguished merit the world still continues too insensible, was born at Lisbon, according to Nicholas Antonio, and Manuel Correa, in 1517 (or according

BOOK I.

of the historian. This expedition of Count Henry to the Holy Land, is a point of much importance in the progress of maritime discovery: if he actually made such a voyage, he probably obtained some account

according to others in 1526,) of an antient and respectable family, originally styled *Caamans*, which had flourished in the Spanish province of Galicia. His father Simon Vaz de Camoens, commander of a vessel, was shipwrecked on the coast of Goa; and perished, with the greatest part of his fortune. The education of our young poet was conducted by his mother Anne de Macedo of Santarene; and the university of Coimbra had the honour of completing it. Having given offence amidst the intrigues of the court of Lisbon, he retired to his mother's friends at Santarene, and began his epic poem on the discovery of India; which he afterwards continued during his military expeditions in Africa, under John the third. In a naval action with the Moors off Gibraltar, he lost the sight of his right eye, when among the foremost in boarding the enemy. After continuing for several years in Africa, he returned to his native land, to leave it with fresh regret: he sailed for India in 1553; and, as the city of Lisbon faded from his view, was heard to exclaim, in the monumental words of Scipio Africanus, *Ingrata patria, non possidebis ossa mea!*—Here he engaged with the greatest bravery in the different expeditions that were carried on by the Portuguese; during which he visited the Red Sea, Mount Felix, and the inhospitable regions of Africa, so strikingly described in his Lusiad. Having offended the viceroy *Francisco Barreto* by some satires, Camoens was now banished to China; his accomplished manners soon obtained him friends, and procured him the post of commissary of the estates of the defunct in the island of Macao. Thus, though he began his *Lusiadas* in Europe, the greater part was written, either during the night when encamped in Africa, or when sailing on the ocean, by the coast of India and China. After five years residence in the latter kingdom he prepared to return to India, when Don Constantine de Braganza was viceroy: the ship being cast away in the gulph near the river Mecon in Cochin China, all that Camoens had gained by industry or economy was buried in the waves! His poem, like the commentaries of Cæsar, was saved by the intrepidity of its author; who swam * with it in his hand, as he himself relates in the tenth book.

Camoens was received by the Viceroy with a cordiality that marked his character; but during the government of his successor, meeting with persecution and deceit, and all the cabal of little minds, he at length, after much difficulty, embarked for Lisbon. Don Diego de Couto the historian, sailed for Europe in the same vessel; and during the voyage wrote illustrations of the Lusiadas, which have never appeared. After an absence of sixteen years Camoens arrived, in 1569, in his own country, when a pestilence raged in the city of Lisbon. At length in the year 1572 he printed his admirable poem, addressed to the king Sebastian, then in his eighteenth year. Sebastian was charmed with the work, and settled on the Poet a pension of 4000 reals, on condition that he should reside at Court. But when Sebastian's successor Cardinal Henry obtained the crown of Portugal, Camoens lost his pension.

Thus did Genius "climb the steep, where fame's proud temple beams afar." The remaining life of Camoens was wretched and melancholy. The cardinal monarch suffered him to die in all the misery of abject poverty. An old black servant, a native of Java, who had grown grey headed

* Camoens alludes to this, in his *Lusiadas*, Canto x. Stanza 128.

Este recebera placido, e brando
No seu regaço o Canto, que molhado
Vem do naufragio triste, e miserando.—

count of the ſeas, and of the geography of India; and might thus have contributed to awaken a ſpirit of commercial enterpriſe among his countrymen, which at length effected the developement of the Indian Ocean, by the Cape of Good Hope. Count Henry, who never took any higher title, having marched to the aſſiſtance of Urraca, queen of Caſtile and Leon, his conſort's ſiſter, died after a ſhort illneſs at the city of Aſtorga, during the year 1112. His remains were conveyed with great pomp to the cathedral church of Braga; whence they were removed by Diego de Souza, who was archbiſhop of Braga in 1513, to a chapel, in which he had raiſed a ſplendid tomb to the memory of the founder of the Luſitanian throne.

Ch. I. § 2. *Early periods of Portugueſe Hiſtory, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

An

headed in the ſervice of Camoens, and doated on his maſter; and who had been inſtrumental in ſaving his life when ſhipwrecked,—begged in the ſtreets of Liſbon to ſupport the exiſtence of Luis de Camoens—Date Obelam Belisario. He was privately buried in St. Anne's church; and the following inſcription placed over his grave: *Here lies Luis de Camoens, prince of the poets of his time. He lived poor and miſerable, and died ſuch, A. D.* 1579. Don Emanuel de Souza Coutino, a celebrated Portugueſe, and Nicholas Antonio, the learned canon of Seville, author of the *Bibliotheca Hiſpanica, in four vols. folio*, each inſcribed a Latin epitaph to the memory of Camoens. *Coutino*, who was an admirable judge of literary merit, declared that the genius of Ovid, Virgil, Sophocles, and Pindar, were united in the Luſitanian Homer—

"Quod Maro ſublimi, quod grandi Pindarus alto,
Quod Sophocles, ſuavi Naſo quod ore canit,
Mœſtitiam, riſus, horrentia prælia, amores,
Juncta ſimul, cantu ſed meliore damus.
Quiſnam author? Camonius!"——

Beſides the epitaph compoſed by N. Antonio, he inſerted this high character of Camoens in the Bibl. Hiſp.—"that he was born a poet; that his compoſitions were eaſy, copious, lively, and ſublime. In his deſcriptions of perſons, and places, art ſeems to rival nature.—He was exceedingly well verſed in the ancient poets. *Ad poeſim verè natum, facile, copioſum, ſublime, vividum.----In geographicis et proſopographicis deſcriptionibus naturam ferè æquavit arte.----Præterquam quod eruditum ſe eſſe prodidit ſatis ſuperque in omnium veterum poetarum.*"

The Luſiad was firſt tranſlated into Engliſh by a Cambridge ſtudent, Sir Richard Fanſhaw, in 1655, who had been ſecretary to Charles when Prince of Wales, and treaſurer of the navy under the command of prince Rupert in 1648; previous to which a tranſlation had appeared in the French language. There are two tranſlations of it in the Italian; four into Spaniſh; and one into Latin by Thomas de Faria, a carmelite, biſhop of Targa in Africa. Faria concealed his name; and not informing the public that it was a tranſlation, many were led to ſuppoſe that the poem had been originally compoſed in Latin. Le P. Niceron ſays, that he knew of two other Latin tranſlations. The Luſiadas alſo appeared in Hebrew by Luzzetto, a learned Jew.

BOOK I.

An account of the [z] illustrious founder of that kingdom, whose subjects renewed the progress of maritime discovery, appeared so much connected with the design of this work, that I have dwelt on it with considerable interest. A more rapid view shall be taken of the reigns of his successors, to the time of John the first: considering at the same time such dispersed facts, as collected in a geographical or maritime point of view, claim attention from having tended to establish the naval character of Portugal, and to pormote its zeal for discovery.

Alphonso Henry. 1128.

The dauntless worth, and virtue of the deceased HENRY, survived in the mind of his son, ALPHONSO HENRY, who was only three years of age when he lost his father. His eighteenth year brought with it the love of power, with a spirit to preserve it; and he assumed his rights of government, notwithstanding an unnatural cabal was secretly forming against him in the regency. If we believe the historians of this period, the enemies of the young COUNT were those of his own house. *Theresa*, the queen mother, forgot in the possession of the sceptre, the ties of maternal affection; and, at her importunity, the thunders of the Roman Pontiff fulminated against Alphonso. But the terrors of an interdict became baffled by a firmness, of which at that time there were few if any examples. The late Count Henry had intrusted his son to the vigilance and wisdom of [a] *Egas Munitz*; and when Alphonso, under such a preceptor, had girded on the sword of chivalry, he soon displayed the spirit and independence of a Christian knight. The terrified legate, who uttered the curses of the Vatican, felt them recoil on his own head; and, in the grasp of a warrior, whose uplifted sword demanded its

[z] In 1741 an heroic poem, named HENRIQUEIDA, which celebrates the establishment of the kingdom of Portugal, was published in Portuguese, by the *Count de Ericeyra*, one of the most learned men of the age.

[a] His character and fidelity are beautifully illustrated by Camoens, Mickle's Lusiad, 8vo. vol. i. p. 98.

its own absolution, the submissive monk recalled the excommunication which he had dared to pronounce.

Ch. I. § 2. *Early periods of Portuguese History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

Having received the title of King from his victorious soldiers on the field of [b] battle, in the Plain of Ourique (1139) Alphonso directed his attention, rather to the military power, which in so flattering a manner had presented him with the crown; than to the construction or improvement of that defence, first recommended to the Athenians by the oracle at Delphi, as the surest means of preserving their national liberties—

DEFEND YOURSELVES BY WOODEN WALLS!

Alphonso in return for the attachment which his soldiers had displayed, conferred the rank of nobility on his whole army; and after passing six years in securing or extending his dominions, was crowned at Lamego in 1145, with a solemnity and dignity that marks the character of the Portuguese in their heroic age.

CORONATION. 1145.

The taking of the strong town of Santarene, only twelve miles distant from Lisbon, previous to the above event; seems to have formed part of a great design, which the daring and comprehensive mind of Alphonso first projected about the year 1144: having already formed an alliance with Amadeus, count of Maurienne and Savoy, by marrying his daughter the Princess Matilda. Lisbon, then in

[b] The Portuguese writers relate that the night before this celebrated battle, Alphonso, who like Brutus was reading in his tent, and had strengthened his mind with the scripture history of Gideon, saw in a vision the event of the ensuing day; in memory of which he changed the arms his father had given, of *a cross azure in a field argent, for five escutcheons, each charged with five bezants*, in memory of the five wounds of Christ. Others assert, that he gave *in a field argent five escutcheons azure, in the form of a cross, each charged with five bezants argent, placed saltier-wise, with a point sable*; in memory of five wounds he himself received, and of five Moorish kings slain in the battle. The following is an exact description of the present arms of Portugal. "Ar. five escutcheons in cross az. each charged with as many plates in saltier, all within a border gu. charged with seven castles triple-towered or, being the arms of ALGARVE; helmet and crown like those of Spain, mantled or, az. and or; all under a pavilion interspersed with escutcheons az. charged with bezants; the pavilion bordered gu. thereon castles or, lined with ermine."

BOOK I. in the hands of the Moors, was an acquisition which an ambitious sovereign of Portugal must have been anxious to obtain. According to a legendary tale, which *Mela* has honoured with attention, this city was built by Ulysses; and the vanity of its inhabitants will be gratified by remembering, that *Solinus* did not scruple to accept the term ULYSSIPO; which was afterwards lost, when it became a municipality under Augustus, with the surname of *Felicitas Julia:* during the subsequent fury of the Goths, its impregnable walls had alone yielded to treachery.—The conquest of one of the finest ports in the world, defended according to history by a garrison of two hundred thousand men, was projected by the undaunted mind of a young and victorious general. The old Moorish wall, six miles in length, flanked by seventy-seven towers, extended before his view; and such obstacles to a less enterprising warrior would have appeared insurmountable. Alphonso's resolution however remained unshaken; and the attempt had been already made, when the appearance of a powerful fleet at the mouth of the Tagus, destined for the Holy Land, revived the hopes of the invaders, and completed the triumph [c] of their commander in the year 1147. This success not only secured to Alphonso one of the first commercial marts in Europe, but likewise opened to him the whole province of Estremadura.

It is a curious circumstance in this event, and must be particularly gratifying to my readers, that the fleet which arrived thus opportunely to assist Alphonso in taking Lisbon, was principally manned by [d] English: as a token of gratitude, Don Gilbert, an English divine, whom Alphonso had persuaded to remain, was appointed first bishop

[c] Some writers are of opinion that Lisbon was first taken by Don Alphonso in 1139, after the battle of Ourique. This idea however does not appear to be supported by much authority.

[d] Universal History, *Modern.*—Mickle's Lusiad, vol. i page 109.

bishop of Lisbon. According to the opinion of a [e] writer, cited both by the authors of the Universal History, and Mickle in his notes to the Lusiadas, Alphonso assigned these crusaders considerable tracts of land; and gave them Almada on the southern shore of the Tagus, opposite to Lisbon: the same author adds, that they peopled Villafranca, and called it *Cornualla*, from the adjoining tracts of meadow land, which agreeably reminded them of the English county of Cornwall. We may therefore date the connection between Portugal and Great Britain from this period; and be allowed to express an hope, that an alliance, since so often renewed, and which has proved so beneficial to both powers; as it derives its origin from the day the city of Lisbon was recovered from the Moors, may continue, whilst the independence of that metropolis remains.

It was the wise policy of this monarch, in opposition to the prevailing [f] prejudice of other states, to invite, and even to allure strangers to settle in his dominions; who had arrived either for the general purposes of commerce, or to refit in his ports, during the crusades: by such policy a constant source of maritime and commercial knowledge was opened to the Portuguese. The strangers, thus received with a liberal courtesy, communicated whatever information they had acquired. By comparing the produce of the country of their guests, or its luxuries with their own; and by hearing whatever had occurred, that was either new or interesting during their residence in Palestine; an opportunity of acquiring geographical instruction was daily offered to the minds of a commercial and enterprising nation. Queen Matilda, like another Margaret of Denmark, possessed an understanding equal to the greatest undertakings; and was of essential service in promoting the measures of government.

[e] *Udal ap Rhys' tour through Spain and Portugal*, 8vo. 1749, p. 273. 280, 281. A second edition of this work was printed in 1759.

[f] See page 14, note q.

BOOK I.

vernment. The abſence of her huſband, who, according to the cuſtom of the age, marched out at the head of his army, was therefore not attended with confuſion; and the kingdom, bleſt with Alphonſo and Matilda, was continually in a progreſſive ſtate of improvement, which in time exalted its inhabitants above the other nations of Europe.

First Information relative to the eaſtern parts of Aſia.

During the reign of this monarch an event occurred, which, as it intereſted the whole attention of modern Europe, could not fail to produce a conſiderable effect on the minds of the moſt enterpriſing, and beſt informed, among the Portugueſe. RABBI BENJAMIN, ſon of *Jonas of Tudela*, a town in Navarre, on the confines of the adjoining kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon, arrived in Europe, in the year 1173; having travelled into the remote parts of Aſia, and returned thence through Ethiopia and Egypt, the former of which was at that time conſidered as a part of INDIA. This early traveller may be regarded among the firſt of the moderns, who drew the attention of Portugal to the extenſive and unexplored countries of the eaſt: and as ſuch he demands our attention.

The marvellous narrative of a traveller of Navarre, muſt have ſoon excited the curioſity of Alphonſo: he naturally ſought and obtained a copy of the curious manuſcript, which proved the poſſibility of an individual paſſing through the fiery regions of the torrid zone. As the ſouthern extremity of Africa was then covered with the tremendous darkneſs, and dreary horrors, which the ignorance of ages had accumulated; whatever tended to diſperſe the obſcurity of its eaſtern boundary, or of ſeas that ſtretched beyond it, as they are ſtill objects of anxious reſearch, muſt at that early period have been viewed with all the ſenſations, that are called forth by the magic pages of romance.

Travels of Rabbi Benjamin de Tudela. A. D. 1160—1173.

Either a ſuperſtitious veneration for the law of Moſes, or a ſolicitude to viſit his countrymen in the eaſt, are ſuggeſted by Dr. Robertſon

Ch. I. § . . Benjamin of Tudela's Narrative.

Robertſon [g] as motives which might have induced the *Jew of Tudela* to undertake an enterpriſe of ſo much hazard. In the year 1160 he arrived at Saragoſſa, and thence proceeded by land to Marſeilles: here he embarked for Genoa, and continued his route to Rome. Having paſſed through the kingdom of Naples, to Otranto, he again embarked, and came to the iſland of Corfu; and then travelled by land through Greece to Conſtantinople, acroſs the country of Walachia. Our traveller continuing his journey from the capital of the Greek empire, arrived at Tyre, Jeruſalem, Damaſcus, and Balbeck: having beheld the gloomy ruins of Tadmor, and given a long account of the city of Bagdat, the reader accompanies him to *Balſora*, or *Baſſora*, which he ſtyles *Botzra on the Tigris*, and hails his ſafe arrival at Iſpahan, after viſiting Chuzeſtan and the different places in Perſia, that were ſituated in the track he had purſued.

Four days of fatigue, with but little gratification, being paſſed, which required the energy of the moſt romantic mind to ſupport, the *Jew of Tudela* arrived at SIAPHAZ; this place has perplexed the moſt learned of his tranſlators and commentators. Harris, whom I have [h] followed in this account, thinks the city of *Schizaz* is intended: Benjamin, himſelf, deſcribes it, as the moſt ancient city in that country, and ſays that "it was called *Perſidis* of old, whence the name was given to the whole province." From Siaphaz he went to *Ginah*, near the river Gozan, and then having reached the famous *Samarchand*, the fartheſt city of the kingdom, came in four days journey to *Thibet*, which he deſcribes as "a capital city of the province of the ſame name, in the foreſts of which are the animals found that produce muſk: about twenty-eight days journey from thence lie the mountains of *Niſhbor*, which are ſituated near the river Gozan. The country is extended twenty days journey in length, with

[g] Robertſon's America, 8vo. ed. vol. i. p. 45.

[h] Ed. 1764, vol. i. p. 546.

BOOK I.

with many cities and caſtles inhabited, all mountainous, the inhabitants are abſolutely free; they are at war with the children of Chus, who dwell in the deſarts, and are in league with the *copheral Turks*, worſhippers of the winds."—After relating the invaſion made by the mountaineers of Niſhbor on the kingdom of Perſia, which, according to Harris, is not noticed by any other writer, the Jew of Tudela returned to *Chuzeſtan;* and thus begins that moſt intereſting part of his travels, which forms the earlieſt modern European account of the Eaſt Indies.

"When I departed out of theſe countries, I returned into [h] Chuzeſtan, through which the river Tygris runs, falling from thence into Hodu, or the Indian Sea; and in its paſſage thither encompaſſes the iſland *Nekrokis* [i], near the mouth thereof, which iſland is in extent three days journey. There is in it only one canal of freſh water, and they drink no other than what is gathered from the ſhowers, which is the reaſon that the land is neither ſowed nor tilled; and yet it is very famous through the commerce of the Indians, and iſlands ſeated in the *Indian Sea;* merchants of the country of Senaar, Arabia the happy, and Perſia, bringing thither all ſorts of ſilk and purple manufactures, hemp, cotton, flax, and *Indian* cloth, wheat, barley, millet, and rice, in great plenty, which they barter, and ſell among themſelves. But the *Indian merchants* bring alſo exceeding great plenty of ſpices thither, and the natives act as factors and interpreters, and by this they live: in that place there are not above five hundred Jews. Sailing thence with a proſperous wind, in ten days I was brought to *Kathipha.* In theſe places pearls are found, made by the wonderful artifice of nature; for

[h] Chuzeſtan, formerly *Suſiana*, called *Ciſſia* by Herodotus and Ptolemy. Sir W. Ouſeley in the oriental geography of Ebn Haukal, terms it *Khuziſtan.*

[i] There is no paſſage in theſe travels more perplexed than this deſcription of the iſland of *Nekrokis*, about which all the commentators are divided in their ſentiments. That which hitherto has been thought moſt probable is, that he means the iſland of *Ormuz*; it is however more credible that he had in view the city and country of *Baſſora.* (Harris.)

for on the four and twentieth day of the month Nisan (March) a certain dew falleth into the waters, which being sucked in by the oysters, they immediately sink to the bottom of the sea: afterwards, about the middle of the month of Tisri (September) men descend to the bottom of the sea; and, by the help of cords, these men bringing up the oysters in great quantities from thence, open them and take out the [k] pearls.

Ch. I. § 2. *Benjamin of Tudela's Narrative.*

"In seven days journey from thence I came to *Oulam*, which is the entrance of their kingdom, who worship the sun, and are prone to the study of astrology, being the children of Chus. They are men of

[k] The word used in the original Hebrew is *Bdellia*. The most learned of the Jews hold, that at a certain season of the year, an oily, spirituous, and briny substance, floats on the surface of the sea; which being received by the oysters, turns afterwards to a pearl. (*Harris.*) The curious reader may wish to compare this early account of the pearl fishery, with the accurate one given by Henry J. Le Beck, Esq. in 1797, inserted in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches: the following passage corresponds in some measure with the strange ideas of the Jew of Tudela respecting the formation of pearl.—"A Brahmin informed me that it was recorded in one of his sanscrit books, that the pearls are formed in the month of May, at the appearance of the *Soatee* star (one of their twenty-seven constellations), when the oysters come up to the surface of the water to catch the drops of rain."—It was the opinion of Reaumur, that the pearl was formed like bezoars, and other stones in different animals, and was apparently the effect of disease. Mr. Le Beck thinks it is very evident that the pearl is formed by an extravasation of a glutinous juice, either within the body, or on the surface of the animal: "such extravasations may be caused by heterogeneous bodies, such as sand, coming in with the food; which the animal, to prevent disagreeable friction, covers with its glutinous matter, and which, as it is successively secreted, forms many regular lamellæ in the manner of the coats of an onion."—Mr. *Nicholson* is not acquainted with any modern analysis of pearl; but concludes, from experiments made by *Neumann*, "that it consists of much phosphorated lime, of which the phosphoric acid was disengaged by the treatment with vitriolic acid, and the lime formed selenite; some animal mucilage, which afforded the volatile alkali and oil in distillation; and a small portion of soda and marine salt found in the residue." This subject is discussed by *Raynal*, vol. v. new ed. p. 360.—*Pennant*'s Eastern Hindoostan, vol. ii. p. 2.—General view of the writings of Linnæus, by *Richard Pulteney*, *M. D.* p. 42.—*Bruce*'s Travels.—*Harris* in the first volume of his collection of voyages and travels, page 482, considers the pearl fishery at some length, and refers his readers to the different authorities, both antient and modern, which he had consulted.—*Prevost's Hist. Generale des Voyages*, tom. xi. page 682. under the article of the various trees, plants, drugs, and precious stones of India. *Bomare*, in his excellent *Dictionnaire Raisonné Universel d'Histoire Naturelle*, gives a concise view of the opinions of the French naturalists, respecting pearls, with many ingenious remarks of his own; under the title of *Nacre de Perles*, ou Mere de Perles. Ed. Lyon, 1791.

BOOK I.

of a dark complexion, ſincere tempers, and of very great fidelity in all reſpects: they have among them this cuſtom, that ſuch as come from remote countries, when received into the haven, have their names ſet down in writing by three ſecretaries, who carry their liſts to the king, and afterwards bring the merchants themſelves; whoſe merchandiſe being received into his protection, the king directs it to be landed, and left on the ſhore, where it remains without any guard. In this country, from Eaſter to the beginning of the ſucceeding year, the ſun ſhines with outrageous heat, and therefore, from the third hour of the day (nine o'clock) until the evening, all men remain ſhut up in their houſes; but about that time lamps being lighted, and ſet in order throughout all the ſtreets and markets, they work and exerciſe their reſpective arts and callings all the night. It is in this country that pepper grows upon trees planted by the inhabitants, in the fields belonging to every city; and their proper gardens are particularly aſſigned and known. The ſhrub itſelf is ſmall, and brings forth a white ſeed; which being gathered, is put into baſons ſteeped in hot water, and is then ſet forth in the ſun, that it may be dried and hardened, acquiring thereby a black colour. Cinnamon and ginger are likewiſe found there, as well as many other kind of ſpices.

"The inhabitants of this country do not bury their dead, but having embalmed their bodies with divers ſorts of drugs and ſpices, they place them in niches, and cover them with nets, ſet in order according to their ſeveral families. As to their religion, or rather ſuperſtition, they worſhip the ſun; and have many and great altars built along the coaſt, about half a mile without the city. Early in the morning therefore they go in crowds to pay their devotion to the ſun; to whom, upon all the altars, there are [1] Spheres conſecrated,

[1] Theſe *Spheres* were really curious, being ſo contrived as to ſhew the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, and the motions of the heavenly bodies: they were made, and kept by the magi, who employed

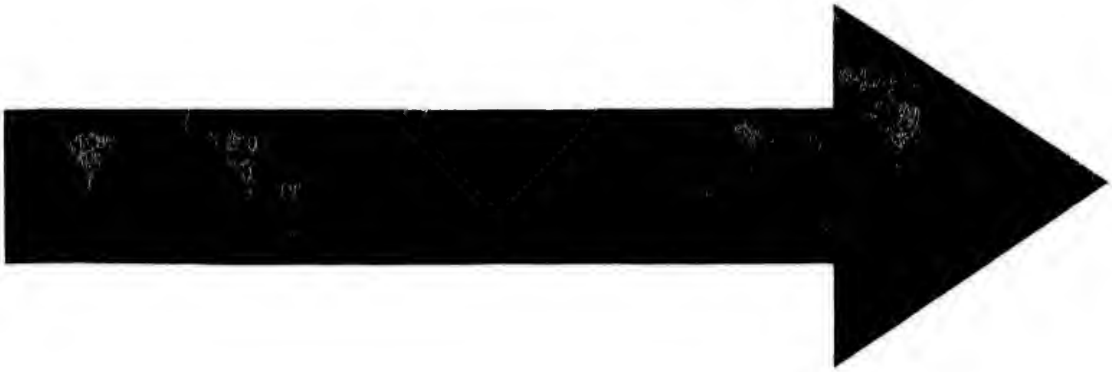
erated, made by magic, resembling the circle of the sun; and when the sun rises these orbs seem to be inflamed, and turn round with a great noise. From this country in two-and-twenty days I sailed unto the islands *Cinrag* (isles Chénárai of Bergeron), the inhabitants of which worship the fire, and are called *Dogbiim*. In the space of forty days one may travel from hence by land to the frontiers of [m] *Tzin* (Sin in Bergeron); that is to the borders of China, the very extremity of the East: some hold that this country is washed by the *Nikpha*, or [n] coagulated sea, which is liable to prodigious storms; by which, when mariners are surprised, they are cast frequently into such streights, that, not being able to go out, they are, after expending all their provisions, miserably starved to death.

"It is three days journey to *Gingala*, from thence in seven days you sail to *Coulan*; it is from thence twelve days journey to *Zabid*, and thence

employed them to impress astonishment on the minds of the vulgar, and to instruct others in the science of astronomy. *Harris.*—See Bergeron's Translation, vol. i. p. 54.—"Images consacrées d'une figure ronde, à la resemblance de cet astre, (Le Soleil,) qui tournent par art magique, à mesure qu'il se leve, avec beaucoup de bruit et de lumiere comme s'ils étoient en feu."

[m] China appears under the name of *Cheen* in the geography of Ebn Haukal already cited. "The empire of *Cheen* extends in length, a distance of four months journey; and in breadth three. And when one comes from the mouth of the bay or gulph to the land of Mussulmens, the borders of *Mauweralknahr*, Transoxania, it is a journey of three months. And when one comes from the east, and wishes to proceed to the west, by the land of the *Nubians*, and the land of Khurkhiz, and of *Ghurghez*, and by Kaimak to the sea it is a journey of about four months In the regions of *Cheen* there are various dialects: but all *Turkestan*, and *Ghurghez*, and *Assah*, and *Khurkhiz*, and *Kaimak*, and *Ghurneh*, and *Khurnjiah*; the people of all these, have the same language, and are of one kind. The chief place of the empire of *Cheen* is called *Hamdan*, as *Costantinek*, Constantinople, is of Europe, or *Bagdad* of the land of *Islam*, or *Canouge* of Hindoostan; but the land of *Turk* is separately situated." *Sir W. Ouseley's Translation from the original Arabic, p. 9.*

[n] This *coagulated sea* is the icy or frozen sea on the coast of Tartary, and Russia, to the north of China; through which the *north-east passage*, so often sought to little purpose, is supposed to lie. It appears clearly from hence, that before this time some attempts had been made on that side, and that several ships had been frozen up; whence the oriental name of *Nikpha*, or congealed sea. It is very probable, (p. 555.) though Benjamin does not say it, that he received from the same person, what he relates of *China*, and of the *Icy sea* to the north of that country; which shews there had been a considerable commerce carried on that way, though this traveller could give but a dark account of it. *Harris.*



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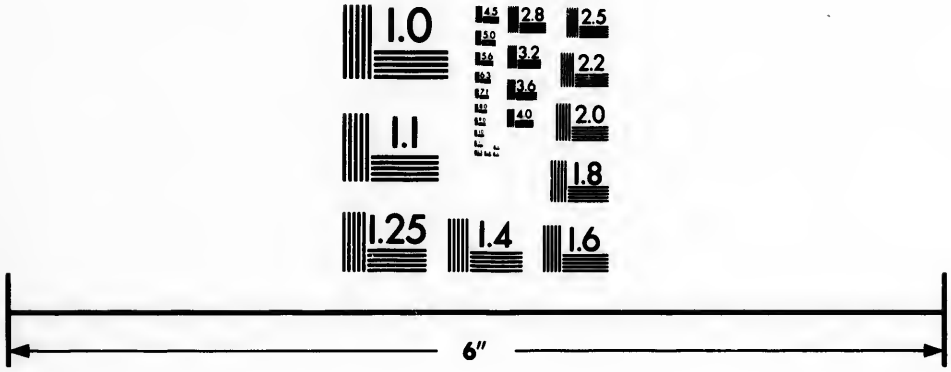

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BOOK I. thence eight days journey to the *Indies* on the oppofite [o] coaft. It is from thence to the land of *Afvan* twenty days journey through the defarts of *Saba*, that lie on the river *Phifon*, which comes from the country of Chus; the inhabitants of which are fubject to a prince, who is ftyled [p] *Shah-Abafch*. The climate of this country is exceffively hot: when the people of *Afvan* make their expeditions into thefe parts for the fake of plunder, and what they can carry away, they conftantly take with them bread, rice, dried raifins, and figs. Thefe they throw in large quantities among the half famifhed blacks, whom, while they feramble for them like dogs, they feize and carry away prifoners, and fell them in Egypt, and other countries: thefe are the negroes, or black flaves, the pofterity of Ham. It is twelve days journey from *Afvan* to *Chelvan*; from *Chelvan* they go in caravans fifty days journey through the defart called *Al Tfachra*, or *Zaara*, to the province called *Zuila*, which is *Havilah* in the land of [q] *Gana*."

The adventurous Jew of Tudela proceeded to Europe by the way of Egypt, and having vifited Alexandria, and been deceived like other travellers with the fabulous wonder of the ftupendous mirror, placed on the fummit of its Pharos, which reflected fhips when at the diftance of five hundred leagues; he crofled the Alps, and paffing through Germany, arrived in fafety, after an abfence of thirteen years. King ALPHONSO, who according to the teftimony of [r] hiftory, equally encouraged the profeffion of arms, and the cultivation of literature, thus received a new fund of geographical information, which had been hitherto concealed from the general attention of the weftern

[o] Ethiopia. [p] King of Abyffinia. [q] Guinea.

[r] Chron. Var. antiq. This monarch in many refpects refembled The Frederick of Pruffia: notwithftanding the infirmities of age, he was always in the midft of his troops, difplaying an unfubdued activity of mind. He was equally a politician, a general, and a patron of men of genius.

western world; and the wanderings of a [t] Jew, notwithstanding their eccentricity and errors, may be considered as having opened a path for the enterprising spirit of a more distant age. I now return to the conclusion of the reign of Alphonso, and trust this digression will not be condemned.

Ch. I. § 2. *Early periods of Portuguese History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

At the close of ALPHONSO's reign, who died universally lamented in 1185, the dawn of a naval spirit appeared among his subjects. The Moorish fleet of the Miramolin, consisting of twenty-one gallies, was attacked in the year 1180 by the brave DON FUAS RAUPINO, with a force consisting only of twenty-one sail. This gallant commander, having captured nine of the enemy, incautiously bore down into the very centre of the Moorish fleet, and in vain attempted by acts of repeated valour, and a prodigality of his own life, to retrieve [1] his squadron. Entombed amidst the waves that broke on the

[t] The Jews possessed considerable talents for geography, which their continued dispersion over the earth, might have originally called forth, or improved. Whether owing to this circumstance, or to the reputation they acquired from the fame of the labours of their countryman of Tudela, we find that when JOHN THE SECOND of Portugal received the plan of maritime discovery presented by Columbus, that monarch referred it to the consideration of Diego Ortiz bishop of Ceuta, and of two *Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind.* (*Robertson*'s America, vol. i. p. 98.) The travels of Benjamin of Tudela were printed at Constantinople in the year 1543; since which upwards of sixteen different editions have appeared. The first that was published in Latin, came from the learned *Benedict Arias Montanus* in 1575: his preface contains an elogy on the discoveries of the Spaniards. A *second* translation was made by *Constantine L'Empereur* in the year 1633, with the original Hebrew in the margin, and some valuable notes subjoined. These travels are censured by M. Wagenseil (*Not. ad Lipmanai carmen Nizzachon in Tel. ign. Sat. pag* 374.) and by the celebrated Hottinger (*Hist Eccl. sect.* xii. *p.* 241.) Their real character is impartially given by Spanheim (*Introd. ad Hist. Eccl. part* 2. *sæcul* xii. *sect* xiv. *p.* 370.), who says, that though highly seasoned with fables, they contain many things worthy of notice. *Bergeron*, in the first volume of his Asiatic voyages, made during the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, has published an excellent translation from the Latin of Montanus, with notes, and a map: he has also subjoined a translation of the preface in the edition of Montanus. In the year 1734, a later edition of the travels of Benjamin of Tudela, by J. Philippe Baratier, was printed at Amsterdam, with notes and dissertations: this edition is noticed by Bomare, (Bib. Instruc.) vol. v. p. 194, and is much esteemed.

[1] Faria y Sousa.

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the ſhore of his native land, the valour of Don Fuas muſt have been long remembered by his countrymen; and the naval character of Portugal may date its earlieſt diſplay from the watery grave of RAUPINO.

Sancho. 1185.

Nor were the immediate ſucceſſors of Count Henry, and his ſon Alphonſo Enriquez, unmindful of the national character which was now eſtabliſhed; though they might not all ſupport it in an equal degree. SANCHO had celebrated his thirty-firſt year when he ſucceeded his father: ſeated on the throne of Portugal, which his talents and virtues merited, he diſplayed a character that claimed the affection of his ſubjects; and their patriotic ſpirit continued when time had abated the novelty and charms of power. Another combined fleet of Engliſh and German cruſaders arrived, during this reign, to promote the intereſt of the Portugueſe monarch, and to eſtabliſh his dominion over the Moors: with their aſſiſtance Sancho obtained the city of Sylves in the kingdom of Algarve; and was afterwards indebted to the intrepidity of the crew of an Engliſh ſhip, lying at anchor in its harbour, that the town was not retaken by ſurpriſe. The arrival of this fleet is noticed by Camoens, who gives it the general appellation of a *German Armada;* though [a] Nunis de Leon is of opinion that it was chiefly compoſed of Engliſh:

Foy das valentes gentes ajudado
Da Germanica Armada, que paſſava,
De armas fortes, e gente apercebida
A recobrar Judea, ja perdida.

LXXXVII.

Paſſavaõ a ajudar na ſanta empreza
O roxo Federico, que moveo
O poderoſo Exercito em defeza
Da cidade, onde Chriſto padeceo:

Quando

[a] As Cronicas das reis de Port.

Quando Guido, coea gente em ſede acceza
Ao grande Saladino ſe rendeo,
No lugar, onde aos Mouros ſebejavaõ
As aguas, que os de Guido deſejavaõ.

LXXXVIII.

Mas a formoſa Armada, que viera,
Por contraſte de vento áquella parte,
Sancho quiz ajudar na guerra fera,
Já que em ſervico vay do ſanto Marte:
Aſſim como a ſeu pay acontecera,
Quando tomou Liſboa, da meſma arte,
Do Germano ajudado Sylves toma,
E o bravo morador deſtroe, e dogma. Os Lusiadas, *Canto III.*

This paſſage is beautifully tranſlated by Mickle, though he aſſumes the licence of a poet, to tranſpoſe the exact lines of the original.

"The winds of heaven
Roar'd high; and headlong by the tempeſt driven,
In Tago's breaſt a gallant navy ſought
The ſheltering port, and glad aſſiſtance brought.
The warlike crew, by Frederic the Red,
To reſcue Judah's proſtrate land were led;
When Guido's troops, by burning thirſt ſubdued,
To Saladin the foe for mercy ſued.
Their vows were holy, and the cauſe the ſame,
To blot from Europe's ſhores the Mooriſh name.
In Sancho's cauſe the gallant navy joins,
And royal Sylves to their force reſigns.
Thus ſent by heaven a foreign naval band
Gave Liſboa's ramparts to the ſire's command."

Mickle's Tranſlation, vol. i. 8vo. p. 119.

The unprecedented calamities of an age, viſited by famine, by earthquakes, and the plague, demanded not only the reſolution of a great ſovereign, but the talents of a political economiſt;

 and

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and Sancho ſhewed himſelf more than equal to the taſk. Without oppreſſing his ſubjects, he preſerved the ſecurity of the ſtate; and augmented the reſources of his exchequer, enjoying rather the character of liberality, than incurring the imputation of avarice: he died in the year 1212, after a reign of twenty-ſix years, univerſally beloved and lamented. Sancho deſerved the title he received—RESTORER OF CITIES, AND FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

Alphonſo II. 1212.

ALPHONSO the ſecond had only reached his twenty-ſeventh year when he ſucceeded to the throne: from his ſize and ſtature, which correſponded with a majeſtic and open mien, he obtained the ſurname of *Gros*. He was bleſſed with an undaunted ſpirit, and a ſtrength equal to the moſt inceſſant fatigue: the vivacity of his countenance cheered his followers in the field; but his general character was too rough and ſevere for the relative duties of private life. The appearance of another fleet at Liſbon, conſiſting of Flemings and Germans, during the year 1217, enabled Alphonſo to avail himſelf of the force which William Earl of Holland was conducting to the Holy Land. The combined armies fell with irreſiſtible numbers, on the hitherto impregnable fortreſs of Alcaçor-do-ſaol, built by the Moors on a ſteep and iſolated rock. Alphonſo annexed this valuable conqueſt to the order of St. James of Compoſtella, though that inſtitution was not ſeparated from the crown of Caſtile, until the reign of King Denis. It is recorded of Alphonſo the ſecond, who died in the year 1223 after reigning twelve years, that he would not ſuffer ſentence to be executed on criminals, until an interval of twenty days had elapſed; and the reaſon he aſſigned for this conduct, deſerves to be recorded in golden letters on his tomb—*Juſtice may at any time take her courſe, but Injuſtice can never be repaired!*

Sancho II. 1223.

The cruel interdicts of the church of Rome, united with a variety of other cauſes, both public and private, conſpired to depreſs the tender

Ch. I. § 1. *Early periods of Portuguese History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

der mind of his [u] ſucceſſor SANCHO THE SECOND; whoſe only fault appears to have been, that he did not ſufficiently *blend the wiſdom of the ſerpent, with the innocence of the dove:* he died, and was buried at Toledo, 1248, after a melancholy reign of twenty-five years.

Innocent the fourth, who inſtead of appeaſing the ſpirit of anarchy which diſtracted the turbulent reign of Sancho the ſecond, had joined his enemies, and aſſiſted them to depoſe their ſovereign; about this time indulged his vanity in a manner that proved ultimately beneficial to Europe, as it tended to procure information reſpecting the remote provinces of Aſia. Chriſtendom had long trembled at the alarming ſucceſſes of the Tartars, when his holineſs ſent a miſſion of monks to arreſt their progreſs. The firſt was headed by John de Plano [x] Carpini, a Franciſcan, in the year 1246; and father Aſcolino, a Dominican, with F. Simon de St. Quintin, Alexander, and Albert, directed the wanderings of the other. The reader will imagine with what emotions Quey-Yew, or Kayuk-Khan, the grandſon of the conqueror ZINGIS, heard the malignant denunciations of an Italian prieſt, with whoſe influence he was unacquainted. My object is to conſider this miſſion as a curious Geographical manuſcript; and, by ſome brief extracts, to aſcertain how far it increaſed that knowledge of the diſtant provinces of Aſia, which the Portugueſe might already have acquired from the travels of the Jew of Tudela.

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[u] Surnamed Capel, or *Sancho with the Hood:* he is repreſented in ſome of his portraits, clothed with a purple mantle, with a book in one hand, and a ſceptre, crowned with a dove, in the other. His character is impartially ſtated by the Spaniſh hiſtorians, particularly Mariana. Sancho died at Toledo in 1248, and was buried in the Cathedral.

[x] The travels of Carpini are intitled by RAMUSIO (vol. ii. p. 234.) *Due Viaggi in Tarteria per alcuni fatri del Cordine Minore, e di ſán Dominico, mandati da Papa Innocentio IV. nella detta prouvincia per Ambaſciatore l'anno* 1247.—At page 246, RAMUSIO inſerts, *Viaggio del Beato Odorico da Vdine; del l'ordine de fatri Minori;*—and at page 254, *Viaggo de beato Fratre Odorico di porto maggiore del Friuli, fatto nell' Anno* 1318.

BOOK I.

Hackluyt has [1] inſerted in the firſt volume of his collection, the narrative of CARPINI from the [2] *Speculum Hiſtoriale of Vincentius Beluacenſis* (Beauvais). It is entitled

"*The long and wonderful Voyage of Frier John de Plano Carpini, ſent Ambaſſador by Pope Innocentius the fourth,* 1246, *to the great* CAN *of Tartaria; wherein he paſſed through Bohemia, Polonia, Ruſſia, and ſo to the citie of Kiow upon the Boriſthenes; and from thence rode continually poſt for the ſpace of ſix months through Comania, over the mighty and famous rivers of Tanais, Volga, and Iaic; and through the countries of the people called Kangittæ, Biſermini, Kara-Kitay, Naimani; and ſo to the native countrie of the Mengals or Tartars, ſituated in the extreme northe eſterne partes of all Aſia: and thence backe againe the ſame way to Ruſſia, and Polonia, and ſo to Rome; ſpending in the whole voyage among the ſayd Tartars one whole yeere and above foure moneths.*

. . . "And at that verie time alſo, there was a certaine other frier minorite, namely *Frier John de Plano Carpini*, ſent with certaine aſſociates unto the Tartars; who likewiſe, as himſelfe witneſſeth, abode and converſed with them a yeere and three moneths at the leaſt. For both he, and one Frier Benedict, a Polonian, being of the ſame order, and a partaker of all his miſerie and tribulation, received ſtraight commaundement from the Pope, that both of them ſhoulde diligently ſearche out all things that concerned the ſtate of the Tartars. And therefore this Frier John hath written a litle hiſtorie,

[1] P. 37. and 53.

[2] Lib. xxxii. cap. 2.—The ſubject of theſe early travels is conſidered by *Roger Bacon*, in the extract which Purchas has made (vol. iii. p. 52.) *ex quarta parte majoris operis fratris Rogeri Bacon, Angli excerpta quadem de Aquilonaribus mundi partibus.* This learned friar thus * notices the travels of *Father Carpini*, and thoſe of *Friar William de Rubruquis—Poſt iſtos ad orientem ſunt homines qui vocantur* Tebeth: *qui ſolebant comedere parentes ſuos cauſa pietatis, ut non facerent eis alia ſepulchra niſi viſcera ſua. De quibus ſcribunt philoſophi, ut* Plinius, Solinus, *et alii: Et frater* Willelmus *teſtatur in libro ſuo; ac frater* Johannes de Plano Carpini *ſimiliter in libro, quem compoſuit de* Tartaris, *inter quos fuit Anno Domini,* 1246, *miſſus a Domino* Papa *in legationem ad Imperatorem Tartarorum.*—Purchas (vol. iii. p. 58.) adds the account which *Vincentius Beluacenſis* received from the other friar, *Simon de Sancto Quintino.*—There is an excellent French tranſlation of *Carpini*'s travels in the *Collection* by the Pere Bergeron, two vols. 4to. 1735, printed at the Hague. I have preferred the quaint language of Hackluyt, as being in character with the date of the narrative.

* Purchas, vol. iii. p. 57.

historie, which is come to our hands, of such things, as with his owne eyes hee sawe among the Tartars; or which he heard from divers christians worthy of credit, remaining there in captivitie.

Ch. I. § 2. *Carpini's Narrative.*

" There is towards the East a land which is called *Mongal*, or *Tartaria*, lying in that part of the worlde which is thought to be most north easterly. On the east part it hath the countrey of *Kythay*, and of the people called *Solangi*; on the south part the countrey of the Saracens; on the south-east the land of the Huini; and on the west the province of Naimani; but on the north side it is invironed with the ocean. The ayre in that countrey is verie intemperate: for in the midst of sommer there bee great thunders, and lightnings, by the which many men are slaine, and at the same time there falleth great abundance of snowe. There bee also such mightie tempestes of colde windes, that sometimes men are not able to sitte on horsebacke. Whereupon, being neere unto the Orda, for by this name they call the habitations of their emperours and noble men, in regarde of the great winde, we were constrained to lye groveling on the earth, and could not see by reason of the dust. --- In the sommer season there is on the sudden extreame heate, and suddenly againe intollerable colde. --- One [a] of them honoureth another exceedingly, and bestoweth banquets very familiarly and liberally, notwithstanding that good victuals are daintie, and scarce among them: --- but towards other people, the said Tartars be most insolent, and they scorne and set nought by all other noble and ignoble persons whatsoever: for we saw in the emperour's court the great duke of Russia, the king's sonne of Georgia, and many great soldanes, receiving no due honour and estimation among them. So that even the very Tartars assigned to give attendance unto them, were they never so base, would alwaies goe before them, and take the upper hand of them; yea, and sometimes would constraine them to sit behinde their backes.

[a] Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 55. ch. v.

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backes. Moreover they are angrie, and of a disdainefull nature unto other people, and beyond all measure deceitfull, and treacherous towards them: they speake fayre in the beginning, but in conclusion, they sting like scorpions. --- They are most intollerable exacters, most covetous possessours, and most nigardly givers. The slaughter of other people is accompted a matter of nothing with them."

"The east [b] countrie, whereof wee have entreated, which is called *Mongal*, is reported to have had of olde time four sortes of people. One of them was called Yeka Mongal, that is the great Mongals: the second was called Sumongal, that is the Water Mongals, who called themselves *Tartars* of a certaine river running through their countrey named *Tartar:* the third was called merkat; and the fourth metrit. In the province of Yeka Mongal there was a certaine man called [c] CHINGIS: this man became a mighty hunter, for he

[b] Hackluyt, vol. i. page 57. ch. vii.

[c] The *Tartars*, according to Voltaire, left their desarts about the year 1212; and in the year 1236, had conquered one half of the hemisphere. The race of Zingis continued a long time in *Cathay* or *China*, under the name of *Iven*. Mr. Gibbon says that the names of *Cathay* and *Mangi* distinguish the northern and southern empires; which from A. D. 1234, to 1279, were those of the Great Khan, and of the Chinese. The search of *Cathay*, after *China* had been found, excited and misled our navigators of the sixteenth century, in their attempts to discover the north-east passage. *Coblai Khan* having made himself master of *China*, sent an army of an hundred thousand men, on board of a thousand vessels called junks, to make the conquest of *Japan* The history of the revolutions occasioned in India, and other kingdoms, by Zingis, was written by a Chinese; and has been translated by a Jesuit, *R. P. Gaubil*, at Paris, in 4to, 1739. Another Frenchman, *M. Petit de la Croix*, employed ten years in composing, from the Persian writers, the *Histoire du Grand Genghizcan, premier Empereur des Mogols et Tartares*, published at Paris in 12mo. during the year 1710. The prime minister of Zingis, *Yelutchousay*, was a great patron of Chinese literature, and sent for men, learned in history and geography, from Arabia and Persia: under his directions many valuable manuscripts were translated relative to *India* and *China*. The conquests of Zingis, and the foundation and progress of the Turkish monarchy in Asia, is given by Mr. Gibbon, vol. xi. p. 401. *Zin* in the Mogul tongue signifies *great*, and *Gis* is the superlative termination: hence, as Bentink remarks, the Moguls call the sea, Zingis. The French mode of writing Gengis, or *Chingz-ki-tse*, is a Mogul term expressing the cry of a bird; to which they ascribe extraordinary qualities, and consider its appearance as fortunate. The original name of this renowned barbarian was *Temujin*, or *Temugin*; that of his father, who reigned over thirty or forty thousand families, *Yessughi Bahadur*, his mother's name was *Ulun-iga*, or *Ulun-kuzin*. Temugin was born in the country of *Blungulduck*,

he learned to ſteale men—he ranged into other countries taking as many captives as he could, and joining them unto himſelfe. Alſo he allured the men of his owne countrey unto him, who followed him as their captaine and ringleader to doe miſchiefe. --- In the land of the Karakytayans, Occoday Cham, the ſonne of Chingis Cham, after he was created emperour, built a certaine citie, which he called Chanyl; neare unto which citie, on the ſouth-ſide, there is an huge deſert, wherein wilde men are certainely reported to inhabite, which cannot ſpeake at all, and are deſtitute of joynts in their legges, ſo that if they fall, they cannot riſe alone by themſelves."

Ch. I. § 2. *Carpini's Narrative.*

--- "Then returned he (Chingis) home into his owne countrey and breathed himſelfe. Afterward aſſembling his warlike troupes, they marched with one accord againſt the Kythayans, and waging warre with them a long time, they conquered a great part of their land, and ſhut up their emperour into his greateſt [d] citie: which citie they had ſo long time beſieged, that they began to want neceſſary proviſion for their armie. And when they had no victuals to feede upon, Chingis Cham commaunded his ſouldiers that they ſhould eate every

Blunguldak, or according to De la Croix, *Dilon-yildak*, in the year 1163. He early rendered eſſential ſervice to the cauſe of *Ung Khan*, known towards the cloſe of the twelfth century, by the appellation of *Preſter John*, which the Neſtorian miſſionaries had conferred. Zingis was proclaimed Khan, by the tribes which had ſubmitted to him, in the year 1202, being then forty years old. His anceſtors, and himſelf, had originally been ſubject to the Chineſe. Zingis could neither read nor write, and except the Igours, the greateſt part of his ſubjects were as illiterate as their ſovereign. He died in 1227, on the 18th of Auguſt, aged ſixty-ſix, after a reign of twenty two years. Univerſal Hiſtory Modern, vol. iv. p. 84. 180.—Aſtley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 418. 448. Hiſtoire Generale des Voyages, par Prevoſt, Tom. vii. p. 53. 103. A moſt learned and intereſting diſquiſition on the origin of the Tartars, was given by Sir William Jones, as the fifth anniverſary diſcourſe before the Aſiatic Society. See Reſearches, vol. ii. p. 18. 8vo. edit. Sir William adopts the orthography of Chengiz.

[d] This relates to the ſiege of *Yen-king*, the ruins of which are ſtill ſeen ſome furlongs to the ſouth-eaſt of the modern *Pekin*, which was built by Cublai Khan: ſee Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. xi. p. 409.—"When their ammunition was ſpent, they diſcharged ingots of gold and ſilver from their engines; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the centre of the capital."

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every tenth man of the companie. But they of the citie fought manfully againſt them, with engines, dartes, and arrowes; and when ſtones wanted they threw ſilver, and eſpecially melted ſilver, for the ſame citie abounded with great riches. Alſo when the Mongals had fought a long time, and could not preuayle by warre, they made a great trench underneath the ground, from the armie unto the middeſt of the citie; and there iſſuing foorth they fought againſt the citizens, and the remnant alſo without the walles fought in like manner. At laſt, breaking open the gates of the citie, they entered, and putting the emperour with many other to the ſworde, they tooke poſſeſſion thereof, and conueighed away the golde, ſilver, and all the riches therein: and having appointed certaine deputies over the countrey, they returned home into their owne lande. This is the firſt time, when the emperor of the Kythayans being vanquiſhed, Chingis Cham obtayned the empire: but ſome parte of the countrey, becauſe it lyeth within the ſea, they could by no meanes conquere unto this day.

" And when [e] the Mongals with their emperour Chingis Cham had a while reſted themſelves, after the foreſayd victorie, they divided their armies: for the emperour ſent one of his [f] ſonnes named Thoſſut, whom they alſo called Can, with an armie againſt the people of Comania; whom he vanquiſhed with much warre, and afterwards returned into his owne countrey: but he ſent his other ſonne with an armie againſt the *Indians*, who alſo ſubdued *India minor*:

[e] Hackluyt, vol. i p. 58. ch. x.

[f] ZINGIS had many children: ſix ſons and three daughters are mentioned in hiſtory. 1. *Chuchi* (Juij, or Touſhi) grand huntſman of the empire, a diſtinguiſhed warrior. 2. *Chagatay* (Zagatay or Jagatay) the chief judge, who was univerſally beloved:—Mr. Gibbon informs us, that this ſon gave his name to the dominions of *Maweralnahr*, or *Tranſoxiana*; and that the Moguls of Hindouſtan, who emigrated from that country, are ſtiled *Zagatais* by the Perſians. 3. *Ogotay*, or *Octai*, who ſucceeded through the liberal ſuffrage of his brother, was his miniſter, celebrated for wiſdom and prudence 4. *Toley*, or Tuli, was his principal general, to whom all military buſineſs was entruſted. 5. *Ulucke*. 6. *Kolyckyen*.

minor: these Indians are the blacke [c] *Saracens, which are also called Æthiopians:* but here the armie marched forward to fight against *Christians* dwelling in *India major*."—It may perhaps be necessary to plead an excuse for inserting what follows: the strange reports which circulated in Portugal, and other kingdoms of Europe, relative to the unexplored regions both of Africa and Asia, had a considerable effect in delaying the renewal of maritime discovery, and, as such, deserve to be recorded in this work. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, we contemplate with interest those imaginary horrors, which terrified and prolonged the ignorance of the thirteenth.

Ch. I. § 2. Carpini's Narrative.

"Which the king of that countrey hearing, who is commonly called [d] *Presbiter John*, gathered his souldiers together, and came foorth

[c] Some learned observations relative to the *Saracens*, occur in a manuscript note, subjoined by my grandfather the late Rev. William Clarke of Chichester, to *Ockley's History:* "Sozomen (lib. vi. 38.) has observed that the Saracens were at first called *Ismaelites*, and afterwards gave themselves the name of *Saracens*, that they might be thought the sons of the free woman —a conjecture which he has given us no authority for. The Greeks and Latins called the inhabitants of Arabia Petræa *Saraceni*, or perhaps of the country which was originally Moab, and Midian; but it does not appear that the *Arabs* ever called themselves Saracens. (*Vid.* Herbelot voc. Scharacak.) The name however seems to be of an eastern original; Scaliger, whom Bochart and Valesius follow, is of opinion that it came from the Arabic word *Sarak*, which signifies robbers. (Val. not. in lib. vi. 38.) Reland, on the other hand, looks upon it as a more honourable appellation, and says the term signifies the *Sons of the East*. (Reland's Palæstina, p. 87.) Stephanus Byzantius thinks that *Sarak* Σάρακα was a part of Arabia, and that the inhabitants were therefore called *Saracens*. If this is fact, there is no occasion to look any further for the origin of the term. There is now a village called Scharacah, and though it be at present inconsiderable, it might formerly have been of greater note, and the whole region called by the same name."

[d] As the name of *Presbiter*, or *Prester John*, was so celebrated in the early periods of the Portuguese voyages, it is here necessary to give some account of his real history. His name, as mentioned in a preceding note, was *Ung*, or *Vang Khan*, the most powerful of any of the princes in the country north of *Kitay*, or *China*. The name of his capital was *Karakorum*, or *Caracorum*, which, according to D'Anville, was situated about six hundred miles to the north-west of Pekin. It became afterwards the seat of the Mogul emperors. This seems to have been the original *Prester John:* but the name once received in Europe, was afterwards given to different persons, until every traveller, of early date, had a *Prester John* of his own; an imaginary Christian prince and king, as Astley observes, "who like the *Will-with-a-wisp*, or the

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foorth againſt them. And making men's images of [e] copper, he ſet each of them upon a ſaddle on horſebacke, and put fire within them, and placed a man with a paire of bellowes on the horſe backe, behinde every image: and ſo with many horſes and images in ſuch ſorte furniſhed, they marched on to fight againſt the Mongals, or Tartars: and comming neare unto the place of the battell, they firſt of all ſent thoſe horſes in order one after another. But the men that ſate behind laide I wote not what upon the fire within the images, and blew ſtrongly with their bellowes. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that the men and the horſes were burnt with *wilde fire*, and the ayre was darkened with ſmoake: then the Indians caſt dartes upon the Tartars, of whom many were wounded and ſlain. And ſo they expelled them out of their dominions with great confuſion, neither did we heare that ever they returned thither [f] againe. - - - - But returning through the deſerts, they came into a certaine countrey, wherin (as it was reported unto us in the emperour's court, by certaine clergie men of Ruſſia, and others, who were long time among them, and that by ſtrong and ſtedfaſt affirmation) they found certaine monſters reſembling women, but the males were like unto [g] dogges: and delaying the time, in that countrey they met

the *wandering Jew*, was every where, and no where." In a ſubſequent note to the travels of Frier Rubruquis, additional remarks occur on this character. The reader will alſo find in the Appendix (K) ſome obſervations by Dr. Johnſon.

[e] Ridiculous as this paſſage appears at preſent, it probably deſcribes the firſt rude attempts towards the conſtruction of artillery, and the uſe of gunpowder; which by many is thought to have been known in the eaſtern parts of Aſia, before its introduction into Europe about the year 1320, by Bartholdus Schwartz. This important diſcovery is conſidered by Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 62. and Dr. Watſon in his *Chemical Eſſays*, vols. i. and ii.

[f] Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 58. ch x.—Bergeron, vol. i. column 42.

[g] This ſtrange account of men reſembling dogs, is elucidated by Mr. Bryant, (Analyſis Ant. Mythol. vol. i. p. 336—341.) as has been already remarked in a *Preliminary diſſertation*. It may however be here repeated, that the *Cunocephali*, or *Dogs-heads*, were members of a ſacred college of aſtronomy, both in Egypt and India; and were ſo named by the Greeks from the term *Caben-Caph-el*, the ſacred rock of Orus, on which a principal obſervatory had been eſtabliſhed.

Ch. I. § 2. *Carpini's Narrative.*

met with the ſaid dogges on the other ſide of the river. --- Moreover, Chingis Cham, at the ſame time when he ſent other armies againſt the eaſt, hee himſelfe marched with a power into the lande of Kergis, which, notwithſtanding, he conquered not in that expedition; and, as it was reported unto us, he went on forward even to the Caſpian [h] mountaines. ---- This people were not able to endure the terrible noiſe, which in that place the ſunne made at his upriſing: for at the time of the ſunne riſing, they were inforced to lay one eare upon the ground, and to ſtoppe the other cloſe, leaſt they ſhould heare that dreadfull ſound: neither could they ſo eſcape, for by this meanes many of them were deſtroyed.

" Then taking our journey to [i] returne, wee travailed all winter long, lying in the deſerts oftentimes upon the ſnow, except with our feete wee made a piece of ground bare to lye upon. For there were no trees, but the plaine champion field: and oftentimes in the morning, we found ourſelves all covered with ſnow driven over us by the winde. And ſo travailing till the feaſt of our Lordes aſcenſion, we arrived at the court of Bathy: of whom when wee had enquired, what anſwere he would ſend unto our Lord the Pope, he ſaid that he had nothing to give us in charge, but onely that we ſhould diligently deliver that which the emperour had written. Howbeit, one of our Tartars parted not from us, till we were paſt the utmoſt garde of the Tartars; but the other guides, namely the Comanians, brought us from the laſt garde unto the citie of Kiow. --- Moreover the citizens of Kiow having intelligence of our approach, came forth to meete us (June the eighth) with great joy: for they rejoyced over us, as over men that had bene riſen from death to life. So likewiſe they did unto us throughout all Ruſſia, Polonia, and Bohemia.

[h] Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 59. ch. xii.

[i] Ibid. vol. i. p. 71. ch. xxxiii.—Bergeron, column 24.

BOOK I.

Bohemia. Daniel, and his brother [k] Wafilico, made us a royale feaft, and interteined us with them, againft our willes, for the fpace of eight dayes. In the meane time, they with their bifhops, and other men of account, being in confultation together *about thofe matters which we had propounded unto them, in our journey towards the Tartars*, anfwered us with common confent, faying—that they would holde the Pope for their fpeciall Lord and Father, and the Church of Rome for their lady and miftreffe; confirming likewife all things which they had fent concerning this matter, before our comming, by their abbate: and for the fame purpofe they fent their ambaffadours and letters by us alfo, unto our Lord the Pope."

Such in brief was the curious information which the Portuguefe received from the travels of *certaine friers, predicants, and minorites*, who vifited the interior and remote provinces of Afia, at the clofe of the reign of Sancho the fecond. His brother *Alphonfo the third* grafped the fceptre with a firmer hand: he arofe from the cradle with a frame both of mind and body fuperior to the delicate conftitution of his predeceffor; and enjoyed a greater portion of fame, inafmuch as he poffeffed more favourable means to acquire it. Though Alphonfo had reached his thirty-eighth year, a fenfe of thofe errors, into which a youthful or too ambitious mind had betrayed him, was publicly difplayed. The fycophants who had ferved the prince, at the expence of their allegiance to his deceafed brother, met with their reward; whilft his former oppofers difcovered the truth of this maxim, that ftedfaft loyalty, and patriot firmnefs, will eventually claim a preference from thofe whofe irregular ambition has thus for a time been oppofed.

Alphonfo III. 1248.

In the fecond year of his reign, Alphonfo proceeded to complete the boundaries of Portugal, by expelling the Moors from the ftrong holds they had hitherto preferved. He accordingly entered the

[k] The princes Daniel, and Bafilics, or Bafilique.

the province of Algarve at the head of a numerous army; whilst a powerful fleet hovered on the coast to distract the attention of the enemy. Faro, the Moorish capital, built on the western extremity of the gulph of Cadiz, surrendered after a long siege; and the desperate courage with which the assailants stormed the town of Loule, to the north-west of Faro, subdued the spirit of the adjacent country. But Alphonso's ambition was unsatiated; and whilst he looked forward to new conquests, he forgot that the soundest policy consisted in preserving what had been already acquired. The revenue which Pope Innocent the fourth derived from the kingdom of Portugal, and the service which its maritime power was so well adapted to afford him, enabled Alphonso to enjoy the friendship of that pontiff, and to remain secure from the terrors of excommunication. Thus supported, the military ardour of the king did not long remain ungratified; and his ambition viewed with impatience the fertile province of Andalusia. Mohammed Aben Afon, king of Niebla, soon perceived the intentions of his enemy; and placing himself under the protection of the government of Castile, a powerful army immediately traversed the kingdom of Algarve. Alphonso discerned his imprudence; and the intrigues of the cabinet repaired the errors that had been committed in the field. Though a previous marriage would have embarrassed a less experienced politician, the Portuguese monarch offered his hand to a natural daughter of the Castilian; and, with the approbation of the Pope, Alphonso, then in his forty-third year, led Donna Beatrix to the altar, who had only completed her twelfth birth day: the kingdom of [1] Algarve was received as her dower, and gave a new title to the sovereigns of Portugal. Thus did Alphonso gain an addition of nearly thirty-five leagues of coast; on a part of which, the illustrious patron of the naval character, Henry Duke of Viseo, afterwards founded his

1254.

[1] *Algarve* is derived from the Arabic *Algarbia*, which signifies a fertile country.

BOOK I. his celebrated town of Sagres, adjoining the [m] *fainted Cape*, whence the firſt Alphonſo had conveyed the bones of *St. Vincent* to Liſbon.

Every department of government derived new energy from the unſubdued vigilance of Alphonſo, and the bulwark of the liberties of his country was not forgotten. The military ſpirit of the Portugueſe however too much prevailed above the naval profeſſion: though their maritime power formed the ſafeguard of an extenſive line of coaſt, and inſured the ſafety of the inhabitants of Liſbon, yet the character of a ſeaman was loſt among the various agents of commerce, or conſidered as a ſubſervient appendage to the manoeuvres of an army. During this reign the travels of *Friar William de Rubruquis* called the mercantile attention to the diſtant provinces of Aſia, and gave a new ſtimulus to the enterpriſe of Europe.—" The travels of Rubruquis and others into different parts of the eaſt, firſt inſpired that paſſion for diſcoveries, which has ſince produced ſuch mighty effects: before that time we knew little or nothing in this part of the world of the ſituation of diſtant countries, *and thoſe who affected to be thought great wits, laboured to diſcredit whatever was delivered in relations of this* [n] *kind.*"

The letters of a Tartar prince, named *Ercalthay*, which are ſtill extant, arriving about this period at the court of St. Louis (the ninth) of France, then at Nicoſia in Cyprus, intereſted that monarch in behalf of the diſtant KHAN, who had profeſſed [o] Chriſtianity,

[m] CAMOENS alludes to this in the third book of the Luſiad:

> But holy rites the pious king preferred;
> The martyr's bones on *Vincent's Cape* interred,
> His fainted name the Cape ſhall ever hear,
> To Liſboa's walls he brought with votive care.
>
> *Mickle*, vol. i. p. 115.

Æternam moriens famam, Caïeta dediſti. *Virg. Æn. VII.*

[n] *Harris*, vol. i. p. 592.

[o] *Dr. Robertſon* conſiders this embaſſy as the deſign of an impoſtor, who took advantage of the imperfect knowledge which Chriſtendom then enjoyed reſpecting the ſtate and character of

anity, and appeared likely to co-operate in reducing the power of the Mohammedans. The names of traveller, and pilgrim, were at this time united; and as mankind had not then learnt to diſtinguiſh the pedantry of the cloiſter, from the liberality of an improved mind, monks were generally deputed to viſit and magnify the wonders of unexplored countries. Friar William de Rubruquis appears to have enjoyed the confidence of his ſovereign; and was accordingly appointed to follow the footſteps of Friar Andrew, who though previouſly ſent into Tartary by the Pope, had returned in the year 1250 from the court of France, with ſome Tartarian ambaſſadors. The intereſting narrative of Rubruquis is addreſſed in the epiſtolary ſtyle to St. Louis. Harris declares, that no European, except *Carpini*, ever before travelled ſo far:—" The travels of *Rubruquis* are equally aſtoniſhing in whatever light they are conſidered: take them with reſpect to length, and they extend to upwards of five thouſand miles one way, and to near ſix thouſand another: I mean from Conſtantinople in his going out, and to Acon or Ptolemais in his return." From him Portugal, as well as the reſt of Europe, received the firſt certain accounts of *China*, and were informed that ſuch a place as *Japan* exiſted: but I haſten to introduce the venerable [p] Pilgrim to my readers.

Ch. I. § 2.

Narrative of Rubruquis. 1253.

" *To*

of the Aſiatic nations. (Hiſt. of America, vol i. p. 47.) The whole was doubtleſs deviſed by the Tartar prince, to obtain intelligence reſpecting the Franks; and to aſcertain what force they poſſeſſed to carry on the war againſt the Saracens.

[p] 1, *Hackluyt*'s account in black letter, vol. i. p. 93: in the original Latin, p. 71.—2, *Harris*, vol. i. p. 556.—3, *Aſtley*'s collection, vol. 4. p. 552.—4, Tranſlation from the Engliſh by Bergeron, who collated two Latin MS. Tom i.—5, *Prevoſt*, Tom. 7. p. 263.—6, I have preferred the account, which *Purchas* gives, (vol. iii. p. 1.) completed from a MS. found by Hackluyt in Bennet College, Cambridge: this was the firſt complete tranſlation.—*Rubruquis* travelled from Conſtantinople acroſs the *Black Sea* to the Port of *Caſſa*; thence he proceeded by land through *Crim Tartary*: he then croſſed the rivers *Tanais*, and *Volga*, and came into the country of *Bolgar*, and to the camp of *Baatu*: he then advanced through the extenſive country of the *Calmukes*, and ſo north eaſtward to the court of *Mangu-Khan*; which according to his deſcription muſt have lain in the latitude of fifty degrees north, or ſomething more; conſiderably

BOOK I.

" To the moſt excellent and moſt Chriſtian Lord, LEWIS, *by God's grace, the renowned king of France, Friar William de Rubruk, the meaneſt of the minorites order, wiſheth health and continual triumph in Chriſt.*

" It is written in the booke of Eccleſiaſticus, concerning the wiſe man, *he ſhall traveill into forreine countries, and good and evill ſhall he try in all* [q] *things:* the very ſame action, my lord and king, have I atchieved; howbeit, I wiſh that I have done it like a wiſe man, and not like a foole. --- Notwithſtanding, howſoever, I have done it becauſe you commanded mee, when I departed from your highneſſe, to write all things unto you, which I ſhould ſee among the Tartars, and you wiſhed mee alſo that I ſhould not feare to write long letters, I have done as your majeſty enioyned mee.

" Bee it knowne therefore unto your ſacred majeſtie, that in the yeare of our Lord 1253, about the nones of May, wee entred into the ſea of *Pontus*, which the Bulgarians call the great ſea; it contayneth in length, as I learned of certayne merchants, one thouſand and eight miles, and is in a manner divided into two parts. About the midſt therefore are two provinces, one towards the north, and another towards the ſouth. The ſouth province is called *Synopolis*, and it is the caſtle and port of the Soldan of Turkie: but the north province is called of the Latines [r] *Gaſaria;* of the Greekes which inhabit upon the ſea ſhore thereof, it is called *Caſſaria*, that is to ſay, *Cæſaria*. --- At the province of *Gaſaria* we arrived: about the midſt of the ſaid province toward the ſouth as it were upon a ſharpe angle or point, ſtandeth a citie called [s] *Soldaia*, directly againſt *Synopolis*. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, which traffique into the

ſiderably higher, than what is at preſent called *Chineſe Tartary*. He returned through the immenſe deſarts of Great Tartary; and keeping by the head of the *Caſpian Sea*, journeyed along its weſtern ſhore through the countries of *Georgia, Armenia, Curdiſtan*, and *Diarbeck*, into *Syria*. I have extracted the moſt intereſting parts, giving a preference to ſuch as relate to *China* and *India*.

[q] Ch. xxxix. ver. iii. [r] Now the *Crimea*. [s] *Caffa*.

the north countries, in their journey outward arrive, and as they returne homeward alſo from Ruſſia, and the ſaid northerne regions, into Turkie. The foreſaid merchants tranſport thither ermines and gray furres, with other rich and coſtly ſkinnes. Others carrie clothes made of cotton or bombaſt, and ſilke, and divers kinds of ſpices. We arrived therefore at *Soldaia*, the twelfth of the kalends of June; and divers merchants of Conſtantinople, which were arrived there before us, reported that certayne meſſengers were comming thither from the Holy Land, who were deſirous to travell unto [t] Sartach. Notwithſtanding, I myſelfe had publikely given out upon Palme Sunday, within the church of *Sancta Sophia*, that I was not your, nor any other man's meſſenger, but that I travelled unto thoſe infidels according to the rule of [u] our order.

Ch. I. § 2. *Narrative of Rubruquis.*

"And being arrived, the ſaide merchants admoniſhed me to take diligent heed what I ſpake; becauſe they having reported mee to bee a meſſenger, if I ſhould ſay the contrary, that I were no meſſenger, I could not have free paſſage granted unto me. Then I ſpake after this manner unto the governours of the citie, or rather unto their lieutenants, becauſe the governours themſelves were gone to pay tribute unto Baatu, and were not as yet returned. *We heard of your Lord Sartach*, quoth I, *in the Holy Land, that he was become a Chriſtian; and the Chriſtians were exceeding glad thereof, and eſpecially the moſt Chriſtian king of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, and fighteth againſt the Saracens, to redeeme the holy places out of their hands: wherefore I am determined to goe unto Sartach, and to deliver unto him the letters of my Lord the King, wherein hee*

[t] Suppoſed by Purchas to be the ſame with the Tartar prince, *Ercalthay*.

[u] *Harris* defends this falſehood, by remarking, that the monk's reaſon for acting thus, was to preſerve the honour of his king from ſuffering, through any ill treatment he might meet with: he was aware the Tartars knew that St. Louis had been defeated in Egypt, and taken priſoner by the Infidels.

BOOK I. *hee admoniſheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Chriſtendome.* And they received us with gladneſſe, and gave us entertaynment in the cathedrale church, the biſhop of which church was with Sartach; who told me many good things concerning the ſaid Sartach, which afterwards I found to be nothing ſo. Then put they us to our choice, whether wee would have carts and oxen, or packehorſes, to tranſport our carriages; and the merchants of Conſtantinople adviſed me not to take carts of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy covered carts of mine owne, ſuch as the Ruſſians carry their ſkinnes in, and to put all our carriages, which I would daily take out, into them; becauſe, if I ſhould uſe horſes, I muſt be conſtrayned at every baite to take downe my carriages, and to lift them up againe on ſundry horſes backes; and beſides, that I ſhould ride a more gentle pace by the oxen drawing the carts. Wherefore, contenting myſelfe with their evill counſell, I was travelling unto Sartach two monethes, which I could have done in one, if I had gone by horſe."

The reader by theſe remarks of *Rubruquis*, will be enabled to form an eſtimate of the difficulties, which any individual had to ſurmount, who in that age poſſeſſed ſufficient zeal to enlarge the geographical knowledge of Europeans. The moſt ſkilful traveller in thoſe days, was but little verſed in a knowledge of modern languages; and the barbarous pronunciation of the more antient, which we have ſtill continued, could afford him but little aſſiſtance: the general mode of receiving information, through the prevailing medium of the French tongue, had not been introduced. He had therefore only the ſigns, and geſtures of the dumb to reſort to, in caſe of hunger or oppreſſion. Without the aſſiſtance of navigation, for which Europe is principally indebted to Portugal, theſe wanderings of the pilgrim, or the merchant, might ſtill have been our only ſource of information, reſpecting the ſituation and produce of diſtant countries.

" Wee

Ch. I. § 2.

Narrative of Rubruquis.

---" Wee tooke our journey [x] therefore about the kalends of June, with foure covered carts of our owne, and with two other which wee borrowed of them, wherein wee carried our bedding to reſt upon in the night; and they allowed us five horſes to ride upon, for there were juſt five perſons in our company; namely, I myſelfe and mine aſſociate Frier *Bartholemew* of *Cremona*, and *Goſet* the bearer of theſe preſents; the man of God *Turgemannus*, and Nicolas my ſervant, whom I bought at Conſtantinople, with ſome part of the almes beſtowed on me. Moreover they allowed us two men, which draue our carts, and gave attendance unto our oxen and horſes. There bee high promontories on the ſea ſhoare from Kerſova unto the mouth of Tanais; alſo there are fortie caſtles betweene Kerſova and Soldaia, every one of which almoſt have their proper languages; amongſt whom there were many *Gothes*, who ſpake the Dutch tongue. Beyond the ſaid mountaynes towards the north, there is a moſt beautifull wood growing on a plaine full of fountaynes and freſhets; and beyond the wood there is a mightie plaine champian, continuing five dayes journey unto the very extreamitie and borders of the ſaid province northward; and there it is a narrow iſthmus or neck of land, having ſea on the eaſt and weſt ſides thereof, inſomuch, that there is a ditch made from one ſea unto the other.--- The third day after wee were departed out of the precincts of *Soldaia*, wee found the Tartars; amongſt whom beeing entred, me thought I was come into a new world, whoſe life and manners I will deſcribe unto your Highneſſe as well as I can.---

" They have in no place any ſetled citie to abide in, neither know they of the celeſtiall citie to come. They have divided all Scythia [y] among themſelves, which ſtretcheth from the river *Danubius*

[x] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 3.

[y] The extenſive territory, ſtyled *Scythia* by the antients, and *Tartary* by the moderns, was termed in Hindooſtan, *Boutan*; by the Tartars themſelves *Tangut*; by the Chineſe, *Tſanli*; by the Indians beyond the Ganges, *Laſſa*; and by Europeans, *Thibet* or Tibet.—See Raynall's Jeneral Idea of Tartary (vol. iii. 2d ed. p. 100).

BOOK I.

nubius even unto the rising of the sunne. In the winter they descend unto the warme regions southward, and in the summer they ascend unto the cold regions northward. In winter when snow lyeth upon the ground, they feed their cattell upon pastures without water, because then they use snow instead of water. --- Concerning their [a] food and victuals, be it knowne unto your Highnesse, that they doe, without all difference or conception, eate all their dead carions. --- Out of their Cowes milke they first churne butter, *boyling the which butter unto a perfect decoction*, they put it into rams skins, which they reserve for the same purpose. Neither doe they salt their butter; and yet by reason of the long seething, it putrifieth not, and they keepe it in store for winter. The churn milke, which remayneth of the butter, they let alone till it be as sowre as possibly it may be; then they boyle it, and in boyling it is turned all into curds; which curds they drie in the sun, making them as hard as the drosse of iron: and this kind of food also they store up in sachels against winter. In the winter season when milke fayleth them, they put the foresaid curds (which they call *gry-ut*) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereunto, they beat it lustily till they have resolved it into the said water, *which is thereby made exceedingly* [b] *sowre;* and that they drinke instead of milke: they are very scrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not faire water by itselfe.

" Concern-

[a] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 5. ch. v.

[b] The *Portuguese* thus possessed a most invaluable secret for the preservation of the health of their seamen; which, though not so powerful an antidote to the scurvy, as the modern recipe introduced by Captain Cook, would have proved very nutritious and sanative to mariners: notwithstanding our improvements in this respect, I earnestly recommend this to the attention of THE BOARD. Milk and butter, thus preserved, would be valuable acquisitions on a long voyage; and if not generally introduced, would be very grateful in vessels fitted out for the purpose of discovery.—Mr. *Eton* in his survey of the Turkish empire, informs us that " the butter used in Constantinople comes from the Crimea and Kuban. They do not salt it but melt it in large copper pans over a slow fire, and scum off what rises; it will then preserve sweet a long time if the butter was fresh when it was melted."

Ch. I. § 2. *Narrative of Rubruquis.*

" Concerning their garments and attire, be it knowne unto your majeſtie, that out of Cataya, and other regions of the eaſt; out of Perſia alſo, and other countries to the [b] ſouth, there are brought unto them ſtuffes of ſilke, cloth of gold, and cotton cloth, which they weare in time of ſummer: But out of Ruſſia, Moxell, Bulgaria the greater, and Paſcatir, that is Hungaria the greater, and out of Kerſis, all of which are northerne regions, and full of woods; and alſo out of many other countries of the north, which are ſubject unto them, the inhabitants bring them rich, and coſtly ſkins of divers ſorts, which I never ſaw in our countries. - - - And [c] being come amongſt thoſe barbarous people, me thought, as I ſaid before, that I was entred into a new world; for they came flocking about us on horſebacke, after they had made us a long time to awaite for them ſitting in the ſhadow, under their blacke carts. - - - And ſo wee departed from them: and in very deed it ſeemed to me that we were eſcaped out of the hands of diuels. On the morrow wee were come unto the captaine. From the time wherein wee departed from Soldaia, till wee arrived at the court of Sartach, which was the ſpace of two moneths, we never lay in houſe or tent, but alwaies under the ſtarry canopie, and in the open aire, or under our carts.

" The ſame [d] day Scacatai (*Zagatai*) the captaine aforeſaid, gave us one man to conduct us to *Sartach*, and two other to guide us unto the next lodging, which was diſtant from that place five dayes journey for oxen to travell; they gave unto us alſo a goate for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke. And ſo taking our journey directly toward the north, mee thought that we had paſſed through one of hell gates. - - - And from the time wherein wee departed out of the foreſaid province of Gaſaria, we travelled directly eaſtward; having a ſea on the ſouth ſide of us, and a waſte deſert on the north; which deſert, in ſome places, reacheth twentie dayes journey

[b] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 6. line 28. [c] Ibid. p. 8. ch. xi. [d] Ibid. p. 10. ch. xiv. l. 42.

BOOK I. journey in breadth, and there is neither tree, mountayne, nor ſtone therein.

" But above all [e] things it grieved mee to the very heart, that when I would utter ought unto them, which might tend to their edification, my fooliſh interpreter would ſay, *You ſhould not make mee become a preacher now; I tell you, I cannot, nor I will not rehearſe any ſuch words:* then ſeeing the danger I might incurre in ſpeaking by ſuch an interpreter, I reſolved much rather to hold my peace; and thus we travelled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a few daies before the feaſt of Saint Marie Magdalene, we arrived at the banke of the mightie river *Tanais*, which divideth Aſia from Europa.--- At the ſame place *Baatu* and *Sartach* did cauſe a certaine cottage to be built upon the eaſterne banke of the river, for a companie of Ruſſians to dwell in, to the end they might tranſport ambaſſadours and merchants in ferrie-boates, over that part of the river.---

" And wee [f] found *Sartach* within three daies journey of the river Etilia (*or Volga*), whoſe court ſeemed unto us to be very great. Our guide went unto a certaine Neſtorian, named *Coiat*, who is a man of great authoritie in Sartach's court. He made us to goe very farre unto the *Lord's Gate* [g]; for ſo they call him who hath the office of entertayning ambaſſadours.--- We ſtood before him, and hee ſate majeſtically.--- Hee enquired alſo who was the greateſt prince among the Francks; and I ſaid, the emperour, if he could enjoy his owne dominions in quiet. No, quoth hee, but the king of France; for hee had heard of your highneſſe by Lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there alſo one of the knights of the Temple, who had beene in Cyprus,

[e] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 11. ch. xv. l. 37.

[f] Ibid. p. 12. ch. xvii.

[g] In the Latin verſion, *Ille fecit nos ire valde longe ad domini jannam. Ita vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios.* Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 82. *Stetimus coram eo, et ipſe ſedebat in gloria ſua et faciebat ſonare citharam et ſaltare coram ſe.* The curious reader may be gratified with ſome ſpecimens of this MS.

Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he ſaw there. The next morning hee commanded mee to come unto The Court, and to bring the king's letters, and my veſtments, and bookes with mee, becauſe his lord was deſirous to ſee them. - - -Then he commanded us to inveſt ourſelves in the ſaid garments, that wee might goe before his lord; and we did ſo. Then I myſelfe putting on our moſt precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cuſhion, and the bible which your majeſtie gave mee, and a moſt beautifull pſalter, which the queenes grace beſtowed upon mee, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine aſſociate tooke a miſſall and a croſſe; and the clerke having put on his ſurplice, tooke a cenſer in his hand, and ſo we came unto the preſence of his lord: and they lifted up the felt hanging before his doore, that hee might beholde us; and they diligently admoniſhed us to take heed, that in going in, and in comming out, we touched not the threſhold of the houſe, and requeſted us to ſing a benediction for him. Then we entred in, ſinging *Salve Regina.*

Ch. I. § 2. *Narrative of Rubruquis.*

"Then *Coiat* carryed unto his lord the cenſer with incenſe, which hee beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand; afterward he carryed the pſalter unto him, which he looked earneſtly upon, and his wife [h] alſo that ſate beſide him; after that he carryed the bible: then *Sartach* aſked if the Goſpell were contayned therein? Yea, ſaid I, and all the holy Scriptures beſides. He tooke the croſſe alſo in his hand; and demanded concerning the image, whether it were the image of Chriſt or no; I ſaid it was. Afterward I delivered unto him your majeſtie's letters, with the tranſlation thereof into the Arabicke and Syriacke languages; for I cauſed them to bee tranſlated at Acon."

Our travellers having loſt a conſiderable part of their property through the avarice of a Neſtorian prieſt, obey the orders of *Sartach* in

[h] One of the ſix wives of Sartach.

BOOK I. in leaving his court, for that of his father *Baatu*. Rubruquis then conſiders the various opinions relative to *Preſter John*, whoſe imaginary dominions he paſſed in returning to France. He derives the origin of the fiction, which eventually proved of ſervice in creating a ſtimulus for diſcovery, from the fabricated opinion of the [i] Neſtorians: "they blaze [k] abroad great rumours, and reports upon juſt nothing: whereupon they gave out concerning *Sartach*, that he was become a Chriſtian; and the like alſo they reported concerning *Mangu Can*, and *Ken-Can;* namely, becauſe theſe Tartars make more account of Chriſtians, than they doe of other people; and yet in very deed, themſelves are no Chriſtians.

"Now as [l] concerning *Sartach*, whether he beleeues in Chriſt or no, I know not. This I am ſure of, that he will not be called a Chriſtian. For the ſpace of foure daies, while wee remained in the court of *Sartach*, we had not any victuals at all allowed us, but once onely a little [m] coſmos. And in our journey betweene him, and his father, wee travelled in great feare; for certayne Ruſſians, Hungarians, and Alanians, being ſervants unto the Tartars, aſſemble themſelves twentie, or thirtie in a company; and ſo ſecretly in the night conveying

[i] Rubruquis diſcuſſes a ſubject ſtill further, which at that time ſo much intereſted his own, and other countries. "*Cara-Cathay* (Harris, v. i. p. 566.) lies behind certain mountains over which I paſſed; as alſo through a plain country, in which formerly dwelt a certain great Neſtorian prieſt, who was ſovereign of a nation called *Naymans*, and who were all Chriſtians of the Neſtorian ſect." *Kon-Khan* being dead, the Neſtorian aſſumed the monarchy, and thence was called Preſtre John, *John the Prieſt*. A ſearch after this monarch was of as much ſervice to the *progreſs of maritime diſcovery* in the fifteenth century, as the equally fruitleſs Toil after a north-eaſt paſſage has proved in this reſpect of importance, in the eighteenth century. *Harris* however is of opinion that the above account is an error; and that *Preſbyter John* is only to be found in the Grand Lama or Supreme Pontiff of the Tartars. Vol. i. p. 591.

[k] Ibid. p. 14. ch. xix. l. 63. [l] Ibid. p. 15. ch. xx.

[m] Made from mare's milk. *Kumis*, or *Koumis*, ſignifies the thin part of the milk; the mode of preparing it is given by Rubruquis. Eton, in his ſurvey of the Turkiſh empire, already cited, gives an account of the mode which the Tartars, and Kalmuks follow in making this fermented mare's milk: they uſe it as a reſtorative to the ſtomach; and diſtil from it a ſpirituous liquor.

Ch. I. § 2. *Narrative of Rubruquis.*

conveying themſelves from home, they take bowes and arrowes with them, and whomſoever they finde in the night ſeaſon, they put him to death, hiding themſelves in the day time. In this journey we had dyed for famine, had wee not carryed ſome of our biſket with us: at length we came unto the mightie river of Etilia, or *Volga;* for it is foure times greater than the river of Sein, and of a wonderfule depth; and iſſuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certayne lake, or ſea, which of late they call the *Hircan Sea*, according to the name of a certaine citie in Perſia, ſtanding upon the ſhoare thereof; howbeit *Iſidore* calleth it the *Caſpian Sea*, for it hath the Caſpian mountaynes and the land of Perſia, ſituate on the ſouth ſide thereof, and the mountaynes of Muſihet, that is to ſay of the people called [n] *Aſſaſſini*, towards the eaſt.

"When [o] I firſt beheld the court of *Baatu*, I was aſtonied at the ſight thereof, for his houſes or tents ſeemed as though they had been ſome huge and mightie citie: the court is called in their language [p] *Horda*, which ſignifieth, the midſt. The day following, we were brought unto the court: then Baatu demanded whether your majeſtie had ſent ambaſſadors unto him, or no."—*Rubruquis* delivered his

[n] Some account of theſe extraordinary and cruel ſectaries, ſtyled by Mr. Gibbon *the Iſmaelians of Perſia*, occurs in his eleventh volume, (p. 417):—from them the word *Aſſaſſin* has been adopted. Two memoirs on this ſubject are inſerted in the volumes of the Academy of Inſcriptions by M. Falconet (tom. xvii. p. 127—170). The Aſſaſſini are noticed by Harris (vol. i. p. 592). Their prince was termed *The Old Man of the Mountain:* he eſtabliſhed and protected a company of murderers, who were let looſe in ſecret on his enemies. *Louis of Bavaria* fell by one of their daggers in 1231; and four were ſent to the court of *Louis the ninth* of France: but their Chief changing his mind, four others were diſpatched to guard the king. The letter from the Sheich, or Old Man of the Mountain, in juſtification of the character of Richard Cœur de Lion, reſpecting the murder of Conrad of Montferrat (Hiſt. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xvi. p. 155—163) is declared by Mr. Gibbon to be a palpable forgery. In this letter the Sheich openly acknowledges himſelf to have been the aſſaſſin of Conrad. The *Aſſaſſini* were finally extirpated by Holagou Khan, ſon of Zingis.

[o] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 16. ch. xxi.

[p] Or *Curia Orda*, the court of the middle.

BOOK I.

his meſſage, ſtanding bare-footed, and [q] bare-headed; and praying for the converſion of Baatu, preſented the letters of his ſovereign. Louis the eleventh, had therein requeſted permiſſion for them to continue for ſome time in the country; they were accordingly informed, that they muſt firſt go to the court of Mangu Khan, with the exception of the clerk *Goſet*, and the lad, who were obliged to return to the court of *Sartach*. The narrative is reſumed on their entering the extenſive mountains of [r] Karakitay.

"Every [s] Saturday I remained faſting untill night, without eating or drinking of ought; and when night came, I was conſtrained, to my great griefe and ſorrow, to eate fleſh. Sometimes we were faine to eate fleſh halfe ſodden, or almoſt raw, and all for want of fewell to ſeethe it withall, eſpecially when we lay in the fields; becauſe we could not then conveniently gather together the dung of horſes or oxen, for other fewell we found but ſeldome, except perhaps a few thornes in ſome places. Upon the even of the feaſt of All Saints, wee

[q] Carpini, who had previouſly viſited this court, changed his dreſs, that he might not be inſulted. (Purchas, vol. iii. p. 17).

[r] Geographers have been perplexed to aſcertain the exact ſituation of this country ſtyled *Karakitay*, or *Caracatay*. *P. A. Gaubil*, in his *Hiſtoire du Genghizcan, &c. tirée de l'Hiſtoire Chinoiſe*, already noticed, throws conſiderable light upon the ſubject, and deſcribes *Karakitay*, under the appellation of *Kitan*. "The Kitan were Tartars, who dwelt to the north and north-eaſt of the province of *Pechelì*. In the tenth century they ſubdued all the countries between Korea, and Kaſhgar, beſide ſeveral northern provinces of *China*: they called their dynaſty that of *Lyau*; and the name of the imperial family was *Yelu*. In 1209 they ſtill maintained a footing in the countries to the north, north-eaſt, and north-weſt of *Turfan*," (p. 11.) According to *Couplet*, and *Du Halde*, the capital of their eaſtern and weſtern courts, were *Tongking* and *Peking*. This empire commenced in 917; and continued under nine emperors for two hundred and nine years, until it was overthrown by the *Kin Tartars* in 1126. The writers of the *Modern Univerſal Hiſtory* are of opinion, that the nine ſouthern provinces of the antient empire of *China*, were in the poſſeſſion of the *Song* Dynaſty; and that the five northern ones, except part of *Shen-ſi*, with the adjoining parts of Tartary, were poſſeſſed by the *Kin*, from whom the preſent Chineſe are deſcended. This great dominion was named *Kitay*, or *Katay*, and divided into two parts; that which belonged to China was properly called *Kitay*, and the part appertaining to Tartary was named *Karakitay*. (Vol. iv. p. 86. ed. 8vo. 1780).

[s] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 19. ch. xxiv. l. 34.

Ch. I. § 2. *Narrative of Rubruquis.*

wee forfooke the way leading towards the eaſt, becauſe the people were now deſcended very much ſouth; and wee went on our journey by certain *Alpes*, or mountaynes directly ſouthward, for the ſpace of eight daies together. --- A few [t] daies after we entered upon thoſe *Alpes*, where the *Cara Catayans* were wont to inhabit, and there we found a mighty river; inſomuch, that we were conſtrained to embarke ourſelves. Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I ſaw a caſtle deſtroyed, the walls whereof were onely of mudde; and in that place the ground was tilled alſo: and there wee found a certaine village named [u] *Equius*, wherein were [x] Saracens, ſpeaking the Perſian language; howbeit they dwelt an huge diſtance from Perſia. The day following, having paſſed over the foreſaid *Alpes*, which deſcended from the great mountaynes ſouthward, wee entred into a moſt beautifull plaine; having high mountaynes on our right hand, and on the left of us a certaine ſea or [y] lake, which containeth ſifteene daies journey in circuit. All the foreſaid plaine is moſt commodiouſly watered with certaine freſhets, diſtilling from the ſaid mountaynes, all which doe fall into the lake. In ſummer time we returned by the north ſhoare of the ſaid lake, and there were great mountaynes on that ſide alſo. Upon the forenamed plaine, there were wont to bee great ſtore of villages; but for the moſt part they were all waſted, in regard of the fertile paſtures, that the Tartars might feede their cattell there. We found one great citie there named [z] *Coilac*, wherein was a mart, and great ſtore of merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fifteene daies, ſtaying for a cer-

[t] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 20. ch. xxv. l. 42. [u] Prevoſt reads Eguius. (Vol. vii. p. 271.)

[x] The general term given by Rubruquis to the Mohammedans.

[y] Geographers are not acquainted with any lake thus ſituated of this ſize; if the lake of *Sayſan* is alluded to, a part of the river muſt be included.

[z] Written by Aſtley, and his tranſlator Prevoſt, *Kaylak*, or *Koglak*.

BOOK I.

a certaine ſcribe, or ſecretarie of Baatu, who ought to have accompanied our guide, for the diſpatching of certaine affaires in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to bee called *Organum*, and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kind of writing; but it was altogether inhabited by the people called *Contomanni*. Here firſt did I ſee worſhippers of idols; concerning whom, bee it knowne unto your majeſtie, that there bee many ſects of them in the Eaſt Countries.

" The firſt ſort of theſe idolaters are called [a] *Iugures*, whoſe land bordereth upon the foreſaid land of Organum, within the ſaid mountaynes eaſtward [b].---Mangu-Can hath ſent letters unto your majeſtie, written in the language of the *Moals* or *Tartars*, and in the foreſaid hand or letter of the Iugures.---Next unto them betweene the foreſaid mountaynes, eaſtward, inhabiteth the nation of *Tangut*, who are a moſt valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell: next unto them, are the people of *Tebet*: the ſaid people have great plentie of gold in their land; whoſoever therefore wanteth gold, diggeth til he hath found ſome quantitie, and then taking ſo much thereof as will ſerve his turne, hee layeth up the reſidue within the earth; becauſe, if he ſhould put it into his cheſt, or ſtorehouſe, he is of opinion that God would withhold from him all other gold within the earth. Next unto *Tebet* are the people of *Langa*, and *Solanga*, whoſe meſſengers I ſaw in the *Tartar*'s court: beyond them, as I underſtand of a certaintie, there are other people called *Muc*, having villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any cattell unto himſelfe. Beyond *Muc* is great *Cataya*, the inhabitants whereof, as I ſuppoſe, were of old time called *Seres*, for from them are brought moſt excellent ſtuffes of ſilke; and this people is called *Seres*, of a certaine

[a] Their country is called by *Haiton* the kingdom of *Tarſa*: the language of this people forms the root of the Turkiſh.

[b] Purchas, vol. iii. page 22. ch. xxvii. l. 14.

certaine towne in the ſame countrey. I was credibly informed, that in the ſaid countrey, there is one towne, having walls of ſilver, and bulwarkes, or towers of gold. There bee many provinces in that land, the greater part whereof are not as yet ſubdued unto the Tartars: and the [c] Sea lyeth between them and *India*. Theſe Catayans are men of a little ſtature, ſpeaking much through the noſe; and this is generall, that all they of the eaſt have ſmall eyes. They are excellent workemen in every art; and their phyſicians are well ſkilled in the vertues of herbs, and judge exactly of the pulſe.

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They now directed their courſe towards the north, and on the twenty-eighth of December arrived at the court of *Mangu-Khan*; where they found a Chriſtian of Damaſcus, ſent by the Soldan of *Mons Regalis* and *Krak*, offering to pay the Tartar's tribute. The Tartar queen was a Chriſtian lady; and her attendant *Paquete*, or *Paſcha*, a woman of Metz in Lorraine, acquainted the travellers that at Caracarum, two days journey diſtant, lived *Guillame Bouchier* a goldſmith, born at Paris, who was patroniſed by Mangu Khan.

"- We [d] came to our cold and emptie houſe; they provided us bedding and coverlets, they brought us alſo fewell, and gave us three the carkaſſe of one little leane ramme, meate for ſixe dayes, and every day a platter full of millet; but there are ſo many hunger-ſtarved, who are not provided of meate; that as ſoone as they ſaw us dreſſe meate, they thruſt in upon us, and muſt eate with us: there I found by experience how great a martyrdome liberalitie is in povertie."—During the month of January, they paid a miſſionary viſit with ſome Neſtorian monks to *Baltu*, the eldeſt ſon of the Khan, and

[c] Hence, adds *Purchas*, is ſupplyed by Maſter Hackluit's induſtrie, as hee told me, out of a manuſcript in Bennet Colledge in Cambridge; the other part hee had out of an imperfect copie of my *Lord Lumlies*. The chapters diſagree, as being I thinke rather ſome tranſcriber's diviſion than the authors. Yet have I followed the numbers I found, even where they are obſcureſt. The friars Latin for ſome barbarous words and phraſes, hath beene troubleſome to tranſlate: the worke I hold a Jewell of antiquitie, now firſt entirely publike.

[d] Purchas, vol. iii. page 30. ch. xxxiii. l. 11.

BOOK I.

and to the Tartar queen, who respectively worshipped the [e] cross; which was afterwards presented to Mangu Khan, by an Armenian, who came from Jerusalem.

"- Since [f] we came to the court of Mangu Chan, he rode but twice towards the south; and from that time he beganne to returne towards the north, which was toward *Caracarum:* Whereupon I noted all the way, a thing of which Master *Baldwin* of *Hannonia* had spoken to mee at Constantinople, who was there, that he had seene this onely wonderfull—that he alwaies ascended in going, and never descended; for all [g] rivers came from the east into the west, either

[e] Purchas, vol. iii. (page 31. line 53.)—This cross was of silver, and weighed about four marks: a precious stone was set in each corner, and one in the centre. It had no figure of Christ on it, according to the Nestorian manner.

[f] Purchas, ibid. page 33. ch. xxxvi.

[g] This remark is just, until the traveller has passed *Mount Altay;* and then the rivers begin to decline eastward. Buffon remarks (*vol. i. p.* 251. *ed. Smellie*) that in the Old Continent, the direction of the greatest *chains* of *mountains* is from west to east; and that those which run to the north, or south, are only branches of the principal chains: the *greatest rivers* have the same direction; and few of them follow the course of the branches of mountains. The Vigo, the Douro, the Tagus, and the Guadiana, run from east to west; there is not a river of any consideration which runs from south to north, or from north to south. The course of the Euphrates, of the Persic gulph, and of almost all the rivers of China, is from west to east. The rivers of the interior parts of Africa observe the same direction; running either from west to east, or from east to west. The Nile, and the rivers of Barbary, are the only ones which run from south to north. There are it is true large rivers in Asia, as the Don, the Wolga, &c. which partly run from north to south; but they only observe this direction in order to fall into the Black and Caspian Seas, which are lakes in the interior parts of the country. We may therefore lay it down as a fact, that, in general, the rivers, and Mediterranean waters of Europe, Asia, and Africa, *run, or stretch more from east to west, than from north to south.* This is a natural consequence of the parallel direction of the different chains of mountains. Besides, the whole continent of Europe and of Asia, is broader from east to west, than from north to south. But though, both in the Old and New Continent, the great rivers run in the same direction, this effect is produced by different causes. The rivers, in the Old Continent, run from east to west, because they are confined by many parallel chains of mountains which stretch from west to east; but those of America observe the same direction, because there is only one chain of mountains stretching from south to north. The theory of the *Chevalier de Buat*, respecting rivers, is deservedly esteemed. The following list is given in the Encyclopædia Britannica, of those writers who have treated professedly of the motions of rivers. 1. *Guglielmini*

either directly or indirectly, that is to say, bending towards the south or north: and I enquired of the priests which came from *Cataya*, who testified this same. From that place where I found *Mangu Chan* unto Cataya, were twentie daies journey, going towards the south and east. To [h] *Onan Kerule*, which is the proper countrey of Moall (the Mongals) where the court of Chingis is, were ten daies journey right east: and in those parts of the east there was no citie, yet there were people which are called *Su Moall*, that is to say Moall of the waters; for *Su* is as much to say as *water*: these people live upon fish and hunting, having neither flocks nor heards. Towards the north likewise there is no citie, but a poore people feeding cattell, who are called *Kerkis*. The *Orangei* are also there, who binde smoothe

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lielmini de Fluviis et Castellis Aquarum.—Danubius Illustratus. 2. *Grandi de Castellis.* 3 *Zendrini, de motu aquarum.* 4. *Frisius de Fluviis.* 5. *Lecchi Idrostatica i Idraulica.* 6. *Michelotti sperienze Idrauliche.* 7. *Belidor's Architecture Hydraulique.* 8. *Bossut's Hydrodynamique.* 9. *Buat's Hydraulique.* 10. *Silberschlag's Theorie des Fleuves.* 11. *Lettres de M. L'Epinasse au P. Frisi touchant sa Theorie des Fleuves.* 12. *Tableau des principales Rivieres du Monde, par Genetté.* 13. *Stevins sur les Ecluses.* 14. *Traité des Ecluses par Boulard, qui a remporté le Prix de l'Acad. de Lyons.* 15. *Bleiswyck's Dissertatio de Aggeribus.* 16. *Bossut et Viallet sur la construction des digues.* 17. *Stevin's Hydrostatica.* 18. *Tielman van der Horst's Theatrum Machinarum Universale.* 19. *De la Lande sur les Canaux de Navigation.* 20. *Racolta di Autori chi trattano del' Moto dell' Acque*, 3 *tom.* 4*to*, *Firenza* 1723. This last most valuable collection contains the writings of Archimedes, Albizi, Galileo, Castelli, Michelini, Borelli, Montanari, Viviani, Cassini, Guglielmini, Grandi, Manfredi, Picard, and Narduci.

[h] The *Onon* and *Kerulen* were two celebrated rivers. The Jesuit *Gerbillon* notices the river *Saghalian*, in eastern Tartary, which according to Astley (vol. iv. p. 357) had different names, according to the countries through which it passed: towards the source it was styled Onon. The *Kerlon* or *Kerulon*, says the missionary *Regis*, running from west to east, falls into the lake Kûlon-nor, which discharges itself into the Saghalian-ûla. This river, about sixty feet in breadth, washes the richest pastures in Tartary.—Onan Kerule, is thus mentioned by Friar Bacon in the extract made by Purchas (vol. iii. p. 57) already noticed, p. 92. note 2. In this geographical disquisition the learned friar is much indebted to the travels of Rubruquis.—*Primo igitur in terra ubi imperator moratur est, Cataia Nigra, ubi fuit Presbyter Iohannes. Post eam est terra fratris sui ultra per iter trium Septimanarum. Deinde terra* Moal; *et* Tartarorum *ultra eos per iter quasi duodecem dietarum. Sed tota hæc terra est in qua moratur imperator vagans per diversa loca. Terra tamen in qua fuerunt* Moal, *vocatur* Ornan Kerule: *Et ibi est adhuc Curia* Cingis Can. *Sed quia* Caracarum, *cum regione ejus fuit prima adquisitio eorum; ideo civitatem illam habent pro imperiali: Et prope illam eligunt suum* Can, *id est imperatorem.*

BOOK I.

ſmoothe ſiled bones under their feete, and thruſt themſelves forward upon the congealed ſnow and ice, with ſuch ſwiftneſſe, that they take birds and beaſts. And many other poore people there are on the north ſide, ſo farre as they may ſpread themſelves for the cold: And they joyne on the weſt, with the countrey of [1] *Paſcatir*, which is Hungaria the greater, whereof I have ſpoken before. The bound or limit of the north corner is not knowne, for the extremitie of the cold: in that place there are continull ſpires, or heapes of ſnow. I was inquiſitive of the monſters, or monſtrous men, whereof *Iſidorus* and *Solinus* make report; they told me they never ſaw any ſuch: whereof wee much wonder whether it bee true or no. All the nations aforeſaid, although but poore, yet they muſt ſerve in ſome trade; for it was the commandement of Chingis, that none ſhould be free from ſervice, till hee were ſo old, that he could labour no longer by any meanes.

"---Upon a time a certaine prieſt of Cataya ſate with mee clothed with a red coloured cloth, and I demanded of him whence hee had ſuch a colour; and hee told mee in the eaſt parts of *Cataya*.--Cataya, as yet, hath no wine, but now they beginne to plante vineyards, for they make drinke of rice: hee told alſo that *Cataya* is upon the ocean. The common money of Cataya is paper made of bombaſte (cotton) the breadth and length of an hand, upon the which they imprint lines, like the ſeale of Mangu. They write with a penſill, wherewith painters paint, and in one figure they make many letters, comprehending one word. The people of *Thebet* write as wee doe, and they have characters very like ours: they of *Tangut* write from the right hand unto the left, as the Arabians, and multiply the lines aſcending upward; *Iugur*, as aforeſaid, from above downeward. The common mony of the *Rutenians* (*Ruſſians*) are little ſpotted and griſel'd ſkins.

"Concern-

[1] *Paſkatir*, or the *Baſkirs*.

Ch. I. § 2. *Narrative of Rubruquis.*

"Concerning[k] the citie of[l] *Caracarum*, know this, that excluding the palace of Chan himselfe, it is not so good as the castle of St. *Denis*; and the monasterie of St. Denis is tenne times more worth then that palace, and more too. There are two streets; one of the Saracens, where the faires are kept, and many merchants have recourse thither, by reason of the court, which is alwayes neere, and for the multitude of messengers. --- Soothsayers[m] are their priests; and whatsoever they command to bee done, is performed without delay. Some of them are skilfull in astronomie, specially the chiefe of them: and they foretell the eclipse of the sunne and moone, and when it shall come to passe. --- After the feast of[n] Penticost, they began to make ready their letters, which they meant to send unto you. In the meane while, he (*Mangu Khan*) returned to *Caracarum*, and held a great

[k] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 39. ch. xli.

[l] Mr. Valentine Green, the editor of *Astley's voyages*, in the missionary travels of *J. Bapt. Regis* (vol. iv. p. 374) gives a succinct account of the different opinions relative to this City. Regis, and the other missionaries, met with the ruins of another large city, *Para-hotun*, on the northern banks of the river Kerûlon: the most celebrated of the Tartarian cities were abandoned within an hundred years after they were built. Bentink is inclined to believe that no such city as *Caracarum*, or *Kara-koram*, ever existed; because no such place, nor any trace of it, can at present be discovered. The English translator of *Du Halde* has considerably illustrated this difficulty in Tartarian geography: respecting its name, he observes, that according to * D'Herbelot, it was given by the inhabitants of Turkestan. *Abu' Isfaraj* † is of opinion, that *Kara-koram* was the same with *Ordu-balik*: *Gaubil* says, that in the Chinese history it was called *Ho-lin*. Both Abu' Isfarai, and D'Herbelot, affirm, that it was built by *Oktay*, the third son and successor of Zingis, on his return from the conquest of the *Kin*, or *Katay*. The Chinese historians, on the contrary, according to the extracts given by *Gaubil*, speak of it as existing prior to the time of Zingis. This writer fixes its situation, and says its latitude was observed by order of Koblay Khân to be forty four degrees, eleven minutes; and its longitude ten degrees, eleven minutes, west of Pe-king. *Abu' Ighazi Khan*, in his history of the Turks (vol. i. p. 152, 153, and vol. ii. p. 513), informs us, that *Ugadny*, or Oktay Khân, on his return from *Katay*, A. D. 1236, continued to reside in the country of *Karakum*, or *black sand*, where he built a magnificent palace, and sent for the celebrated painters of *Ketay* to adorn it. *Olugh-yurt*, or the *great city*, which *De la Croix* (Hist. Genghiz. Khan, p. 386) makes the residence of Oktay Khân, not far from *Kara-koram*, was probably only another name given by the Mongols to *Ordu balik*.

[m] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 43. ch. xliv.

[n] Ibid, p. 45. ch. xlv.

* Art. Ordu balig.

† Hist. Dynast. p. 320.

BOOK I.

great ſolemnity, juſt about the fifteenth of June; and he deſired that all the embaſſadours ſhould be preſent. The laſt day alſo he ſent for us; but I went to baptiſe three children of a certaine poore Dutchman, whom we found there. Maſter William (*Bouchier*) was chiefe butler at that feaſt, becauſe he made the [o] tree which powred foorth drinke.---At that time I ſaw the embaſſadour of the *Caliphe* of Baldach (*Bagdad*), alſo the embaſſadour of a certaine [p] *Soldan of India*, who brought with him eight leopards, and ten hare-hounds, taught to ſit upon the horſe buttockes, as leopards doe. When I inquired of *India*, which way it lay from [q] that place, they ſhewed me towards the weſt.

"In the meane [r] time, while theſe things were doing, my companion hearing that wee muſt returne by the wilderneſſe to *Baatu*, and that a man of Moall ſhould be our guide, he ranne, without my privitie, to Bulgai the chief ſcribe; ſignifying to him by ſignes that he ſhould die, if he went that way.---Wee therefore [s] departed one from the other with teares (July y. ninth); my companion remayning with Maſter William, and I returning alone, with my interpreter, my guide, and one ſervant, who had commandement to take one mutton in foure dayes, for us foure. Wee came therefore in two moneths and ten dayes from Caracarum to Baatu, the ſame [t] daye I departed thence the yeare

[o] An account of this early ſpecimen of mechaniſm, by the French artiſt, is given in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 35. l. 49.—Harris, vol. i. p. 579. *ſect.* 46.; and Bergeron, vol. i. ch. 41. Col. 96. who has introduced an engraving of this ſingular piece of mechaniſm, with three on other ſubjects. 1. *Les Chariots*, ou *les Traineaux*, "qu'ils font tirer par des Chameaux, afin de traverſer les plus grandes riviéres. Ils n'otent jamais ces coffres ou maiſonnettes de deſſus leurs traineaux." 2. "*L'Introduction au Baatu.*" "Le lendemain nous allâmes à la Cour, et *Baatu* avoit fait'elever un grande tente." 3. *Sacrifices de Jumens blanches.* "Leur coûtume eſt auſſi au neuvieme de la Lune de Mai d'aſſembler toutes les Jumens blanches qui ſe trouvent dans leurs haras, et de les conſacrer à leurs Dieux."

[p] This embaſſy probably came from the Turkiſh ſoldan of Delhi and Multân.

[q] This is a ſtriking proof how little was at this time known in Europe, relative to the ſituation of India.

[r] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 46. l. 26. [s] Ibid, p. 47. ch. 46. l. 16. [t] Ibid, p. 47. l. 54.

yeare paſt; and I found our young men in health, yet much afflicted with penurie, as Goſſet told me."

Ch. I. § 2. *Narrative of Rubruquis.*

For the remainder, or a more minute account of theſe early travels, the reader is referred to Purchas. Rubruquis arrived at the village [u] of *Sumerkent* on the fifteenth of October 1254; and paſſing through the *Porta Ferrea* of Alexander, to which has been given the name of *Derbend*, he entered on a valley, in which the ruins of ſome walls conſtructed by the Macedonians were ſtill viſible. On the firſt Sunday in Lent, 1255, the travellers arrived in the dominions of the [x] Soldan of Turkey; and hearing at [y] *Curcum*, a port of Cilicia, that Louis the eleventh had returned to France, they propoſed to embark at Tripoli: their intentions were however prevented by the *Provincial*, whom they found at Nicoſia. Rubruquis therefore diſpatched a meſſenger to carry the above relation to his ſovereign, accompanied with the following epiſtle:—*And our Provinciall determined, that I ſhould leave* [z] *Acon, not ſuffering me to come unto you; commanding to write unto you, what I would by the bearer of theſe preſents. And not daring to reſiſt contrarie to my obedience, I did according to my power, and underſtanding: craving pardon of your invincible clemencie for my ſuperfluities, or wants; or for any thing that ſhall be undiſcreetly, nay fooliſhly ſpoken, as from a man of little underſtanding, not accuſtomed to indite long* [a] *hiſtories.*

In

[u] The ſcite of the city of Aſtracan.

[x] The ſoldan of the Seljukian kingdom of *Roum*, or *Aſia Minor*, called by the weſtern writers the ſoldan of *Iconium*; which is loſt in Abulfeda under the corrupt name of *Kunijah*. On the diviſion of the Seljukian kingdom the three younger dynaſties, of *Kerman*, of *Syria*, and of *Roum*, are thus traced by Mr. Gibbon (vol. x. p. 369.) The *firſt* commanded an extenſive though obſcure dominion on the ſhores of the Indian Ocean, and were extinguiſhed before the end of the twelfth century; the *ſecond* expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo, and Damaſcus; the *third* invaded the *Roman* provinces of Aſia Minor.

[y] Or *Kurkh*, oppoſite to the eaſtern point of the Iſland of Cyprus.

[z] *Acn*, or *Acc*, the antient Ptolemais, *St. John D'Acre.*

[a] *Harris*, vol. i. p. 589. ſect. 59.

BOOK I.

In tracing the rise of the maritime character among the Portuguese, some of the most valuable geographical manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, have now been offered to the attention of the reader; the perusal, or fame of which, could not fail to open new prospects of commerce, and gradually to cause a renewal of the progress of [b] maritime discovery.—The reign of DENIS THE MAGNIFICENT, who succeeded his father Alphonso the third, in the nineteenth year of his age, [c] recals the attention of the reader to the history and sovereigns of Portugal. This monarch was surnamed the *Liberal*; yet he enjoyed a nobler appellation, as THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. Donna *Beatrix*, the queen dowager, by her political intrigues, exercised the abilities and prudence of the young monarch: but the consequences of her retiring to her father's court in Castile, were baffled by the marriage of Denis, with Isabella of Arragon, the most accomplished princess of that age. The haughty character of MARTIN the fifth was early reflected in the conduct of his Portuguese clergy; yet their sovereign bore this second insult with patience, and the terrors of an interdict were reserved for periods more auspicious to the tyranny of Rome, than the patriot reign of Denis. The mercantile interest hailed its beloved monarch, as the PROTECTOR OF [d] COMMERCE; and the increase of the trade of Portugal more than justified the acclamation. The attention that was paid by this king to the augmentation and discipline of the navy,

Denis. 1729.

[b] Mekegan, in his *Tableau de l'histoire Moderne*, thus notices (vol. i. p. 352.) these early geographical acquisitions: "*La relation curieuse que les moines donnerent, fit connoitre d'autres Pays, d'autres cultes, d'autres mœurs, et elle inspira le gout des Voyages.*"

[c] See page 101.

[d] The glories of this reign afforded a delightful scope for the patriotic muse of Camoens:

"And now brave DINIZ reigns; whose noble fire
Bespoke the genuine lineage of his Sire.
New heavenly peace wide waved her olive bough,
Each vale displayed the labours of the plough,
And smiled with joy: the rocks on every shore
Resound the dashing of the Merchant-oar.

Mickle's Trans. vol. i. *p.* 123.

navy, gave a new character to his subjects, and insured them the sovereignty of the sea. The maritime projects which his father had designed, revived through the industry and wise policy of the son: rising store-houses, and arsenals in all the principal ports of Portugal, declared that a maritime, or commercial character, had advanced beyond the Mediterranean; and was about to leave its Italian haunts, for regions, where an * hardier race, would successfully struggle against the perils of seas, hitherto deemed impassable; until their perseverance should trace the union of the Atlantic and Indian Seas.

Ch. I. § 2. *Early periods of Portuguese History, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

The eastern travels of MARCO POLO the Venetian, whose father *Nicolo*, and uncle *Maffio*, visited Tartary in the year 1250, attracted, during the reign of Denis, a considerable and lasting attention. Nicolo having returned with his brother Maffio to Venice about the year 1269, planned a second tour soon after their arrival; in consequence of which Marco, who was then in his nineteenth year, attended them to the court of the *Grand Khan*. Their subsequent travels are of considerable importance; as the original design both of Nicolo, and Maffio, was to form a commercial system, on a more extensive scale than any which the Venetians had hitherto been able to accomplish. For the space of twenty-six years Marco, and his relations, were employed in traversing the distant and unexplored provinces of Asia; during which they advanced towards the East, beyond the track of any preceding European, and actually traded on the Indian Ocean; visiting the islands of Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon, and the coast of Malabar to the gulf of Cambay. They returned, to the astonishment of their countrymen, in the

* The language of the son-in-law of Turnus, (Æneid. ix. 603.) may with justice be applied to the mariners of the north of Europe:

> Durum à stirpe genus: natos ad flumina primum
> Deferimus, sævóque gelu duramus, et undis.

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the year [f] 1295; and found themſelves, from their long abſence, in the ſituation of ſtrangers, to whom the language, and dreſs of the Venetians, were equally uncouth. The unavoidable length of their intereſting narration, will not in this place admit of any [g] further notice.

The favourable influence of literature on the riſing power of his kingdom, was evident to the mind of Denis the Magnificent, before the papacy of Leo the tenth, the celebrated offſpring of *Lorenzo de Medici*, had ſolemnized the revival, and advanced the ſplendour, of ſcience. The manuſcripts of learned travellers muſt have been a principal object of reſearch to ſuch a monarch; whilſt the inſtitution of two univerſities, and the eſtabliſhment of ſchools throughout his dominions, afforded a refuge and ſupport to thoſe, whom a thirſt for knowledge had tempted from their home, or the fame of having acquired new reſources, recommended as proper inſtructors, in the riſing ſeminaries of learning. Such was the monarch, who on the [h] ſeventh of January 1325, to the inexpreſſible

[f] About the ſame time the celebrated *Haiton*, a relation of the *king of Armenia*, returned to Europe from the Eaſt, after viſiting the extenſive regions whence the *Indus* and *Ganges* derive their ſources. In France he took the habit of the *Norbertins*, an order of St. Auguſtin. Mr. Gibbon cites the deſcription which Haiton gives of the kingdom of *Roum* (vol. x. p. 372). "It extended from the Euphrates to Conſtantinople, from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria." The travels of Haiton into the different provinces of Aſia, are given by *Ramuſio*, with a preceding diſſertation (vol. ii. p. 62.) by *Purchas*, (vol. iii. p. 108.) by *Bergeron*, (vol. ii.) par la main de *Nicolas Saleon*, et traduit ſuivant l'edition Latine de *André Muller Greiffienhag*. Bergeron prefixes the following *Temoignage* of Saleon. Voici l'hiſtoire des Païs Orientaux, recueillie par le venerable frere *Haiton*, Seigneur de *Curchi*, parent du Roi d'Armenie: que moi *Nicolas de Saleon* par ordre du ſouverain pontife Clement V. ai premierement ecrit en François etant a Poitiers, comme le dictoit le dit frere *Haiton*, ſans aucune obſervation, ſans aucun original. Je l'ai enſuite traduit du François en Latin l'an 1307, au mois d'Août." An edition of the travels of *Haiton* was publiſhed, in folio, at Paris in 1529.

[g] APPENDIX, (E.) where the reader will find an ample account of this traveller, from *Ramuſio*, *Purchas*, *Harris*, and other writers; with extracts from the travels of Sir John Mandeville.

[h] The writers of the *Modern Univerſal Hiſtory* have been led into an error reſpecting the exact day of the death of king Denis. *Ferreras* only relates that he made his will on the 30th of

preſſible grief of his ſubjects, was called to pay the debt of nature, in his ſixty-fourth year; previous to which his ſucceſſor had received the laſt injunctions of a wiſe father, and had ſhed the tear of contrition, for paſt follies, on the couch of his expiring parent.

Alphonſo IV. 1325.

A proſperous reign of forty-five years, cloſed with the death of *Denis the Magnificent:* his ſubjects dreaded the event; and the public mind, agitated by various paſſions, beheld as portentous, the imprudence and diſſipation of ALPHONSO THE FOURTH. Yet, although the morning of his reign lowered on the intereſts of Portugal, its meridian ſplendour cheered the hearts of his ſubjects. The voice of truth, though it irritated the monarch, was heard by a mind conſcious of paſt follies; and the noble manner in which Alphonſo forgave, and approved the [1] ebullition of independence, firſt inſpired the hope, that *Alphonſo the brave*, would imitate the virtues of *Denis, the father of his country.* During the twelve years' war with Caſtile, Alphonſo ſuſtained a powerful maritime force; and

of December (tom. iv. p. 561.): but he alſo adds (tom. v. p. 7.), that he died on the ſeventh of January 1325. *Mariana* (L. xv. § 120.) aſſerts that it took place on the ſeventh of February; in which he is followed by *La Clede* (tom. i. p. 261.) Theſe two hiſtorians are of opinion that the king died at Santaren; *Ferreras* expreſsly declares that he had returned to Liſbon.

[1] It is difficult to fix the exact date of the event here alluded to; but moſt of the Portugueſe hiſtorians are inclined to place it ſoon after the acceſſion of Alphonſo. The young monarch was ſo paſſionately attached to the pleaſures of the chace, that he ſpent the greater part of his time in the foreſts adjacent to Cintra: the intereſts of government were thus neglected, or given up to men, who abuſed the confidence of their ſovereign. After a long abſence, Alphonſo returned to Liſbon, and amuſed his privy council with the hiſtory of a month's ſhooting, hunting, and fiſhing. A counſellor ſternly obſerved, that they were not aſſembled to hear the exploits of grooms and falconers: *If,* SIRE, *you will meet the wiſhes of your ſubjects, and remove their grievances, you will find them ſubmiſſive and loyal; if not*—Alphonſo ſtarted in an emotion of paſſion from his ſeat—*If not! what then?* "*If not,*" continued the counſellor, "*they muſt ſeek another, and a better king.*" Alphonſo burſt from the room in a tranſport of rage, and the council waited the event. The good genius of his father, however, ſoon rendered him worthy of his anceſtors, and ſeemed to addreſs him from the grave: he returned, and acknowledged his error; declaring, that from henceforth they ſhould never have to conſult with Alphonſo the ſportſman, *but with Alphonſo the king of Portugal.* (Faria y Souſa, p. 3. c. ix.—La Clede, t. i. p. 263.)

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and throughout his reign displayed that zeal, which had animated his heroic ancestors in the cause of liberty and Portugal. But, when we leave the splendour, which surrounds and disguises the military character, and behold Alphonso in private life, we must reprobate his cruelty towards the lovely and unfortunate [k] INEZ DE CASTRO; and his long persecution of *Don Alphonso Sanchez*, a natural son of the late king: the mind of this monarch could never steel itself against insidious advice; it feebly struggled against the seductions of passion, or the baneful influence of prejudice. Had Alphonso been less of a politician, his character would have stood higher as a monarch, for though much esteemed, he was never beloved: he however enjoys, and deserved the character of an hero. After a reign

[k] This memorable attachment of Don Pedro began in his twenty-eighth year. *Dona Inez de Castro* was the daughter of a Castilian emigrant, who had taken refuge in Portugal. Her cruel death has formed the subject of three tragedies; one in English, named *Elvira*; a second by M. de la Motte, a Frenchman; and a third by Don Luis Velez de Guevara, styled, *Reynar despues de Morir*. The Spaniard has followed nature and Camoens:

Inez. "A mis hijos me quitais?
Rey Don Alonso, señor,
Porque me quereis quitar
La vida de tantas vezes?
Advertid, señor mirad,
Que el coraçon a pedaços
Dividido me arrancais.

Rey. Levaldos, Alvar Gonçalez.

Inez. Hijos mios, donde vais?
Donde vais sin vuestra madre?
Falta en los hombres piedad?
Adonde vais luzes mias?
Como, que assi me dexais
En el mayor desconsuelo
En manos de la crueldad."

Alvaro Gonzalez, Diego Lopez Pacheco, and *Pedro Coello*, were the murderers of the unoffending suppliant. Don Pedro had resided at a royal castle near Mondego: and it was at this place that the horrid deed was perpetrated. According to Neufville, king Alphonso avowed the assassination. Inez de Castro had four children by Pedro. *Alphonso*, who died young; *John*; *Denis*; and *Dona Beatrix*.

reign of thirty-two years, he died at the age of ſixty-ſeven, in the month of May 1357. Alphonſo was born at Coimbra in 1290; and married *Donna Beatrix*, daughter of Sancho the fourth, and ſiſter to Ferdinand king of Caſtile.

Ch. I. § 2. *Early periods of Portugueſe Hiſtory, preceding the fifteenth Century.*

PEDRO THE JUST, his ſucceſſor, was born at Coimbra on the thirteenth of May 1320, and aſcended the throne of Portugal in his thirty-ſeventh year: when his grandfather Denis died, whom he much reſembled, this prince had ſcarcely completed his fifth year. The original character of Pedro, was almoſt the reverſe of that which appeared on his acceſſion; by nature he was gay, affable, fond of ſociety, and excelled in all the elegant amuſements of life, without being led away by their diſſipation, or loſt in their vanity. But the cruel murder of *Inez de Caſtro*, to whom he had been privately married, ſtamped a morbid melancholy on the diſpoſition of this monarch; and, though the energy of his ingenuous, unyielding mind, could not be depreſſed by the heavy cloud which overſhadowed its virtues, the horizon was never clear; a total eclipſe of this ſun of Portugal was long conſidered as inevitable: the heart of Pedro was ſhrouded in the tomb of Inez de Caſtro. After taking a ſolemn oath before the aſſembly of the ſtates, and the pope's nuncio, at Cantanedes, that, a diſpenſation having been obtained from Rome, he had been ſecretly married to the lady Inez at Braganza, in the preſence of the biſhop of Guarda; her beloved remains, at the command of Pedro, were taken from the grave, and placed upon his throne: the crown was then laid on the head of the ſkeleton of Inez, and the nobility of Portugal, in obedience to their ſovereign, kiſſed the bones of her hand. A funeral proceſſion was afterwards conducted with unuſual pomp to the monaſtery of Alcobaça, and the nation wept with its diſconſolate monarch. The irritated mind of Pedro, thus highly wrought, could only find relief among the gloomy iſles

Pedro. 1357.

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> "Nor this alone his ſtedfaſt Soul diſplayed:
> Wide o'er the land he waved the awful blade
> Of red arm'd Juſtice [l]."

The national character, under the auſpices of ſuch a monarch, was even raiſed beyond the height to which it had been elevated by Denis; and though Pedro was dreadful to the perpetrators of crimes, he was beloved by good men. The officers, both of his navy and army, knew they had nothing to hope for, but from an emulation of their ſovereign in the performance of their reſpective duties; and in the ſame degree, the various departments of government, which demand the vigilance of a patriotic ſtateſman, felt and obeyed a diſcipline they were unable to calumniate. The love of virtue, and of juſtice, which was natural to Pedro, were influenced by the rigid principles of a melancholy recluſe; who, being thus removed from any attention to worldly, or political maxims, raiſed his mind ſo much beyond the level of human nature, that his diſconſolate ſubjects exclaimed at his death, *either Don Pedro ſhould not have been born, or ſhould never have* [m] *died!* He cloſed a reign of ten years at Eſtremos, on the eighth of January 1367, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age: from this renowned monarch aroſe the illuſtrious John the firſt, father of HENRY DUKE OF VISEO. In the ſucceſſion of [n] FERDINAND, ſurnamed the *careleſs*, the degenerate ſon of Pedro, by his firſt wife Donna Conſtance Emmanuel, a portentous

[l] Mickle's Luſiad, vol. i. p. 142. [m] Le Quien, tom. i. p. 230. Faria y Souſa.

[n] During this reign, about the year 1380, an Engliſh fleet, under the command of *Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge*, arrived in the Tagus; and, for a time, gave a favourable turn to the deſigns of Ferdinand: but his uncertain temper ſoon rendered ineffectual even this aſſiſtance. He however at firſt was pleaſed with his Engliſh allies, and married the Infanta to the ſon of *Edmund*, then a child. The title of king of Caſtile, previous to the failing of the Engliſh fleet, had been aſſumed by *John Duke of Lancaſter*, ſon to Edward the third, on his marriage with the eldeſt ſurviving daughter of *Pedro the cruel*.

portentous cloud overſhadowed the kingdom of Portugal, and threatened its ſpeedy decline; but the impending tempeſt at length diſperſed, and the heroiſm of the country diſplayed a new or unexpected character, which entirely changed the political ſyſtem of Europe. After an interval of eighteen years, Liſbon preſented an intereſting ſcene, unpolluted by the maſſacres of civil diſcord; the ſpreading canvas glided, without moleſtation, on the diſtant wave, and the noiſe of commerce, ariſing from the crowded mart, gradually directed the attention of all nations to the harbours of Portugal.

Ch. I. § 2. *Portugueſe Hiſtorians.*

* * *

As the *Portugueſe Hiſtory* is not generally known in Great Britain, I have ſubjoined a conciſe account of their moſt diſtinguiſhed writers, including thoſe who have conſidered *Portugueſe Aſia*, and *America*. The curious reader will find a valuable collection of the Portugueſe hiſtorians, probably the firſt in this country, in the library, formed under the auſpices of his preſent Majeſty, at Buckingham Houſe. It is to be lamented, that the learned profeſſor of modern hiſtory at Cambridge, *Dr. Symonds*, whoſe abilities are more than equal to the taſk, and whoſe knowledge of the hiſtory of Europe is unrivalled, has not favoured the public with a critical analyſis of the various writers, who have conſidered the commerce, diſcoveries, and hiſtory of Portugal.

The venerable *John de Barros* claims our firſt attention, born at *Viſeo* in 1496, and educated with the children of King *Emmanuel*. De Barros was tutor to the INFANTA John; and ſoon after the acceſſion of that prince to the throne, was appointed governor of *St. George de la Mina*, on the coaſt of Africa: his ſubſequent elevation to the lucrative poſt of treaſurer of the Indies, incited him to compoſe his *Decadas da Aſia*. After experiencing a variety of criticiſm, De Barros enjoys and merits the appellation of the *Luſitanian Livy*. The *Decadas* were tranſlated into Spaniſh by Alphonſo Ulloa; and have received high encomiums from *Poſſevin*, and the preſident *De Thou*. Three of the Decadas were publiſhed during the lifetime of Barros: the *firſt* in 1552, the *ſecond* in 1553, and the *third* in 1563—the *fourth* did not appear until 1615, when the MS. was purchaſed of his heirs by Philip the third. The Decadas were afterwards continued by *Diego de Couto*, born at Liſbon in 1616; who after many voyages to India, died at Goa in 1616. A complete collection of the Decadas is rarely to

N. B. *Erratum in this ſection* (p. 87.) owing to the tranſpoſition of part of a ſentence, the following miſtake was made: line the 8, "The Mooriſh fleet of the Miramolin, conſiſting of *twenty-one* gallies,"—read, *fifty-four* gallies.

BOOK I.

to be met with, many of the parts existing only in manuscript. The following list is given by *Du Fresnoy* (tom. ix. p. 1640.) and *de Bure* (tom. vi. p. 253).

As Decadas iii. da Asia de Joan de Barros, en que se tratan os Feitos dos Portuguefes no descobrimento e conquista dos mares et terras de Oriente. Em Lisboa, 1552, 1553, and 1563, 3 vol. in fol.

Decada prima, secunda, y tertia da Asia Joao de Barros, in fol. em Lisboa, 1628, 3 *vols.* This is considered by Du Fresnoy as being a good edition of the three first decades.

Decada quarta da Asia por seguir a Joan de Barros, por Diego do Couto. Em Lisboa, 1602, *in fol.*

Quarta Decada, reformada et illustrada com notas, per Joao Bapt. Lavanha, in fol. en Madrid 1615.

Decada quinta da Asia, *del mesmo do Couto.* Em Lisboa, 1612, in fol.

Decada *sexta,* in fol. ibid, 1614. This Decade is become more rare than the rest, on account of the number of copies that were accidentally lost by fire.

Decada *settima,* ibid, 1616.

Decada *octava* e *nona,* ibid 1673. These, though printed, are declared by Du Fresnoy to be extremely scarce.

Decada *decima,* in fol. Lisboa, 1673.

Decada xi. *manuscrit, in fol.* Cinco libros da Decada *doze,* em Paris, 1645, in folio.

Decada *tredecima* da Asia, o Decada *prima* de Antonio Boccarro, por seguir Joan de Barros, et Diego do Couto. Manuscript, in fol.

A complete edition of this work was printed at Lisbon, 3 vols. folio, in 1636; but according to *De Bure* was not esteemed by the Portuguese equal to the earlier copies.

A translation of part of the first Decade, is, I believe, all that has hitherto appeared in English. *De Barros* retired to Pompal to compose this great work, and died there in the year 1570.

Damiano Goes was chamberlain to King *Emmanuel,* who employed his diplomatic abilities with success at the courts of Poland, Denmark, and Sweden. Passionately attached to literature, Goes retired to Louvain to enjoy his favourite pursuit. In the attack made on that place by the French in 1542, he placed himself at the head of the students, and was not taken prisoner, until he had displayed prodigies of valour. Goes returned to Portugal to compose his history; but falling from his seat into the fire, through illness or inadvertency, he only escaped from its flames to endure a lingering death in 1596. The following notice of *Goes* is taken from *Osorius* (p. 4.). *Ut autem id facilius exequi possem, Damianus Goes præstitit. Is enim magno labore, vigilantia, et industria ea ex quam plurimis epistolis et commentariis eruit, et monumentis suis memoriæ commendavit quæ ego minime potuissem sine summo otio perscrutari.* According to *Rawlinson,* Goes was assisted in his historical labours by the manuscripts of *Rodrigo de Piro*; whose lives of *Alphonso* the fifth, and *John* the second, have never appeared. The Works of Damiano Goes consist of, 1. *Legatio magni Indorum Imperatoris* (Prester John) *ad Emmanuelem Lusitaniæ Regem, Anno* 1513. Louvain 1532, in 8vo. 2. *Fides, Religio, moresque Æthiopum,* in 4to. Paris 1544. 3. *Commentaria rerum gestarum in India a Lusitanis, Anno* 1538. Louvain 1549.

1549, in 8vo. 4. *Urbis Ulyssiponis descriptio*, Evora 1554, in 4to. 5. *Chronica do felicissimo Rey Dom Emmanuel*, in fol. em Lisboa 1566 and 1567, 2 vols.—*La misma, revista por J. B. Laranha*, in fol. em Lisboa 1619.

Ch. I. § 2. Portuguese Historians.

Chronica do Rey Dom Joao II. in folio.

The elegant Osorius, bishop of Sylves, styled the *Cicero of Portugal*, has been celebrated in the Essay on History by Mr. Hayley, and was also presented to the notice of the English reader by the translation of Mr. James Gibbs, (2 vols. 8vo. 1752.) dedicated to Sir George Lyttelton, Bart. *Osorius* was born of an illustrious family at Lisbon, in the year 1506, and having commenced his studies at Salamanca at the age of thirteen, proceeded afterwards to Paris and Bologna. He received his first preferment from Don Lewis Infant of Portugal.—Catherine of Austria, who was regent during the minority of Sebastian, became his subsequent patroness, and he gradually rose to be archdeacon of Evora, and bishop of Sylves and Algarve: his *History of the reign of Emmanuel* was undertaken at the request of the cardinal monarch Henry, and appeared in 1572 at the same time with the *Lusiadas* of Camoens. The treatise of Osorius, *De Gloria*, is composed with such classic elegance, as to have been considered by many, to be a part of the works of Cicero that had long been despaired of. The whole of his works were collected, and published at Rome in 1592, in four volumes folio, by his nephew Jerome Osorius, who also wrote a life of his learned relation. The edition of his historical work, which I have followed, was printed at Lisbon in 1571; an octavo edition appeared in 1574, and another in 1597.—*De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniæ invictissimi virtute et auspicio gestis, libri duodecim:* this was afterwards translated into French by *Simon Goulard*, under the title of *Histoire de Portugal*, 1581, 1587, in folio and octavo. Osorius died in his diocese at Tavila during the year 580.

Ferdinand Lopez de Castaneda accompanied his father to India, who went thither in an high civil capacity. Ferdinand on his return published, *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pe los Portuguefes*, em Coimbra, 1554, 8 vols. folio.

Louis Andre de Resende was born at Evora in 1498, and entered at an early age into the order of Dominicans; he studied at Alcala, at Salamanca, Paris, and Louvain. *John the third* of Portugal intrusted the education of his brothers to the diligence of Resende; when having obtained permission from the Pope, the Dominican left his cell for the more splendid station of canon of Evora. Twenty years after his death, which took place in 1573, the following curious volume appeared: *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniæ libri* IV. *a Lucio Andræa Resendio olim inchoati, et a Jacobo Menatio Vasconcello recogniti atque soluti: accessit liber* V. *de antiquitate municipii Eboracensis, ab eodem Vasconcello conscriptus. Ebora* 1593, *fol.* In 1613, the above was followed by *Deliciæ Lusitano-Hispanicæ*, 8vo.

Joseph Texeira, a Portuguese Dominican, was born in 1543, and became prior of the convent of Santaren. He was firmly attached to the fortunes of *Don Antonio*, after the melancholy captivity or death of *Sebastian*, and accompanied the former to France in 1481; where he enjoyed the favour both of Henry the third, and fourth. His work, *De Portugalliæ Ortu, regni initiis, rebusque a regibus gestis compendium*, was printed at Paris in 4to. 1582, and is extremely scarce. He also published, *Les Adventures de Dom Sebastien*.—Texeira died in 1604.

Garcias

BOOK I.

GARCIAS RESENDE, of whom little is known, composed the following work: *Vida del Rey D. Juan ho segundo de Portugal*, in fol. Evora 1554. Idem Lisboa, in fol. 1596, et Lisboa 1622. The last edition contains all the works of this writer.

BERNARD DE BRITO, a Cistercian monk, is deservedly esteemed among the most eminent of the Portuguese Historians; but it is extremely difficult to meet with a complete set of his laborious work, entitled, *Monarchia Lusytana, impr. no insigne Mosteiro de Alçobaça, em Lisboa* 1597, *et ann. seq.*, 7 *vol. in fol.* The different volumes were printed in 1597, 1609; the *third* and *fourth* in 1632; 1650, 1672, and the seventh in 1683. *Brito* composed only the two first volumes, entitled, *Monarchia Lusitana, primera parte, desde a criacao do mundo, a te o Nascimiento de Christo*; the second, *Segunda parte de Monarchia Lusitana, a te Conde Dom Henrique*; the four succeeding were continued by *Antonio* and *Francis Brandamo* to the reign of *Alphonso the third*; and the last employed the abilities of the Jesuit *Pere Raphael*. The following articles complete the works of this elegant writer:

Elogios dos Reis do Portugal com os verdaderos retratos in 4to. *em Lisboa* 1603, with the portraits annexed: Brito also published a Treatise on the antient geography of Portugal, and the annals of the Cistercian order.

FRANCISCO DE BRITO published at Lisbon, in two volumes folio, 1675, the following account of the wars of Brasil, which is much esteemed, but scarce, and not generally known—*Nova Lusitania*, Historia da guerra Brasilica; Decada prima desde 1624, hasta 1638; Viage da Armada da Companhia do commercio e frotas do Estado do Brasil, &c. anno 1655 et 1656.

DUARDI NONII LEONIS, Regum Portugalliæ Genealogia una cum censuris in Libellum de Regum Portugalliæ Origine, qui Josephi Texeiræ nomine circumfertur, in 4to. Olyssip. 1585, and in Hispania Illustr. T. ii.

Eduard Nunes de Leon, as Chronicas dos Reis de Portugal has el año de 1383, in fol. em Lisboa 1600.

Descripcao da Reyno de Portugal, por Duarte Nunez de Leao, in 4to. *em Lisboa*, 1610.

Flores de Espana, excelencias de Portugal, 1 parte: por Ant. de SOUSA DE MACEDO, in fol. em Lisboa 1631.

Dialogos de varia historia, en que summariamente se referem muitas cousas antigas de Espana e todas as notaveis, que em Portugal acontecceraon em suas gloriosas conquistas antes e despois de ser levantado a dignidade real, com os retratos de todos os Reys de Portugal por PEDRO DE MARIZ, in 8vo. em Coimbra 1594, in 4to. 1597.

CARTA DE DUARTE GOMEZ escrita al Duque de Lerma en 20 de Novemb. 1612, a cerca del commercio y navegaciones en la India Oriental.

Alegacion en favor de la Compania de la India Oriental, y commercio ultra marinos, que de nuevo se instituyo en el reyno de Portugal, por DUARTE GOMEZ SOLIS l'Anno de 1628.

De Justo imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico adversus incogniti Batavi Dissertationem de mari libero, auctore Fr. Seraphino de FREITAR, in 4to. Vallisoleti, 1625.

ANTON. VASCONCELLOS Socict. Jes. ANACEPHALÆOSIS, *id est, Summa capita actorum Regum Lusitaniæ*, in 4to. Antv. 1621: accesserunt Epigrammata in singulos reges, ab Emmanuele Pimenta, et illorum effigies æri incisæ. Item Philippi II. Lusitanica Expeditio.

EMMANUEL

Ch. I. § 2. *Portuguese Historians.*

EMMANUEL FARIA DE SOUSA, an Historian of very considerable merit; who possessed an eccentricity of character, and affected a singularity of dress, which, if they do not exactly resemble the character of *Jean Jaques*, strikingly remind us of a writer, whose irritability, and independent spirit, opposed continued obstacles to his happiness. Faria published *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, desde el Diluvio hasta el año* 1628, *in* 4to. *em Lisboa* 1674: the last, and best edition is in folio, 1730: this work was translated into English, and published in an octavo volume during the year 1698. He also wrote some commentaries on the *Lusiadas of Camoens;* and with considerable industry composed his *Europa Portuguesa*, of which a second enlarged edition, in 3 vols, appeared at Lisbon in 1678, another in 1679, and a fourth in 1680. *Africa Portuguesa, tomo unico*, in fol. em Lisboa, 1681. *Asia Portuguesa*, in fol. 1666. 1674, 1675, 3 volumes. *Faria* was born in 1590, of a noble family, and was created knight of the order of Christ: he preferred the Castilian to his native language. This historian died at Madrid in 1649, in a situation which bordered on penury.

ANTONIO PAEZ DE VILGAS, *Principios del Reyno de Portugal, con la vida y hechos de Don Alfonso Henriquez su primero rei, hasta la su muerte en el año* 1185, *in fol. Lisboa* 1641.

RUY DE PINA, *Chronica de el Rey Dom Alfonso IV. depois do Anno do* 1325, *a te o de* 1357. Fol. Lisboa 1653.

FERNANDO DE MENEZES, *Vida e Aecones del Rey Dom Joao I. depois do Anno de* 1383, *ate o de* 1433, in 4to. em Lisboa 1677.

Chronica del Rey D. Juan I. e dos Reys de Portugal o decimo; composta por FERNAM LOPEZ, y por GOMEZ EANNES DE AZURARA *chronistas desto Reyno*, in fol. em Lisboa 1544.

PETRI JOHANNIS PERPINIANI *de vita et moribus B. Elisabethæ* (Dionysii conjugis) *Lusitaniæ reginæ, in* 8vo. *Colon.* 1609. Perpinien died at Paris in 1566, after attaining considerable fame as professor of eloquence at Conimbra, and as one of the first modern writers in the Latin tongue: this biographical tract possesses the elegance and purity of Cicero.

JUAN CARILLO, *la Historia de sancta Isabel, Reyna de Portugal*, in 4to. Zaragoca 1625.

EMAN. CONSTANTINUS, *Historia de origine atque vita Regum Lusitaniæ*, in 4to. Romæ 1601.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA, *Conquista de Portugal en los Annos* 1582, *y* 1583, in 4to. Madrid 159·. Herrera was appointed historiographer of India by Philip the second, and died in 1625: his other works do not belong to the class of historians we are at present considering.

LUIS MARINHO DE AZEVEDO, *Primeira parte da Fundacaoo, Antiquedades, e Grandezas da Cidade de Lisboa, e seus varoes illustres, in fol.* Lisboa 1652.

Memorias diarias de la guerra del Brasil, por discurso de nueve años empeçando desde el de 1630, escritas por Duarte de ALBUQUERQUE Marques de Basto, Conde de Pernambuco, in 4to. *em Madrid* 1654.

THEODORE GODEFROI, the eldest son of the learned Civilian *Denys Godefroi*, was born at Geneva in 1580, and died at Munster in 1649: among his various writings, the following is particularly interesting to the admirers of Portuguese history: *Généalogies des Rois de Portugal, issus, en ligne directe masculine, de la Maison de France qui regne aujourd'hui, in* 4to. Paris 1612.

JEROM

BOOK I.

JEROM CONESTAGGIO, Hiſtoire de la Reunion de Portugal a la Couronne de Caſtile, traduit de l' Italien en François, Beſancon 1596, 8vo.—in 12mo. 2 vols. Paris 1680. *Rawlinſon*, in his improved tranſlation of Du Freſnoy's catalogue, gives the following opinion of this work: "The Italians who publiſhed this book firſt at Genoa, in 1585, 4to. had no reaſon to give the honour of it to Coneſtaggio; as it is well known, that *John de Sylva*, who was ambaſſador from the king of Spain to Emmanuel king of Portugal, in Africa, was the real author. It was tranſlated into Latin at Frankfort, in 1602, and is to be found in the ſecond volume of the *Hiſpania Illuſtrata*."

Varias Antiquidades de Portugal, por Gaſpar Eſtaço. Em Liſboa 1625, fol.

FREIRA, in 1758, publiſhed at Liſbon a life of *Henry Duke of Viſeo*, which has ſince been tranſlated by the *Abbe Cournaud*, in 2 vols. 12mo, printed at Liſbon in 1781.

JAQUES LE QUIEN DE LA NEUVILLE, was born at Paris in 1647. Scarron, his relation, endeavoured to inſpire him with a love for poetry, but he preferred the counſel and taſte of Peliſſon, who rather adviſed him to apply to hiſtory. He publiſhed *Hiſtoire generale du Royaume de Portugal* (2 vols. 4to, Paris, 1696 – 1700), brought down to the death of *Emmanuel* in 1521. This work was rigidly criticiſed by *Le Clede*; but is ſtyled by Du Freſnoy, *Hiſtoire bien faite, et bien écrite*. Quien accompanied the ambaſſador *L' Abbe de Mornay* to Portugal, where he obtained a penſion of 1500 livres, and was appointed Chevalier of the order of Chriſt: thus patroniſed, he attempted to complete his hiſtory; but his zealous mind, and too great application, brought on an illneſs, of which he died at Liſbon in 1728, at the age of eighty-one years.

M. DE LA CLEDE, ſecretary to the Marechal de Coigni, publiſhed his *Hiſtoire generale de Portugal*, at Paris, 2 vols. 4to, in 1735.

JEAN PIERRE MAFFEI, born at *Bergamo* about the year 1536, the favourite of Philip the ſecond of Spain, and of Pope Gregory the thirteenth, in his *Hiſtoriarum Indicarum libri* XVI. of which a good edition was printed at *Bergamo* in 1747, 2 vols. 4to, throws conſiderable light on the hiſtory of *Portugueſe Aſia*. This learned Jeſuit, employed ten years in compoſing the above work; he alſo tranſlated the valuable *Lettres écrites des Indes par les Miſſionnaires*, which illuſtrate the Portugueſe commerce and diſcoveries. Maffei died at Tivoli in 1603.—*Pierre Nonnius*, or *Nunnez*, a Portugueſe mathematician, native of Alençardo-ſal, was tutor to Prince Henry, the ſon of King Emmanuel; and publiſhed at Coimbra, in 1573, his treatiſe *De Arte Navigandi*, which proved of eſſential ſervice to their commerce with the Eaſt Indies.—The hiſtory of Portugueſe Aſia is conſidered in an able manner by the writers of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory (vol. xii.); and their labours have received the approbation of the learned illuſtrator of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (p. 225). This, as well as other parts of the Univerſal Hiſtory, is corrected in reſpect to dates and references, and in many reſpects greatly enlarged, in the excellent *French tranſlation*, publiſhed by *Arkſtée* and *Merkus*, in quarto, at Amſterdam and Leipzig.—Portugueſe Aſia is conſidered, in a conciſe and introductory manner, in the *New Hiſtory of the Eaſt Indies, Ancient and Modern* (2 vols. 8vo, 1757), partly tranſlated from the *Hiſtoire des Indes* by the *abbe Claude Marie Guyon*, who died at Paris in 1771. *Dr. Vincent* conſiders the ſubject of the Portugueſe diſcoveries, in the work already cited (p. 190.). *Dr. Robertſon*, in the firſt book of his *Hiſtory of America*, and in his

Ch. I. § 2. *Portuguese Historians.*

valuable *Historical Disquisition concerning India*, displays rather an ability, than inclination, to give the subject of Portuguese Asia, or their discoveries, the full scope of his genius. In some respects I have ventured to differ from this historian, who appears to have kept Vasco de Gama too much in the back ground, in order to obtain a more general suffrage for the merit of the voyage made by Columbus.—The *Histoire des découvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau monde*, 2 vols. 4to, 1733, and 4 vols. 12mo, 1734, by Joseph François Lafiteau, is known and has been approved: this writer, who was a Jesuit, died in 1740. The *Abbe Raynall* has allotted the greater part of his first volume to the Portuguese discoveries: some of the best informed of his countrymen prefer, in many respects, the first edition, in 5 vols. of his *Histoire Philosophique des deux Indes*, to the last, in eight; which certainly abounds in conjecture and declamation. The whole of his ingenious history has been corrected, and condensed, by a Spanish writer, whose name has escaped my memory.

Agiologio Lusitano dos santos e varoens illustres en virtude do reyno de Portugal e suas conquistas; pelo licenciado *George Cardoso*, in fol. em Lisboa 1652, &c. 3 vols. *The original intention of this writer was to have concluded the whole in six volumes.*

Parallelos de principes e varoens illustres antiguos a que muitos da nançans Portuguesa se asseme Charao em suas obras, ditos e feitos; coma origen das armas de algumas familias deste reyno, *por Franc. Soarez Toscano*, natural de Evora, in 4to, Evora 1623.

Vida y hecos del gran Condestable de Portugal, D. Nuno Alvarez Pereyra Conde de Barcelos, Mayor domo Mayor del Rey D. Juan el 1. con los arboles y decendencias de los emperadores, reyes, principes, &c. que del se derivan, *por Rod. Mendez Silva*, in 8vo. em Madrid 1640.

Tropheos Lusitanos; sive stemmata et insignia magnatum Lusitanorum, por *Ant. Soares Albergaria*, parte i. em Lisboa 1632, in 4to.

Vida D. Duarte de Meneses tercero Conde de Viana, y successos notables de Portugal en su tiempo: (desde el ano de 1414, hasta el de 1464) por D. Augustin Manuel y Vasconcellos, in 4to, em Lisboa 1627.

Vida del Grande D. Luis de Attayde iii. Conde de Attoguia y Virrey de las Indias, por Joseph. Pereyra de Macedo, in 4to. em Madrid 1633.

D. Jos. Martinez de la Puente, Compendio de las historias, de los Descubrimentos, Conquistas, y Guerras de la India Oriental, y sus Islas, desde los Tiempos del Infante Don Enriqeu de Portugal su inventor, 4to, Madrid 1681.

Antonio Cordeyro, *Historia Insulana* das ilhas a Portugas sugeytas no Oceano Occidental. fol. Lisb. 1717.

Commentarius de grande Alonso d'Alboquerq capitam geral das Indias Orientales en tempo do Rey D. Manuel, in fol. em Lisboa 1576. *This work was composed by* Blaise, *son of the great Albuquerque; at the request of King Emmanuel, he took the surname of* Alonso, *after the death of his father.*

Franc. Alcasarado's historical relation of the discovery of the island of Madeira, 4to, London 1675.

BOOK I.

Commentarios de grande capitam Ruy Freyre de Andrada, em què se relatam suas proezas do Anno 1619, em que partio desde reyno por Geral do Mar de Ormuz et costa de Persia et Arabia, ate sua morte, por Paulo CRASSBECK, in 4to. em Lisboa 1647.

Vida de Dom Joao de Castro iv. Viso-Rey da India, por Jacinto Freyre de ANDRADA, in fol. em Lisboa 1651.

JOS. DE SERERA DA SYLVA, Recueil Chronologique et analytique de tout ce qu'a fait en Portugal la Societé dite de Jesus; depuis son entrée dans ce Royaume em 1540, jusqu' a' son expulsion 1759, 12mo, 3 vols. Lisb. 1769.

Itinerarium Portugallensium è Lusitania in Indiam, et in de in occidentem, et demum ad Aquilonem: ab Archangelo MADRIGNANO Mediolanensi, Monacho Cistercienfi, ex Lusitano Lat. translatum, *in fol. in Pergamo* 1508.

Vera historia admirandæ cujusdam navigationis Hulderici SCHMIDEL, Strawbingensis, in Americam, vel novum orbem juxta Brasiliam et Rio della Plata, ab anno 1534, ad ann. 1554. Latine reddita cum figuris, in 4. Noribergæ 1599.

Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la terre du Bresil, autrement dite l'Amerique, contenant la navigation et choses remarquables vûës par l'auteur J. de LERY, avec un colloque en leur langue, imprimée par Ant. Chuppin *in* 8, en 1575, et 1580. *This voyage contains much original information.*

O Valeroso Lucideno e triumpho de liberdade, prima parte, de trata se da restauraçam de Parnambuco et da expulsaò dos Olandeses do Estado do Brasil: pello P. Fr. Manoel CALADO, in fol. em Lisboa 1668. *This work is sought after by the curious.*

Istoria della guerre del regno del Brasile accadute trà la corona di Portogallo e la Republica di Olanda con le carte e piante del *P. Gio. Gioseppe* di S. TERESA Carmelita Scalzo, parte prima e seconda, *in fol. in Rom.* 1700. *This work bears an high character.*

An account of Portugal, as it appeared to Dumouriez in 1766, drawn up by order of the Duke de Choiseul, was published at Lausanne in the year 1775; with various additional remarks on the Government, Politics, Finance, Commerce, Manners, Colonies, &c. This was translated into English in 1797, and though a small volume in 12mo. affords considerable information.

Mr. Charles Brockwell, who resided in Portugal upwards of four years, published in 1726 his *Natural and Political History of Portugal*, in one octavo volume, *from its first establishment as a kingdom, down to his time:* to which was added, *the history of Brazil, and all other dominions subject to the crown of Portugal, in Asia, Africa, and America.* The late *Wyndam Beawes, Esq.* his Majesty's consul for thirty years at Cadiz and Seville, published in 1793, 2 vols. folio, *on the Civil, Commercial, and Literary History of Spain and Portugal.* Mr. Beawes considers (vol. 2. p. 24 and 29.) the institution of the *Almirante*, or first admiral of Portugal; and the creation of the *Capitaon Môr do Reyno*, or *Capitaon Môr do Mar.* He does not think that *Don Fuas Raupino*, was the officer who first enjoyed the honour of *Almirante;* but is inclined to believe the title arose in a subsequent reign. The prerogatives of this office are to be seen in *Noticias de Portugal*, by *M. Severim de Faria*, and also in the *Sexta Parte da Monarchia Lusitania, do Chronista môr Fr. Francisco Brandaon.* The first Capitaon môr, as well of the kingdom

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as the ſea, was *Gonçalo Tenreiro*: on the 25th of July 1373, king Ferdinand gave him *Aljer*, with its borders, and other lands; and on the 25th of December 1378, he was preſented with ſome houſes at Liſbon, in the pariſh of St. Thomas: in both the letters patent of theſe grants, he is called *Capitaon môr* of the fleets. During the ſame reign *Joaon Focim*, a Caſtilian gentleman, in the ſervice of Ferdinand, was appointed *captain of the fleet*; without the title of *chief captain*. In proceſs of time, the kings truſted their maritime forces to the chief captains, and did not permit the admiral to exerciſe his authority, though he preſerved the title of his rank.

Ch. I. § 2. *Portugueſe Hiſtorians.*

I ſhall conclude this ſummary of the principal Portugueſe hiſtorians, with the following particulars relative to the editions of the Luſitanian Homer, *Os Luſiadas do Grande Luis de Camoens*, which the politeneſs of a literary character has done me the honour of ſending from Liſbon.

"The ſeparate editions of the *Luſiadas* bear date 1572. 1597. 1607. 1623. 1651. 1669, 1670. *With commentaries*, 1613. 1639. 1720. 1731, 1732.—*The collected works of Camoens*, 1759. 1779. 1782, 1783." To the above ſeparate editions may be added the date of that which was in the library of the late *Dr. J. Warton*, (a *Liſboa* 1749). This edition I have employed in the preſent volume.

CHAPTER II.

I. *Renewal of Maritime Discovery by the Portuguese, during the reigns of John the First, Edward, and Alphonso the Fifth. The spirit of the Crusades, extended to Africa, calls the attention of the Portuguese from their own coasts. Henry Duke of Viseo.* II. *Continuation of Maritime Discovery by John the Second.—Bartholomew Diaz completes its progress beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Observations on the Atlantic, and the Navigation to India.*

SECTION I.

The first, nor meanest of our Kings who bore
The Lusian thunders to the fric shore.
O'er the wild waves the Victors Banner flow'd,
Their silver wings a thousand eagles shew'd.
And proudly swelling to the whistling gales,
The Seas were whiten'd with a thousand sails.

Lusiadas, Mickle, v. 2. p. 23.

View of the political conduct of John, the Son of Pedro, during the regency. Claims the crown. Battle of Aljubarota decides the contest in his favour. Marries Philipa, daugh-

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ter of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter.—African Cruſades; by St. Louis, the ninth of France; by John the Firſt, King of Portugal.—Ceuta. Character of the Portuguese Princes.—Voyages, under the auſpices of Henry Duke of Viſeo, to the weſtern coaſt of Africa 1412. *Eſtabliſhes his reſidence at Sagres, and becomes the patron of naval men.—Porto Santo. Conſideration of the principal geographical MSS. to which this Prince might have had reſort.—Romantic narrative of Machin.—Madeira.—Cape Bajadore doubled* 1433.*—Ceſſion of the Canaries.—Lagos Company.—Juan Fernandez.—Cape de Verd doubled* 1446.*—Azores. Alviſe da Cada Moſto. Cape Verd iſlands.—Coaſt of Africa explored to Sierra Leona.—Death of the Duke of Viſeo, in* 1463. *Character.*

Ch. II. § 1.

John the firſt.

JOHN THE FIRST, born at Liſbon the ſecond of April 1357, was the natural ſon of *Pedro the Juſt*, by Donna Tereſa Lourença, a Galician lady of good family, with whom he had lived, in order to avoid the conſtant importunity of his father, who vainly hoped that a third marriage would ſoothe the wounded mind of the huſband of *Inez de Caſtro*. John was brought up under the immediate care of Lourenço da Leiria, a citizen of Liſbon; who at an early age intruſted his education to *Don Nuno Freire d'Andrade*, then grand-maſter of the order of Chriſt: the amiable character, and ſpirit of his pupil ſoon gained the affection of the worthy Andrade. Pedro had never yet beheld this ſon; and it was probably with ſome hope of removing the melancholy of his ſovereign, that the grand-maſter preſented John, on his ſeventh birth-day, to the king. The heart of Pedro was formed by nature for the livelieſt emotions of affection, and he beheld the diffidence of the youth with the ſolicitude of a parent. John was legitimated; and having received the honour of knighthood, at the requeſt of Andrade was created grand-maſter of the order of [a] *Avis*: he immediately retired from the court to the abbey of Tomar, where the principal lodge of the order

[a] Inſtituted by *Alphonſo the firſt*, in remembrance of the great ſervices rendered him by his nobility, at the ſiege of Liſbon: though ſome writers give it an earlier date, in 1139, after the battle that was fought on the plains of *Ourique*. The ſtatutes of this Order were taken from the rule of St. Bennet. The habit of the knights was a green croſs, with Flowers-de Luce.

BOOK I.

der was eſtabliſhed; his education was there completed, and as he advanced in years, he ſoon diſplayed extraordinary abilities, both as a ſtateſman, and a ſoldier.

On the death of the degenerate FERDINAND (October 22, 1383), the voice of the nation called for the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Donna Inez de Caſtro; but this prince being thrown into priſon by the king of Caſtile, who wiſhed to ſubſtantiate his own claim, by means of Donna Beatrix the young queen, daughter of the late monarch; the way to the throne was laid open to the ambition of the grand-maſter of Avis; and his appointment to the regency, in his twenty-ſeventh year, tended to awaken or extend his hopes.

The venerable Count de Barcelos, and Alvaro Paez, promoted the intereſt of the grand-maſter. PAEZ was an experienced politician; and his favourite maxim, *Be haughty towards your enemies, and humble to your friends*, was deeply impreſſed on the mind of John. The regent, in his conduct towards the people, had the example of Cæſar continually before him; when he ſpoke of the hamlets of Portugal, his ſtyle and ideas were Roman. His ſtandards diſplayed the ſon of Inez, in the *Caſtilian* dungeon, laden with irons; and the ſimilarity of their names rendered the cauſe of JOHN familiar to the people: the nature of this work does not admit of dwelling longer on ſo eventful a period. In 1385, the ſtates of Portugal aſſembled at *Coimbra*, with the archbiſhop of Braga as their preſident: many of the nobility, with the biſhops of Liſbon, Lamego, Porto, Coimbra, and Guarda, and the greater part of the deputies of the cities, were preſent. Regras, who had been appointed chancellor by the regent, opened the conference with a ſtudied ſpeech; Vaſco da Cunha [b], and his two brothers, alone preſerved their allegiance to the ſon of INEZ. The ſophiſtry of the conſtable, Don

[b] The loyalty of this nobleman to the ſon of Inez, was beheld by the liberalityof a great mind: VASCO was afterwards made *ſtandard bearer* to John the firſt.

Ch. II. § 1. *John the first.*

Don Nuno Alvarez de Pereira, and the [c] Ulyſſean eloquence of the regent prevailed, who was accordingly elected king of Portugal in his twenty-eighth year. The battle of Aljubarota, on the fourteenth of Auguſt 1385, confirmed the ſuffrage of the ſtates; and the power of *John the firſt* was eſtabliſhed by this complete overthrow of his enemies.

John of Gaunt, *Duke of Lancaſter*, ſon to *Edward the third*, having married Donna Conſtantia, the eldeſt ſurviving daughter of Pedro the cruel, king of *Caſtile*, aſſumed the title on the death of that monarch; and became, as already related, an ally of the Portugueſe. The mutual interchange of friendſhip, which had long ſubſiſted between their reſpective kingdoms, was greatly improved by this event; and the ſubſequent marriage of John the firſt of Portugal with Philippa, the eldeſt daughter of the duke, about a year after the battle of Aljubarota, more effectually blended the political intereſts and character of both nations. In the progreſs of maritime diſcovery, this circumſtance particularly deſerves the attention of the reader: by the illuſtrious ſon of an Engliſh mother, PHILIPPA queen of Portugal, the enterpriſing ſpirit of LUSITANIA was directed from the cruſades in Africa, to the developement of its weſtern coaſt. The commercial genius of *England* became thus [d] united with the national heroiſm of *Portugal;* and the ſame country,

[c] The claſſical reader may derive pleaſure from comparing the ſpeech made on this occaſion by the regent, (given by Joſ. Texeira, Nunnez, Vaſconcellos; Le Quien, tom. i. p. 311.) with that of Ulyſſes over the arms of Achilles (Ovid. Metam. lib. xiii. l. 123.)

"Laërtius heros
Adſtitit: atque oculos paulum tellure moratos
Suſtulit ad proceres: expectatoque reſolvit
Ora ſono"—

The reſemblance is very ſtriking; they are both intereſting ſpecimens of oratory and character.

[d] This idea did not eſcape the quaint and intereſting PURCHAS, (Vol. i. p. 5. Book II.) "Thus both at home and abroad were the Portugals indebted to the Engliſh; as alſo in the example

BOOK I.

country, whose discoveries and navigators occupy so brilliant a space in the history of the eighteenth century, may thus be considered as promoting the glory of the maritime discoveries, by which the fifteenth was enlightened.

The devout spirit of the crusades, which had already proved of essential service in cherishing the commercial character, now drew the attention of the Portuguese to the continent and coasts of Africa. Louis the ninth, king of France, generally styled *St. Louis*, the founder of an order of naval merit, conducted the sixth and seventh crusades. From some political reason, which probably has not yet been fairly [e] stated, he directed his attention in the last expedition to the kingdom of Tunis; and during the summer of the year 1270, landed six thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, on the Moorish territory. The heat of the climate was insupportable; and the death of their monarch soon became the signal of retreat to his troops. After the reign of this illustrious Crusader, the extirpating spirit of Mohammedism continued to extend its baneful influence; from the Euphrates, throughout the northern coast of Africa, it established a threatning hierarchy, and the various kingdoms, both on the continent of Europe, and in the western islands of the Mediterranean.

example of some Englishmen, and namely one *Macham*, which had beene by tempest driuen on shore in Madera: but in nothing more, then that *English lady* before mentioned, whose *third* sonne *Don Henry* was the true foundation of the greatnesse, not of Portugall alone, but of the whole Christian world, in marine affairs, and especially of these heroike endeauours of the English (whose flesh and blood hee was), which this ensuing historie shall present unto you.

[e] Gibbon assigns, the wild hope of baptising the king of Tunis; and refers his readers (vol xi. p. 163) to the annals of St. Louis by *William de Nangis*, (p. 270—287.) and the Arabic Extracts (p. 545—555.) of the Louvic edition of *Joinville*. Such a motive was inconsistent with the wisdom and experience of the French monarch. But this historian seems to have indulged in a prejudiced ridicule of the crusades; which misrepresents the noblest exploits of the military character, in a barbarous and enthusiastic age. The same prejudices, with a keener sarcasm, abound in Voltaire. "The crusades, *des Brigands liguès pour venir*, &c. were a band of vagabond thieves."—Is this writing history with candour and truth; or are those persons who clamour the loudest for the latter, the most likely to pervert it?

terranean, where the crescent was displayed, seemed to chide the warriors of christendom for neglecting the cause of chivalry, and the political interests of their respective countries.

Ch. II. § 1. *John the first.*

The situation of Portugal was particularly favourable for a descent on the African coast; and the extirpation of Mohammedism continued during the reign of John the first and his successors, to form the devout principle of their heroic exploits. The Portuguese princes had long been ambitious to receive the sword of chivalry from their renowned father, when a general Crusade to the Moorish coast called them from the enjoyments of peace, to those military honours, which their merit and valour had eminently deserved. But the dangers of an expedition against the Infidels, shook the tender health of their affectionate mother PHILIPPA; who beheld the lives of her children, with that of their father, exposed at once to the relentless scymitars of the Moors. Unable to support the dreadful uncertainty of this eventful voyage, or to shake the resolution of her ambitious offspring, she sunk amidst the painful conflict of her mind; the death of so beloved a queen awakened the regret of every one, and cast a portentous gloom on the African crusades.

From the bay of Lagos the embarkation of the Portuguese fleet was beheld with various emotions: it recalled to memory the trophies, and African exploits of Belisarius [f]. Thirty-three large ships of war, or carracks, fifty-nine gallies, and one hundred and twenty transf-

[f] During this expedition in the year 534, (*Gibbon*, vol. vii. p. 164.) a memorable instance of the villainy of a contractor for the fleet of Belisarius, is recorded by this historian. "According to military practice, *the bread, or biscuit* of the Romans was *twice prepared in the oven*, and a diminution of one fourth was cheerfully allowed for the loss of weight. To gain this miserable profit, and to save the expence of wood, the præfect *John of Cappadocia* had given orders that the flour should be slightly baked by the same fire which warmed the baths of Constantinople; and when the sacks were opened, a soft and mouldy paste was distributed to the army.—Belisarius boldly expressed his just and humane indignation: the emperor heard his complaint; the general was praised; but the minister was not punished." (P. 169.)

BOOK I.

transports, opposed the valour of fifty thousand mariners and soldiers to the usurpation of the Moors. The spectacle was interesting and solemn. Although the maritime historian, in the present day, considers this embarkation with delight, as the first advance towards a knowledge of the coast of Africa, the Portuguese, who beheld their sovereign, and the hopes of his illustrious house, exposed at once to the perils of the ocean, must have dreaded the fatal malignity of the burning sands, and feverish atmosphere of that continent; they therefore viewed the fading vessels in the distant horizon, with different sensations, and the shores of Lagos displayed a melancholy groupe, when the sails of a beloved monarch were lost in the surrounding haze.

The lofty towers and walls of *Ceuta*, the antient [g] *Septem*, which had been in part constructed and fortified by Justinian, formed at that time the strongest Moorish garrison in Africa. The rebellious subjects both of Spain and Portugal had long resorted thither in security, and defied the justice of their country. On the fourteenth of August the promontory of Ceuta was seen by the headmost ships [h]; and by the twenty-first, the troops were landed under the conduct of the Princes *Don Henry* and *Pedro*. Every thing that the vigilance, or precaution of the Moorish governor, *Sala Bensala*, could devise, had been long prepared: but neither the fortifications of the town or castle were able to oppose so formidable an enemy. Bensala retired under cover of the night; and the crusaders at daybreak proceeded to secure their [i] conquest. Don *Pedro de Menezes*, Count of

[g] From the seven mountains in *Mauretania Tingitana*.

[h] Hakluyt (*vol. ii. part the second, p.* 1.) inserts an extract from the Latin Chronicle of Walsingham (Anno 1415), "*concerning the ayde and assistance of the English merchants, given to King John the first of Portugall for the winning of Ceuta in Barbarie, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoueries.* This yere John the first, King of Portugall, being principally assisted by the helpe of the English marchants, and Almaines, overcame the Moores in the dominion of the King of Barbary, putting many thousand of them to the sword; and he tooke their city which was very mighty, seated upon the sea, which is called *Ceuta* in their language.

[i] Ceuta had been previously taken in 1231 by the Genoese. (See page 10.)

of Alcontin, remained to defend the place; whilst the army returned with their king to Portugal. At *Tavira*, the capital of Algarve, the troops were reviewed, and distinguished according to their merit by the favour of a liberal monarch: but the scene became particularly interesting, when the military spirit of the father was gratified in proclaiming the rewards due to the valour of his sons. *Don Pedro* was created Duke of *Coimbra*, and *Don Henry* received the title and dukedom of *Viseo*. The attempts of the Moors to regain Ceuta soon obliged these princes to return to Africa, when they again baffled the intrepid spirit of their enemies. John, after hearing the various opinions of his council, resolved to secure the possession of this port, and accordingly augmented the garrison of Ceuta to six hundred foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; the whole of which was placed under the command of the *Duke of Viseo*. The military talents and genius of this prince were so visible in the reduction of Ceuta, that the conquest may be ascribed, without flattery, to his exertions and example. His continuance in Africa[k] tended to mature the glorious projects he had conceived; the situation was particularly adapted to encourage his favourite ideas of maritime discovery; whilst an occasional converse with such Moors, as could be gained to his interest, furnished a continual fund of information relative to the coasts and seas of Africa. Besides the knowledge he might derive from the early travels of Europeans to the east, already noticed,

[k] A view of its Northern Coast, and savage inhabitants, during the present day, will not perhaps justify this opinion; but if we reflect on the distance of nearly four centuries, Duke Henry might have discovered some rays of science, which even the desolation of the maritime colonies of Hippo Regius (*Bona*) of Cirta, and of Carthage, did not extinguish. "The long and narrow tract of the African coast was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence; and the respective degrees of improvement might be accurately measured by the distance from Carthage and the Mediterranean." (*Gibbon, vol.* vi. *p.* 20.) *Adam Smith* is of opinion, that the object which the Portuguese prince had particularly in view, was to find out by sea a way to the countries, from which the Moors brought ivory and gold dust across the Desert. (*Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 347.)

noticed, he there obtained an account of the Arabs who border on the Defert, and alfo heard of the kingdom of *Jalof*, which adjoined *Guinea*. From this event we may therefore date the commencement of maritime difcovery by the Portuguefe; and the hiftorian will remark, that the developement of the fouthern extremity of Africa, may be traced from the day, when the flag of Portugal was planted by its illuftrious prince on the northern promontory of Ceuta.

JOHN the firft, of Portugal, was eminently happy in the abilities and amiable difpofition of children, who fupported and adorned his throne: the fpirit which animated their valour, never encroached on either the honour, or the affection, that was due unto a parent. The liberal education enjoyed by their father, rendered him anxious, that his fons fhould not alone depend on their rank for refpect; and they repaid this folicitude by a generous emulation of his fame. EDWARD, Prince of Portugal, was deeply verfed in the laws and conftitution of his country, under the immediate eye of his parent; the hiftory of the different kingdoms of Europe, taught him at an early age the difficult, though glorious duty of governing a free people. JOHN diftinguifhed himfelf both in the camp and cabinet, and united in an uncommon degree the talents of the military character, with the keennefs or verfatility of the ftatefman. The fatal expedition to Tangier, which ended in the perpetual captivity of his noble brother FERDINAND, never received his fuffrage, but from the firft was oppofed by every argument he could devife. PEDRO, Duke of Coimbra, was endowed by nature with a quick, yet folid underftanding; in whatever light his character is beheld, its brilliancy attracts and gratifies the beholder. His eloquence, the voyages which he had made, and his travels both in Afia and Africa, induced the hiftorian Caftera, with others, to ftyle him the *Ulyffes* of his age. Pedro was admired in all the courts of Europe; and, under the

the ſtandards of the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, the ſword of Don Pedro had been ſeen and dreaded in Germany by the Turks. When called to the helm as regent, he gave the whole of his charts and geographical manuſcripts to the DUKE OF VISEO; who to [l] kindred genius and talents, united the moſt determined and patient reſolution. The religion of this prince, who was grand maſter of the order of Chriſt, bleſſed and elevated his deſigns; the propagation of the Goſpel was the ſublime object of all his enterprizes: the words that were emblazoned on the ſhield of this illuſtrious [m] knight, TALENT

Ch. II. § 1. *John the firſt.*

[l] The character of the two brothers, PEDRO and HENRY, called forth the powers of Camoens, in his delightful epiſode of the *Hiſtoric Flags, or Enſigns.* (Mickle's Luſiad, vol. ii. page 270.)

" Illuſtrious, lo! two brother-heroes ſhine,
Their birth, their deeds, adorn the royal line;
To every king of princely Europe known,
In every Court the gallant PEDRO ſhone;
The glorious HENRY! kindling at his name,
Behold, my ſailors' eyes all ſparkle flame!
Henry the chief, who firſt by heaven inſpired,
To deeds unknown before, the Sailor fired;
The conſcious Sailor left the ſight of ſhore,
And dared new Oceans, never ploughed before:
The various wealth of every diſtant land
He bade his Fleets explore, his Fleets command;
The Ocean's great diſcoverer he ſhines!
Nor leſs his honours in the martial lines:
The Painted Flag the cloud-wrapt ſiege diſplays,
There Ceuta's rocking wall its truſt betrays.
Black yawns the breach; the point of many a ſpear
Gleams through the ſmoke; loud ſhouts aſtound the ear:
Whoſe ſtep firſt trod the dreadful paſs? whoſe ſword
Hew'd its dark way, firſt with the foe begored?
'Twas thine, O glorious HENRY! firſt to dare
The dreadful paſs, and thine to cloſe the war.
Taught by his might, and humbled in her gore,
The boaſtful pride of Afric tower'd no more.

[m] Prince Henry, who was the *fifth* ſon of John the firſt (many writers have been led to imagine he was the fourth), was created knight of the garter by Henry the ſixth of England. Probably

BOOK I.

TALENT DE BIEN FAIRE, prove that he had imbibed the generous virtues of chriſtianity.

1412, First Voyage.

Three years before the reduction of Ceuta, the Duke of Viſeo had ſent, in 1412, a veſſel to explore the coaſt of Africa, which was the firſt voyage of diſcovery undertaken by the Portugueſe. This attempt, rude as it now appears, was then pregnant with a ſeries of alarm, particularly adapted to depreſs the reſolution of ſeamen, who are always well verſed in legendary horrors. Africa, from time immemorial, has been the land of wonder or fairy illuſion; and though the induſtry of the eighteenth century may have removed many of the plauſible theories that darkened the beginning of the fifteenth, we ſtill have gained little more than a knowledge of its coaſts. The philoſophic ideas of [n] Cicero, who collected whatever had been approved by the antients, were now become the errors of the vulgar; the arguments that convinced the reaſon of [o] Pliny, may be allowed to have poſſeſſed ſome weight on the minds of Portugueſe ſeamen: they believed, therefore, that the middle regions of the earth, in the torrid zone, teemed with ſcorching vapours; and that the unexplored ſouthern continent of Africa, after extending in breadth towards the weſt, diverged with an unbroken ſweep to the eaſt; and having joined the continent of Aſia to the eaſtward of the Golden Cherſoneſe, the peninſula of Malacca, was not ſurrounded by ſea, but ſtretched in breadth to the [p] ſouth Pole.

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Probably he received this pledge of regard about the year 1443, the twenty-firſt of Henry the ſixth; as an order bearing that date was iſſued to carry the inſignia of the order to *Lynſranc de Henrychc*, uncle of the King of Portugal; which probably was intended for *L'Infant Don Henri*. See Auſtis' order of the garter (vol. i. p. 180.) for a life of the Duke of Viſeo in *his hiſtory of the thirteenth ſtall on the prince's ſide.*

[n] Somnium Scipionis, ch. vi.

[o] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. ii. ch. lxviii.

[p] This error, as already mentioned (*page* 65.) originated with Ptolemy (Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9.) See alſo Dr. Vincent's valuable *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (Part the firſt, page* 180); and his map of the world (Appendix, page 83), taken from an Arabian manuſcript of AL EDRISI,

who

This first voyage of the Portuguese was annually followed by others; as the duke sent every year some ships to the coast of Africa, they gradually advanced beyond *Cape Nam*, which extending itself from the foot of Mount Atlas, had hitherto been the impassable limit of European navigation, and accordingly received its name from a negative term in Portuguese. But the mariners, who sailed with every instruction and encouragement their prince could furnish were arrested in their course by the sight of a tremendous cape; which, at the distance of sixty leagues from the former, stretched boldly out towards the west, and formed the coast, they had hitherto passed from Cape Nam, into an extensive bay. With considerable alarm and disappointment, they beheld a frightful sea raging on the shoals, which agitate its waves for six leagues: the terrors of the torrid zone were not forgot; their imagination presented its fiery flames and scorching vapours, and suggested that they might already have advanced too far. On their return, the dangers of the newly discovered Cape were not diminished by narration; and the Spanish term of *Bojar* was given to the barren and dreary promontory of [q] Bojadore.

The

who lived in the twelfth century, and appears to have followed the ideas of Ptolemy relative to the southern regions of Africa. Ptolemy's *Geography, in seven books*, was one of the first Greek manuscripts which the Arabians translated, and probably about the year 827, when their *Almagestum*, or *Magna Constructio of Ptolemy*, appeared. The Greek text of *the geography* was printed at Basil 1533; and a Latin version with notes, by Gerard Mercator, was published at Amsterdam, in the year 1605. Through means of the Arabian translation, his errors, relative to Africa, were circulated and believed by the Moors of Barbary, from whom they were conveyed to Portugal.

[q] It is imagined that this was the *Cape Canerea* of Ptolemy. The word *Bojar* appears in the Spanish dictionary by Baretti (*verb active*), to go about; and *Boja*, compassing, going about: but no such term is to be found in the *Diccionario de la lingua Castellana, por la real Acad. Espanola, reducido a un tomo. Madrid* 1783. *Vieyra*, in his *Portuguese* dictionary, also mentions Bojar, *verb active*, to stretch out.—*Dr. Johnson*, in his Introduction to the World Displayed, a collection of voyages and travels, published in four small volumes by *Newberry*, gives its etymology with his usual facility and clearness. *Bojador*, so called, from its progression into the ocean, and the circuit by which it must be doubled.

BOOK I.

The ſyſtems which the narrow faculties of men frame in every age, and ſubſtitute for the ſublime truths of nature, would here probably have repreſſed, at leaſt for many years, the daring exploits of navigation, if the unprejudiced and clear mind of the Portugueſe prince, had not dared to queſtion the validity of the antient ſages, the moſt enlightened philoſophers, and the moſt accurate geographers, which Greece or Rome had produced. With a judgment matured by the converſe of various ſcientific men, whom his patronage had attracted in Africa; and with a mind enlarged by the peruſal of every work, which illuſtrated the diſcoveries he had in view, the conqueror of Ceuta returned to Portugal. The high land of *Cape St. Vincent*, as he approached the coaſt, diſplayed the extenſive command of an ocean hitherto unexplored; and probably a view of its cliffs, at a time when his mind glowed with future projects of diſcovery, might ſuggeſt the firſt idea of conſtructing his romantic town of *Sagres*, on the *promontorium ſacrum* of the Romans. Here, as *Faria* ſays, the view of the Ocean inſpired his hopes and endeavours: removed from the hurry of a court, from the fatigue or indolence of a military life, the prince indulged that genius for mathematics and navigation, which he had hitherto been obliged to neglect. At *Sagres*, his arſenals and dock-yards were conſtructed; whilſt the induſtry or ſkill of the ſhip-wrights were improved, by the preſence of their royal maſter. Under ſuch auſpices, the Mariner's Compaſs was brought into general uſe; a knowledge of the longitude and latitude, and the means by which they could be aſcertained by aſtronomical obſervation, increaſed the ſkill of his ſeamen. The ſea [r] Aſtrolabe, which derives its name from the armillary ſphere, invented by Hipparchus at Alexandria, was improved, and introduced into the Portugueſe ſervice. Skilful mariners from all countries found encouragement to ſettle at Sagres. A public ſchool and obſer-

[r] See Appendix (H).

obſervatory was opened by the prince, in which an inhabitant of Majorca preſided, of the name of *James*, whoſe experience in navigation, and the conſtruction of [s] charts, had reached the ears of this promoter of ſcience. Ch. II. § 1. *John the firſt.*

Thus improved and encouraged, the Portugueſe, by the order of their prince, undertook another voyage of diſcovery about the year 1418. Every thing relative to it had been daily inſpected by the Duke; and with little exertion of the imagination, a ſcene of conſiderable maritime intereſt is formed on the ſhore of Sagres. Two naval officers of his houſhold volunteered their lives, in an attempt to ſurmount the perils of *Bojadore*; the mariners of Great Britain may ſmile at ſuch apprehenſions, but after the lapſe of ſucceeding centuries, many exploits of the preſent age will probably ſhew, that ſcience was even yet, and perhaps ever will be, in a progreſſive ſtate. *Juan* [t] *Gonzales Zarco*, and *Triſtan Vaz Texeira*, having received the thanks and grateful wiſhes of their patron, went on board a veſſel that was called a [u] *barcha*, and ſteered for the tremendous Cape. Puerto Santo. 1418.

The

[s] Mons. *D'Apres*, when ſpeaking of the early Charts that were compoſed under the auſpices of the Duke of Viſeo, thus deſcribes the mode which was then adopted. "Ces premieres Cartes Marines ſont celles qu'on à nommées depuis *cartes plates*, pour les diſtinguer des *réduites*; à cauſe que dans leur conſtruction on n'avoit aucun ègard à la convexité du globe terreſtre, et que la portion, qu'elles comprennent, etoit ſuppoſée á une ſurface plate. De plus, les meridiens y ſont repreſentés par des lignes droites paralleles entr'elles." (Preface, *Neptune Oriental*, p. 5.)

[t] *Juan Gonzales Zarco* was the firſt knight created by John the firſt, in conſequence of the capture of Ceuta. He ſerved in all the expeditions againſt Africa, during the life of John and his ſon; and is recorded to have introduced the uſe of artillery in ſhips.

[u] The *Bark*, and *Barcha longa*, are veſſels but ſeldom employed, ſince the late improvements in ſhip-building. The *firſt* may be deſcribed as a ſort of brig with topſails, having its courſes and topſails ſet on the ſame Pole, without ſliding maſts, which is at preſent in uſe on board thoſe veſſels known by the names of *Tartans*, and *Settees*; the *ſecond*, or *Barcha longa*, was a ſmaller kind of galley, with one maſt, and oars.

BOOK I.

The Portugueſe had yet to learn the particular winds that were to be expected on the coaſt of Africa, with the cauſes by which their influence is varied or increaſed. Between the latitudes of 28° and 10° north, ſeamen conſtantly meet with a freſh gale near the land blowing from the north-eaſt. The currents alſo that prevail, and ſet towards the continent, the long banks of ſand which extend a great way to ſea, and are extremely difficult to be diſtinguiſhed in the morning and evening, were powerful obſtacles to the enterpriſing ſpirit of theſe navigators. About ſix leagues off Cape Bojadore, a moſt violent current daſhes upon the breakers, and formed a dreadful object to the inexperienced mariners: though the voyage of *Zarco* and *Vaz* was ſhort, they had many [x] dangers to ſurmount. Their ſkill and firmneſs were ſoon tried by a ſudden ſtorm, which heightened every

[x] The Portugueſe Hiſtorians give only a general account of this intereſting Voyage. The reader may therefore form a more correct idea of the danger to which Zarco and Vaz were expoſed, by the following extract from the more recent voyages of *Monſ. Saugnier and Briſſon*, who were both ſhip-wrecked, in different veſſels, on the north-weſt coaſt of Africa; the former near *Cape Bojadore*, in the month of January 1784, the latter near *Cape Blanco*, in July 1785. Monſ. Saugnier relates, "that on the night of the fourteenth, they perceived the land of Africa, then at three leagues diſtance, for which the ſhip was running with the wind abaft. *One hour later not a ſoul would have been ſaved.* At four in the morning the ſhip ſtruck on a ſand bank; nothing could be diſtinguiſhed: horrible cries were heard on every ſide, and the ſailors ran about the deck without being conſcious of what they did.—The ſea broke entirely over us; the darkneſs of the night, the dreadful roaring of the waves, our officers' ignorance of the place where they had run the ſhip aground, deprived us of recollection, and drove us to deſpair. About half after five the ſhip, beat by the breakers, which followed one another inceſſantly, filled with water. About ſeven, the captain ordered all work to ceaſe, that we might come to ſome reſolution; nobody could aſcertain our ſituation: ſome aſſerted we were aſhore on one of the Canary iſlands, and others on the coaſt of Africa. Being recovered however from the firſt alarm, our whole attention was turned to the ſafeſt means of reaching the land."—This veſſel was of about three hundred tons burthen, and *Dutch* built. Let her dimenſions, and the experience of her crew, be compared with the veſſels and ſeamen of the Portugueſe, and the danger they were expoſed to will proportionably increaſe: let the reader alſo compare this veſſel, and the ſurrounding perils, with the miſerable barks of the antients, and then believe if he can the voyages of Hanno and Hamilco; or the triennial circumnavigation of Africa, by the ſeamen of Necho, king of Egypt, ſix hundred and four years before the Chriſtian æra.

every peril: before they could reach their deſtination, an heavy gale [y] aroſe from the eaſt; the billows of the Atlantic were gradually elevated, and the ſmallneſs of the veſſel increaſed the horrors of the ſcene. For the firſt time the Portugueſe were driven out to ſea; and, as if the very tempeſt was favourable to their early projects, the error, which their own inexperience could not detect in ſo uniformly keeping within the ſight of land, was proved by the ſtorm which threatened their deſtruction. The ſhip's company, on loſing their accuſtomed bearings, had given themſelves up to deſpair; but unexpectedly the violence of the gale abated, and they found themſelves approaching an iſland, ſituated about one hundred leagues to the ſouth-weſt of Africa. When the firſt tranſport of joy allowed them to make any obſervation, they beheld its coaſt extending about twenty miles in length: as the only road-ſtead is on the ſouth-weſt ſide, they probably there caſt anchor. Gratitude to providence for their eſcape immediately ſuggeſted a name for the new diſcovery; and *Puerto Santo*, or the [z] Holy Haven, the ſmalleſt of the Madeiras, being only two miles in breadth, cords this memorable epocha, when the Portugueſe firſt abandoned the coaſting voyages of the antients, for the bolder enterpriſe of an improved, and more intrepid age.

Thus after a paſſage of only one hundred and ſixty leagues from the promontory of *Sagres*, which at preſent in moderate weather

[y] In ſteering to the ſouthward from *Cape St. Vincent*, when the weather is ſettled, the wind is generally from the northward; and gradually veers towards the eaſt, until you get into the latitude of 28°. 00. north, where you may expect a confirmed Trade Wind, which is from north-eaſt to eaſt north-eaſt; and although the ſtrongeſt gales uſually blow from the Weſt, they alſo at times come with great fury from the Eaſt. It muſt have been an eaſterly wind which carried the Portugueſe out to ſea, and brought them to *Puerto Santo*.

[z] *Aſia* of De Barros, Decad. i. lib. i. cap. ii. Faria y Souſa *Aſia Portug.* tom. i. cap. i. Only a part of the firſt decade of the *Aſia* of De Barros has yet been tranſlated into Engliſh, which is very ſcarce.

BOOK I.

ther may be performed in three days, *Zarco* and *Vaz* returned with elated minds to make known the eventful ſtory of their perils. They deſcribed the inhabitants of *Puerto Santo*, as being in an intermediate ſtate of civilization; that neither their conduct nor diſpoſition betrayed any ſigns of ſavage ferocity; that the ſoil was fertile, and the climate mild: both the navigators confirmed the truth of this favourable report, by requeſting the duke's permiſſion to return and ſettle in the iſland. The anxious mind of HENRY was thus conſiderably relieved: a more advanced ſtation towards the ſouth, particularly favourable to any future diſcoveries on the coaſt of Africa, was ſecured, whence the adjacent parts of the [a] Atlantic could be explored with greater eaſe; and the perils of the hitherto impaſſable *Bojadore* might now be avoided, by preſerving a bolder courſe, in a ſouth-weſterly direction from Puerto Santo. He therefore granted the requeſt of Zarco and Vaz, with conſiderable marks of commendation; and yielding at the ſame time to the importunities of a maritime ſpirit, which this ſucceſsful voyage had ſuch a tendency to increaſe, he complied with the earneſt deſire of many who wiſhed to behold the new diſcovery; among theſe, *Bartholemew Pereſtrello*, a nobleman of his houſhold, was the moſt diſtinguiſhed.

Settlement of Puerto Santo.

Three veſſels were immediately fitted out in the courſe of the ſame year, 1418, commanded by *Pereſtrello*, *Zarco*, and *Vaz*, who accordingly ſailed for Puerto Santo. The different animals and ſeeds, which Prince Henry had ſelected, having been landed and diſtributed under the eye of Pereſtrello, he returned to Portugal. Zarco and Vaz remained to ſuperintend the infant colony, and ſoon perceived, that their introduction of rabbits would in time, from the rapid increaſe of thoſe animals, deſtroy the vegetable produce of the

[a] On leaving *Puerto Santo*, or *Madeira*, the Portugueſe were gradually taught, in the progreſs of their diſcoveries towards the Cape of Good Hope, to keep to the ſouth-weſt; by which means they left all the African iſlands to the eaſtward, and had a clear ocean, without any dangers from the coaſt of Africa, or the currents that ſet towards it.

the iſland, and baffle every hope of rendering it a place of refreſhment for the Portugueſe ſhips. Ch. II. § 1. *John the firſt.*

It was the firm belief both of the inhabitants of Puerto Santo, and of the moſt enlightened among the Portugueſe, that the ſea to the weſtward beyond that iſland, which had originally been diſcovered by [b] *Juba*, was not navigable on account of weeds and mud; that the courſe of a ſhip would alſo be arreſted by concealed rocks, and dreadful whirlpools. This idea had originated with the antients, and was ſupported by a ſtrange appearance in the horizon, that perplexed the minds of our navigators: to the ſouth-weſt of *Puerto Santo*, a thick impenetrable cloud continually hovered on the waves, and thence extended to the heavens. Some believed it to be a dreadful abyſs; ſuperſtition traced amidſt the gloom, the inſcription and portal of Dante; whilſt the learned pronounced that it could only be the iſland of *Cipango*, where Spaniſh and Portugueſe biſhops had retired, with other Chriſtians, from the perſecuting Moors, and that no one could approach under the penalty of death.

Gonzales, and his companion Triſtan Vaz, bore this ſtate of ſuſpenſe with the impatience of ſeamen; from the earlieſt return of light to the cloſe of day, the meteor preſerved an uniform ſullen aſpect. At length Gonzales, after a long reſidence in the iſland, unable to poſſeſs courage ſufficient to develope the myſtery, or to obtain inſtruction that might elucidate the real truth, [c] returned to Portugal. But neither his patron, nor any of his followers, could give

[b] Puerto Santo, and Madeira, were ſtyled *Inſulæ Purpuriæ*, from the manufactory of Getulian purple eſtabliſhed there by Juba.

[c] I have endeavoured, in the following account, to reconcile the relation by Alcaforado, who was eſquire to Prince Henry, with that of De Barros (decade the firſt, book i. chap. ii.). The reader may compare this with Galvano's remarks in the Appendix. According to *Alcaforado*, Gonzales having left Puerto Santo two years, was in 1420 ſent to the coaſt of Africa; when he captured Morales the pilot, with whom he afterwards ſailed to diſcover Madeira.

BOOK I.

give Gonzales the explication he fought; the diftance at which they were placed, increafed the terror of an object they could only behold in imagination.

Geographical MSS.

The geographical knowledge which the Duke of Vifeo received from the Arabs and Moors of Africa, muft have been very extenfive; but no light was thence reflected on the undifcovered iflands of the Atlantic. It may however be interefting to the reader, to confider what particular fources of [d] information it is probable the Portuguefe prince in this refpect enjoyed. The character of a noble Arabian, ISMAEL ABULFEDA, Prince of Hamah, a city of Syria, bears a ftriking refemblance to that of the Duke of Vifeo; not only in his rank as a prince, but in the zeal with which he ftudied and improved the fcience of geography. Abulfeda was born at Damafcus about the year 1273, and was invefted with the dominions of his anceftors by the Soltân al Nâfer in 1310. In the eleventh year of his reign he compofed his learned [e] geographical work, entitled, "Chorafmiæ et Mawer-

[d] Confiderable additions may be made to this fubject by the induftry of *Sir William Oufeley*, in his purpofed examination of the geographical fyftem of the Afiaticks: through the innumerable Arabic and Perfian authors that pafs in review before him, a moft interefting account might be given of thofe manufcripts, which were the moft likely to have formed the library, or enlarged the knowledge, of Henry Duke of Vifeo. Befides the works of *Abulfeda*, *Edrifi*, and others, that are well known, Sir William has mentioned many Oriental manufcripts, whofe names are by no means common to Europeans. *Heft Aklim*, or feven Climates, by Emir Rauzi; *Afjaieb al Boldan*, or Wonders of Regions; *Tahkik al Irab*, a geographical dictionary by *Mohammed Saduk Isfahani*; and the *Tohfut al Irakein*, or poetical defcription of the two Iraks, Arabian and Perfian provinces, by the celebrated Khakani, with many others. (Preface to Ebn Haukal, p. 31.)

[e] This had been preceded by the obfervations of fome travellers, relative to *India*, about the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century; which appeared in the *Collection of Palladius*, an anonymous writer, *and Ambrofiafter*, printed at London 1665. The famous Egyptian merchant, Cofmas, furnamed Indicopleuftes, or the Indian navigator (*fee preceding Hift. Memoir of the Progrefs of Difcovery by the Antients*), performed his voyage A. D. 522, and compofed his fubfequent work, *Chriftian Topography*, at Alexandria, between A. D. 535, and 547. The moft valuable part is given in Greek by Melchifedec Thevenot in his valuable Collection of Voyages, with an engraving of *le Mufe* and *le Pourceau Cerf*; and the Pere Mountfaucon has publifhed in the French language, a fplendid edition of the whole. (Nova Collectio Patrum, Paris 1707, 2. vols. folio.)

Ch. II. § 1. *John the first.*

Maweralnahr, hoc eſt, regionum extra fluvium Oxum deſcriptio, ex tabulis Abulfedæ Iſmaelis, principis Hamah: "*A deſcription of Choraſmia, and Mawaralnahre, or the regions beyond the river Oxus, from the tables of Abulfeda Iſmael, Prince of Hamah.* In the courſe of this work, he cites no leſs than thirty different geographers, but expreſſes his principal obligations to the labours of [f] *Ptolemy*, *Albiruni*, *Alfaras*, *Ebnſahid*, and the author of a work, entitled, *The fourth part of the habitable world;* which he ſays was tranſlated from the Greek into Hebrew, and from the Hebrew into Arabic, by the orders of Almamoun, another Arabian prince. Abulfeda paſſed ſome time in [g] England; but his work did not appear before 1650, when it was printed by our learned countryman Dr. Greaves. Abulfeda's geography conſiſts of [h] tables of the latitude and longitude of places, in imitation of Ptolemy, with their deſcriptions, under the title

[f] See *Relation de divers Voyages Curieux, qui n'ont point eſté publiées*, 2 vols. folio, *par M. Melchiſedec Thevenot*, Paris 1696. Tom. premier, p. 18.

[g] His work on Geography, however, could not be found in England by *Hakluyt*, ſince he commiſſioned his friend M. John Newberie to procure one abroad; who in conſequence ſent the following Letter from Aleppo, May 28, 1583:

"Right wel beloued, and my aſſured good friend, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good health, &c.—After we ſet ſaile from Grauefend, which was the 13th day of February laſt, wee remained upon our coaſt until the 11th day of March, and that day we ſet ſaile from Falmouth, and never ankered till wee arrived in the road of Tripolie in Syria, which was the laſt day of Aprile laſt paſt, where wee ſtayed fourteen dayes; and the twentie of this preſent wee came hither to Alepo, and with God's helpe, within fiue or ſixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis, I haue made very earneſt inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Coſmographie of *Abilfada Iſmael*, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some ſay that poſſibly it may be had in Perſia; but notwithſtanding, I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balſara; and if I can finde it in any of theſe places, I will ſend it you from thence. - - - This yeere many men goe into the warres, and ſo hath there euery yeere ſince the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very fewe of them returne againe. Notwithſtanding, they get of the Perſians, and make caſtles and holds in their countrey. - - - Maſter Fitch hath him heartily commended unto you: and ſo I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie, who bleſſe and keepe you, and ſend us a joyfull meeting. Your louing friend to command in all that I may, JOHN NEWBERIE."—(Vol. ii. Hacklyt, p 245.)

[h] Dr. Greaves publiſhed two of the tables, with a Latin tranſlation. Three appeared in 1712, inſerted by Mr. Gagnier in the third volume of Dr. Hudſon's Minor Greek Geographers,

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title of *Takwim al Boldân.* The learned writer of the additional remarks to *Abulfeda's Life*, inſerted in the General Dictionary, corrects many of the errors both of Bayle and Dr. Greaves, and anſwers with ability the ſevere criticiſms of *Renaudot* on this eaſtern geographer; who alſo compoſed a general hiſtory from the beginning of the world to his own time, the laſt edition whereof he continued to the year 1329. The following tranſlation, with remarks relative to that ſide of the Atlantic which we are now conſidering, is extracted from Major Rennell's [i] Illuſtration of the Geography of Herodotus:—" It is called the *Ambient Sea*, becauſe it ſurrounds the whole extent of the Continental Lands; and hence Ariſtotle calls it the Crown Sea, as if it ſurrounded the earth, juſt as a crown does the head. --- The *weſtern* border, then, of this Ambient Sea, namely, that which waſhes Africa and Spain, is called the Ocean; in which are the *fortunate iſlands*, ten degrees diſtant from the ſhore of Africa. Some reckon their longitude from theſe iſlands, others from the (weſtern) ſhore of Africa [k]. This ſea begins to extend itſelf from the moſt ſouthern ſhore of Mauretania, until it has paſſed the *Deſert of Lamtun*, which is a vaſt wilderneſs of barbarians, ſituated between the borders of Mauretania, and thoſe of the various tracts of country belonging to the Nigritæ. From thence it ſtretches (yet further) towards the ſouth, along uncultivated, uninhabited, and unfrequented countries, until it has paſſed beyond the Equator: after which it bends to the eaſt, behind the mountains [l] *El Komri*, from whence the

Art. vi. *Abulfedæ deſcriptio Choraſmiæ, &c. Arabicè et Latinè*, and Art. vii. *Abulfedæ deſcriptio Arabiæ, Arab. et Lat. cum binis Tabulis Geographicis; una Naſſir Eddini; altera, Ulug Beigi.*

[i] Page 688. Major Rennell refers to the Prolegomena in *Reiſke's Tranſlation* of Abulfeda, in Buſching's Hiſt. and Geogr. Mag. vol. iv. p. 140. Abolfeda's deſcription begins with what he terms the *weſtern* ſide, he then proceeds to the *ſouthern*, and ſucceſſively to the *eaſtern*, and *northern*, and then completes his circuit by returning to the point whence he ſet out.

[k] The *Major* conſiders this as a proof, amongſt others, that Abulfeda thought the coaſt of Africa lay very much in the direction of the Meridian, from the Strait of Gibraltar ſouthward.

[l] *Lunar* mountains, or mountains of the Moon, as they are called by Ptolemy: and it appears from Mr. Browne, that they are really ſo called in Africa. *Rennell.*

the Nile of Egypt has its ſources. Again, it proceeds ſouthward, and afterwards turns again to the eaſtern quarter, paſſing by uncultivated ſhores, behind the regions of the Zengitæ, whence it takes a north-eaſterly courſe to its junction with the ſeas of *India* and *China*. It then takes an eaſterly courſe, till it reaches the eaſtern extremity of the Continent, that is, the region of *China;* whence it bends northward, and in its progreſs ſhuts up the eaſtern quarter of China, until it faces the mound or rampart of Jajuje and Majuje (Gog and Magog [m]). Thence it bends weſtward, paſſing by regions, of which we are ignorant; and having paſſed the territories of the Ruſſians, it takes a ſouth-weſt direction, and then again weſtward, along the coaſts of various *Infidel* nations, until it comes oppoſite to Italy, on the weſt. (Perhaps it ſhould be *north*, as the German ocean ſeems to be meant.) Thence bending ſouthward, it waſhes the countries lying between Italy and Spain, which having paſſed, it proceeds to the ſhores of Spain; and finally, having extended itſelf along its weſtern ſide, it comes oppoſite to Sabta (*Ceuta*) which is ſituated at the paſſage or croſſing place (of the Strait of Gibraltar) from whence we ſet out."

The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, an Arabian traveller of the [n] tenth century, which Sir William Ouſeley has lately tranſlated, might alſo have been known to the Duke of Viſeo; or at leaſt through means of the Arabs, might have increaſed to the oral information he re-

[m] In another part of his work, Major Rennell has inſerted a ſketch to explain *Edriſi's* idea of the poſition of *Gog* and *Magog;* by which it appears "that it bordered ſouthward, and ſouth-weſtward, on the *Eluth Kalmacs*, on *Turkeſtan*, the *Deſht Kipſak*, and the country of the *Baſkirians;* and conſequently contained the tract, ſituated to the north of the mountains which divide the Great Steppe, now poſſeſſed by the Kirgees tribes." He alſo refers the reader to the thirty-firſt volume of the *Mem. Acad. Inſcrip.* for a memoir on the poſition of the rampart of Gog and Magog.

[n] Sir William conjectures that he flouriſhed before A. D. 968, and after the year 902; probably about 914 (page 137).

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received. From all countries men of ſcience reſorted to *Sagres;* of whom the prince naturally enquired, and liberally encouraged to ſeek for ſuch Oriental manuſcripts, as would tend to elucidate and promote the great object he had in view. "Abulfeda informs [o] us, that *Edriſi* [p], *Ebn Khordadbah*, and many other writers of high reputation, have only traced on paper the footſteps of EBN HAUKAL, who it appears, from his own words, had actually viſited moſt of the places which he deſcribes." This curious tract has ſo recently appeared, that after giving a few extracts, intimately connected with our preſent ſubject, I muſt refer the reader to the work itſelf.

The intention of *Ebn Haukal* was to deſcribe the various climates, and regions of the face of the earth, compriſed within the circle of *Iſlam* or Mohammedaniſm. He begins with Arabia, and proceeds to the *Deryai-Pars*, or Perſian Sea; he then viſits the weſtern countries *Zemeen-i-Magreb* (*part of Africa*), and having noticed Egypt, Syria, Suſiana, and parts of Perſia, with the places bordering on *Sind*, and *Hind*, the confines of Hindooſtan, and the rivers of that country,—he next deſcribes, among other places, the *Deryai Khozr*, or Caſpian Sea, and the various nations that ſurrounded it; the deſerts between *Khoraſan* and *Fars;* the province of *Seieſtan;* with *Khoraſan*, and *Maweralnahr*, or Tranſoxania.

His obſervations on Africa are particularly intereſting, and ſtrikingly accord with our preſent ſubject. "As for the land of blacks, in the weſt *(Africa)*, and the *Zingians*, Æthiopians, and ſuch tribes, I make but ſlight mention of them in this book; becauſe naturally loving wiſdom, ingenuity, religion, juſtice, and regular government, how could I notice ſuch people as thoſe, or exalt them

[o] See Sir William Ouſeley's preface, (p. 2.) who refers his reader to *Abulfeda*'s work in quarto, *London*, 1650.

[p] His work intitled *Edriſii Africa* was publiſhed at Gottingen in 1796 by J. M. Hartmann, 8vo.

them by inferting an account of their countries? Yet one race of them has fome degree of civilization, and religious obfervance, the *Nubians*, and *Habbefhians*, Abbyffinians: the reafon of this is, their vicinity to the other more polifhed countries; thus Nubia and Habbefheh are fituated on the borders of the *Deryai Kolzum*, the *fea* of *Kolzum*, or Red fea: nothing farther can be faid in their favour." Ch. II. § 1. *John the first.*

"From [q] Egypt to the extremity of the weft, *Magreb*, is a diftance of an hundred and eighty [r] merhileh: from the extremity of the eaft to that of the weft is near one hundred merhileh: --- From *Roum* [s] to the *extreme boundary* of the land of the Nubians about eighty merhileh. Between *Yajouge* and *Majouge*, and the northern ocean, and between the deferts of the blacks and the other limits of the ocean, all is defolate and wafte, without any buildings. I know not what are the roads or ftages of thofe two deferts which are on the coafts of the ocean, becaufe it is *impoffible to travel in them* on account of the exceffive heat, which hinders the building of houfes, or the refiding there. Thus alfo *in the fouth, no animal can exift*, fo exceffive is the heat, nor any perfon dwell there. But between *Cheen* [t], and the weft, *Magreb*, all is inhabited, and the ground cultivated; and the ocean furrounds the land like a collar, or necklace. --- From *Kolzum* [u] or the weft of the fea (the Red Sea) the dry deferts ftretch very far to the land of *Bajeh*. This country is fituated between *Habefh*, Abbyffinia, the land of Nubia, and Egypt. In it are *gold mines*, which extend from near the borders of Egypt to a certain caftle on the fea coaft, which they call *Affat*, or *Affab*, a dif-

[q] Sir W. Oufeley's Tranflation, pages 4. and 7.

[r] Sir William obferves in his Preface that Greaves tranflates *Merhileh* by ftatio, diæta, menfio. According to Edrifi it confifted of thirty miles; Abulfeda confidered it as undetermined

[s] Natolia:—Ebn Haukal affigns to it the borders of Sclavonia, of Ruffia, and Armenia. The Mediterranean is ftyled by him the fea of Roum. See preceding page 123, note x.

[t] China or Tartary.

[u] Ibid. page 13.

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a diſtance of about ten merhileh: there are not in any quarter of the world ſuch gold mines as theſe. On the ſea-coaſt there is a place called *Zeilaa*, which is the port for thoſe who go to *Yemen* and *Hejaz;* then begin the deſerts of *Nubia*. The Nubians are Chriſtians, and their country is wider than that of the Abyſſinians;—and the Egyptian Nile paſſes through their territories, and goes on to the land of the *Zingians*, Æthiopia [x]; *and one cannot proceed beyond that.* The ſea continues to the land of *Zingbar*, Æthiopia, oppoſite Aden; thence it departs from the regions of Iſlam."

"Magreb (the weſt) or Africa, is chiefly remarkable for the black ſlaves: the white ſlaves come from the quarter of [y] *Andalus;* and coral, and ambergris, and gold, and honey, and ſilk, and ſeal-ſkins. One [z] cannot enter *Sejelmaſah*, but by the way of the deſert, which the ſand renders difficult. This town is ſituated near the Gold Mines, between them and the land of the Blacks, and the land of *Zouilah:* theſe mines are ſaid to be of the moſt pure and excellent gold.---This land of the [a] Blacks is a very extenſive region: their ſkins are of a finer and deeper blackneſs than that of any other blacks, whether *Habeſhis*, Abyſſinians, or *Zingians*, Æthiopians; and their country is more extenſive than that of any other nation of Blacks: *it is ſituated on the coaſt of the ocean to the ſouth.*"

Reſpecting *India* we are informed, "that on the [b] eaſt of the land of *Iſlam*, are the regions of Hindooſtan. The country of [c] *Tibet* is ſituated between *Khurkhiz*, and the empire of [d] *Cheen*. Cheen lies between the ſea and the land of Ghuz and Tibet; and Cheen itſelf conſtitutes this climate (or diviſion). *Hormuz* [e], the port of Kirman, is a well inhabited and flouriſhing city. From this you go to

[x] Sir William remarks in a note, that this laſt ſentence, which ſeems obſcure, is literally, "and *after that, it is impoſſible to go on.*"

[y] Spain. [z] Pages 16. and 21. [a] Page 22. [b] Page 5.

[c] Page 10. [d] China. [e] Page 12.

to *Daibul*, where there are merchants, who trade in all places: this is the port of the land of *Sind*; and Sind is the ſame as Manſureh; and the region of *Lattian*, as far as Cheen, extends along the coaſt of Hindooſtan, to Tibet, and *Cheen Macheen*, beyond which no one paſſes. - - - *Hormuz* [f] is the emporium of the merchants in Kirman, and their chief ſea-port."

Ch. II. § 1. *John ch. ſ. 8.*

Such probably were [g] ſome of the principal reſources, to which the zealous mind of the Portugueſe Prince applied to ſuſtain, and enforce the validity of the opinions, he had reſolved to encourage. It was however in vain to ſearch the manuſcripts of Orientaliſts, for an explanation of a terrific phenomenon in the horizon of *Puerto Santo*. The perplexity of *Gonzales Zarco* therefore continued; and in this ſtate of mind he was ſent by John the firſt on an expedition to the coaſt of Africa, during the year 1420.—*Don Sanchio*, youngeſt ſon of *Ferdinand*, king of Arragon, and grand-maſter of the order of Calatrava, dying on the 15th of March 1416, left a conſiderable ſum of money to redeem ſuch Caſtilians, as had been taken and ſold for ſlaves in Morocco. A cartel ſhip ſailed in conſequence from Spain during the year 1420, and on its return from Africa, fell in with Gonzales Zarco: though their reſpective governments had not openly declared war, the coolneſs, which enſued, induced Gonzales to board the cartel; but when the noble Portugueſe heard of the ſervice, on which the Spaniſh veſſel was employed, and alſo beheld the miſerable objects juſt releaſed from a Mooriſh dungeon, he felt and acted like a ſeaman; and only retained from the crew a Spaniſh pilot, *John de Morales*, who volun-

Gonzales Zarco. 1420.

[f] Page 142.

[g] One of the moſt celebrated of the Arabian tranſlators of the works of the ancients, was *Honein Ben Iſhac*, a Syrian phyſician, and a Chriſtian.—Nor ſhould we here omit the name of an early writer, *Orderick of Forli*, who in 1322, compoſed his *Voyages*, or *a Treatiſe of the wonders of the world*. The Duke of Viſeo might alſo have ſeen the Spaniſh manuſcript of the curious travels into Tartary during the year 1409, afterwards printed at Seville in 1582. See in Appendix (B.) the explanatory Catalogue of *Spaniſh* Voyages and Travels.

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volunteered his experience to promote the discoveries of the Duke of Viseo.

The skill and information of the Spaniard were soon discerned by Gonzales, and he listened with solicitude to the history of his sufferings; but what was his astonishment, when he perceived a ray of light arising from the narrative, which tended to dispel the darkness that had so long hovered in the horizon of *Puerto Santo*. "Among the companions of my misery," said Morales, "were some *English Seamen*; and the following [h] adventure, which they related, has often beguiled the weary hours of our captivity."

It

[h] The subsequent discovery of Madeira, by some writers assigned to the year 1419 rather than 1420, forms the subject of a Latin poem by Doctor Manoel Clemente, styled *Insulana*; he also composed an history of it in Latin prose, which he dedicated to Pope Clement the fifth. *De Barros* considers this important discovery in the first decade of his *Asia*; *Antonio Galvano* (Appendix, page 22) was the author from whom Hakluyt first introduced the narrative of *Machin* to the attention of the English (*vol. ii. part* 2. *page* 1). I have preferred the account given by *Francisco Alcaforado*, who was equerry to the Duke of Viseo. He differs, as the reader will remark, from the passage in Galvano. Mr. Ovington, chaplain to king William, informs us (Voyage to Surat in 1689,) that the inhabitants of Madeira firmly believed in the discovery of their island by Macham. *Faria y Sousa* notices the discovery of Madeira in his Portuguese Asia, and cites Alcaforado, when commenting on the following stanza of Camoens. (Canto 5.)

V.

"Passámos a grande Ilha da Madeira,
Que do muito avoredo assim se chama,
Das que nós povoámos a primeira,
Mais celebre por nome, que por fama:
Mas nem por ser do mundo a derradeira,
Se lhe avantajaõ quantas Venus ama,
Antes sendo esta sua, se esquecera
De Cypro, Gnido, Paphos, e Cythera."

"Named from her woods, with fragrant bowers adorn'd,
From fair * Madeira's purple coast we turn'd:
Cyprus and Paphos' vales, the smiling loves
Might leave with joy for fair Madeira's groves;

A Shore

* Insulæ Purpurariæ.

Ch. II. § 1. *John the first.* Discovery of Madeira by Machin.

It was in the glorious reign of Edward the third of England, that ROBERT A MACHIN, a gentleman of the ſecond degree of nobility, whoſe genius was only equalled by his gallantry and courage, beheld and loved the beautiful ANNA D'ARFET [1]: their attachment was mutual; but the pleaſing indulgence of ardent hope gratified and betrayed their paſſion. The pride of the illuſtrious family of *D'Arfet* was inſenſible to the happineſs of their daughter; they preferred the indulgence of ambition to the voice of duty and love. The feudal tyranny of the age was friendly to their cruel deſign; and a warrant from the king ſeemed to juſtify the vanity of a parent. The conſolation of an ingenuous mind ſupported Machin in confinement, its energy, thus compreſſed, ſought only for redreſs; nor did it yield to deſpondency, when on being delivered from priſon, he found that the innocent cauſe of his perſecution had been forced to marry a nobleman, who had carried her to his caſtle, near *Briſtol*. The friends of Machin made his misfortune their own; and one of them had the addreſs to be introduced, under the character of a groom, to the ſervice of the afflicted Anna. The proſpect of the ocean, which during their rides extended before them, ſuggeſted or matured the plan of eſcape; and the probability of a ſecure aſylum, was oppoſed to the dangers of a paſſage to the coaſt of France. Under pretence of deriving benefit from ſea air, the victim of parental ambition was enabled, without delay, to elude ſuſpicion; whilſt *Machin*, in the ſucceſsful completion of his anxious deſign, was equally inſenſible to the particular ſeaſon of the year, or the portentous

A Shore ſo flowery, and ſo ſweet an air,
Venus might build her dearest temple there."

Mickle's Luſiad, Book 5.

An account of the diſcovery of the iſland of Madeira abridged from the Portugueſe original, was publiſhed by *Payne* and *Bouquet* in 1751.

[1] Some writers have preferred the name of *Dorſet*, which a foreign orthography might turn into *D'Orſet*, and thence to *D'Arfet*. (See Le Harpe's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 216.)

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tentous appearance of weather, which in calmer moments he would have duly obſerved.

The gradual riſing of a gale of wind rendered the aſtoniſhed fugitives ſenſible of their raſhneſs; as the tempeſt approached, the thick darkneſs of night completed the horror of the ſcene. In their confuſion the intended port was miſſed, or could not be reached; their veſſel drove at the mercy of the winds; and in the morning they found themſelves in the midſt of an unknown ocean, without the ſkill that could determine their ſituation, or the experience that could direct their courſe. The dawn of twelve mornings returned without the ſight of land; when at length, after a night of increaſed anxiety, as they eagerly watched the earlieſt ſtreaks of day, an object loomed in the horizon: continual diſappointment produced a querulous deſpondency; whilſt they alternately believed and doubted, the thick grey haze was diſperſed by the riſing ſun, and a general burſt of joy welcomed the certainty of land. A luxuriancy of trees was ſoon viſible, to whoſe appearance they were utter ſtrangers; and the beautiful plumage of unknown birds, who came in flocks from the iſland, gave at firſt the ſemblance of a dream to their aſtoniſhing deliverance.

The boat being hoiſted out to examine the coaſt, returned with a favourable account. *Machin*, and his friends, accompanied their trembling charge, leaving the reſt to ſecure the veſſel. The wilderneſs of the adjacent country poſſeſſed additional charms to men eſcaped from deſtruction; and the rich ſcenery of [k] *Madeira* was

[k] *Madeira* in the Portugueſe language, or *Madera* in Spaniſh, ſignifies *wood*, and hence, ſays Voltaire (Découvertes des Portugais), came our French word *Madrier*, a term uſed in fortification, for a thick plank. The woods ſeen by *Machin* conſiſted of the Cedar, Vigniatico, *Laurus Indicus*, which has a conſiderable reſemblance to *mahogany*; Barbuzano, Cheſnut, and the beautiful Mirmulano and Paobranco.—Mr. *Thomas Nicols*, who reſided for ſeven years in the *Canaries*, in his deſcription of theſe iſlands, and Madeira, *with their ſtrange fruits and commodities*, (Hakluyt, vol. ii. part 2. page 3.) mentions a current report, *that between*

was again beheld, after a lapſe of many centuries, by the eyes of Europeans. An opening in the extenſive woods, which was encircled with laurels and flowering ſhrubs, preſented a delightful retreat; a venerable tree, the growth of ages, offered, on an adjoining eminence, its welcome ſhade; and the firſt moments of liberty were employed in forming a romantic reſidence, with the abundant materials ſupplied by nature.

A curioſity to explore their new diſcovery was increaſed by the novelty of every object they beheld; this varied occupation continued for three days, until the ſurvey was interrupted by an alarming hurricane, which came on during the night, and rendered them extremely anxious for their companions who were on board. The enſuing morning deſtroyed every proſpect of happineſs: they in vain ſought for the veſſel, which had drove from her moorings, and was wrecked on the coaſt of Morocco; where all on board were immediately ſeized as ſlaves, and ſent to priſon.

The afflicted *Machin* found this laſt trial too ſevere for his terrified and diſconſolate companion: her tender mind, overcome by

twcen the ſayd iland and the ile of Palma, is an iland not yet diſcovered, which is the true iland Madera, called ſaint Brandon.—One of the two *Capitanias*, into which Madeira is divided, bears the name of *Machico*, as does alſo its principal town. The other *Capitania*, Funchal, was ſo called from *Funcho*, the Portugueſe for *Fennel*, which abounds on the rocks.—In the thin quarto journal of Cook's firſt voyage (printed for Becket in 1771), the iſland of Madeira is placed in latitude 32° 33′ 33″, and longitude 16° 49′ 45″ weſt from London: the *variation* by ſeveral obſervations was found to have decreaſed weſterly 15° 30′, the dipping needle being 77° 18′." The beſt anchoring ground is near the Loo Caſtle, in 20, 25, or 30 fathom, the eaſt ſide of the bay being hard rocky ground. The iſland riſes very high, and terminates in a peak called *Pico Ruceo*, which is 5068 feet in height: the land riſes by very unequal elevations from the ſea, and forms a ridge which is frequently interrupted by chaſms of unequal depths; theſe extend almoſt the whole length of the iſland.—*Dr. Hawkeſworth*, in his narrative of the ſame voyage by Cook, notices the beautiful appearance of Madeira when firſt approached from ſea; and remarks that there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe, that this iſland was at ſome remote period thrown up by the exploſion of ſubterraneous fire; as every ſtone, whether whole, or in fragments, ſeen by Lieut. Cook, appeared to have been burnt; and even the ſand itſelf to be nothing more than aſhes.

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by the ſcenes ſhe had endured, needed the conſcious ſenſe of a ſtrict diſcharge of duty to renew its ſtrength. From the moment it was reported that the veſſel could not be found, ſhe became dumb with grief; expired after a few days of ſilent deſpair, and was ſoon followed by her inconſolable lover. The companions of Machin, forgetting their own ſituation, were entirely occupied in watching over their emaciated friend; but all attempts to adminiſter conſolation were fruitleſs: on the fifth day they received his parting breath, and earneſt injunction, *that they would place his body in the ſame grave, under the venerable tree, which amidſt an agony of tears they had ſo lately made for the unfortunate victim of his temerity; where the altar that had been raiſed to celebrate their deliverance, would now mark their untimely tomb.* This painful duty being performed, they fixed a large wooden croſs over the grave, with the inſcription which Machin had compoſed, to record their melancholy [1] adventures; and to requeſt, that if any Chriſtians ſhould hereafter viſit the ſpot, they would in the ſame place build a church, and dedicate it to Chriſt. The companions of Machin having thus obeyed the dictates of friendſhip, fitted out the boat, which from their firſt landing had been kept aſhore; their intention was to return if poſſible to England: but either owing to want of ſkill, to the currents, or unfavourable weather, they were driven on the ſame coaſt with their ſhipmates, and joined them in their Mooriſh priſon.

John

[1] The narrative of *Robert a Machin* is of conſiderable importance, as it records the firſt diſcovery of Madeira by an Engliſhman. The attention paid to it by *Alcaforado*, equerry to Prince Henry, gives it every authority that can be wiſhed; but yet conſiderable difficulties ariſe reſpecting the exact date when this event took place. The reign of *Edward* the *third* extends from 1327, to 1377. *Galvano*, who is not always correct, dates the diſcovery, on the authority of the *Chronicles* of *Caſtile*, to about 1344. *Herbert* places it in 1328.—Both theſe dates give a longer impriſonment to Morales than is conſiſtent with hiſtory: probably the exact year was never recorded. Even the relation of *Alcaforado* is full of ſubſequent interpolations, many of which are pointed out by Mr. Green (Aſtley's Collection, vol. i. page 571). The reign of Edward the third might have been thus inſerted, to give greater authority to the adventures of our countrymen.

John de Morales had fcarcely concluded his interefting narrative, when Gonzales ordered the ihip to be immediately put about; and fteering with a prefs of fail for the port of [m] *Terça Nabal*, haftened to introduce his Spanifh pilot to the Portuguefe prince. Duke Henry was fo much delighted with the information thus unexpectedly received, that he fent Gonzales, with the Spaniard, to the king at Lifbon, in order to propofe an expedition to Madeira; hoping that their converfation might fubdue a fpirit of oppofition, which envy or ignorance fedulouffy endeavoured to foment. The flame which malignancy had with difficulty repreffed, was now fanned by the encouragement and celebrity, which the relation of the Spanifh ftranger gave to the defigns of Prince Henry; and his immediate prefence at Lifbon became neceffary to filence the cabal. On his arrival, the murmur ceafed; and was fucceeded by the abject emulation of fycophants, who anxiouffy ftrove to conceal their paft and future machinations. A fhip well manned, and completely equipped, accompanied by a row-galley, or fort of floop then in ufe, impelled by oars, were inftantly appointed for the fervice. The command was given to *Gonzales Zarco*, who carried with him Captain Joãn Lourenço, *Francifco Alcaforado*, author of the fubfequent relation of the voyage; Francis de Carvalail, Ruy Paes, Alvarez Alfonfo; and two experienced failors from *Lagos*, Antonio Gago, and Lourenço Gomez.

Ch. II. § 1. *John the first.*

Our navigators arrived in fafety at *Puerto Santo*, and were cordially received by *Triftan Vaz Texeira*, who had long expected the return of Gonzales: they immediately communicated their defign, and

Madeira rediftovered. 1420.

[m] Probably the port adjoining to *Sagres*; which town, according to *Cada Mofto*, appears to have had alfo the appropriate name of *Repofera*,—" *in una villa vicina chiamata Repofera, nella qual per effer remota dalli tumulti delle genti, et atta alla contẽplatione de gli fludii fuoi, vi habitaua molto volontieri.*" (Ramufio, vol. i. p. 97.) The fhips employed on difcovery by Prince Henry generally reforted to the bay of Lagos, which thus became the *Portfmouth* of Algarve.

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and the important information that had been given by *Morales*. The Spanifh pilot, with the Portuguefe who accompanied *Gonzales*, were now fhewn the dreadful SHADE, which continued to hover in the horizon to the fouth-weft of *Puerto Santo*. Morales defied the terrors which appalled the greater part of the company; declaring it as his firm opinion, that what they beheld could only be the land they were in fearch of. After a confultation, it was determined, that the expedition fhould at leaft be delayed until the change of the moon, when probably fome alteration might take place in this alarming fpectre: its tremendous form however ftill continued; and the whole defign would moft likely have been fruftrated, had not *Morales* infifted, that the ground of the concealed ifland being fhaded from the fun by thick and lofty trees, a vapour was continually exhaled, which fpread itfelf throughout the fky: he alfo added, that according to the information he had received, from the Englifh feamen in his Moorifh dungeon, and the courfe they defcribed to have held, the land enveloped in the dark cloud could not be very diftant.

The arguments, and experience of Morales, had little effect on the minds of any of his hearers except Gonzales, who at length yielded to their force; and it was fecretly agreed between them, that the firft favourable morning they fhould fet fail, without any previous communication of their intentions to the reft. Accordingly, when the Portuguefe leaft expected it, the veffels at day-break, and as Alcaforado relates on *St. Elizabeth's day*, were found boldly ftanding with a prefs of fail towards *the dreaded abyfs*. If we confider the prevailing credulity and ignorance of the age, and the imperfect ftate of navigation, we muft allow that the attempt required the confummate refolution of a mariner. The firmnefs of Gonzales, and the pilot, increafed the apprehenfions of thofe on board; for as the fhip advanced

advanced, the high and extended vapour was obſerved to thicken, until it became horrible to view. Ch. II. § 1. *John the firſt.*

Towards noon the roaring of the ſea reverberated throughout the horizon. The Portugueſe could no longer endure the painful ſuſpenſe, and they called loudly on Gonzales, not to perſiſt in a courſe which muſt inevitably terminate in their deſtruction. Gonzales, and the Spaniſh pilot, attempted to calm their agitation; they urged every poſſible argument to convince them, that the whole was an idle alarm; and at length reconciled their trembling companions to abide the event. The weather was fortunately calm; but the rapidity of the current obliged Gonzales to have his ſhip towed by two [a] ſhallops along the ſkirts of the cloud; whilſt the daſhing of the ſea on the breakers ſerved as a guide, by which he either increaſed or diminiſhed his diſtance.

As they proceeded, the tremendous vapour gradually leſſened towards the eaſt, but the noiſe of the waves increaſed; when on a ſudden, ſomething of a deeper ſhade was feebly diſcerned through the gloom, the veſſels ſtill continuing at a great diſtance. Some perſons, who probably caught a faint glance of the rocks, with which the ſhore is lined, exclaimed, that they ſaw giants of an enormous ſize. A clearneſs was at length remarked on the ſea, the hoarſe echo of its waves abated; and, to complete their joy, a little point, which received the name of *San Lourenço*, opened on the aſtoniſhed ſpectators: doubling this, the high land to the ſouthward extended before them, and, the cloud being diſperſed, the woodlands, for a conſiderable diſtance up the mountains, were unveiled.

Ruy Paes immediately embarked with Morales in the ſloop to obſerve the coaſt; and they ſoon reached a bay, which ſo exactly anſwered to the deſcription given the latter by the Engliſh, that he

[a] The ſhallop is a large boat with two maſts, rigged like a ſchooner.

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he landed with Paes to ſeek the tomb of *Machin*, which was found. They immediately haſtened with the news to Gonzales, who took poſſeſſion of the iſland in the names of King *John the firſt* of Portugal, and his illuſtrious ſon, *Henry Duke of Viſeo*; after which, another altar was raiſed, near that which Machin had conſtructed. They ſearched in vain for any traces of either inhabitants or cattle; and could only procure ſome birds, that ſuffered themſelves to be taken by the hand.—It was then agreed to trace the windings of the coaſt: doubling a point to the weſtward, they paſſed the mouths of four rivers, in which Gonzales filled a few bottles, that the prince might judge of the excellency of the water for the future ſervice of his mariners.

As the Portugueſe advanced in this delightful excurſion along the coaſt of Madeira, they came oppoſite to a valley, which formed the bed of a river, and was contraſted by an adjacent glen covered with trees: the ravages of an hurricane, viſible on their fallen trunks, gave a wildneſs and variety to the landſcape. Gonzales, ſtruck with the beauty of the ſcene, landed with his companions; a croſs, formed of the boughs that were ſcattered on the ground, marked their gratitude, and gave the place its name of *Santa Cruz*. Led on by the novelty of every thing they beheld, they then croſſed a narrow ſlip of land, that ſtretched out from the iſland, where the number of jays that aroſe, on being thus diſturbed in their long unfrequented haunts, ſuggeſted the appellation of *Punta dos Gralhos*.

Another projection of land, at the diſtance of about two leagues, formed a bay, ſkirted with an extenſive grove of venerable cedars; whilſt a rivulet, iſſuing from a glen, whoſe paler verdure formed a ſtriking contraſt, ſeemed to pour a ſtream of milk into a ſpacious baſon. The ſeamen reſted on their oars, whilſt Gonzales admired the wild luxuriance of nature, which ſuperſtitious timidity had ſo long dreaded to approach: he then ſent *Gonzalvo Ayrez*, with ſome

ſoldiers, to penetrate into the country; and the report they ſoon were enabled to make, that they had ſeen the ſea quite round the land, proved the fallacy of an opinion, in which ſome of the Portugueſe had perſiſted, who imagined the coaſt before them was a part of the continent of Africa.

Beyond the grove of cedars, an extenſive tract, not ſo woody as the reſt, but covered with fennel (*funcho*) marked the future ſcite of the town of Funchal: here the junction of three rivers, uniting at their entrance into the ſea, formed two ſmall iſlands. Gonzales moored the ſloop under their lee; and, having taken in wood and water, continued his courſe, until he arrived at a point which had been ſeen from the ſouthward; where a ſecond croſs recorded the progreſs of his navigation. The extent of coaſt, that faded in diſtant perſpective beyond this point, and the calmneſs of the ſea, whoſe gentle undulation glittered on the ſhingles, as far as the eye could reach, induced him to ſtyle it the *Playa formoſa*, or beautiful ſhore. Two of the Portugueſe, in attempting to ſwim a clear but rapid ſtream, which they afterwards met with, were nearly loſt; in conſequence of which it was called *Soccorridos*, or the helped.

They next opened an high rocky point, forming an haven with the main of the iſland, where they firſt diſcovered the traces of animals; which raiſed their curioſity, as they had not hitherto found any, though *Machin* was reported to have ſeen many wild beaſts on his arrival, who did not attempt to moleſt him. The Portugueſe were however ſoon undeceived, on beholding a number of ſea wolves ruſh into the ſea, from a cave that had been hollowed by the tide at the foot of a mountain: this cave in Portugueſe was ſtyled *Camera dos Lobos*; and hence, as is remarked in the narrative of *Alcaforado*, Gonzales obtained his ſurname.

Though our navigators had advanced thus far in ſafety, they do not appear, according to the narrative of Alcaforado, to have entirely diveſted

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diveſted themſelves of the terrors of the cloudy ſpectre. At this place its gloom began to deepen, and to hover on the very ſurface of the waves; whoſe violence ſeemed in the ſame proportion to increaſe. Gonzales therefore agreed not to proceed, but immediately returned to the ſhip; and having procured a conſiderable quantity of wood, water, birds, and plants, from the [o] Iſland, they ſet ſail for Liſbon, which they reached by the end of Auguſt 1420; without any loſs or diſaſter, that tended to abate the joy and ſatisfaction they experienced.

On their arrival, a public day of audience was appointed by the King to give every celebrity to their ſucceſsful voyage. From the various ſpecimens of excellent wood, and the trunks of trees preſented on this occaſion, the name of [p] *Madeira* was given to the newly

[o] An account of the iſland of *Madeira* was publiſhed in Latin by *Landi*, and afterwards tranſlated into Italian, intitled "Deſcrittione dell' Iſola della Madera ſcritta nella lingua Latina dal *Conte Giulio Landi*, trad. in volg. da Alemanio Fini, in 8, in *Piacenza*, 1574.

[p] See preceding note (r). *Mr. G. Forſter*, ſon of the celebrated *Dr. John Reinold Forſter*, who accompanied Captain Cook during his ſecond voyage, in an excellent hiſtory of it (2 vols. 4to. 1777), offers ſome valuable remarks relative to Madeira, communicated by Engliſhmen, who had been many years inhabitants of that iſland. He deſcribes it as being fifty-five Engliſh miles long, and ten broad. Funchal is the only city. "It conſiſts of one large mountain, whoſe branches riſe every where from the ſea towards the centre of the iſle, converging to the ſummit, in the midſt of which I was told is a depreſſion, or excavation, called *the Val* by the inhabitants, always covered with a freſh and delicate herbage. The ſtones on the iſle, which we examined, ſeemed to have been in the fire, were full of holes, and of a blackiſh colour; in ſhort the greater part of them were lava. A few of them were of the kind which the Derbyſhire miners call *dunſtone*. The ſoil of the whole iſland is a tarras, mixed with ſome particles of clay, lime, and ſand, and has much the ſame appearance as ſome earths we ſince found on the iſle of Aſcenſion. From this circumſtance, and from the excavation of the ſummit of the mountain, I am induced to ſuppoſe, that in ſome remote period, a volcano has produced the lava, and ochreous particles, and that *the Val* was formerly its crater. At firſt ſight of Madeira I was of a different opinion; but the black *Loo Rock*, the cliff on which St. John's caſtle ſtands, the nature of the ſoil and ſtones, and the ſituation of the Val, convinced me, that the whole had formerly undergone a violent change by fire. Many brooks and ſmall rivulets deſcend from the ſummits in deep chaſms or glens, which ſeparate the various parts of the iſle. We could not however perceive any *plains*, mentioned by others, through which the waters would probably have taken their courſe, if any ſuch had exiſted." (Vol. i. p. 20.)

The

newly discovered island. With the approbation of his father, Prince Henry divided it into two *Capitanias*, or captainships; that of *Funchal* was assigned to Gonzales, with the following arms illustrative of his surname CAMERA DOS LOBOS—*On a green escutcheon, a tower, argent, charged with a cross, or; two sea wolves proper, as supporters* [c]: to Tristan Vaz Texeira, the captainship of *Machico* was allotted, in whose family it continued until the year 1540; when the direct line of inheritance failing, it was given by John *the third*, to *Antonio da Silveira de Menezes*, son to Nuno Martins da

"The wines are not all of equal goodness, and consequently of differentprices: their method of keeping the ground clean and moist, and ripening the grapes in the shade, by means of walks arched over with laths, contributes to give the Madeira wines that excellent flavour and body for which they are remarkable. The best, made of a vine imported from Candia, by order of *the Infante of Portugal Don Henry*, is called *Madeira Malmsey*, a pipe of which cannot be bought on the spot for less than forty or forty-two pounds sterling: about thirty thousand pipes, upon a mean are made every year, each containing one hundred and ten gallons. About thirteen thousand pipes of the better sorts are exported, and all the rest is made into brandy for the Brazils; converted into vinegar, or consumed at home.

"The shores of Madeira, and of the neighbouring *Salvages*, and *Desertas*, are not without fish; but as they are not in plenty enough for the rigid observance of Lent, pickled herrings are brought from Gothenburg in English bottoms, and salted cod from New York, and other American ports, to supply the deficiency. On this occasion I shall mention a *general remark, which ought to be applied to all the islands we have touched at during the course of our voyage.* Quadrupeds, amphibious reptiles, and insects, are not numerous in *islands*, at some distance from a continent; and the first are not to be met with at all, unless they are transported thither by men. Fishes and birds, which are able to pass through water or air, are more frequent, and in greater variety. *Continents*, on the other hand, are rich in the above mentioned classes of animals, as well as in those of birds and fishes, which are more universal. Africa, which we visited during this voyage, in a few weeks supplied us with a great variety of quadrupeds, reptiles, and insects, whilst all the other lands where we touched afforded no new discoveries in those classes.—It is probable, that not only the Canaries, but likewise Madeira, and Porto Santo, were known to the antients; a circumstance from which it is possible to reconcile their various accounts of the number of these islands. (See Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. xxxvii.) The description given of them by antient writers, agree with the modern accounts. (See Vossius in Pompon. Melam, ad cap. x. v. 20.) *Ex iisdem quoque insulis cinnabaris Romam advehebatur. Sane hodie etiamnum frequens est in insulis fortunatis arbor illa quæ cinnabarin gignit. Vulgo* SANGUINEM DRACONIS *appellant.*"

[c] De Barros, decade 1. book 1. chap. iii.

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da Silveira, in teſtimony of his important ſervices at the ſiege of Diu, againſt Solyman Baſſa. The iſland of *Puerto Santo* was aſſigned by the Duke of Viſeo to Pereſtrello; at the time when he received this grant, his lot appeared preferable to either of the captainſhips of Madeira, but in the courſe of a ſhort period, it was overrun by rabbits, who baffled the induſtry of the ſettlers, and could not be kept under; there was alſo a conſiderable want of water for the plantations. An immediate attention was paid in 1420, by Gonzales and his aſſociate, to their reſpective governments: it is reported that the former, in order to clear a ſpace for his intended town of Funchal, ſet fire to the ſurrounding ſhrubs and plants, with which the ground was covered; and that the flames having reached the adjoining foreſts, a conflagration took place, which was not overcome for ſeven years. Dr. Johnſon obſerves, with his uſual bluntneſs, in the [f] treatiſe already cited, "Green wood is not very apt [g] to burn; and the heavy rains which fall in theſe countries, muſt ſurely have extinguiſhed the conflagration, were it ever ſo violent."

In the month of May 1421, Gonzales ſailed from Liſbon for Madeira with his family, conſiſting of *Conſtantia Rodriguez da Sa*, or *d'Almayda* his wife, *Juan Gonzales*, his eldeſt ſon, and two daughters, *Helena* and *Beatrix*; he arrived, after a ſhort voyage, in what had hitherto been called *Engliſh Port*, which was now changed, in honour of Robert a Machin, to *Puerto de Machino*. The

[f] Introduction to the World diſplayed, (vol. ii. Murphy's ed. p. 211.)

[g] Yet in our own country, where rain is more frequent, where one day frequently diſplays the different ſeaſons of the year, and where the ſun, though ſome times powerful, can ſeldom reach the degree of heat that prevails in Madeira, what an alarm did the conflagration of *Radnor Foreſt* occaſion during the ſummer of the year 1800. "The range of fire, on one ſide of the vale of *Llangollen*, extended from eight to ten miles, and on the oppoſite ſide about four. To a perſon ſtanding on any of the central mountains, a circumference of twenty miles appeared like an immenſe volcano. Every exertion was made in cutting trenches to intercept the progreſs of the flames, but for a conſiderable time without ſucceſs."

The monumental injunction of the original discoverer was afterwards faithfully performed; and Gonzales employed the tree, under whose shade the first altar had been raised in Madeira, for the principal timbers of his church [h], where he afterwards placed the bones of the unfortunate *Anna D'Affet* and *Machin*.

Prince Henry soon derived a very considerable resource from the discovery and settlement of Madeira, in the fifth of its sugars [i] annually paid to the Order of Christ, of which he was the Grand-master: during the succeeding year, his captains in that island introduced the cultivation of the sugar cane, and the vines that have since become so valuable: a considerable interval however elapsed, before the destructive ravages of a worm, which infected the canes, induced the Portuguese to change the [k] sugar plantations of Madeira, for the celebrated vineyards, which at present occupy the principal attention of the islanders.

The

[h] Lafitau says, that two churches were built in Madeira by the orders of Prince Henry, *Notre Dame de Caglio*, and *Notre Dame de l'Ascension*.—Funchal, which at first had only the privileges of a town, conferred on it by Alphonso the fifth in 1451, was advanced to the rank of a city in 1508 by Emmanuel; and in 1514, *Notre Dame de l'Ascension* became the cathedral of a bishop. John *the third* raised it to metropolitan dignity, and made its archbishop the primate of India.

[i] This, according to *de Barros*, amounted to more than sixty thousand arrobes: an arrobe is worth about thirty-two pounds. *Giovanni Botero*, in his Italian treatise on the causes of the magnificence and grandeur of cities, written about 1590, notices the excellence of *Madeira* sugars.

[k] The *Sugar Cane* was first made known to Europeans by the conquests of *Alexander*, whose admiral, *Nearchus*, discovered it in India three hundred and twenty-five years before Christ. During the *crusades*, with many other comforts of civilized life, it became more generally in use; and after flourishing in the *Morea*, i. e. the island of *Rhodes*, and at *Malta*, was introduced into *Sicily*, according to Lafitau, previous to the year 1166, whence it was carried to *Madeira*. The sugar works, afterwards constructed by the Portuguese in the Brazils, were the first known in America: these were soon followed in 1506, by a plantation which Ferdinand, king of Spain, made in St. Domingo, with the canes that were brought from the Canaries; and the first sugar house in the West Indies seems to have been built by *Pedro D'Atenca*. The trade however centred in the port of Lisbon, until the Dutch drove the Portuguese from the northern part of Brazil. The early trade for sugar has been already noticed, (Ch. i. p. 60.)

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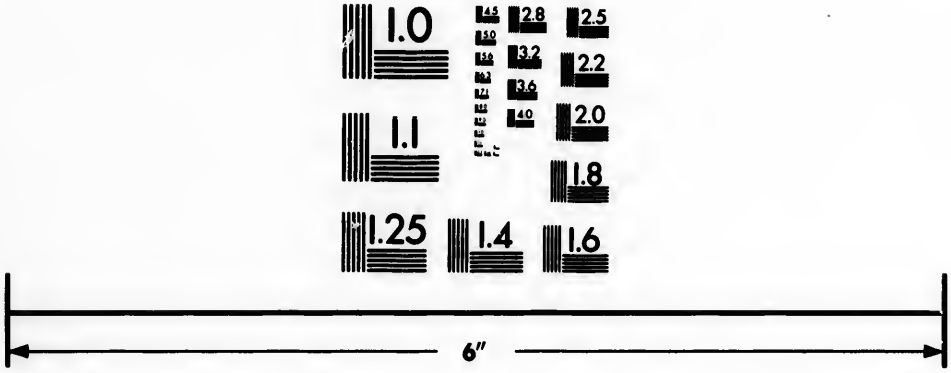

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BOOK I.

Prevailing murmurs against Prince Henry.

The Duke of Viſeo, by diſcovering the [1] iſlands of *Puerto Santo* and *Madeira*, had now ſurmounted ſome of the principal obſtacles which ignorance or prejudice oppoſed to the object of his laud-able

[1] To what is termed *the Madeiras*, the adjacent *Deſertes*, or *Deſerters*, ſhould be added, which conſiſt of three ſmall rocky iſlands, trending to the ſouth-eaſt, from the eaſt point of Madeira. *Sir John Narborough*, in his voyage to the ſtraits of Magellan, ſays, the *Deſerts* are barren rocky iſlands, of a good height, lying off the ſouth-eaſt point of Madeira, above a mile from the ſhore. In the mid-way from which, there is water enough, and no danger.—By later navigators they are thus repreſented, (Oriental Navigator, Laurie and Whittle, p. 26. ed. 1794.) " The *Deſerters* lie neareſt north and ſouth by compaſs, the largeſt inclining to the north north weſtward: when they bear weſt by north, about ten leagues diſtant, they appear in two ſeparate iſlands; the *northernmoſt*, or Flat Deſerter, being nearly even, long, and high; the *ſouthernmoſt*, or Bogio, in two hummocks, almoſt as high, and about two thirds long: at ſix or ſeven leagues diſtance, a ſmall iſland off the northernmoſt extreme, becomes diſcernible like a low wall; cloſe to this is an high rock, frequently miſtaken for a large ſhip under ſail. The paſſage between the two *Deſerters* is clear, though bounded on each ſide by breakers, or rather by a ſurf, but not to be attempted unleſs from neceſſity, as it is very narrow, and no ſoundings, or at leaſt very deep water in it; and a ſhip is liable to be becalmed in it by the northernmoſt Deſerter, which overlaps the Bogio. - - - Between the *Deſerters* and *Madeira* is a clear paſſage, in from fifty to ſixty fathom water."—The two uninhabited iſlands called *the Salvages*, are ſixty leagues from Madeira, further to the ſouthward: they are thus noticed by the *Chevalier des Marchais*, (Voyage to Guinea 1725.) " The ſoil is barren, which is probably the reaſon why the *Portugueſe* at *Madeira*, and the *Spaniards* at the *Canaries*, have left them to the canary birds, which breed here in great numbers."—To this note may be ſubjoined ſome account of the marvellous iſland of *St. Brandon*, or *St. Borondon*, mentioned by *Mr. Nicols*, (ſee note k, p. 168.) and noticed by *Linſchoten* (p. 177. chap. xcvi.) *De Bry* terms it *Borodon*. It is conjectured to lie about an hundred leagues weſt from *Ferro*. As the Voyages of *Linſchoten* are ſcarce, I ſhall give the paſſage from Wolfe's tranſlation in 1598: it is noticed in Aſtley's Collection (vol. i. p. 566.) and the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory (vol. xii. p. 48.) " On the right ſide of this iſland (El Hierro, one of the Canaries) about an hundred miles diſtant, there is yet an other wonder to be noted, which is, that oftentimes there is an iſlande ſeene thereaboutes, called *San Borondon*, where diuers men haue been on lande, being onely ſuch as fell uppon it on the ſodaine, and not looking for it: who affirme it to be a very fayre, pleaſant, and greene countrey, full of trees, and all kind of victuaile, and that it is inhabited by people that are Chriſtians; but no man knowes of what nation they are, neyther what language they ſpeake. The Spaniards of the iſlandes of *Canaria* have many times ſayled towardes it to view it, but they could neuer find it: whereupon there goeth diuers opinions of it; for ſome think it to be inchanted, and that it may not bee ſeene but uppon certaine dayes: ſome thinke it to bee very ſmall, and alwaies couered with cloudes, and that therefore it can not be ſeene nor founde out; and alſo the great ſtormes and ſtrength of the water driueth the ſhippes from it: but to conclude, it is holden for a truth, that the ilande lyeth thereaboutes, as all thoſe that come from thence doe certainly affirme." The ſame paſſage may be referred to in the French tranſlation of *de Linſchot*, (p. 17:.) third edition, printed at Amſterdam in 1638.

able ambition; but he had alſo other difficulties to ſubdue, and theſe were raiſed by his own countrymen: though a prince, and one of the moſt illuſtrious, *Henry* was obliged to pay the heavy tribute which the malignity of human nature ſeldom fails to exact from thoſe who attempt to confer important benefits on mankind.—The Syſtematic Philoſophers were alarmed, leſt their favourite, and long eſtabliſhed theories, ſhould be perverted by the acquiſition of real knowledge, which a continuation of the Portugueſe diſcoveries would inevitably produce. The Military beheld with impatience the increaſe of fame that was obtained by a profeſſion, they had always conſidered as inferior to their own. The Nobility of Portugal dreaded the opening of a ſource of wealth, whoſe influx, as it tended to raiſe the mercantile character, would proportionably equalize the aſcendancy of rank, and check the rapacious ſway of territorial poſſeſſion. A numerous party was moreover formed of the Indolent and Splenetic, who invariably oppoſe whatever ſeems to reproach their own ſupineneſs, or the perverted talents of a morbid diſpoſition. Such were the leaders of a powerful cabal, that had been long forming againſt the nobleſt efforts of the human mind: their ſentiments aſſumed a plauſible and ſpecious guiſe: "it was preſumption to ſearch for a paſſage to the ſouthern extremity of Africa, ſince the wiſeſt of the antient geographers had pronounced it to be impracticable. Philoſophy had long proved, that even if ſuch a Cape exiſted, the ſeas beyond it could not be navigable: what ſtubborn obſtinacy then to perſiſt contrary to ſuch unanſwerable arguments? what dangers would the Portugueſe be expoſed to! who, if they ſucceeded in paſſing Bojadore, would probably be changed into [m] *Blacks*, and retain to the laſt a mark of diſgrace for their

[m] See Mr. Locke's hiſtory of navigation (Appendix B). Theſe ſtrange ideas required many years to extirpate. Abraham Hartwell, who at the requeſt of Hakluyt tranſlated, what the latter termed, *The Portugueſe pilgrim apparelled in an Italian veſture*, conſiſting of a report of the

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their temerity. Preceding princes had ſought a nobler object in the field of military glory; nor had waſted the revenue in ſearch of barren countries, and ſandy deſerts, never intended to be explored. The lives of many valuable ſubjects were thus ſacrificed for precarious and uncertain advantages; and the braveſt of the Portugueſe would be loſt to their country, in attempting to paſs the deſolate cape of *Bojadore*. If land was wanting to the increaſed population of Portugal, they tauntingly reminded the king of many tracts that were yet uncultivated: they repreſented the number of widows and orphans, who by theſe voyages would be reduced to diſtreſs, yet at the ſame time cheriſhed the military ardour of the monarch, by a view of the conqueſts that were neglected in Africa, and the trophies that might be gained from the Moors [n]. The ſycophants of the

the kingdom of *Congo*, by *Odoardo Lopez*, brought numerous arguments to ſupport the *Paradoxes* of Lopez, *that the torrid and frigid zones are not only habitable, but inhabited, and very temperate, contrary to the opinion of the old philoſophers*. "If the author's reaſons, here alledged, do not ſufficiently anſwer, I refer them that will not yield therein, to the excellent treatiſe of *Joſephus a Coſta, de natura novi orbis*, compoſed by him in the year 1584.--- It was one of the chief motives which moved me to tranſlate this report, to the end it might be more publicly known, that it was not the ſingle fancy of one man, touching the temperature of theſe two zones, but likewiſe of divers others, that by their own travel have tried the certainty thereof; among whom, this *Lopez* was one, who delivered this relation in the year 1588, being four years after the treatiſe made by *Joſephus a Coſta*." (Churchill's collection, *Harleian*, vol. viii. p. 519.)

[n] The leading arguments, thus urged againſt maritime diſcoveries, have too often been revived. It is ſufficient for the preſent to ſubjoin only the quaint reply to their fallacy, which PURCHAS offers in his *Commendations of Navigation, as an Art worthy the care of the moſt worthy; the Neceſſitie, Commoditie, Dignitie thereof*. (Vol. i. lib. 1. p. 17.) "Man that hath the Earth for his Mother, Nurſe, and Graue, cannot find any fitter object in this world, to buſie and exerciſe his heauenly parts, than in the knowledge of this Earthly Globe, except in his God. - - - The Sea couereth one halfe of this patrimony of man: - - - Thus ſhould man at once looſe halfe his inheritance, if the *art of Navigation* did not inable him to manage this untamed beaſt, and with the bridle of the Winds, and ſaddle of his Shipping, to make him ſeruiceable. Now for the *Seruices of the Sea*, they are inumerable: it hath on it Tempeſts and Calmes, to affect and ſtupifie the ſubtileſt philoſopher; ſuſtaineth moueable fortreſſes for the ſouldier, mayntayneth, as in our Iſland, a wall of defence and waterie Garriſon to guard the State; entertaines the Sunne with vapours, the Moone with obſequiouſneſſe, the Starres alſo with a natural looking-glaſſe. --- Neither ſhould we alone looſe this halfe of Nature's dowrie, without

the court closed the varied tissue of malignancy, exclaiming, how much it was to be lamented, that the Prince would not imitate the prudence of his father, and be content with following the footsteps of such illustrious ancestors."

The designs of the Duke of Viseo thus experienced a considerable opposition; and for a time the ardour of his countrymen was so much abated, that he found it difficult to procure seamen, who would dare the raging billows of the tremendous *Bojadore*. Yet as religion had throughout influenced and supported all his designs, he now felt the energy of a mind independent of the world, and resolved to obtain by perseverance, what he could not effect by an appeal to the reason of his enemies.

In virtue of a brief from *Pope John* the twenty-second, given at the city of Avignon, March 14, 1319, King Denis of Portugal had instituted the military order of Christ, on the extinction of the knight templars; assigning it the rents which the latter received from his

without the benefit of this art; but euen the earth itselfe would be vnknowne to the earth: here immured by high impassable mountaynes, there inaccessible by barren way lesse deserts, here diuided and rent in sunder with violent riuers, there ingirt with a strait siege of Sea; heere possessed with wild deuouring beasts, there inhabited with wilder man-deuouring men; here couered with huge worlds of wood, there buried in huger spacious lakes; here loosing it selfe in the mids of it selfe, by showres of sand, there remoued, as other worlds out of the world, in remoter islands; here hiding her richest mynes and treasures in sterill wildernesses, which cannot bee fed but from those fertile soyles, which there are planted, and as it were remoued hither by helpe of Nauigation."—And in his *Asia* (vol. v. p. 553.), *Purchas* adds, "Now that I have, after my ability, answered the objections, and produced so many arguments (the most of which are store-houses, and heads of many), let this be the *last argument*, which to me was not the least, and here was placed first,—the increase of learning and knowledge by these worthy discouories of marine worthies. How little had we knowne of the world, and the wonders of God in the world, had not the Sea opened vs a passage into all lands. *Pegasus* the winged horse, which (the poets fained) with the stroke of his foot first made Helicon the muses' well to spring, was the issue of *Neptune*, and that snaky headed monster *Medusa*. *The mariner seems rough-hewen and rude, according to the ocean that breeds him; but he that can play with those dangers which would transforme others into stones, and dares dwell within so few inches of death; that calls the most tempestuous elements his parents; he, I say, is the true* Pegasus, *that with his wing-like sailes flies ouer the world; which hath helped to deliuer Andromeda* (geography) *before chained to the rockes, and ready to be devoured of that monster* ignorance."

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his ſubjects. *Don Fr. Gil. Martins* was appointed the firſt maſter: after ſeven ſucceſſors, the laſt of whom was Diego Lopez da Souſa, the dignity deſcended to Henry Duke of Viſeo, who conſiderably increaſed the power and [o] revenue of the Order, by attaching to it the ſpiritual ſeigniory of the countries he diſcovered; and this power was afterwards enlarged, when the ſame ſeigniory was extended to the Aſiatic and American ſettlements, through a ſenſe of gratitude and reſpect for the eminent ſervices of the Grand-maſter.

Portugueſe diſcoveries ſupported by Pope Martin the fifth.

His ſtation at the head of the order of Chriſt, gave a conſiderable ſanction to the deſigns of this Prince; not only as it tended to influence the opinion of the lower ranks in his favour, but alſo as it enabled him to unite in a pre-eminent degree, a religious zeal with an enterpriſing ſpirit. In the pariſh of *Noſſa Senhora D'Ajuda*, adjoining to Liſbon, and in the place called *Raſtello*, an hermitage dedicated to *Noſſa Senhora de Belem*, or Bethlehem, was built by his directions, that the friars of the order of Chriſt might there adminiſter the ſacrament to his officers: and from the ſame devout principle, conſiſtently with his ſacred character as *Grand-Maſter*, he applied to the Pope for aſſiſtance, againſt the faction that oppoſed the enterpriſe of navigation; and thus employed the craft of Rome to overcome the ſubtility of its various emiſſaries. *Ferdinand Lopez d'Azevedo*, accordingly haſtened to the footſtool of [p] *Martin the fifth*,

[o] The income of the 454 *Commendas* of the *Order* of *Chriſt*, including 45 which the Houſe of Bragança provided, from a general chapter held in the month of April, 1620, was about 26,000l., and this ſum has ſince been nearly doubled.

[p] It is difficult to aſcertain the exact year when Prince Henry obtained this *Bull* from the Pope. *De Barros* and *Laſitau*, are of opinion that it was after the expedition of *Gonzales*, in 1440. *Purchas* places it in 1441; whereas Pope Martin died in the year 1431. The *Abbe de Guyon*, however, declares that this document bore the date of 1444.—The Prince probably applied for this authority, when he ſtood moſt in need of its ſanction; and did not wait until a later period, when the ſucceſsful exertions of his captains had diſperſed his enemies. The above writers ſeem to have confuſed the firſt *Bull* which HENRY obtained from *Martin the fifth*, with ſubſequent confirmations. The curious reader may refer to Leibnitz (Codex Jur. Gent. Diplomat. Pars I. p. 489.) who notices the different privileges, graces, and indulgences, given to the Portugueſe Navigators.

fifth, and in a full consistory enforced with eloquence the cause of reason and Portugal. When Lopez dwelt on the benefits, which the Christian church received from the zeal of the *Grand-master*; when he pointed out the heavy expences this Prince had cheerfully sustained; he reminded the cardinals, that the blessings of religion had thus been received in countries, where its benign influence had not before penetrated; that the desolating progress of Mohammedism would thus be effectually opposed, and the scattered sheep brought back to the fold of the true Shepherd.—Ferdinand concluded a long and successful exhortation, by requesting his Holiness to bless the labours of the naval profession, which had afforded such assistance to the Church of Rome; and to consecrate the memory of those who, in so noble a cause, had found a watery grave.

Ch. II. § 1. *John the first.*

The Jesuits of the Sacred college were not insensible to the advantages they might thus obtain. The Pontiff beheld an increase of power, which the present opportunity was likely to afford, and, without hesitation, acceded to the arguments of Lopez. An exclusive right was immediately given the Portuguese in the islands they already possessed, and also to whatever countries their perseverance might in future explore; concessions that were afterwards confirmed and increased by *Eugenius* the fourth, *Nicholas* the fifth, and *Sextus* the fourth. The discoveries of the Portuguese were thus sanctioned by the very power which afterwards perverted their beneficial effects, and finally destroyed both the heroism and enterprise of the national character, by the racks and dungeons of the Inquisition.

Death of John the first. 1433.

The Duke of Viseo, thus supported, proceeded with resolution towards the object he had continually in view; but this energy was again depressed, by the loss of his distinguished father JOHN THE FIRST, who died at Lisbon on the eleventh of August 1433, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the forty-eighth of his reign. The life of this monarch rapidly hastened to its conclusion, from the

BOOK I. the moment it was announced that his ſtedfaſt friend *Nuno Alvarez Pereyra* had expired in the devout retreat, where for nine years he had conſtantly reſided. The death-bed of John was a ſcene of reſignation, and parental tenderneſs: ſurrounded by his weeping children, he earneſtly implored them to love one another; and his parting breath conveyed a laſting injunction to EDWARD his ſucceſſor, to watch with anxious ſolicitude over the religion of the State, and the liberties of Portugal. The plague, then raging at Liſbon, prevented the poſſibility of any public reſpect being immediately paid to his memory: but when the firſt anniverſary of his death had nearly arrived, the body, attended by the three eſtates of the realm, was removed with ſolemn pomp to the monaſtery of *Batalha*, which John had founded, in conſequence of the eventful termination of the battle of Aljubarota. The diſtance from the metropolis was divided by three ſtages; and, at each, the royal corps received the tears of his children, and the bleſſings of his ſubjects.—The device which this monarch emblazoned, ſingularly illuſtrated the future events of his reign. A rock of adamant was repreſented, ſurrounded by the ſea; and from clouds that concealed its ſummit, proceeded a *Single hand*, graſping a ſword, which had penetrated through the *ſtubborn hardneſs* of the ſtone; whilſt the motto, *acuit ut penetret*, was exemplified not only by his own conduct, but by the keen and acute judgment, confirmed through his inſtructions and example, in the mind of Henry Duke of Viſeo.

The character of *John the firſt* appears in the glory of his reign, and in the diſtinguiſhed virtues of his family. He ſupported the authority and influence of the crown, yet preſerved the loyalty of an heroic and independent people. His children were corrected by the impartial diſcipline of education, but their filial tenderneſs, and attachment, experienced no abatement. The throne which John obtained by the ſpecious arts of a politician, was merited by the virtues of a patriot;

who having reached the ſummit of his wiſhes reſolved, that the ſplendour, both of his public and private character, ſhould juſtify an ambition, that impelled him to graſp the ſceptre. The ſtrength of his mind was marked on the features of an impreſſive countenance; and the majeſtic form he received from nature, which his ponderous helmet and battle axe ſtill denote, was rendered captivating by the ſimplicity of his manners, and the even hilarity of his diſpoſition.

Ch. II. § 1. *Edward the firſt.*

The ſhort reign of EDWARD THE FIRST who married the *Infanta Leonora of Arragon*, and received his name as a mark of reſpect for *Edward the third of England*, was worthy of the ſon of ſo renowned a [q] father. This young monarch, with a magnificent and liberal ſpirit, attracted men of ſcience and literature to the court, and rewarded their labours. His enterpriſing ſpirit was gratified, by affording every encouragement to the naval projects of his brother; to whom, as Superior of the order of Chriſt, he gave the ſovereignty of *Puerto Santo*, *Madeira*, and of all the iſlands he might diſcover on the weſtern coaſt of Africa. *Gilianez*, a native of *Lagos*, returned from a vain attempt on the invincible *Bojadore*, ſoon after the acceſſion of Edward: the former had been driven by ſtreſs of weather into one of the [r] Canary iſlands, and from an imprudent zeal in the ſervice of his PRINCE, had been led to ſeize ſome of the unoffending natives, whom he brought as captives to Sagres. The liberal mind of Henry was offended at this breach of faith in one of his officers: his reſerved coldneſs to Gilianez ſo affected him,

Edward the firſt. 1433.

[q] Edward ſucceeded John the firſt, as knight of the garter: ſee Anſtis's Regiſter of the Order, vol. i. p. 185.

[r] Firſt known to Europeans between the years 1326, and 1334, by means of a French ſhip driven among them by a ſtorm, prior to their re-diſcovery by *John de Betancourt* in May 1400. See Appendix (F.)

BOOK I. him, that on being ſent during the year [s] 1433 on another voyage to *Bojadore*, he vowed to periſh rather than return unſucceſsful. Such determined reſolution ſubdued the obſtacles which had baffled ſo many repeated attempts, and he arrived in exultation at *Sagres*, having accompliſhed an event, which as Faria remarks, was not inferior, in the general opinion of his countrymen, to the labours of Hercules. *Gilianez*, who had thus regained the confidence of the Prince, was ſoon employed to continue his ſucceſsful progreſs on
1434. the coaſt of Africa. In the following year he again ſailed in his *barcha*, accompanied by the Duke of Viſeo's cup bearer, *Alphonſo Gonzales Baldaya*, in a *barinel*, the [t] largeſt veſſel that had hitherto been employed on diſcovery. The weather continuing favourable throughout the voyage, they advanced ninety miles beyond *Bojadore*, with

[s] Writers differ conſiderably as to the exact date of this memorable event. De Barros leaves it uncertain, near 1434. *Laſitau* places it in 1433, after the death of John the firſt. Dr. Vincent (Periplus Erythrean, p. 192.), and Mickle, in his Luſiad, prefer 1434:—Dr. Campbell, in Harris's collection of voyages, extends it to 1439. The firſt ſeems the moſt probable, as it allows a ſufficient time for the Portugueſe to reach the *Angra dos Cavallos* before the year 1336; when their progreſs was in ſome meaſure interrupted by the expedition to Ceuta.

[t] Owing to their imperfect knowledge of Navigation, the Portugueſe imagined that the ſize of a Veſſel, ſent on diſcovery, ſhould be in proportion to the dangers of its Voyage. Notwithſtanding the improvements of the preſent age, the Model of a Ship, beſt adapted for the purpoſes of diſcovery, may be placed amongſt the *deſiderata* of the nineteenth century. *Cook* was the firſt who commiſſioned a *North-Country* built veſſel; ſtrong, and of an eaſy draught of water: theſe veſſels are alſo more roomy for their tonnage than moſt other ſhips. *Vancouver*'s crew were expoſed to continual perils from the ſize and tonnage of the Diſcovery ſloop (340 tons) which was at firſt deſigned to be a *Jamaica-man*; and her upper works were thrown out, in no very judicious manner, to give more room on deck, and between decks, contrary to the original plan: the health of his officers, as well as his own, was moſt ſeverely tried during their extenſive ſurvey of coaſt, from being obliged in all weathers to uſe the open boats of the ſhip. It has been ſuggeſted by an *old ſeaman*, and valuable friend to this work, that every ſhip ſent on diſcovery ſhould have materials to frame, what he ſtyles, a ſort of *Dutch ſchuyt*, as being a form beſt adapted for accommodation, in proportion to its dimenſions, of any that has appeared. This ſort of veſſel might be made to ſail extremely well on a wind, with the help of *lee boards*; and by reaſon of its very ſmall draught of water, might paſs without danger, where a common ſhallop, or cutter, would be loſt. This ſmall veſſel could be rigged as a ſchooner, and might either attend the ſhip from her firſt leaving port, or be put together when ſhe arrives on the coaſt, or ſeas, intended to be explored.

with the conſcious pride of being the firſt Europeans, who had dared to venture ſo far into the trackleſs waſte of the Atlantic. All the intereſt, which novelty has a tendency to create, was daily preſented to the delighted navigators, though they might ſometimes "ſnatch a fearful joy," as they looked back on the receding cape. Having landed to view the adjoining country and inhabitants, they were diſappointed in finding only tracks of the caravan, which made the arid plain that ſtretched before them appear doubly wretched: they however amuſed themſelves in collecting plants, and ſamples of the ſoil; and returning to their veſſels, called the bay [a] *Angra dos Ruyvos*, from the abundance of *gurnets* which the ſeamen had taken.

The Duke of Viſeo made every exertion to purſue the developement of a coaſt, which his own perſeverance, and the ſkill of officers, formed in his ſchool of Sagres, gradually opened to the aſtoniſhment of Europe. But this partial ſurvey of the weſtern coaſt of Africa, though it at length conducted his ſhips to the gold of *Mina*, was only ſubſervient to nobler objects which he had in view—the connection of the Atlantic and Indian ſeas, and the conducting of the Portugueſe to thoſe countries, where the Arabians, in concert with their Venetian agents in Europe, monopolized the trade with India, that *Alexander* and *Nearchus* had introduced. Gilianez and Baldaya were therefore ordered, in the year 1435, to continue their diſcoveries; the voyage was to be prolonged, if poſſible, until they met with inhabit-

[a] The coaſt, ſays *Barbot*, all along from Cape Bojador to *Angra dos Ruyvos*, a large bay thirty-five leagues weſt of it, is very hilly and mountainous; but lowering, as it draws nearer to the bay, and has no place of any note beſides *Penha Grande*, ten leagues ſouth of the cape. *Angra dos Ruyvos*, facing the weſt, has three fathom water between the two points, and two within, and conſequently is only capable to receive ſmall ſhips. Four or five leagues farther to the ſouthward lies *Porto de Meden*: the ſhore here is flat and barren, producing nothing but bulruſhes. The inhabitants of the Canary iſlands, and of Madeira, come hither with a number of barks and ſloops yearly to catch *gurnets*, or *ſnappers*, being of the ſhape of the former, but much larger, which they ſalt like Newfoundland-bank cod, and make a great trade thereof in their iſlands. (*Churchill's Collection*, vol. v. p. 526.)

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inhabitants [x]. After ranging along the coaſt for forty miles beyond the *Angra dos Ruyvos*, without ſeeing a ſingle African, they at length determined to adopt the plan that had been ſuggeſted by the Duke. Two horſes were accordingly landed, and given to riders, who had not yet attained their ſixteenth year; the names of theſe undaunted cavaliers are preſerved. *Hector Homen*, and *Diego Lopez D'Almaida*, the Niſus and Euryalus of the day, were brought up under the immediate eye of the Prince, and formed a part of his houſehold. They prepared, with eagerneſs, to penetrate into an unknown country, of whoſe terrors and burning regions ſo much had been aſſerted: theſe heroes, for they deſerve the name, were not allowed armour, leſt they ſhould raſhly venture to engage the natives. Gonzales gave a ſword and ſpear to each, and taking an affectionate leave, "enjoined them to keep together, to ſtray on no account from their horſes; and if they could effect it without danger, to bring back ſome of the Moors." The young Portugueſe, delighted with being thus preferred, inſtantly diſappeared, and their captains waited the event with a tender impatience.

After wandering for the greater part of the day over a barren ſand, they at length beheld nineteen Africans approach, armed with the aſſagay of that country. To return unſeen was impoſſible, nor did the ſpirit of either approve the timidity of flight; they therefore ventured to diſobey their orders, and ruſhed on the natives. The Moors, aſtoniſhed at the ſight, inſtantly retreated to an adjoining cave for ſecurity: in vain did the cavaliers exert themſelves to diſlodge their trembling priſoners; and as one of the Portugueſe was wounded in the foot, they judged it prudent to deſiſt. Their zeal had

[x] They were afterwards called by the Portugueſe *Zenegues*, and by the French *Zuenziga*: which province is by ſome reckoned to have been a part of *Lybia interior*, extending it to Cabo Branco; its limits are aſſigned by others to the coaſt between Cape Nao and Cape Bojador. Ancient geography lays down a place near Cape Bojador, ſouth of *Chiſarus Fluvius*, giving the name of *Sirangæ* to the people inhabiting that maritime part of Africa. (Barbot, ib. p. 525.)

had already led them to ſuch a diſtance from the ſhore, that they did not receive the hearty congratulation of their commanders until the enſuing morning. Gonzales immediately ſent a ſtronger force to the cave, but they only found ſome of the weapons, which the Moors in their panic had left: from this event the place was called [7] *Angra dos Cavallos*, or the bay of horſes.

As they proceeded along the rugged coaſt, on which the ſea breaks with a terrible noiſe, they came to the mouth of a river, ſituated at the diſtance of about twelve leagues from the above bay. This Gonzales entered, with the vain hope of meeting with the natives [8]; and being anxious to procure ſome novelty that might be acceptable at his return, he took the ſkins of ſome [9] ſea wolves, killed by his men on an iſland which divides the river at its entrance, who had met with them aſleep to the number of five thouſand. The voyage was then continued as far as *Punto de Gale*, where a fiſhing net was found made from the interior lamina of bark, reſembling the palm tree: none of the inhabitants however appeared; and

[7] Seven leagues ſouth of *Sette Montes*. It has ten fathom water, and without it, four leagues off, fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five—red ſand mixed with little white tranſparent ſtones. Some leagues to the ſouthward of the bay, the coaſt is hilly, and called Otagedo, that is, the *rocky place*, becauſe all faced with rocks and ſmall iſlands next the ſhore. We ſounded in twenty fathom water, and found rough pebbles, and ſtony ground. (*Barbot*, ib. p. 527.)

[8] Mr. *Park*, the African traveller, obſerved the ſame want of inhabitants on the ſea coaſt. "The population, however, conſidering the extent and fertility of the ſoil, and the eaſe with which lands are obtained, is not very great in the countries which I viſited. I found many extenſive and beautiful diſtricts entirely deſtitute of inhabitants; and in general, the borders of the different kingdoms were either very thinly peopled, or entirely deſerted. Many places are likewiſe unfavourable to population, from being unhealthful. The ſwampy banks of the *Gambia*, the *Senegal*, and other rivers towards the coaſt, are of this deſcription. Perhaps it is on this account chiefly that the interior countries abound more with inhabitants than the maritime diſtricts."

[9] This animal, ſo often mentioned by the Portugueſe in their early voyages, is ſince better known by the appellation of the *Seal*, called by the Spaniards *Lobo Marino*, and by the French, *Le Veau Marin, ou loup de Mer*. Its fleſh was formerly conſidered as a dainty, and appeared at the great feaſt given by Archbiſhop Nevill in the reign of Edward the fourth. (Pennant's Brit. Zoology, vol. i. Leland's Collectanea.)

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and after ranging for a considerable distance up and down the coast, our navigators were at length compelled, from a want of provisions, to steer for [b] Lagos.

Expedition to Tangier. 1436.

The unfortunate ambition of the Portuguese monarch, *Edward the first*, to possess the city of *Tangier*, here occasioned a pause in the discoveries of his illustrious brother; and the military ardour of the young king repressed a commerce for three years, which his subjects afterwards opened for gold dust in the river, whose entrance had been explored by Gonzales in the above voyage. The mariners of Sagres were now employed in the numerous fleet that sailed for *Ceuta* on the twenty-second of August 1436. Henry Duke of Viseo, and his brother Ferdinand, commanded this unfortunate expedition. A general confederacy of the Moors was immediately headed by the King of Fez; and the siege of Tangier had scarcely commenced, before the assailants were attacked in their trenches: a promise of restoring Ceuta to the Moors, obtained the safe return of the Portuguese troops. *Ferdinand* generously became an hostage for the faith of his country; his captivity which was only terminated by [c] death, cast a shade on the political history of this period, and justified the inveterate sarcasms of the Africans. The health of the Duke of Viseo was shaken by the painful sensations he endured for Ferdinand: the fleet also which had been ordered to return, suffered from a storm on the coast of Andalusia; many of the ships were wrecked, and although his brother *Don John* soon appeared off Ceuta with another powerful squadron, it was of little service in restoring either the fame or honour of the Portuguese. At length a positive order arrived for the immediate recal of Prince Henry:

[b] De Barros, Asia Decad. 1.—Faria y Sousa, Asia Portuguesa, tom. i.

[c] Camoens notices this event. (Mickle's Lusiad, book iv. p. 24. vol. ii. 8vo. ed.). A note illustrative of this part of the Portuguese history is subjoined by the translator.—An account of the captivity of Ferdinand, who died in 1448, was written by his secretary, Ferreras (t. vi. p. 512.). The martyrdom of this prince is annually commemorated by his countrymen on the fifth of June.

Ch. II. § 1. *Edward the first.*

Henry. His mortified ſpirit avoided the malicious ſneer of the court of Liſbon, and he immediately retired to *Sagres*, where his own perſeverance and induſtry recruited the expences of the expedition againſt Tangier.

The plague which raged at Liſbon, during the year 1438, terminated the ſhort reign of EDWARD, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age. He had retired to the abbey of *San Tomar* in Eſtremadura; when, on opening a letter from the metropolis, he was immediately ſeized with the infection, and died, according to the regiſter of the order of the garter, on the nineteenth of September: *Henry the fifth* of England, his couſin, had conferred this honour of the blue ribband. Previous to his death, every exertion was made to reſtore *Ferdinand* to liberty, and in his laſt moments Edward enjoined his miniſters to give a ſtrenuous ſupport to the preparations then making both by ſea and land: a conſiderable ſum was aſſigned for his brother's ranſom; in caſe that ſhould be refuſed, the King entreated them to give up Ceuta, according to his original deſire.—This monarch united the abilities of a ſcholar, with the talents of a ſtateſman. As a legiſlator, his character was deſervedly eſteemed: he excelled in all the manly exerciſes of the age; nor can his verſatile genius be better exemplified, than by remarking, that among the many works he compoſed, Edward was author of ſome political reflections, entitled the *Good Counſellor*, and of a *Treatiſe on Horſemanſhip*, in which he was very ſkilful.

Regency of Don Pedro. 1438.

The mild and equitable virtues of *Don Pedro* ſupported the government of Portugal, during the infancy of his nephew ALPHONSO THE FIFTH: one of the firſt acts of his regency was to renew a [c] treaty of

[c] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 736. In the preceding year (1438) Henry the ſixth granted a licence to the Portugueſe agent in England,—*to export to Florence ſixty ſacks of wool of Cotteſwold in Glouceſter, for the ſervice of the king of Portugal, in order to procure at Florence certain cloths of gold and ſilk for that king's uſe.* (Fœdera, vol. x. p. 684.)

of friendſhip and commerce with the Engliſh.—The diſpoſition of the two brothers, equally inclined to favour the progreſs of diſcovery; and the unwearied exertions of *Prince Henry* received a ſeaſonable and uniform ſupport from the abilities of the *Duke of Coimbra*. Two caravellas ſailed in the year 1440 from Sagres, but were forced back by unfavourable weather. In 1441, theſe were ſucceeded by a Voyage which a young officer, *Antonio Gonzales*, made in a ſmall veſſel, with twenty-one men, to the iſland where ſuch a number of ſea-wolves had been ſeen by *Alphonſo Gonzales*. To this ſhip *Alphonſo Gotterez* was appointed ſecretary, who was gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince. Their inſtructions were to obtain an account of the inhabitants and country; and, that he might not return without ſome commercial advantage being gained, Gonzales was alſo commiſſioned to procure a cargo of the ſkins of the ſea-wolf. The enterpriſing mind of the intrepid Portugueſe was ſo anxious to execute the former part of his inſtructions, that on having received his lading, he thus declared his own impatience and zeal for the ſervice in which he had engaged:—"Let us ſtrive my friends to carry home a more valuable acquiſition to the Prince than theſe furs; a ſeaman ſhould never be contented with a mere diſcharge of duty. Let us endeavour to penetrate this inhoſpitable country: the intention of the Duke is not ſo much to open a trade on the coaſt, as to convert its natives to Chriſtianity. Traces of population have been already obſerved by my predeceſſor: let ten be ſelected from the crew; I am ready to lead them on. I feel already that our attempt will be rewarded, and that we ſhall return to Sagres with more glory than was expected from this voyage." The ardour of their young commander could not be reſiſted, his determination was applauded by every one; but they all united in a requeſt that he would continue with the ſhip. Their perſuaſions were ineffectual, and having landed

Antonio Gonzales. 1441.

landed on the firſt approach of night, Gonzales, with nine of his followers, entered on their perilous attempt.

Ch. II. § 1. *Regency of Don Pedro, Duke of Coimbra.*

Having advanced ten miles from the ſhore, they diſcerned a native purſuing a camel, with an aſſagay in each hand. The ſudden appearance of the Portugueſe rendered him perfectly motionleſs with aſtoniſhment; and before he could recover, he was taken by the ſecretary *Gotterez*, who had outrun his companions. As they returned with their prize towards the ſhore, they plainly traced ſome recent footſteps, which the glimmering light enabled them to diſcern on the ſand, and advancing, beheld at a diſtance forty natives aſſembled; theſe had been companions of their priſoner. The Portugueſe could only ſecure a female Moor, who had ſtrayed from the party; the reſt withdrew on the firſt appearance of an enemy, and from an adjoining eminence, contemplated the unuſual figures of their invaders. Gonzales oppoſed the general wiſh to aſcend the hill, he reminded them of their diſtance from the ſhip; that the day already began to cloſe, and that an unneceſſary effuſion of blood was directly contrary to the humane orders he had received from the Duke. This prudent advice ſecured the few advantages already obtained; and they returned unmoleſted by the Moors. The next morning when preparing to ſet ſail, another Portugueſe ſhip arrived, commanded by *Nuno Triſtan* of the Prince's houſehold, who from infancy had enjoyed the ſupport of this renowned patron of naval merit.

A ſecond excurſion from the coaſt was planned without delay, and executed the following night: they were joined by *Diego de Vigliadores*, and *Gonzales da Cintra*, afterwards ſo diſtinguiſhed; nor was it long before ſome inhabitants appeared. The ſhout of *Portugal! Portugal! San Jago! San Jago!* ſtupified the Moors with fear; but on their recovering, a ſtruggle enſued, in which three of them were ſlain. Nuno Triſtan was at one time in imminent danger;

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nothing but his being armed could have ſaved him from the ſtrength of the Moor with whom he wreſtled; ten priſoners were ſecured. Gonzales was intreated to commemorate this voyage, by receiving the order of knighthood on the continent, and giving a name to the place. The importunity of Nuno Triſtan at length induced Gonzales to comply, and this circumſtance ſuggeſted the appellation of *Puerto del Cavallero*, or the Knight's harbour.

When the Portugueſe had reached their ſhips, they endeavoured, by every means that ingenuity could ſuggeſt, to derive information from the captives; and found that an Arab, who was on board, underſtood their language. It was agreed that this interpreter ſhould return with the female captive, and perſuade the natives to redeem their countrymen; but the event did not anſwer the general expectation. In about two days ſome of the natives were ſeen approaching the ſhore, purpoſely ſent to decoy the Portugueſe into an ambuſh; finding that this ſcheme did not ſucceed, thoſe who were concealed iſſued from their lurking place, and preſented themſelves with the Arab, who was bound. Whilſt he nobly warned Gonzales from any attempt to land, a general volley of ſtones, diſcharged at the boats, ſhewed the Portugueſe how much the natives were exaſperated. The officers of Prince Henry ſtrictly obeyed his humane orders, in not returning any act of hoſtility. Gonzales immediately got under weigh, and carried the Moors to Sagres: he was rewarded for this, and other ſervices, with the Alcaidariate of San Tomar, and a commandary; and was alſo appointed by the Prince to be one of his private ſecretaries. *Nuno Triſtan*, having firſt careened his ſhip, proceeded according to his orders along the coaſt, until he reached a cape which from the whiteneſs of its cliffs, received the name of [d] *Cabo Blanco*: he landed, and found ſome fiſhing nets on the ſhore; but though repeated excurſions were made into

[d] De Barros, Faria y Souſa.

into the country, they could not meet with any of the inhabitants. He therefore [e] ſurveyed the coaſt, and returned to Portugal.

Ch. II. § 1. *Regency of Don Pedro, Duke of Coimbra.*

Among the priſoners, taken in the joint expedition of *Antonio Gonzales* and *Nuno Triſtan*, were three Moors of rank and opulence. The principal captive not only promiſed to pay a ranſom for his ſafe return, but alſo to give the Portugueſe ſix or ſeven of his ſlaves; and ſimilar offers were made by the two others. The acquiſition of ſo many converts from Mohammediſm, was eagerly embraced by the Grand-Maſter of the order of Chriſt: he alſo conſidered, that the favourable report which theſe might make, on their return to Africa, of the friendly treatment they received from the Portugueſe, would accuſtom the natives to entertain a more favourable idea of his navigators; and that among ſo many, ſomething certain might be known reſpecting the ſtrange accounts of the burning regions of their continent. Preparations were therefore made for another

[e] The Portugueſe hiſtorians, *De Barros* and *Faria y Souſa*, do not mention any drawings of the coaſt being ever taken, or that the ſoundings were noticed: but the encouragement that was given by the Prince to the conſtruction of charts, clearly proves that hydrographers from the academy at Sagres, if not the noted Majorcan *Preſident James* himſelf, ſailed with the captains on their voyages of diſcovery; and from their drawings, the coaſt of Africa, from *Cape Non* ſouthwards, was firſt laid down. A curious object of reſearch is here preſented to any antiquarian, who may hereafter chance to reſide at Liſbon: probably ſome of theſe geographical MSS. ſtill exiſt, or might be reſtored from early copies that were taken. *Bartholomew Columbus*, who ſupported himſelf for ſome time in London by the ſale of Charts, was the firſt perſon who brought a knowledge of them into England from the *Portugueſe ſchool*. In 1489, he printed the firſt map of the world that appeared in this country, and dedicated it to Henry the ſeventh. It is remarkable, that in tracing the ſubſequent improvement of the ſcience of Navigation among the Portugueſe and the Engliſh, an aſtoniſhing contraſt appears: the Portugueſe, as they advanced in ſkill, became like the Dutch avaricious of their experience; whereas the Engliſh uniformly preſerved that open liberality, which diſtinguiſhes the Britiſh ſeaman.—*Dr. Vincent*, in his Periplus of the Erythrean, notices (page 191. note 307.) this circumſtance from *Purchas*. "*Pietro della Valle*, who ſailed both in Engliſh and Portugueſe ſhips, in the Eaſt Indies, about 1620, obſerves, that the *Portugueſe maſters* and *pilots* made a myſtery of their knowledge; whereas on board the *Engliſh ſhips* all the youths were ſummoned to take the obſervation at noon; their books and calculations were then likewiſe corrected." Hence, adds Dr. Vincent, we may trace a cauſe why the Science has always been increaſing among the Engliſh, and declining among the Portugueſe.—Ought we not to add, that the mind, and exertions of the latter, were paſſied by the *Inquiſition?*

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another voyage to the coaſt, during the year 1442: the command was again given to the gallant *Antonio Gonzales*, accompanied by a gentleman of the name of *Balthazar*. He had been ſent by the Emperor *Frederick the third*, to ſerve under the Portugueſe princes at *Ceuta*, where his bravery procured him the honours of knighthood. *Balthazar* was at this time on a viſit to the Duke at Sagres; and being anxious to carry home ſome account of the newly diſcovered countries, had requeſted permiſſion to attend Gonzales.

Antonio Gonzales. 1442.

The romantic mind of Balthazar expreſſed a deſire to behold the unuſual ſtorms, which he heard deſcribed as ariſing in the Atlantic; nor was it long before he enjoyed or lamented his inclination: ſo dreadful a gale of wind came on before they reached the coaſt of Africa, that no one on board expected to ſurvive it. They however providentially weathered out its rage, and returned to port, where every exertion was made, without delay, to refit the damage ſuſtained. Balthazar preſerved his reſolution, and diſplayed a firmneſs worthy of his country: his conduct alſo ſhews what a degree of confidence was at this time placed in the ſkill of the Portugueſe ſeamen. Having at length gained the coaſt, the principal Moor was landed, and a deference paid him, which his profeſſions and conduct ſeemed to juſtify: but the liberal courteſy of his late maſters was contraſted and not rewarded by his behaviour; he forgot all his promiſes with the poſſeſſion of liberty. It is however probable, that the Moor informed the natives, the other captives were returned; as before the ninth day had elapſed, there appeared above an hundred who wiſhed to barter for the ranſom of their countrymen. Ten negroes, from different parts of Africa, were offered and accepted for two remaining captives; but the ſight of a conſiderable quantity of [f] GOLD DUST, then firſt beheld by Europeans, occaſioned the moſt lively emotions. The Moors alſo

Gold duſt firſt offered to the Portugueſe. 1442.

[f] De Barros, Decade 1.

alſo preſented a buckler, made of the undreſſed ſkin of a buck, and ſome Oſtrich Eggs, conſidered as being great rarities by the Prince. This river, as it was called, though only an arm of the ſea, running about ſix leagues into the continent under the tropic of Cancer, received from its [5] gold duſt the name of *Rio-del-Ouro.*

The

[5] As the trade for gold duſt was of ſo much importance, in deſtroying the oppoſition that had been made againſt the diſcoveries of the Portugueſe, and as this trade led to the firſt eſtabliſhment of a Mercantile Company at *Lagos*, I have ſubjoined the following account from *Mr. Park's Travels*, (p. 446.)—" The gold from the hilly country of *Manding*, which lies to the ſouth-eaſt of Cape de Verd, between the fifth and ſeventh degrees of weſt longitude, and the twelfth and thirteenth degrees of north latitude, ſo far as I could learn, is never found in any matrix or vein, but always in ſmall grains, nearly in a pure ſtate, from the ſize of a pin's head, to that of a pea, ſcattered through a large body of ſand or clay; and in this ſtate it is called by the Madingoes *Sanoo Munko*, gold powder. About the beginning of December, when the harveſt is over, and the ſtreams and torrents have greatly ſubſided, the *Manſa*, or chief man of the town, appoints a day to begin *Sanoo koo*, gold waſhing; and the women are ſure to have themſelves in readineſs by the time appointed. An hoe, or ſpade, for digging up the ſand, two or three calabaſhes for waſhing it in, and a few quills for containing the gold duſt, are all the implements neceſſary for the purpoſe. On the morning of their departure, a bullock is killed for the firſt day's entertainment, and a number of prayers and charms are uſed to enſure ſucceſs. The Manſa of Kamalia, with fourteen of his people, were, I remember, ſo much diſappointed in their firſt day's waſhing, that very few of them had reſolution to perſevere, and the few that did had but very indifferent ſucceſs; for inſtead of opening ſome untried place, they continued to dig and waſh in the ſame ſpot where they had dug and waſhed for years, and where, of courſe, but few large grains could be left.

" The waſhing the ſands of the ſtreams is by far the eaſieſt way of obtaining the gold duſt; but in moſt places the ſands have been ſo narrowly ſearched before, that unleſs the ſtream takes ſome new courſe, the gold is found but in ſmall quantities. While ſome of the party are buſied in waſhing the ſands, others employ themſelves farther up the torrent, where the rapidity of the ſtream has carried away all the clay, ſand, &c. and left nothing but ſmall pebbles. The ſearch among theſe is a very troubleſome taſk. I have ſeen women who have had the ſkin worn off the tops of their fingers in this employment. Sometimes, however, they are rewarded by finding pieces of gold, which they call *Sanoo birro*, " gold ſtones," that amply repay them for their trouble. A woman and her daughter, inhabitants of Kamalia, found in one day two pieces of this kind; one of five drachms, and the other of three drachms weight. But the moſt certain and profitable mode of waſhing is practiſed in the height of the dry ſeaſon, by digging a deep pit, like a draw-well, near ſome hill which had previouſly been diſcoverd to contain gold. The pit is dug with ſmall ſpades, or corn hoes, and the earth is drawn up in large calabaſhes. As the negroes dig through the different ſtrata of clay or ſand, a calabaſh or two of each is waſhed, by way of experiment; and in this manner the labourers proceed, until

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The fame and advantage of the Portuguefe difcoveries were now placed beyond the reach of prejudice or detraction. It pleafed God that their illuftrious projector fhould live to enjoy the accomplifhment of this event, though the fhort period of human exiftence was too confined for the final completion of his hopes, in witneffing the difcovery of the Cape, which his fuperior mind had certainly in view. This gold duft brought by his captains to Portugal, operated as a fovereign panacea on the irritation and obftinacy of the public

until they come to a ftratum containing gold; or until they are obftructed by rocks, or inundated by water. In general, when they come to a ftratum of fine reddifh fand, with fmall black fpecks therein, they find gold in fome proportion or other, and fend up large calabafhes full of the fand for the women to wafh; for though the pit is dug by the men, the gold is always wafhed by the women.

"The manner of feparating the gold from the fand is very fimple, and is frequently performed by the women in the middle of the town; for when the fearchers return from the valleys in the evening, they commonly bring with them each a calabafh or two of fand, to be wafhed by fuch of the females as remain at home. The operation is fimply as follows: A portion of fand or clay (for gold is fometimes found in a brown coloured clay), is put into a large calabafh, and mixed with a fufficient quantity of water. The woman, whofe office it is, then fhakes the calabafh in fuch a manner, as to mix the fand and water together, and give the whole a rotatory motion; at firft gently, but afterwards more quick, until a fmall portion of fand and water, at every revolution, flies over the brim of the calabafh. The fand thus feparated, is only the coarfeft particles mixed with a little muddy water. After the operation has been continued for fome time, the fand is allowed to fubfide, and the water poured off; a portion of coarfe fand, which is now uppermoft in the calabafh, is removed by the hand, and frefh water being added, the operation is repeated until the water comes off almoft pure. The woman now takes a fecond calabafh, and fhakes the fand and water gently from the one to the other, referving that portion of fand which is next the bottom of the calabafh, and which is moft likely to contain the gold. This fmall quantity is mixed with fome pure water, and being moved about in the calabafh, is carefully examined. If a few particles of gold are picked out, the contents of the other calabafh are examined in the fame manner; but, in general, the party is well contented, if fhe can obtain three or four grains from the contents of both calabafhes. Some women, however, by long practice, become fo well acquainted with the nature of the fand, and the mode of wafhing it, that they will collect gold, where others cannot find a fingle particle. The gold duft is kept in quills, ftopt up with cotton, and the wafhers are fond of difplaying a number of thefe quills in their hair. Generally fpeaking, if a perfon ufes common diligence, in a proper foil, it is fuppofed that as much gold may be collected by him in the courfe of the dry feafon, as is equal to the value of two flaves (about thirty-fix or forty pounds Sterling)."

public mind. As a learned [h] writer remarks, "This is the primary date to which we may refer that turn for adventure which ſprung up in Europe, which pervaded all the ardent ſpirits in every country for the two ſucceeding centuries, and which never ceaſed till it had united the four quarters of the globe in commercial intercourſe. *Henry* had ſtood alone for almoſt forty years; and had he fallen before theſe few ounces of gold reached his country, the ſpirit of diſcovery might have periſhed with him, and his deſigns might have been condemned as the dreams of a Viſionary."

Ch. II. § 1. *Regency of Don Pedro, Duke of Coimbra.*

The dock-yards at *Sagres* reſounded with the renewed activity, and exertions of its ſhipwrights. In 1443, *Nuno Triſtan* was ordered to ſea at a ſhort notice, that he might advance the knowledge of a coaſt, ſo likely to prove advantageous to the Portugueſe commerce. Triſtan accordingly doubled *Cabo Blanco*, which had been explored by his perſeverance, and ſtanding about ten leagues to the ſouth-eaſt, fell in with an iſland, called by the inhabitants *Adeget*, but ſince [i] *Arguin*, a name given to the bay in which it lies. The *Almadias*,

[h] Dr. Vincent's Periplus of the Erythrean ſea, p. 192.

[i] The Portugueſe gave the cluſter of ſeven iſlands, on the northern part of the coaſt of Senegambia, which had their reſpective names, *Las Garzas*, *Nar*, *Tider*, &c. the general appellation of *Arguim*, or *Arguin*; becauſe of the factory, or fort, which King *Alphonſo* built on the iſland ſo called: that of *Adeget* was the firſt diſcovered. *Barbot* dates this event from 1440; I have followed de Barros. The former obſerves, (Churchill's Collection, vol. v. p. 530.) "It is reported, that the Portugueſe fort at *Arguim* was in former ages poſſeſſed by a Mooriſh nation, called *Schek Arabs*, who drove a trade there, and applied themſelves to fiſhing; and that the French in thoſe days uſed to ſend ſome ſhips thither, in January and February, to catch ſharks, on the coaſt betwixt Arguim and St. John's river, about twenty leagues to the ſouthward, which they dried in the ſun aſhore, and boiled the livers freſh to extract lamp-oil, whereof they carried home conſiderable quantities."—The *Cerne* of Ptolemy, moved by the learned into a variety of places, is now generally thought to ſignify *Arguin*; an idea which originated chiefly from D'Anville. The following ſtatement of the trade at Arguin is preſerved by Hakluyt (vol. ii. part 2. page 188.) in a *Relation ſent by Melchior Petoney to Nigil de Moura at Liſbon, from the iſland and caſtle of Arguin, concerning the rich and ſecret trade from the inland of Africa thither, Anno* 1591. "As concerning the Trade to this Caſtle, and Iſland of *Arguin*, your Worſhip is to underſtand, that if it would pleaſe the King's Majeſty to ſend hither

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Almadias, or ſmall canoes uſed by the natives, were at firſt miſtaken for birds, as their mode of uſing theſe boats was to ſit athwart, and employ their feet inſtead of paddles.—Nuno Triſtan ſailed from Adeget to another ſmall iſland weſt of Arguin; on account of the ſeaſonable ſupply it afforded, he named it *de las Garças*: during his ſtay every attention was paid to explore the country. He then returned with ſome of the inhabitants, and probably with ſpecimens of their *Almadias*, and other curioſities.

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hither two or three caravels once in a yeere with Flanders and Spaniſh commodities, as bracelets of glaſſe, knives, belles, linnen-cloth, looking-glaſſes, with other kinds of ſmall wares, his highneſſe might do great good here. For fifty leagues up into the land, the Moores have many exceeding rich golde mines; inſomuch, that they bring downe their golde to this caſtle to traffique with us; and for a ſmall triſle they will give us a great wedge of gold. And becauſe here is no trade, the ſayd Moores carry their golde to *Fez*, being 250 leagues diſtant from hence, and there doe exchange the ſame for the foreſayd kindes of commodities. By this meanes alſo his Majeſty might ſtop that paſſage, and keepe the King of Fez from ſo huge a maſſe of golde. Scarlet-clothes and fine purples are greatly accepted of in theſe partes. It is a moſt fertile country within the land, and yeeldeth great ſtore of wheat, fleſh of all kindes, and abundance of fruits. Therefore, if it were poſſible, you ſhould do well to deale with his Majeſty, either himſelfe to ſend a couple of caravels, or to give your worſhip leave to traffique here; for here is a very good harbour where ſhips may ride at ancre hard by the caſtle. The countrey where all the golde mines are, is called the kingdome of *Darba*. In this kingdome are great ſtores of cities and townes; and in every city and towne a captaine, with certaine ſouldiers, which captaines are lords and owners of the ſayd townes. One city there is called *Couton*, another *Xanigeton*, as alſo the cities of *Tubguer*, *Anzeque*, *Amader*, *Quaberque*, and the towne of *Faroo*; the which townes and cities are very great, and fairely built, being inhabited by rich Moores, and abounding with all kind of cattell, barley, and dates. And here is ſuch plenty of golde found upon the ſands by the rivers ſide, that the ſayd Moores uſually carry the ſame northward to *Marocco*, and ſouthward to the city of *Tombuto* in the land of Negros, which city ſtandeth about three hundred leagues from the kingdome of *Darba*; and this kingdome is but ſixty leagues from this iſland and caſtle of *Arguin*. Wherefore I beſeech your worſhip to put his Majeſty in remembrance hereof; for the ſayd cities and townes are but ten dayes journey from hence. I heartily wiſh that his Majeſty would ſend two or three merchants to ſee the ſtate of the countrey, who might travell to the aforeſayd cities, to underſtand of their rich trade. For any man may go ſafe, and come ſafe from thoſe places: and thus without troubling of your worſhip any further, I humbly take my leave.

"Your worſhip's ſervant,

"*From the Iſland and Caſtle of Arguin, the 20th of January 1591.*" MELCHIOR PETOREY."

Ch. II. § 1. *Regent of Don Pedro, Duke of Coimbra.*

The reader has been already referred to another part of this work for an [k] abſtract of the excellent account of the [l] Canary iſlands, publiſhed by Mr. Glas. *Lancerota*, *Fuertaventura*, and *Ferro*, were exchanged by the Duke of Viſeo in 1444, with *Maſſiot de Betancour*, for ſome poſſeſſions in the iſland of Madeira: this gentleman was nephew to the Frenchman, who obtained the original grant of the Canary iſlands from Henry the *third* of Caſtile, at the interceſſion of *Robin de Braquermorte*. The Duke of Viſeo immediately fitted out a powerful ſquadron, under the command of *Fernand de Caſtro*, grand-maſter of his houſehold, to ſubdue the remaining iſlands of *Canaria*, *Palma*, *Gratioſa*, *Inferno*, *Alegrazze*, *Santa-Chiara*, *Rocca*, and *Lobos*. The king of Caſtile, however, afterwards claimed this conqueſt of Prince Henry's; nor did the latter feel any inclination to reſiſt this demand, ſince the produce of the iſlands by no means anſwered his expectation.

Origin of the Eaſt India Company.

The inhabitants of *Lagos*, in the kingdom of Algarve, were the firſt to project a chartered commerce on the diſcoveries of their countrymen; the liberality with which the Prince granted their requeſt, proves, at this diſtance of time, that the Gold of Africa was only a ſecondary object to his capacious mind: and though the obſervations of an experienced writer are hoſtile to the corporate rights of [m] commercial aggrandizement in general, yet ſtill this primary inſtitution

[k] Appendix (F.)

[l] See alſo "Hiſtoire de la premiere découverte et conquête des Canaries, faite en 1402 par Jean de Bethencourt, Chambellan du Roi Charles VI. écrite du tems même, par *Pierre Poutier* et *Jean le Verrier*, et miſe en lumiere par Galiea de Bethencourt, in 8. Paris 1630." *To which may be added*, "Conquiſta y antiquedades de las iſlas de la gran Canaria, y ſu deſcripcion. con muchas advertencias de ſus privilegios, conquiſtadores, por *D. Juan Nunez de la Pena*, in 4. en Madrid 1676." Theſe iſlands are noticed by *Linſchoten* (chap. xcvi.), who ſays that they were called Canaries from the number of *dogs* found on them when firſt diſcovered. This however is contradicted in Mr. Glas's work.

[m] Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations (Vol. ii. p. 479.). "A company of merchants are, it ſeems, incapable of conſidering themſelves as ſovereigns, even after they have become rich.

BOOK I.

ſtitution of a [a] company at *Lagos*, muſt have been of eſſential ſervice to the future diſcoveries of the Portugueſe. The deſigns of their Prince, thus ſubſtantiated with the riſing trade of the kingdom, from henceforth no longer depended on the life of an individual; the mercantile intereſt was now united with the inveſtigation of ſcience, and the improvement of navigation.

The ſouthern coaſt of Algarve, trends from Cape St. Vincent to the river Guadiana, containing the bays of *Lagos*, *Faro*, and *Tavira*. This kingdom originally extended into the Spaniſh territory; and at one time comprehended a conſiderable part of the oppoſite [c] ſhore of Africa. The city of Lagos [d], capital of a diſtrict of the ſame name, was founded, according to *Reſende*, on the ſite of the antient *Lacobriga* built by a colony of Carthaginians, three hundred years before the Chriſtian æra; and is ſituated about ſix leagues from Cape St. Vincent: for a conſiderable time Lagos was honoured with the reſidence of the ſupreme officer of Algarve. Its large and ſpacious bay, ſheltered from the north, north-weſt, and weſt north-weſt winds, is capable of receiving a numerous fleet; the city ariſes on the weſtern ſide; the harbour, which lies before it, contains from ſeven to eight fathom water: five leagues of an irregular and rocky

rich. Trade, or buying in order to ſell again, they ſtill conſider as their principal buſineſs; and by a ſtrange abſurdity, regard the character of the ſovereign, as but an appendix to that of the merchant. - - - Their mercantile habits draw them in this manner, almoſt neceſſarily, though perhaps inſenſibly, to prefer upon all occaſions the little and tranſitory profit of the Monopoliſt, to the great and permanent revenue of the ſovereign, and would gradually lead them to treat the countries ſubject to their government, nearly as the Dutch treat the Moluccas."

[a] Has any ſtatue, or public teſtimony of reſpect, been raiſed to the memory of the Duke of Viſeo, in our New Eaſt India Houſe? It would commemorate the name of a prince who laid the foundation of the Eaſt-Indian commerce of Europe, and would alſo be a memorable record of the early alliance that ſubſiſted between Portugal and this country.

[c] In conſequence of which, the title of the Portugueſe monarchs was couched in the following terms: *Reys dos Algarves, dáquem, e dálem Mar em Africa.*

[d] There was alſo a town of the hither Spain, of this name, ſituated between *Viminacium* and *Segiſama*, the inhabitants of which were termed *Lacobricenſes* by Pliny.

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rocky coaſt extend from Lagos to Sagres. This city was ſoon reſorted to from all parts, on account of the aſtoniſhing curioſities, which fame reported had been conveyed thither by the Portugueſe navigators from the iſlands and coaſt of Africa. The favourable ſituation of their town, and its vicinity to Sagres, cheriſhed the enterpriſe of its inhabitants: the tunny Fiſhery on their coaſt furniſhed an excellent nurſery for ſeamen; and a fertility of ſoil which ſupplied the uncultivated regions of the North, with its oil, dried fruits, and corn, had already nurtured a commercial ſpirit. The inhabitants of Lagos, thus prepared, beheld the diſcoveries on the coaſt of Africa in an unprejudiced light: on the very ſpot, which a colony of Carthaginians had originally choſen, from its advantageous [q] ſituation for trade, preparations were now making to lay the firſt foundation of that commerce, which gradually extended from the *Rio del Ouro*, to the diſtant ſeas both of India and China.

The names of theſe celebrated merchants are preſerved; and what is remarkable, one of the firſt was anceſtor of the diſtinguiſhed *Bartholemew Diaz*, who afterwards diſcovered and paſſed the Cape of Good Hope. *Lançarot*, of the Prince's houſehold, *Juan Diaz*, *Gilianez*, who doubled Cape Bojadore, *Eſtevan Alfonſo*, and *Rodriga Alvarez*, were the partners of this memorable company. Having received the ſanction of their Prince, a ſquadron of ſix caravels was fitted out, over which Lançarot was appointed commander by the Duke. They ſailed from Lagos during the year 1444, and arrived at the iſland *de las Garças*, on the eve of Corpus-Chriſti day:

[q] *Camoens* was ſenſible of the advantages which his Country in this reſpect poſſeſſed:

"Proud o'er the reſt, with ſplendid wealth arrayed,
As crown to this wide empire, Europe's head,
Fair LUSITANIA ſmiles; the weſtern bound,
Whoſe verdant breaſt the rolling waves ſurround,
Where gentle evening pours her lambent ray,
The laſt pale gleaming of departing day."

Mickle's Luſiadas, vol. i. book 3. p. 92.

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day: they then proceeded for the adjoining island of *Nar*, which the captive Moors had described; but left the sight of so many vessels should alarm the inhabitants, two boats were dispatched, commanded by *Martin Vicente*, and *Gil Vasquez*, and it was determined that Lançarot should follow with the ships. The boats reached the island at break of day; an eager desire to procure information, by seizing the persons of the inhabitants, overcame the wonted humanity of the Portuguese; the village was in consequence assailed, and one hundred and fifty captive Africans raised a spirit of revenge, which quickly extended to the adjacent coast. Lançarot then returned to Lagos, having first visited the desert island of *Tider*. The honour of knighthood was conferred on him for this expedition; he was also raised by the Prince to the rank of nobility, nor were the different officers of the squadron neglected.

Gonzales da Cintra.

The fatal voyage of *Gonzales da Cintra* expiated the want of forbearance which the squadron under Lançarot had shewn. The character of Gonzales stood high in every point of view; and his merit had gradually raised him to be gentleman of the Prince's household. A Moor of the [r] Assanhaji tribe, whom he received on board as an interpreter, obtained and betrayed his confidence: considerable hopes of plunder were held out by the crafty African, if Gonzales would steer for the island of *Arguin*; proceeding thither, the ship put

[r] A description of this tribe occurs in the subsequent voyage of Cado Mosta, by whom they are termed *Azanaghi*. Major Rennell informs us (Geography of Herodotus, p. 428.) that they are the *Zenhaga* of our maps, and the *Sanhaga* of Edrisi and Abulfeda. They are at present placed by geographers at no great distance from the coast of the ocean, between the rivers of *Nun* and *Senegal*, in the position in which the early discoverers found them. Herodotus divides the inhabitants of Africa, with the exception of strangers, who were the Phœnicians and Greeks, into the Africans and Æthiopians; one of which possessed the *northern*, the other the *southern* part of Africa. By these nations, adds Major Rennell, are evidently intended the *Moors* and the *Negroes*. At present the negroes are not found higher up than the Senegal river, or about 17°, and that only in the inland parts. It appears that the *Senhagi* tribe, who are not negroes, possessed the coast about Cape Verde, in the time of Ptolemy, which received from him the epithet *Arsinarium*.

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put into a bay on this ſide of Cape Blanco, about fourteen leagues beyond the Rio-del-Ouro: the Moor, having obtained leave of abſence, under the pretence of viſiting ſome relations, eſcaped with another of his countrymen. Gonzales, when too late, perceived he had been treacherouſly dealt with; and that this interpreter had only come on board to procure information relative to the object of the voyage. The high ſpirit of Gonzales was mortified at thus becoming the dupe of a Moor; during the night he embarked with only twelve of his men, and preſſed forward with too much eagerneſs to chaſtiſe the perfidy he had experienced: they had omitted to watch the flowing of the tide, and in conſequence of this the boat was ſtranded. The enſuing morning ſhewed their ſituation to an ungenerous enemy, and two hundred Moors immediately haſtened to ſeize their prey. Gonzales fell, with ſeven of his companions; the remaining five ſwam to the ſhip, and returned to Lagos with two Moors taken on the coaſt: the name of *Angra de Gonzales da Cintra* marks the place, where the firſt Portugueſe were killed in their newly diſcovered countries.

The Duke of Viseo had always oppoſed any act of cruelty or oppreſſion towards the Africans; and though he was anxious to obtain information from all quarters, his captains had only received orders to make priſoners of ſome of the natives: even the mild diſpoſition of more experienced officers, has not always been able to preſerve the humanity, which they were inclined, and inſtructed to cheriſh amidſt the iſlands of the Pacific. When we look back over the lapſe of more than three centuries, we muſt not expect a general influence of the virtue which *ſuffereth long, and is kind*: it muſt therefore often have been difficult for the Patron of diſcovery, in a rude uncivilized age, to enforce the principle of doing good, which invariably actuated his own mind; nor can the ſevere moraliſt be juſtified, who, in contemplating the progreſs of theſe diſcoveries, has made the following

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following remarks: "On what occaſion, or for what purpoſe, cannons and muſkets were diſcharged among a people harmleſs and ſecure, by ſtrangers, who, without any right, viſited their coaſt; it is not thought neceſſary to inform us. The *Portugueſe* could fear nothing from them, and had therefore no adequate provocation; nor is there any reaſon to believe but that they murdered the negroes in wanton merriment, perhaps only to try how many a volley would deſtroy, or what would be the conſternation of thoſe that ſhould eſcape. --- What mankind has loſt and gained, by the genius and deſigns of this PRINCE, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to eſtimate. Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty been committed; the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageouſly and enormouſly violated. The Europeans have ſcarcely viſited any coaſt, but to gratify avarice, and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practiſe cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppreſſed, if the deſigns of *Henry* had ſlept in his boſom, and ſurely more happy for the oppreſſors. But there is reaſon to hope, that out of ſo much evil, good may ſometimes be produced; and that the light of the goſpel will at laſt illuminate the ſands of *Africa*, and the deſerts of [s] *America*."—In ſuch a manner did JOHNSON conſider the nobleſt efforts of the human mind; his prejudices confuſed the character of the Portugueſe and Spaniards; and his zeal for religion made him forget, that if the number of its converts was not conſiderable, yet that the deſolating progreſs of the doctrines of Mohammed was arreſted by the [t] diſcoveries of the Duke of Viſco.

The

[s] Introduction to the World diſplayed (vol. ii. pages 218. 220. Murphy's edition).

[t] It is equally intereſting, and uſeful, to compare the ſentiments of great men, on points which involve the happineſs of mankind, and reſpecting which much diverſity of opinion has arisen. To the remarks of *Dr. Johnſon* may therefore be oppoſed the experience and judgment

The decided manner in which the Duke of Viſeo reprobated the conduct of *Gilianez*, a native of Lagos, towards the inhabitants of the Canary iſlands, has been already noticed, nor was this prince inſenſible to the injuries that had been received by others from his officers.

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ment of *Adam Smith*. (Vol. ii. p. 458.) " The diſcovery of America, and that of *a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope*, are the two greateſt and moſt important events recorded in the hiſtory of mankind. Their conſequences have already been very great: but, in the ſhort period of between two and three centuries which has elapſed ſince theſe Diſcoveries were made, it is impoſſible that the whole extent of their conſequences can have been ſeen. What benefits, or what misfortunes to mankind may hereafter reſult from thoſe great events, no human wiſdom can foreſee. By uniting, in ſome meaſure, the moſt diſtant parts of the world, by enabling them to relieve one another's wants, to increaſe one another's enjoyments, and to encourage one another's induſtry, their general tendency would ſeem to be beneficial. To the natives, however, both of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, all the Commercial Benefits, which can have reſulted from thoſe events, have been ſunk and loſt in the dreadful misfortunes which they have occaſioned. Theſe misfortunes, however, ſeem to have ariſen *rather from accident than from any thing in the nature of thoſe events themſelves*. At the particular time when theſe diſcoveries were made, the ſuperiority of force happened to be ſo great on the ſide of the Europeans, that they were enabled to commit with impunity every ſort of injuſtice in thoſe remote countries. Hereafter, perhaps, the natives of thoſe countries may grow ſtronger, or thoſe of Europe may grow weaker, and the inhabitants of all the different quarters of the world may arrive at that equality of courage and force, which, by inſpiring mutual fear, can alone overawe the injuſtice of independent nations into ſome ſort of reſpect for the rights of one another. But nothing ſeems more likely to eſtabliſh this equality of force than that mutual communication of knowledge, and of all ſorts of improvements, which an extenſive Commerce from all countries to all countries naturally, or rather neceſſarily, carries along with it.

" In the mean time one of the principal effects of thoſe Diſcoveries has been to raiſe the Mercantile Syſtem to a degree of ſplendour and glory which it could never otherwiſe have attained to. It is the object of that Syſtem to enrich a great nation rather by trade and manufactures, than by the improvement and cultivation of land; rather by the induſtry of the towns than by that of the country. But, in conſequence of thoſe Diſcoveries, the commercial towns of Europe, inſtead of being the manufacturers and carriers for but a very ſmall part of the world (that part of Europe which is waſhed by the Atlantic ocean, and the countries which lie round the Baltic and Mediterranean ſeas) have now become the manufacturers for the numerous and thriving cultivators of America, and the carriers, and in ſome reſpects the manufacturers too, for almoſt all the different nations of Aſia, Africa, and America. Two new Worlds have been opened to their induſtry, each of them much greater and more extenſive than the old one, and the market of one of them growing ſtill greater and greater every day."

BOOK I. 1446.

The death of Gonzales da Cintra afforded *Henry* a melancholy opportunity of enforcing the humane inſtructions he had ſo often given, "to paſs unnoticed the inſults, or neglect of honour, they might experience from the negroes;" and that nothing ſhould be wanting to juſtify the principle of his conduct *Talent de bien faire*, the Duke fitted out three veſſels during the year 1446, to heal the animoſity that prevailed among the negroes. The command of this ſquadron was given to *Antonio Gonzales*, and *Diego Alfonſo; Gomez Perez*, the king's pilot, was added by the permiſſion of the Duke's brother, *Don Pedro* the regent. Before they embarked, their benevolent patron earneſtly enjoined them, when they had entered the Rio-del-Ouro, to cultivate the friendſhip of the inhabitants by every poſſible means; to eſtabliſh peace among them, and to uſe their utmoſt diligence in making converts to the Chriſtian religion. The generous Portugueſe endeavoured, but in vain, to remove the angry ſuſpicions of the natives; both the captains carefully abſtained from any aggreſſion, that might tend to renew hoſtilities; and returned with only a negro whom they had received in ranſom, together with an aged Moor who was ſo much won by their behaviour, that he requeſted permiſſion to accompany them to Portugal. *Juan Fernandez* impelled by an ardent deſire to procure information for the Prince, and probably ſtill further to gain the confidence of the natives, requeſted to continue in that part of Africa which is inhabited by the *Aſſanhaji* negroes, and was accordingly left amidſt its dreary ſolitudes.

After an interval of ſeven months, *Antonio Gonzales* was ordered to return for his adventurous countryman, from whoſe inquiſitive diſpoſition, and retentive memory, much was expected. *Garcia Mendez*, and *Diego Alfonſo*, accompanied Gonzales with their caravellas, but they were ſoon ſeparated by a ſtorm. Diego being the firſt who reached the continent, landed at Cape Blanco, and raiſed a large wooden croſs as a ſignal to his companions; he then proceeded according

cording to the cuſtom of the Portugueſe to the iſlands of *Arguin*, which afforded ſhelter from the tremendous ſurf that broke on the coaſt of Africa. Whilſt *Diego* waited at Arguin for the arrival of the other ſhips, he paid many viſits to the continent, and endeavoured to obtain information from the only ſource that offered: five and twenty of the natives were procured, ſeven of whom were taken by *Lourenço Dias*, an inhabitant of Setubal. When the remainder of the ſquadron had joined, they immediately ſought their countryman *Juan Fernandez*, who had been looking out for a veſſel for ſome days. After experiencing ſevere hardſhips, his conduct had at length obtained the friendſhip of a Moor, whoſe ſlaves accompanied Fernandez in a body to the ſhore; where they eagerly embraced the opportunity of ranſoming ſome of their countrymen. Gonzales was thus enabled to procure nine blacks, and a quantity of gold duſt; the place itſelf was named *Cabo do Reſgati*, or Cape Ranſom, and was honoured by the knighthood of an aged nobleman, *Fernam Tavares;* who, though he had long merited the diſtinction, declared that he would only receive it on the newly diſcovered coaſt. During the paſſage home, Gonzales touched at a village beyond Cape Blanco, and increaſed his number of captives to ninety. The ſight of Juan Fernandez, however, was more acceptable to the Prince, than any other part of the cargo; and the intereſting recital of his countryman was liſtened to with all the impatience that novelty could excite.

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His report, though ſo remote from the preſent age, bears a ſtriking reſemblance to the narrative of Mr. Park. *Fernandez* deſcribed the natives as ſhepherds, related to the Moor brought by Antonio Gonzales to Portugal. When they had conveyed Fernandez to a conſiderable diſtance from the coaſt, they immediately deprived him of all his cloaths, and alſo of the biſcuit, wheat, and proviſions, that remained; a kind of tattered rug, called an *albaik*, ſcreened him from the va-

Report of Juan Fernandez.

BOOK I.

rious inclemency of the feverish atmosphere of Africa. His food consisted principally of a small farinaceous seed; and this homely meal was occasionally varied by the roots of the desert, or the green sprouts of wild herbs. The mind of Juan Fernandez had been prepared to encounter hardships, but it also was doomed to experience persecution. The inhabitants, with whom he lived in a state of slavery, unless supplied by the chace, or the adjoining ocean, fed on dried lizards, and a sort of locust or grasshopper: their principal drink was milk, on account of the scarcity and badness of the water: their cattle were only killed on great festivals; like the Tartars, they roved from one spot to another in search of a precarious sustenance for their herds and flocks. A view of the country presented either an arid sand, or an uncultivated heath, on which a few straggling palm trees, and the stubborn vegetation of the Indian fig, marked at intervals an extensive and dreary solitude. Towards the end of his voluntary banishment, *Fernandez* obtained an asylum, and probably some considerable information from an *Azanhaji* Moor of distinction, *Huade Meimon*; who not only honoured this intrepid stranger with his confidence, and permitted him to watch the arrival of ships on the coast; but also assigned on such occasions the escort, which is mentioned to have accompanied Fernandez, when he at length rejoined the Portuguese.

Cape Verde discovered by Denis Fernandez. 1446.

Another Voyage had been made by Nuno Tristan to the Rio-del-Ouro in 1446, when Antonio Gonzales returned with the Moor, from the place where he had left *Fernandez*, the first explorer of the interior of Africa; and in the same year a gentleman from Lisbon, *Denis Fernandez*, who had belonged to the household of the late king, *John the first*, encouraged by the patronage he had already received from the Duke of Viseo, fitted out a vessel for the purposes of discovery: his principal object was to advance further to the southward than any preceding navigator. Having accordingly passed

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the *Senegal* river, which divides the *Azanhaji* Moors from the *Jaloffs*, he fell in with some [u] *Almadias*, and captured one with four of the inhabitants, the first of that country which the Portuguese had seen. Thence he proceeded along the coast, and not being delayed by any idle curiosity in visiting the shore, stood boldly on, until he reached the most westerly promontory of Africa; which, from the number of palm trees that grew there, he named [x] *Cabo Verde*. Alarmed by the breakers with which the shore is lined, Denis did not attempt at that season of the year to advance any further, but returned with his captives to Portugal. He was received in the most flattering manner by the Prince; who expressed himself particularly gratified, that the natives were brought from the newly discovered coast, without being traded for with the Moors.

The

[u] These *Almadias*, so often mentioned, are described by *Barbot* (ibid. vol. v. p. 41.). "They are generally about thirty foot long, and eighteen or twenty inches broad, all of one entire piece, being the hollowed trunk of a large soft tree, and will carry ten or twelve men. These boats carry two small masts, with each of them two little sails, and sometimes three, in imitation of great ships, with main-sails, top-sails, and top-gallant-sails. In these canoes they will launch three, four, and five leagues to sea, if the weather be not very boisterous. They generally set out in the morning with the land breeze, and having done their fishery, return at noon with the sea-breeze; or if the wind fails them, and it proves very calm, they row for it with a sort of short, pointed, flat shovels, one on each side; and that so swiftly, that the best pinnace, though ever so well manned, will find it an hard task to overtake them."

[x] The country that extends from *Cape Verde* to the interior of Africa, has been explored, as far as *Silla*, on the river *Joliba*, or *Niger*, by a second Juan Fernandez—*Mr. Mungo Park*; and a map compiled from his observations, notes, and sketches, is prefixed to his travels by Major Rennell. No material change has probably taken place in these districts since the time of the Portuguese discoveries. *Mr. Park* describes the adjacent country of the village of Pisania, to the south-east of Cape de Verde, as being an immense level, covered with a gloomy uniformity of wood. During the night, the traveller is terrified by the croaking of innumerable frogs, the shrill cry of the jackall, and the deep howling of the hyæna, interrupted only by the roar of such tremendous thunder, as no person can form a conception of but those who have heard it. The river *Senegal*, to the north of Cape Verde, and the river *Gambia* to the south of it, form the intermediate country, which extends to the east into a peninsula. Mr. Park divides the natives bordering on the Gambia into the *Feloops*, the *Jaloffs*, the *Foulahs*, and the *Mandingoes*. Of these the Jaloffs, or Yaloffs, are the principal occupiers of the above track of country near the sea. They are represented as an active, powerful, and warlike race, with a skin of the deepest black; the traders esteem them the finest negroes on this part of the continent.

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The discovery of *Cape Verde* by no means terminated the maritime labours of the Duke of Viseo; who looked with patient hope, however prolonged, towards the utmost extent of a continent, which, notwithstanding the continued voyages of his seamen, still drew *its slow length along* towards the south. *Gonzales Pachecos*, an opulent officer of the Prince's household, obtained permission to indulge that love of enterprise, which so illustrious an example encouraged. Gonzales accordingly fitted out a ship at his own expence, and gave the command to *Dinisianez da Gram*, one of the Duke's equerries; who was accompanied by *Alvaro Gil*, an assayer of the Mint, and *Mafaldo de Setubal*. After touching at [y] Cape Blanco, as was the custom of the Portuguese, they steered for the island of Arguin; and having made some descents on the coast against the Moors, stopped at the island *de las Garças*, where they found another caravella, commanded by *Lourenço Dias*, which formed part of the squadron that had sailed from Lagos.

The inhabitants of this port were not inattentive to the privileges they now enjoyed; fourteen caravellas, under the auspices of the Duke, had been sent to the coast of Africa before the return of Dinisianez, to curb the depredations of the Moors; who seized every opportunity that offered to interrupt the discoveries of the Portuguese, and the trade which the Lagos Company had opened for gold [z] dust. The command of the squadron was intrusted to *Lançarot*, one of the [a] directors of the *Lagos* Company; under whom the

[y] Another Cape of this name, on the western coast of Africa, is placed by Major Rennell in Morocco, nine hundred miles to the north of that on the coast of the *Zahara*. (Geography of Herodotus, p. 413.)

[z] Lafitau is of opinion, that the gold coin styled *crusadoes*, was struck from this dust, when Pope Calixtus the third, during the reign of Alphonso the fifth, published a crusade against the Turks.—In the subsequent African War (1459), the king was much assisted by the ships of his uncle, the Duke of Viseo.

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the following noblemen accepted commands, besides other distinguished gentlemen of Lagos:

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SUERO DA COSTA, his brother-in-law, Castellan of Lagos, who had been groom of the bedchamber to Edward, King of Portugal, and was noted for his valour *at the battle of Agincourt*.

ALVARO DI FREYTAS, commander of Algiezur, had distinguished himself in the war against the Moors of Granada.

BELLAMARINA, captain of a caravella.

RODRIGUEANES TRAVASOI, page to the Duke of Coimbra.

PALAZZANO, commanded ten gallies, and had obtained military experience in frequent wars against the Moors.

GOMEZ PEREZ, governor to the young King during his minority, commanded what was styled the *King's caravella*.

This force was also increased by two caravellas from Madeira, under the command of *Tristan Vaz Texeira*, and *Alvaro Dornelas*. *Juan Gonzales* commander of Funchal, was on board, with his nephew *Alvaro Fernando;* to whom may be added the names of *Denis Fernandez*, the discoverer of Cape Verde, and *John of Castile*.

The public display of national power has often experienced mortification, since it seldom performs any action commensurate to its strength; whilst the patient efforts of individuals on a smaller scale, like the early voyages of the Portuguese, generally surpass expectation, and render more essential benefits to mankind. This squadron was the greatest that had hitherto sailed from the port of Lagos, and performed the least: it can only be considered as a vain parade, which commerce offered to the genius of discovery. The whole was however regulated with the utmost order; and at the appointed hour, the different vessels with a fair wind got under weigh from the respective ports in which they had been fitted for sea, and sailed for the island of Arguin. Fourteen caravellas from Lagos were beheld with exultation by its merchants; but scarcely had the squadron lost sight of the coast of Algarve, when

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when the ſhips were ſeparated by a ſtorm: thoſe from Madeira, were forced back by contrary winds, before they made Cape Blanco. Lançarot, commander in chief, had fixed on the iſland *de las Garças*, for a place of general rendezvous. *Lourenço Diaz*, as already mentioned, was the firſt who arrived; and in two days he was joined by Lançarot, and nine other caravellas. *Diniſianez da Gram* immediately informed him of the fifty Moors he had taken, but that theſe captives were dearly purchaſed by the loſs of his boat, and the murder of its crew. The implacable hatred which all Chriſtendom then cheriſhed againſt the Moors, and the profeſſed object of the expedition being directed againſt this nation, may palliate, though it cannot juſtify the ſubſequent conduct of our navigators. It was the conſtant order of the DUKE not to oppoſe force to force; and his principal inducement in patroniſing this formidable ſquadron, muſt have been with the hope, of thus convincing the Moors, that all hoſtility on their part, would eventually terminate in their own deſtruction. Unfortunately the firſt ideas which Lançarot indulged were thoſe of revenge; he accordingly ſailed for the iſlands of Arguin to accompliſh his intentions, accompanied by *Diniſianez*: many of the Moors fortunately eſcaped on the firſt appearance of the ſquadron; but the lives of eight, and the liberty of four of the natives, were ſacrificed to the memory of *Gonzales da Cintra*, and the followers of *Diniſianez*.

The deſire which the Portugueſe nobility and cavaliers poſſeſſed, to be knighted on a coaſt, explored by the perſeverance of their countrymen, is a convincing proof of the prevailing zeal for diſcovery. On the preſent occaſion *Suero da Coſta* received the honour of knighthood, from the ſword of the commandant of Algiezur, and *Diniſianez* was alſo complimented in the ſame manner. In the mean while the remaining veſſels of the ſquadron joined; upon which *Diniſianez* parted company, and ſailed for Portugal.

Lançarot,

Lançarot, who was too anxious to inflict a severe chastisement on the Moors, passed over to the island of *Tider*; the inhabitants here also escaped under shelter of the night; and having reached the Continent, vainly imagined they could disperse their enemies, and insult them with impunity. A page of the Duke of Viseo, and Pedro Alemanno, a native of Lagos, immediately seized their arms, and plunging into the sea, without communicating their intention to any one, swam to the beach; nor were they long alone, their companions soon followed. The astonished Moors fled on all sides, and many were taken prisoners. *Lançarot* then assembled his officers to prevent the further effusion of blood; he bestowed high encomiums on their bravery and discipline, declared that the chief design of the Voyage was now accomplished; and having dwelt with pleasure on the character of their illustrious prince, he proceeded to resign the authority of commander in chief: since, according to the remainder of their orders, they were now directed to separate, and to pursue whatever track appeared most advantageous.—"For my part," exclaimed Lançarot, "I am ready to follow any officer who may be inclined to make a further progress on the coast:" he was immediately joined by *Gomez Perez*, *Alvaro de Freytas*, *Rodrigueanes Travazos*, and *Lourenço Dias*. Suero da Costa, with four other officers, pleaded the weak state of their ships, and returned. In their passage homewards they fell in with another caravella, and steered for the island of *Gomera*, one of the Canaries. The captains of the island assisted *Suero* in a descent on the port of *Palma*, where they took about seventeen prisoners. Prompted by a love of gain, and the base suggestions of *Juan da Castilla*, who was disappointed in not being present with the rest at *Arguin*, Suero on his return to Gomera, made slaves of some of the natives, notwithstanding the kind reception which the Portuguese had experienced. This however soon reached the ears of the Duke of Viseo: after a severe reprimand

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Lançarot, who possessed the enterprising spirit of a seaman, when he had parted company with *Suero*, advanced along the coast of Africa, until he got beyond what the Moors denominated *Cabara*, which is described by navigators as the [b] *Sarrah of the Assanhaji*. He then proceeded twenty leagues further to the southward, and found a remarkable river already seen by Denis Fernandez, called by the natives at its entrance *Ovedech*, but now, says *de Barros*, *Çanaga* [c], from the name of a trader of distinction among the natives, who

[b] Major Rennell (p. 428, note,) who adds that *Abulfeda* mentions them as the governing people in Audagost (Agadez), and as possessing the southern part of Morocco. They are therefore properly the people of the *Great Desert*, and its environs. Doubtless the Portuguese named the river, now corrupted into *Senegal*, from them; as Ptolemy did the promontory *Arsinarium* (Cape Verd) whence we may infer, that they *then* possessed both sides of the Senegal river, called by Ptolemy, *Dardalus*. At present the *Sanhaga* tribe are placed by geographers at no great distance from the coast of the ocean, between the rivers of *Nun* and *Senegal*, and the *Jaloffs* between this latter and the river *Gambia*; both of them in the position in which the early discoverers found them.

[c] The course of the river *Sanaga*, or *Senegal*, and the report of its junction with the Nile, have only been recently elucidated by the patronage of *The African Association*, and the exertions of *Mr. Park*. The course of the Senegal, from the time of its being first seen by *Denis Fernandez* in 1446, to the present century, has always been an object of research to the curious. "The river *Senega*, says Barbot, which parts *Negroland* from the Moors of *Genehoa*, in *Marmol*, formerly called *Benhays*, runs winding for above three hundred leagues from *east* to *west*, till it empties itself into the Atlantick at *Byburt*. The *Senegues*, according to *Marmol*, give it the name of *Senega*, or *Zanaga* indifferently. Some Portuguese authors pretend this name of *Senega* was first given to the river, from that of a mighty man in the country, with whom their nation first traded, after its discovery by *Denis Fernandez*; but this appears to be a false notion, by what is said above. *Vasconcelos*, a more modern Portuguese historian, speaking of this river *Senega*, says it is called by several names in a very short space; but that the aforesaid *Denis Fernandez* called it *Rio Portugues*.—Such another river comes down from the country to the northward, through Genehoa, into the *Senega*, not far above its mouth, and is called *Rio de San Joao*. The *Senega* is much shallower than the *Gambia*, and the tide flows not up it so far by much as in the other. The current is so swift and strong downwards, that the fresh water runs out above two leagues into the ocean, without mixing, and appears at a distance like a shoal or bank, above the surface of the sea: this water taken up four or five English miles without the bar, as is commonly done by the French company's ships, proves very sweet, and keeps good for a long time.

 "The

who resided near it, and was famed for the various ransoms he had transacted. Lançarot passed in safety over the bar at its mouth, and

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" The rapidity of the River, occasioned by its narrowness, and the length of its course, and shallowness, is the reason why it continually carries down a great quantity of sand and slime to the mouth; and that being forced back again by the violent north-west winds, most constantly reigning about those parts, is by degrees heaped up together by the surges and rolling of the sea, forming a cross bank, called a bar, athwart the mouth of the river.—The mouth of the River *Senega*, according to the latest observations, is exactly in 16° 12′ of north latitude, and yet most maps in Europe of that western part of Africa, place it farther to the * southward; and *Vasconcelos*, a Portuguese historian, assigns to it 15° 30′, which is a great mistake in him, and all others." (Churchill's Collect. vol. v. p. 16. 18.) A description of the river *Sanaga*, extracted from the remarks of the *Sieur Brue* in 1697 and 1698, published originally by *Labat*, is given in *Astley's Collection* (vol. ii. p. 45.) with an inquiry whether it be the *Niger* or not. (P. 59.) A general map is subjoined of the river *Sanaga* from the falls of *Govina* to the ocean, taken by a French engineer in 1718, and drawn by the *Sieur D'Anville*, from the particular draughts published by *Labat*. The *Sieur Brue* made three voyages up the river; " The mouth is about half a league broad, but is shut by a bank of sand: this bar is doubly dangerous, as it has little water on it; and every year shifts its place with the violent floods, that come down the river at the time of its inundation. The entrance would be impracticable, if the strength of the Tide, and force of the Current, did not open two passages; the largest of which is commonly one hundred and fifty, or two hundred fathom broad, and about two fathom water; so that it will admit only barks of forty or fifty ton: these openings change their situation almost every year. The *season for crossing the bar* is from January to August, the winds being then variable, and the tides running north. The best of these months are *April*, *May*, *June*, and *July*. The *bad season* is from September to the end of December; the east winds then bringing a great swell, and making all commerce impossible. After crossing the bar, you find a fine broad river from eighteen to twenty-five feet deep; the water clear and smooth, and its current as agreeable as the entrance was dangerous. The land on the left side as you go up, is a low sandy point, entirely barren. It is not above an hundred toises broad at the entry of the bar, but wider farther in; to one, two, and two leagues and an half broad, for twenty-five leagues.—It would extend this note too much, if any further particulars were added to illustrate that part of the river which *Nuno Tristan* explored. I therefore hasten to the valuable information given by *Mr. Park*; who ascertained that the Senegal and Niger were distinct rivers; the sources of which are placed in his map by Major Rennell, about five days' journies apart, between the six and eight degrees of west longitude, and near the eleventh degree of north latitude. " The thoughts of seeing *the Niger*, which the negroes call *Joliba*, or the great water, in the morning (July 21, 1796.) and the troublesome buzzing of musketoes, prevented me from shutting my eyes during the night; and I had saddled my horse, and was in readiness before day-light. Looking forwards, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission; the long sought for, majestic *Niger*, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly *to the eastward*." (P. 290. 291.) From Mr. Browne's travels in Africa we derive the additional information, that the *Niger* does not join the *Nile*.

* Barbot says in 30 degrees farther to the southward; which must be an error of the press, in Churchill's Coll.

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Death of Nuno Tristan. 1447.

During the year 1447, *Nuno Tristan* made another voyage to the coast of Africa by order of the prince; stretching beyond the *Cabos dos Mastos* [d], he sailed one hundred and eighty miles to the southward

[d] The Peninsula, already mentioned, which Lançarot visited on his return. It was thus named by *Alvaro Fernandez*, from some dead palm-trees, resembling masts, which stood upon it. The map given with *Barbot's Description of the Coasts of Africa*, in Churchill's collection (vol.

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ſouthward of Cape Verd, and reached to the mouth of the [e] *Rio Grande*, ſince called the *Gambia*. Having caſt anchor, *Nuno* ordered a boat to be hoiſted out, in which he embarked with twenty-two

(vol. v. p. 16.) inſerts the *Cabo dos Maſtos*, which is thus deſcribed: "*Cape Maſto* lies next to the little river *Piſcina* (called in the above map *Baool River*), eight leagues from *Rufiſco*, corrupted by the French from *Rio Freſco*, and nine from Goree. The coaſt between this *Cape Maſto*, and *Cape Manoel*, bending in, forms the large open bay facing to the ſouthward, by the French called *La Baye de France*. The coaſt from this cape to *Rufiſco* is clean and deep, ſo that ſhips may ſail cloſe under the ſhore." (Page 23.)

[e] Or the *Great River*, the name which the Portugueſe at firſt gave to the *Gambia* river: ſince which, another to the ſouthward has been called *Rio-Grande*. By *Marmol*, the former is termed *Gamber* and *Gambra*. *Vaſconcelos*, the Portugueſe hiſtorian, is of opinion, that the Gambia was the *Stachiris* of Ptolemy, and the *Durango*, the Senegal. By the negroes, this river was called *Gambu*, or *Gambic*. The earlieſt eſtabliſhment on the Gambia was the Portugueſe factory. The trade of the Gambia was afterwards nearly monopolized by the Engliſh, whoſe FIFTEEN SETTLEMENTS are thus deſcribed (Aſtley's Collection, vol. ii. p. 170.) The *firſt*, and only fortified ſettlement at preſent is *James Fort*, on an iſland of the ſame name. 2. *Kabata*, near the Gambia, on a river of the ſame name. 3. The factory of *Jillefree*, or Jillefray, commonly written *Gillefree*. 4. *Vintain Factory*, ſix leagues from James Fort. on a river of the ſame name, in the empire of *Fonia*, on the ſouth ſide of the Gambia. 5. Factory of *Jerreja*, or *Geregia*. 6. *Kolor Factory* ſettled in 1731, on a river of the ſame name, in the kingdom of *Barrah*, on the north ſide of the *Gambia*; this ſettlement was quitted in 1733. 7. The factory at the town of *Tankrowal*, on the ſouth ſide of the Gambia, in the kingdom of Caen, ſettled about 1731; chiefly for bees-wax. 8. Still proceeding up the river, on the north ſide, *Joar*, in the kingdom of *Barſalli*, and three miles to the eaſtward, *Kower*, the chief town on the whole river, and the beſt mart for trade; it has two ports on the Gambia. 9. The factory of *Tauimarew*, delightfully ſituated on the north ſide, in the kingdom of lower *Yani*. 10. Higher up on the ſouth ſide, *the Factory of Bruhoe*, in the empire of *Jemarraw*, ſettled in 1732; accidentally burnt the ſame year, afterwards rebuilt, and abandoned in 1735. 11. The factory of *Kuttejar*, near the north ſide of the Gambia, in the kingdom of *Upper Yani*: its ſituation is much commended by *Captain Bartholmew Stibbs*, who was ſent in 1724 by the Royal African Company to explore how far the Gambia was navigable, and whether any gold mines could be found on its banks. This ſettlement being overflowed in 1725, the company removed to, 12. *Sami*, ſituated about twelve miles up a river of the ſame name which falls into the Gambia. 13. Thence the factory was removed four miles higher up to *Wallia*. 14. The factory of *Yanyamakunda*, deſtroyed by the floods in 1733, and ſince rebuilt. 15 *Fatatenda*, on the north ſide of the Gambia, the higheſt factory on the river, which is as broad there, as the Thames at London Bridge, and very deep; the tide riſing in the dry ſeaſons three or four feet: it lies in the kingdom of *Wooley*, and commands an extenſive proſpect of the river. The company forſook this ſettlement in 1734, owing to the ill treatment the factors had received from the king of *Tomani*.—Purchas (vol. ii. lib. vi. p. 921.) and Aſtley (vol.

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two of his men, resolutely following the course of the river; the tide was in his favour, and he soon advanced to a great distance from his ship. Eighty blacks, armed with poisoned arrows, who had observed the boat from its first appearance, now came in thirteen almadias, or canoes, to oppose its progress. With a feint, that could not be expected from negroes, the almadias at first seemed to give way; but it was only to take their respective stations, in the most advantageous manner, on both sides of the Portuguese; they then rushed forward with a dreadful yell, discharging the poisonous shafts with which their quivers were supplied: every wound inflicted death. [f] *Nuno Tristan* found that his fate was inevitable, whether he advanced or retreated: his fortitude however remained unshaken; and taking advantage of the ebb tide, he drifted towards the ship. When they at length reached their companions, a melancholy spectacle was presented: the greater part of the crew had already expired, or writhed amidst the convulsive agonies of poisoned wounds. Nuno Tristan himself, who feebly struggled with the

(vol. ii. p. 174.) give *A True Relation of Master Richard Jobson's Voyage, employed by Sir William Saint John Knight and others, for the discouerie of Gambra, in the Sion, a ship of two hundred tons, Admirall; and the Saint John fistie, Vice Admirall*, 1620. It was originally published in quarto by Jobson himself, 1623, entitled, *The Golden Trade, or a Discovery of the River Gambra, and the Golden Trade of the Ethiopians: also the Commerce with a great Black Merchant, called* Buckor Sano, *and his report of the houses covered with gold, and other strange observations for the good of our own country. Set down as they were collected, in travelling part of the years* 1620, *and* 1621, *by Richard Jobson Gent. London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Nicholas Bourne, at the entrance of the Royal Exchange*, 1623.—In 1726, *Mr. William Smith* was sent by the Royal African Company on board the *Bonetta*, Captain James Livingstone, to take an exact survey of the Gambia, and of all the English settlements on the coast of Guinea. Two editions of his Voyage have appeared, the second in 1745. The land, at the mouth of the river, is low, but becomes rocky and mountainous up the country. The English were acquainted with the Gambia from the middle of the sixteenth century.

[f] Some of the Portuguese historians are inclined to think this fatal event happened in a river beyond *Rio Grande*; and that on this account it was afterwards called *Rio de Nuno Tristan*.

the ſame direful effects[g], lived but to relate the melancholy hiſtory to his companions, and to give ſome few directions for their immediate return; which to the aſtoniſhment of every one was performed by the few hands that remained. The loſs of ſo enterpriſing an officer was ſeverely felt; as his abilities would even have gained him renown in the preſent age. The family of Nuno Triſtan experienced the munificence and humanity of his afflicted patron, which was equally extended to all the relatives of thoſe who had fallen in this melancholy expedition.

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Alvaro Fernando, already[h] mentioned as the nephew of the diſcoverer of Puerto Santo and Madeira, made in the ſame year (1447) a ſecond voyage to the coaſt of Africa, and advanced forty leagues beyond *Nuno Triſtan*. The fate of this navigator did not daunt the enterpriſing mind of Alvaro: being arrived at the mouth of a river called *Tabite*, one hundred miles to the ſouthward of *Rio Nuno*, he entered it notwithſtanding the determined oppoſition of the natives, who had aſſembled in five of their almadias. Alvaro proceeded with the utmoſt circumſpection; but one of the almadias, ſtanding out from the reſt, attacked his boat, and diſcharged a number of poiſoned arrows. The Portugueſe were however provided with *theriaca*, and other antidotes, to counteract the venom: thus the caution of Alvaro baffled or weakened the attempts of the negroes; and, notwithſtanding his wounds, he reſolved, on leaving the river, to proceed along the coaſt of Africa. They accordingly kept in ſhore,

Second Voyage of Alvaro Fernando. 1447.

[g] An account of the manner in which theſe negroes prepare that dreadful weapon, the *poiſoned War Arrow*, is given by Mr. Park. (Page 419.)—"The poiſon, which is ſaid to be very deadly, is prepared from a ſhrub called *Koona* (a ſpecies of *Echites*), which is very common in the woods. The leaves of this ſhrub, when boiled with a ſmall quantity of water, yield a thick black juice, into which the negroes dip a cotton thread; this thread they faſten round the iron of the arrow, in ſuch a manner, that it is almoſt impoſſible to extract the arrow when it has ſunk beyond the barbs, without leaving the iron point, and the poiſoned thread, in the wound."

[h] Page 215.

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ſhore, until they came to a ſandy point; and apprehending no danger in ſo open a ſituation, were preparing to land, when one hundred and twenty negroes ſuddenly diſcharged another ſhower of poiſoned arrows, a deadly proof of their vigilance and implacable [1] hoſtility. Alvaro therefore deſiſting from any further attempt, returned to Lagos to give an account of the coaſt he had explored. This Voyage was conſidered of much importance at ſo critical a juncture; both the regent Don Pedro, and his brother the Duke of Viſeo, favoured Alvaro with particular marks of attention; and, as an earneſt of their gratitude, they each preſented the daring navigator with an hundred gold ducats.

Ten Caravellas from Lagos. 1447.

The liberal rewards thus received by Alvaro, and his courage in daring to oppoſe himſelf to the poiſoned arrows of the negroes, called forth the ſpirit, which the melancholy death of *Nuno Triſtan*, and the greater part of his crew, had conſiderably abated: accordingly in the ſame year, ten caravellas ſailed from *Lagos*; the names of five of the captains are preſerved by *de Barros*:

GILIANEZ, a knight, inhabitant of Lagos.
FERANTE VALARINO, renowned for his exploits at Ceuta.

REFANO

[1] If the Portugueſe, in their progreſs from *Rio Grande* (the Gambia) to the ſouthward, found the anceſtors of the ſame tribe, which at preſent inhabits the Coaſt from the river *Gambia* to *Cape Roxo*, namely the *Feloops*, they had an implacable enemy to reſiſt their landing.—*Mr. Park* informs us, "they are of a gloomy diſpoſition, and are ſuppoſed never to forgive an injury. A ſon becomes the avenger of his deceaſed father's wrongs: he endeavours to procure his ſandals, which he wears once a year, on the anniverſary of his father's death, until a fit opportunity offers of revenging his fate. This fierce and unrelenting diſpoſition is however counterbalanced by many good qualities: they diſplay the utmoſt gratitude and affection towards their benefactors; and the fidelity with which they preſerve whatever is intruſted to them is remarkable. During the preſent war (1800) they have, more than once, taken up arms to defend our merchant veſſels from French privateers." (Page 22.) Mr. Park divides the natives of the countries bordering on the *Gambia* into four great claſſes: *The Feloops*, *the Jaloffs*, *the Foulahs*, and *the Mandingoes*. *Mr. Gibbon* remarks (vol. vii. p. 197.) that the inhabitants of the Weſtern Shores of Africa, explored by the *Portugueſe*, were the deſcendants of thoſe independent Vandals, who on the ſubjection of the kingdom of *Gelimer* in A. D. 533, fled to the ſhores of the Atlantic.

Ch. II. § 1. *Regency of Don Pedro, Duke of Coimbra.*

REFANO ALPHONSO, LOURENÇO DIAZ, JUAN BERNARDO,	Officers in the Duke of Viſeo's houſehold, reputed for their ſkill in navigation.

Three of the ten caravellas belonged to the *Lagos* Company, and one is [k] mentioned as being the property of the [l] Biſhop of Algarve. The ſquadron was joined at *Madeira* by a caravella from *Triſtan Vaz*, and by another from *Garcia*, ſon-in-law of *Juan Gonzales;* thence they ſailed to Gomera, to return the captives which Juan da Caſtilia had baſely taken in a former voyage: no new diſcoveries were made. An attempt to invade the iſland of *Palma* was planned, but the natives were too much on their guard: ſome ſkirmiſhes alſo took place with the negroes of Cape Verde, in which five Portugueſe were killed by poiſoned arrows, and the caravella of the biſhop of Algarve was loſt on a ſand-bank. The ſquadron then returned to Lagos.

Galvano under this year, 1447, [m] mentions the diſcovery of the *Antilles*, or *Caribbee iſlands*, by a Portugueſe ſhip, driven thither in a gale of wind: the fact ſeems to reſt ſolely on his authority. In the ſame year, *Gomez Perez* ſailed by the order of Prince Henry with two caravellas to the *Rio-del-Ouro*, in order to trade with the Moors; but finding they had forgot their profeſſions, made on a former voyage, and were planning ſnares for the Portugueſe, Gomez ſeized eighty of the natives and carried them priſoners to Lagos. During the following year (1448) *Diego Gilhomen* was ſent by Duke Henry to form an alliance with the Moors of *Meça* or *Meſſa*, eighteen

[k] Faria y Souſa, and De Barros.

[l] A ſimilar inſtance of Maritime Enterpriſe appeared (page 50.) in the conduct of Kennedy, Biſhop of St. Andrews.

[m] Appendix, p. 28.—The *Weſt Indies* ſeem to have been viſited by Europeans before the voyage of Columbus (ſee Appendix F.), where *Mr. Glaſs* remarks, in a note, that Columbus on his ſecond Voyage, found the ſtern poſt of a Ship on the ſhore at the iſland of Guadaloupe.

BOOK I.

eighteen leagues on this ſide of Cape Nam, in order more effectually to curb the animoſity of the Moors at the Rio-del-Ouro. Diego was accompanied by *Juan Fernandez;* who, on the ſhip's coming to anchor, immediately went aſhore with his wonted determination to examine the country. A ſudden gale of wind ariſing, drove the ſhip to ſea, and obliged them to leave *Fernandez.* Diego preſented the Duke with the firſt lion brought from that part of Africa, which was conſidered a valuable addition to the rarities of the newly diſcovered countries. Henry gave it, as a mark of particular favour to an Engliſhman, one of his attendants, who enjoyed his confidence.

The fame of the Portugueſe Diſcoveries had now extended throughout Europe: the deſcendants of the Normans inherited the naval ſpirit of their renowned anceſtors; and *Ballarte*, a Dane, went from the court of his ſovereign, with permiſſion to ſerve in the maritime ſchool of *Sagres.* The offer of this enterpriſing ſtranger was particularly grateful to Prince Henry. *Ferdinando Alphonſo*, a knight of the order of Chriſt, was then preparing an embaſſy to the king of Cape Verde; with this officer Ballarte was aſſociated. Two negroes were added as interpreters, who were alſo to aſſiſt in converting the natives. Ballarte being anxious to view the newly diſcovered capes, and coaſt of Africa, requeſted Alphonſo to keep cloſe in ſhore; owing to which, and the contrary winds they experienced, it was ſix months before they arrived at Cape Verde. The implacable negroes having marked the caravella from its firſt appearance on the coaſt, gave the alarm: on its approaching the cape, ſome Almadias ventured to oppoſe the landing of the Portugueſe; but this animoſity was appeaſed or protracted, when the purport of the Voyage was known. The king of Cape Verde being engaged in conducting a war that raged at the diſtance of about eight days' journey from the ſhore; the governor, whoſe name was *Farrin*, came

came to the ſea-ſide with a conſiderable retinue. Hoſtages were given and received, a trade with the natives immediately commenced; when the elephant's teeth which they offered aſtoniſhed *Ballarte*, and he promiſed a conſiderable reward to the negroes, if they would procure him the ſight of ſo uncommon an animal, either alive or dead; or even furniſh him with only the bones and ſkin. After three days, the Dane was informed that his curioſity might be gratified: he accordingly went in one of the ſhip's boats, and had nearly gained the ſhore, when a Portugueſe ſeaman, eagerly reaching to receive a flagon of palm-wine from a negro, fell overboard, and was loſt in the mud: a confuſion enſued, the management of the boat was neglected; and the negroes thinking it a favourable opportunity for revenge, ruſhed on the unfortunate crew: with the exception of a ſingle individual, who ſwam back to the ſhip, the whole were murdered. *Ballarte*, like the unfortunate Captain Cook, was ſeen for a long time defending himſelf againſt the natives, and ſtruggling with the utmoſt intrepidity againſt their treachery; but his efforts were overcome by numbers, and he fell an early, and memorable victim to a zeal for diſcovery.

Ch. II. § 1. *Regency of Don Pedro, Duke of Coimbra.*

Some years previous to this fatal Voyage, the kingdom of Portugal had been diſturbed by a cabal, which the queen mother ſecretly encouraged. *Pedro, Duke of Coimbra*, brother to Prince Henry, in executing his duty as regent, had a moſt arduous and thankleſs taſk to perform. Notwithſtanding the juſtice, wiſdom, and even mildneſs of his adminiſtration, he ſoon diſcovered the ſtorm that was riſing in the political horizon, and ſeemed to foreſee its conſequences. The inhabitants of Liſbon requeſted permiſſion to raiſe his ſtatue in their metropolis, as a mark of national gratitude. Pedro, in declining their offer, replied, *that it would grieve him to ſee any work of theirs demoliſhed.* The event juſtified his forbearance: notwithſtanding the attachment of a conſiderable part of the nobility, and the con-

Cabal formed againſt Don Pedro.

fidence of the people at large, it at length became neceſſary for him to defend an integrity, which mortified his enemies. The death of the queen mother weakened, but did not ſubdue the flame; and it afterwards raged with greater fury. During the year 1445, Don Pedro had determined, though the young king, *Alphonſo the fifth*, had not quite attained his majority, to abdicate the ſtation of regent: this ſolemn act was accordingly performed in the preſence of the aſſembled *Cortes*. The compoſed and manly demeanour of Pedro ſtruck the beholders—*I requeſt pardon of my king and country for any errors I have committed; or if in ought I have been unmindful of the public good, and the glory of this Sceptre, hitherto entruſted to my charge.* The young ALPHONSO, overcome by the virtuous energy of his uncle, requeſted him to aſſiſt his inexperience with that wiſdom, which had rendered ſuch ſervice to Portugal. The king then celebrated his marriage with Iſabella, daughter of *Pedro*; and for a time the public joy concealed and irritated the malice of its enemies.

About two years afterwards, the Duke of Bragança, brother to Don Pedro, aſſiſted by the Archbiſhop of Liſbon, ſhewed from what quarter the hurricane would ariſe. The king was eaſily deluded by villainy thus ſpeciouſly diſguiſed, and fatally liſtened to its inſinuations. Don Pedro, having firſt requeſted the king's permiſſion, withdrew from the court in diſguſt. The news of theſe commotions ſoon reached the town of *Sagres*, and occaſioned another pauſe in the ſucceſsful labours of Duke Henry: he immediately left Algarve, and haſtened to the preſence of his nephew, to defend an injured brother; when an equal animoſity appeared to prevail againſt himſelf. In the midſt of this confuſion, the zeal of a ſingle individual had nearly ſubdued the angry ſpirit that prevailed. *Don Alvaro D'Almada, Count of Abranches*, the moſt renowned knight of his age, having covered himſelf with a robe, ſuddenly appeared before the king and council in complete armour, and with a daunt-

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

leſs air exclaimed—*If any man ſhall preſume to affirm that Don Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, is not a loyal ſervant to his Prince, and a friend to his country, I am ready with this ſword to prove that man a liar, and a traitor.* The murmuring ſycophants repreſented his conduct as inſulting to the king; but Alphonſo in this inſtance was not to be deceived; and he admired a virtue, which his prejudiced mind would not allow him to cheriſh.

Death of Don Pedro. 1449.

Compelled to take up arms in his own defence, *Don Pedro*, and the brave *Almada*, prepared by open force to oppoſe their enemies. Many of the king's troops reſorted to the ſtandard of Pedro, the principal noblemen were attached to his cauſe; and even the ſon of the Duke of Bragança left Ceuta to aſſiſt his uncle. *Queen Iſabella* made a vain attempt to render her huſband ſenſible of his infatuation: but during the year 1449, the triumph of the calumniators of the good Duke of Coimbra was complete. In conjunction with the brave Almada, Don Pedro had ſeized an advantageous poſt, and prepared to defend it to the laſt. They were ſoon attacked in their intrenchments, and the renowned ſon of John the firſt was killed by an arrow: his friend *D'Almada* refuſed quarter, and fell with other perſons of diſtinction. The obſtinate prejudices of the king ſtill remained; he even forbade the body of his uncle to receive the rites of ſepulture, and it remained expoſed for three days on the field of battle. The Duke who had been univerſally beloved, was at length privately buried by ſome peaſants, who ſecretly conveyed the corpſe to the [n] church of Alverca.

The Duke of Viſeo retired to Sagres to mourn over an injured brother's memory, and to lament the diſgrace which the minions of the court had thus brought on his nephew, merely to gratify their own malevolence. Except in this inſtance, *Alphonſo the fifth* ſhewed himſelf worthy of his anceſtors, and deſerved the praiſes of Camoens.

[n] Le Quien, l. c. p. 429.

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Camoens[o]. We muſt however leave this monarch to his future triumphs in Africa, and haſten to ſcenes more congenial to humanity. Although the ſubſequent progreſs of diſcovery, during this reign, was in ſome meaſure ſupported by the king himſelf, the Duke of Viſeo ſtill continued to take the lead: on the third of September 1448, *Alphonſo* iſſued a grant forbidding all perſons, except his uncle, to make diſcoveries beyond *Bojadore*; and in 1449 he gave the Duke permiſſion to ſettle the AÇORES.

Diſcovery of the Açores. 1432.

Theſe nine iſlands, ſometimes deſcribed by the appellation of *Terceras* and *Weſtern*, are ſituated nine hundred miles weſt of Portugal, at almoſt an equal diſtance from [p] Europe, Africa, and America: they are termed by the Flemings *Ulaemſche Eylanden*, or Flemiſh iſlands, as they are anxious that one of their merchants, *John Vanderberg*, who ſailed thither during a voyage from Liſbon in 1445, or 1449, ſhould be thought the [q] firſt diſcoverer: but the fact is, that they were explored in the following manner.—*Santa Maria*, diſtant two hundred and fifty leagues from Cape St. Vincent, had been ſeen on the fifteenth of Auguſt 1432 by *Fr. Gonçalo Velho Cabral*, *Commendador* of *Almourol* belonging to the order of Chriſt, who ſailed under the orders of Prince Henry. Santa Maria received its name from the day on which it was diſcovered by Cabral.—*San Miguel* was taken poſſeſſion of by the ſame officer on the eight of May 1444, and obtained its name from that day. Ponta Delgada, the capital, and the ſeat of the primate of the Açores, firſt received its charter, as a town, from Emmanuel in 1449. San Miguel is the moſt popular and fertile of theſe iſlands: it produces yearly, on an average, 12,000 *moyos* of wheat, nearly the ſame quantity of Indian corn, and 5000 pipes of wine.

[o] Mickle's Luſiad, vol. ii. book iv. p. 26.

[p] The Açores, or Açoras, ſo called from the number of hawks (Açor) ſeen on them when firſt diſcovered, are placed by Robbe among the *African* iſlands, and by De Liſle among the *Americ n:* moſt of the Engliſh geographers aſſign them to Europe.

[q] Thuanus gives the honour to Monſ. Betancourt, who firſt explored the Canaries.

wine. The town of *Villa Franca do Campo* is the moſt antient of any: its harbour, defended by an iſland in the front, might at a ſmall expence be made equally commodious and ſecure. Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

Terceira was given by the Duke of Viſeo to *Jacome de Bruges* on the twenty-firſt of March 1450. The exact time of its diſcovery is not known, but it fluctuates between the years 1444 and 1450. This iſland derived the appellation of Terceira, from being the third that was ſeen by the Portugueſe. *Angra* [r], the capital, is built on the ſouthern coaſt; its harbour is formed by two capes, which project into the ſea, to the eaſt and weſt: on the eaſtern point riſes a dark mountain, called the *Mountain of Braſil*, defended by the caſtle of *S. Joan Bautiſta*; on the other point, but level with the ſea, is the fort of *Santo Antonio*. This capacious harbour of Angra is ſecure Terceira. 1444-1450.

[r] Beawes' Hiſtory of Portugal. Arte de Navegar, do Coſmograſo mor, Manoel Pimentel.—*Frezier* in his *Voyage* to the *South Sea*, and along the coaſts of Chili and Peru, during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714, dedicated to the Regent Duke of Orleans (Paris, 4to, 1716), offers ſome remarks relative to the AÇORES, and notices the inaccuracy with which theſe iſlands are laid down in the Charts of *Pieter Goos*, and *Le Flambeau de Mer* (P. 282.) TERCEIRA is thus deſcribed; the paſſage is tranſlated in the Univerſal Hiſtory (vol. xii. p. 54.): I have therefore preferred the original: "Cette iſle eſt de bonne hauteur, elle eſt reconnoiſſable du côté du S. E. par une langue de terre baſſe qui s'alonge vers l'eſt, et par un cap coupé du côté de l'oueſt, formé par une langue de terre où ſont deux Mondrains; enfin par deux iſlots taillez à Pic, qui ſont une lieue à l'eſt de ce cap, ou les appelle *Ilheos*. Demi lieue au S. S. E. de ceux-ci, ſont trois briſans à fleur d'eau. Les uns et les autres ſont mal placez dans *le Flambeau de Mer*."—He ſubjoins an engraved plan of the harbour, town, citadel, and fort of Angra, and an excellent view of the city, as it appears in different directions. (Planche 36, 37.)—*Frezier* adviſes Seamen to beware of the following anchorage in Angra harbour, (which he inadvertently was placed in), twenty fathom water, with a bottom of grey ſand, broken ſhells, and ſmall white coral; having Cape St. Antoine to the ſouth-weſt ¼ weſt, the Cathedral to the north-weſt, ¼ north, the *Ilheos* eaſt ſouth-eaſt, and Fort St. Sebaſtien to the north north-weſt. According to *Frezier* the uſual anchorage is in thirteen fathom water, with a bottom of black and muddy ſand mixed with ſhells, about a good cable's length from the ſhore; having Fort St. Sebaſtien to the ſouth-weſt, ¼ weſt, and that of St. Antoine to the north, ¼ north-eaſt. The Portugueſe ſhips of war anchor at a greater diſtance in thirty fathom, "au milieu des iſlots et des *Mondrains*." Angra is the principal depot of naval ſtores, for refitting the Portugueſe Eaſt India ſhips, and Braſil flota. The whole of the maritime department is placed under the inſpection of an officer ſtyled the *Deſambargador*.

BOOK I.

cure from all winds but the ſouth-eaſt, and the anchorage is good. The form of Terceira is nearly circular, its coaſts high, and ſurrounded with rocks; the woods produce excellent timber, particularly cedar. The long and narrow Iſland of *St. George* was diſcovered on that day (April the twenty-third, 1450), by *Joaon Vaz da Coſta Corte-Real*: the ſouthern ſide is well peopled, but towards the north the land is ſo rugged and mountainous, as to diſcourage any cultivation, or ſettlement; the natives derive a conſiderable trade from their foreſts of cedar. South-weſt from St. George lies an iſland called *Pico*; the date of its diſcovery is blended with that of the reſt. It was ſo named from a mountain of an extraordinary height, reputed equal to the Peak of Teneriffe; according to *Frezier*, the *Pico* of the Açores may be ſeen at the diſtance of thirty leagues. In addition to the cedar, the natives of this iſland poſſeſs a beautiful wood called *teixo*, which is hard as iron; when finely poliſhed, its veins appear like a rich ſcarlet tabby, and the brilliancy of its colour increaſes by keeping. This tree, which can only be felled by the king's order, is prohibited as an article of exportation. *Graciosa*, ſo called from its general pleaſantneſs and fertility, was diſcovered about the ſame time as St. George: *Vaſco Gil Sodre* is mentioned as being the firſt ſettler. It has two towns, Santa Cruz and Praya, and is the moſt northern of the whole cluſter.—The iſland of *Fayal*, the moſt weſtern of the Açores, received its name from the number of beech trees found on it by its firſt diſcoverers; but who theſe were is uncertain. Probably *Fayal* was firſt explored by the Flemiſh merchant, *John Vanderberg*; who not having heard of the prior voyage of *Cabral* in 1432, was willing to take the merit of diſcovering the Açores to himſelf; particularly as many years elapſed before they were regularly ſettled by the Portugueſe: this conjecture is ſupported by the name which the latter gave to one of the rivers, *Rio dos Flamingos*; and the preſent inhabitants of the iſlands,

St. George. 1450.

Gracioſa. 1450.

Fayall. 1445-1449.

islands, who are Flemings, under the protection or command of a Portuguese garrison. The English frequently resort hither to procure timber: the principal harbour is situated towards the east, adjoining the town of *Horta*, and is bounded by two capes, about a mile distant from each other; between which ships may anchor in forty or fifty fathom water, sheltered from all winds but the east and north-east. The Islands of *Flores* and *Corvo*, are not reckoned by *Linschoten* among the Açores, as they lie seventy leagues west of Terceira. The *Ilha des Flores* was so named from the beautiful flowers it produced; that of *Corvo* from the flocks of crows, who on its first discovery had filled this island with their nests. A singular incident is related by [1] *de Barros* relative to this latter island. On the summit of its highest land the Portuguese found an Equestrian Statue, made of a single block of stone: the head was bare; its left hand was attached to the horse's mane, whilst the right pointed towards the *west*, as if to mark the situation of another continent. An inscription appeared to have been traced on a rock beneath the statue, but in a language which the Portuguese did not understand.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

Flores and Corvo.

The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope might have been delayed for many years, if the various clusters of islands, which arise in the Atlantic, from the *Açores* to *Cape Verde*, had not formed a succession of maritime colonies, and nurseries for seamen; which afforded a continual stimulation to the labours of navigators, and offered rewards particularly adapted to gratify their spirit of enterprise. The perils which the officers under Duke Henry endured both from Moors and negroes, would otherwise have exhausted the most patient resolution. A clamour against discovery murmured at intervals, as the principal Capes of Africa were explored; and the last

[1] Decad. i. lib. i. ch. ii.

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laſt was always ſelected as the promontory, which nature intended for the eaſtern boundary of the Atlantic. The Settlement of the *Açores* was in this reſpect of conſiderable importance; and as the exact dates of their diſcovery have been confuſed or neglected, they ſeemed to demand a greater degree of [t] attention from the reader. In 1457, Duke Henry procured many valuable privileges for this favourite Colony, the principal of which gave the [u] inhabitants a free

[t] Among the earlieſt Subſequent Voyages to the *Açores*, the following particularly deſerve to be noticed. 1. *The Voiage of the Right Honourable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores, in 1589, written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier Maſter Edward Wright.* (Hackluyt, vol. ii. part ii. page 155.—Purchas, vol. iv. page 1142, with other voyages of the ſame Earl.—Aſtley, vol. i. page 206.) This is the ſame Wright who was the inventor of the charts, commonly called Mercator's. *Captain Monſon*, afterwards Sir William, one of the commanders, has given an account of the Expedition in his *Naval Tracts* (Churchill's Collection, vol. iii. page 153.)—2. *The Voyage to the Iſles of Azores, under the conduct of the Right Honourable Robert Earle of Eſſex*, 1597. (Purchas, vol. iv. page 1935.)—3. *A Cruizing Voyage to the Azores in 1591, with a fleet of London ſhips under the command of Captain Robert Flicke, deſigned as ſupplies to Lord Thomas Howard, written by the Captain.* (Hackluyt, vol. ii. part ii. page 176.—Aſtley, vol. i. page 221.) 4. *A True Report of the Honourable ſeruice at ſea performed by Sir John Burrough, Knight, Lieutenant-General of the fleet prepared by the Honourable Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, Lord Warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Devon.* This account of a cruiſing Voyage to the Açores is imagined to have been written by *Sir W. Ralegh.* (Hackluyt, vol. ii. part ii. page 194.—Aſtley, vol. i. page 245.)—A curious birds' eye view of the iſland of *Terceira*, done ſo early as in the year 1595, by *Linchoten*, is given in his Voyages (page 176.) with portraits of the veſſels then in uſe. He alſo (chap. xcix. p. 179.) relates what paſſed at Terceira, during the Expeditions conducted by the Earl of Cumberland, Sir Martin Frobiſher, Sir Richard Greenville and others, given by Hackluyt (vol. ii. part ii. page 178.)—*Melchiſedec Thevenot*, in his collection, towards the end of the ſecond volume, notices a Voyage to *Terceira*, by *M. le Commandeur de Chaſte*, made by order of the queen mother of France, to aſſiſt *Antonio King of Portugal.* The celebrated geographer *Abraham Ortelius*, born in 1527, publiſhed the earlieſt map of the Açores that is known. In the *Atlas Maritimo de Eſpana*, 2 vols. folio, *Madrid*, 1789, by *Don Vicente Toſino de San Miguel*, an excellent chart, and the beſt extant, of the AÇORES, is given on *Mercator*'s projection.

[u] The Abbe Raynall conſiders the AÇORES, in his fourth volume (page 508.) when he delivers his *Obſervations concerning the means which the court of Liſbon ought to employ to extricate the mother Country and her Colonies from their preſent languid ſtate.*—" PORTUGAL will recollect, that ſhe was indebted to her Navy for her opulence, her glory, and her ſtrength, and will attend to the means of reſtoring it. It will no longer be reduced to ſeventeen men of war, to twenty-five warlike ſhips of ſmaller rates, and about an hundred merchant-men, from ſix to eight hundred tons burden, which are ſtill in a more ruinous ſtate. Her population, reduced to one million nine

free commerce, exempt from any duties either to the Portuguese or Spanish ports.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

As a close to the discoveries of Henry Duke of Viseo, the *first* and *second* Voyages of the noble ALVISE DA CADA MOSTO, a Venetian, are subjoined; not only for the information they contain relative to the different countries already explored, but as giving a more regular and ample account of two early Voyages along the coast of Africa, than could be otherwise obtained. These Voyages of Cada Mosto are the oldest extant, next to the journal of *Alcaforado:* they appear in the collections of *Ramusio* and *Grynæus;* the latter has given them in the Latin language, but they were originally composed in [x] Italian, and first printed at Venice. Some of the most interesting

First voyage of Cada Mosto. 1455.

nine hundred and sixty thousand souls, will increase and fill her Harbours and Roads with active fleets. The revival of her Navy will be doubtless difficult for a power, whose flag is not known on any of the European seas; and which for a century past, has given up her Navigation to any power that would attend to it; but every obstacle will be surmounted by a wise and prudent government. When once it carries on all the Navigation that should belong to it, considerable sums will be retained in the kingdom, which are now constantly expended for freight.

"This change will extend its influence to THE ISLANDS that are dependent on the Crown. *Madeira*, the annual exports of which amount to 4.658,800 livres (194,116l. 13s. 4d.) will extend its labour, its prosperity, and its riches. The *Açores* will be still more improved. We know that this Archipelago, consisting of nine islands, of which *Tercera* is the principal, hath no more than one hundred and forty-two thousand inhabitants; and sells at present to the mother Country, to Brasil, and to North America, its wines, its linens, its corn, and its cattle, to the amount only of 2,440 000 livres (101,666l. 13s. 4d.) Even the *Cape de Verd Islands*, notwithstanding the frequent droughts they experience, will be able to multiply their mules; and more especially to cultivate the *Perella;* that species of grass of the colour of moss, which the north of Europe employs with so much advantage in dying. The government will not confine themselves to the encouragement in their possessions, of the cultures only that are known there; they will take care to introduce new ones, which the fertility of the soil, and the temperature and variety of the climate, seem incessantly to require."

[x] The first edition bears the date, *Venice* 1507, which is extremely scarce. The curious reader will find a copy in the King's Library; and also in the valuable collection made by Mr. Dalrymple. I have followed Ramusio, edit. Venice 1613. *Grynæus* was misled as to the exact date of Cada Mosto's voyage, which, through some inaccuracy, he has placed in 1504, after the death of the Duke of Viseo, and the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, by Diaz. *Ramusio* also, in his introduction to Cada Mosto's voyage, has been guilty of

resting passages will occasionally be inserted in the original language; and without giving a literal translation of both Voyages, such parts have been selected, as more particularly demand attention. Cada Mosto, in his preface, informs us, that he was the first *dalla nobilissima citta di Venetia*, who sailed on the ocean without the Straits of Gibraltar, towards the southern parts of Negroland, and Lower Ethiopia; and having beheld in the course of his Voyage many novelties worthy of notice, he felt it his duty to record them in a plain [y] unaffected narrative.

"I ALVISE DA CADA MOSTO, after visiting many parts of our Mediterranean Sea, being in our city of Venice during the year 1454, when I was about twenty-two years of age, determined to return to Flanders, a country which I had formerly visited in the character of a merchant: for my attention was always given, first, to the acquirement of wealth, and afterwards to the acquisition of fame. On the eighth of August I embarked on board of one of the gallies belonging to the Republic, commanded by *Marco Zen*, a Venetian cavalier. Contrary winds detained us near Cape St. Vincente for some days; during which I was told that the *Signor Infante Don* [z] *Henrich* resided in an adjoining village called *Reposera*,

of an inaccuracy in saying, that it was undertaken by the command of John King of Portugal, who died in 1433. "*Queste sono le nauigationi del Nobil huomo il Signor Aluise, da ca da Mesto fu del Sig. Gio. fatte del* 1455, *lugo la costa della bassa Ethiopia*," &c.

[y] The *Proemio* of the Venetian reminds us of the simplicity of the Greek writers, particularly Thucydides:—"*In questo mio viaggio hauendo vedute molte cose nuoue, et degne di notitia, meritamente mi ha parso sopra di quelle farne qualche fatica: et cosi come ne i miei memorial; di tempo in tempo le ho notate, cosi con la penna an darle transcriuendo: ac cio che quelli, che dapoi di me harãno a venire, possino intendèr, qual sia stato l'animo mio a cer carle in diuersi, et nuoui luoghi: che veramẽte in comparation de' nostri, quelli per me veduti, et intesi, vn' altro mõdo si potrian chiamare. et se per me non saranno cosi ordinatamẽte scritte, come la materia richiede, almeno nõ mancherò di integra verità in ogni parte, et questo senza dubbio piu presto di manco dicendo, che oltra il vero alcuna cosa narrando.*" (Ramusio, vol. i. p. 97. D.)

[z] A marginal note is subjoined in Ramusio, which informs us that *Don Henrich* was the first person who settled the Island of *St. Thomas*.

sera, [a] to which he had retired, in order to pursue his studies without interruption from the tumult of the world. This prince, being informed of our arrival, immediately sent his secretary Antonio Gonzales, accompanied by a *Patritio di Conti*, who declared himself to be a Venetian, and consul from the Republic; as appeared from his commission, and the seal of the State: he also received a pension from the Infante.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

Being received on board our galley, they shewed us some samples of *Madeira sugar*, and *dragon's blood*, with other curiosities, that had been brought from the Island belonging to the said Signor: these were all exhibited in my presence. The Venetians on board were then asked many questions; and we were at length informed that this Signor had patronised a settlement in the newly discovered Island, which had never before been inhabited. Yet that all this was inconsiderable, when compared with other events of still greater consequence, which the same Signor had accomplished. "His ships had traversed seas hitherto unexplored by navigators; strange regions were discovered, in which objects the most [b] marvellous had

[a] See preceding page 171, note [m].

[b] To the southward of the Senegal river, as Voltaire remarks, the Portuguese found men *jet black*, while those to the northward were *ash-coloured*. The colour of the negroe has since occupied the attention of different writers, among whom the opinions of the *Abbe Raynall* (vol. v. p. 187.) and *Mr. Bryant* in his Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion (p. 267.) particularly deserve our notice. The latter asserts, that the whole of the variations of colour and form in the human race depends on situation and climate. It is said in conformity to the account above, that the *Portuguese*, who have been settled upon the coast of Angala for three centuries, and somewhat more, are become absolute negroes. Of this we are assured by the *Abbe de Manet* (nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique Françoise, Paris 1767), who was in that part of the world in the year 1764, and baptized several of their children. He is quoted by *Mr. de Pauw*, who gives us this farther information. "Quant aux descendants des premiers Portugais, qui vinrent fixer leur demeure dans cette partie du monde vers l'an 1450, ils sont devenus des Nègres tres achevés pour le coloris, la laine de la tête, de la barbe, et les traits de la physionomie, quoiqu' ils ayent d'ailleurs retenu les points plus essentiel d'une Christianisme dégénéré, et conservé la langue du Portugal, corrumpue, à la vérité, par differentes dialectes Africains" (Recherches sur les Americanes, tom. i. p. 211.) The like is mentioned by *Moore* in his account of the river Gambia.

BOOK I.

had been witneſſed; and ample fortunes had been acquired in a rapid and eaſy manner."—Their report aſtoniſhed me, and I became anxious to know whether the Signor gave permiſſion to every perſon, that was willing, to engage in this Commerce. They anſwered in the affirmative, and acquainted me with the [c] requiſite conditions; adding, it was impoſſible to make the Voyage without great profit, and that the Signor would particularly favour any Venetian, ſince he had every reaſon to think thoſe countries abounded in [d] *ſpices*, and other rich commodities, which the Venetians underſtood beyond any nation. On hearing this, I reſolved to accompany the perſon, who had favoured me with ſuch information, to the Signor himſelf; which I did accordingly. He ſoon aſſured me I had heard the truth; and moreover promiſed, if I reſolved to make the attempt, the Voyage ſhould turn out to my honour and advantage. Encouraged by all this; conſidering at the ſame time my youth, and ability to ſuſtain fatigue; my deſire alſo to ſee the world, and to behold places which none of my country had ever viſited; hoping alſo to procure diſtinction, and to advance my fortune, I reſolved at all events to go.—Haſtening to the galley, I entruſted a relation with the different commiſſions I had received; and there provided myſelf with ſuch articles as ſeemed eſſential

[c] Theſe are aſcertained by Cada Moſto to have been "*facendo l'vna delle due conditioni quello che vi voleua andare, cio è che armaſſe la carauella a ſue ſpeſe, et met terui la mercantia, et poi ritorno ſaria obligato a pagar per dretto et coſtume al prefato Signore il quarto d'ogni coſa ch'egli riportaſſe. et l'altre parti foſſero ſue. o che veramente il detto Signore armaria lui la careuella à chi voleſſe andarui a tutte ſue ſpeſe, ſolamente quello vi metteſſe la mercãtia, et poi al ritorno partiſſero p metà tutto quello che ſitraxeſſe de detti luoghi, e che in caſo che nõ ſi traxeſſe alcuna coſa, che la ſpeſa fuſſe fatta a ſuo danno.*" (Ramuſio, p. 97. C.)

[d] This is a curious paſſage, "*Speciarie et altre buone coſe,*" as it proves to what an extent the views of the Duke of Viſeo reached; and that the bold outline of Diſcovery traced by his ſuperior genius, which he did not live to accompliſh, comprehended *the Iſlands and Continent of India.*

essential to my intended voyage. I then returned to the shore; and the gallies pursued their course to Flanders. Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

Whilst I remained at Cape St. Vincente, the *Signor Infante* expressed his satisfaction at my determination, and treated me with the utmost hospitality. After many days he ordered me to fit out a caravella, newly built, of about ninety tons burden; the owner of which was one *Vincente Diaz*, a native of *Lagos;* distant about sixteen miles from Cape St. Vincente. This vessel was accordingly provided with the necessary stores; and on the twenty-second of March 1455, I sailed from the above cape, steering for the island of Madeira, with the wind [e] at north-east, and by north. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, we touched at the island of *Puerto Santo*, and by the twenty-eighth anchored at Monchrico, (*Machico*,) one of the ports of *Madeira*."

Puerto Santo.

The description given by *Cada Mosto* of these Islands is curious, as he visited them at no great distance of time from their first discovery. *Bartholomew Perestello*, governor of Puerto Santo, was still alive. The Venetian noticed its produce of corn and barley, as being sufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants; and yet, though he remarks that it abounded *d' infiniti conigli*, he does not confirm the account, given by the Portuguese historians, relative to the havoc which these animals occasioned. He appears to have been struck with the singularity of the Tree that produces the gum called [f] *dragon's*

[e] *Con Vento da greco, et tramontana in poppe.*—In the Maps of the Bay, and adjacent Coast of *Naples*, in thirty-two Plates, and in the *Atlanta Marittimo delle due Sicilie*, in twenty-three Charts, by ZANNONE in 1794, he gives the following points of the Compass: N. *Tramontana.* N. E. *Greco.* E. *Levante.* S. E. *Sirocco.* S. *Mezzoni.* S. W. *Libeccio.* W. *Ponente.* N. W. *Maestro.*

[f] This tree is more fully described by *Sir Edmund Scory*, who was at Teneriffe about the beginning of the seventeenth century (Astley's Collection, p. 542. e. and p. 548. vol. i.) It probably was so called from its bark being like the scales of a serpent. About the full of the moon, it exudes a vermilion gum; that which grows on the Islands and coast of Africa is more astringent than what comes from Goa. It is found on high rocky land. Captain Bartholemew

BOOK I.

gon's blood, and describes the manner in which it is extracted; observing, that the fruit had an exquisite flavour, and resembled a kind of yellow cherry. *Puerto Santo* was also famous for honey and wax.

Madeira.

In speaking of *Madeira*, Cada Mosto gives a dreadful account of the [e] fire which raged upon it for such a length of time, through the inadvertency of the first settlers: he found this Island principally inhabited at four different places—*Monchrico*, *Santa Croce*, *Fonzal*, and *Camera di Lupi*; there were also some other spots thinly scattered with houses. *Madeira* was at that time extremely

mew *Stibbs* met with it on the banks of the *Gambia* river, and describes it as the *Par de Sangoe*, or blood-wood tree. *Mr. Nicholson* styles this gum a red-coloured, inodorous and insipid resin, soluble in spirit of wine, and in oils: when dissolved by the former, it is used for staining marble.

[e] "*Et fu si grande il primo fuocho, che mi fu detto, che al sopradetto Zuangonzales, che iui ritrouaua, fu necessario lui, et tutti gli altri con le mogliere et figliuoli fuggir dalla furia, et redursi all' acqua in mere, doue stettero in essa fin alla gola per circa duoi giorni et duo nette senza mangiare ne bere, che altramente sariano morti.*" (Ramusio, p. 98. F.) One of the latest European navigators, Rear-Admiral Bruni D'Entrecasteaux, beheld an island in a state somewhat similar to what has been reported of *Madeira*.—*M. Labilliardiere*, who drew up an account of this Voyage, made the years 1791-1793, informs, that "being in the latitude of 37° 30' south, the island of St. *Paul* (discovered by *Captain Valming* in 1696, who gave it the name of the island of *Amsterdam*, afterwards changed by Cook), appeared, in the distance, covered with thick clouds, above which rose the summits of the mountains. We were sufficiently near it, about four o'clock, to distinguish perfectly that these clouds were formed on the Island; whence issued a thick smoke, which almost entirely covered it, especially towards the north: flames were seen in different points, and it was soon discovered that the *forests were in a blaze*; the traces of the fire, and the smoke which appeared successively in different places, exhibited the progress of the conflagration. We shaped our course so as to pass as near as possible to windward of the Island. Rocks, inclined about 50° from north to south, and which I took to be composed of strata of free-stone, formed the mountains to the south-west, which exhibited great declivities as far as the sea shore: farther on to the south, were seen horizontal strata of the same species of stone; perpendicular surfaces of rock exhibited on a large scale, those strange forms known under the denomination of *Lusi*. We observed a thin smoke issue in puffs from a small subterraneous aperture at a little distance from the shore: we were ignorant whether these forests had been set in flames by the subterraneous fire, or by the hand of man. I learnt at the *Isle of France*, at the time of my return from the *South Sea*, that an American ship had carried to the *islands of Amsterdam* and St. Paul, some men commissioned to extract oil from the seals, which are there very numerous." (Debrett's Translation, vol. i. p. 119.)

tremely fertile and rich; it produced yearly, ſays the Venetian, on an average, thirty thouſand [h] ſtaras of corn. On the banks of the eight rivers that interſect this iſland, the Portugueſe had made ſaw-pits; whence their own country, and other nations, were ſupplied with *cedar*, and the planks of the roſe-coloured *naſſo* [i]. The whole iſland appeared a continuation of pleaſure ground. Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

On quitting *Madeira*, Cada Moſto ſtood to the ſouthward, until he reached the *Canary* iſlands. *Signor Ferrera*, a Spaniſh knight, governed thoſe that were inhabited by Chriſtians. The principal articles of commerce, noticed by Cada Moſto, conſiſted of the herb Oricello, *Orchel*, a kind of moſs that grows on their rocks, and is uſed by the dyers; goat ſkins, tallow, and cheeſe. The population of the grand Canary, at this time amounted to between eight and nine thouſand ſouls; whilſt that of Teneriffe was nearly fifteen thouſand; this iſland was divided between nine *Signors*, with the title of Dukes: our Venetian only landed in the iſlands of *Canaria*, and *Gomera*, but expreſſed himſelf much delighted with the rich landſcape of the Iſle of *Palmas* as he ſailed along its coaſt.

Leaving the *Canaries*, Cada Moſto ſtill kept a ſoutherly direction towards *Ethiopia*, and in a few days reached *Cabo Blanco*, when ſome [k] directions are given for the mariners of that age, which tend to elucidate the mode of ſailing then obſerved in the Atlantic. His Narrative proceeds in the following manner:

"The

[h] About one thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-five quarters Engliſh.

[i] See preceding Page 168, (note [k].)

[k] *Et è da notare, che partendoſi dalle dette Iſole per venir verſo il detto Capo, ſi vien ſcorrendo la coſta dell'Africa, laqual andãdo per oſtro ne viene a romagnir a man ſiniſtra, che l'huomo ſcorri largo, et non habbi viſta di terra, perche le dette Iſole di Canaria ſono molto fuora in mare verſo ponẽte, et vna piu fuori dell'altra. et coſi va l'huomo ſcorrendo largo da terra finche l'ha paſſa to al meno i duoi terzi del camino, che è dalle dette Iſole al detto Capo Bianco, et poi ſi appreſſa a man ſiniſtra con la coſta fino che ha viſta di terra, per non ſcorrere il detto Capo Bianco ſenza riconoſcerlo. perche oltra il detto Capo non ſe vede terra alcuna fino a gran camino piu auante.* (Ramuſio, p. 99. F.)

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"The Coaſt bends in after this cape, and forms a bay, called *la forma d'Argin*, from a ſmall iſland in it, which the natives of the country of Argin thus diſtinguiſh. This bay occupies a ſpace of about fifty miles, and contains three iſlands; thus named by the Portugueſe, *Iſola Bianca* on account of its white ſands; *Iſola delle Garze*[l], from the number of hawks, or herons that were found there; and the third *Iſola*[m] *Cuori*. Here it may be proper to obſerve; that on keeping to the ſouthward from the Straits of Gibraltar, the Coaſt thence trending on the left hand towards *Ethiopia*, which is that of Barbary, is not inhabited beyond *Capo Cauthin*; thence to *Capo Bianco* extends the ſandy Region, called by the natives *Sarra*, which confines on the ſouth with the negroes of Ethiopia. An immenſe deſart is thus formed, not to be traverſed under fifty or ſixty days even by a man on horſeback. The country is one extenſive Plain, without the ſmalleſt riſe, quite to *Capo Bianco*, ſo named by the Portugueſe from its white ſands, nor is there any appearance of trees, or herbage. This is a noble promontory, of a triangular ſhape; having its three points diſtant about a mile from each other[n]. Throughout this Coaſt we meet with a variety of excellent fiſh, ſimilar in point of taſte to what we have at Venice, though different in their appearance. There is but little depth of water in the Bay of *Argin*, with innumerable ſhoals both of ſand and rocks. The force of the current is very great, ſo that you can only ſail during the day-time; even then you muſt keep conſtantly ſounding, and pay every attention to the courſe of the ſtream. This Bay is full

[l] *Perche li Portogheſi primi vi trouorono in eſſa tante oue di queſti vccelli marini, che ne cargarono due barche delle carauelle.* (Ibid. p. 99. A.)

[m] In Grynæus, *Cori*.

[n] *Belliſſimo Capo per eſſer in triangolo, cio è in faccia di eſſo fra tre punte larghe l'vna da l'altra circa vn miglio.* (Ibid. p. 99. B.)

full of rocks, and two ſhips have been already loſt: the white cape lies ſouth-weſt of *Capo Canthin.* Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

" It is right you ſhould be informed that on the Continent which extends behind the white cape is a place called *Hoden*; diſtant about ſix days journey with a camel. It has no walls, and is much reſorted to by the Arabs and caravans, that come from [p] *Tombuto*, and other negro ſettlements, to this ſide of Barbary. They have a numerous train of camels, on which they convey [q] braſs, ſilver, and other articles, from *Barbary* to *Tombuto*, and the country of the negroes; and in return bring back gold, and [r] cardomum ſeeds.

" The Signor INFANTE has farmed out the Iſland of *Argin* for ten years, and after this manner. No one is allowed to enter the Bay in order to traffic with the above Arabians, except ſuch as are licenſed factors, who have dwelling-houſes on the iſland, and have been accuſtomed to tranſact commercial buſineſs with ſuch traders as frequent the Coaſt: the different articles of merchandiſe which they provide for theſe Arabians, conſiſt of [s] woollen cloth, linen, ſilver, ſhawls or turbans, tapeſtry, and above all wheat, of which they are particularly in want. They give in exchange ſlaves, collected by the traders in Negro-land, and [t] gold. A caſtle has been built on the iſland by order of the *Signor Infante* to ſecure this commerce, on account of which caravellas arrive every year from Portugal.

" The river [u] *Senega*, which is very large, ſeparates a race called *Azanaghi*, from the firſt kingdom of the negroes: the former are tawny, of

[p] In Grynæus, *Ataubut.* [q] *Rami.* [r] *Melhegette.*

[s] *Panni, Tele, et argenti, et alchizeli cio è cappette, tappedi, et altre coſe, et ſopra tutto formento.* (Ibid. p. 99. C.)

[t] *Oro tiber.*

[u] *Ramuſio*, (vol. i. p. 100. D.)—In addition to what has been ſaid relative to this river, Note c, page 218, may be added the obſervations of *Mr. Capper* reſpecting the *Niger.* " If the *Niger* runs from weſt to eaſt, as ſeems very much believed ſince the publication of *Mr.*

 Park's

of rather a dark brown ſhade, and inhabit ſome parts of the Coaſt, which lie beyond *Capo Bianco:* their diſtrict borders on the above mentioned Arabians of *Hoden.* Many of the *Azanaghi* were carried off, and ſold by the Portugueſe, who valued theſe ſlaves more than any other; but of late they have enjoyed peace and commerce. The *Signor Infante* has ſtrictly prohibited all perſons from moleſting theſe Africans, through the hope of converting them to the eſtabliſhed Faith.

"The *Azanaghi* had no knowledge of any other Chriſtians, except the Portugueſe, who carried on a deſultory war againſt them for thirteen or fourteen years. Many of theſe Africans informed me, that when Ships, with their extended ſails, were firſt diſcerned off the coaſt, they were taken for foreign birds, with prodigious wings; ſince neither they nor their anceſtors had ever ſeen any before. Afterwards, when the ſails were furled, they conjectured from the length of the object, that the veſſels muſt be fiſh; others, on the contrary, in great agitation, declared they were Spectres, gliding on the waves of midnight; ſince they would often ravage a coaſt during the duſk of evening, and the next morning be near an hundred miles off [x].

At

Park's Travels, it probably terminates in a lake, like the river Jordan in the Dead Sea, ſufficiently capacious to receive its waters; and in the centre of Africa, where this lake muſt be ſituated, the evaporation from extreme heat would be ſufficient to account for the diſpoſal of the water. If this Lake does not afterwards communicate by ſome other river with the ocean, it will add one more to the liſt of ſalt water lakes, or Inland Seas." (*Obſervations on the winds and monſoons,* p. 190.)

[x] The Ideas and ſimplicity of the Natives of this coaſt may be more fully exemplified by what *Mr. Park* relates of the *Mandingoes,* who form the principal part of the inhabitants in the diſtricts he viſited.—"They imagine that the World is an extended plain, the termination of which no eye has diſcovered; it being, they ſay, overhung with clouds and darkneſs. They deſcribe the Sea as a large river of ſalt water, on the farther ſhore of which is ſituated a country called *Tobaubo doo,* the land of the white people. At a diſtance from *Tobaubo doo,* they deſcribe another country, which they allege is inhabited by cannibals of gigantic ſize called *Kaami.* This country they call *Jong ſang doo,* the land where the ſlaves are ſold. But of

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

"At the diſtance of about ſix days journey from the Mart of *Hoden*, there is a place called *Tegazza*, or the cheſt of gold, where a conſiderable quantity of rock ſalt is excavated every year, and conveyed on camels, by the *Arabs* and *Azanaghi*, in ſeparate caravans to *Tombuto*, and thence to *Melli*, a negro kingdom. The heat in this latter country is very powerful, which occaſions the death of many of theſe Arabian and *Azanaghi* merchants. From *Tegazza* to *Tombuto* is about forty days' journey on horſeback, and thence to Melli about thirty. I enquired in what manner the merchants of *Melli* diſpoſed of their ſalt? and received for anſwer, "That a ſmall portion was conſumed in the country: during the exceſſive heats which prevail there at certain ſeaſons of the year, *the blood of the inhabitants would putrefy, if they did not every day take a piece of the diſſolved ſalt, in a porringer of water.*"—As for the remainder of the ſalt, it is conveyed on the heads of men, in large pieces, as much as one perſon can carry, to a *certain* [1] *Water*, whether freſh or ſalt I could not learn.

Curious Salt Trade.

"Having reached the ſhore, or bank of The Water, the ſalt is placed in heaps, each merchant's property by itſelf. They who belong to it then retire to the diſtance of half a day's journey; when other negroes, who avoid being ſpoken to, or ſeen, and who it is conjectured come in boats from ſome adjacent Iſlands, approach the heaps

of all Countries in the world their own appears to them as the beſt, and their own people as the happieſt; and they pity the fate of other nations who have been placed by Providence in leſs fertile and leſs fortunate diſtricts." (*page* 407.)

[1] *A queſto modo lo con ducono fino ſopra certa acqua, laqual non hanno ſaputo dire ſe è dolce, ouero ſalſa, per poter intendere s'egli è fiume ouer mare, ma io tengo che ſia fiume, per che ſel fuſſe mare, in ſito coſi caldo non hauerian biſogno di ſale.* (Ibid. p. 100. B.)—This barter of gold for ſalt by the negroes of Africa was noticed by Mr. Park. "In *Boori*, which is ſituated about four days' journey to the ſouth-weſt of *Kamalia*, the ſalt market is often ſupplied, at the ſame time, with Rock Salt from the Great Deſert, and Sea Salt from the *Rio Grande*; the price of each, at this diſtance from its ſource, being nearly the ſame; and the dealers in each, whether Moors from the north, or negroes from the weſt, are invited thither by the ſame motives, that of bartering their Salt for Gold." (*Page* 446.)

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heaps of ſalt; and having examined its quality, place a certain portion of gold on each, and withdraw. The original traders then return: if the Depoſit ſatisfies their expectation, they take it, and leave the ſalt; if not, they again retire, without moving the gold. The former Negroes upon this, either add more gold, or only take the ſalt on which their depoſit was approved. This mode of trading is very antient among them: the truth of it has been atteſted by many of the *Arab* and *Azanaghi* merchants, and by other perſons whoſe information deſerves [a] credit."

Singular Tribe of Negroes.

Cada Moſto was informed by the *Merchants* in reply to his enquiry, why the Emperor of Melli did not endeavour to obtain an account of theſe ſtrange people, who would neither ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen, or be converſed with? that a few years before, the Emperor, having reſolved to procure ſome of this ſtrange race, ſummoned his council on the ſubject. An ambuſcade was in conſequence formed in pits near the water's ſide, adjoining the place where the Salt was uſually left; and four of the negroes were taken. Three of them immediately received their liberty, to quiet the apprehenſions of the reſt: but the remaining Captive refuſing to ſpeak, though addreſſed in different languages, or to take any nouriſhment, expired, after preſerving his reſolution for four days. The ſubſequent Report that was made to the Emperor of Melli, of the form and appearance of theſe captives, ſavours a little of the extravagant;

[a] *Dr. Shaw*, who lived for twelve years at Algiers, gives a ſimilar account of the traffic carried on between the weſtern Moors, and the *Nigritians* living in the Deſert, near the Niger. "On a certain day of a certain moon, the Mooriſh merchants, being furniſhed with coral, and coloured glaſs beads, and other trinkets of that kind, repair to a certain ſpot in the deſert, not far from the above-mentioned river. On their arrival they find depoſited on a certain well known ſpot, many ſmall parcels of Gold Duſt, ranged in due order, at a trifling diſtance from each other; oppoſite to each parcel they place their goods, and go away, perſons unknown and unſeen then come in the night and regulate their bargain. If the Nigritians approve of the arrangement, they take their goods and leave their gold duſt; but on the contrary, if they diſapprove of the bargain, they very honeſtly take away their own property, and ſcrupulouſly leave what was offered them." See alſo Herodotus, *Melpomene*, 196.

gant; though *Cada Mosto* himself was inclined, from the various wonders he had beheld, to give credit to the relation: "their colour was of the deepest black; the under lip thicker than a man's fist, and of a lively red, hung down on their breasts; something like blood dropped from it continually; two enormous teeth appeared at each corner of their mouth, and their eyes were black and [a] large." Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the first.*

Owing to the untoward circumstance of this negroe's death, the singular [b] Commerce which had subsisted between his countrymen, and the subjects of the Emperor of Melli, was interrupted for the space of three years; when at length, as *Cada Mosto* conjectures, the Lips of the negroes beginning to putrefy through the heat of their climate, they were compelled to issue from their retreats, and renew their traffic for [c] Salt. The Gold thus brought into the kingdom of *Melli*, after being divided into three portions, was exported by the following channels: one portion was conveyed by the Melli caravan

[a] *Huomini negrissimi et ben formati di corpo, alti vn palmo piu di loro, et che hãno il labbro di sotto piu di vn sommesso largo, che vien sopra il petto, grosso, et rosso, mostrando dalla parte dentro gettar, come sangue, et il labbro di sopra era piccolo come i suoi. per laqual forma de labbri mostrauano le gingiue et i denti i quali denti diceuan esser maggiori delli suoi. et hanno da i lati duoi denti grandi, et gli occhi grossi et neri, et sono terribili di aspetto. et che la gingiua gettaua sangue, cosi come il labbro.*—(Ramusio, vol. i. p. 101. D.)

[b] Strange as this Relation appears, it is corroborated by *Jobson in his Voyage for the discovery of the river Gambra*, already noticed (p. 222. note e.) when speaking of the information he derived from an aged *Ma bút*, who resided at the *Ferambra's* town:—"He added, that not far from *Jaye* there were a people who would not be seen; and the Salt was carried to them by the *Arabeks* of Barbary, who had all the Gold from them, though they never saw them. Asking the Cause, he made a sign to his *Lips*, and gave no other answer."—*Jobson* then proceeds to relate the manner of this Silent Traffic from certain authors whose names he could not recollect. According to *Windus*, in his journey to *Mequinez* (p. 212.) this story of the raw lips still prevails.—(*Astley's Collect. vol. ii. p.* 182.)

[c] *Sir John Pringle* was, I believe, the first of the English physicians who proved that *Volatile Alcaline Salts*, commonly supposed to promote *Putrefaction*, are in fact powerful *antiseptics*: this celebrated physician, in the year 1750, communicated in number 495 of the Transactions of the Royal Society, a most ingenious paper, *On some Experiments on Substances resisting Putrefaction*; in which the following *Table* is given of the comparative powers of salts in that respect:

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Gold Trade of Melli. 1445.

caravan to a place called *Cochia*, on the road to Syria and Cairo; the remaining portions were carried by another Caravan to *Tombuto*, where the trade extended into two branches; one of which reached from *Toet* along the Coaſt to *Tunis*, and the ſecond to *Hoden;* where the gold not only circulated through the Barbary towns, both within and without The Straits, whence the Italians and other Chriſtian nations received it from the Moors, but it alſo was brought every year to the Sea Coaſt, to purchaſe Portugueſe goods at *Arguin;* and proved the moſt valuable commodity which their merchants received from the *Aſſanhaji* country. Theſe Africans, with thoſe of

Sea Sal	1.	Saline Mixture	3.
Sal Gemmæ	1 +	Nitre	4 +
Tartar Vitriolated	2.	Salt of Hartſhorn	4 +
Spiritus Mindereri	2.	Salt of Wormwood	4 +
Tartarus Solubilis	2.	Borax	12 +
Sal diureticus	2 +	Salt of Amber	20 +
Crude *Sal Ammoniac*	3.	Alum	30 +

Sir John adds, " in this Table I have marked the Proportions by integral numbers; it being hard, and perhaps unneceſſary, to bring this matter to more exactneſs; only to ſome I have added the ſign (+) to ſhow, that thoſe Salts are ſtronger than the number in the Table by ſome fraction; unleſs in the *three* laſt, where the ſame Sign imports, that the Salt may be ſtronger by ſome units." Theſe experiments by Sir John comprehended ſeveral eſſays; only the three firſt were printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*.—In this learned Paper he alſo obſerves, that two grains of *Camphire* mixed with water, preſerved Fleſh better than ſixty grains of ſea ſalt. Sir John Pringle's ideas on this ſubject were ſtill further illuſtrated in the year 1759, by *Dr. Barry's* able Treatiſe on the three different digeſtions, and diſcharges of the human body.—*M. de Pagés*, in his Voyages, endeavoured to aſcertain *whether Sea Water contained more Salt under the Torrid, than under the other Zones;* and his experiments proved contrary to what he expected, that Sea Water is impregnated with Salt in leſs quantity within, than without the tropics.—The *Abbe Raynal*, when ſpeaking of the poiſonous juice of the *Macheneel* tree, in the American iſlands (vol. v. p. 369.) gives us another, and perhaps the real motive, which induced theſe Africans to place ſuch a value on Salt: " The juice of the Macheneel is received into ſhells, placed under various inciſions that have been made in its trunk. As ſoon as this Juice is grown a little thick, the *Points of the Arrows* are ſteeped in it, which thence acquire the property of conveying ſudden death, be the wound ever ſo ſlight. This Poiſon, as it appears from experience, preſerves its venomous quality above an hundred years. *Salt applied immediately is an infallible cure.*" This ſimple remedy was probably equally known to the ſavages both of America and Africa; it might ſurely be employed in our own country, and on board our Ships, in caſes of the putrid ſore throat, and many other diſorders.

of the adjoining States, are described as using no Coin, their traffic being solely carried on by barter, or through the currency of small white [d] shells: their [e] gold was sold by *mitigal* weight, amounting to about a ducat in value. *Cada Mosto* then notices the manners and dress of the *Assanhaji*, and proceeds in the following manner with his interesting Narrative.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

Description of the Senegal, and adjacent Country. 1455.

"After we had [f] passed the *White Cape* (Cabo Blanco) we continued our Voyage to the River *Senega*, the first in Negroland on that

[d] *Porcellette bianche di queste piccole* (Cowry shells) Ramusio, vol. i. p. 101. F.

[e] This, as Mr. Green observes in Astley's Collection, was the first account brought from these parts respecting the particular states in Africa whence Gold came to Europe; and appears to be more minute and exact, than any since received.—*Barbot* (Churchill's Collect. vol. v. chap. xvii.) describes the different Sorts of *African Gold*, as it comes either from rivers or mines; the latter he again divides into that found near the surface of the earth, which is the finest; and that found at a greater depth which is coarser. He also treats of the mode in which the blacks adulterate and counterfeit gold. "Some pieces are so artificially imitated, that all the outside, to the thickness of an half crown, is fine gold, and the inside filled up with copper, or iron. They also make a certain powder of Coral, which they cast and tinge so artificially, that it is impossible to distinguish it any way, but by the weight.—I will farther add this Advice to all Seafaring Men trading on that Coast; that when they see many blacks come abroad together to trade with Gold, they admit but two or three at most, into the great cabin, or any other part of the ship, at one time; and always keep about them four or five of their own men to be on the watch, lest the blacks embezzle any goods; that so they and their Goldsmith, if there be one aboard, as commonly there is in French ships, may have leisure to examine the nature of the Gold; for it is common there for one Black, (most of those on the Coast being Factors or Brokers for the inland people,) to have twenty or more several small parcels of Gold, wrapt up in rags, or in little leather bags, to purchase goods for so many several persons; and those parcels must be all examined one after another. Take heed of such as come with Rush Baskets, as I have seen five or six of them together, with every one such a basket, who are generally designed to conceal what they can secure. So those who talk much, and make a noise, are to be suspected; and it may be observed they will never agree to any price of goods. - - - It was observed by the Officers of the Mint at Paris, that the *Isseny*, *Cape St. Apolonia* and *Axim* Gold, was from 22 to 23 carats fine; which Gold is commonly brought thither from the countries of *Awine* and *Egwira*. That from *Cape Tres Puntas* to *Sacunda*, about 22 carats fine, being commonly carried to those places, *Egwira*, *Adom*, and other neighbouring countries. The gold of *Acra*, which usually comes from *Tafoe*, *Quakoe*, and some other adjacent parts, was between 22 carats, and 22¼. The *Acra* Gold is commonly mixed with some fine Sand, and very small gravel."

[f] Ramusio, (vol. i. p. 101. B.)

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that coaſt: it divides the *tawny Azanaghi*, and a tract of dry barren land, from the fertile region of negroes. Five years before my arrival, this River had been diſcovered by [g] three caravellas belonging to the *Signor Infante:* the Portugueſe entered it, and having gained the confidence of the negroes, opened a commercial intercourſe; ſince which Ships have been ſent every year to preſerve the trade. This River is large, being upwards of a mile in breadth at its mouth, and very deep; there is another opening at ſome little diſtance; between theſe entrances is an Iſland, which forms a Cape that projects into the ſea, and at each [h] mouth are ſand banks and ſhoals, extending

[g] See page 212. *Cada Moſto*'s knowledge of the *Progreſs of Diſcovery*, ſeems again to be incorrect: probably as a foreigner, and one who had lately viſited Portugal, he only ſpoke at random. Yet even DE BARROS, himſelf, is not quite decided relative to the firſt diſcovery of the *Senegal River*. He ſays (ſee page 212) that *Denis Fernandez paſſed* it in 1446, but that Lançarot *diſcovered* it in 1447; the former certainly did not *enter* it: but this will not make Cada Moſto correct who viſited it in 1455.

[h] *Mr. Lindſay*, chaplain of the *Fougueux*, in his *voyage to the coaſt of Africa in* 1758, containing an account of the *Expedition to Goree, under Commodore the Honourable Auguſtus Keppel*, may on this occaſion be introduced to the reader's notice, to improve Cada Moſto's deſcription of the Senegal river, and the account already inſerted (p. 218, note c). "In the mouth of The River there are two Bars; that on the north is often dry at top; and the other, though there is water over it, has not more than ſix or ſeven feet on many places; making thereby *three* ſeparate Channels (although the *Sieur Brue* ſays *two* only), the *north*, the *middle*, and *ſouthermoſt*. In the rainy ſeaſons, the *freſhes* come down the River in torrents; inſomuch, that the ſea has not the leaſt mixture of Salt at the very mouth of the River. Now at ſuch times, if the Sea Breezes, which generally prevail in the day, are high; or if they continue for a day or two, without the uſual return of the breezes at night from the land, the impetuoſity of the river being thereby curbed in its courſe, becomes furious, to a degree that is terrifying. Although the *freſhes* were far ſpent, and the *Salt* of the ſea prevailed for near twelve miles up the river, yet we ſaw upon the bars, in our ſhort ſtay there, running ſeas breaking, and the ſurf flying to an amazing height." (Page 63.)—"The *Sanaga* (p. 94.) runs parallel to the Sea-Shore as far as *Fort St. Louis*, being ſeparated from it by a ſtripe of ſand only; ſo looſe, that walking upon it is troubleſome, and ſo low, that the Surf of the Sea is conſtantly obſerved over it; while a ſtronger Sea-breeze than uſual makes an appearance as if the Ocean would at once force itſelf over the ſands, and lay the iſland under water. In this Courſe, which is almoſt due *north*, it is navigable with ſmall Veſſels as far as the iſland of *Serimpala*, which is about twenty-five leagues; the neck of the peninſula, or rather the bottom of the narrow ſlip of land, being not broader at this part than three or four miles. Here the River takes a ſudden turn

extending about a mile from the ſhore. The water increaſes and diminiſhes every ſix hours, for the tide reaches beyond ſixty miles within the river; according to the information of ſome Portugueſe, who in their caravellas have explored its courſe to a conſiderable diſtance up the country: it is therefore neceſſary, that Ships intending to enter the *Senega* ſhould take advantage of high water to paſs over theſe ſand banks and ſhoals. The diſtance from the *White Cape* to this River is three hundred and eighty miles, with a coaſt of ſand to within twenty miles of the Senega, called the *Coaſt of Anterote*; which belongs to the *Azanaghi*, or [1] tawny Moors.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

"It appeared to me an aſtoniſhing circumſtance, that on the ſouthern ſide of this River, its inhabitants ſhould be extremely tall, ſtout, and well made, their country verdant, and enriched with trees; whilſt

turn from the *north*, and in a Courſe almoſt due *eaſt*, you are carried ſeveral hundred leagues into the heart of the Country. Upon the left, going up from *Serimpala*, or as others call it *Serinpeta*, is that deſert famous for its being the mart of the Arabian gums; and after a ſerpentine courſe of three hundred leagues, you arrive at *Fort St. Joſeph* in *Galam*, which is on the right-hand or ſouth-ſide of the river.

"A few leagues below this Fort, the *Sanaga* is joined by another River from the South, called the *Faleme*: about twelve leagues from the mouth of this river, to the *eaſt*, is the new Gold Mine of *Naye*; a few miles above this the French have built a ſmall fort called *St. Pierre*, on the right-ſide of the River a little below the fall of *Kaynura*. Juſt below *Fort St. Pierre*, and at no great diſtance from it, on the eaſt ſide of the river, it is joined by a fair ſiſter, called the *Sanon Kolex*, or Golden River, which runs in a ſerpentine manner, taking its riſe from the mountains around the golden country of *Tambaaura*, about forty leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of St. Pierre.

"We ſhall now return to *Sanaga*; which about four leagues above *Fort St. Joſeph*, and on the ſame ſide, is joined by a river called *Ghianon*. From Fort St. Joſeph to the town of *Kaygnu*, on the ſouth ſide of the River, is about twenty leagues. Here, too, is the firſt fall, called *Felu*: about ten leagues farther is the ſecond rock, called the fall of *Govina*; the former an height of thirty fathoms, the other conſiderably more. Farther than this ſecond fall, the French have made but few Diſcoveries. The navigation is there much interrupted."—For the peruſal of this Voyage, which deſerves to be more known, though it bears marks of having been compoſed in an haſty manner, I am indebted to RICHARD THOMAS STREATFEILD, Eſq.

[1] *Berrettini.*

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whilst on the opposite bank they are tawny, meagre, and low in stature, with a dry and [k] barren soil.

Kingdom of Senega, and its boundaries.

"That part of the NEGRO territory which is situated on the River *Senega*, is the [l] first Kingdom of the *Ethiopian Blacks*, and the inhabitants are styled [m] *Gilofi*. The coast, as well as the country which we have previously described, is low; and this not only continues to the *Senega*, but also as far as *Cape de Verde*, which is the highest land of any part of it, distant four hundred miles from the *White Cape*. According to what I have been able to learn, this kingdom of *Senega* confines on the east with the country of *Tuchusor*, on the south with the kingdom of *Gambra*, on the west with the ocean, and on the north with the aforesaid River. The king at this time on the [n] throne, was called *Zucholin*, a young man in his twenty-second

[k] *Marauigliosa cosa mi pare che di la dal fiume tutti sono negrissimi, et grandi, et grossi, et ben formati di corpo, et tutto il Paese e verde et piẽ d'arbori et fertile, et di qua sono huomini Berrettini piccioli, magri, asciutti, et di piccola Statura; il Paese sterile et secco.* (Ramusio, p. 101. B.)—Mr. Capper remarks, in his judicious *Observations on the Winds and Monsoons* (p. 80.) that "the northern division of Africa, between the latitude of eighteen and thirty degrees, possesses but few of those advantages enjoyed by other countries, which are situated in the same hemisphere, and at an equal distance from the equator: and whilst those parts of *Asia* and *America*, in the same Latitudes, are blessed with a fertile Soil, and an wholesome air, the Interior of *Africa*, in those Latitudes, is almost one immense sandy waste, called by the Arabians, to mark its pre-eminence, *Sahara Ul Aski*."

[l] *Mr. Green* observes in a note (Astley's Collection, vol. i. p. 581.), "although the first kingdom, or kingdoms of the *Blacks*, lies upon the *Senega*, or *Sanagha*, and others along the *Gambra*; yet there were not properly any kingdoms of these names. There was indeed, to the North of the *Sanaga*, the country inhabited by the *Sanhaga* or *Azanaghi*, from whence the River seems to have taken its name: But it was divided among various Tribes of these people, and not under any one Sovereign. However, the geographers since then have propagated the first mistake."

[m] Jalofs.

[n] "*Il Re di Senega al tempo mio haueua nome Zucholin, era giouene di anni vẽtidue: et nõ è questo Re simile alli nostri di Christianità, perche il suo regno è di gẽte seluaggia et pouerissima: et non vi è citta alcuna murata, se non villaggi con case di paglia, ne sanno far case di muro, et nõ hãno calcina, nè pietre da fabbricarle per non saperle fare.*" (Ramusio, Ibid. p. 101. C.—p. 102. D.)

ſecond year. An African monarch poſſeſſes little to remind us of our Chriſtian kings: his ſubjects are Savages, and very poor; they poſſeſs no walled towns, and even the houſes which compoſe their villages are thatched; the negroes being utter ſtrangers either to the mode of making lime, or of hewing ſtone. This Kingdom contains no great portion of territory; ſince, according to the information I could procure, it reaches only two hundred miles along the Coaſt; and within land, cannot much exceed the ſame extent. Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

" There is no fixed Revenue for their King, but the Signors of the country, in order to ſtand well in his favour, preſent him yearly with horſes, which on account of their ſcarcity are much ſought after, and with horſe furniture; together with other cattle, ſuch as Cows and Goats; accompanied with vegetables, millet, and articles of the like nature. The monarch is ſupported by depredation; his own ſubjects, as well as thoſe of the adjoining diſtricts, *are ſold for ſlaves:* ſome of theſe are afterwards reſerved to cultivate the lands aſſigned him; whilſt the remainder is diſpoſed of to *Azanaghi*, and *Arabian* Merchants.

" They have no Veſſels, nor had they ever ſeen any before the arrival of the Portugueſe on their Coaſt. Thoſe negroes who dwell by the ſide of the river, and ſome who have ſettled near the Sea, have [o] *Zoppolies*, or *Almadias*, formed out of a ſingle piece of wood, which will carry three or four men: in theſe they embark to catch fiſh, or to croſs the river from one place to another. Theſe Africans are the moſt ſkilful ſwimmers in the world: the truth of which I can vouch from ſome experience of their dexterity.

" I paſſed the [p] *Senega* in my caravella, and ſailing onwards came to the Country of BUDOMEL, having paſſed from the above river eight Country of Budomel.

[o] *Zoppoli*, Ramuſio, ibid. p. 102. B.

[p] The curious reader may compare this part of Cada Moſto's account of the Senegal river, with the *Voyage to the Kingdom of Sanagn, on the River Niger, by Claude Jannequin, Sieur de Rochefort*.

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eight hundred miles along an extent of Coaſt, uniformly low, unvaried by a ſingle eminence. The term [q] BUDOMEL is the title of its *Signor*, and not the name of the country; which is called the *Territory of Budomel*, in the ſame manner as we are accuſtomed to expreſs ourſelves when ſpeaking of the domain of any *Signor*, or Count. I immediately brought to off this diſtrict, in order to obtain ſome intercourſe with its chief; having learnt from Portugueſe, who had traded with him, that his general character was fair, reſpectable, and worthy of my confidence; ſince he never failed to pay for whatever articles were ſelected. Morcover, I had ſome Spaniſh Horſes on board, in high requeſt among the Negroes; not to mention many articles of commerce, ſuch as cloth, Mooriſh ſilks, and other [r] commodities.

" Reſolving therefore to try his diſpoſition towards me, I came to anchor at a part of the coaſt called *la Palma di Budomel*, which is a roadſted, and not an harbour. A negro interpreter was immediately diſpatched to make known my arrival with ſome horſes and ſundry goods; and that any of them were much at *Budomel's* ſervice, if he ſtood in need of ſuch articles. The ſaid *Signor* hearing this,

Rochefort, a native *of Chalons, in November*, 1637. It was printed at Paris, in one duodecimo volume, by *Charles Rouillard*, 1643. This was the firſt Voyage the French made up the Sanaga: it is tranſlated by Mr. Green in Aſtley's Collection (vol. ii. p. 20.) The following are the contents of ſome of the chapters: 1. Account of Jannequin's ſailing from Dieppe. 2. Deſcription of the Canary iſlands. 3. Arrival at *Cape Blanco*, account of the *Moors*, paſſage to the *Niger*, or *Sanaga*. 4. Deſcription of the country. 5. Embaſſy from the *Damel* and *Brak*, two negro kings. 6. Cuſtoms or duties payable to the kings of that country. 7. Goods, with which they traded among the negroes. 8. Manner of building followed by the negroes. 9. The Kings whoſe dominions lie along the *Sanaga*. 10. Mode of electing their kings. 11. Manner of making war, and their ſkill in ſwimming. 27. Deſcribes the malignity of the wet ſeaſon in that country, and the great mortality ſtrangers are ſubject to. 29. Their return to France.

[q] The *Sieur Brue*, firſt Director of the fourth French Senega Company in Auguſt 1697, whoſe voyages to the *Senega* have been already noticed (p. 219. note c.), informs us that the African king of *Kayor*, or *Kayhor*, was ſtyled *Damel*.

[r] *Panni di lana, et lauori di ſeda Moreſchi, et altri merci.* (Ramuſio, ibid. p. 102. C.)

this, mounted his horſe, and came towards the ſea ſide, attended by about fifteen men on horſeback, and fifty on foot. He immediately ſent me an invitation, with profeſſions of a friendly diſpoſition to render me every attention in his power: being already acquainted with *Budomel's* fame from report, I left the Caravella, and was received with an hearty welcome.

"After much converſation, I delivered my horſes, and every article for which he expreſſed an inclination: nor did I feel under any alarm reſpecting his future conduct. He entreated me to accompany him acroſs the country to his houſe, ſituated at the diſtance of twenty-five miles, where his debt ſhould be diſcharged, with many thanks; deſiring I would remain there for ſome days, as he ſhould then be able to repay me in ſlaves. *Budomel* purchaſed on the whole eleven horſes with their furniture, beſide other articles, which altogether amounted to about three hundred ducats. I therefore reſolved to attend him; yet I really agreed to this excurſion, as much to obſerve whatever of novelty the Interior afforded, as to receive payment."

Visits the interior of Africa.

CADA MOSTO was treated with the greateſt affability by this Negro Chief, who furniſhed him with horſes and whatever elſe could add to the pleaſure of his journey. On their arrival at a ſmall village, diſtant about four miles from *Budomel's* abode, he conſigned the Venetian to *Biſboror*, his nephew, Lord of that place. It was now the month of November, 1455, and *Cada Moſto* continued to reſide in this part of Africa for twenty-eight days; during which he often viſited *Budomel*, and thus enjoyed more favourable opportunities to obſerve the produce of the interior of this continent, and manners of its inhabitants, than any officer who had previouſly ſailed under orders of the DUKE of VISEO. When the Venetian at length had ſufficiently gratified an eager curioſity in this reſpect, and ſettled all commercial tranſactions with this friendly

Chief, the advanced ſeaſon of the year rapidly brought on ſuch unfavourable weather, that his return to the caravella, where ſhe then rode at anchor, was attended with the utmoſt riſk on account of the ſurf. It was therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to have the ſhip brought into the river *Senega*, and there to join its crew, by purſuing another and more extenſive track through the country. Cada Moſto particularly dwells on the extraordinary reſolution and dexterity of two Blacks in the art of ſwimming, which was diſplayed on this occaſion.

" I aſked [s] many of the Negroes, if they knew any one who poſſeſſed ſufficient courage to riſk the attempt of conveying a letter on board my caravella? without the ſmalleſt heſitation, many anſwered in the affirmative. The dreadful ſurf then breaking on the ſhore, and the violence of the wind, made it almoſt appear impoſſible that any man could dare the attempt; more eſpecially as, within bow-ſhot of the ſhore, numerous ſhelves ſtretched out ridges of ſand for a conſiderable diſtance, beſide other ſhoals; and between theſe laſt ran a ſtrong Current ſetting different ways, now up, and now down: Moreover, the ſea broke on the ſhoals with great fury; ſo that altogether it ſeemed incredible ſo many obſtacles could be ſurmounted.

Skill of the Negroes in ſwimming.

" Two of the Negroes however volunteered their ſervices. I demanded what they would expect? they replied, [t] *two mavulgis of tin for each*; the *mavulgis* is worth one [u] *groſſo*: for ſuch a reward they agreed to convey a letter on board, and threw themſelves into the water. I am unable to expreſs the difficulties they had to overcome in paſſing the ſand banks at a time when ſuch a ſea was running. Sometimes, for the ſpace of an hour they could not be diſcerned;

[s] Ramuſio, ibid. p. 103. E.

[t] *Due Mauulgis di Stagno per uno che vale un groſſo l'vna.* (Ramuſio, ibid. E.)

[u] About three farthings.

discerned; and I in consequence often thought they were drowned. At length one of them, unable to sustain any longer the tremendous Surf that broke over him, was observed to desist; but his companion kept firmly on, and after struggling on a sandbank for a good hour, swam past it, delivered the Letter on board, and returned. This circumstance appeared to me most marvellous; and I thence concluded that these Negroes on the coast were superior to any swimmers in the world."

Our Venetian then proceeds to deliver his remarks relative to Africa. *Budomel's* habitation, like that of other African Chiefs, was thatched. Some villages were assigned for his particular service, but he never continued long in any one place. The Village where *Cada Mosto* resided, contained between forty and fifty thatched houses, built at no great distance from each other, surrounded with ditches and high trees; one or two places were left open by way of entrance. *Budomel's* retinue, though only chief of a particular district, consisted of two hundred negroes, who were frequently removed. He affected great state and gravity; was only visible for an hour in the morning, and a short time in the evening. When any of the natives were favoured with an audience, whatever might be their rank, they were obliged to appear almost naked; and bowing themselves to the earth, to cover their heads and shoulders with sand. The wives and children of these haughty chiefs, for the most trivial faults were sold as Slaves.

Towards Cada Mosto, *Budomel* preserved an uniform attention; and one evening accompanied him to a sort of [x] *mosque*, where the *Assanhaji* priests, who resided in *Budomel's* house, performed the Mohammedan rites. In a subsequent conversation, this Chief delivered it as his opinion, that negroes were more certain of salvation than

[x] *Loro Moschea.* (Ramusio, ibid. page 103. C.)

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than Christians, and for this reason: "God is a just Lord: he has in this world given a paradise to the latter; therefore in the next it will necessarily be allotted to the former."

The kingdom of *Senega*, and the other Negro Countries on that coast, are described as being unfavourable to the produce of *wheat* [1], *rye*, *barley*, *spelta*, and even to the cultivation of the vine; by reason of the great heats, and peculiar temperature of the climate, in other respects the soil appeared rich and productive. For nine months out of the twelve, that is from *October* to *June*, they are without rain. *Cada Mosto* observed their cultivation of large and small [2] *millet*, and of the white and red *kidney bean*. A certain quantity of oats was sown every year, with little attention to the preparation of their soil, or the probability of a scarcity; the produce being barely sufficient for their own consumption. The principal beverage of the negroes next to milk, was palm-wine, or, as they called it, [3] *migwol*; procured by making incisions in the palm-tree, near its root. *Cada Mosto* describes various sorts of fruit of a fine flavour growing wild, which in some measure resembled those cultivated in Europe. He was much struck at the sight of many [4] large and

[1] *Formento, Segala, Orzo, Spelta, Vino.* —As this territory has been conjectured to be the part of Africa where the *Phœnician* circumnavigators, who were sent by *Pharaoh Necho*, waited two years for their *harvest*; may I be allowed to remark, that this observation of *Cada Mosto* seems to strengthen the opinion, that the whole voyage was an *Egyptian romance*; which like the tales of the Arabian Nights, had some truth and more conjecture, wrought up and heightened by the imagination of an ingenious geographer.

[2] The *millet* soon sprouts out, in a strait reed, with many leaves, bringing forth, in less than two months, Ears of twelve inches in length; looking at a distance much like the heads of bull-rushes. The grain is rather longish than round, much like the coreander seed. (*Barbot, Churchill's Collect.* vol. v. p. 40.)

[3] Barbot reads *Miguolo*; and pays much attention to an account of this wine, and the palm-wine-trees (Churchill's Collect. p. 51.—203) He describes four sorts.

[4] *Barbot* notices the girth of the timber in these parts of Africa (p. 31.)—" I have seen some there of an immense magnitude, the trunks being so big about, that several men together could

and beautiful trees, whose species he did not know; and also at observing several lakes of fresh water, which though not extensive, were deep, and abounded with excellent fish. Oxen, cows, and goats, were the only tame animals of the country, the climate being too sultry for sheep. Our navigator's description of the elephant is given at some length; it was then considered a great curiosity by the Portuguese and other European nations. He explodes an idea then prevailing, that the elephant was unable to lie down. Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

During his residence on the continent, *Cada Mosto* repeatedly visited the *African markets;* and when we consider the date of his narrative, it is curious to reflect how little change the lapse of near three hundred and fifty years has made on the inhabitants of that extensive continent. The Market, or Fair, was held in an extensive meadow, on Mondays and Fridays: the poverty of their traders appeared in the proffered articles; which, with the exception of small quantities of gold, and some defensive arms, consisted of cotton, cotton-yarn, cotton-cloth, pulse, oil, millet, wooden-tubs, palm-mats, and other articles, essential to the household economy of a savage.

"Many [c] things on board the Caravella struck the negroes with astonishment, particularly our *cross-bows* and [d] *basilisks*. I accordingly

could not fathom them. If I may believe some of the French factory, they have seen such as twenty men could not fathom. Most certain it is, that I saw myself the trunk of a Tree, lying on the ground at the cape near Goree, which was sixty feet about, and in it an hollow or cavity, big enough to contain twenty men standing close together."

[c] Ramusio, ibid. p. 105. B.

[d] *Bombarde*, in Dutch *donderbus*, should be translated, in reference to the kind of artillery then used on board the Portuguese ships: this perhaps it is impossible exactly to ascertain. M. Blondel, in his *Art de jetter des Bombes*, says they were first used against the city of *Watchtendonch* in Guelderland in 1588. They did not become general until the year 1634, and then only with the Dutch and Spaniards. At the battle of Cressi (1346) the English had five pieces of cannon, the use of which was not then known in France. One of the earliest Manufactories

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ingly took an opportunity, whilst some of them were coming towards the ship, to fire one of our guns; its report almost overpowered them: when I declared that above an hundred men, standing near each other, might be destroyed by a single gunstone, they considered it as the effect of enchantment. I next desired one of our sailors to divert their attention with the *bag-pipe*, which equally surprised and gratified them. On beholding the different parts and ornaments of this instrument, they enquired if it was a living animal? it was given them to examine; but when they perceived it was the work of art, they believed that the construction was supernatural, and could only be devised by a superior Being.

"The

factories was carried on by *Alexander* and *Peter Hogg*, at Buxted, in Sussex. To commemorate the event, an *Hog* was rudely carved on stone, which still remains on an house in that parish. Probably the guns mentioned by *Cada Mosto*, resembled the *Basilisk*; I have ventured to use this appellation, as the most appropriate translation of the Italian *Bombarde*. The reader may be enabled to form some idea of the artillery then used on board the Portuguese ships, by the following *account of the names, dimensions, and weight of the cannon, shot, and powder of the ancient English ordnance*, by SIR WILLIAM MONSON in his Naval Tracts, written in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the first. Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. page 305.

Names.	Bore of Cannon. Inches.	Wt. of Cannon. lb.	Wt. of Shot. lb.	Wt. of Powd. lb.
Cannon royal -	$8\frac{1}{4}$	8000	66	30
Cannon - -	8	6000	60	27
Cannon serpentine -	7	5500	$53\frac{1}{2}$	25
Bastard cannon -	7	4500	41	20
Demi Cannon -	$6\frac{3}{4}$	4000	$30\frac{1}{2}$	18
Cannon petro -	6	3000	$24\frac{1}{2}$	14
Culverin -	$5\frac{1}{2}$	4500	$17\frac{1}{2}$	12
Basilisk - -	5	400	15	10
Demi culverin -	4	3400	$9\frac{1}{2}$	8
Bastard culverin -	4	3000	5	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Sacar - -	$3\frac{1}{2}$	1400	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Minion -	$3\frac{1}{2}$	1000	4	4
Faulcon -	$2\frac{1}{2}$	660	2	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Falconet - -	2	500	$1\frac{1}{2}$	3
Serpentine -	$1\frac{3}{4}$	400	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Rabanet -	1	300	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$

The *Powder Mills* at Felbridge in Surry, and those established near Guilford, seem to claim a priority in point of date to any other.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

" The form of our Ship, its maſts, ſails, ſhrouds, and anchors, were all beheld with equal wonder; they imagined that the hawſe-holes in the prow were two eyes, by means of which this leviathan found its way through the ocean. But above all, the ſight of a lighted Candle, was the object of their fixed attention. I ſhewed them the method of extracting the honey from the wax, and in their preſence directed ſome Candles to be made and lighted: then were they all in rapture, and declared that the ſecret ſtores of knowledge were open unto Chriſtians."

Sails in ſearch of Gambra.

Cada Moſto had now remained a conſiderable time in this part of Africa; he had examined the ſurrounding Country with every attention in his power, and had alſo received the Slaves promiſed in barter for his merchandiſe, whoſe ſituation in life was certainly improved by the change: ſince their captivity in the ſervice of an enlightened European, was preferable to freedom, when expoſed to the capricious tyranny of an untutored African. He therefore now reſolved to attempt ſome new Diſcoveries along this dangerous coaſt; and, after doubling Cape de Verde, to go in ſearch of a kingdom, which DUKE HENRY had [f] deſcribed from the information of a perſon who poſſeſſed conſiderable knowledge of the geography of Africa. According to the report which the Portugueſe Prince received, beyond the *Senega* was ſituated another diſtrict, called the kingdom of *Gambra;* whence conſiderable quantities of gold were brought to *Spain*.

" Full of theſe ideas I took my leave of *Budomel*, and going on board the caravella, got under weigh as ſoon as poſſible; when one morning,

[f] *Auanti il mio partir di Portogallo, io haueua inteſo dal Signor Inſante, come quella perſona che di tempo in tempo era auiſata delle coſe di queſti paeſi di Negri, e fra le altre informationi che eſſo haueua, era che non molto lontano da queſto primo regno di Senega, piu auanti ſi trouaua vn' altro regno chiamato Gambra, nel quale raccontauano i Negri che veniuano condotti in Spagna trouarſi ſomma d'oro grande, et che li Chriſtiani che iui andaſſino ſariano ricchi.* (Ramuſio, p. 106. D.)

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morning, as we were ſtanding onward with a preſs of ſail, two ſhips appeared in the offing. It was evident they could only belong to a Chriſtian power: we ſoon neared them, and ſpoke each other; when I found that one belonged to *Antonio*, an experienced Genoeſe navigator, and that the other had on board ſome Portugueſe gentlemen in the ſervice of Prince Henry. They purpoſed to paſs Cape Verde, and to explore the coaſt beyond it: our intentions being ſimilar, I offered to join them; and we accordingly ſailed together for the Cape, which we next day came in ſight of, diſtant thirty Italian miles from our laſt anchorage.

Paſs Cape Verde.

"Having doubled [g] *Cape Verde*, we fell in with three ſmall uninhabited [h] Iſlands, not far from the Continent, covered with large trees, whoſe green foliage was particularly ſtriking. Being in want of water, we brought to off that iſland which appeared the largeſt, and moſt fertile, in order to ſearch for a ſpring; but could find none to anſwer our purpoſe. It was now the month of *June*. Having

[g] *Cada Moſto*, in the following deſcription of Cape Verde, is again guilty of an error, and ſeems not to have known that it was diſcovered by *Denis Fernandez* in 1446, (p. 212.)—"*Queſto* Capo Verde *ſi chiama coſi, perche i primi, ch'el trouorono che furono Portogheſi* circa vn' āno auāti ch' io fuſſi a quelle parti, *trouorono tutto verde di arbori grandi, che cōtinuamēte ſtanno verdi tutto il tēpo dell' anno. et per queſta cauſa li fu meſſo nome Capo Verde, ſi come Capo Bianco, quello che noi habbiamo parlato per auāti, qual fu trouoto tutto arenoſo, e biāco, queſto Capo Verde e molto bel capo, et alto di terreno, et ha ſopra la pūta due lōtade, cio è due mōticelli, et metteſi molto fuori in mare. et ſopra il detto capo, et a torno d'eſſo ſono molte habitationi de villani Negri, et caſe, di paglia, tutte appreſſo la marinu, et a viſta di quelli che paſſano, et ſono queſti Negri anche del predetto regno di Senega. et ſopra il detto capo ſono alcune ſecche che eſcono fuori in mar forſe vn mezzo miglio.*" (Ramuſio, ibid. p. 106. E.)—*Major Rennell*, in his illuſtration of the geography of Herodotus, notices this deſcription of Cape Verde, and compares it with the following by *Le Maire* at a ſubſequent period. (P. 725.) "This famous Promontory is named from the perpetual verdure of the adjacent country, abounding with beautiful lofty trees. It is very diſtinguiſhable in coming from the north, which ſide is ſomewhat mountainous. The ſouth ſide, though low, is pleaſant, the ſtrand being adorned with long rows of large trees, ſtanding as regularly as if planted by art."—See the engraving prefixed to chapter the third, for a view of this cape, which may be doubled within two miles.

[h] The three *Magdalen*, or *Birds Iſlands*.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

Having ſpent the remainder of the day in fiſhing on the iſland, by which means we procured a plentiful ſupply, we proceeded on our courſe, keeping always in ſight of land. I remarked, that beyond *Cape Verde* the land trends inward, ſo as to form a gulf, its Coaſt is low, covered with trees of the greateſt beauty and ſize; their green foliage is preſerved throughout the year. This tract of foreſt, which ſeems placed on the verge of the ocean, extends to the diſtance of a croſs-bow ſhot along the ſhore. It formed the moſt lovely view I ever beheld! Though I have ſailed to many places, both towards the eaſt and weſt, I never contemplated a more romantic ſcene. The coaſt is interſected by many Rivers, too ſmall for large ſhips to enter, and therefore is not regarded.

" When we [i] had paſſed this ſmall Gulf, we found the Coaſt inhabited by two nations called *Barbacini*, and *Serreri*: Idolaters, who live in a perfect ſtate of nature without any reſtraint from Laws, and are extremely cruel. Their colour is jet-black, with a comely form. Standing along the coaſt to the ſouthward, with a fair wind, we diſcovered the mouth of a large River, about bow-ſhot acroſs, with little depth of water. We called it *Il Rio di* [k] *Barbacini*, as it is marked in the [l] Chart that has been made of this coaſt; the diſtance from *Cape Verde* is *ſixty* miles.

" We continued to proceed without interruption during day-light, but anchored at ſun-ſet in ten or twelve fathom water, keeping about five or ſix miles from the [m] ſhore. At day-break our courſe was

[i] Ramuſio, ibid. (p. 106. F.)

[k] The minute Chart which *Barbot* has given (*ibid. p.* 16.) of *Cape Verde*, with the entrances of the *Senegal* and *Gambra*, and their reſpective ſoundings, aſſigns to the above river the name of *Rio Borſalo*.

[l] The diſcovery of this Chart which may moulder in obſcurity at Venice, or Liſbon, deſerves the attention of ſuch perſons as viſit either of theſe cities. The truth of its having exiſted is here aſcertained.

[m] " The ſea coaſts from *Byburt*, near the mouth of the river Senega, to *Cape Verde*, are very little reſorted to; being all along foul, with many ſhoals, and not to be approached in many

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was renewed, having always a man ſtationed at the maſt-head, and two on the prow, to obſerve whether the ſea broke on any ſhoals, or rocks. As we thus advanced, the mouth of another large River opened upon us, which did not ſeem inferior to the *Senega*. Struck with the grandeur of its appearance, and the rich woodland of the adjacent coaſt that ſkirted the water's edge, we let go our anchors; and held a conſultation whether it would not be adviſeable to ſend one of the [n] negro interpreters aſhore, with whom each ſhip was provided.

"It was accordingly determined to caſt lots, reſpecting the caravella whence a negro ſhould be ſelected for this perilous ſervice; it fell to the veſſel commanded by *Antonio*, the Genoeſe commander. An armed Boat was immediately hoiſted out, and the crew received orders, to put off as ſoon as they had landed the negro; who was deſired to gain every information he could reſpecting the diſtrict, and to enquire whether it produced gold. This unfortunate African had ſcarcely left the beach, before the natives ruſhed on him from an ambuſh where they had lurked: after a ſhort conference they were ſeen to fall on their victim with their gomies, or Mooriſh ſhort ſwords; and they completed their murder before any aſſiſtance could be ſent. The little Squadron immediately weighed anchor, anxious to leave ſo barbarous a region; and

many parts. The French of Senega, and Goërée, when they ſail from the former of thoſe places to the latter, generally ſteer ſouth-weſt by weſt for ſome hours; then ſouth-weſt, and then again ſouth-weſt by ſouth, the better to weather Point *Almadilla*; which is about a league to the northward of *Cape Verde*, running out to ſea north-weſt under water, and conſequently not to be ſeen." (*Barbot*, ibid. p. 16.)

n "*Cadauno delli noſtri Nauilij haueua turcimanni Negri, menati con noi di Portogallo, qual furon venduti per quelli Signori di Senega a primi Portogheſi, che vennero à ſcoprire il detto paeſe de Negri: queſti ſchiaui erano fatti Chriſtiani, et ſapeuano ben la lingua Spagnuola, et la haueuamo hauuti dalli ſuoi padroni con patto di darli per ſuo ſtipendio et ſoldo vna teſta per vno à cernirla in tutto il noſtro mõte, et dando cadauno di queſti turcimanni quattro ſchiaui alli padroni ſuoi, loro gli laſcian franchi.*" (Ramuſio, ibid. p. 106. A.)

and continued their Voyage towards the ſouth, keeping within ſight of land. Though this coaſt was low, *Cada Moſto* obſerves that it diſplayed much beauty, and a rich woodland ſcenery, as they advanced. A third River was ſoon diſcovered, the entrance of which, in its narroweſt part, was from three to four miles wide: here the ſquadron came to anchor for the night; and they reſolved on the enſuing day to enquire whether they had reached the GAMBRA.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

Though *Cada Moſto* was a foreigner, it is ſingular, as [o] already remarked, that he ſhould in ſo many inſtances betray great ignorance of the Portugueſe Diſcoveries, previous to his preſent Voyage in the year 1455; more particularly when we conſider the time he remained at *Sagres* with the Prince. In the year 1447, *Nuno Triſtan* [p] aſcended the ample ſtream of the *Gambra*, and fell a memorable victim to the poiſoned arrows of thoſe Negroes, who cheriſhed a ferocious independence on its banks. Probably the name of *Rio Grande*, which it then received, miſled the Duke of Viſeo in his further ſearch for the *Gambra*; and confuſed our Venetian Navigator. Yet the attentive reader will feel aſtoniſhed at finding no mention made by *Cada Moſto* of the unfortunate *Nuno* and his brave followers; eſpecially as the Portugueſe, who now accompanied the former, found the ſame implacable animoſity exiſting among the natives.

" Having [q] reached this River, which at its entrance is from ſix to eight miles acroſs, we were induced to think it could not be any other than the long ſought *Gambra:* we now therefore began to flatter ourſelves, that inexhauſtible riches would be found on its banks,

[o] Page 250, note [x], and p. 262, note [c].

[p] See page 221, and note [c].

[q] Ramuſio, ibid. p. 106. C.

banks, and that we ſhould return laden with gold, or other valuable commodities. Accordingly the next day the wind being ſcant, our ſmall caravella was ſent before well-manned as this veſſel drew but little water, with the following directions: 'To explore the River as far as they were able; and if they obſerved any ſhoals at its mouth, to take the ſoundings: but ſhould the river be found navigable for the other ſhips, the caravella was to return, and make the ſignal for them to follow.' Finding four fathom water at the river's mouth, the caravella brought-to, according to order. It was now judged prudent, as this veſſel was ſmall, to diſpatch a ſecond armed boat, with freſh inſtructions, to retire immediately in caſe of an attack from the negroes; ſince the ſole intention of the Voyage was to conciliate their friendſhip, and to open a commerce."

The ſubſequent treatment experienced by theſe Navigators, painfully deſtroyed thoſe mercantile hopes, which the too ſanguine mind of *Cada Moſto* had been eager to indulge. Their armed Boats proceeded alone for upwards of two miles, leaving the ſmall caravella at anchor; when, perceiving that the Courſe of the river began to ſerpentine into endleſs windings, they judged it expedient to return. Three *Almadias*, called by the Italians *Zoppoli*, now appeared, as if to oppoſe a retreat, near the mouth of a ſmall River that branched out from its parent ſtream. The fear of poiſoned Arrows, lent additional force to the humane Orders they had received; and immediately giving way with their oars, they ſoon reached the caravella. The Negroes followed; the flight of ſo powerful an enemy probably increaſed their boldneſs: they however pauſed within bow-ſhot diſtance of the ſhip; ſurveyed in gloomy ſilence the ſtrange Intruders, and returned.

Next morning, ſo early as three o'clock, the other caravellas, who ſeem to have been detained by the wind, got under weigh, and entered

tered the River; assisted by the current, and a favourable breeze. The smallest Vessel was stationed ahead of the rest; and in this manner their squadron ascended the river for four miles: when, on a sudden, a fleet of *Almadias* appeared standing towards them, before they could observe from what part of the country these negroes had embarked. Preparations for defence were immediately made, and every precaution taken against poisoned arrows. The negroes having reached the ships, came under the bows of Cada Mosto's caravella, which had outsailed the rest: the enemy's force consisted of fifteen *Almadias* of a considerable size, manned by one hundred and fifty Africans.

Having formed into two divisions, the Negroes surrounded the Venetian's Caravella; and then, raising their oars, gazed with astonishment on his vessel. Their dress consisted of a cotton shirt, and a white cap; with their military ornaments of a wing on each side, and a feather in the middle. A negro appeared at the head of each canoe, with a sort of [r] leathern target on his arm. The *Almadias* remained stationary, until the other two caravellas bore down to assist *Cada Mosto*; when immediately a shower of poisoned arrows was poured in upon the squadron. In this critical juncture four *basilisks* were discharged; and, for a time, the savage fierceness of the negroes was restrained by stupefaction. The gunstones fell, as intended, at some distance from their canoes; but, with the cessation of firing, an attack from the enemy recommenced. This brought on a severe chastisement: the sailors ran to their crossbows, and many Africans soon fell victims to their own temerity. The survivors, still undismayed, changed their mode of attack, directing

[r] Generally made with the impenetrable hide of the *hippopotamus*.

BOOK I. recting their whole attention to the ſmall caravella; which was imperfectly manned, and armed. They were a ſecond time repulſed; and on their retiring to a little diſtance, the three veſſels took that opportunity to form a more certain defence, by linking their ſhips together, and ſecuring them by an anchor.

Some negro Interpreters who were on board, now hailed the natives; and after a conſiderable time, one of their Almadias ventured to advance within bow-ſhot diſtance. A ſhort parley enſued; but no proſpect of Trade, or promiſe of gifts to their chief, could appeaſe the ſtern ſpirit of theſe vindictive ſavages. They however at length condeſcended to make a reply: *Our Country is called* [s] GAMBRA. *Our chief reſides at the diſtance of three days journey. We will not have any dealings with Chriſtians; of them, and their tranſactions at Senega, we are already informed. Chriſtians are men eaters! and only buy negro men to devour them. We deſpiſe your friendſhip, and anxiouſly wiſh for your deſtruction.* At this inſtant the wind began to freſhen; and the caravellas immediately bore down on theſe refractory natives of the Gambra, who fled towards the ſhore. The three commanders then conſulted about a ſecond excurſion up this river, in ſearch of tribes leſs ferocious; but their reſpective crews, impatient to return, loudly reprobated ſuch an attempt. Their ſhips were in conſequence put about, and the ſquadron ſteered for *Cape Verde*, on its return to [t] SPAIN.

With the following remarks, the intereſting narrative of the firſt Voyage of *Cada Moſto* is concluded:

"Whilſt

[s] *Jobſon*, in his voyage to the *Gambra*, ſays, that he never heard the natives employ any other term than GEE, *The River*.

[t] "*Per ritornar col nome di Dio in Spagna.*" (Ramuſio, p. 107. B.) Such is *Cada Moſto's* expreſſion; but as the ſhip, and crew, belonged to *Portugal*, he muſt in this place, as well as in many others, have included the latter country, under the general name of *Spain*.

Ch. II. § 1.

Alphonso the fifth.

"Whilst we remained off the mouth of this river, we saw the *north* [u] *star* but once, and then at no great distance from the horizon; for on taking an observation in clear weather, it did not seem to be above the height of a lance from the surface of the sea. We also remarked at about the same elevation, six clear, luminous, and large Stars, which by compass were found to lie to the south, and appeared in this form:

The Cross.

*

* * * *

*

We conjectured that this must be the *southern* [x] *chariot*; but could not perceive the principal Star, as we had not yet lost sight of that which

[u] The Pole Star, a star of the second magnitude, near the North Pole, is in the end of the tail of *Ursa Minor*, or the Little Bear. Its mean place in the heavens for the beginning of 1790, is thus given by *Dr. Hutton* in his *Philosophical Dictionary*.

Right ascension - - - -	12°	31′	47″
Annual variation in ditto - - - -	0	3	4
Declination - - -	88	11	8
Annual variation in ditto - - -	0	0	19 6/10

[x] Ptolemy formed out of 1022 *Stars*, forty-eight *Constellations*. The Northern, *the Little Bear, the Great Bear, the Dragon, Cepheus, Bootes, the Northern Crown, Hercules, the Harp, the Swan, Cassiopeia, Perseus, Auriga, Ophiucus, or Serpentary, the Serpent, the Arrow, the Eagle, the Dolphin, the Horse, Pegasus, Andromeda*, and the *Triangle*. About the Ecliptic, *Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius*, and *Pisces*. Southern, *the Whale, Orion, the Eridanus, the Hare, the Great Dog, the Little Dog, the Ship, the Hydra, the Cup, the Raven, the Centaur, the Wolf, the Altar, the Southern Crown*, and *the Southern Fish*. From these *Tycho Brahe* formed *forty-three*, and omitted *five* of the old *southern* constellations, because, according to *Dr. Hutton*, he could not observe them on account of the high northern latitude of *Uranibourg*: to these forty-three Tycho added the *Coma Berenices*, and *Antinous*. After him *Bayer* gave the figures of *sixty*; adding to Ptolemy's forty-eight, the following *twelve* about the South Pole. *The Peacock, the Toucan, the Crane, the Phœnix, the Dorado, the Flying Fish, the Hydra, the Cameleon, the Bee, the Bird of Paradise, the Triangle*, and *the Indian*. Of the *unformed* Stars *Royer* made *eleven* other *Constellations*. Northern, *the Giraffe, the River Jordan, the River Tigris, the Sceptre*, and *the Fleur-de-Luce*. Southern, *the Dove, the Unicorn*, the Cross, *the Great Cloud, the Little Cloud*, and *the Rhomboid*. To these some new ones were added by *Hevelius*; and an effort has

BOOK I.

which marks the northern pole. In this ſtation we found the night, at the beginning of the month of July, to be eleven hours and an half long; and the day twelve and an half. This climate is always warm, with ſome ſlight abatement, which the natives term Winter; for the rains begin in July, and continue every day about noon, until the month of October: this weather is uſhered in by clouds, which riſe in the north-eaſt by eaſt, or eaſt ſouth-eaſt quarter, accompanied with tremendous thunder and lightning. Seed-time then begins among them, when they ſow the kind of grain which is cultivated at Senega, and in the ſame manner. Their Twilight is very ſhort, they have no dawn before ſun-riſe, as in our part of the world; and their night laſts only for half an hour, during which the atmoſphere appears turbid, and as if filled with a fumid miſt: the moment this is diſperſed the ſun appears. I could only account

has been alſo made by *Dr. Hill* ſtill to augment the number with *fourteen* additional ones. "The Fixed Stars (ſays *Fontenelle*, in his *Elogy on Dr. Halley*), independent of their other uſes, ſerve as ſo many points, by a compariſon of which with the apparent places of the Planets in the viſible celeſtial concave, under which they revolve, is the method by which Aſtronomers diſcover their courſe: to determine the number and poſition of the fixed ſtars, has therefore been the object of the moſt diligent attention in all ages; but as the Ancients ſeldom failed beyond the Equator, and as the greater part of modern Navigators who have croſſed the Line, have had views very different from perfecting Aſtronomy, through the want of leiſure, and a proper apparatus for this purpoſe; the Stars of the Southern Hemiſphere, and eſpecially thoſe near the Pole, have either remained altogether unknown, or been erroneouſly placed on the celeſtial globe. To ſupply this defect, to fill up the blank in *Ptolemy's* and *Tycho's* Catalogue of the Fixed Stars, and to ſecond the endeavours of *Flamſteed* and *Hevelius*, Mr. HALLEY propoſed making a Voyage to St. Helena, the moſt Meridional Part of the world then in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, lying in ſixteen degrees ſouth Latitude. *Mr. Williamſon*, Secretary of State, and *Mr. Jonas Moore*, Maſter of the Ordnance, were his patrons in the Court of King Charles the ſecond. That Prince, to whom the Iſland of *St. Helena* belonged by right of conqueſt, and who had then lately granted it to the *Britiſh Eaſt India Company*, generouſly contributed whatever was judged neceſſary on his part, for the ſucceſs of the Enterpriſe; and *Mr. Halley* ſet ſail in the month of November 1676; arrived ſafely at *St. Helena* in three months, and having fully accompliſhed his deſign, returned to London in the autumn of 1678. The year following he printed his *Catalogue of the Southern Stars*, in which, among many other novelties, appeared the conſtellation of *The Oak*;" thus named, in memory of his Sovereign's preſervation by that Tree.

account [r] for such a phenomenon by attributing it to the flat surface of the country, and its being destitute of mountains; which opinion was approved by my companions."

II. The

[r] Some curious *Remarks on the Twilight*, whose various duration in different parts of the globe is worthy of the navigator's observation, appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1761. (Vol. xxxi. p. 124.) "Between the Tropics, especially near the Equinoctial Line, it becomes dark soon after the sun is down. Mr. *Moore* in his *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, 'published in 1738, containing a description of several nations, for the space of six hundred miles up the *River Gambia*, with a map of that river, and several additional tracts on African geography,' particularly notices the short continuance of their twilight. The difference between the real and apparent rising and setting of the sun, in different parts of the world, is, perhaps, still more remarkable. This Difference is said to be two degrees even with us; in consequence of which, the sun is visible to us in a morning, several minutes before he is really up, and as many in the evening after he is really down. (*Mr. Ferguson* says, six minutes every day at a mean rate, and sometimes ten.) What the difference of this kind is in the *torrid zone*, I know not; but by the following instances, collected by the learned *Vossius*, it appears to be very considerable in the *frigid zone*. The Book, in which these Instances are to be found, is entitled *Appendix ad scriptum de natura et proprietate Lucis*.

"The first of these is taken from the Letters of *Theodore Jonas*, pastor of a town in the midst of *Iceland*, called *Hitterdal*. This place, by geographers, is supposed to have, in the depth of winter, no day at all, nor indeed could have any, were it not for the Influence of the earth's atmosphere on the rays of light. But let us hear what the learned pastor says: In the depth of Winter, when the days are shortest, we have the sun shining almost *three hours* (tres fere horas); what therefore the *Astronomers and Geographers write, that the sun at this time, is invisible to these parts, is a mere Fiction* (pro commento sit habendum), cap. v.

"The next is taken from the Journal of those unfortunate persons who, in the year 1663, were left to winter in *Maurice Island*; and who, though they all perished by the severity of the cold, left the above mentioned Journal behind them. This Island is in 71 degrees north latitude, and the Passage, according to *Vossius*, is as follows: *Though it is the depth of Winter, we have, nevertheless, a day four hours long* (habemus nihilominus diem quatuor horarum.) *So that there must have been, at this time, in the afore-named Island* (Vossius says) *a difference of seven degrees and an half, between the real and apparent elevation of the sun* ('inveniemus locum solis apparentem septem gradibus cum dimidio elevatum fuisse, supra locum verum.') Chap. v.

"The last, and perhaps most remarkable instance of this sort, mentioned by *Vossius*, is taken from the Journal of those, who at the same time wintered at *Spitsburgh*, in 80 degrees north latitude; their Account is as follows: 'On the 18th of *October*, the Wind, mixed with Snow, and the sharpest Frost, blew from the North. According to our Calendar, the day was to continue only four hours, and 50 minutes, but we by diligent observation, found it was *eight*, or rather *nine* hours and an half long: ('Ex diligenti observatione comperimus diem horarum octo, vel potius novem cum dimidia'). Cap. v."

To

BOOK I.

Cada Mosto's second voyage. 1456.

II. The SECOND VOYAGE OF CADA MOSTO during the year 1456, only occupies six pages in the original preserved by *Ramusio*, and will here employ still less of the reader's attention; since the most interesting [a] parts, relative to the first Discovery of the *Cape de Verde* islands; of *Cape Rosso*, the rivers *Kasamansa*, *St. Anna*, *St. Dominico*, *Rio Grande*, and the two islands beyond it, which more immediately relate to the subject of this work, are comprised in a small portion of the narrative. This, as well as the first Voyage, was published

To this I shall subjoin the following remarks by *Dr. Hutton*. "The depression of the sun below the horizon, at the beginning of the morning, and end of the evening twilight, has been variously stated, at different seasons, and by different Observers. By *Alhazen* it was observed to be 19°; by *Tycho* 17°; by *Rothman* 24°; by *Stevinus* 18°; by *Cassini* 15°; by *Riccioli*, at the time of the Equinox, in the morning 16°, in the evening 20°½. In the Summer Solstice, in the morning 21° 25′, and in the winter 17° 15′. Whence it appears, that the Cause of the twilight is Variable; but on a Medium, about 18° of the sun's depression will serve tolerably well for our latitude, for the beginning and end of Twilight; and according to which *Dr. Long* (Astronomy, vol. i. p. 258.) gives a table of the duration of twilight, in different latitudes, and for several different declinations of the sun." This Table is inserted by *Dr. Hutton* in his Dictionary. This subject is one of those which have been too much neglected by navigators, but is well worthy of their attention: since whatever tends to increase the boundaries of science, should always be a principal object with those persons who visit such a variety of climates.

[a] As some readers may wish to be indulged in a more general idea of the contents of this Second Voyage, I have inserted these heads of sections from Ramusio, where the page is only figured on one side.

I. (Page 108. D.) *Come furono li primi che scoprirono l'isole di Copo Verde, a due delle quali posero nome bona vista, et di san Jacobo.*

II. (P. 108. A.) *Di vn luoco chiamato le due palme, et di vna isola a cui fu posto nome santo Andrea, et perche. Del Re Forosangoli, et del Signor Battimansa.*

III. (P. 108. C.) *Del presente fatto a Battimansa. Delle robbe che tolsero i Portoghesi a baratto. Del modo del vogar de Negri di quel Paese, et de remi suoi.*

IV. (P. 109. F.) *Della fede et del modo del viuere et vestir loro.*

V. (P. 109. A.) *De gli Elefanti del detto Paese, et del modo che vsano alla caccia di quelli; della lunghezza de denti, et forma de piedi suoi.*

VI. (P. 110. D.) *Come furono scoperti alcuni fiumi, et del fiume di Casamansa, et del signore similmente detto Casamansa, della distantia del rio di Gambra al detto fiume.*

VII. (P. 110. F.) *Del luoco detto Capo Rosso, et perche è cosi chiamato del rio di santa Ana, et del rio di S. Dominico, et d'vn altro gran fiume, et della Marea d'acqua, crescente, et discrescente di quel paese.*

VIII. (P. 110. B.) *Di due Isole grandi, et altre piccole.*

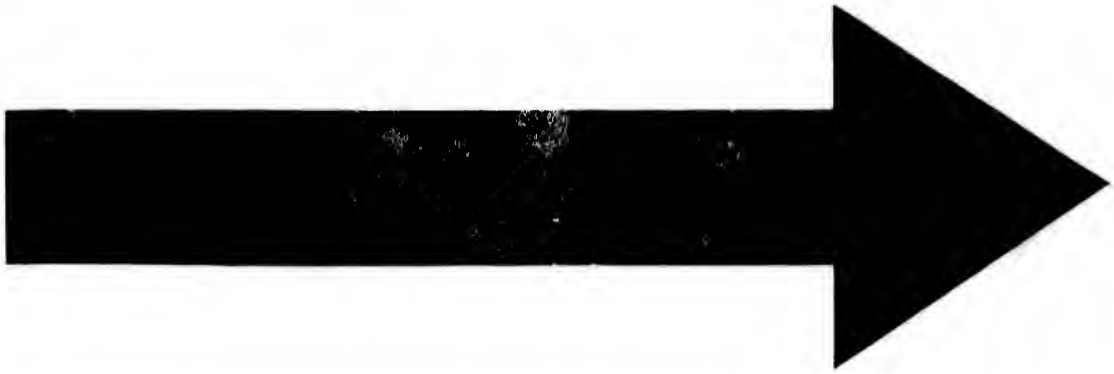
published at Venice, after *Cada Mosto*'s return from Portugal in the year [a] 1464: he therefore alludes to the settlers of the *Cape de Verde islands*, and particularly to the succeeding voyage of *Antonio de Noli* in 1462. *Cada Mosto*'s narrative was translated into French, so early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, by *Pierre Redoner*. Ch. IV. § 1. *Alfonso the fifth.*

" During the subsequent year, 1456, the Genoese officer already mentioned and myself, fitted out two caravellas in order to explore the said river. The *Signor Infante* on hearing that we had made this determination, though in truth without his sanction our determination would have little availed us, highly approved our plan and even sent a caravella of his own to accompany us. Having therefore, without loss of time, provided ourselves with every requisite for the Voyage, we sailed from the place called *Lagus* near *Cape St. Vincente* at the beginning of May, with a fair wind; and steering for the *Canaries*, arrived there in a few days. As the weather continued favourable we did not land, but stood on in a southerly direction; our progress was much assisted by a Current which set to the south-west, so that we advanced at a great rate: at length we made *the white Cape*, and then kept out to sea.

Discovery of the Cape de Verde Islands.

" In the course of the next night, an heavy gale came on from the south-west: we resolved to weather it out, rather than return; and accordingly drove for two nights, and three days, in a direction that was west by north. On the third day the sight of land was welcomed, by a general exclamation of *terra! terra!* and this was the more astonishing, from its appearance in a quarter where no one could expect it. Two men being immediately sent aloft, they cried out, *that*

[a] It is extraordinary that this Navigator, who possessed a Manuscript so interesting to his countrymen, should have waited from 1464 to 1507, forty-three years, before he availed himself of the discovery of printing to make this voyage more generally known.



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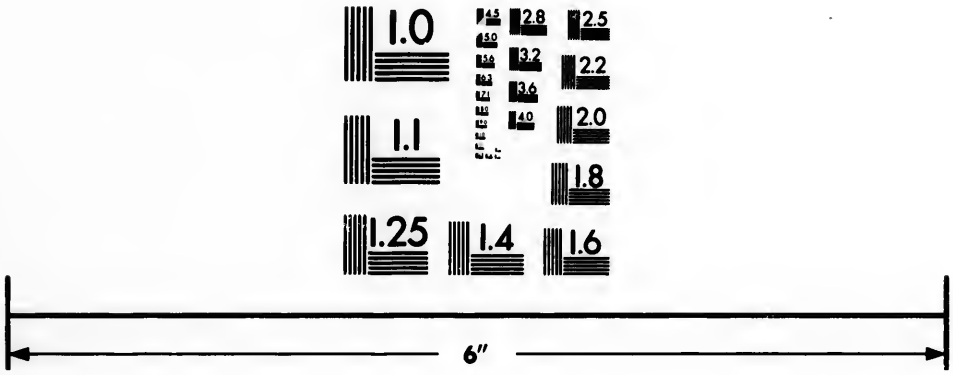

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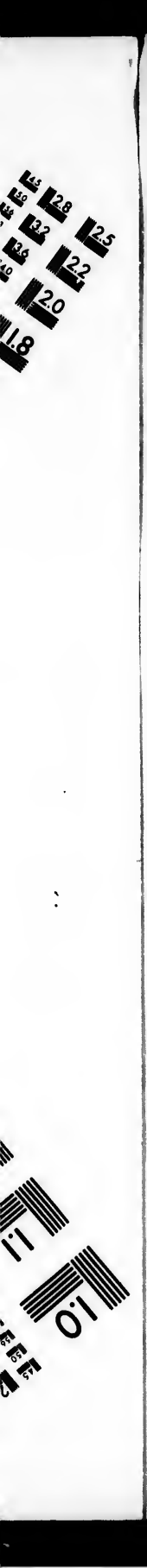
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BOOK I. *that two large islands were in sight!* This news circulated throughout the ships; and we returned thanks to God, for having thus providentially conducted us to Countries hitherto undiscovered: for I was confident they were perfectly unknown in *Spain*. As I judged it probable they might be inhabited; we stood towards one of them, in order to ascertain this fact, and improve our success: having neared it, we kept along the coast until a good roadsted appeared. The gale being now abated, a boat well manned was sent to ascertain if either inhabitants, or any traces of population, were visible: our seamen passed without success over a part of the island, and returned. However the next morning, to remove all possibility of doubt from my mind, I sent ten other seamen armed with guns and cross-bows; who were ordered to ascend the most elevated parts of the island, and try whether they could discern the smallest vestige of habitations, or any adjoining islands. Not a single human being appeared; but they saw flocks of pigeons who were so extremely tame, that our men had no difficulty in procuring a considerable number. They discovered besides three extensive Islands; one to leeward towards the north which those on board could not perceive, the other two were in the course of our voyage towards the south: something had also been seen by them at a great distance towards the west, that made like another island. I however did not wish to lose any more time among desert spots, which probably were all uninhabited.—The fame of my having discovered *these four islands*, in the course of time incited [b] other navigators to

[b] Alluding to the voyage of *Antonio de Noli* in 1462. (*Appendix, page* 28.) *Mr. Locke* places this voyage in 1460. (*Ibid, page* 94.) As *Cada Mosto* was unable to give any further account of the *Cape de Verde* islands, I have selected the following principally from the *Four years' Voyages of Captain George Roberts; being a series of uncommon events which befel him in a voyage to the islands of the Canaries, Cape de Verde, and Barbadoes, whence he was bound to the Coast of Guinea;* (an octavo volume, printed in 1726, containing 458 pages.) His description of

to explore the reſt: who at length found, that they were *ten* in number; that they abounded in pigeons, and other birds; and that their ſhores were admirably calculated to form a lucrative Fiſhery.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

" But

of the *Cape de Verde Iſlands* occupies ſixty-eight pages, and is the moſt valuable part of the work. An excellent ſummary of the whole is given in *Aſtley's Collection* (vol. i. p. 599.) with conſiderable additions from *Dampier*, *Barbot*, *Philips*, &c. forming one of the moſt valuable geographical treatiſes in our language. Captain Roberts ſailed from London in September 1721. The Portugueſe named their diſcovery LAS ILHAS DE CABO VERDE; they alſo gave them the general name of LAS ILHAS VERDE, from the green herb called *Sargoſſo*, reſembling water-creſſes, which floats on the water all round; and bears a berry, like the white gooſeberry. The *Dutch* call them the *Salt Iſlands*. They are ten in number, *San Jacobo*, or *San Jago*; *Mayo*; *Buona Viſta*; *Sal*; *Fogo*; *Brava*, *S. Nicolao*; *Santa Lucia*; *S. Vicente*; and *Santo Antaon*. Some geographers reckon *twelve*, and others *fourteen*; including four little Iſlands, or rather Rocks—*Ghuny*, and *Carneera*, to the north of *Brava*, and *Chaon*, with *Branca*, to the weſt of *St. Nicolao*. Three are uninhabited, namely *Sal*, *St. Lucia*, and *St. Vicente*. OVINGTON, in his Voyage to *Surat*, ſeems to be under a miſtake, when he aſſerts (page 38.) 'that ten of the *Cape de Verde iſlands*, though conſiderable, were not inhabited in 1689.' 1. The firſt Portugueſe Settlement was in *San Jago*, the largeſt and moſt fertile of any. This iſland, according to *Beeckman* in his voyage to Borneo, is about forty-five leagues in length, and ten in breadth; *Dampier* ſays (vol. iv. p. 3.) that the water is good, though troubleſome to procure. By *Roberts* it is placed in fifteen degrees north latitude, and in ſix degrees, five minutes, weſt longitude from Cape de Verde. This iſland always remained in the king's hands; and enjoys the privilege of obliging all ſhips to clear there, that trade by the northward of *Sierra Leon* to *Guinea*. There are four towns; the capital which originally was called *Cidada da Ribeira Grande*, is now more generally known under the appellation of the *City of St. Jago*, or *St. James*. According to *Dampier* (vol. iii. p. 23.) it is ſaid that there are ſeveral ſmall ſugar works on this iſland, from which they ſend home near an hundred ton every year. *San Jago* received its name from Cada Moſto in 1456.—2. MAYO, the great ſalt mart of the Engliſh, was ſo named by *Antonio de Noli*; who followed the track of *Cada Moſto*, and took poſſeſſion of this iſland on the firſt of *May* 1462. It lies, according to *Roberts*, in fifteen degrees, twelve minutes, north latitude, and in five degrees, twenty-nine minutes, weſt longitude from *Cape Verde*. This iſland is dry, and generally barren. Its fruits conſiſt of figs, and water melons; they have alſo a ſort of vegetable, *callavances*, like French beans, and ſome pumpions. The inhabitants procure only a ſmall quantity of turtle.—3. BOA VISTA, called by the Italians *Buona* Viſta, by the Spaniards *Buena* Viſta; firſt ſeen and named by *Cada Moſto*, in 1456. The centre of this iſland is, according to *Roberts*, in ſixteen degrees, ten minutes, north latitude, and in five degrees, fourteen minutes, weſt longitude; originally the moſt fertile of the Cape de Verdes. The *Vegetable Stone*, which ſhoots in ſtems like the head of a cauliflower, or as coral, is produced in greater abundance in this iſland, than in any of the reſt. It alſo yields plenty of indigo.—4. SAL, the windermoſt iſland, is placed by Roberts in ſeventeen degrees north latitude, and five degrees, eighteen minutes, weſt longitude

 from

BOOK I.

"But to return to the more immediate subject of my Voyage. We left the above mentioned island (*Buona Vista*) and, pursuing our course, came in sight of the other two, situated in that direction: on

from *Cape Verde:* by *Dampier*, in sixteen degrees north latitude, and in nineteen degrees, thirty-three minutes, longitude west from the Lizard. It is mostly low land, covered with stones. For about a month after the Rains, there is a running brook of fresh water, in the Valley of *Palmera;* but then it dries up: however, until after Christmas, you may commonly get fresh water there, by digging a well a little above the palm or date trees. This island produces abundance of fish, turtle, and land crabs.—5. Fogo, or *San Felippe*, lies, according to *Roberts*, about sixteen leagues from *San Jago;* in fifteen degrees, twenty minutes, north latitude, and in six degrees, fifty-four minutes, west longitude from *Cape de Verde*. The above writer remarks that this Island, as well as that of *St. John*, being little frequented by the *English*, are very incorrectly represented in our Charts; and that the *Waggoners* and *Pilots* of those parts are equally defective; representing the coast as very dangerous, and the anchorage bad, which Captain Roberts found to be false. *Fogo*, or *Fuego*, is so named from its tremendous volcano, which has burst forth, since its first discovery. It was formerly the great mart of cotton, until the plants were destroyed by the drought. No running streams are to be met with; the inhabitants, in some places, are forced to go six or seven miles for water. This island was seen by *Noli*, on the first of May 1462.—6. Brava (or *San Juan*) from a Portuguese word signifying *wild*, lies, according to *Roberts*, in fifteen degrees, twenty-five minutes, north latitude, and in seven degrees, two minutes, longitude west from *Cape Verde*. The mountains rise one above another like pyramids. It produces pompion, water-melons, potatoes, bananas, maiz, and sesboon; and affords cows, horses, asses, hogs, wild goats, and plenty of fish. Captain Roberts found considerable quantities of gold among the rocks; some of them glittered in the sun like burnished gold.—7. San Nicolao is the longest island next to *San Jago;* according to *Roberts*, its harbour *Paraghist* lies in sixteen degrees, forty-five minutes, north latitude, and in six degrees, fifty-two minutes, west longitude from *Cape de Verde*. It consists mostly of high land. The *Monte Gourda*, on the north-west side, may be seen at nine or ten leagues distance. Navigators may always water here, unless the rainy season has failed; and even then the natives will bring water down on asses, for a trifle, from a valley about half a mile from the shore. *San Nicolao* produces, besides the fruits already mentioned in *Brava*, musk-melons, lemons, limes, with sweet and sour oranges, and also some sugar canes. This island formerly abounded with the trees that produce the gum called *Sanguis Draconis*.—8. Santa Lucia is described by *Roberts* as having neither water nor inhabitants.—9. San Vicente is also mentioned by Roberts as being uninhabited. On this island, the greatest quantities of turtle and fish are taken. *Dapper* says, fresh water can only be procured on the southern coast.—10. San Antonio, placed by Roberts in seventeen degrees, nineteen minutes, north latitude, and in eight degrees, two minutes, west longitude from *Cape de Verde*. This island lies more to the west and north than any of the rest: it consists of high land. Report has given it a silver mine; it is also said to produce abundance of indigo and cotton. *San Antonio* is supplied with innumerable streams, and therefore does not yield

on looking out for a safe anchorage near the one that was covered with trees, we beheld the mouth of a river which ran through the island. As I here expected to procure some good water, our caravellas brought-to, and a boat was sent up the stream: on landing they found lakes that contained remarkably white salt, of superior flavour; and a considerable quantity was procured, with a supply of excellent water. They also brought us a repast of the *Biscie scudellare* (turtle), the shell of which was larger than a target. Some of the crew who killed and cooked them, affirmed they had already eat such in the bay of *Argin*, though they were not so large. Out of curiosity I ventured to taste a morsel; it seemed to relish, and was not inferior to veal, which it resembled in point of whiteness. We salted a great number, and they proved a valuable acquisition during our voyage. An astonishing quantity of fish was taken, both at the mouth of the river, and within the stream: many of a [*] species that was entirely new to us, were large, and of a fine flavour.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.* St. Jago discovered. 1456.

"We remained two days at this Island to refresh ourselves: and I may here observe, that the first discovered was named Buona Vista *(good sight)*, being the land we first beheld in these parts. To the island, which appeared the largest of all the *four*, we gave the

to any in point of fertility. Spilbergen observes, in his voyage through the Streights of Magellan, 1614, "that the Cape de Verde islands were wrong placed in the maps of that day, even in such as were in the highest estimation, placing them in 17°; whereas they ought to be in 14° 30′." Captain *Woodes Rogers*, 1708, places the *ten* Cape de Verde islands at the distance of about one hundred and sixty leagues to the westward of Africa.—*Atkins* is of opinion, that these islands were formerly called *Hesperides*; others fix the famous Cerne of antiquity among them.

[*] *Dampier* observes, that the sea round *Mayo* was stocked with *dolphins*, *bonetas*, *mullets*, *snappers*, *silver fish*, &c. 'Six dozen of great fish, most of them *mullets* of a foot and an half, or two foot long, were taken in the seyne at one haul.' *Atkins* says, that while his ship lay off the island of Mayo in 1721, they caught with lines, *breams*, or *porgas*, *ship-jacks*, *groupes*, *a rock fish*, and the *Jew fish*, which has a double mouth; the uppermost is not intended to swallow food, but is full of Air-pipes.

BOOK I.

the name of *San Jacobo;* for on the day of that Saint we anchored off its coast.

"Every thing being settled, as above-mentioned, we sailed from these *four* islands and steered for [d] *Cape Verde*, whence in a few days, God willing, we went by *Spedegar* within sight of land, to a place they call *le due Palme*, which lies between *Cape Verde* and *the Senega.* Having a correct knowledge of the land, we doubled the Cape at some distance; and advancing at a great rate, again reached the GAMBRA river. Our caravellas entered without hesitation; the negroes made no opposition; and, sounding continually, we proceeded to follow its stream during the day-time, whilst such of the *almadias* as appeared, kept at a respectful distance. About ten miles up the river we found a small island, *a* [e] *modo d'un polesine:* here on a Sunday morning we came to anchor, and buried one of the crew who died of a Fever; his name was *Andrea:* as he was much respected by every one on board, I called the island from him *l'Isola di Santo Andrea.*"

Arrives off the Gambra a second time.

Our Navigators having paid this mark of respect to a deserving seaman, continued to advance up the *Gambra;* when they were again followed, though at a distance, by some of the Negro *almadias.* Fresh exertions were made on the part of Cada Mosto, and the Portuguese, to obtain information; and at length the stubborn vindictive spirit of the savages yielded to the mild forbearance of mariners, who emulated the Christian virtues of their PRINCE. One of the negroes came on board the caravella commanded by *Cada*

[d] In addition to what has been already inserted relative to this Cape, may be added the following description by *Atkins* (page 32.). "The land about the Cape, appears the height of that at *Deal* in Kent; woody, a white even sand along shore, and about twenty eight fathom water a league off." *Roggeavein*, 1721, observes that this Cape is a dangerous landing place, because of a great many Rocks about it sunk under water.

[e] Mr. Green, in Astley's Collection, translates it, *in shape of a smoothing iron;* and adds, that although the distance is not exact, *St. James's Island* seems to be here described.

Cada Mosto, and at first expressed the same astonishment as had been shewn by the tribe inhabiting the banks of the *Senegal*. Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

In answer to the questions that were made, this Negro replied, "that their country was called [f] GAMBRA, governed by a chief of the name of *Forosangoli*, who lived at the distance of ten days' journey; and was himself subservient to the king of *Melli*, the great emperor of the negroes: that many inferior chiefs lived near the River, on both sides; to one of whom, *Battimansa*, he offered to conduct the strangers, and to attempt a negotiation in their favour." The *caravellas* accordingly proceeded, under the guidance of this friendly negro, to the residence of *Battimansa*, which, according to the computation of *Cada Mosto*, was full sixty miles if not more, from the river's mouth.

The following Remarks among others, were on this occasion made by *Cada Mosto*. In ascending the *Gambra* they steered east, and found its course assisted by many tributary streams. The *Gambra*, at the distance they had then reached from its entrance, became considerably narrower; not being above a mile across at the residence of *Battimansa*. Cada Mosto offered this Chief the terms of an advantageous commerce, in the name of the king of Portugal; and during the eleven days they remained in this part of Africa, some degree of trade ensued for slaves, and a small quantity of gold: they also procured *civet*, and civet skins. Whilst these transactions were carried on, the caravellas were crouded with negroes; whose customs and mode of life offered but little variety from those that have been already mentioned. *Cada Mosto* was particularly struck at the astonishing girth of one of the trees: its height was only twenty paces, whilst the circumference of its trunk, near the root, was seventeen cubits: there was also other timber whose dimensions even exceeded this.

Guumi-

[f] Ramusio, ibid. p. 108. C.

Guumineusa, one of the inferior chiefs, gave *Cada Mosto* some pieces of an Elephant that had been hunted, to carry to Europe; who on his return presented the hair, and some of the salted flesh, to the Duke of Visco, a gift at that time of rare value. A foot of the same animal, three spans and an inch in the sole, was sent by this *Venetian*, with a tooth of ivory twelve spans in length, to the *Dutchess of Burgundy*. Cada Mosto notices the existence of the [g] *fish-horse* (hippopotamus) in the *Gambra*, as being first seen by Christians

[g] Cada Mosto's early description of this animal in 1456, should not be omitted by naturalists: our knowledge of the *Hippopotamus* was afterwards suffered to remain dormant for three centuries. Though known to the antients, the Venetian navigator speaks of it as a *non descript*, and calls it Pisce cauallo. "*Questo animale è di natura quasi del vecchio marino, che hora sta in acqua, et hora in terra: et de tutti dui q̄sti elemēti si nutrisce, et è di q̄sta forma. il corpo grande come una vacca, et corto di gābe. ha li piedi sessi, et la testa ha forma di cauallo cō duoi dēti grādi, uno p lato, a modo di porco cinghiale, quali, sono molto grandi: et ne ho visto da duoi palmi. et piu lunghi alle fiate. questo animale esce dell' acqua, et va su per la riua come bestia quadrupede, laqual non si troua in altre parti doue nauiga per nostri christiani, per quanto ho potuto intendere, se non per ventura nel Nilo.*' (Ramusio, ibid p. 109. C.)—The generic character of this extraordinary Animal, whose history has been but lately elucidated by *Dr. Sparmann*, *Colonel Gordon*, *Mr. Masson*, *Mr. Bruce*, and *M. Vaillant*; is thus given by *Dr. Shaw*, in his *General Zoology*, (Vol. ii. part ii page 442.). *Front teeth in each jaw four: the superior ones standing distant, by pairs: the inferior prominent, the two middle ones longest. Canine teeth solitary, those of the lower jaw extremely large, long, curved, and obliquely truncated. Feet armed at the margin with four hoofs.* "The *hippopotamus* is chiefly found in the middle parts of Africa, inhabiting large rivers and especially such as run through countries overshadowed by large forests; walking about at the bottom, and raising itself at intervals to the surface, for the purpose of respiration. It is sometimes seen even in the sea, at some distance from the mouths of rivers: it will not drink salt water, and does not prey on fish, or indeed live on any kind of animal food. Their flesh is reckoned good by the *Africans*, and the fat is said to be a fine kind of lard. But it is chiefly on account of the teeth, and more particularly of the tusks, that this animal is killed; their hardness being superior to that of ivory, at the same time that they are not so subject to become yellow. The largest female *hippopotamus* killed by *Colonel Gordon*, was about eleven feet long, and the largest male about eleven feet, eight inches. *Mr. Bruce* speaks of hippopotami in the lake *Tzana* of more than twenty feet long. *Sonnini* thinks that two species exist, one of which confines itself to rivers, and fresh water; and the other to the sea. Twelve oxen have been found necessary to draw one ashore which had been shot." *Hippopotami*, called at the Cape of Good Hope *Sea-Cows*, are not found in any of the African rivers which run into the Mediterranean, except the *Nile*; and even there only in Upper Egypt, and in the fens and lakes of *Ethiopia* which that river passes through.

ans in this voyage; unless, as he adds, some had previously been observed in the Nile. Before the caravellas left the *Gambra*, the crew were affected with the [h] fever of that country, and must have suffered severely from its effects. Ch. II. § 1. *All hands the sick.*

"The unhealthy atmosphere of this part of Africa, did not allow us to make any long stay at the *porto di Mansa*, in *Signor Battimansa's* province; we accordingly left the river, and reached the ocean in a few days. Having at this time a plentiful supply on board of every thing necessary for the prosecution of our Voyage; we considered that it was incumbent on a squadron, consisting of three caravellas, and already advanced so far, to attempt some other discoveries towards the south: every one was impressed with the force of this opinion; and accordingly, about the third day from our leaving the river, we took the advantage of a favourable breeze, and set sail[i]. The coast at first stretched for a considerable distance to the south south-west, as if it terminated in a cape; we steered westerly in order to give it a good birth, the land was low, covered with large and beautiful trees; but as soon as we were well out at sea, we perceived that this headland did not project into a [k] cape: we however kept well out, as we observed the water agitated by

[h] The best account which I have met with of this dreadful disorder, appears in *Dr. Robertson's Observations on Fevers, and other diseases which occur on voyages to Africa and the West Indies* (4to. 196 pages, 1792). The original work appeared many years before, under the title of a *Physical Journal*, &c. Some extracts will be presented to the reader, in a future volume, under the head of *A Memoir of the different Methods that have been suggested for the Preservation of the Health of Seamen.* Dr. Robertson's Observations 'are the result of an unwearied and close attention to nature and disease, in a distant part of the world, and in a climate which yearly proves fatal to many English seamen.'

[i] *Perche erauamo molto incolsati a questa bocca del rio di Gāmbra.* (Ramusio, ibid. p. 110. D.)

[k] *Perche oltra la detta ponta, si vedeua, il terreno della costa tutto di lungo.* (Ramusio, ibid.) The eastern point of the entrance of the Gambra, has however since received the name of *St. Mary's Cape*, known by a tall tree which serves as a land mark.

BOOK I.

by breakers, at the diſtance of more than four miles from the ſhore. I alſo immediately ſtationed two men on the prow, and one at the maſt-head, that they might keep a good look out for ſhoals, and ſand-banks. We only ſailed during the day, and even then with great caution, ſetting but little canvas; our ſquadron always anchored at ſun ſet, and it was determined by lot which caravella took the lead on the enſuing morning. Thus we proceeded for two days, without ever loſing ſight of land.

"On the third, the mouth of a river was diſcovered, about half a mile acroſs; and towards evening we opened a ſmall gulf, which ſeemed to be the entrance of another river. As it was growing late in the day, our caravellas brought-to; but on the next morning we entered the gulf, and found it was the mouth of a river not much inferior to the *Gambra*. The banks on both ſides were clothed with trees of a luxuriant growth, and as uſual of a ſtriking verdure. Two armed boats being ſent with interpreters for information, on their return acquainted us, that it was called *la fiumara di Caſamanſa*: it lies at the diſtance of twenty-five leagues, or an hundred miles, from the *Gambra*. With this intelligence we next day ſet ſail; and following the direction of the coaſt came to a cape which, according to our reckoning, was about twenty miles from the above river. This Cape is rather more elevated than the reſt of the land, and ſhews a red front, which induced us to name it [1] *Capo Roſſo*. We next reached the mouth of another large river, about

[1] "This Cape," according to *Barbot* (Churchill's Collect. vol. v. p. 81.) "was known to the antients by the name of RYSSADIUM PROMONTORIUM, and is eaſily obſerved from the ſeaward, by a ſmall grove near to it, and by the coaſt, which runs from it eaſt ſouth-eaſt, being in twelve degrees, forty-two minutes of north latitude. Before the cape, there is from ſix to nine fathom water, muddy and ſandy ground, for ſome leagues off to the weſtward; but cloſer up to the ſouth part of the cape, and ſo ſailing along it towards the eaſt ſouth-eaſt, four and five fathom, in the channel, by the *Portugueſe* called *Canal de Janiares*; on the ſouth-ſide of which is a bank of ſand, called *Baixos de Joao da Coimbra*, or John of Coimbra's Shoals; and

about bow-ſhot acroſs, but having no inclination to enter it, contented ourſelves with giving it the name of *il Rio di Santa Ana*. A little further on, we ſaw a ſmall river nearly of the ſame width as *Santa Ana*, to which we aſſigned the name of *il Rio di San Dominico*; ſituated, according to our eſtimation, between fifty-five and ſixty miles from *Capo Roſſo*.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

Rio Grande diſcovered. 1456.

"As we thus continued our progreſs along the coaſt of Africa, another day's ſailing brought us to the entrance of a moſt majeſtic river; ſo majeſtic, that all at firſt imagined it muſt be a [m] gulf. The beautiful verdure of trees which clothed its ſouthern ſide was plainly viſible; though it could not be leſs than twenty miles acroſs, for the paſſage took us a conſiderable time. When we at length had gained the oppoſite ſhore, ſome Iſlands were obſerved to make in the diſtant ocean: this alone induced us to ſeek for ſome knowledge

and on the north ſide a long ridge of rocks under water, juſt before *Angra de Faluło*, a bay to the eaſtward of *Cabo Roxo*. *Ponta Vermelha* is ſome leagues to the eaſtward of *Cape Roxo*, ſo named by ſome Portugueſe; and by others of the ſame nation *Barreiras Vermelhas*; but by the Dutch, *Rugge hoeck*, there being ſhoals about it off at ſea. Theſe Capes ſhow at a diſtance like iſlands in the ſea, and the Shore all hilly.--- All the Coaſt between *Cape St. Mary* at Gamboa, and Cape *Roxo*, is very foul and dangerous. It is cut through by ſeveral rivers, the chief whereof is the RHA, by the Portugueſe called RHAQUE, mixing its waters with the ocean at three ſeveral mouths. This river is by others called *Caſamanſa*, and has the town of *Jara* on the north bank, two leagues up it from the ſea."

[m] "It was called the *Rio Grande*," ſays *Barbot* (ibid. p. 84.) "becauſe of its wideneſs.--- According to ſome antient geographers, there was once a place called *Portus Magnus*, or the great harbour, on the north-ſide, near the mouth of it.—(P. 89.) *Rio Grande* is ſo little frequented by Europeans, except ſome Portugueſe, that there can be no particular and exact deſcription of it given. All we know in general is, that the mouth is very wide, and reaches far up into the country. The principal reaſon why this River is ſo little known to ſea-faring people, is its being inhabited on both ſides by wild, ſavage blacks, little acquainted with Trade; who have often inſulted ſuch as have been forced to put in there, either for want of proviſions, or ſome other accident. Beſides the tide runs out extremely rapid, and the Entrance is much encumbered with ſands and ſhoals; and there is reaſon to believe that ſome Ships have periſhed there, and others been aſſaulted by the natives, who wear long collars of *old ropes* about their necks, which it is likely they have had from ſuch veſſels as have been caſt away, or they have plundered."

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ledge of the Country; and we accordingly came to anchor for the night. On the enſuing morning two *almadias* ſtood towards us; and though one of them was not ſo high above the water as a caravella, yet it was equal in point of length, and contained more than thirty negroes, whilſt the other held about ſixteen. As they ſeemed to approach with conſiderable eagerneſs, we prepared for an onſet; but when they had ſufficiently neared the ſhip, they raiſed an oar, to which a white cloth reſembling an handkerchief had been attached, as if to demand ſecurity: we anſwered them in a ſimilar manner, upon which they came alongſide, and were immediately followed by other almadias: the negroes gazed in aſtoniſhment on men with white ſkins, and in equal amazement ſurveyed the conſtruction and rigging of our Veſſels. The Interpreters tried in vain to make themſelves underſtood, ſo that all hope of gaining information was abandoned: we could only purchaſe a few gold rings by barter, the value of which was aſcertained by ſigns. Our ſtay at the mouth of this river, or *Rio Grande*, did not exceed two days; during which the *north ſtar* was ſeen to appear very low. We had now advanced into regions where our interpreters found themſelves utter ſtrangers to the language; concluding therefore that our proceeding further on the voyage could not be productive of any advantage, we at once determined to return [n]."

Cada Moſto in concluding this Voyage, makes ſome [o] remarks on the irregular Tides, and violent Currents that prevail in this part of the

[n] PURCHAS, in his fifth volume, which contains a GEOGRAPHICALL HISTORIE OF ASIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA, WITH THE ADJACENT ISLANDS; when deſcribing the *land of Negroes*, gives an abſtract of the *firſt and ſecond Voyages of Cada Moſto*, with extracts from other antient navigators (page 809).

[o] *In queſto luoco trouammo vna grande contrarietà, che non ſi truoua altroue, per quanto ho potuto intender: cio è che facendoſi in queſto luoco Marea di acqua montane, et zoſane, come ſi fa a Venetia, et intutto il ponente, et doue in ogni luoco la creſce ſei hore, et cala altre ſei, qui la creſce hore quattro, et calla otto. et è tanto l'Impetto della correnthia della detta marea, quando la comincia a creſcere, che*

the Atlantic, and which exposed these early navigators to considerable danger. On leaving the Coast they discovered two large Islands, and also some smaller ones lying about the distance of thirty miles from the continent; afterwards called the [1] *Bissagos Islands*, which were at that time inhabited: the appearance of the country is described as being low, covered with large and beautiful trees, of the same striking verdure, as those which adorned the adjacent continent. But here again their interpreters failed them, and they in consequence left their Discovery to be explored by other Europeans. In

Ch. II. § 1.
Alphonso the first.

gli è quasi incredibile, perche tre anchore, per proua a pena, et con fatica ne poteuano tenere, et hora sie che la correnthia ne fece far vela per forza, et non senza pericolo, perche l'haueua molto piu forza che le velle co'l vento. (Ramusio, ibid. p. 110. B.)

[1] Or *Bissos*, and *Binagoos*.—The reader will find the best account of these Islands, and the adjacent Coast of Africa, in the Voyages of the *Sieur Brue*, already cited: these voyages are detailed in *Astley's Collection* (vol. ii. p. 27.—144.) i they also formed the principal part of *Labat's Afrique Occidentale*. The *Sieur Brue* sailed from the French Factory, *Albreda*, to the isle of *Bissao*, on the 21st of February 1701. He confines the number of the *Islands*, properly called Bissagos, to fourteen; of which the most considerable, and frequented, were, *Kasnabak*; *Ilha das Gallinas*; *Kanegut*; *Karache*; *Aranghena*; *Papaguyo*, or the Island of Parots; *Formosa*, which is the largest; *Babachoka*; *Basaghe*; *Waranghe*, &c. Closer in shore, between the Rio di San Dominico, or river of *Kachao*, and the *Rio Grande*, lie *The three Isles*; with the larger islands of *Bussi*, or *Boyssi*; *Bissao*; and *Bulam*. According to Barbot (ibid. p. 86.) [2] the Ilha Formosa, or beautiful island, is called by the *Spaniards*, *Isla de Fernan Po*, because he discovered it. Some Navigators declare, there are near *eighty* islands called *Bissos* between *Cape Roxo*, and *Rio Grande*, enclosed on the west side by a large bank, which the Portuguese call *Baixos dos Bijagos*, and the French, *Banc de St. Pierre*. Ilha Formosa is parted from the main by the River *Anahy*, as are also two other islands near it. About two leagues from the island of *Bussi*, is the island by the French called *des Bisseaux*. The best road for ships to ride before the town of Bissos, in this island, is just opposite to the parish church, not above an English mile from the shore, oosy ground; but nearer the shore is better anchorage, where ships of sixty guns may ride safe: this place by the French is called *Port Bisseaux*. These Islands are very fruitful, though covered with wood, being every where watered with several streams and rivulets; and producing palm-wine, palm-oil, and many other sorts of refreshments. The Country is flat and low; only here and there are hillocks and arable ridges at some distance from one another. The soil is so good, that any thing grows with little labour; so that there is plenty of rice, honey, wax, and Guinea pepper. The *French Senega Company* began to trade hither in 1685."—A Settlement on the same humane principle with that formed at *Sierra Leone*, was made by *Mr. Dalrymple* on the island of *Bulam*; but was found impracticable, and in consequence abandoned.

BOOK I.

In the following devout reflection *Cada Mosto* records their safe arrival in Portugal, and his own ideas of the perils they had endured:—*di li partendo venimmo verso le parti nostre de Christiani, allequali per molte giornate nauigammo, tanto che Dio per misericordia, quando le piacque ne condusse a buon porto.*

Extent of Coast discovered by the Duke of Viseo.

With the SECOND VOYAGE of *Cada Mosto* the Discoveries of the illustrious prince, HENRY DUKE OF VISEO, appear to close; and for a season, the maritime spirit of Portugal was palsied by his death. *Ramusio* indeed, as already observed, was of opinion that he settled the island of *St. Thomas*; and [q] *Mickle* is inclined to think that some of HENRY's commanders passed the equinoctial line. 'It was the custom of his sailors to leave his motto, *Talent de bien faire*, wherever they came; and in 1525 *Loaya*, a Spanish captain, found that device carved on the bark of a tree in the *Isle of St. Matthew*, in the second degree of south latitude.' History unfortunately throws but little, if any light, on the remainder of this valuable life: the space of seven years after the return of *Cada Mosto*, leaves only room for conjecture and uncertainty, respecting the actual extent of African coast discovered under the immediate auspices of the Portuguese Prince. [r] *Dr. Vincent*, the learned ancient geographer of the present age, observes, that although some progress is supposed to have been made, as far south as the Equator, during the lifetime of the Duke of Viseo; yet that *Cape Verde* may be considered as the limit of his discoveries.—With due deference to his opinion, I have endeavoured to remove this limit at least to the *Rio Grande;* and am rather inclined to think that it may be extended still further to *Cape Verga*,

[q] History of the Discovery of *India* prefixed by *Mickle* to his Translation of the Lusiad (vol. i. p. 158. 8vo. ed.).

[r] PERIPLUS of the *Erythrean*, page 193.

Verga, or to whatever is considered as the northern boundary of the *Sierra Leone* country: the liberal mind of *Dr. Vincent*, will I am confident rather approve, than be displeased at this remark.

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

From the year 1412 to 1456, we have ample evidence that the navigators whom Duke Henry had formed, continued to pursue the track, which his original and daring genius had pointed out, for the attainment of a maritime supremacy by Portugal. The exact period of this prince's death, as well as the time of his birth, is difficult to ascertain; but if *de Barros* is followed, I may be allowed to assign this melancholy event to 1463. The Duke of [1] Viseo died at *Sagres* in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and lies buried with his father in the church of *Batalha*.

Character of the Duke of Viseo.

The Character of this renowned son of *John the first*, and *Philippa of Lancaster*, displayed a brilliant assemblage of those virtues for which the *Portuguese* and *British nations* have been renowned. On the military heroism of the former, a passion for maritime enterprise was engrafted; and the same spirit which had rescued *Lusitania* from the oppression of the Moors, was confirmed in the bosom of HENRY, by the resolution, and determined perseverance of the house of *Lancaster*. The mind which he had thus received, was height-

[1] Some curiosity may have arisen in the reader's mind, respecting the city whence the illustrious HENRY derived his title to the Dukedom of VISEO. We learn from *Mr. Beawes*, in his *History of Spain and Portugal* (page 83.) that it was a capital City, situated in the heart of a province so called; and is supposed to have been built from the ruins of the antient *Vacca*, by command of the Pretor or Proconsul, *Decius Brutus*, who ordered it to be founded on a greater eminence, than what the old city occupied. From the dominion of the Romans, *Viseo*, or *Visea*, passed successively under the power of the *Suevi*, *Goths*, and *Moors*, with the other cities of Spain. The Moors conquered it five separate times; and it was as often retaken by the kings of *Leon* and *Asturias*; its last deliverer being *Fernando the Great*, who took it from the Kings of Cordova, on the 28th of June, 1038, after a siege of eighteen days. Fifty-six years previous to this event, it had been conquered by the famous *Almansor* in 982. This city becoming subject to Portugal, King *Alphonso Henry* gave it a charter, which was confirmed by *Sancho the first* in 1187. It always remained united to the crown, until the reign of *John the first*.

BOOK I.

heightened by the energy of devout principles, and ſtrengthened by the early diſcipline of education. In this manner was formed, to uſe the expreſſion of a learned prelate, A GENIUS OF THE HIGH ORDER [t]. At an early age HENRY devoted himſelf to ſolitude, and reflection; and with a ſingular predilection, when chivalry ſtill preſerved its influence, ventured to prefer the maritime to the military character; until he at length reſcued the former from that vile neglect into which it had fallen, by promoting the monopolies of trade, and diſplaying the cruelties of piracy. The maritime ſchool of SAGRES awakened the nations of Europe to a ſenſe of their real intereſts; and the wooden walls of Portugal aroſe as impenetrable bulwarks, to prevent a ſecond [u] night of darkneſs from overwhelming what yet remained of ancient ſcience, and claſſic learning.

But to approach nearer to this illuſtrious PRINCE, and to contemplate his [x] *portrait* as preſerved in hiſtory.—His limbs were large and ſtrong, and his complexion fair; his demeanour united in an eminent degree, the mild ſerenity of a good Chriſtian, with the firmneſs that is derived from experience, and reflection. To perſons unacquainted with his character, the dignified features of HENRY would ſometimes impart an idea of that ſeverity, which diſtinguiſhed his illuſtrious grandfather PEDRO THE JUST: for when provoked to anger by the machinations of envy, or the ſpleen of malevolence, the ſternneſs of this Portugueſe Prince was dreadful to behold. His magni-

[t] Biſhop Hurd, in his Life of *Warburton* (p. 85).

[u] See in the APPENDIX DR. ROBERTSON'S *Obſervations on the Diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope* (p. 215).

[x] An engraved portrait of the *Duke of Viſeo*, which is extremely ſcarce, was in the poſſeſſion of the Marquis D'Almeida; but for the ſudden return of that nobleman, a copy of it would have been here inſerted. *Laſiteau* has given a Portrait, but no reference is made to the original, or print, whence it was taken. *De Barros*, who was born at *Viſeo*, in his deſcription of THE DUKE, ſeems to have had an original picture before him.

magnificence appeared in whatever promoted the good of his Country; in all that concerned himself HENRY was plain, simple, and averse from parade. To an uniform zeal for Christianity he united an ardent thirst for general knowledge; and though he always preferred the study of the sacred writings, he explored and increased the various sources of polite literature, and became a proficient in those Sciences which are connected with maritime pursuits. To a retentive memory, and great abilities, he united unwearied application; and shewed the world what the perseverance of a single individual may accomplish in the span of human life, who like him invariably and impartially exerts

Ch. II. § 1. *Alphonso the fifth.*

LE TALENT DE BIEN FAIRE.

SECTION II.

Progress of Discovery on the Western Coast of Africa, from Cape Verga to Cape Catherine, the utmost point reached during the reign of Alphonso the fifth.—Illustrative observations of a Portuguese pilot. Pedro de Cintra's voyage. Death of Alphonso. JOHN THE SECOND. *Settlement of St. George del Mina.—New grant from the Pope.—Lourenzo de' Medici.—Congo discovered, 1484.—Embassy to Edward the fourth of England. Ineffectual attempt of Juan da Lisboa to gain information over land respecting India. Voyage of Bartholomew Diaz.—Travels of Pedro de Covillam, and Alphonso da Payva. The Cape doubled by Diaz.—Columbus.—Death of John the second.—Hydrographical Observations.*

FATHER OF STORMS! then let thy Tempests roar
O'er Seas of solitary amplitude:
Man, the poor tenant of thy rocky shore,
Man, thy terrific Empire hath subdued;
And though thy storms toss his nigh-founder'd Bark
Where no dim watch-light gleams, still he defies
Thy utmost rage, and in his buoyant Bark
Goes on, regardless of the dark'ning skies;
And o'er the mountain-surges as they roll,
Subdues his destin'd way, and speeds from Pole to Pole.

BOWLES.

THE military ardour of *Alphonso the fifth*, and the zeal with which he supported his pretensions to the crown of Castile, occupied the conclusion of a reign, whose principal glory was derived from the Discoveries of the *Duke of Viseo*: their progress experienced a considerable check by the death of that illustrious prince. *Alphonso* however was not inattentive to the trade which his uncle had been the means of opening with [a] *Guinea*; about the year 1453, considerable

[a] Guinea, or *Ghinney*, is a name unknown to the natives, and only in use among Europeans, having been first imposed by the Portuguese; probably, says the learned editor of Astley's collection,

considerable quantities of *Gold* had been imported from The Coast; and on the 15th of August, 1470, this monarch pursued his favourite scheme of establishing a maritime frontier on the western shore of *Africa*. He accordingly embarked with a fleet consisting of upwards of three hundred ships: having weathered out an heavy gale off the Coast of Barbary, he proceeded to *Arzila*, a strong fort on the *Atlantic*, and carried it by storm. The renowned exploits of *Alphonso* in *Africa*, were probably the first that called forth the ingenuity of Europeans on tapestry; but his ambition was further gratified by receiving, like another *Scipio*, the appellation of *Africanus*; with an additional title, *Lord of the Coasts on both Seas*.

Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonso the fifth.*

During the year 1479 a Commercial Treaty was signed on the fourth of September at *Alcazoves*, between Ferdinand of *Castile*, and *Alphonso* king of Portugal, by which the trade with GUINEA, and the navigation of its Coast, with the conquest of the kingdom of *Fez*, were guaranteed to the latter; and by the same treaty the *Canary Isles* were assigned to Spain.

Guinea Trade, 1479.

It is extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible at this distance of time, to ascertain the exact year, in which the remaining ISLANDS that lie off the western coast of Africa, from *Rio Grande*, to its southern extremity, were progressively discovered. We however learn, that *Alphonso* had farmed out the Guinea trade in 1469 for five years, to *Fernando Gomez*, at the rate of five hundred ducats, or about one hundred and thirty-eight pounds; who also entered into an engagement, during the same period, to extend the progress of discovery

Extent of Coast discovered.

collection, from the country of GHENEHOA, mentioned by *Leo* and *Marmol*, which first occurred on the south side of the Sanaga. The *Portuguese* divided *Guinea* into the *upper* and the *lower*; as divided by the equator, making the southern portion extend to Cabo Negro; and this division has been admitted by the Royal Societies both of London and Paris. (See *Barbot*, p. 4, and 5.)

BOOK I. *five hundred leagues towards the southward.* In 1471 *Juan de Santaren*, and *Pedro de Escobar*, according to *Marmol*, discovered the *Oro de la Mina* on the Gold Coast, and advancing still further with their two celebrated Pilots *Martin Fernandes* of Lisbon, and *Alvaro Esteves* of Lagos, reached Cabo Catalina or *Cape St. Catherine*; the discovery of which is by some assigned to *Sequiera*, a knight in the royal household. This promontory, so named from the day it was first observed, forms at the distance of thirty-one leagues from *Cabo de Lope Gonzalves* the northern limit of the great kingdom of [b] CONGO; whose coast thence extends in a curve to *Cabo Negro* its southern boundary.

Authorities relative to the Coast.

Of the different writers, who have endeavoured to give a correct account of the Discoveries of the *Portuguese* on the western Coast of *Africa*, Emmanuel de Faria y [c] Sousa deserves a particular attention. This celebrated historian, in his *Asia Portuguesa*, has recorded all the Voyages of his countrymen from their first attempts, to their developement of the remote parts of *China* and *Japan*; and the curious reader will moreover be gratified by finding at the close of this maritime history, among other valuable articles, *An account of all the ships that sailed from Lisbon to discover the coasts of Africa, and Asia, with the annual trading ships, from the time of prince Henry, until the year* 1640. But this historian was himself unable to ascertain the date of many important events; nor have his labours removed the uncertainty, of which even *de Barros* had complained, respecting the first discovery of the *island of St. Thomas*.

An ample account of the line of coast, from cape *Verga* to cape *St. Catherine*, which after the death of *Duke Henry* was frequented during the remainder of Alphonso's reign, is given by *Dapper*, and *Barbot*; whose observations are chiefly taken from the tract by *Gotard*

[b] Subdivided into *Loango*, *Congo* properly so called, *Angola*, and *Benguela*.

[c] See preceding page 135.

Gotard [d] *Artus* of Dantzick, in the ſecond volume of *De Bry's collection*, and that by *David Von Nyendael*, inſerted by *Boſman* in his account of *The Gold Coaſt*, under the title of *a deſcription of Rio Formoſa, or the river of Benin.* The firſt explorer of *Benin* was *Joao Alphonſo de Aveiro*, during the reign of John the ſecond: this navigator gave the name of *Rio* [e] *Formoſa* to its river, from its beautiful appearance, and alſo carried home to Liſbon the firſt Pepper imported from that country. Even the diſcovery of *Benin* is aſſigned him; but to ſubſtantiate this that event ſhould rather be placed in the reign of *Alphonſo* during which, as already obſerved, the Portugueſe navigators had viſited the northern boundary of the kingdom of *Congo*. Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

The French, though they appeared late, and ſo ſeldom in the progreſs of diſcovery, are not without their *pretentions:* both the Sieur *Villault de* [f] *Bellefond*, and the geographer *Robbe*, have aſſerted that Priority of diſcovery claimed by the French.

[d] This alſo is not the work of *Artus*, but of a Dutch navigator: it was tranſlated from *Low Dutch* into *German*, and afterwards into *Latin* by *Artus*.

[e] *Cape Formoſa* is low, flat, and woody, like the adjacent Coaſt, which in a large ſemicircle extends to the S. E. to *Cabo de Lope Gonzalves*, or as others write *de Lupo Gonzale*. About thirty-five leagues of this Coaſt, from *Cape Formoſa* to *Rio Real*, or new *Calberry River*, is interſected by ſeven rivers; *Rio Non*, *Rio Oddy*, called alſo Malfonſa, Fonſoady, or S. Bento; *Rio Filana*, or Juan Dias, *Rio S. Nicholas*, or Lempta, *Rio de S. Barbara*, or Meas, *Rio de S. Bartolomeo*, or dos tres Irmaos, and *Rio Sombreiro*. In all theſe rivers ſmall ſhips may anchor. (*Barbot*, p. 379.)

[f] *Villault*, who ſays that Guinea was diſcovered by the French in 1346, before he enters on his *Voyage to the coaſt of Africa and Guinea* in 1666, exhorts his countrymen to *renew* the *Guinea trade*. *What Frenchman can be ſo inſenſible to ſee, without remorſe, ſeveral bays along this coaſt (by the natives called Bayes de France) and ſeveral towns (as Petit Dieppe and others) whoſe names declare their founders, ſo entirely abandoned by their countrymen.*—About the year 1346 ſome adventurers of *Dieppe*, a port in Normandy, who had gained conſiderable experience in long voyages, being deſcended from the *Normans*; having ſailed along the Coaſt of the *Negroes*, and *Guinea*, ſettled ſeveral colonies in thoſe parts, particularly about *Cape Verde* in the Bay of *Rio Freſco*, and along the *Malaghetta-coaſt*. To the Bay, extending from *Cape Verde* to *Cabo Maſto*, they gave the name of the *Bay of France*; that of *Petit Dieppe* to the village of *Rio Corſo*, (between *Rio Junco*, and *Rio Seſtro*;) and that of *Seſtro Paris* to *Grand Seſtro*, not far from *Cape Palmas*, carrying to *France* great quantities of *Guinea* pepper and elephant's teeth; whence

BOOK I.

that their countrymen discovered the coasts of *Nigritia*, and *Guinea*, almost an hundred years before the Portuguese; but as *M. Barbot* the agent-general of the French African Company justly [g] remarks, *If this account be true, it is strange that no mention is made of it by other French historians, several of whom I have examined, and particularly de Serres and Mezeray. The silence of the French historians in this point, gives us just cause to suspect the validity of this author's assertions; nor do I find in the history of Portugal, which is so full of the Portuguese discoveries of Nigritia and Guinea, the least mention of their having heard of any Frenchmen that had founded the castle of Mina, in* 1383; *or that Azembuja when he came to Mina in* 1484, *and began there*

whence the inhabitants of *Dieppe* set up the trade of turning Ivory, and making several useful articles, especially combs, for which they grew famous, and still continue so.—The *French* founded the *Castle of Mina* on the Gold Coast in 1383, and possessed it until 1484; but during the Civil Wars in *France*, which lasted eighty-one years, from 1380 to 1461, the *French* were so distracted and impoverished, that the *Normans* were obliged to give over trading to *Guinea*, and abandon all their settlements; which were afterwards possessed by the *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, *English*, *Danes*, and *Courlanders*.

The account given by *Robbe*, who fixes this discovery by the French in 1364, is as follows. "Some Merchants of *Dieppe* having made several Trading Voyages to *Cape Verde*, and farther on to *Sestro Paris*, on the *Pepper Coast* of *Guinea* in the year 1364, during the reign of *Charles the fifth*, king of France; in the year 1382, undertook, in conjunction with other merchants of Rouen, to send three Ships to make further Discoveries along that coast. One of them, called the *Virgin*, ran as far as *Commendo*, and thence to the place where the town of *Mina* stands, so called, either from the quantity of gold they procured by trading with the blacks, or their concluding that the country was very rich in *Gold Mines*. Next year, 1383, they built there a strong house, or factory, in which they left ten or twelve men to secure it; and were so fortunate in improving their settlement, that in 1387, the Colony being considerably enlarged, they built a chapel to it, and had a very good trade with the natives until the year 1413; when by occasion of the Civil Wars in France, the stock of these Adventurers being exhausted, they were obliged to quit not only *Mina*, but all their other settlements at *Sestro-Paris*, *Cape Monte*, *Sierra Leona*, and *Cape Verde*."

As a farther proof that the French founded the castle at Mina, they also alledge (*Barbot*, p. 161.) that notwithstanding the many revolutions, which have happened there in past years, one of the bastions is called the bastion of France; and that on it there are still to be seen Anno 13 - - - -; whence they infer, that their countrymen, who built that Fort, cut those numbers on the stone, in memory of the year 1383 during which it was constructed.

[g] Barbot's description of *Guinea*, (*Churchill's Collect.* v. 5. p. 10.)

there his first entrenchment, ever saw or heard of any such castle, built by the French an hundred years before.

Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonso the fifth.*

Respecting the discovery of the four principal ISLANDS which lie in the Gulf of *Guinea*, the following opinion appears the most probable [h]. The famous *Fernando Lopez* [i] discovered the most northern, in 1471, and gave it at first the appellation of *Ilha Formosa*, which was afterwards changed for that of *Fernando Poo* [k]: it lies between the high country of *Amboses*, and the *Rio des Camerones*, from which it bears west south-west about ten leagues. The length of the Island of *Fernando Poo*, is about twelve leagues from north to south; according to *Barbot*, it is the largest of the four, or at least as large as St. *Thomas*, and being all very high land, is easily seen at a great distance: the Portuguese had formerly sugar plantations upon it. The ILHA DO PRINCIPE was either discovered by the same navigator, or by *Santarem*, and *Escobar*, about the same time: it probably received its name in memory of the illustrious *Prince Henry*. The [l] land is high, and consists of pyramidal and *table* mountains, which may be seen at twenty leagues distance: its extent is about nine leagues in length, and five in breadth. This island abounds in oranges, lemons,

Islands of Fernando Poo, Principe, San Tome, and Anno bueno.

[h] Barbot, p. 399.

[i] Some writers assign the discovery of these islands, as well as that of *San Matheo*, to Fernando Gomez, who farmed the Guinea trade. Probably he appointed the navigators whose names are mentioned.

[k] In a report of The Kingdom of Congo, and of the Countries that border round about the same, drawn out of the writings and discourses of *Odoardo Lopez*, a Portuguese, by *Philippo Pigafetta* (*Churchill's Collection, vol. 8. page 527. translated by A. Hartwell*) we have the following information. "The first (of these Rivers) is named the River *Fernando di Poo*, that is to say, of *Fernando Pouldre*, who first discovered the same. Right against the mouth of it, riseth an Island of the same name. The *second River* is called *Bora*, that is to say *Filth*. The third, *La Riviera del Campo*; the fourth *di San Benedetto*; and the fifth, that of *Angra*, which in the mouth of it hath an Island called *di Corisco*, that is to say *Thunder*."

[l] Some views of this Island are given in *Barbot*, which were engraved from his own drawings.

BOOK I.

lemons, bananas, cocoa-nuts, ſugar-canes, rice, [m] mandioca root uſed for bread, all ſorts of herbs for ſalleting, and European grain: the inhabitants have alſo ſheep, hogs, goats, and a prodigious quantity of poultry. The proper place to water, is on the north-ſide of the bay, about two Engliſh miles from the fort, where ſeveral torrents deſcend continually from the hills almoſt to the beach. 'This water, adds [n] *Barbot*, is extremely ſweet, but ſo very cold, that until it is kept ſix or eight days, it is liable to bring on the cholic: there is alſo good watering on the ſouth-ſide of the bay; and working on both ſides at once, we have filled ſixty hogſheads in a day.'—ILHA DE SAN TOME, called by the natives *Poncas*, received its name, according to [o] *Brandaon*, from *St. Thomas*, to whom the great chapel of the convent of *Thomar* was dedicated; on whoſe juriſdiction, all the Diſcoveries, as well of the Iſlands as the continent, were dependent. The land is very high, and its ſhape oval, extending about fifteen leagues in length from north to ſouth, and twelve in breadth from eaſt to weſt: the time of its diſcovery fluctuates from 1452, to the moſt probable date, 1471. An attempt to form a ſettlement was made in 1486; the unwholeſomeneſs of the air rendered it particularly difficult. Indian wheat grows on this iſland in great perfection; but the ſugar canes, which originally came from *Brazil*, and the *American iſlands*, though they increaſed in ſize, yet did not yield juice in proportion. Formerly ſeven ſhips uſed to be freighted for this trade, two for *Madeira*, and the Canaries, and one for *England*. This Iſland, which is well watered, though the coldneſs of its ſtreams reſembles thoſe in the *Ilha do Principe*, produces vines, melons, cucumbers, figs, ginger, all ſorts

[m] It is remarkable that the ſap or juice of the *Mandioca* ſtumps, is a quick poiſon, and therefore all who uſe the Meal of it, ſhould be careful to preſs out this malignant juice.

[n] Ibid. P. 402.

[o] *Monarch Luſit.* tom. 6. liv. 19. cap. 14.

sorts of [p] roots, pulse, and pot-herbs: it abounds in a variety of animals, tame and wild, and also with partridges, ducks, fowls, and other birds: both the surrounding sea, and the rivers, furnish quantities of fish. Nothing therefore but the scorching damp air of *St. Thomas* prevents it from vying with the valuable island of *St. Helena.*—The most southerly of this group received the name of [q] *Ilha d'Anno bueno*, or Island of the *happy year*, from being discovered on the first day of 1472 by *Pedro d'Escovar*. It extends about five leagues in length from north to south, and from five to four in breadth; about it are several rocks and Shoals: the land is full as high as *St. Thomas*, and makes at a distance as if it were only one large mountain, almost always covered like the latter Island with a thick mist. Its fertile vallies produce Turkey corn, rice, millet, potatoes, yams, bananas, pine-apples, citrons, oranges, lemons, figs, and tamarinds; and a sort of small nuts, called by the French *nois de medicine;* it also furnishes oxen, hogs, and sheep, with plenty of fish and poultry. The air is not so unwholesome as at *St. Thomas;* the road for large ships is on the north-eastern side, and on the south-eastern extremity of the island a watering place presents itself, which, though exposed like the road on the north-western side to the violent breakers of the sea, is recommended as an excellent place to pitch a tent for the sick; being formed by a rivulet which issuing from the mountains, flows through a pleasant valley shaded by a grove of orange and citron trees. Every part of *Annobon* is well watered; but at the new and full moon, and in all high tides, the streams acquire a brackishness and saltness, which appears to contradict the principle of our modern system, that fountains and springs derive their

Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonso the first.*

[p] *Barbot*, (p. 409.) mentions four sorts of *Potatoes* to be procured in this Island, transplanted from *Benin*, *Auwerre*, *Mani-Congo*, and *Saffrance*. He recommends the two first as being the best, the one on account of its sweetness, and the other because it keeps well.

[q] The India ships stop at *Annobon* to water.

their origin from the ſea, and become freſh by percolation. The cotton of *Annobon* is reckoned equal to any produced in *India*. According to ſome writers other *Atlantic Iſlands* were diſcovered even at an earlier period; and this circumſtance, if the following account given by *de Barros* may be depended on, ſeems to prove, that the Portugueſe had croſſed the line before the death of Prince Henry. *Some Caſtilians under the command of Garcia de Loayſa a knight of Malta, having landed in* 1525 *on the iſland of St. Matthew, in two degrees of ſouth latitude, perceived it had been inhabited by the Portugueſe, and found an inſcription on the bark of a tree that they had been there eighty-ſeven years before* (1438). *It alſo bore the motto uſed by the Prince, Talent de bien faire.*—As we poſſeſs no certain account of the firſt diſcovery of *St. Thomas*, an abſtract of the following journal is ſubjoined from *Ramuſio*; who inſerted it to elucidate the periplus of Hanno, and places it before the voyage of De Gama.

A [r] VOYAGE FROM LISBON TO THE ISLAND OF SAN THOME, SITUATED UNDER THE EQUINOCTIAL LINE, WRITTEN BY A PORTUGUESE PILOT, AND SENT, AL MAGNIFICO CONTE RAIMONDO DELLA TORRE, GENTILHUOMO VERONESE.

(Tranſlated from the Portugueſe by Ramuſio.)

"BEFORE I quitted *Venice*, as you Sir are already informed, *Signor Hieronimo Fracaſtoro* requeſted me by his letters from *Verona*, that on my arrival in the town of *Conde*, I would ſend him an account of my Voyage from the notes we Pilots are accuſtomed to make during our courſe to *San Thomè*; to which Iſland our ſhips are often bound in order to take in cargoes of ſugar. The croſſing of

[r] Vol. 1. folio 115. See alſo INTRODUCTION, ſect. 4. p. 165. This Voyage ſeems to have been made between the years 1520, and 1540. (Ramuſio, F. 112. A. and F. 119. E.).

of the equinoctial line, on which that island is situated, was considered by this gentleman as an extraordinary fact, well worthy of the attention of scientific men. You, Sir, also made me a similar request; therefore at the first moment after my arrival, I began to draw up an account of my Voyage, comparing it as I proceeded with the journals of some friends who had made the voyage before. Yet still, when I afterwards examined my manuscript with attention, I could not bring myself to think it worthy of the perusal of so scientific a man as *Signor Hieronimo*, whose talents I had duly appreciated from his publications which you gave me on my departure from Venice. I therefore resolved to put the manuscript by, and not to suffer any person to peruse it: but as you, Sir, have reminded me of my promise, I am anxious to obey a request, which coming from you, must be ever considered as a command. I was also apprehensive I might appear forgetful of your attention; and therefore prefer an exposure of my ignorance, to the possibility of being charged with ingratitude, and negligence.

Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonso the first.*

" Yet, Sir, as a Sailor, and one not accustomed to composition, I do little more than copy the remarks of those who have sailed from our continent to *Ethiopia*, without any attempt at order, or embellishment in my narrative. When therefore you have perused this account, have the goodness to destroy it; lest the errors I have committed through obedience to your commands, should draw on me the appearance of presumption.

" The *Portuguese* ships which sail from the port of *Lisbon*, to the island of *San Thomè* for sugar, generally, Sir, put to sea in the month of February, though some vessels are bound thither during every month in the year: until they reach the *Canary Islands* their Course is south south-west. They then stand for the island of *Palmas* which is opposite to a promontory on the African coast called *Capo di Boiador*, and is situated at the distance of about ninety leagues

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from the kingdom of *Castile*: this Island abounds in wines, meat, cheese, and sugars; a great sea rages continually on its coast, particularly during the month of December: the north-west is the most prevailing wind."

The PILOT then proceeds to describe some of the *Cape de Verde Islands*, and the supply of salt which the Portuguese Navigators were accustomed to take on board from the *Isola del Sale*, in order to procure a store of salted fish. "If the ships that are bound for *San Thomè*, find it requisite to obtain a large quantity of this provision, they then direct their course towards the African coast, as far as the *Rio del Oro*; and if the wind is calm and the sea smooth, they catch as many fish in the course of four hours with hooks and lines, as will satisfy their wants. The principal sorts thus taken, are the *pagros* fish, called by the Venetians *albari*; the *corvi*, and *oneros*, which latter are only a larger kind of dark coloured *pagros*: as soon as taken, they are opened and salted, when they become an excellent supply for navigators. But should the weather prove unfavourable on the arrival of the ships off the mouth of the *Rio del Oro*, they then proceed along the Coast to *Cape Bianco*, and thence stand on as far as *Argin*.—There is however one thing to be noticed, that all the African coast from cape *Baiador*, or rather [a] *Capo della volta*, to cape *Bianco*, is low land and sandy, and this extends as far as *Argin*; where there is a capacious harbour, and a castle belonging to our monarch, in which some of the Portuguese reside with the king's agent. This *Argin*, inhabited by Moors and Negroes, is situated on the confines that separate *Barbary* from the latter nation.

"But

[a] So called, from the Portuguese being accustomed to make it, in their course to the *Canaries*, in order to catch the *tropical land wind*. *Perche q̃lli che nauigano alle isole Canarie, di ritorno si accostano al detto Capo dell'Africa, et prēdēdo vēto si tornano adietro, et à in gradi ventisei et due terzi.* (P. 115. B.)

Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonso the fifth.*

"But to return to our Voyage from the *Isola del Sale:* Our ships next steer for *San Jacobo* (San Jago) another of the Cape de Verds, situated in fifteen degrees on the equinoctial, and thirty leagues towards the south. This Island is seventeen leagues in [t] length, and has a city [u] on the sea coast, with a good harbour called *Ribera Grande*, from the two high mountains which arise on each side; a large river of fresh water flows into this harbour, and from its source at the distance of a couple of leagues, to the above city, its banks are lined on each side with gardens of oranges, cedars, pomegranates, and every sort of fig trees: the palm, which produces cocoa nuts, has long been planted in this island; all vegetables flourish in great perfection, but their seed is not good, and it is necessary to have fresh every year from *Spain*. The city, which is in the southern part of the island, is well built with stone, and inhabited by Portuguese and Castilian families of distinction to the number of five hundred. A corregidor resides there on the part of the king of Portugal, and two judges are chosen annually; one for naval and maritime transactions, the other to regulate the police.

"This Island is very mountainous, and in many parts so barren as to be entirely without wood; but the vallies are fertile and much cultivated. When the sun enters into Cancer during the month of June, the rains are incessant, and the Portuguese have named it *la lunâ de las aguas*, or the water moon. Their seed time begins with August, when they sow the millet called *miglio Zaburo*, or *maize:* it consists of a white bean, which is fit to gather in forty days, and not only forms the food of the above islanders, but of all the inhabitants of the African coast. They also sow quantities of rice and cotton; which comes to great perfection, and is used in different

[t] This part of the narrative, though erroneous (see p. 274. n. b.) is inserted in order to shew what degree of geographical accuracy the Portuguese pilots had attained.

[u] Called Cidada da Ribeira Grande, and since *The City of San Jago*.

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different manufactures of ſtriped cloth, exported into the country of the negroes, and exchanged for black ſlaves.

Guinea, Melegete Coaſt, Benin.

"But in order, Sir, to give a clearer view of the commercial tranſactions of the negroes, it is proper to inform you, that the Weſtern Coaſt of Africa is divided into ſeveral provinces, and countries; ſuch for inſtance as *Guinea*, the [x] *Melegete* or grain coaſt, the kingdom of *Benin*, and the kingdom of *Manicongo*. Throughout this Coaſt are many negro chiefs, and kings, whoſe numerous ſubjects conſiſting of Mahommedans and idolaters are continually at war: theſe kings are adored by their ſubjects and believed to have deſcended from heaven. When the king of *Benin* dies his ſubjects aſſemble amidſt an extenſive plain, in the centre of which a deep ſepulchre has been excavated; into this tomb the body is lowered down, attended by all the friends and ſervants of the deceaſed, who thus make a voluntary ſacrifice of their lives.

Produce of the Coaſt.

"On this [y] Coaſt is produced a ſpecies of *melegete*, reſembling the Italian *ſorgo*, but extremely pungent like pepper: there is alſo a pepper of great ſtrength, not inferior to any brought from *Calicut*, called by the Portugueſe *pimienta dal rabo*, or *pepe dalla coda*, and in form reſembling the aromatic *cubebe*; but ſo powerful that an ounce of it will go farther than a pound of the common ſort: though its exportation is ſeverely prohibited leſt it ſhould injure the ſale of that brought from *Calicut*, ſome of it is ſmuggled, and ſold in *England*. There is alſo a manufactory eſtabliſhed under the patronage of the king, for the making of a ſuperior kind of Soap from *palm oil*, and aſhes.

"All the trade of this Coaſt to the kingdom of *Manicongo*, is farmed out every four or five years to the higheſt bidder. The great

[x] Or *Maleguette*; called by the Engliſh the *Pepper Coaſt*, and by the Hollanders the *Greynkuſt*.—BARBOT, p. 135. makes it extend from *Rio Seſtro*, rather than *Cape Monte*, to *Grouwa*, two leagues eaſt of *Cape Palmas*.

[y] Ramuſio, (116. F.)

great negro caravans bring Gold and ſlaves that are either priſoners of war, or children whom their parents part with through the hope of ſending them into a more abundant and fertile country. For upwards of ninety years after the firſt Diſcovery of this Coaſt, the *Portugueſe* merchants were accuſtomed to enter the large rivers by which it is interſected, and to trade with the numerous natives who inhabited the adjacent country: but at preſent the whole of this commerce is conſigned to the licenſed Factors, who farm it.

Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

" But let us return from this digreſſion to our voyage to the iſland of [1] *San Thomè*. On quitting *San Iacobo*, (San Jago) we ſteer ſoutherly towards Rio Grande which is above Ethiopia; and then ſtretching beyond this river the high mountain of *Serra Liona* is ſeen to open from behind the coaſt. A continual fog conceals its ſummit; and the thunder and lightning that iſſues from it is heard at ſea for the diſtance of forty or fifty miles: this thick fog is never diſſipated though the ſun is extremely hot, and vertical, when it paſſes over it.

" It is our cuſtom not to loſe ſight of land, though our ſhips are always at a conſiderable diſtance watching the declination of the ſun, and keeping a ſoutherly courſe for the diſtance of eighty leagues, or four degrees on the equinoctial; when we ſuddenly tack to the eaſtward, *alla quarta di* [2] *ſirocco*, keeping the Ethiopian coaſt on our left, and ſtanding for the iſland.

" On this Coaſt, between the Tropic and the Equinoctial, we never meet with any heavy gales of winds, for tempeſts are rarely known within the tropics. On approaching land in many parts of the Ethiopian coaſt, the ſoundings do not exceed fifty *braccia;* the depth of water however ſoon increaſes, and a deal of ſea is met with as you advance further out. The Portugueſe pilots generally carry a book

[1] *Ibid.* 116. C.

[2] South eaſt.

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a book with them, in which they daily mark the progreſs of their voyage, the wind, and the degrees of the ſun's declination.

"On our arrival at *Rio del Oro*, as above mentioned, we firſt obſerved the four ſtars of an extraordinary ſize and ſplendour, which appear in ſhape of a croſs, at the diſtance of thirty degrees from the Antarctic Pole, and form the Conſtellation [a] *il Cruſero*; under the Tropic of Cancer we ſaw them very low: on directing an aſtronomical inſtrument called the [b] *Baleſtra* (Baleſtriglia) to the nethermoſt ſtar, and finding it bear ſouth, we were aſſured it muſt be in the centre of the antarctic pole. We obſerved the ſame conſtellation very high from the iſland of *San Thomè*; and remarked, that the moon after rain forms during the night a [c] Rainbow ſimilar to what

[a] Already mentioned by *Cada Moſto* (page 269.). This Conſtellation is alluded to by *Camoens* (Mickle's Luſiad, 8vo. vol. 2. p. 51.).

"While nightly thus the lonely Seas we brave
Another Pole Star riſes o'er the Wave;
Full to the South a ſhining Croſs appears;
Our heaving breaſts the bliſsful Omen cheers:
Seven radiant Stars compoſe the hallow'd Sign
That roſe ſtill higher o'er the wavy brine."

DANTE alſo in his *Purgatorio*, when ſpeaking of the four Cardinal Virtues, has the following lines; which *Voltaire*, in one of his flights, conſidered as prophetic of the future progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery:

I'mi volſi a man deſtra, e poſi mente
All' altro polo, e vidi quattro ſtelle
Non viſte mai, fuor ch' alla prima gente.

[b] The Venetian term for the Croſs-Staff, or Fore-Staff.

[c] The LUNAR RAINBOW thus noticed by the *Portuguese Pilot*, is a rare phenomenon. Ariſtotle declares that he was the firſt perſon who obſerved it, and adds, 'it is never ſeen but at the time of the full moon.' In the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1783 we have an account of three obſerved in one year, and all in the ſame place; communicated in two letters by Marmaduke Tunſtall, Eſq. In the Gentleman's Magazine for Auguſt 1788 there is alſo a deſcription of one. Another and beautiful phenomenon, though ſeldom noticed by navigators, is the MARINE RAINBOW, which may be ſometimes obſerved in an agitated ſea. It is occaſioned by the wind ſweeping part of the waves, and carrying them into the air; as the water deſcends the Sun's rays falling upon them are refracted, and the colours of the Bow appear as in a com-

mon

what the ſun produces in the day, except that the colours are nebulous. Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

" Reſpecting the increaſe and decreaſe of the Sea, I have to add, that on leaving the Straits of Gibraltar I did not perceive any ſenſible change; but having paſſed the tropic, as we approached *Rio Grande*, which lies eleven degrees on this ſide the equinoctial, I obſerved a material [d] increaſe at the mouth of that river, and that the Tide in ſome places was the ſame as on the Coaſt of Portugal. The riſe of the tide at the iſland of *San Thomè* is nearly the ſame as that at Venice.

" The Iſland of *San Thomè*, diſcovered upwards of [e] eighty years ago by ſome Captains in the royal navy, was entirely unknown to the ancients: it is ſituated under the equinoctial; its horizon paſſes between the arctic and antarctic poles; and its day and night are always equal. The Star of the arctic pole is there inviſible, but the *Guardiani* are in ſome degree perceived to revolve, and the conſtellation *il Cruſero* appears very high in the heavens. To the [f] eaſtward St. Thomas, Principe, and Annoboo.

mon ſhower. Theſe Marine Bows are alſo ſeen when a veſſel is ſtanding on with a preſs of ſail, and daſhing the waves around her; they alſo are occaſioned by the breaking of the ſea upon rocks. They ſometimes appear to the number of twenty or thirty together: the concave ſide is always turned upwards, and the colours are not ſo bright as in the common bow.

[d] *M. Daſſie* of Paris, in a work long ſince publiſhed, has been at great pains to prove that THE SEA has a general motion independent of Winds and Tides; of more conſequence in Navigation than is uſually ſuppoſed. He affirms that this motion is from Eaſt to Weſt, inclining toward the North, when the Sun is on the north ſide of the equinoctial, but toward the South when he is on the ſouth ſide of it. Philoſ. Tranſ. No. 135. (Hutton's Mathematical Dictionary.).

[e] (Ramuſio, F. 117. E.) The Pilot ſeems to ſupport the opinion which leads the Portugueſe to the equinoctial line before the death of Henry Duke of Viſeo. He afterwards informs us that his firſt Voyage to *St. Thomas* was in the year 1520, and that he made in all five Voyages. If therefore the date of his preſent Voyage is even fixed to 1530, and eighty years are deducted, it carries us back to 1460, nearly three years before the death of the Prince.

[f] A glance at the Chart (3.) will ſhew, in this and other inſtances, how far the accuracy of the moſt experienced navigators of that age could be depended on: the diſtance of *il Principe* is alſo too great, not being more than ſeventy miles.

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ward of *San Thomè*, at the diſtance of one hundred and twenty miles, lies a ſmall iſland called *il Principe* which is inhabited and cultivated. Its produce of ſugar forms the revenue of the king's eldeſt ſon, and from this circumſtance the name was given. To the weſt ſouth-weſt is another uninhabited iſland, called *Anobon:* its rocky coaſt abounds in fiſh, and is often reſorted to on that account by the inhabitants of *San Thomè*, whence it is diſtant about forty leagues, two degrees from the line towards the antartic pole. Quantities of Crocodiles and venomous ſerpents are found at *Anobon.*

"The iſland of *San Thomè* when firſt diſcovered, was an entire foreſt conſiſting of a variety of trees, grown quite ſtraight to a prodigious height; though barren, they were remarkable for their verdure: none of their branches ſpread out, as with us, at a diſtance from the trunk, but were all drawn up by its ſide. When the ſettlers had cut down a great part of this foreſt, they built the principal town called *Pouoaſan* which enjoyed the benefit of an excellent harbour.

Sugar Trade.

"The chief ſupport of the inhabitants ariſes from their ſugars; which they yearly barter to the merchants who frequent their mart for caſks of [s] flour, Spaniſh wines, oil, cheeſe, ſhoe-leather, ſwords, beads, a variety of drinking Cups, and other articles, beſides ſhells or *Buzios*, uſed by the *Ethiopians* for money. If it were not for the arrival of theſe Ships which thus bring proviſions, the white merchants who reſide on the iſland would not be able to live; ſince they cannot exiſt on the ſame food which ſupports the negroes. The inhabitants procure theſe ſlaves, whom they employ in the ſugar plantations, from the coaſt of *Guinea*, *Benin*, and *Mani-congo*; ſome rich individuals poſſeſs from one hundred and fifty, to three hundred:

[s] *Farine in botte, et Vini di Spagna, Olio, Formaggi, Corami per ſcarpe, Spade, Coppe di Vedro, Pater Noſtri, et alcune ſorte de Conchiglie, che in Italia chiamano porcellette piccoline bianche, et noi chiamiamo Buzios, che ſi adoperano in l'Ethiopia per moneta.* (Ramuſio, vol. 1. F. 117. A.)

hundred: they work every day in the week, excepting Saturdays, when they are allowed to cultivate different [h] vegetables for their own consumption; that come to perfection in a few days, but their seed is of no value. The soil of *San Thomè* consists of a red and yellow earth, forming a rich clay-marl: owing to the great dews which fall every night it is not dried into dust, but continues soft and waxy, and favourable to vegetation: such is the luxuriancy of the soil, that if the negroes at any time leave a spot uncultivated, trees immediately spring up, and in a few days increase to a degree that with us would require as many months. These the slaves cut down and burn, and with the ashes manure the land for the sugar canes, which if planted in January are cut in June, or if in the next month, are ripe in July; and in like manner through every month of the year: for the season is not bad even in the months of March and September, although the sun is vertical; because the great rains then set in with cloudy and thick weather, which proves of infinite service to the sugar plantations. *San Thomè* produces yearly more than an hundred and fifty thousand *arrobes* of [i] sugar, and each *arrobe* contains thirty-one of our pounds. They

Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonso the fifth.*

[h] *Il miglio Zaburo, et le radici di Igname; et molte Herbe Domestiche, cio è latughe, cauoli, rauani, biete, petrosemoli.* (Ramusio, ibid.)

[i] The remainder of this early and curious account of the Sugar Trade before it was transferred to the West India islands, is best given in *Ramusio's* own words. (F. 117. B.). *Questo tonto si trauze dalla decima, che si paga al re nostro, della quale per l'ordinario si caua da duodici in quattordici mila arrobe: et infiniti sono q̃lli che non la pagano integra: vi sono da 60. ingegni fabbricati, oue corre l'acqua, con la quale macinano la canna, et la struccano, et il succo buttato in caldiere grãdissime, dapoi bollitto buttano in le forme pani di zucchero di quindici et venti libre: et con la cenere lo purgano, che appresso di voi vi adoperano la creda tamisata: in molti luochi dell' isola che non vi è acqua, fanno far questo vsficio alli negri con le braccia: et anco con caualli. La canna struccata buttano a porci, che infiniti ne tengono quali non mangiãdo altro che le dette canne, se ingrassano oltra misura: et è la loro carne cosi delicata et sana, che la si pedisce meglio di quella di gallina: et per questo sempre ne sogliono dare alli ammalati.*

Hãno cõdotti molti maestri dell' Isola di Madera per far li Zuccheri piu biãchi et piu duri: et cõ ogni diligentia che vi si vsi, nõ li possono fare: la causa dicono essere prima la terra grassissima, et tãto morbida,

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They are obliged to ship their sugars as soon as the merchant vessels arrive; if they attempted to keep them for two or three years, the sugars would become liquid. At present not above two thirds of the island is cultivated with Canes; but when any merchant arrives from *Spain*, *Portugal*, or any other nation, for the purpose of becoming a planter, the king's factor assigns him as much land as he can cultivate, at a moderate price.

" The Root which among the *Indians* of the Spanish islands is called *Batata*, is known to the negroes of *San Thomè* by the term *Igname:* when roasted under ashes, or boiled, it forms their principal food. Of the different sorts produced in the island, the *Igname Cicorero* is preferred by the merchant vessels, who on their return never fail to purchase a large quantity, as it is a [k] root that keeps well at sea. The negroes plant great quantities purposely for the use of the ships.

" The Island of *San Thomè* is distinguished by an high mountain rising in the centre, whose sides are thickly covered with trees remarkable for their height, straightness, and verdure; a perpetual cloud rests

morbida, che 'l Zucchero sente di q̃lla morbidezza, come appresso noi il vino nato in terra grassa sente di quel sapore. La seconda è l'aere ch' è sopra di detta Isola, qual non asciuga li Zuccheri cauati dalle forme, percioche il sole sia doue si vuole, n è caldo et secco come qui da noi in villa di Cōdi, ma sopra detta isola è caldo et humido, et cosi è sempre: eccetto il mese di Giugno, Luglio, et Agosto, che li venti che vēgono dalla parte dell' Ethiopia sono asciuti et freschi: ma ne anche questi sono bastanti per asciugarlo, et però li lauoratori di Zucchero hanno pensato vn modo per asciugarlo, qual è q̃sto. Fanno vn coperto alto de tauole come qui da noi vna tezza di villa, tutto serrato diligentemente di sopra et dalla banda, senza finestre cō la porta sola; et in quello vi fanno poi vn palco alto da terra sei piedi con traui lontani vn dall' altro 4 piedi, et sopra quelli vanno distendendo tauole, nellequali vi collocano li pani di Zucchero; sotto veramente detto palco vi mettono alcuni pezzi di arbori grossi secchi, quali affocati non fanno fiamma, ne fulmo, ma si vanno consumando a modo di carboni, et in questo modo asciugano li Zuccheri come in vna stufa laquali tēgono in luochi tutti serati c tauole, che non vi entra punto l'aere, et come vengono le naui subito gli vendono, perche se li volessero tenir due anni ò tre, se liquefariano.

[k] A variety of Esculent Roots are in the present day strangely neglected by navigators; among which the *Parsnip*, and the *Jerusalem Artichoke*, as being very nutritive, and proof against all weathers, deserve to be noticed.

rests on the summit of this mountain, and the moisture that issues from this cloud, falling on the leaves and stems of the above grove, is carried in streams to different parts of the island. A large but shallow rivulet of clear water flows through the city of *Pouoasan*, which the inhabitants value for its medicinal quality, and are of opinion, that but for the rivulet, and the numerous springs in *San Thomè*, the island could not be inhabited. The Trees are chiefly wild and barren; some olive, peach, and almond, were planted by settlers from Spain, but though they flourished and rose to a great height, they never bore fruit: this happens with all the sorts that produce kernels. The Cocoa Palm Tree was brought hither from *Ethiopia*.

Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonso the first.*

"In March, and September, the [l] sky is constantly overcast with incessant rain; and the inhabitants consider these months as their winter. May, June, July, and August, are called *Mesi di Vento*; during them the south, south-east, and south-west, which are the usual winds, prevail: the island is sheltered by the continent from the north-east, north, and north-west winds. The summer months are December, January, and February, when the heat is insufferable, and a constant vapour arising, renders the atmosphere so damp, that the air feels like the steam of boiling water."

The Pilot informs us that his first voyage to *San Thomè* was in the year 1520, since which he had made four voyages. Notwithstanding repeated attempts to cultivate Wheat in the Island, he could never succeed, though [m] he made the experiment in different seasons of the year: the ear would never fill, but always ran to straw; which was attributed to the richness of the soil. The shores of *San Thomè* are described as abounding with every kind of fish; during the months of June and July the sort called *le chieppe*, are particularly delicate: between the island, and the continent of Africa, both large

[l] Ramusio, F. 118. B.

[m] Ibid. F. 119. F.

BOOK I. large and ſmall Whales appeared in prodigious numbers. The [m] Journal of this modeſt and ingenious navigator is thus concluded: "*Se la Signoria voſtra non reſtara ſatisfatta di queſta mia mal compoſta, et confuſa informatione, ne dia colpa a l'eſſer io huomo di mare, et non pratico di ſcriuere; et a lei mi raccommando, et bacio le mani.*"

The uncertainty that exiſts reſpecting the actual date when the iſland of *St. Thomas* was firſt diſcovered, induced me to give the above abſtract of the Journal of a Portugueſe pilot, who made his firſt voyage thither at the cloſe of Emanuel's reign. Though his report does not afford any new information relative to the progreſs of diſcovery, it ſtill renders us acquainted with the profeſſional ſkill of the Portugueſe pilots at no great diſtance from the periods we have conſidered; and it moreover deſcribes the Courſe they kept in their Voyages to that part of the coaſt of Africa, which was explored before the acceſſion of Alphonſo's ſucceſſor. We alſo perceive that their ſhips, even when the pilot wrote, continued to keep within ſight of land; and that a more daring navigation, though known, was not generally followed: *Queſte noſtre naui ſi tengono ſempre a viſta della coſta, ma lontane da terra oſſeruando la declination del* [n] *ſole.* The croſſing of the Line was ſtill conſidered as a curious event; and we obſerve with pleaſure, that the Pilot, and thoſe navigators whoſe notes he profeſſed to copy, were not only anxious to point out the vegetables ſo eſſential to the health of ſeamen that the Coaſt produced, but alſo examined the nature of its ſoil with attention, and even made ſome agricultural experiments in the Iſland. The reader I truſt will therefore pardon me for this digreſſion in order to introduce a tract from *Ramuſio*, which had not appeared in our language.

The

[m] The Veroneſe Gentleman, *Hieronomo Fracaſtoro*, mentioned by the Pilot at the beginning of the Journal, was one of the greateſt men in the age of Leo the tenth, and was eſteemed the Virgil of Modern Italy.

[n] See preceding page 303, and Ramuſio F. 116. C.

The *Voyage of Pedro de* [a] *Cintra*, a Portuguese Captain, who was sent with two armed caravellas to the Coast of Africa, in the next place claims our attention and carries us back to the period of history we had left: the narrative, though short, contains some valuable information respecting the progress of discovery immediately after the death of the Duke of Viseo; and was drawn up by *Cada Mosto* at *Lagos* from the report of a young Portuguese, who had been his secretary, and accompanied *de Cintra*. *Faria y Sousa* places this voyage in the year previous to the demise of Duke Henry, (1462.) But as this prince's death is mentioned in the narrative, probably the squadron under *de Cintra* left *Lagos* in that year, and did not come back until the above melancholy event had taken place. *Cada Mosto* does not appear to have continued long in Portugal after the loss of his noble patron, but to have returned to *Venice* in the same year; having first written an account of the following voyage, as a sort of close to the Discoveries that had been made under the auspices of this prince, and as a tribute to his memory. Ch. 12.

The report by the secretary to Cada Mosto was in brief as follows. Beginning from the *Rio Grande* which the [b] Venetian had previously discovered, he continues to describe their progress on the Coast Pedro de Cintra.

[a] Ramusio, vol. 1. F. 110. *La Navigation del Capitan Pietro di Sintra.* The heads of sections are:

1. *Del Rio di Besegue, et d'vn luoco a cui posero nome Capo di Verga, et della qualità di quella costa.*

2. *D'vn luoco detto Capo di Sagres, della fede, costumi, viuere, et vestire, et del modo del volgare di quel paese.*

3. *Del rio di San Vicenzo, et rio Verde, et Capo Liedo: d'vna gran montagna, et di tre isole dette le Saluezze.*

4. *Del fiume rosso, Capo Rosso, et isola rossa del rio di Santa Maria della Neue, dell' isola di scanni, del capo di sant' Ana, et qualità di quella costa.*

5. *Del fiume dell Palme, et rio de fiumi, et perche è cosi detto. Del Capo di Monte, et Capo cortese, ouer misurato. Del bosco ouer arboreto di santa Maria; et de costumi di quei Negri.*

See also *Astley's Collection* (vol. 1. p. 597.) where an excellent translation of this Voyage is given by the Editor Mr. John Green.

[b] See page 284.

BOOK I. Coaſt to a beautiful grove beyond *Cape Miſurado*, or *Menſurado*, called *il Arboredo di Santa Maria.*

"Having in the firſt place reached the large Iſlands already mentioned near the mouth of the *Rio Grande*, we landed on one of them, and endeavoured without ſucceſs to procure information from its negro inhabitants: we then proceeded up the country, without meeting any object worthy of attention; and returning to our caravellas, ſailed along the Coaſt until we came to the mouth of a large river, which we reckoned to be about three or four miles wide, and forty miles diſtant from the *Rio Grande.*"—My ſecretary added that the river was called *il* [q] *rio di Beſegue*, from the name of a ſignor who lived near its entrance. "Proceeding onward we opened a Promontory, to which we gave the name of [r] *Capo di Verga.* All the coaſt

[q] By others *Rio de Nunho Triſtao.*

[r] The *Coaſt between Rio Grande and Sierra Leone*, is thus deſcribed by *Barbot*, (Churchill's Collection, vol. 5. p. 93.) "This Tract of Land is frequented by none but the *Portugueſe of Cacheo*, and other adjacent Colonies of that nation in *Nigritia*, who drive a Coaſting trade thither in ſloops and barks, commencing at *Oſnalus*, ſouth of *Rio Grande.*—Thence they proceed to *Corva de Guſpar Lopez*; *Rio de Nunho Triſtao*; *Terra de Benar*, which is a large bay; *Cabo Verga*; *Os tres Morros*; *Rio das Pedras*, and *Rio de Carpote*, ſeparated only by a cape, with ſome Iſlands at their entrance; *Rio de Caduche*, *Pougama*, and *Rio Caluma*; theſe three laſt loſe themſelves in a large bay, W. S. W. from which, off at ſea, lie the four Iſlands called *Idolos*; *Ponta de Coaco*, *Mota de Tanao*, *Araſa*, and *Rio Primeiro*, fall into one Bay: to the north point of this bay of *Barra de Bacre*, is a long narrow Iſland, lying with the Coaſt from *Mata de Tanao*, which on coming from the N. W. ſerves for a good land mark. Next follow *Barra de Coin*, oppoſite to which alſo is a long narrow Iſland off at ſea; then *Rio de Caſes*, or *Caſces*, with another River to the ſouth-eaſt without a name, both of them running out into a deep bay; on the ſouth point of which, lies the Iſland *dos Papagayos* or parrots; and farther again to the ſouthward, *Cape Paulou*, which is the northern head of the bay of *Sierra Leona*, and the farthest extent ſouthward of the Coaſt of Nigritia.

"The Sea Coaſt from *Cape Verga* lies S. E. by E. ſomewhat inclining to the E. as far as *Cape Tagrin*, cut by ſeveral Rivers which fall into the Ocean, the banks whereof are ſhaded with orange and lemon trees. Moſt of the Rivers are deep and navigable, but their Streams very rapid. The inland country is very mountainous.

"Rio das Pedras to the ſouthward of *Cape Verga*, glides down from a great way up the country, divided into ſeveral branches, forming divers Iſlands, which the natives call *Kagakais*, where the Portugueſe have a colony, ſecured by a little fort, called St. Philip. *Rio das Caſas* or

coast which we had passed from the above river was very hilly covered with large and beautiful trees, whose foliage added greatly to the prospect in the offing. Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonso the first.*

"About eighty miles from *Capo Verga*, our attention was directed towards another Cape which appeared to be the highest we had yet seen, and presented in the midst of its summit a sharp point like a diamond; it was entirely covered with trees of the most luxuriant growth, and lively verdure. From a principle of grateful respect to the memory of the *Signor Infante Don Henry*, the name of his favourite retirement, near Cape St. Vincent, was given to this Cape; owing to this it has ever since been called by the Portuguese *il Capo di Sagres di Guinea*; two small uninhabited islands, entirely covered with the same beautiful foliage, are situated by this promontory.

"After a passage of forty miles along the Coast from *Cape Sagres*, the caravellas next reached the mouth of a river about four miles wide, which we called *Rio de San Vicente*; and then stretching five miles beyond came to a second, whose more extensive entrance received Rio Vicente.

or *Caspar*, and *Rio Tombasine* the least of the two, flow from the mountains of *Machamala*; which may be easily seen in clear weather at some leagues distance from the Coast, in sailing by, standing to the southward from cape *Ledo*, or *Tagrin*. The four Islands, by the *Portuguese* called Ilhas dos Idolos, by the natives *Veu uf vilay*, and by others *Tamara*, are at a small distance from the continent, near *Cape Camnekon*, or Sagres. They are scarce to be discerned from the opposite Continent at N. E. by E.; but at N. N. E. they seem to be at a good distance, and all covered with wood. The largest of these islands lies exactly in nine degrees, forty minutes of north latitude, and is higher than any of the others. We sailed by them at about five English miles distance, for *Cape Tagrin*, sounding all the way, and found fourteen, fifteen, and twenty fathom; uneven ground and ouzy, mixed with small shells. From the *Ilhas dos Idolos*, to aforesaid cape *Tagrin*, the course is mostly south, a small matter inclining to east.

"There is a tradition, that this Tract of land, from *Cape Verga*, to the north side of Sierra Leona river, was formerly subject to a king called *Fatima*. The Tide at sea, from *Cape Verde* to that of Tagrin, sets N. W. and S. E.

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received the name of *Rio Verde:* both the Coaſt and inland country appeared to be very mountainous, though it afforded a good road-ſted, and ſafe bottom. At the diſtance of twenty-four miles, we doubled another cape, and on account of the delightful view which the adjacent country preſented, we gave it the name of [s] *Liedo*, or *Cape Cheerful.*

" From this *Cape Liedo*, or *allegro*, a large mountain extends its lofty ridge for about fifty miles along the Coaſt, covered with ſtately trees of a remarkable verdure; at the extremity of this nearly eight miles out to ſea, were obſerved three ſmall iſlands; the largeſt of which could not be more than twelve miles in circumference: to theſe we gave the general name of *Saluezze*; and to the mountain that of [t] *Serra Liona*, from the noiſe like thunder

[s] Called afterwards *Cape Tagrin.* The northern promontory is called by Labat *Cape de la Vega.* Barbot deſcribes it (p. 98.) as an hilly Point which runs out into the ſea weſtward, muſt lower than the mountains of Sierra Leona; forming almoſt a peninſula, over which the blacks carry their canoes when they deſign to put to ſea, as it ſaves them the trouble of rowing round from the Bay. ' This point (Cape Tagrin) lies exactly in eight degrees thirty minutes of north latitude according to our exact obſervation; contrary to all the *Dutch* Maps, *which are faulty in this particular of latitudes all along the Coaſt of this part of Guinea; laying down all the coaſts thirty degrees more northerly than they really are.*' He then proceeds to give ſome Obſervations for the Navigation of the *Sierra Leona* River.

[t] According to Barhot (p. 96.) this Country derived its name from the roaring noiſe of the waves beating in ſtormy weather upon the rocks. *Sierra* in Spaniſh ſignifying *a mountain*, and *Leona*, a *lioneſs*. --- The long ridge called *Sierra Leona* is reckoned the higheſt of either *North* or *South Guinea*, except thoſe of *Amboſes* in the Gulf, or Bight. There are ſo many Caves and Dens about theſe Mountains, that when a ſingle gun is fired aboard a ſhip in the Bay, the echo is ſo often repeated, as to make it ſound at a diſtance like the report of ſeveral guns. It was dreadful in thundery weather, thunder being here very frequent and ſevere. Hence the *Portugueſe* call them *Montes Claros*, that is, mountains that have a clear echo.

" I cannot ſafely pretend to aſſign the limits of this Country of *Sierra Leona.* It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that ſome Modern Geographers extend it to *Cape Verga* northward, making it border on the kingdom of *Melli* that way, and to depend on it; eaſtward to that of *Bitoun*, which joins on the N. E. with that of *Mandinga*; ſouthward to that of *Quojas*, *Carrodobou*, *Dogo* and *Conde*; and weſtward to the Atlantic."—It is called by the Moors *Bûlombel*, or the large country, and *Bolmberre*, or good low land.—The reader will find a curious,

thunder which inceſſantly proceeded from the clouds that covered its [u] ſummit.

Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonſo the fifth.*

" Sailing onwards beyond the coaſt *della montagna Liona*, a low country ſucceeds, with a ſhore lined with ſand banks extending far out to ſea. When we had paſſed about thirty miles from the Mountain, there appeared another large river whoſe entrance was about three miles acroſs; from the red colour of its water we named it *il fiume Roſſo*, and the red cape beyond it [x] *Capo Roſſo*: the ſame appellation was alſo given to a ſmall uninhabited iſland about eight miles diſtant. The Star of the North Pole appeared from this place the height of a man above the ſea.

" On leaving *Cape Roſſo* a gulf is formed by the ſea; the centre of it is interſected by a river, which on account of the day it was firſt ſeen, received the name of *Rio di ſanta Maria della neue*, or *the Snow*; off the point on the other ſide of this river was a ſmall iſland. The [y] Gulf itſelf was full of ſand banks that extended ten

curious, and perhaps the beſt account of Sierra Leona in PURCHAS (vol. 1. p. 414.) *Remembrances touching Sierra Leona in Auguſt* 1607, *taken out of the large journal of William Fitch merchant.* See alſo in *Aſtley's Collection*, vol. 2. a deſcription of Sierra Leona by Villault in 1666 (P. 308.) and an abſtract of Labat's account in 1728. (Ibid. P. 321.)

[u] It is ſingular that *Cada Moſto*'s ſecretary does not mention the river of *Sierra Leona*, or *Mitomba* as it is called for about thirty leagues, though its entrance is very broad; extending according to *Finch*, in Purchas, to three leagues: it is by him denominated *The Bay of Sierra Leona.*

[x] This ſeems to be, what has ſince been called Cape *Chilling*, or *Shilling*, the point where the hills of *Sierra Leona* terminate. The cape is low and full of trees, and four or five leagues off makes like an iſland.

[y] The depth of water in the Bay, or *Angra de St. Anna*, given by *Barbot* (P. 106.) is five, ſix, ſeven, and eight fathoms mud. The Portugueſe word *Forno* ſignifies a gulph. Here are four rivers running out into the ſea, one of which, the *Rio Banque*, is navigable for large ſhips; the three others are not much frequented, the country about being a thick foreſt, with elephants, buffaloes, &c., and crocodiles near the water's edge. The banks of theſe Rivers are hemmed in with Mangrove-trees, on which ſtick abundance of oyſters.

" Take heed not to entangle yourſelf among the *Baixos de St. Anna*, (p. 105.) for they are dangerous ſhoals, and you may be drove on the ſmall Iſlands by dead calms, which are frequent here.

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ten or twelve miles along the coaſt, where the ſea breaks violently upon them and has a ſtrong current both in ebbing, and flowing: from theſe Sand Banks we gave the name of *Scanni* to the above Iſlet. A large Cape, ſituated at the diſtance of twenty-four miles from this iſlet, we called from the day on which it was ſeen, *Capo di Sant' Anna*; the intermediate Coaſt is ſhelving, and affords no depth of water.

"Seventy miles beyond the *Capo di Sant' Anna*, we paſſed the mouth of another river, and on account of the number of palm trees that appeared, we aſſigned it the name of *il fiume delle Palme*; its entrance, though wide, is rendered dangerous by an infinity of ſand banks, and ſhoals. Proceeding along the coaſt, we found it covered with ſmoke made by the inhabitants: however, when we had nearly advanced to the diſtance of ſeventy miles, we diſcerned a ſmall river, and agreed to call it *il Rio de fiume*, or Smoke River. We next reached a Cape ſtretching out far to ſea, and were induced from the mountain that backed it, to chriſten it *il Capo del monte*."—The caravellas ſtill continued to advance: after a run of ſixty miles they doubled another cape ſmall and low; this alſo being backed by high ground, though not ſo elevated as the other, they gave it the name of *il Capo corteſe, ò miſurado*. During the night, after their arrival, they obſerved fires made among the trees by the negro inhabitants;

here. Small Ships, coming out from *Sierra Leona*, and bound to the ſouth, eaſily paſs over the ſhoals, where there is generally five or ſix fathom water, and good anchoring every where. At my laſt trip, I ſpoke with a maſter of an Engliſh veſſel, in ſight of *Rio das Galinhas*, who had paſſed over the *Baixos* in ten days time; and another Engliſh maſter I met afterwards at *Rio Seſtro*, told me, he had ſpent five weeks in paſſing over them. Wherefore I think it not very prudent to carry a large ſhip over, nor to ſail at too great a diſtance from them; whether you come directly from *Europe*, or only from *Cape Verde*, or from the River of *Sierra Leona*; but range the ſaid Shoals, as near as you can gueſs practicable: for though it ſhould happen you were carried on them, you might eaſily get from them again with a little labour and loſs of time, either by anchoring on them, when the wind fails, or by towing the ſhip with boats, if the Tide be not too ſtrong; obſerving when you ſail over, to have the Pinnace rowing a-head of the ſhip, and ſounding continually."

habitants; who now for the first time beheld the floating objects that glided upon their coast. Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonso the fifth.*

The Voyage of *Pedro di Cintra* terminated at the distance of about sixteen miles from this *Cape Cortese;* at that part of the Coast where a large and extensive wood, which skirted the water's edge with a striking verdure, attracted the attention of the navigators and received from them the name of *Arboredo di santa Maria;* behind this the caravellas anchored, and were soon visited by some *almadias* from the shore: they were addressed by the Portuguese interpreters, but could not understand them. Three of the negroes came on board, one of whom was carried to *Lagos*, the OMAI of that age. The king received him with humane attention, and eagerly sought for an African who might serve as an interpreter. At length a negro was able to understand the stranger, though in a language that was foreign to both.

What intelligence, adds *Cada Mosto*, the king received was kept a state secret, except, *che l'haueua detto fra l'altre cose trouarsi nel suo paese Alicorni* [2] *viui.* This *African* was entertained in *Portugal* some months by the king, who honoured him with innumerable marks of favour, and on his return a caravella was fitted out to convey him to his country; to which no other ship had ever sailed, before Cada Mosto left Portugal.

The Voyages of *Cada Mosto*, and *Pedro de Cintra*, or *Sintra*, as written by *Ramusio*, are the only ones during *Alphonso*'s reign of which any regular narrative has survived: beside these we possess only some detached facts in the Portuguese historians, that faintly mark the uncertain progress of this monarch's navigators to *Cabo Catilina*, or *St. Catherine.* A considerable advance had therefore been made since the death of DUKE HENRY, comprehending the whole of the Coast and Gulf of Guinea, with the adjacent islands, to

[2] Ramusio Folio 111. C.

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to the northern boundary of the great kingdom of *Congo*. The Portuguese had thus advanced to within 32° 30′ or about six hundred and fifty marine leagues of the *Cape of Good Hope*; when on the twenty-eighth of August, 1481, ALPHONSO was seized with the plague at Cintra, and died in the forty-ninth year of his age and forty-third of his reign, universally regretted.

Character.

His character is worthy of our notice: for it displayed remarkable temperance, unaccompanied with any severity of demeanour; and an affability of manners proceeding from the benignity of his disposition. Fond of literature he promoted its independence as became the munificent patron of [a] learned men, and the great encourager of the polite arts: his Confessor was the celebrated Rabbi *Abrabanel*, or *Avravenel*, born at Lisbon, the learned author of several dissertations. ALPHONSO also invited an eminent Italian named *Juste* to his court, whom he created a bishop and employed to write an history of Portugal. The sudden death of this accomplished foreigner prevented the appearance of an invaluable work, which would probably have contained a minute account of the Journals of the earliest Portuguese navigators; would have preserved many interesting particulars relative to the first patron of discovery Henry Duke of Viseo; and would also have rescued the history of the

[a] During this Reign flourished the celebrated Astronomer JOHN MULLER, commonly called *Regiomontanus*. He was born at *Koningsberg*, or *Mons Regius*, whence came his name, in *Franconia* during the year 1436, and died at *Rome* when only forty years of age, 1476. He studied under the famous professor *Purbach* at Vienna. His Patron was the cardinal *Bessarion*. REGIOMONTANUS opened a printing house at Noremberg, where, as Dr. *Hutton* informs us, he put to press the *New Theories* of *Purbach*, and the *Astronomicon* of *Menlius*; as also two works of his own, the *New Calendar*, and his *Ephemerides*—of which he thus speaks: *The Ephemerides, which they vulgarly call an almanac for thirty years; where you may every day see the true motion of all the Planets, of the Moon's nodes, with the aspects of the Moon to the Sun and Planets, the Eclipses of the Luminaries; and in the fronts of the pages are marked the Latitudes.* REGIOMONTANUS acquired great reputation by publishing an abridgement of *Ptolemy's Almagest* in Latin, which he had begun with *Purbach*. He was also one of the first who made astronomical observations relative to Comets: his life is written by *Gassendi*.

the latter years of his invaluable life, from the obſcurity in which they are at preſent enveloped. Ch. II. § 2. *John the ſecond.*

The large form of *Alphonſo* beſpoke the Chief of an enterpriſing nation; his expreſſive countenance was ſhaded with a luxuriancy of dark brown hair; and the military aſpect of the monarch is deſcribed as being heightened by a long and thick beard. Among the portraits inſerted in *Faria y Souſa*'s epitome of the Portugueſe hiſtory, a coarſe, though ſpirited engraving of this monarch, ſeems to have perſonified the glowing ideas of Camoens:

> "His [b] might reſiſtleſs proſtrate Afric own'd,
> Beneath his yoke the Mauritanians groan'd;
> And ſtill they groan beneath the Luſian ſway.
> 'Twas his in victor pomp to bare away
> The golden apples from Heſperia's ſhore,
> Which but the ſon of Jove had ſnatch'd before.
> The palm and laurel round his temples bound,
> Diſplay'd his triumphs on the Mooriſh ground;
> When proud Arzilla's ſtrength, Alcazer's towers,
> And Tingia, boaſtful of her numerous powers,
> Beheld their adamantine walls o'erturned,
> Their ramparts levell'd, and their temples burn'd.
> Great was the day: the meaneſt ſword that fought
> Beneath the Luſian flag ſuch wonders wrought
> As from the muſe might challenge endleſs fame,
> Though low their ſtation, and untold their name."

JOHN THE SECOND during his Father's abſence in France, had diſplayed ſuch a capacity and vigour of mind, that the prelates and principal nobility of the kingdom, on receiving letters from their dejected [c] Sovereign expreſſive of a wiſh to abdicate, had cauſed the John the ſecond. 1477, 1495.

[b] Mickle's Luſiad, vol. 2. p. 26.

[c] ALPHONSO in a fit of melancholy, on finding himſelf the dupe of the French king, had actually left *Rouen* with his chaplain *Stephen Martinez*, two pages, and two ſervants; reſolving to

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the ſon to be proclaimed on the tenth of November 1477. But in the interim, the pilgrimage of *Alphonſo* had been prevented by the immediate ſearch which Louis ordered to be made: the royal fugitive was ſoon diſcovered by *Robinet de Beuf*, a Norman gentleman; and yielding to the anxious entreaties of the noblemen who had attended him from Portugal, the abdicated monarch accepted of a convoy from Louis, and returned unexpectedly to *Liſbon*. The ſquadron entered the *Tagus* on the fifteenth of November, only a few days after the acceſſion of the ſon; who happened, at the very inſtant of its arrival, to be walking near that river attended by the *Duke of Bragança*, and the Archbiſhop of Liſbon. What a moment of trial for youth and ambition. *In what manner*, exclaimed the Prince, *ſhall I receive Alphonſo?* The *Duke of Bragança* perceived the conflict that had ariſen between a love of power, and a ſenſe of duty; and by the firmneſs of his anſwer preſerved the honour of his ſovereign—*Receive him, Sire, as your Father, and your King!* The Prince made no reply; for ſome minutes a profound ſilence was obſerved; he then took up a ſtone, and threw it with all his force on the ſurface of the [d] river: at length the ebullition of his paſſions ſubſided, and all the tenderneſs of the ſon returned. The ſubſequent meeting was highly creditable unto both. *Alphonſo* wiſhed only to retain the title of King of *Algarve*; but was obliged to yield to the importunity of his illuſtrious offſpring and to reaſſume the crown of his anceſtors.

The Portugueſe hiſtorians have preſerved other anecdotes that illuſtrate the character of the ſucceſſor of Alphonſo, and juſtify the ſurnames of *Great*, and *Perfect*, which JOHN received. A ſycophant, who

to retire into the Holy Land, and entirely ſeclude himſelf from the world. In conſequence of this intention he diſpatched letters to his ſon, commanding him to aſcend the vacant throne; and alſo to the nobility, requiring their allegiance.

[d] Le Quien, vol. 1. p. 477. Faria y Souſa.

who had rendered himſelf uſeful to the young prince and been the ready miniſter of intemperate pleaſure; after his acceſſion to the throne preſented a paper which contained the written promiſe of his ſovereign to make him a *Count*. The young monarch was conſcious of the indignity thus offered to his character; in agitation he peruſed the teſtimony of his raſhneſs; and fixing a ſtern look on the deluder of his inexperience, tore in pieces the record of his folly: *I will forget*, ſaid he, *that ſuch a paper ever exiſted.* Adding, after a momentary pauſe, *They who corrupt the minds of young princes, and by becoming inſtruments of their folly extract promiſes that ought not to be obſerved, ſhould conſider it as a favour that they are not brought to* [e] *puniſhment.* To a mercenary and indolent judge the king obſerved, *Be on your guard Friend, for I hear that your hands are kept open and your doors cloſed.* Nor was this monarch alone attentive to the character and conduct of thoſe perſons by whom the executive government of the laws was adminiſtered; the power of the nobility, which had too long baffled the even adminiſtration of juſtice, was now reſolutely abated, and their exorbitant privileges and juriſdictions examined.—Thus the firſt meaſures that were adopted by *John the Second*, when in his twenty-ſeventh year (1481) he again aſcended the throne, beſpoke that zeal for liberty which calls forth all the enterpriſe of the naval profeſſion; and the whole energy of his mind was at the ſame time directed to promote the maritime glory of his kingdom, and to extend the progreſs of diſcovery by an uniform and liberal ſupport.

Ch. II. § 2. *John the ſecond.*

The ſucceſs which *Fernando Gomez* experienced in the improvement of the *Guinea Trade*, and the importation of gold from the Port of *Mina*, induced JOHN whoſe revenue as Infante of Portugal

Settlement of St. George del Mina.

[e] Le Quien. Le Clede.

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1481.

gal had been derived from this ſource, to pay his firſt attention to ſo valuable a branch of commerce. He accordingly made the neceſſary preparation to conſtruct a Fort, and place of worſhip on the newly diſcovered Coaſt: it was in vain that a ſpirit of oppoſition ſtrove to heighten the dangers of the navigation, and the inſalubrity of the ſoil; the devout monarch replied, *that if one African was thus converted to the Faith, the threatening obſtacles would eaſily be ſurmounted.* The requiſite [f] materials from the ſtones of the foundation to the very tiles of the roof, were accordingly ſhipped on board a ſquadron conſiſting of ten caravellas, and two tranſports; which carried five hundred ſoldiers and one hundred workmen. *Don Diego d'Azambuja* an officer of great experience was appointed to the command, and ſailed on the eleventh of [g] December 1481, with the following captains under him. *Gonçalez da Fonſeca, Ruy d'Oliveira, Juan Rodrigues Gante, Juan Afonſo, Diego Rodrigues Inglez, Bartholomew Diaz, Pedro d'Evora,* and *Gomez Aires,* an attendant on PEDRO King of Arragon: the other officers were all noble, and of the king's houſhold. *Pedro de Cintra,* and *Fernam d'Afonſo,* commanded the tranſports; and a ſmall veſſel attended to act as cutter to the ſquadron. On the 19th of January, 1482, they reached their deſtination at an African village called *Aldea,* where they found *Juan Bernardo* who had ſailed to the Coaſt for gold.

Bernardo was immediately deputed to acquaint the negro chief *Camarança* with their arrival, and to impreſs on his mind a due ſenſe of the rank and character of the officers. Early on the enſuing morning the Portugueſe commodore landed with his followers, who had weapons concealed in caſe of reſiſtance. The cavalcade proceeded without moleſtation to a large tree, at no great diſtance from the village *Aldea,*

[f] De Barros. (Faria y Souſa.) *Hackluyt* gives a ſhort account of the events in this reign (vol. 1. book ii. chap. 1. ſect. 3.).

[g] Lafitau *Découvertes des Portugais.*

Aldea, as the moſt deſirable ſituation for their intended fortreſs; the royal arms were immediately diſplayed upon the tree, and an altar being raiſed beneath, the whole company proceeded to join in the firſt maſs that was celebrated in Guinea. The ſcene poſſeſſed a ſolemn grandeur: their prayers were offered for the converſion of the idolatrous natives, and that the Church about to be founded might continue for ever. The memorable day on which this ceremony was performed, being ſacred to *St. Sebaſtien*, gave a name to the valley in which they had aſſembled.

Ch. II. § 2. *John the ſecond.*

Camarança the African chief approached with a numerous train of attendants. *Don Diego*, who was ſumptuouſly dreſſed with a collar of gold richly ornamented, prepared to receive him on an elevated ſeat with his retinue drawn up ſo as to form an avenue in front. The proceſſion of *Camarança* reſembled thoſe of the various South Sea Iſlanders, as deſcribed by Captain Cook; the negroes like them were armed with ſpears, ſhields, bows, and arrows, and the heads of their warriors were covered with a ſort of helmet made of ſkins, thickly ſtudded with the teeth of fiſh, in order to ſtrike beholders with terror. The ſubordinate Chiefs not only wore chains of Gold, but diſplayed ornaments of the ſame precious metal on their heads and beards.

When the various pledges of reciprocal confidence and reſpect had been interchanged, *D'Azambuja*, by means of his interpreter, delivered the purport of his embaſſy; employing every argument he could deviſe, to procure the friendſhip of *Camarança*, and to render him ſenſible of the power of the king of Portugal.

The African Chief liſtened with reſpectful ſilence: his eyes, which had been fixed on the countenance of *Azambuja* during the whole of his ſpeech, were at length withdrawn; and looking on the ground, he ſeemed to weigh with attention the arguments he had heard advanced. His guarded and able reply ſufficiently

 proves,

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Speech of Camarança.

proves, that nothing but their abject ſtate of ſlavery makes the African inferior to Europeans. *I am not inſenſible to the high honour, which your great maſter the Chief of Portugal has this day conferred upon me. His friendſhip I have always endeavoured to merit by the ſtrictneſs of my dealing with the Portugueſe, and by my conſtant exertions to procure an immediate lading for their Veſſels. But never until this day did I obſerve ſuch a difference in the appearance of his ſubjects: they have hitherto been only meanly attired, were eaſily contented with the commodities they received; and ſo far from wiſhing to continue in this Country, were never happy until they could complete their lading, and return. Now I remark a ſtrange difference. A great number richly dreſſed are anxious to be allowed to build houſes, and to continue among us. Men of ſuch eminence, conducted by a commander who from his own account ſeems to have deſcended from the God who made day, and night, can never bring themſelves to endure the hardſhips of this climate; nor would they here be able to procure any of the luxuries that abound in their own country. The paſſions that are common to us all will therefore inevitably bring on diſputes; and it is far preferable that both our nations ſhould continue on the ſame footing they have hitherto done, allowing your ſhips to come and go as uſual; the deſire of ſeeing each other occaſionally will preſerve peace between us. The Sea and Land being always neighbours are continually at variance, and contending who ſhall give way; the Sea with great violence attempting to ſubdue the land, and the Land with equal obſtinacy reſolving to oppoſe the* [g] *Sea.*

The prudent diſtruſt of *Camarança* perplexed the aſtoniſhed Portugueſe: it required all the addreſs of *Azambuja* to effect his purpoſe, and to prevent any unneceſſary acts of violence. On the next morning, his workmen making preparations for the foundation of a fortreſs on the ſhore, obſerved a large rock, which lay very commodious for

[g] Principally from *de Barros, and Faria.*

for a quarry, and they accordingly began upon it; but this unfortunately happened to be a Negro God: the alarm was immediately given, and many of the workmen were wounded before the ſubjects of *Camarança* could be pacified by a profuſion of preſents. At length, after the continued labour of twenty days, the Fort which received the name of *St. George*, aſſumed a reſpectable appearance. In the year 1486 *King John* endowed it with all the privileges of a city, in the church of which a ſolemn annual maſs was performed to conſecrate the memory of the illuſtrious HENRY DUKE OF VISEO. *Azambuja* continued [h] governor of *St. George del Mina* for two years and ſeven months, and was honoured on his return with particular marks of royal favour.

Ch. II. § 2. *J in the ſecond.*

The king of Portugal, who now added to his other titles that of Lord of Guinea, in the next place proceeded to urge the progreſs of diſcovery; and with the hope of opening a paſſage by ſea to the rich Spice Countries of *India*, entreated the different ſtates of Chriſtendom to ſupport him in this great deſign. But an undertaking which threatened to change the route of eaſtern commerce, was invariably oppoſed by the eſtabliſhed mercantile intereſt, and treated as chimerical.—*Portugal* was ſingularly fortunate, not only on account of its favourable ſituation in the Atlantic near to Africa, but in being detached from a league of mercenary traders, who had no deſire that the hydrographical knowledge of Europeans ſhould be enlarged. JOHN however was not to be ſubdued; he earneſtly applied to the Pope for an increaſe of power, and obtained a grant of all the countries which his navigators ſhould diſcover from weſt to eaſt, with a ſtrict prohibition againſt the future interference of any European power. His holineſs alſo decreed

New grant from the Pope.

[h] This ſtation was afterwards occupied by the celebrated hiſtorian *De Barros*, who gives an account of its firſt ſettlement. Another MINE was afterwards diſcovered according to *Faria* on the coaſt of *Angola*, where the Portugueſe built the city called *Cidade de ſaõ Paulo de Loanda*.

creed that if any Discoveries were made contrary to this prohibition they should equally belong to [i] Portugal.

In viewing the political aspect of the European states at this period, with their respective connections, we observe, that an interchange of kind offices subsisted between that eminent citizen *Lorenzo de' Medici*, and *John the second*, who as Mr. Roscoe adds [k] was deservedly dignified with the appellation of *Great*, and was desirous that the transactions of his life should be recorded by the pen of [k] *Politiano*."

A design so extensive as that in which the king of Portugal was engaged, must have gratified the mind of *Lorenzo the magnificent*. Amidst their interchange of kind offices, the former must have derived considerable assistance from the information of the illustrious Florentine, whose name reflects additional lustre on the early patrons of maritime discovery. The astronomical acquirements of that age, as connected with navigation, were but few; and since John *the second* was desirous to advance the skill of his naval officers by introducing to their attention whatever improvements were made in other countries, it is probable that he might receive from Lorenzo an account of the celebrated [l] GNOMON; an astronomical instrument

[i] This grant from the pope is noticed by *M. Robert Thorne merchant of London* in the communication made by him in 1527 at Seville, to *Doctor Ley*, ambassador from *Henry the eighth*, respecting the parts of the world discovered by the *Emperor Charles*, and the *King of Portugal*; as also respecting the passage to the *Moluccas* by the north. (*Hakluyt*, v. 1. p. 29.)

[k] Pol. Epist. Lib. X. Ep. 1, 2. Roscoe's Lerenzo, vol. 2. p. 59. ed. 8vo.

[l] Mr. Roscoe thus describes it (vol. 2. page 153.): "This GNOMON, which has justly been denominated the noblest Astronomical Instrument in the world, was erected by *Toscanelli*, about the year 1460, for the purpose of determining the Solstices, and thereby ascertaining the feasts of the Romish church. It is fixed in the cupola of the Church of S. Maria del fiore, at the height of 277 Parisian feet. A small orifice transmits from that distance the rays of the sun to a marble flag, placed in the floor of the church. This instrument was, in the present century, corrected and improved at the instance of *M. de la Condamine*, who acknowledges it to be a striking proof of the capacity and extended view of its authors."—Some of an extraordinary height on the plains of *Delhi*, and of a very remote date, have been copied by Mr. *Daniel*.

ment preferred by many to the ſmaller Quadrants, and which had been conſtructed by *Paollo Toſcanelli*. Perhaps, through the ſame channel, the *Geografia* of *Berlingheri* publiſhed with maps at Florence during the year 1480, was conveyed to Portugal.

Ch. II. § 2. *John the ſecond.*

It had hitherto been cuſtomary for the Portugueſe navigators to put up wooden Croſſes in order to mark their reſpective diſcoveries; but by the king's order they now employed ſtone pillars about ſix feet in height, on which the arms of Portugal, the name of the reigning monarch, and of the navigator, with the date of the diſcovery, were inſcribed both in the Latin and Portugueſe languages. The firſt of theſe pillars was erected by *Diego Cam*, or *Cano*, [m] who in 1484 paſſed *Cape Catherine* the laſt of king Alphonſo's diſcoveries, and came to the mouth of a River called by the negroes [n] *Zayre*; to

Congo diſcovered.

[m] The diſcovery of *Congo* is detailed by the claſſic OSORIUS, (ed. 1571.) P. 101. and in the tranſlation by *Gibbs* (vol. 1. p. 154.).

[n] Mr. *Green* in *Aſtley*, (vol. 3. p. 235.) derives the origin of this name from the river and town of *Zayri*, eighteen or twenty leagues within its mouth. *Merolla* informs us that the Portugueſe planted a Croſs of fine marble, on one of the points at its mouth, which being afterwards found by the *Hollanders* was out of envy broken in pieces. So much remained of it when the author was there, as to enable him to trace the Portugueſe arms on the ruins of the Baſe, with an inſcription under them in Gothic characters not eaſy to be read. The ſame writer adds (p. 609.) 'The waters of this River being ſomewhat yellowiſh, are diſtinguiſhed above thirty leagues at ſea, and gave occaſion to the Diſcovery of *Congo*: for DON DIEGO CANO, who was ſent with a fleet for that purpoſe by DON JOHN *the ſecond*, of Portugal, gueſſed at the nearneſs of the land, by the colour of the waters of the Zaire.'—The river Zair, ſays Barbot, (p. 483.) who gives a chart of it, falls into the ſea through a mouth three leagues in breadth, (*Merolla* ſays ten) and with ſuch force and abundance of water, that the Stream running out weſt north-weſt prevails upon the ſea-water for above twelve leagues; and when you are out of ſight of land the water appears black, and full of heaps of reeds, and other things, like little floating Iſlands; which the force of the ſtream, falling from the high cliffs, carries away into the ocean: ſo that ſhips, without a ſtiff gale, cannot ſail up into the road within *Cape Padron*, on the ſouth ſide of the river. From this great body branch out many ſmall ones, to the great conveniency of the natives and foreign traders, who paſs along them in boats. The Iſlands *Bomma* and *Quintalla* lie in the mouth of this River, and others higher up exceeding full of inhabitants.' See an Abſtract of a voyage to Congo river in 1700 by *James Barbot* junior. Ibid. (P. 497.); alſo,

1. The

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to which, on account of the veneration which JOHN entertained for St. George, he at first gave the name of that saint; it was also known by the title of [o] *Rio Padron*, or the river with the *Stone Mark*, and has since been called the *Congo River* on account of its direction through that kingdom. *Diego* entered the River, and having proceeded to a little distance met with some inhabitants, yet could not procure any information although he had negroes on board as interpreters. At length understanding from their signs that they were governed by a king [p] who resided at a distance from the Coast, *Diego* dispatched some of his own crew thither with an handsome present, conducted by a party of the natives, intending to wait their return; this however being protracted from unavoidable circumstances far beyond the stipulated time, he prepared to leave the river. The friendly behaviour of the natives won his confidence;

1. The Voyage of *Odoardo Lopez* a Portuguese to *Congo*, already noticed, drawn up by *Phillip Pigafetta* an Italian, and translated from the Italian at the request of Mr. Hakluyt, by *Abraham Hartwell*, first published at London in 1597. (Astley, vol. 3. p. 132.—Churchill's Collection, vol. 8. p. 519.) This was translated into Latin by *Augustin Cassiadore Reinius*, and placed by the *De Brys* at the head of their Collection of Voyages to the East.

2. *An account of a curious Voyage to Congo in the years* 1666, and 1667, *by Michael Angelo of Gattina and Denis de Carli of Piacenza, Capuchins, translated from the Italian*; and 3. *A Voyage to Congo, and several other countries in southern Afric, by Jerom Merolla da Sorrento, Capuchin*, 1682, *translated from the Italian*. (Astley, vol. 3. page 143. and 166. and Churchill's Collection, vol. 1. p. 555. and 595.)

[o] Ogilby in his *Africa* mentions that the southern promontory of this river was called *Cabo de Padron* by the Portuguese, who two hundred years before erected a small chapel, and set up a Cross there.

[p] At the city of *Banza*, or *San Salvador*, on the river Vese, a branch of the *Lelunda*. It stands about at hundred and fifty miles from the sea, upon a great and high mountain, consisting almost entirely of rock, with an iron mine on its summit. The Portuguese called it *Otheiro* or the *Look out*. Notwithstanding its elevated situation *St. Salvador* abounds in springs. The city is built on an angle of the hill towards the east. From the western foot of the mountain to its top are five miles, by the common roads to the city. The air is cool and wholesome. A view of St. Salvador is given by Dapper, and copied by Astley. (Vol. 3. p. 245.)

dence, and having received four on board, to be instructed in the Portuguese language, he made their countrymen comprehend that after fifteen moons they should return in [q] safety. JOHN was highly gratified with the sight of these Africans who were men of consequence in their country, and of such quick apprehension, that during the voyage they had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to answer the various enquiries made respecting their own country, and the kingdoms which extended beyond it to the southward. Having experienced every attention from the politeness and munificence of *John the Second*, they returned with *Diego Cam*; bearing many presents to their sovereign, and an anxious request from the king of Portugal that he would become a convert to Christianity.

Ch. II. § 2. *John the second.*

Diego only stayed in the river to land the negroes and receive his own men; he then informed the king of *Congo*, that the ship being under orders to proceed further on the coast, he must postpone the honour of an audience until his return. After a run of what is termed by the Portuguese historians [r] twenty leagues to the south-

[q] *Lafitau* has strangely confused this event. (Ed. 4to. F. 1. P. 54.) *Diego qui vit qu'il alloit perdre beaucoup de tems en cet endroit par le défaut de s'entendre, prit sur le champ parti d'en enlever quelques-uns pour les conduire en Portugal, et de laisser de son côté quelques ôtages, qui des deux parts pourroient apprendre la langue du pays; ce qui fut exécuté habillement: car s'etant assuré de quatre des principaux, il fit entendre aux autres, le tout par gestes et par signes, ou le mieux qu'il put, qu'il n'avoit que des intentions utiles au pays; qu'il traiteroit bien ceux qu'il emmenoit et qu'il les rameneroit en quinze Lunes: Que pour gage de sa parole, il leur laissoit quelques-uns de ses gens, qui apprendroient cependant leur langue, et se mettroient en état le leur rendre service. Cette action violente, faite si brusquement, et qui étoit une vrai hostilité, réüssit par une espece de prodige, et par un miracle de la Providence.*

[r] Probably rather sixty Leagues, the navigator being as usual incorrect in his reckoning: it is then likely he reached *Point Palmerinho*. The account of the Portuguese historian (*de Faria*) is very vague, one Cross being placed in thirteen degrees of south latitude, and the other is mentioned as having been raised on *Cape Padron*, in *twenty-two degrees*: now if we allow this to be correct, it would extend the course of Diego to 330 leagues, instead of sixty;

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ſouthward, he erected two memorials of his progreſs; one of which, in thirteen degrees of ſouth latitude, was called *St. Auguſtine:* the name of the other is not mentioned. Not thinking it adviſeable to proceed beyond this, and probably deterred from a want of proviſions, *Diego* then returned to the Congo river, and found that the liberality of John the ſecond had made a deep impreſſion on the African [1] chief: he aſked many queſtions reſpecting the Chriſtian faith; and, being highly gratified with its ſublime and conſolatory doctrines, appointed one of his principal noblemen called *Caçuta* or *Zaçut*, as ambaſſador to the court of Portugal; anxiouſly hoping that king John would allow this nobleman, and his attendants to be baptized, and would mercifully depute ſome miniſters of this holy religion, that the inhabitants of Congo, and their ſovereign, might be converted from the errors of idolatry. The baptiſm of *Caçuta*, and his retinue, was celebrated with conſiderable pomp on their arrival in Europe; the king himſelf accompanied the devout African to the altar, attended by

ſixty; far beyond *Cabo Negro*. Probably theſe Croſſes were thus placed; the *firſt*, called *St. Auguſtine*, on point *Palmerinho*, and the *ſecond* on *Cabo Negro* in ſouth latitue 16°, inſtead of 22°: this conjecture will extend the courſe made by DIEGO to 220 leagues. The omiſſion of the firſt figure (2) has probably occaſioned the confuſion in point of diſtance.

[1] It appears that he afterwards, on his baptiſm received the name of *John*; and his uncle, who was firſt baptiſed, that of *Emmanuel*. The prince was named *Alphonſo*. From *Pigafetta's Report of the Kingdom of Congo gathered out of the diſcourſes of Maſter Edward Lopez a Portugall*, in Purchas (vol. 2. p. 986.) we collect, that on the converſion of the king of Congo to Chriſtianity, "the lord of *Angola* was alwaies in amitie, and (as it were) a vaſſall of the forenamed king of *Congo*; and the people of both countries did traffique together one with another, and the lord of *Angola* did euery yeere ſend ſome preſents to the king of *Congo*. And by licence from the king of *Congo*, there was a great trade betweene the *Portugals*, and the people of *Angola*, at the hauen of *Loanda*, where they bought ſlaues, and changed them for other merchandiſes, and ſo tranſported all into the ile of *S. Thomas*. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the Traffique was here united with the Traffique of S. Thomas: ſo that the ſhips did uſe firſt to arriue at that Iland, and then afterward paſſed ouer to *Loanda*." Every particular relative to the Converſion of the king of Congo, is detailed in an intereſting manner by *Pigafetta*, ibid. (page 1009.)

by another ſponſor, and the queen as god-mother, when he received the name of *John Silva;* the ceremony was cloſed by the baptiſm of his attendants. Ch. II. § 2. *John the ſecond.*

Not were the bleſſings of [t] Chriſtianity, which thus were carried by means of naval enterpriſe to the moſt diſtant regions, confined to the territory of *Congo.* The king of *Benin,* whoſe dominions ſituated to the northward of the above river extended to *St. George del Mina,* had already diſpatched an Ambaſſador by *Alphonſo de Aviero,* requeſting that ſome Miſſionaries might be ſent him from Portugal; and although the artful conduct of this African chief abated the influence of their zeal, many negroes were converted. By means of this ambaſſador John was informed of a moſt powerful monarch [u] ORGANE, who at the diſtance of 250 leagues beyond the territory

[t] Why ſhould the Jeſuit *Laſiteau,* thus endeavour to prejudice his countrymen againſt the introduction of Chriſtianity into newly diſcovered countries? *Les premiers mouvements d'une trop grande ferveur ſont ſuivis pour l'ordinaire d'un prompt repentir. . . . A la verité les Myſteres de notre religion avoient fait peu de peine à l'eſprit de ces Néophytes.* (Tom. 1. p. 60.) That the introduction of Chriſtianity awakened the oppoſition, and revenge of ſome intereſted, or depraved Pagans in *Congo,* can be as no argument againſt the piety of the Portugueſe monarch. In a few years the hurricane ceaſed; and what a portrait does the elegant *Oſorius* then draw of the negro monarch ALPHONSO. (P. 106.) *Tantoque ſtudio religionem Chriſtianam coluit, ut non plus temporis in reip. negotiis gerendis, quam in ſubditis ad cultum pietatis incitandis conſumpſerit. Habebat præterea frequentes ad populum conciones de Juſtitia et Pietate, de judicii divini ſeveritate, de ſempiternæ vitæ præmiis, de Chriſti diſciplina, et ſanctorum hominum, qui veſtigia illius ſequebantur, exemplis. Quandiu denique manſit in vita, regnum perpetuò in Chriſtianæ pietatis officio, cum ſingulari probitatis et juſtitiæ laude continuit.*—See this ſubject ably conſidered by the great Warburton, (vol. 1. p. 451. 4to. ed.) who points out the great defect in all our modern miſſionaries.

[u] "It ſhould ſeem, according to *Bruce,* (vol. 2. p. 105.) that this *Organe,* or *Ogané,* is but a corruption of *Jan,* or *Jauhoi,* which title the eaſtern Chriſtians had given to the king of *Abyſſinia.* But it is very difficult to account for this knowledge of *Abyſſinia* in the kingdom of *Benin,* not only on account of the diſtance, but likewiſe, becauſe ſeveral of the moſt ſavage nations of the world, the *Galla,* and *Shangalla,* occupy the intervening ſpace. The Court of ABYSSINIA did indeed then reſide in *Shoa,* the ſouth-eaſt extremity of the kingdom, and, by its power and influence, probably might have puſhed its dominion through theſe barbarians, down to the neighbourhood of *Benin* on the *Weſtern Ocean.* But all this I muſt

 confeſs

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territory of the king of Benin, preſerved a ſupremacy over the adjoining [u] ſtates.

This Report induced the king of Portugal to redouble his maritime exertions, and he flattered himſelf that he had at length received tidings of the renowned *Preſbyter John*. But in proportion as his navigators advanced towards the ſouthward, the anxiety of JOHN increaſed; leſt after all the perils which had been ſurmounted by himſelf, and his predeceſſors, ſome unexpected rival ſhould appear in the *Atlantic* to ſeize the palm he was in conſtant expectation of obtaining. Inflamed by this idea, which at length obtained a complete aſcendancy over his mind, an [x] Embaſſy was ſent to *Edward the fourth* of England; exhorting him to prevent *John Tintam*, and *William Fabian*, from proceeding on a Voyage they were preparing to make to *Guinea* during the year 1481. The original *Embaixada* as given by Reſſende, is thus tranſlated by [y] *Hakluyt*. "And afterwards the King ſent as ambaſſadours from the towne of *Monte mor* to king *Edward* the fourth of England, *Ruy de Souſa*, a principall perſon, and a man of great wiſedome and eſtimation, and in whom the king repoſed great truſt; with doctor *Joam d'Eluas*, and *Fernam de Pina*, as ſecretarie. And they made their Voyage by ſea very honourably, being very well accompanied. Theſe men were ſent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient Leagues with *England*, wherein it was conditioned that the new King of the one, and of the other kingdome, ſhould be bound to ſend to confirme the olde leagues. And likewiſe they had order to ſhew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held

confeſs to be a ſimple conjecture of mine, of which, in the country itſelf, I never found the ſmalleſt confirmation."

[u] If we make *Cape Lopez* the ſouthern boundary of the kingdom of *Benin*, then 250 leagues will bring us to *Benguela*.

[x] *Libro das obras de Garcia de reſende, que tracta da vida è feitos del rey dom Joham ſecundo.* (Cap. 33.)

[y] Volume the ſecond, (Part 2. p. 2.)

held in the Segneury of *Ginnee;* to the intent that after the King of *England* had ſeene the ſame, he ſhould giue charge thorow all his kingdomes, that no man ſhould arme, or ſet foorth Ships to *Ginnee:* and alſo to requeſt him, that it would pleaſe him to giue commandement, to diſſolve a certaine Fleet (*huna armada*) which one *John Tintam*, and one *William Fabian*, Engliſhmen, were making, by commandement of the *Duke of Medina Sidonia*, to goe to the aforeſayd parts of *Ginnee*. With which Ambaſſage the king of *England* ſeemed to be very well pleaſed, and they were received of him with very great honour, and he condeſcended unto all that the ambaſſadors required of him; at whoſe hands they receiued authentical writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralds; and alſo Prouiſoes of thoſe confirmations which were neceſſary. And hauing diſpatched all things well, and with the king's good will, they returned home into their countrey."

The ſame apprehenſions which had induced JOHN to ſend this embaſſy to England, made him carefully conceal the progreſs of his navigators on the weſtern coaſt of Africa: he therefore on all occaſions magnified the dangers of a *Guinea* Voyage; declared that every quarter of the moon produced a tempeſt; that the inhoſpitable ſhores were covered with the moſt tremendous rocks; that the inhabitants were cannibals; and that no Veſſel, but thoſe of a particular conſtruction which the Portugueſe builders had invented, could [z] live in thoſe raging ſeas. At length, the mind of this Monarch

[z] A Pilot, who had often made The Voyage, and was a better Seaman than a Politician, publicly maintained in oppoſition to the king's opinion, that any other kind of Ship would ſerve equally as well for the purpoſe, as the *Caravellas* of his ſovereign. JOHN immediately ſent for this unwary *Pilot*, and publicly reprimanded him for his ignorance. Some months afterwards, the ſame *Pilot* reappeared at court, and approaching the king, thus addreſſed him: *Being of an obſtinate diſpoſition, may it pleaſe your majeſty, I reſolved, notwithſtanding what your majeſty aſſerted, to attempt the Voyage to Guinea in a veſſel different from thoſe that are uſually employed,*

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narch became so irritated by the suspense of prolonged hope, that, on hearing of three sailors who had left *Portugal* for *Castile*, in order to reveal this secret of state, John immediately ordered them to be pursued without mercy; two were killed, and the third, after being conveyed a prisoner to *Evora*, was broke upon the wheel: his shipmates lamenting the hard fate of their comrade, their murmurs reached the ears of the King: *Let every man*, exclaimed the monarch, *abide in his element, I am not partial to travelling seamen.*

Bartholomew Diaz, and Pedro de Covilham. 1486.

That nothing might be wanting to secure the accomplishment of his designs, by the discovery of a passage round the continent of *Africa* to *India*, JOHN at length determined to gain some information respecting the latter country, by means of a journey over land. *Antonio de Lisboa* a Franciscan friar was accordingly dispatched, in company with a layman; but the design was frustrated by their ignorance of Arabic, and having reached Jerusalem they were obliged to return. Disappointment served only to render JOHN more resolute in the attempt, and he next determined by a double project to call forth the utmost degree of enterprise that could be exerted. Accordingly in 1486 a squadron was fitted out under BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ one of the cavaliers of the royal household; and soon afterwards, PEDRO DE COVILLAM, and ALPHONSO DE PAYVA, both of them well versed in *Arabic*, received the following orders respecting a second journey over land: *To discover the country of Presbyter John; to trace the Venetian commerce for Drugs and Spices to its source; to ascertain whether it were possible for ships to sail round the southern extremity of Africa, to India, and to take minute notes of every particular they could glean relative to that important navigation.* To these travellers our first attention shall be paid; since by this method

employed, and I now acknowledge that it is impossible. The king could not refrain from smiling; he favoured *The Pilot* with a private audience, and giving him money desired him to encourage the deception.

method of considering the subject the reader may more easily perceive, that the discovery of The Cape by *Diaz*, and the information that was derived from *Covilham*, were entirely distinct from each other; and that DIAZ did not fail, as some writers have imagined, in consequence of *Covilham*'s report.

We learn from the Missionary Voyage by *Alvarez* in [a] *Ramusio*, and *Purchas*, that COVILLAM the principal character in these travels was a soldier by profession. "Whereas I have spoken often in this booke," says *Alvarez* as inserted in *Purchas*, "of *Peter de Couillan*, *Portuguez*, being an honourable person, and of great credite with *Prete Janni*, and all the court; it is conuenient that I should declare how he came into this countrey, and the cause thereof, as he hath oftentimes told me himselfe. But first I will say, that he is my spirituall sonne, and that I haue oftentimes confessed him, because in three and thirtie yeeres while he liued in this countrey, he told me that he neuer was confessed; because the custome here is not to keepe that secret which is uttered in confession; and that therefore he went into the church, when he confessed his sinnes vnto God.—His beginning was thus: He was borne in the towne of *Couillan* in the kingdom of *Portugall*, and being a boy, he went into Castile, and gat into the seruice of *Don Alfonso*, Duke of *Siuile*; and when the warre began betweene *Portugall* and *Castile*, hee returned

[a] Vol. 1. (*folio* 189—261.) *Viaggio nella Ethiopia al Prete Janni, fatto per Don Francesco Alvarez, Portoghese*, accompanied with a map of Africa. *Alvarez* was sent on this embassy by *Emmanuel*. The above translation though inserted in *Purchas* (vol. 2. p. 1026. & 1091.) was not made by him; he gives an account of it in the following note. "I know not who translated this booke, I found it in Master *Hakluyt*'s papers, and haue abbreuiated it where I could; although it still continueth very long, if not tedious. I also examined it with *Ramusio* his *Italian* edition, and in many places amended the translation; in many supplied it; and added other things, illustrating it with marginall notes, &c. . . I esteem his translations true in those things which he saith he saw: in some others which he had by relation of enlarging trauellers, or boasting *Abassines*, hee may perhaps sometimes rather *mendacia dicere*, than *mentiri*."

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turned home with *Don John Gusman*, brother to the said Duke, which placed him in the house of *Alfonso King of Portugall*; who for his valour presently made him a man at armes, and he was continually in that warre, and serued also abroad in *France*. After the death of King *Alfonso*, he was one of the guard of the King *Don John* his sonne, vntill the time of the treasons; when he sent him into *Castile*, because he spake the *Castilian* tongue very well, to spie out who were those gentlemen of his subjects, which practised there against him. And returning out of *Castile*, he was sent into [b] *Barbarie*, where he stayed a time, and learned the Arabian tongue, and was afterward sent to conclude a peace with the king of *Tremizen*; and being returned he was sent againe to the king *Amoli bela gegi* which restored the bones of the infant *Don Fernando*. At his returne he found that the King *Don John*, desiring by all meanes that his ships should find out the *Spiceries*, had determined to send by land certaine men to discouer as much as they might. And *Alfonso de Paiua* was chosen for this enterprise a citizen of *Castle Blanco*, a very skilfull man, and very expert in the Arabian tongue.

" When *Peter de Couillan* was returned, King John called him and told him secretly, That hauing alwayes knowne him loyall and his faithfull seruant, and readie to doe his majestie good seruice; seeing he vnderstood the *Arabian* tongue; he purposed to send

[b] In the *Collections* made by *Purchas* out of LEO, (vol. 2. p. 749.) we are informed, that the *Arabians* in *Barbary* on the coast of the *Mediterranean*, were much addicted to the study of the Arts and Sciences. In the city of *Fez* were two stately Colleges, adorned with curious paintings, besides many others for the accommodation of students, built by different kings of the *Marin* family; and the students were formerly, says Leo, allowed clothes and board for seven years: he also adds, that in his journey from *Fez*, to *Tunis*, he was entertained by one that was sent ambassador from the people of *Algiers* into *Spain*, whence he brought *three thousand books* in *Arabic*; and that they had extant among them a valuable work, divided into three volumes, called *The Treasurie or Store-House of Husbandry*, translated out of Latin into their tongue, when *Mansor* was Lord of *Granada*.

ſend him with another companion to diſcouer and learne where *Prete Janni* dwelt, and whether his territories reached vnto the Sea; and where the Pepper and Cinnamon grew, and other ſorts of Spicerie which were brought vnto the Citie of *Venice* from the Countries of the *Moores:* ſeeing hee had ſent for this purpoſe one of the houſe of *Monterio*, and one Frier *Anthony of Liſbon* Prior of *Porta de Ferro* which could not paſſe the citie of *Jeruſalem;* ſaying, That it was impoſſible to trauell this way without underſtanding the *Arabian* tongue: and therefore ſeeing he vnderſtood the ſame well, hee prayed him to vndertake this enterprize to doe him this ſo principall ſeruice; promiſing to reward him in ſuch ſort that he ſhould be great in his kingdome, and all his poſteritie ſhould alwayes liue contented.—*Peter* anſwered him, That he kiſſed his majeſtie's hands for the great fauour which he had done him, but that he was ſorry that his Wiſedome and Sufficiencie was not anſwerable to the great deſire he had to ſerue his Highneſſe; and yet nevertheleſſe as his faithful ſeruant he accepted this meſſage with all his heart." Ch. II. § 2. *John the ſecond.*

The moſt curious circumſtance in *Covilham*'s hiſtory, and as *Dr. Vincent* obſerves " of great geographical importance, is the Map or Chart committed to his charge by *Emmanuel*, at that time Prince and afterwards King of Portugal; which was copied and compoſed by the licentiate *Calzadilia* afterwards biſhop of Viſeo, a Doctor *Rodrigo*, and a Jewiſh Doctor *Moſes*, (the *Joſeph* of Mickle) with great ſecrecy in the houſe of *Peter of Alcazova.* This Map was put into *Covilham's* hands with orders to make his way, if poſſible, into *Abyſſinia;* and diſcover whether there was a paſſage round the extremity of *Africa*, which the framers [c] of the map aſſerted to be practicable on Covilham's Chart.

[c] *Et dipaſſare ancho vn di loro nell' Ethiopia à vedere il paeſe del Prete Janni et ſe ne i ſuoi mari fuſſe notitia alcuna che ſi poſſa paſſare ne mare de ponente, perche li detti Dottori diceuano hauerne*

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on the authority of ſome obſcure information which they had collected." No part of this could well be derived either from *Marco Polo*, or his Map; though it muſt be allowed that Dr. Vincent ſeems inclined to favour the contrary idea, when he ſays from Ramuſio, *that M. Polo himſelf ſpeaks of the coaſt of Zanzibar, not as the continent, but as an Iſland two thouſand miles in* [d] *circumference; whatever error there may be in this, it is ſelf-evident, that if he made it an Iſland, he muſt give it a Termination on the South, as well as on the other three quarters; and if he delineated this, that Southern Boundary muſt be the very limit of Africa, which Ramuſio ſays the copy* (of the map) *contained* [e]. Would not this rather perplex than aſſiſt a geographer, whoſe attention was ſolely directed towards the extremity of a *Continent*; and what dependence could a *Portugueſe* navigator place on it, as an authority that a paſſage round the extremity of *Africa* was practicable, when the ſame traveller poſitively declared, *Beyond the Iſlands of Magaſtar* (Madagaſcar) *and Zanzibar, there is no farther Navigation ſouthward, becauſe the ſea runs there with great velocity to the ſouth, ſo that it would be impoſſible for any Veſſel to return.*

But to accompany our travellers on their important expedition: With the above Map, from whatever [f] manuſcripts it might be compiled,

hauerene trouata non ſo che memoria (cited by *Dr. Vincent*, Periplus, part 1. p. 197. *Ramuſio, folio* 237. D. vol. 1.)

[d] *Purchas*, (vol. 3. p. 106.) gives but little credit to this part of M. Polo's Travels, *Theſe relations which follow by relation of others, are of leſſe weight: yea therefore I have omitted the greateſt part. I had trouble enough to finde, and tranſlate the truth; and for ſuch as loue heare-ſay fables, let them ſeek elſewhere.* Inſtead of ſpeaking of the *circumference of Zanzibar*, Purchas tranſlates it—*Zenzibar is of great length*, &c. The expreſſion of Ramuſio is *Dopo queſta di Magaſtar, ſi truoua quella di Zenzibar, laqual per quel che s'inteſe, volge a torno due mila miglia.* (Vol. 2. folio 58. C.) See alſo *Ramuſio's* account of this map, vol. 2. *Dichiaratione*, p. 17.

[e] *Periplus*, P. 203.

[f] Alvarez, in *Purchas* ſays, *They gave them a ſea-card, taken out of a General Map of the world.*

piled, *Pedro de Covilham* and *Alphonso de Payva*, with five hundred crowns in money and a letter of credit, left Lisbon for Naples according to *Castanneda*, in the month of May 1487; where says Alvarez, their bills of exchange were paid by the son of *Cosmo de Medici*; and from Naples they sailed to the island of *Rhodes*. Then crossing over to *Alexandria* they travelled to *Cairo* as merchants, and proceeding with the Caravan to *Tor*, or *al Tur*, on the Red Sea at the foot of Mount Sinai, gained some information relative to the trade with *Calicut*. Thence they sailed to *Aden* without the gulf, and parted; *Covilham* directing his course towards *India*, and *Payva* towards *Suakem* in *Abyssinia*, appointing *Cairo* as the future place of their rendezvous.

Ch. II. § 2. *John the second.*

At *Aden* Covilham embarked in a Moorish ship from *Cananor* on the *Malabar* coast, and after some stay in that city went to *Calicut* and *Goa*, being the first of his countrymen who had sailed on the *Indian Ocean*. He then passed over to *Sofala* on the eastern Coast of *Africa* and examined its gold mines, where he procured some intelligence of the Island of *St. Lawrence* called by the Moors the *Island of the Moon*.

Covilham had now, according to *Alvarez*, *heard of Cloves and Cinnamon, and seen Pepper and Ginger*; he therefore resolved to venture no farther until the valuable information he possessed was conveyed to Portugal. With this idea he returned to Egypt; but found on his arrival at *Cairo*, where he met with messengers from king John, that *Payva* had been murdered. The names of these messengers were *Rabbi Abraham* of *Beja*, and *Joseph of Lamego*; the latter immediately returned with letters from Covilham, containing among other curious facts, the following report: *That* [f] *the ships which sailed down the Coast of Guinea might be sure of reaching*

[f] Dr. Vincent's Periplus, p. 195. and *Ramusio*, vol. 1. *folio* 237, A. *Concludendo, che le sue carauelle, che praticauano in Guinea nauigando terra terra*, &c.

BOOK I. *the termination of the Continent, by persisting in a course to the south; and that when they should arrive in the* EASTERN OCEAN, *their best direction must be to inquire for* SOFALA, *and the* ISLAND OF THE MOON.

Rabbi Abraham who was born at *Beggia* in Tunis, and his companion, having visited the city of *Bagdad* with the *Isle of Ormuz* previous to this event, had thus made themselves acquainted with many particulars respecting the Spice Trade. This alone was sufficient to recommend them to the patronage of *John the second*; and they accordingly were employed by him to seek *Covilham* with *Payva* at Cairo; with additional directions to go to *Ormuz* and the *Coast of Persia*, in order to improve their commercial information. *Covilham* eagerly embraced this opportunity to visit *Ormuz*, and having attended *Abraham* to the *Gulf of Persia*, they returned together to *Aden*; when the latter hastened to give JOHN an account of their tour, and *Covilham* embarked for *Abyssinia* to complete that part of his Voyage which the death of *Payva* had hitherto frustrated.

The relation given by [g] *Bruce*, who with *Castanneda* notices Covilham's voyage to the *Gulf of Persia*, is somewhat more particular, and [h] differs in the name of the Jew sent back with letters to Portugal.

"However, he was there (*at Cairo*) met by two Jews with letters from the king of Abyssina, the one called *Abraham*, the other *Joseph*. Abraham he sent back with letters, but took Joseph along with him again to *Aden*, and thence they both proceeded to *Ormus* in the Persian Gulf.

[g] Bruce's Travels (vol. 2. p. 107.) Of whom Sir W. Jones said, "To the ardent and intrepid *Mr. Bruce*, whose Travels are to my taste uniformly agreeable and satisfactory, we are indebted for more important, and, I believe, more accurate information concerning the nations established near the Nile, from its fountains to its mouths, than all Europe united could before have supplied." *Dissertation on the borderers, mountainers, and islanders of Asia.* (Asiatic Researches, vol. 3. 8vo. p. 4. See also vol. 1. p. 385.)

[h] I have followed the authority of *Alvarez* in *Ramusio*.

Gulf. Here they separated, and the Jew returned home by the caravans that pass along the desert to Aleppo. *Covillan*, now solely intent upon the Discovery of *Abyssinia*, returned to Aden, and, crossing the straits of Babelmandeb, landed in the dominions of that Prince, whose name was *Alexander*, and whom he found at the head of his army, levying contributions upon his rebellious subjects. *Alexander* received him kindly, but rather from motives of curiosity than from any expectation of advantage which could result from his Embassy. He took *Covillan* along with him to *Shoa*, where the Court then resided.

Ch. II. § 2. *John the second.*

" COVILLAN *returned no more to Europe.* A cruel policy of Abyssinia makes this a favour constantly denied to strangers. He married, and obtained large possessions; continued greatly in the favour of several succeeding princes, and was preferred to the principal offices; in which there is no doubt he appeared with all the advantage, a polished and instructed mind has over an ignorant and barbarous one. Frequent dispatches from him came to the King of Portugal, who, on his part, spared no expence to keep open the correspondence. In his Journal *Covillan* described the several Ports in *India* which he had seen; the temper and disposition of the princes; the situation and riches of the Mines of *Sofala:* He reported that the Country was very populous, full of cities both powerful and rich; *and he exhorted the King to pursue, with unremitting vigour, the Passage round Africa*, which he declared to be attended with very little danger; *and that the Cape itself was well known in India.* He accompanied this description with a [1] Chart, or

[1] " Whence *Bruce* draws this account, says Dr. *Vincent* (*Periplus*, p. 197.) I cannot discover; and if there was such a Map among the *Moors* it must be a fiction, for none of them had ever passed *Corrientes* by sea; and cities there are none for almost twenty degrees from *Corrientes* to the Cape, or from the Cape for twenty degrees to the northward on the Western Coast.

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or Map, which he had received from the hands of a Moor in India, where the Cape, and cities all around the coaſt, were exactly repreſented."

Voyage of Bartholomew Diaz.

The attention of the reader may now be directed to the great event that adorns the cloſe of the reign of *John the ſecond.* BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ officer of the king's ſtorehouſe at Liſbon, during the year 1486 and, as already mentioned, previous to *Covilham*'s leaving Portugal, received the command of a ſquadron conſiſting of two ſhips, each of fifty tons, with a tender to carry proviſions. The ſecond veſſel was commanded by *Juan Infante* another cavalier, and *Pedro Diaz* brother [k] to Bartholomew was appointed to the tender. The [l] family of *Diaz* had long been employed in voyages of diſcovery.—By the end of Auguſt the whole was ready and immediately ſailed for the ſouthward.

The

Coaſt. That fictitious Maps of this ſort might exiſt both in the *Indies* and *Europe*, among Mahometans and Chriſtians, is highly probable, for it was a prevailing notion in all ages, that Africa was circumnavigable. . . . We may allow even more than this, and ſay, that the natives had gone by Land much farther to the ſouth than the navigators by Sea; and that their accounts were almoſt unanimous in maintaining the ſame aſſertion. The ſtrongeſt evidence I have found of this is that which the *Portugueſe* afterwards report of *Benomotapa*; a great nation when they arrived in Africa, and the remnant of a much greater, which had poſſeſſed cities of great extent and regular buildings; and from which it was ſaid there were public roads running far to the weſt and quite down to the Cape. BARROSA (*Ramuſio*, v. 1. p. 288. et ſeq.) mentions ſuch a road: that it went far ſouth may be true, but hardly to the cape. We are not to believe theſe reports, perhaps, in their full extent."—(Periplus, p. 206.) "Whenever I can diſcover the authority of *Bruce* it will deſerve conſideration; till then I ſhall think that if *Covilham* filled up the Map he had received, or corrected it, or added to it ſuch information as he could collect; it is a more probable account than the report of this *Mooriſh Map*, which contained cities that never exiſted. Such a corrected Map of *Covilham's* we read of in *Caſtaneda*, who ſeems to have ſeen it, as he ſays it was ill written and diſfigured; this I take to be the Map to which *Bruce* alludes."

[k] *M. Charles Amoretti* the publiſher and tranſlator of a new edition of *Pigafetta's Voyage*, from the *Ambroiſienne* MS. at Milan, Paris, 1801, in his preface (p. 15.) has the following ſingular paſſage, *Le Cap de Bonne Eſpérance, que* DIAS *accompagné de* CADA MOSTO, *navigateur Venetien, avoit découvert en* 1455. M. Amoretti cites no authority though at variance with all the writers who have preceded him.

[l] See pages 205. 214.

The first Stone Pillar which DIAZ placed on the Coast of Africa was at [m] *Sierra Parda*, at the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues beyond any preceding [n] navigator, and in about twenty-four degrees and an half of south latitude: he then, with a resolution worthy of the object he had in view, *stretching boldly out to sea, never touched upon the Coast again till he was forty leagues to the eastward of the Cape, which he had passed without seeing it in his* [o] *passage.* The Squadron sailed in sight of a bay which they called *de los Vaqueros*, or *Herdsmen*, from the numbers of cows that were seen grazing; and proceeding onwards touched at a small Island or Rock, which they named *El Pennol de la Cruz*, or *Santa Cruz*, from the second stone pillar and cross that was erected to mark their progress. *Diaz* had taken the precaution from time to

[m] We learn from Major *Rennell* (Geo. of Herodotus p. 698. *note*) that *Sir Home Popham*, and *Captain Thompson*, whilst exploring the Western Coast of Africa in 1786, saw a marble cross, beyond what has generally been considered as the last that remains from the Portuguese, on a rock near *Angra Pequena* in latitude 26° 37′ south. The Cross had on it the arms of *Portugal*, but the inscription was not legible. The marble had been taken from the adjacent rocks.

[n] Castanneda, Faria y Sousa, Osorius. Here probably is a fresh inaccuracy which it is impossible exactly to ascertain. If we allow *Diego* (see p. 329.) to have reached *Cabo Negro*, then this Cross must have been placed in twenty-one degrees and an half of south latitude.

[o] Dr. Vincent (Periplus, p. 207.) No fact seems to have been more confused by late historians, than this first doubling of the Cape by *Diaz*. *Dr. Vincent* is one of the few writers who have stated it with accuracy. *Robertson* seems to have been misled by *Lafiteau*: "Neither the danger to which he was exposed, by a succession of violent Tempests in unknown seas, and by the frequent mutinies of his crew, nor the calamities of famine which he suffered from losing his Store Ship, could deter him from prosecuting his Enterprise. In recompence of his labours and perseverance, he at last descried that lofty promontory which bounds Africa to the south. *But to descry it, was all that he had in his power to accomplish.*" (Hist. of America, vol. 1. p. 79. 8vo. ed. 1792.) Even *Herrera* himself seems to have possessed but a confused idea of the Portuguese discoveries, for when speaking of the mode in which the kings of Portugal and Spain adjusted their respective demands in 1494. after the first voyage of *Columbus*, the Spanish historiographer adds: "The *Portuguese, who at this time* had discovered very little beyond the Island of *San Tome*, under the equinoctial; that they might not be behind hand with their neighbours, exerted themselves so vigorously, that they *soon after* passed that Cape so dreadful among the Antients, now called *de buena Esperança*, or Cape of Good Hope." (*Stevens's Translation*, vol. 1. p. 117.)

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to time, to ſet ſome negroes aſhore, who had been in Portugal and were well accoutred in order to command the notice and reſpect of the natives; they were alſo provided with a ſmall quantity of goods for the purpoſe of barter, but above all things were charged to make inquiries after the kingdom of Preſter John.

At this Iſland, which ſtill bears the name of *Dela Cruz*, in the *Bay of Algoa*, the crew became urgent to return, ſince their proviſions were nearly exhauſted, and *Pedro* who commanded the victualler was miſſing. *Diaz* however at length perſuaded them to ſtand on about twenty-five leagues farther, ſtill unconſcious of having paſſed the Cape, and feeling mortified leſt after all they had endured they ſhould return unſucceſsful to his ſovereign. The coaſt continued to trend to the eaſtward; and at length having reached a river whoſe entrance was diſcovered by the commander of the ſecond veſſel, they from him called it [p] *Rio del Infante* and returned. But was their aſtoniſhment, and joy, when on their paſſage back, the tremendous and long ſought promontory, which either from the diſtance they were at, or the haze that concealed it, they had not before obſerved, now opened to their view. Here a third pillar was placed, and dedicated to *St. Philip*. To complete their ſatisfaction they ſoon afterwards fell in with the victualler; three only of the nine who had been left in her nine months before were alive, their companions had been murdered by the blacks; and of theſe ſurvivors, one of them *Fernand Colazzo* expired from joy, on again beholding his countrymen.

Diſcovery of the Cape.

Thus the firſt great object which the illuſtrious HENRY DUKE OF VISEO had incited his countrymen to purſue from the year 1412,

[p] What has ſince been called *Great Fiſh River*. A ſeparate diſſertation might be written on this voyage by Diaz, in order to correct the diſtances given by the Portugueſe hiſtorians with the accuracy of modern navigators; and alſo to conſider by what means *Diaz* could ſtem the ſtrong weſterly current ſo as not to ſee *The Cape of Good Hope* until his return.

1412, was at length accomplished; and as *Diaz* had proceeded about seven degrees beyond Cape l'Aguillas or *Needle Point*, the most southern land of Africa, a passage from the Atlantic into the Indian Ocean though still tremendous was in some measure ascertained. From the heavy gales (*tormentos*) which this navigator had experienced, he called the high table land of the great promontory IL CABO DOS TORMENTOS [p]; but the satisfaction which his return in December 1487 gave to his grateful sovereign, and the hope it imparted that Portugal would now enjoy the abundant harvest he had prepared, suggested a more appropriate appellation in IL CABO DEL BUENO ESPERANZA. The muse of *Camoens* felt all the importance of this event: Ch. II. § 2. *John the second.*

> 'Dread roar'd the blast—the wave
> Boils to the sky, the meeting whirlwinds rave
> O'er the torn heavens; loud on their awe-struck ear
> Great Nature seem'd to call, *Approach not here!*
> At Lisboa's Court they told their dread escape,
> And from her raging tempests, named the Cape.
> *Thou southmost Point*, the joyful king exclaim'd,
> CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, *be thou for ever* [q] *named!*'

Yet successful as was the Voyage of *Diaz* it eventually tended to injure the interests of *Portugal*, inasmuch as it rendered the king inattentive to those discoveries which a rival might make in another quarter of the globe. Amidst the intoxication of the moment JOHN neglected to patronise the genius, and to secure the enterprise Columbus. 1492.

[p] *In eo vero flectendo, nostri ejusmodi tempestatibus jactati et afflictati sunt, ut sæpenumero omnem spem salutis abjicerent. Quo factum est, ut Tormentosum illud Promontorium appellarent. Tormenta enim apud nos, est idem quod tempestas aduersa.* (Osorius, p. 23.)

[q] Mickle's *Lusiad*, (vol. 2. p. 289.)

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prise of a foreigner who had gained his experience in the maritime school of Lisbon, had obtained the valuable Journals and Drawings of *Bartholomew Perestrello* by a marriage with his [r] daughter *Donna Felipa Moniz*, and in return, after giving Genoa his native country the first refusal, had offered to conduct the caravellas of *Portugal* to the *Indies* by a route hitherto unexplored. The Voyages of *Columbus* will hereafter receive a more distinct and separate attention; originating from the maritime school which the Portuguese had established, they will in their turn lead us to the developement of the south-western limits of the Atlantic, and thus form a principal, though secondary division in the progress of maritime discovery. It is perhaps impossible to ascertain the exact year when *Columbus* first submitted his idea of a Western World to JOHN, but it must have been previous to the Voyage of DIAZ; since *Columbus* despairing of success appears to have sent his brother *Bartholomew* to England in 1485; who then published the first map of the world that had appeared in our country, and in order to recommend himself to the reigning monarch dedicated it to *Henry the seventh*.—On the third of August 1492, COLUMBUS sailed from the port of *Palos* in the province of *Andalusia*, and discovered the first land of the West Indies, *San Salvador*, on the morning of Friday the twelfth of October following. At his return in 1493, being forced by repeated gales of wind to take shelter in the *Tagus*, he on the twenty-fourth of February received the king's permission to come up to Lisbon; and though the admiration of JOHN was mingled with regret, his behaviour on that trying occasion, proved and confirmed the virtues of his character. *Columbus* therefore was treated with respect and departed in safety: but left these discoveries of the Spaniards might injure that sovereignty of the ocean

[r] Life of Columbus, by his son. (*Churchill's Collect.* vol. 2. p. 501.)

ocean which the Portuguese had eminently enjoyed, the king endeavoured to counteract this effect by negotiation. *Pope Alexander the sixth* having already meeted out an eastern hemisphere to *Portugal* in the plenitude of his power, had issued another *Bulla*, 1493, in order to bestow the western on *Spain*. A copy of the original of this curious State Paper appears in [s] *Purchas*, with a subjoined

Ch. II. § 2. *John the second.*

[s] Purchas, vol. 1. (Second book, p. 17.) Mr. *Dalrymple*, in his account of the Spanish Discoveries before 1595, has the following Observations on the *Line* of *Demarcacion*, as settled by this *Bulla*. (*Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, vol.* 1. *p.* 51.) " It will be proper to explain the Term, and free the subject from some very erroneous misconstructions, which even authors of reputation have been led into. When the Spirit of Discovery was warm in SPAIN and PORTUGAL, it was foreseen that disputes would arise about limits. It was therefore referred to the Pope to settle a line of *Demarcacion*, which should determine the limits of each. This Line may be called the *first Meridian*: it was placed 370 leagues to the westward of ST. ANTONIO, one of the CAPE VERDE Islands. All in the eastern hemisphere appertaining to Portugal, and in the western to Spain: it was not all *Discoveries* made to the *westward* by the one, and to the *eastward* by the other, but within the hemisphere; and the Spanish pretensions to the MALUCOS, was grounded on a presumed fallacy of the Portuguese, in representing the longitudes of the eastern parts of INDIA much less than they really were. Experience of modern times has confirmed the Portuguese reports, and confuted the Spanish, who nevertheless, continue to hold the Philipinas against the Pope's Bull. (*Vide Cespedes's Hydrographia*, where the judgment of the pilots is preserved, P. 129 to 153, folio, Madrid, 1606.)" Mr. *Dalrymple* afterwards adds (*Ibid.* p. 205.) In the above account of the *Demarcacion*, I have not confined myself merely to the Pope's Bull, but have included the subsequent explanations and stipulations; the Bull was granted upon Columbus's first Voyage, it is dated May 4, 1493.—The first voyage of the *Portuguese* to *India* by the Cape of Good Hope, was made by *Vasco de Gama*, in 1497. The *Malucos* were not discovered till 1511; and the Spaniards did not visit them till 1521; so that all the reports grounded on a supposed regulation of Limits between the Spaniards and Portuguese in the *East Indies*, arise from inattention to chronology.

Three commissioners on the part of Spain, and a like number in behalf of Portugal, met at *Tordesillas*: these for Spain were, *Don Enrique Enriquez* Mayor-domo mayor del Rey Catolico; *Don Gutierre de Cardenas* commendador mayor de Leon y su contador mayor; *El Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado*. The Portuguese Commissioners were, *Ruy de Sesa* Senor de Sagre y Birenguel. *Don Juan de Sesa*, his son, almotacen mayor. *Licentiate Arias de Almada*, Juez del desembargo.

On June 7, 1493, they agreed, " that the line of *Demarcacion* (which the Pope had placed *one hundred* leagues to the West of *one* of the *Islands of Azores*, or *Cape Verde*), should be removed *two hundred and seventy* leagues farther *West*, from the *Islands* of *Cape Verde*, and that from this meridian, all to the West should belong to Spain, and from thence to the East,

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joined tranſlation. With a long, and rather blaſphemous preamble, *Wee*, ſays Alexander, *of our owne motion, and not eyther at your requeſt or at the inſtant petition of any other perſon, but of our owne meere liberalitie and certaine ſcience, and by the fulneſſe of apoſtolicall power; doe giue, grant, and aſſigne to you, your heires and ſucceſſors, all the firme Lands and Ilands found or to be found, diſcovered or to be diſcovered, toward the Weſt and South; drawing a line from the Pole Artike, to the Pole Antartike (that is) from the North to the South: contayning in this Donation, whatſouer firme Lands or Ilands are found, or to be found toward India, or toward any other part whatſoeuer it be, being diſtant from, or without the foreſaid Line, drawne a hundred leagues toward the Weſt, and South, from any of the ilands which are commonly called* DE LOS AZORES *and* CAPO VERDE. The firſt embaſſy from Caſtile to ſecure the maritime independence of Portugal was conducted by *Garcia de Herrera*, who was followed by *Don Pedro de Ayala*, and *Garci Lopez de Carvajal*. After much deliberation it was at length ſettled by their reſpective Courts on the twenty-third of June in the ſame year, 1493, that the line of partition drawn by the Pope ſhould be advanced two hundred and ſeventy leagues towards the weſtward.

Character of John the ſecond.

JOHN THE SECOND in many reſpects bore a ſtriking reſemblance to *Charlemagne* as deſcribed by *Monteſquieu* in his *Eſprit des Loix*. Like him he determined to render power and wealth however independent ſubſervient to Juſtice; like him he not only promulgated

ſhould belong to the navigation, conqueſt, and diſcovery of the kings of Portugal; and that the *navigation* by the *ſea* of the *king of Portugal* ſhould be free to the kings of Caſtile, *going a direct Courſe*, but that neither ſhould ſend to trade within the limits of the other" This was put in writing, and confirmed on the 2d of July by the king of Spain; and on the 27th of February by the king of Portugal.

"In the council of Pilots in 1524, upon the circumnavigation of the Victory, it was agreed, that the *three hundred and ſeventy* leagues ſhould be reckoned from St. Antonio, the moſt weſtern of the Cape de Verde Iſlands, in which latitude they reckoned 370 leagues to be 22° 9′ and therefore they place the line of Demarcacion 22° 9′ W. a St. Antonio, or about 48° from Greenwich."

mulgated wiſe laws, but cauſed them to be impartially adminiſtered; like him, *vaſte dans ſes deſſeins, ſimple dans l'execution, perſonne n'eut à un plus haut degré l'art de faire les plus grandes choſes avec facilité, et les difficiles avec promptitude.* It was in ſpeaking of this monarch to Henry the ſeventh that an Engliſh traveller remarked; *The greateſt curioſity I beheld in Portugal was a Prince, who though ſovereign of the will of others ſuffered no one to have any influence on his own.* When *Alphonſo Silva* the Caſtilian ambaſſador urged John to engage in continental politics, he replied—*My ambition has other objects in view. Like the neighbouring potentates, I alſo aſpire to enjoy the fame of being accounted* GREAT; *but in purſuit of this object I have taken a different and a ſhorter road, and have reſolved to lay the foundation of my greatneſs at home: for this reaſon, I never engaged in any of theſe alliances. Tell your Maſter; and be aſſured it is the only anſwer you will ever bare him from me, for I am not given to change my* [t] *reſolutions.*

Ch. II. § 2. *John the ſecond.*

JOHN poſſeſſed ſufficient wiſdom to purſue this policy with perſeverance; and as his whole mind was thus given without interruption to the promotion of Diſcovery and [u] Commerce, his feelings were irritated by the ſmalleſt diſreſpect ſhewn to the Portugueſe Flag. A rich Caravella from *Guinea* having been taken by ſome *French* Corſairs, the king laid an embargo on all the veſſels of that country in his ports; and directed *Vaſco de Gama* who even then was high in the profeſſion to make repriſals. Orders were immediately iſſued by *Charles* the French monarch that inſtant reſtitution ſhould be made; but when the caravella was reſtored a *paroquet* belonging to ſome of the crew could not be found. JOHN refuſed to give up the French ſhips until the bird was conveyed to Liſbon; all remonſtrance

[t] Chriſtoval Ferreira y Sampayo, Em. Tellez. La Clede, p. 546, 547. Garcias de Reſende.

[u] During this reign *Liſbon* was firſt declared a free port.

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ſtrance was in vain: *I would have it known*, exclaimed the king, *that the Flag of Portugal can protect even a Paroquet.*

Improvement of nautical inſtruments.

To the lateſt period of his life this celebrated monarch endeavoured to improve the mathematical inſtruments then in uſe, and for this purpoſe cauſed ſeveral experiments to be made in his preſence. "Nauigation," ſays [x] *Purchas*, "doth owe as much to this Prince as to any; who had employed *Roderigo* and *Joſeph* his Jewiſh phyſicians, cunning mathematicians of that time, with *Martin Bohemus*, the ſcholler of *John Monte Regius*, to deuiſe what helpes they could for the Mariners in their ſaylings thorow vnknowne ſeas, where neyther Starres (as vnknowne) nor Land (being out of kenne) could guide them. Theſe firſt after long ſtudy applyed *The Aſtrolabe*, before vſed onely by aſtronomers, to marine vſe, and deuiſed the *Tables of Declinations* to find out the latitude of places, and how to direct their courſe (which was afterwards by the knowledge of the variation, exceedingly furthered) whereby the Mariner's Art firſt began to free itſelfe from the rudeneſſe of former times."—During the king's convaleſcence after the ſevere illneſs he experienced in 1493, a part of his occupation at *Evora* conſiſted in planning different ſorts of veſſels with ſome experienced ſhip-builders, or in giving orders for the conſtruction of forts at *Caſcaes* and at *Caparica*, in order to defend the entrance of the *Tagus*. Among the eminent men in this reign was the celebrated [y] *Galvano*, who according to the *Voyage of Alvarez* had been ſecretary to king ALPHONSO THE FIFTH, and occupied the ſame poſt during the reign of his ſucceſſor JOHN THE SECOND. The abilities and experience of this ſecretary muſt have proved of eſſential ſervice to his maſter; and

[x] Vol. 1. Book 2. p. 8. See alſo *Caſtera*, and *de Barros* (decade 1. l. 4. c. 2.)

[y] The father of *Antonio Galvano*, whoſe eſſay on the *Diſcoveries of the World*, is inſerted in the *Appendix*. Edward Galvano is alſo mentioned by *Bruce* (vol. 2. p. 142.)

and we can only wonder that with ſuch an adviſer the propoſals of *Columbus* were neglected. Ch. II. § 2. *John the ſecond.*

Such was the monarch who expired on the twenty-fifth of October 1495, in the fortieth year of his age and fourteenth of his reign. To the laſt he preſerved a decided preference for a favourite natural ſon of the name of George, and but for the firmneſs of *Antonio de Faria* would have inſerted that beloved name in his will; through a vain hope of making this ſon ſucceed to the crown, in preference to the duke of *Beja*, who was only couſin to the king, and nephew of his predeceſſor Alphonſo the fifth. The ſtate of Portugal at the death of John the ſecond is thus deſcribed by [z] Lafiteau. *Le Nom Portugais rempliſſoit toute l'Europe, il avoit effacé la gloire que les Phéniciens, les Carthaginois, les Grecs, et les Romains, s'étoient acquiſe dans l'art de naviger. Mais comme les Indes furent toûjours ſon grand objet, qu'il y penſoit ſans ceſſe, juſques à perdre le ſommeil et le repos, il n'eut pas ſur ce point la ſatisfaction qu'il s'étoit promiſe; et la mort qui l'enleva à la veille des grands événements qu'il attendoit, fit connoître qu'il n'avoit ſemé, qu'afin qu'un autre plus heureux que lui recueillit la moiſſon.*

As we have now nearly terminated the progreſs of maritime diſcovery on the *weſtern coaſt* of Africa, and ſhall return thither in the ſubſequent volume only to notice the early Voyages of our [a] countrymen to that Coaſt; it may improve the readers hydrographical knowledge if ſome remarks be offered relative to the ATLANTIC, the narroweſt part of which between Africa and America, is about five hundred leagues.

HYDRO-

[z] Decouvertes des Portugais, (vol. 1. p. 70.)

[a] The firſt was in 1553, by M. *Thomas Windant*, and *Antonio Anes Pinteado*, who ſailed from Portſmouth to Guinea and Benin. (*Hackluyt* vol. 2. part 2. p. 11.) Some obſervations on the Portugueſe Diſcoveries, and the Colonies formed by them in Africa, occur in *Mr. Wadſtrom's Eſſay on Civilization*, particularly applied to the *Weſtern Coaſt of Africa*. (P. 121.) 4to. 1794.

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Hydrographical remarks.

HYDROGRAPHY has hitherto been so little considered, that nautical writers are often perplexed from want of some accurate yet simple divisions of THE OCEAN, which is found to occupy about two thirds of the whole surface of the globe. The editors of the French *Encyclopedie*, or rather Monf. D'Alembert, did but little in this respect. He divided this prodigious collection of circumambient water, into (1) *The Atlantic Ocean* which bounds the western extremity of the Ancient World, and the eastern coast of the New. It was also called the Western Ocean, as being to the west of Europe. (2) *The Pacific Ocean*, *South Sea*, or *la Grande Mer*, flowing between the eastern Coast of *Asia*, and the western boundary of *America*. (3) *The Hyperborean* or *Northern Ocean* washing the shores of the *Arctic* continent. (4) *The Southern Ocean*, flowing round the South Pole and forming a part of the *Indian Ocean*. Some writers confine the *Atlantic* to the equator, where they make the *Ethiopic Ocean* commence, whilst others have only three Divisions, *The Atlantic*, *The Pacific*, and *The Indian*.

The latest modern writer who has considered this subject is *M. Fleurieu*, editor of *Marchand*'s Voyage, in his *Observations sur la division hydrographique du globe, et changemens proposés dans la nomenclature générale et particulière de* [b] *l'hydrographie*. But with due submission to this hydrographer he seems rather to confuse and increase the terms employed, than to simplify or reduce their number. The inferior subdivisions of THE OCEAN can never be confined to any nomenclator, but will change with the revolutions of commerce and of nations, will vary with the fluctuating tide of human

[b] Tome 4. quarto ed. of the original, and tome 6. of the octavo. M. *Fleurieu* has also inserted *Recherches sur les terres australes de Drake, et un examen critique du voyage de Roggeween*, as a sort of sequel to a dissertation published in 1790 *Découvertes des Français dans le Sud-Est de la Nouvelle Guinée, précédées de l'abrégé historique des Navigations et des Découvertes des Espagnols dans les mêmes parages*.

human events, and consequently be marked by vicious denominations or local partialities. We must therefore only hope to distinguish the great hydrographical divisions of the OCEAN by terms of general acceptation; and if these can once be fixed in a plain and impartial manner, there is little doubt of their being gradually adopted. Some of the [e] principal Divisions suggested by *M. Fleurieu* are (1) The *Atlantic Ocean*, which he subdivides into the *septentrional*, *equinoctial*, and *meridional* Atlantic. (2) The *Pacific* he by way of distinction styles *Le Grand Ocean*, comprehending all the sea west of *America* as far north as Behring's Streights, and as far west as the Coast of *Asia:* this also is subdivided into the *great Boreal Ocean*, the *great Equinoctial Ocean*, and the *great Austral Ocean;* and then steals in a fourth subdivision *the Indian Sea:* which obliges him to make the Coast of *China*, with the eastern coast of *New Holland*, the western limits of his *Grand Ocean*.

After much conversation on this subject with one of the first hydrographers of the present age Mr. *Arrowsmith*, whose liberality is only equalled by his information, I have ventured to offer the following *Divisions*

[e] Besides these we have among others from *M. Fleurieu*, (1.) The *Frozen Arctic* Ocean. (2.) The *Frozen Antartic* Ocean. (3.) *Mediterranean of America*, comprehending Baffin's Bay, Hudson's Bay, &c. (4.) *Gulf of Nova Zembla*. (5.) *Great Gulf of India*, comprehending the gulf of the Ganges, bay of Bengal, and the gulf of Sinde. (6.) *Great Archipelago of Asia*. (7.) *Sea of Tartary*. (8.) *Behring's Basin*. He also separates the following ARCHIPELAGOS in the *Grand Oceqn*. 1. *Dangerous Archipelago*, from Whitsund to Cain Island. 2. *Archipelago of the Stormy Sea*, from Sonder Grond, or Disappointment of *Byron*, to Prince of Wales, and the Labyrinth. 3. *Archipelago of the Society Islands*. 4. *Archipelago of Roggewin*, or *Bauman's Isles*. 5. *Archipelago of Navigators*. 6. *Archipelago of the Friendly Islands*. 7. *Archipelago* of *Mendana*. 8. Archipelago of the *Sandwich Isles*, or *La Mesa*. 9. *Mulgrave's Range*. 10. *St. Cruz of Mendana.—M. Fleurieu* is of opinion that some of the original names, as given by discoverers, may be retained: *Terra de la Roche*, or *Island of St. Pierre of Duclos*, should not be called *New Georgia*. The *Elizabethides of Drake* should remain. The *pernicious Islands of Roggewin*, should not be lost in *Cook's* and *Pallisser's Islands*.

BOOK I. *Divisions of the Ocean* to the attention of nautical men. (1) The *North Atlantic*, extending from the equator to *Cape Farewell* on the coast of *Greenland* in 60° north latitude. (2) *South Atlantic*, from the equator to an imaginary line drawn from the *Cape of Good Hope* to *Cape Horn*. (3) *Indian Ocean*, bounded to the south by a line carried from the *Cape of Good Hope* to the south-west point of *New Holland*. (4) *The North* [d] *Pacific*, flowing from the equator to *Cape Prince of Wales* in the latitude of 66° north (5) *South Pacific*, from the equator to an imaginary line stretched from the south-eastern point of *Van Diemen's Land*, to the southern cape of *New Zealand*, and continued thence to *Cape Horn*. The remaining portions of the Ocean flowing round the northern, and southern Poles, to be called the *North*, and *South Polar* [e] *Seas*.

The *Depth of the Ocean* is divided by scientific men into two parts; the upper region, from the surface as far as the rays of the sun can pierce, and the lower region which extends thence to the bottom. Respecting the depth of the sea answering to the elevation of the earth above it, *Mr. Ray* in his three physico-theological discourses offers the following [f] remarks. "It hath been observed by some, that where there are high Cliffs or Downs along the shore, there the sea adjoining is deep; and where there are low and level grounds, it is shallow.—As the earth from the shores is gradually

[d] The term *Pacific* appears preferable to that of *Grand Ocean*; for when such an appellation is given to a subdivision of water, however great, what can we assign to that abyss, of which the *Grand Ocean* only forms a part. Besides *El Mar Pacifico* the original name given by the Spaniards when they first navigated this sea from *Mexico* to *Peru*, is by no means inconsistent with a great collection of water; which though not always exempt from storms, yet owing to its ample swell and extensive sweep, possesses a calmness peculiar to itself which the narrow limits of other Seas effectually prevent.

[e] The above boundary of the *Indian* and *Pacific* Oceans to the south, corresponds with the limit which Government wishes to assign to the commercial jurisdiction of our East India Company.

[f] Page 26.

gradually higher and higher, to the middle and parts most remote from the sea, which is evident by the descents of rivers, they requiring a constant declivity to carry them down; thus the sea likewise is proportionably deeper and deeper from the shores to the middle. So that the rising of the earth from the shores to the mid-land, is answerable to the descent or declivity of the bottom of the sea from the same shores to the mid-sea. This rising of the earth from the shores gradually to the mid-land is so considerable, that it is very likely the altitude of the earth in those mid-land parts above the *superficies* of the sea, is greater than that of the mountains above the level of the adjacent lands." The Count *Marsigli* in his natural history of the Sea, and *Dr. Donati* in his Essay towards a natural history of the Adriatic, printed at Venice in 1750, present many curious observations to the notice of scientific men. The first conjectures will reason, that the taste of sea water is materially affected by fossil coal, and other bituminous substances which compose its bed. The second recites many facts to prove, that the bottom, and consequently the level of the sea is continually rising [g].

Varenius in his excellent geographical work, already cited, has given six [h] chapters to hydrography, in which some queries are offered to the attention of mariners. 'I wish,' says this writer, 'there were more diligent and accurate observations made by those who have the opportunities of making them, to remove, if possible, the following doubts: Whether the *Indian*, *Atlantic*, and *Pacific Ocean* are of the same altitude, or the *Atlantic* be lower than the other two; whether the northern ocean, near the *Pole*, and within the *frigid zone*, be higher than the *Atlantic*; whether the *Red Sea* be higher than the *Mediterranean*; whether the *Pacific Sea* be higher than

[g] Philos. Transactions, vol. 49. p. 585.

[h] Vol. 1. p. 161. and p. 194.

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than the *Mexican Bay;* and whether the *Baltic* be as high as the *Atlantic.* The continual flux and reflux of the Sea, and Currents, make the face of the Ocean mutable, and its parts of a different altitude at different times; but these arise from external causes, and we here only consider the natural constitution of the water: besides, they do not seem to alter the altitude so much in the middle of the ocean, as near the shores." To these Desiderata by *Varenius* many others might with ease be added. (1) The width and depth of the mouths of all the Rivers in the world, with observations on their Bars. (2) The height above the level of the Sea of the principal Headlands as ascertained by observation; character of the Coast, whether dark rocks or chalk cliffs. (3) The set and velocity of Currents, times of high water, rise of tide, and soundings. The topography of the ocean has at present been only imperfectly illustrated; though many facts indeed have been long deposited amidst the arcana of the English Admiralty, whence the skill and experience of Mr. *Dalrymple* is at present employed to derive a professional source of hydrographical accuracy. Yet still much remains to be accomplished.—If we confine these remarks to the Coast which has hitherto occupied our attention, it may be observed that the *Chain of Atlas* has been always incorrectly delineated. *Shaw* gave four maps[1] of the northern provinces of Africa, but the chain of *Atlas* was

[1] Professor *Hubner* in his geography, notices the best Maps of *Africa* which then existed: that of *Moll* is first mentioned with credit. Then follow three of *M. de l'Isle*, who divided Africa into southern, northern, and eastern. These three Maps were copied by *Mortier*. One by *M. Robert* appeared in 1740. But the best, in Mr. Hubner's opinion, was that of *M. Haas*, engraved by the heirs of the *Sieur Homann* at Nuremberg.

The following Latitudes and Longitudes on the Western Coast of Africa, were ascertained from Lunar Observations by an Officer of Rank in the King's Service.

	Latitude.	*Longitude.*
Fredericksburg	4° 46′ N.	2° 53′ W.
Aqueda	4° 42′ N.	2° 50′ W.
Cape Three Points	4° 42′ N.	2° 43′ W.

Dick's

was only partially marked by this geographer. According to *Arrowsmith's* last map of *Africa* in four sheets, *Mount Atlas* butts on the *Atlantic* at *Cape Geer;* then takes nearly a north-eastern direction, passing through the empire of Morrocco and Fez to *Cape Tenis*, and then an easterly direction through the greatest part of the kingdom of *Algiers*.

The Western Coast of *Africa* within these few years has received considerable attention. *Cabo Blanco*, which had long been represented as the most western point of land, is now placed in 17° 12′ west, and *Cabo Verde* is ascertained to be the most western promontory. To describe all the corrections and changes which this Coast has undergone, from the Charts in common circulation, would require a separate dissertation, and may be fully explained by an examination of the charts in this volume. It will therefore at present be sufficient to notice one curious circumstance. The centre of the *Island of St. Thomas* as ascertained by lunar observations, and also time-keepers which agreed to one mile, is placed in 6° 36′ east longitude from *Greenwich;* whereas, according to the largest Charts of the above Coast,

	Latitude.	*Longitude.*
Dick's Cove	4° 46′ N.	2° 40′ W.
Dutch Batenstein	4° 48′ N.	2° 36′ W.
Dutch Tæcarari	4° 49′ N.	2° 25′ W.
Secundée	4° 54′ N.	2° 22′ W.
Dutch St. Sebastian	5° 0′ N.	2° 16′ W.
Commendo	5° 2′ N.	2° 10 W.
Elmina	5° 1′ N.	2° 4′ W.
Cape Coast	5° 3′ N.	1° 51′ W.
Anamaboo	5° 9′ N.	1° 43 W.
Dutch Fort Maurée	5° 6′ N.	1° 47′ W.
Island St. Thomas, *Road Anchaves*, the north-eastern point	0° 27′ N.	6° 50′ E.
Walwish Bay	22° 50′ S.	14° 15′ E.
Mouth of the Great River Zaire or Congo	5° 35 S.	12° 40′ E.
Annobon	1° 35′ S.	6° 0′ E.
Benguella	12° 37′ S.	12° 45′ E.
Cape Lopez Gonsalves	0° 48′ S.	8° 10′ E.

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Coaſt, the centre of the *Iſland of St. Thomas* is, on the contrary, fixed in 10° eaſt longitude from Greenwich, and the coaſt of Guinea appears ſixty-eight leagues longer than it is in reality. All the Coaſt to the ſouthward as far as the *Cape of Good Hope* has been rectified by the lateſt aſtronomical obſervations.

The *Portugueſe* in their earlieſt charts diſtinguiſhed a part of the *Atlantic* by the name of *Mar di Sargaſſo;* and extended this diviſion from the [i] 20° of north latitude, to 34° ſouth. The *Sargaſſo* is a ſort of *creſſe*, and bears a berry not unlike the red currant, but inſipid and hollow; it is thus deſcribed by [k] *Roggewein:* "They now found themſelves in the latitude of 18° north, in that part of the ſea, which is generally ſpeaking covered with graſs ſo that at a diſtance it really looks like a meadow. There are ſome years in which none of this graſs appears; and others, again, in which it abounds, and is found in prodigious quantities." This part of the *Atlantic* is of a great depth, and far from land.

Currents.

The moſt extraordinary CURRENT of the Sea is deſcribed by *Varenius* [l], as being that which impels the waters of the *Atlantic* from *Cape Verde* along the coaſt of *Guinea*, towards the curvature or bay of Africa called after *Fernando Poo;* the direction of this Current after paſſing *Cape St. Anne* is from weſt to eaſt, and ſuch is its force adds *Varenius*, that when ſhips approach too near the ſhore it carries them violently towards that bay, and deceives the mariners in their reckoning. This Current, according to the above geographer, only affects that part of the *Atlantic* which is adjacent to the Coaſt of *Guinea* as far as the extent of that gulf, and to about one degree of [m] ſouth latitude. The following conjectures as

[i] *Varenius*, vol. 1. p. 221. *Barbot*, p. 537. See alſo Dr. *Vincent*'s Periplus, page 179. N. 282.

[k] *Harris*'s Collection (v. 1. p. 313.)

[l] Vol. 1. p. 265.

[m] Here *Varenius* appears incorrect, it more probably comes ſeven, or eight degrees to the ſouthward of the line, and then turning round to the weſtward unites with the Gulf Stream: the

given by *Varenius* are interesting, though he sets out with an error. (1.) The Ocean being repulsed by the *American* shore moves slowly to the eastward, but this motion is not felt in the Main, because the other destroys it, and renders it less sensible; only near the shore it runs swiftly towards *Fernando Poo*, which being stretched a considerable way into the land is fittest to receive it; and the reason why it is not felt in other places upon the shore of Africa, (as at *Congo*) is because the rapidity of the rivers breaks and obstructs it. (2.) There may be some subterraneous receptacle in the Bay of *Fernando Poo*, into which the sea perhaps may fall and draw the rest of the Ocean.—According to Major [n] Rennell, who has considered the streams of Current in the *Atlantic* with attention, Modern navigators find a constant motion of the sea to the southward along the western coasts of *Europe*, and *Africa*, from the parallel of Ireland, at least, to the borders of the south-east trade wind; and on the other hand, a motion of the sea to the north, from the southern extremity of Africa, to the equator, or rather beyond it: with the exception of those particular *veins* of these streams which are produced by inlets or projections of the coast. The current mentioned by *Varenius*, seems to be described as, *the narrow vein of Easterly Current, which came originally from the North, and passes within the accumulation of water that escapes Westward in a direction nearly parallel to the coast of* [o] *Guinea.* The latest writer who has written on the currents of the Atlantic is Colonel Capper, in a valuable [p] work already noticed. "During ten months of the year, from the beginning of February to

Ch. II. § 2. *Hydrographical Remarks.*

the professional reader is referred on this subject to an excellent hydrographical chart of the North Atlantic Ocean constructed by Gerard de Brahm in 1771.

[n] Geography of Herodotus, (p. 700.)

[o] Ibid. p. 701.

[p] *Observations on the winds and monsoons*, 1801. P. 201. (See preceding page 243. and Introduction, p. 210.)

BOOK I. to the beginning of December, this gulf, (of Guinea) which is a central point between the North of the *European* Coaſt, and the South of *Africa*, is from very obvious cauſes, the hotteſt part of this line. Here then, during theſe ten months, the greateſt degree of evaporation muſt neceſſarily take place; and conſequently, as water will always [a] reaſſume its level, the waters of the adjacent parts of the *Atlantic Ocean* will flow from that part which is colder, towards this point in different directions, to reſtore the equilibrium: this muſt neceſſarily produce Currents from the North of *Europe*, the ſouthern extremity of *Africa*, and alſo from the weſtern part of the *Atlantic Ocean*, parallel to the Coaſt, particularly during the two Equinoxes. But as a further confirmation of this Hypotheſis, in the months of *December* and *January*, whilſt the *Harmattan* prevails, and the ſun is at its greateſt diſtance from the *Coaſt of Guinea*, the *Southern Ocean* is warmer than this gulf; both the Wind and Currents at that time, which have before come from the North, South, and Weſt, during the ten preceding months, ſuddenly change, and during the Winter Solſtice both take the oppoſite direction to the end of *January*. This regular Change, which is perfectly periodical, ſeems to prove, almoſt to a mathematical certainty, that the Winds and Currents in this part of the *Atlantic* are both regulated by the effects of heat and cold. With reſpect to the drain along the Weſtern Coaſts of *Europe* and *Africa* during the ſpring, ſummer, and autumn, we may reaſonably impute it to the ſame Cauſe; for Evaporation, being greater near the Coaſt than out at ſea, will likewiſe at theſe ſeaſons, particularly in ſummer, occaſion a fall from the Ocean towards the Coaſt; and of courſe, according to this hypotheſis, this Current will be ſtrong or weak in proportion to the temperature

[a] If Water reaſſumes its level, which is ſurely fact if properly and fairly examined, this ſeems to aſcertain that one Sea cannot be higher than another, unleſs it is an Inland Sea.

temperature of the different latitudes, and vary very much at different seasons of the year.

" Doctor *Halley* has suggested, that the expanse of water by evaporation is sufficient to account for the constant Current which runs from the Ocean into the Mediterranean, without looking for any other cause; to which, however, it has been objected, that this could not be an adequate reason, as probably there is an equal Evaporation both from the Sea, and the Ocean. But this latter Objection does not appear to me to be well founded; for in the summer the Land is always much hotter than Water, and the surrounding air on land is much more dry; consequently the evaporation of all Mediterranean, or Inland Seas must be infinitely greater, than that of the Ocean in the same parallels, where the air is already saturated, and continues in the same temperature many days successively. Besides, it must be remembered, that the water evaporated from what is generally called the *Mediterranean Seas*, is immediately in summer conveyed towards the land, where great part of it remains; being either precipitated there in Rain for the benefit of the earth, or retained on the summit of the mountains, in the form of Ice and Snow; and even the remainder is but slowly returned into the different seas and lakes through the channels of the adjacent rivers. The quantity of water thus raised in Vapour, and retained there for these beneficial purposes, can only be supplied by a constant Current from that part of the *North Atlantic*, with which it immediately communicates. Should this Hypothesis, on further examination, be considered as well founded, it will serve also to account for the *Equatorial Currents;* for during the Equinoxes, and for some weeks preceding and following them, the evaporation near the Equator must be very considerable; the Water adjacent, therefore, will flow in to supply the deficiency, and consequently in all parts of the Ocean, where it is not obstructed by land, will produce

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duce at this ſeaſon oppoſite Currents from the two Poles towards the Equator. But an exact account of the Currents in the *Atlantic* kept for one year, would verify or refute this ſyſtem; and the ſtrength of the Current at different ſeaſons from the Ocean to the *Mediterranean* through the Straits of Gibraltar, would afford very uſeful information on this ſubject."

The following obſervations on the Navigation [r] from *Europe* to *India*, are chiefly ſelected from the *Neptune Oriental* of *D'Apres de Mannevillette.*

Trade Winds.

From the twenty-eighth degree of north latitude almoſt to the equinoctial Line, navigators find thoſe regular *Winds*, called by the Italians *venti regolati*, by the French *vents alizees*, and by us *Trade Winds;* they blow from north north-eaſt to eaſt during the whole year. But this rule although general throughout the *Atlantic*, is nevertheleſs ſubject to certain exceptions, eſpecially near the Coaſts of the continent, in the neighbourhood of iſlands, and in other places from particular cauſes.

If we examine with attention the Journals of our moſt experienced navigators, we ſhall perceive that the Coaſts of thoſe great continents, which lie between the Tropics, are ſtruck obliquely by winds whoſe direction is relative to thoſe that prevail in the ſurrounding ſeas. In conſequence of this, on the African coaſt from *Cabo Blanco* to *Sierra Leona*, with the exception of land-breezes and heavy gales, Winds blow more from north to north-weſt than from north to eaſt. From *Sierra Leona*, to *Cape Palmas*, the uſual direction [s] of the wind is from weſt north-weſt, and beyond the

[r] See alſo APPENDIX, Article III. (P. 258.)

[s] From the Obſervations which *Mr. Arrowſmith* has collected, the following remark is taken: "As there is no general rule which admits not of ſome exception, ſo there is in the *Atlantic* a tract of ſea, wherein the ſoutherly, and ſouth-weſterly winds are perpetual, *viz.* all along the Coaſt of *Guinea* for five hundred leagues together, from Sierra Leona to the iſland of St. Thomas:

the latter cape from weſt ſouth-weſt to ſouth-weſt. Although the *Canaries* are ſituated in the region of the Trade Winds, we nevertheleſs find that weſterly and ſouth-weſterly winds ſometimes continue to blow there for eight days without intermiſſion. Southerly and ſouth-weſterly alſo blow between the *Cape de Verde Iſlands*, and the adjacent ſeas, during the months of July, Auguſt, September, and October; at which time the roadſteads of thoſe Iſlands are not ſafe.

The greater part of our philoſophical writers who have only conſidered Trade Winds in their libraries, aſſign them limits towards the equinoctial totally different from what they really are in each ſeaſon; and, as [u] *D'Apres* proceeds to remark, inferences drawn from ſuch aſſertions muſt naturally lead navigators into error. "I have thought it preferable, adds he, to prefer experience to received opinions. After a careful examination of above two hundred and fifty Journals, to aſcertain in what degree of latitude ſhips that ſail for the Eaſt Indies leave the current of the Trade Winds, and on what parallel of latitude they have fallen in with it on their return; it appeared to me, that throughout the month of *January* the true limits of theſe winds are found between the ſixth and

St. Thomas. The ſouth-eaſt Trade Wind having paſſed the line, and approaching the Coaſt of Guinea within eighty or an hundred leagues, inclines towards the ſhore and becomes ſouth ſouth eaſt by degrees; as you come nearer it veres about to ſouth ſouth-weſt, and in with the land ſouth-weſt, and ſometimes weſt ſouth-weſt. Such are the winds that have been obſerved on this Coaſt when it blows true. To the northward of the Line between 4° and 10°, and between the meridians of *Cape Verde*, and of the eaſternmoſt Iſlands of that name, there is a tract of ſea wherein it were improper to ſay there is any Trade Wind, or even variable ones, ſince almoſt a perpetual calm prevails attended with thunder and lightning, and frequent rains. Some ſudden uncertain guſts form the little wind that exiſts, of very ſhort duration and leſs extent. Every hour will ſometimes bring a different guſt, which dies away into a calm before another ſucceeds; ſo that ſhips in ſight of each other, will each have a different wind."

[u] *Inſtructions ſur la Navigation de France aux Indes.*

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and fourth degree of north latitude; throughout *February* between the fifth and third degree; throughout *March*, and *April*, between the fifth and second; and throughout *May* between the sixth and fourth degree of latitude."

During the months of *June*, *July*, *August*, and *September*, the action of the Sun upon the land and sea in the northern parts of our globe, changes the temperature and state of the atmosphere, and thus renders the winds less regular. So that in the month of *June* the Trade Winds cease to blow at the tenth degree of latitude; in July, August, and September, between the fourteenth and thirteenth; nor do they resume their mean limits until December and January.

When navigators leave the track of the Trade Winds they generally meet with those that are *Variable*, and also with calms and heavy gales, produced by the conflux of the Trade Winds with the General Winds; and by various other * causes which will not allow us exactly to fix their duration, or extent, in each respective season. It is only necessary to remark that the nearer you approach to the ordinary tract of the Trade Winds, the more this shifting is affected by it; and that on the contrary, when you are near the Equator, the winds vary oftener from east to south, than from east to north; this however does not prevent you from finding winds sometimes blowing in the same tract from west to south, and chiefly in

* In the new edition of Laurie and Whittle's *Oriental* Navigator (1801.) it is remarked, that the Calms experienced by ships, particularly in going to *India*, appear to depend on the vicinity of the Coast, which they approach much nearer when bound to the *Cape of Good Hope*, than in the route from that Cape to Europe; accordingly the passages from the Cape to Europe are much shorter than those from Europe to the Cape. The Calms that are met with to the northward of the Equinoctial Line are owing to the configuration of the Coast of Africa; which to the north, a few degrees from the line, projects about five hundred leagues toward the west; while the great distance at which a ship is from this land, when she is to the southward of the Equator, prevents the General Wind of these Seas from thence undergoing any change.

in the months of July, Auguſt, and September; but they are generally occaſioned by ſtorms, and ſhould only be regarded as foreign winds, neceſſary to reſtore the equilibrium of the atmoſphere when the air is too much rarified in the eaſtern quarter.

From the equinoctial Line to the tropic of Capricorn a regular Trade Wind prevails, which blows generally and conſtantly between ſouth and eaſt; and as the ſame is met with not only in the ſea between Africa and America, but alſo throughout the ſouthern ocean, the appellation of *General Winds* has been given to diſtinguiſh them from the north-eaſterly trades, which in ſome particular ſeas are ſubject to periodic changes. During an whole year's reſidence at the iſland of *St. Helena*, *Dr. Halley* obſerved, that theſe *General Winds* reigned there conſtantly from the ſouth-eaſt or thereabouts; that is, the wind which blew moſt frequently veered rather from ſouth-eaſt to eaſt, than from ſouth-eaſt to ſouth: when it blew from the eaſt the weather was dark and gloomy, and it never cleared up nor was ſerene until the wind veered back again to ſouth-eaſt. *Dr. Halley* adds, that he never obſerved the wind to blow from ſouth to weſt, nor from north to north-weſt. The extent of the *General Winds* is not limited to the Line; they are met with as far as five or ſix degrees northward of it, and even to ſeven degrees, according to the time of year. Sometimes the north-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt Trades extend very near each other, and at other ſeaſons there will be ſeveral degrees between them ſubject to calms, ſqualls, thunder, lightning, and heavy rains.

General Winds, as well as *Trade Winds*, always take a different direction near the Coaſt from what they have further out at ſea. Along the Coaſt of *Africa* from twenty-eight degrees of ſouth latitude down to *Cabo Lopo Gonzalvez*, near the Line, the direction of the wind is generally from ſouth, to ſouth ſouth-weſt, and even in ſome parts ſouth-weſt, according to the trending of the

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the Coaſt. On the examination of a great number of Journals it appeared to *D'Apres*, that this ſame tendency of the wind's blowing from ſouth to ſouth-weſt has been obſerved at a great diſtance from the African continent; and that in general its influence ſeems to be bounded to the weſtward by the tracts compriſed between that Coaſt, and an imaginary line drawn from the *Cape of Good Hope*, to *Cape Palmas* on the coaſt of Guinea.

In the Courſe which ſhips generally keep on croſſing the equinoctial line for the Cape of Good Hope, it is remarked, that beyond the parallel of ſixteen degrees the *General Winds* veer towards the north; and are found to blow rather from eaſt to north-eaſt than from eaſt to ſouth-eaſt. Reſpecting the limits of the ſame winds being commonly confined to the twenty-eighth degree of latitude; even that is a general rule which ſtill has exceptions: ſince different winds are often met with before ſhips have reached that latitude, and ſometimes even on this ſide the tropic of Capricorn. From the parallel of twenty-eight to forty degrees of ſouth latitude, the winds have ſometimes been found as variable as in European ſeas; thoſe, which are the moſt frequent, blow from North to N. W. and from N. W. to W. S. W. Near the *Cape of Good Hope*, Winds ſometimes blow from S. E. to E. S. E. for many days without intermiſſion, but in general you have eaſterly or weſterly winds according to the ſeaſon of the year: prevailing winds at The Cape are the S. E. and N. W; the eaſt, and north-eaſt are leſs frequent than any. Their Summer continues from October to April. Whenever the Table Land begins to be covered with a cloud, it indicates a ſtrong Eaſt, or E. S. E. wind: after the mountain is completely covered the Gale comes on, and often continues for two or three days.

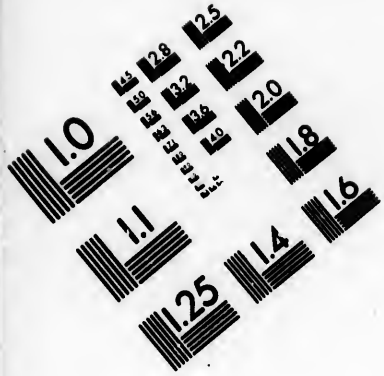
Seas adjacent to The Cape.

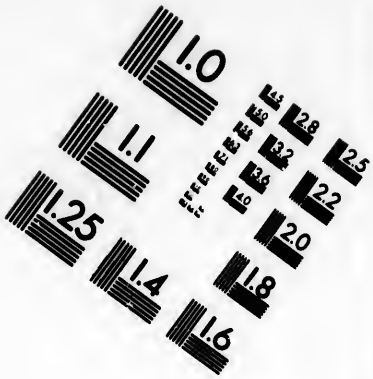
Winds from N. W. to W. S. W. are thoſe which occaſion the higheſt Seas to the eaſtward, as well as to the weſtward of

the Cape; and though they blow with their greateſt force during the months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, yet it ſometimes happens that in *April*, or *May*, you meet with very violent ſqualls from that quarter. Theſe are generally foreſeen by black clouds which darken the horizon from N. W. to weſt; they come on very rapidly, and are ſometimes accompanied by whirlwinds: they firſt blow violently from W. N. W. to weſt; then ſhifting with fury to the S. W. they get to ſouth, when the wind abates and it ſuddenly falls calm. But the Sea agitated and ſwelled into Mountains by theſe boiſterous winds is not ſo ſoon compoſed, and is frequently more dangerous than the Gale itſelf. About 150 leagues to the eaſtward of the Cape theſe Storms are very frequent; the atmoſphere is almoſt always on fire with lightning and thunder followed by deluges of rain, ſo that navigators can ſcarcely ever enjoy two fair days together. The weather remains thus tempeſtuous while you are ſailing above 300 leagues farther, and ſeveral have remarked that it continues to that meridian which paſſes through the eaſtern part of Madagaſcar.

The Cape of Good Hope whether a navigator approaches it from the weſtward, or eaſtward, has the appearance of a large Iſland when he is at ſuch a diſtance as not to be able to diſcern the connection between the neck of its mountains, and the other mountains. The new moon produces high water at the Cape at half paſt two P. M. and the Tide ſeldom riſes more than three feet, except after an hurricane, or from ſome extraordinary cauſe. Cabo L'Agulhas lies to the E. S. E. of the extreme point of the Cape of Good Hope; it was named by the Portugueſe *Cabo das Agulhas*, or Needle Cape, becauſe they imagined the magnetic needle had no variation [7] there at that time. This ſouthernmoſt point of Africa is

[7] In this reſpect Diaz muſt have been deceived. The line of no Variation was placed by Halley to the *weſtward* of the Cape. Refer to Dr. Halley's *Theory of the Variation of the Magnetical Compaſs* (Miſcellanea Curioſa, vol. 1. p. 27. and 43.) According to a table there inſerted,





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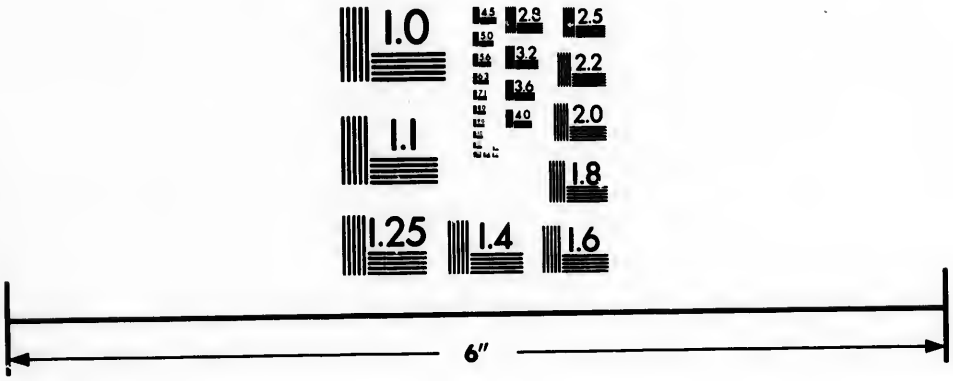

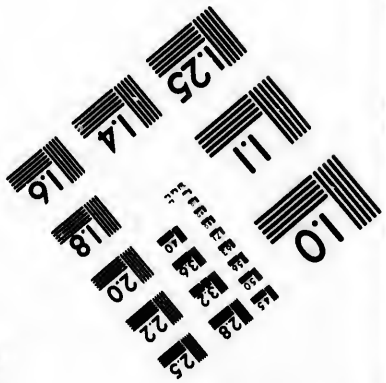

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BOOK I.

is in latitude 34° 52′ ſouth. The Cape itſelf, as well as the land for many miles to the weſtward of it, is of a moderate height, and cannot be ſeen at more than ſix leagues from an Indiaman's poop. All that part of *Africa*, of which *Cabo das agulhas* forms the extreme point, is ſurrounded by a bank of ſoundings, which after the Cape's name is called *bank of l'agulhas;* this Bank begins at thirty-three degrees and an half of ſouth latitude near the Coaſt, and increaſes its breadth ſouth-weſt and by weſt until about the latitude of 37°; then extending to the north weſt, it draws progreſſively nearer to the Cape of Good Hope, where it may be ſaid to terminate.

The following directions for ſailing round The Cape are given by *Major* [a] *Rennell.* "During the winter months, when the weſterly winds are ſo common, the paſſage round the Cape will be the moſt ſpeedily effected by keeping the Ship in the ſtream of the Current, and letting her drive round the bank. I am aware that moſt Commanders prefer keeping on the bank for the purpoſe of getting ſoundings, and in expectation of ſmoother water, and a ſtronger Current than is to be met with farther out. With reſpect to the latter, which is undoubtedly the prime object, they are diſappointed, as they find a help of about four or five miles per day only, between *Cape Talhado* and *Cape Lagullas.* All the Journals that I have examined, tend to eſtabliſh this fact, of which I had ocular proof during five days that I was on the bank. I am indebted to Captain *Waghorn*, late of the *Aſhburnam*, for the firſt hint I received concerning the courſe of the Current round the bank. He went round

inſerted, the variation at *Cape Agulhas* in 1622, was 2° 0′ weſt. Dr. Halley adds, *In all Europe the Variation at this time is Weſt, and more in the Eaſtern parts thereof than the Weſtern: as likewiſe, that it ſeems throughout to be upon the increaſe that way.*—At the eaſtward of Braſile, properly ſo called, this Easterly Variation decreaſes, ſo as to be very little at *St. Helena* and *Aſcenſion;* and to be quite gone, and the Compaſs point true about eighteen degrees of longitude Weſt from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—BYRON ſeems to have made a ſimilar miſtake with Diaz; declaring that he met with no variation in 128° and an half weſt longitude, and 16° 30′ ſouth latitude. (*See Arrowſmith's Chart of the Pacific in nine ſheets.*)

[a] Obſervations on the Currents round the Cape of Good Hope, publiſhed on half a ſheet with a Chart.

round it in the *Liverpool frigate*, in 1764, and in five days had an help of about 160 miles between the meridians of *Cape Talbado* and *False Bay*. The alteration of the Current from S. W. to N. W. in latitude 37° was so sudden, that it marked the exact time when the Ship doubled the point of the Bank."

As a conclusion to these remarks on the *Atlantic* and the navigation to *India*, a description of the principal of the Cape de Verde Islands communicated by a friend, is subjoined from the notes of an [a] officer, formerly in the India service.—SAN [b] JAGO, the largest and best inhabited of the Cape de Verde Islands, lies in latitude 15° north, and 23° 30′ west longitude. The face of the country is mountainous, its climate excessively hot and unfriendly to the constitution of Europeans. The inhabitants are chiefly slaves from Africa, or such Europeans as the king of Portugal has either banished or encouraged to settle in that island. It contains all the different sorts of cattle proper for a supply of provisions; also fowls, game, great plenty of India Corn, plantains, pine apples, tamarinds, cocoa nuts, guavas, and a variety of superior oranges both as to size and flavour, great quantities of which are annually sent as presents to Europe; they have also sugar Canes, and Cotton in great abundance, with which the natives manufacture a curious narrow cloth of different colours for the African trade. Yet the appearance of SAN JAGO is by no means inviting to strangers, since there is not a single house that can be called a comfortable dwelling: the governor's palace is constructed with low thatched walls; its doors and windows are clumsy and unfinished, and the furniture merely consists of a few odd broken chairs left there by different captains. The Company's warehouse, consisting of one lower

[a] *D. Burges*, Esq. sent by Captain *Burges*, to whose talents and excellent observations in design, I have been greatly indebted.

[b] Compare this with the account already inserted p. 274.

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lower room, is tolerably well built with brick and lime brought for that purpose from Portugal. SAN JAGO is 150 miles in circumference. The total number of the Cape de Verdes is about twenty, but most of them being barren uninhabited rocks are seldom included.

Colonel Bolts, who was at these ISLANDS in 1781, communicated the following particulars to Mr. Wadstrom (*essay on Colonization, page* 139.) " In September and October, Ships have often been driven on shore in *Porto Praya* road. In the dangerous season, therefore, it is best to anchor out in eighteen fathoms water; so that, in case of a gale, the Ship may be sure of clearing the eastern point, called *Mulher Branca*, or the western called *Tumrosa*. *San Vincent*, one of the Ilhas Desertas, has the best harbour in all these islands; and it is capable of containing the most numerous fleet of large ships, safe all the year round. *San Vincent* has the advantage of excellent air and plenty of good water, but it is uninhabited. The Island of *S. Antam*, improperly called *S. Antonio*, formerly belonged to the *Duque Infeliz* (d' Aveiro). It was rented by that family to an English gentleman, whose agent one *Stephen Spencer*, picked up some stones washed down from the Peak of the Island, and sent them to England. The lapidaries gave it as their opinion that the mountain whence they came certainly contained curious, if not precious stones. All the Islands contain Iron ore, often on the surface. The *Duque d' Aveiro* had partly peopled *S. Antam* with his own slaves: and in time, he acquired, or usurped a kind of property in the persons of the other inhabitants. On the fall of the Aveiro family, however, *S. Antam* reverted to the crown. During the administration of the *Marquis de Pombal*, about ten thousand of the inhabitants of the Cape Verde islands were sent to build the present fortifications at *Bissao*, where most of them died. There are at *Santiago* fourteen *Engenhos*, or sugar-

7 mills,

mills, worked by oxen; but only two of them are reckoned good. The late governor, *Joaquim Salene Saldanha Lobo*, had a ſcheme for fitting out veſſels at the *Cape Verde Iſlands* for the whale fiſhery on the Southern Coaſt of Africa; and another for extracting from the *Semente da purga* (ricinus pignon d' Inde, believed to be the ſame plant from which the Caſtor Oil is extracted in the Weſt Indies) an Oil which is excellent for burning, and is free from any bad ſmell. The gathering of *Orzella*, or *Orchella*, on the Coaſt of theſe Iſlands, coſts not eight hundred reas per quintal. The medium price of that quantity, at *Porto Praya*, is three thouſand reas, and at Liſbon nineteen thouſand two hundred [e] reas. In theſe Iſlands they might raiſe great quantities of very good Cotton, and alſo of Indigo, which grows wild every where. But the inhabitants do not cultivate more of either, than what is neceſſary for the cloaths they manufacture for their trade to the continent of Africa.

Ch. II. § 2. *Hydrographical Remarks.*

"The Portugueſe had the advantage of trading to, and eſtabliſhing themſelves in Africa, earlier than any other modern European nation; and that too at a time when they were actuated by a ſpirit of enterprize which perhaps has never been exceeded in any people. Their power has indeed undergone a great, but gradual declenſion, eſpecially on the Continent of the eaſt of Africa. Yet ſuch remains of it are ſtill viſible that a reſpectable modern writer ſcruples not to ſay, that they ſtill poſſeſs more valuable territory in Africa, and have brought more of the natives to live in the European manner, than all Chriſtendom beſides. Hence he concludes that other nations, and the Britiſh in particular, who can furniſh *Africa* with manufactures of their own, might make at leaſt as great advances in the inland trade of that Continent, as the Portugueſe, under the diſadvan-

[e] Four thouſand eight hundred Reas are equivalent to a Moidore, or about twenty-ſeven ſhillings ſterling.

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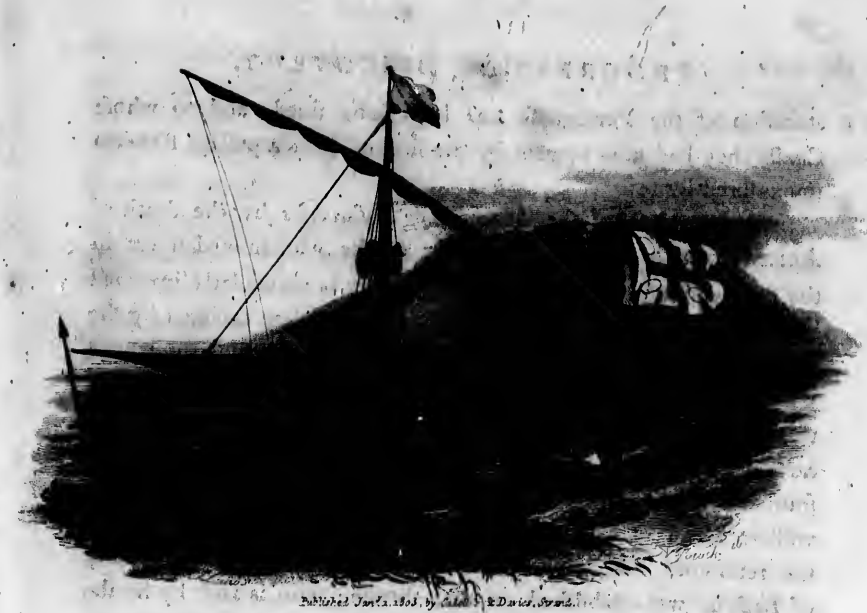
disadvantage of purchasing most of the goods they carry to it from other nations. *But this*, he observes, *depends on quite other measures than what have ever yet been taken.*"

*** *Mons. l'Abbe Demanet* published some remarks on the *Western Coast of Africa*, in his *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Afrique Françoise.* (Two volumes 12mo, Paris 1787.)—The Portuguese have it in contemplation to establish Naval Arsenals in the Cape de Verde Islands, particularly at *St. Jago*, *Bonavista*, and *St. Nicholas*.

From the evidence of A. P. How, Esq. who was in Africa during 1785, and 1786, in the Grampus ship of war, and was employed as a Botanist by the British Government, it appeared that the Witness had seen *Cinnamon Trees* at *St. Thomas*, at the sea side, about twenty feet high; and, from what he heard, they grew inland to an higher size. From the bark brought down he concludes there must be a great quantity inland. The witness was not positive that it was the same sort of *Cinnamon* which grows in *India*; but the bark, leaves, and whole structure of the tree were the same as those brought from thence to Kew Gardens. The African *Cassia* is not unlike that which has been seen in the East Indies. (*Minutes of evidence before the House of Commons*, 1790, p. 226.)



Published Jan.y 1.1803. by Cadell & Davies, Strand.

CHAPTER III.

I. *Retrospect of Indian History from the Macedonian Discoveries to the close of the fifteenth Century.* II. *The Portuguese reach India under the conduct of da Gama.*

SECTION I.

Menander.—Togara, Barygaza, Pluthana, and Baroach.—Partition of the Empire of Demetrius.—Pacherus. BICKERMAJIT. *Pandion. Basdeo. Annindeo. Maldeo. Iychund.* MOHAMMEDAN INVASIONS. *Antient Cities of India.* TURKESTAN INVASIONS. *Gazna.—Gaur.—Charazm. Southern India invaded by the Mohammedan Kings of Delhi.—Cuttub.* MOGUL DYNASTY. *View of the Maritime Parts of Southern Hindostan at a very early period. Conjectures respecting the Fleur de lis on the Mariner's Compass.*

Ch. III. § 1. *Retrospect of Indian History.*

BEFORE we enter on the more immediate subject of this Chapter *the Voyage of da Gama*, it has been thought expedient to take a connecting [a] retrospect of the history of INDIA, a country on which the attention

[a] Principally from Mr. Maurice's Modern History of Hindostan.—*Raynall* gave the bare and unconnected outline in his second volume (p. 339.)

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From the close of the *Macedonian Discoveries* by the death of ALEXANDER to the commencement of the Mohammedan era in the sixth century, the page of Indian history is particularly involved in doubt and obscurity. The ashes of Porus were avenged by the successes of [b] *Sandracottus* and his son *Allitrochades*, and the laurels which *Nearchus* had gained, withered amidst the contention of thirty-six generals who survived Alexander. Considerable remains however of the Macedonian invasion existed for several ages in the southern provinces towards the mouth of the *Indus*, and along the western Coast of [c] *Hindostan*. About the year 195 before Christ the renowned *Menander* fourth sovereign in the Grecian dynasty of Bactria, was established on that throne; who is said by Strabo to have subdued more Indian nations than even Alexander, to have extended his empire on one side to *Pattala* and *Zizerus* on the Malabar coast, and on the [d] other quite to *Bactra* and *Drapsa*. Mr. Wilford observes in his dissertation on the City of [e] Tagara (*Deoghir*) that the Greeks in consequence of Alexander's expedition, soon discovered the way by sea to *India*; for during the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, 2056 years ago, Tagara began to be known to them. All kinds of mercantile goods throughout the Deccan were brought to *Tagara*, and thence conveyed to *Barygaza*. We learn also from *Arrian* in his *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, that *Tagara* was about ten days journey to the eastward of another famous

[b] Corrupted, says Mr. Wilford, from *Chandra-Gupta*.—(Chronology of the Hindus, Asiatic Researches, vol. 5. p. 241.)

[c] Maurice, p. 28.

[d] Maurice's Modern Hindostan, p. 95.

[e] Now called Doulet-abad.

famous mart called *Pluthana*; that *Pluthana* was twenty days journey to the southward of *Baroach*; and also that the road lay through the *Balla-gaut* mountains. This passage in Arrian, adds Mr. Wilford, is the more interesting, as it fixes the time when the *Ballagaut* mountains were first heard of in Europe. *Tagara* at that early period was the metropolis of a large district called *Ariaca*, which comprehended the greatest part of subah *Aurungabad*, and the southern part of *Concan*; for the northern part of that district including *Damaun Callian*, the Island of *Salset*, *Bombay*, &c. belonged to the Rajah of *Larikeh* or [f] *Lar*. Thus the latest remains of *Macedonian* or Grecian discovery have been traced to the western Coast of that peninsula, on which the *Portuguese* navigators first landed under the command of da Gama.

But to continue our retrospect of Indian History. The partition of the empire of Demetrius styled by Justin king of India, between Mithridates king of Parthia and Eucratides the Bactrian monarch, took place about 175 years before the [g] Christian era. To Mithridates were assigned the provinces between the *Hydaspes*, and the *Indus*, whilst *Eucratides* possessed all the remainder adjoining the eastern and southern quarter of his Indian possessions. But on the fall of the Bactrian empire at the death of the patricide *Eucratides* the second, 126 before Christ, after it had flourished during nearly a century and an half, the whole of these extensive Indian domains of *Eucratides* on this side and even beyond the Ganges, centred in the mighty *Mithridates*.

Paeorus the first, king of Parthia, unable to resist the ravages of the Scythian hive whose assistance his predecessor *Prabates* had incautiously requested, dispatched an embassy to *Sylla* then in Asia (A. C. 80.) and thus hastened the ruin of his country by opening a passage

[f] Asiatic Researches, vol. 1. p. 369.

[g] Maurice, p. 101.

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passage for the *Romans* into the fertile regions of the East, which directed their attention to the rich territory of *India*.

Bickermajit, or Vicramáditya.

The celebrated BICKERMAJIT is said to have obtained the supreme sovereignty of *Hindostan* fifty-six years before the Christian period [h]. According to Mr. *Wilford* in the dissertation already cited, *Bickermajit* ruled for some time over the northern parts of the Deccan; but its Rajahs headed by *Salbahan* having revolted they gave *Bickermajit* battle, and he was slain about the commencement of the Christian era. He had previously subdued the kingdom of *Malva* and *Guzzerat*, and in order to acquire a knowledge of the state of the arts, and of government, among foreign nations, is said to have travelled over great part of the East in the habit of a mendicant. So successful were the arms of this monarch in afterwards reducing the feudatories around him, that he was believed to act under divine authority. But *Bickermajit* was also the patron of literature, and of the fifteen Brahmins who were patronised at court, the poet and philosopher *Calidas* took the lead.

Pandion.

The powerful Indian kingdom of PANDION, who flourished about fifteen years before Christ and is recorded to have sent an embassy to *Augustus*, extended to the southern point of Comaria, or *Comerin*; his residence was at the extensive city of *Madura*. At the commencement of our era, *India* as we learn from [i] Strabo was divided into one hundred and eighteen considerable nations, each governed by a particular Chief dependant on one monarch who in cases of necessity summoned his inferior Rajahs to the field.

According to [k] *Ferishta*, as cited by Mr. Maurice, the Empire of *India* was reduced after the death of its monarchs *Bickermajit* and *Salbahan* to a state of anarchy. The great vassals of the

[h] Maurice, *ibid.* vol. 1. p. 68. *Ferishtah*, vol. 1. p. 13.
[i] Maurice, *ibid.* vol. 1. p. 139. *Strabo, Lib.* xv. p. 719.
[k] Ferishta, vol. 1. p. 13.

the crown embracing this opportunity to assume independence, the very name of emperor became in great measure obliterated. In this state *India* appears to have continued until the year of Christ 230, when BASDEO having reduced *Bengal* and *Bahar* established a new kingdom, and assumed imperial honours at [l] *Canouge:* it seems probable that the splendid Indian embassy to *Trajan* came from this monarch. The title of Maharajah or supreme, did not however long continue in his family, and the dependant princes again rendered themselves absolute.

A chief of the tribe of Bice ANNINDEO, raised himself to regal power after the death of the murderer *Partab*, who had seized on the throne of the deceased emperor *Ramdeo* in the year 500. For the space of sixteen years *Annindeo* reigned over his conquests; which consisted of the kingdom of *Malva*, the peninsula of *Guzzerat*, the country of the *Mahrattas*, and the whole province of *Berar*. His successful example was followed by the daring MALDEO, who rising from an obscure origin to empire, was enabled to retain the city of *Delhi* and its territory, as well as the city of *Canouge*, for the space of forty years. These usurpations called forth the ambition of various petty chiefs in *Hindostan;* destroyed the unity of the empire; and by subdividing its strength laid it open to the subsequent invasion of the *Mohammedans*. Some shadow of obedience however to the *maharajah* or supreme sovereign long remained, even after that subjection: for at the great festival called *Raisoo* held at Canouge in 1192, all the Rajahs of Hindostan, except *Pithowra* Rajah of Delhi the last of its native princes, assembled at *Canouge* as the imperial city to pay homage to their sovereign [m] JYCHUND, who himself probably was tributary to Persia: at

[l] Maurice, vol. 1. p. 149.
[m] Maurice, vol. 1. p. 164. and *Ayeen Akberry*, vol. 2. p. 107.

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Ch. III. § 1. *Retrospect of Indian History.*

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[l] Maurice, vol. 1. p. 149.
[m] Maurice, vol. 1. p. 164. and *Ayeen Akberry*, vol. 2. p. 107.

BOOK I.

at this festival even the labours of the scullery were performed by Rajahs.

Mohammedan invasions.

During the first year of [a] ABUBEKER, successor of the prophet *Mohammed* who died in 632, the relentless *Arabs*, or *Saracens*, made their first advance towards INDIA by invading the fertile and wealthy empire of *Persia*. In vain did the experience of its general *Ferokhzad* cause the needy wanderers to retreat: the intimidated multitude rested on the frontiers of *Syria*, and meeting with powerful reinforcements returned with eagerness to their prey. *Alharzaman* a Persian nobleman opposing a formidable army to the refluent numbers of the *Moslems*, was entirely defeated and cut to pieces with the greater part of his troops. The conduct of the war became then entrusted (A. D. 636.) to a general of the name of *Rostam*, whose approach was expected by the dauntless *Saad* on the vast plains of *Cadesia*: for three days the dreadful conflict continued, at the end of which the triumph of the Arabs was complete. A settlement of eight hundred *Moslems* was soon made, and the speedy foundation of *Bassora* opened a convenient port for their future commerce.

The Arabs during the ensuing year having plundered the hundred vaults of *Ctesiphon* or [b] *Al Madayn*, the Persian capital, advanced to the interior provinces, and their progress was marked by blood and devastation. Yezdegerd the young monarch of *Persia* bravely exerted himself at the battle of *Julula* to retrieve the glory of Persia, but was obliged to seek his safety by flight. The last context was made near *Nehavend* a city of *Farsistan*, by one hundred and fifty thousand Persians; but the sacred trumpets of their Magi sounded in vain, and the Arabs emphatically styled that battle the Victory of Victories.

Not to dwell on their intermediate conquests it is sufficient to observe that the Arabian army like a swarm of locusts, proceeded towards

[a] Ibid. p. 187. See also *Gibbon*, vol. ix. p. 354.

[b] Maurice, p. 190.

towards *India* with fatal rapidity. Their first invasion of it seems to have been under the conduct of *Mohammed Ebn Casim*, who was appointed by the caliph *Valid* at the commencement of the eighth century, in the year 707. Mr. Maurice [p] is of opinion that although the interior provinces were not probably attacked in this expedition, yet that by this invasion a way was opened for the two *Mohammedan* [q] *merchants*, who travelled thither during the ninth century. The superior or northern provinces of *Hindostan* at the time of its invasion by the Mohammedans, were divided among the Rajahs of *Lahore*, *Delhi*, *Ajmere*, *Canouge*, and *Callinger*, whose forces are said to have been united to repel the common enemy: the state of the other provinces is thus described by [r] their historian. "The more southern provinces of Hindostan Proper, full of impregnable hills and castles, that as yet disdained a foreign lord, were tenanted by the daring race of *Rajapouts*, whose profession, from their earliest youth, was War; and who if they had not been engaged and debilitated in perpetual feuds among themselves, would have been invincible by the armies of any foreign invader. The multitude of these Forts wheresoever those lofty and almost perpendicular [s] eminences of rock, or mountain, which are so common in India, allowed an opportunity for erecting them, affords sufficient evidence of the distractions, which, in ancient periods, prevailed in this Country, amidst the endless contests resulting from the ambition and avarice of the more turbulent Chieftains, among whom, in the most ancient annals of India, the illustrious family of the RANNA, noticed by the very same name in Ptolemy, is recorded to have been the principal. The celebrated Castles and Cities of *Chitore*, *Mandu*, *Guallior*, *Rotas*, *Rantampoor*, and others in that central region, were places

Ch. III. § 1. *Retrospect of Indian History.*

[p] Ibid. p. 223. [q] See APPENDIX D. (P. 217.) [r] Maurice, p. 165.

[s] Many of these have been correctly delineated by *Mr. Daniel*, who has enabled his countrymen to enjoy the rich scenery of *India* at a comparatively small expence.

BOOK I.

places of incredible ſtrength, and in the unimproved ſtate of the military Science at that period, bade defiance to all the forces the aſſailants could bring againſt them.—The mighty range of the *Balagant mountains*, of height almoſt inacceſſible, and in moſt places covered with impervious Foreſts, perhaps coæval with the creation, ever afforded to its hardy bands of untamed warriors, an equally elevated and, from their remoteneſs, a ſtill more ſecure retreat from the invading enemy."

Reſpecting the cities of India during the early periods of its hiſtory, in the *Mahabbarat* tranſlated by the ſecretary of Akber the firſt imperial city of *Hindoſtan* is ſtated to have been OUDE capital of that [s] province; and Sir William Jones informs us that the preſent city of *Lucknow* was only a lodge for one of its gates. OUDE continued the imperial City for 1500 years, when CANOUGE became with BENARES, joint metropolis of the vaſt kingdom on the Ganges. CANOUGE and PATNA ſeem alſo to have been conſidered as capitals, in the ſame manner as *Delhi* and *Agra* were in latter times. According to the *Mahabbarat* Delhi roſe to opulence on the ſite of the ancient City of *Inderput*, which in ages juſtly reputed fabulous had been the metropolis of the country. The learned editor of Harris' [t] collection of voyages remarks, that *Delhi* made a part of the kingdom of *Porus*, and in its neighbourhood the great battle was fought which gave that kingdom to Alexander. It is ſaid a Column ſtill remains at Delhi, erected in memory of this battle, with an inſcription almoſt worn out in a language now unknown.

During the reign of Caliph *Motaſſem* (A. D. 800.) eighth of the *Abbaſſides*, we obſerve the ARABS yielding to the ſuperior intrepidity of thoſe TURKESTAN mountaineers, whom the timid caliphs called in to protect their city of *Bagdad*; and from this caliphate their power gradually declined until the death of *Al Rhadi* in

[s] Maurice's Modern Hindoſtan, vol. 1. p. 270. 279. 359. 281. 263.

[t] Vol. 1. p. 632. *Note.*

in 940, when the caliphs became entirely subservient to their Turkish generals. On the subsequent dissolution of the unity of the Arabian Empire, *its independent fragments*, as Gibbon expresses himself, *were equal to populous and powerful* [u] *kingdoms*.

Ch. III. § 1. *Retrospect of Indian History.*

Invaded by the Sultans of Gazna, 977—1184.

INDIA was next invaded, and subdued, by the sultans of the dynasties of *Gazna*, *Gaur*, and *Charasm*, as they successively arose on these ruins of the power of the *Caliphs*. ABISTAGI governor for the *Samanides* of [x] Chorasan, having caused himself to be crowned at *Gazna* the capital of Zabulistan, during the minority of the young prince *Mansur*, was succeeded after a reign of fifteen years by his son *Abu Isaac*; and at his death the brave and loyal general SUBUCTAGI was raised to the throne during the year 977. In the first years of his reign he led the warlike *Afghans* to ravage the frontiers of *India*, and returned laden with spoils. *Jeipal* who then reigned in *Lahore* or the *Panjab*, situated on the direct road to the interior of *Hindostan*, eager to chastise this and other previous acts of similar aggression, carried the war into the territories of his enemy. But the bravery of this Indian chief was baffled by a tremendous storm, amidst the violence of which whole squadrons of his cavalry perished, and *Jeipal* was compelled to sue for peace. His speech [y] on that occasion, at the conference which he solicited with Subuctagi, displays the bold and desperate character of the Indian warriors: *Beware how you drive to despair the irritated but resolute Indians, who now suppose themselves suffering under the momentary wrath of their gods. They have a dreadful custom when reduced to the last extremity. In the phrenzy of desperation, they first massacre their wives and children to save them from violation and captivity: they then set fire to those terrestrial habitations, for which they have no longer occasion, and with dishevelled hair and horrible outcries, they rush upon the foe,*

[u] Vol. 10. p. 146. [x] Maurice, p. 222. [y] Maurice, p. 235.

BOOK I. *fee, nor leave the bloody field, till either they are cut off themselves, or have exterminated their adversaries.*

Jeipal however neglecting to observe the terms on which his safe retreat had afterwards been permitted, and refusing to pay the promised tribute to those whom he probably considered as unprincipled marauders, preparations were instantly made on both sides for renewing the war. Accordingly in the year 978 the Indian chief took the field with one hundred thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, led on by the sovereigns of *Delhi*, *Ajmere*, *Callinger*, and *Canouge*. Subuctagi supplied his deficiency in point of numbers by skill and discipline; with an army consisting chiefly of cavalry, but which did not amount to above a fourth part of the combined forces of *Hindostan*, he entirely routed the allies, gained an immense plunder in their camp, and acquired a considerable addition of territory.

MAHMUD, the bloody successor and son of Subuctagi, succeeded to the throne of *Gazna* in the year 997. During his twelve *Indian Expeditions*, the first of which took place in the year 1000, his impetuous and unrelenting bigotry desolated a country, which, as its historian [a] observes, "might at that period be justly called the grand treasure-house of the world. It fell to the lot of *Mahmud* and his descendants, to unlock the doors of that treasury so long closed; to burst open its secret vaults; and bid the golden inundation roll back upon the impoverished regions of the exhausted globe." *Mahmud* died at his palace in Gazna, 1030, after a reign of thirty-five years.

The sufferings of INDIA were in some measure avenged by the fate of the sons of its invader, *Mohammed* and *Massud*; the very treasure which their father MAHMUD had amassed from all quarters, eventually caused his offspring to be deserted by his troops, and to be abandoned in the most critical emergency. *Oh cruel reverse*

[a] Maurice, p. 240.

verse of fate! exclaimed Massud; *yesterday I was a mighty prince; three thousand Camels bending under my Treasure. To day I am forced to beg, and receive but the mere mockery of my* [a] *wants.*

During the reign of MODUD, grandson of *Mahmud*, and fourth king of *Gazna* and *India*, the confederated rajahs of Northern Hindostan made a resolute attempt to retrieve the independence of their suffering country, and for a time success attended their patriotism: but the military spirit of *Modud* rose superior to the adverse fortune which for a season threatened the kingdom of Gazna; faction however after his death (1049) poured forth the accumulated plunder of India. Like a secret poison it was ordained to ferment throughout every department of the state, and to weaken a strength which had been so rapaciously exerted; until in 1058 the devout IBRAHIM, son of *Massud* the second, ninth king of Gazna and India, was enabled by a peace with the *Seljukian Turks* to secure and extend the Moslem conquests in Hindostan during a reign of [b] forty-two years. So numerous were his victories in that country that he was styled the conqueror and the triumphant, *Al Modhaffer* and *Al Mansur*. The son of *Ibrahim*, MASSUD THE THIRD, with the virtues and judgment of his father, inherited his ambition for Indian conquests. His generals imbibed the spirit of their sovereign; and proceeding eastward even beyond the country which the great *Mahmud* had reached, they crossed the sacred river of the *Ganges*.

1041.

BYRAM, twelfth king of *Gazna* and *India*, after penetrating twice into Hindostan sought an asylum on the borders of that country during the year 1151, being driven from Gazna by *Alla* brother to *Seif ul Dien*, Prince of *Gaur*. *Byram* returned unexpectedly with a powerful army; but treachery lurked amidst its ranks, and the Dynasty

[a] Ibid. p. 318.

[b] Ibid. p. 333.

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Dynasty of *Gazna* hastened to its close. In the reign of his grandson, CHOSRO THE SECOND, Lahore was taken by the treachery of *Mohammed* (1184) and the House of *Gazna* was obliged to yield to the superior villainy of the House of [c] GAUR.

Invaded by the Sultans of Gaur. 1184—1212.

MOHAMMED endeavoured to secure by blood what he had obtained by cunning. *Chosro* the second with his whole family were put to death; the superb palace of *Lahore* and the government were assigned to Ali, viceroy of Multan; whilst *Mohammed* with the fame of a renowned general, and the authority of a monarch, returned to his brother who sate on the *Gaznavide* throne. During 1191 Mohammed again marched towards *Hindostan*, and proceeding to *Ajmere* took the capital of *Tiberhind*. On his return he heard that *Pittu Rai*, prince of Ajmere, and *Candi Rai*, king of Delhi, were advancing towards Tiberhind: a dreadful battle was in consequence fought on the banks of the *Sirsutti*, fourteen miles from Tannasar and eighty from Delhi; when the invader of *India* was repulsed, and owed his life to the fidelity of a servant.

Mohammed retreated, and returning to *Gaur* vented his indignation on the Omrahs who had deserted him in battle; he then resigned himself to indolence and dissipation. After a short interval his ambition returned, and an army consisting of one hundred thousand chosen horse, many of whom had their helmets and armour richly ornamented, prepared a new scourge for the natives of India. The Hindoos were soon in arms; their allied forces consisting of three hundred thousand horse, three thousand elephants, and a great body of infantry, encamped opposite to their enemies on the river *Sirsutti*. One hundred and fifty Indian Princes assembled under the banners of the King of *Ajmere*; and after the performance of religious rites they all solemnly vowed by the sacred water of the GANGES that they would conquer or die. The treachery of *Mohammed* was

II

[c] Ibid. p. 354.

was again exerted, and again successful. Fatally lulled into a delusive security, the Hindoo Camp became a scene of revelry, and the discipline of war was neglected: the morning beheld their numbers struggling with desperate resolution to retrieve past negligence; but at length a violent and unexpected charge of twelve thousand Moslem horse, whose riders were clad in complete armour, decided the fate of *India*. The city of *Delhi* was for a time preserved by means of costly presents.—*Mohammed* during his nine expeditions into *Hindostan* is recorded to have amassed five hundred maunds of diamonds, but his career was then terminated; and the murderer of the family of *Chosro* perished by the hands of midnight assassins:—though surrounded by his faithful guards there was still an Arm to whom the tent of this dreaded General was open; twenty mountaineers were chosen as the instruments of its vengeance, who at once rushed upon their victim, and buried their daggers into his [d] body. 1205.

Ch. III. § 1. *Retrospect of Indian History.*

After the victory which *Mohammed* had obtained over the allied army of India under *Pittu Rai*, the [e] *Empire of Delhi* had been founded by CUTTUB or *Cothbeddin Ibek*, a faithful slave and friend of the conqueror left by him at *Koram:* for, having taken possession of Delhi, *Cuttub* who was the Mohammedan Viceroy of the conquered possessions in India made that city the seat of his government in the year 1193, and obliged the districts around him to embrace the doctrines of the *Koran*.—MAHMUD, the pusillanimous nephew and successor of *Mohammed*, lost the crowns both of *Gaur*, and *Gazna*, and in 1212 yielded to the prowess of the House of CHARASM. MAHMUD like his uncle was murdered in his bed.

MOHAMMED THE GREAT King of *Charazm*, and western India dependant on the empire of Gazna, soon beheld a new and powerful

Charazmian Dynasty.

[d] Ibid. P. 364.

[e] Ibid. P. 359.

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1218.

ful enemy in the renowned *Gengis Khan*, who in 1218 moved on his countless multitudes of well disciplined *Moguls*, and *Tartars*, towards the rich provinces of [f] *Southern Asia*. Having reduced the celebrated city of *Bokhara* to an heap of ashes, plundered *Samarchand*, and given *Charazm* to the flames, GENGIS ordered the flying Mohammed to be incessantly pursued by thirty thousand picked soldiers, conducted by three of the most experienced Mogul generals. Death at length came to the relief of this miserable Sultan in 1220; and he expired under the cover of a wretched tent in the small uninhabited island of *Abiscon*, situated on the south-western corner of the Caspian Sea.

The brave son of *Mohammed*, GELALEDDIN, [g] prepared to avenge the cause of his father, and to chastise the cruel invaders of his Charasmian empire. But in the mean time *Gengis* urged a destructive course through the cities of *Balkh*, *Termed*, *Meru*, and *Nishapour*; their walls were levelled, and their inhabitants murdered. At the sack of *Bamian* this wild beast of *Tartary* was gorged with blood; men, women, and children were indiscriminately massacred. In vain did *Gelaleddin* strive with dubious success to retrieve the fortunes of his house, and even at length regain a part of his hereditary dominions; for during the year 1231, four years after the death of *Gengis* who only reached the frontiers of *India* [h], GELALEDDIN was betrayed and murdered in the province of Curdistan.

Southern India invaded by the Mohammedan Kings of Delhi.

When CUTTUB the Viceroy of India was established as first Mohammedan King of *Delhi*, he caused himself to be invested with the imperial regalia both of *India* and *Gazna*, and thus founded the *Afghan* or *Patan* Dynasty which held the sceptre until the

[f] Ibid. P. 371.

[g] Ibid. P. 386.

[h] Le Croix Hist. Gengis, p. 377.

the invasion of *Timur Bec* in 1398. *Cuttub* ascended the throne of *Lahore* in 1205, and before his death in 1210 defeated the Prince of Benares; he also marched against the *Rajahpouts* to prevent their junction, and overcame with difficulty an alliance of the independent Indian chiefs with the prince of Narwalla. His son [i] ARAM succeeded, who with difficulty held the reins of government for one year; and to pass over the intermediate sovereigns of Delhi, in the year 1265 the Vizier BALIN on default of issue from *Mahmud*, ascended the vacant [k] throne. The most celebrated men of science that Asia could produce were assembled and encouraged in his court, among whom the noble *Chosro*, and *Hassen*, bore the first rank. Though the disposition of *Balin* was cruel, and sanguinary, he condescended to visit learned men at their own houses, and is said to have made them costly presents. He appointed his son *Kera* king of *Bengal* in 1279, and died in 1286 after a reign of twenty-two years.

During the [l] government of FEROSE THE SECOND, a descendant from the ferocious tribe of *Chilligi*, the first *Mohammedan Invasion* of *Southern India* took place in 1293; conducted by the murderer and nephew of *Ferose*, *Alla ul-dien*, who was afterwards emperor. Having reached *Elichpoor*, and invested *Deogur* the capital of rajah *Ramdeo*, the retreat of *Alla* was nearly cut off: but having defeated Ramdeo and inflicted a cruel vengeance on the Hindoos, this Mohammedan was enabled to drain the country of six hundred [m] maunds of pure *gold*, seven maunds of *pearl*, two maunds of *diamonds*, *rubies*, *emerald*, and *sapphires*; beside one thousand maunds of *silver*, four thousand pieces of *silk*, and other precious commodities. 1289.

On

[i] Maurice's Modern Hindostan, vol. 1. p. 400.

[k] Ibid. P. 415.

[l] Ibid. P. 436.

[m] The Maund of the DECCAN, according to Mr. Maurice, is twenty-five pound avoirdupoise.

BOOK I. 1295.

On the acceſſion of this execrable ALLA, whoſe object was to impoveriſh all ranks of men, his kingdom was repeatedly threatened by the *Moguls*; but the daring ſpirit of the emperor aſſiſted by the brave *Ziffer*, who from envy was ſuffered to periſh in the arms of victory, baffled every attempt of the enemy. In 1306 the deſolating ambition of *Alla* was again directed towards *Southern India*. *Ramdeo* king of *Deogur* had omitted to ſend the promiſed tribute, and the Mohammedan troops eagerly preſſed forward to enrich themſelves by a ſecond [a] Invaſion. *Cafoor*, general of *Alla*, having divided the country of the *Mahrattas* among his omrahs, advanced to the ſiege of *Deogur*, or *Dowlat-abad*; but *Ramdeo* prudently appeaſed the ambition of the Mohammedans by preſents, and ſcrupled not to do homage himſelf at *Delhi*.

A third [b] Invaſion of *Southern India* was conducted by two Mohammedan generals *Cafoor*, and *Chaja*, in the year 1310: this expedition was particularly directed againſt the rich Temples of *Dhoor*, *Summund*, and *Maber*. Bellal Deo, ſovereign of the Carnatic was taken priſoner, and his country laid waſte. Satiated with cruelty and plunder the marauders had reſolved to return; when a ſudden diſcovery of immenſe treaſure buried by ſome *Brahmins* completed the triumph of avarice. Cafoor, on his arrival at *Delhi*, preſented ALLA with three hundred and twelve *elephants*, twenty thouſand *horſes*, ninety-ſix thouſand maunds of *gold*, beſide ſeveral cheſts of *jewels*, *pearls*, and other treaſure. Such an influx of wealth eventually proved favourable to the polite arts; and *Alla* could boaſt of having forty-five profeſſors in his empire, who were celebrated for their ſkill in ſcience. Prior to the death of this monarch, in 1316, his general *Cafoor* conducted a [c] fourth Invaſion of *Southern India* during the year 1312; and after ravaging with his uſual

[a] Ibid. p. 462. [b] Ibid. p. 465. [c] Ibid. p. 468.

usual barbarity the countries of *Mahrat*, *Connir*, *Dabul*, *Giwil*, *Raijore*, and *Mudkil*, had taken up his residence at *Deogur*.—The monster MUBARICK, third son of Alla, ascending the throne in 1317, invaded *Southern India* during the second year of his reign. His favourite general, the traitor *Chrosro*, remained a year in *Malabar*, and plundered the country of a diamond that weighed one hundred and sixty-eight ruttys, with other jewels and gold to a considerable amount.

On the death of the great and virtuous *Tuglick the first*, in 1325, his eldest son MOHAMMED THE THIRD succeeded. *Hindostan* was soon threatened by a *Mogul* army conducted by the renowned *Siri* chief of the tribe of *Zagatay*, who consented to retire on receiving nearly the price of the [q] empire. *Mohammed* having thus secured the tranquillity of his own country, prepared to invade the peace of other districts; and his generals subdued many provinces that had not yet yielded to the throne of Delhi: the *Carnatic* was reduced to the extremities of the *Deccan*, and from sea to sea; but these conquests were afterwards lost amidst convulsions occasioned by the weakness and tyranny of the emperor. With an unaccountable fickleness of disposition he abandoned his city of *Delhi*, then the envy of the world, and obliged its wretched inhabitants to migrate to *Deogur*, as being more centrical. Thousands were afterwards permitted to return to Delhi, but the greater part perished by famine before they could regain the abode of their forefathers. *Mohammed* died in 1351; "having laboured," says Mr. Maurice, "with no contemptible abilities to be detested by God, and feared and abhorred by all [r] men." His distinguished successor, FEROSE THE THIRD, greatly improved the empire: he not only founded the city of *Ferosabad* in 1354, but ordered many Canals to be cut which proved of

[q] Ibid. p. 479.

[r] Ibid. p. 492.

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of the utmoſt advantage to the adjacent country. The conqueſts of *Feroſe* were not tinged with the cruelty of his predeceſſors: he marched to the mountains of *Naugracut*, reduced the Rajah of thoſe parts, and again confirmed him in his dominions. In the temple of *Naugracut*, called out of compliment to his predeceſſor the city of Mohammed, *Feroſe* found in 1360 a Brahmin library conſiſting of one thouſand, three hundred volumes. During this reign, which was ſucceeded by nine years of civil war, [t] Bengal and *Southern India* were in a manner ſeparated from the government of *Delhi*.

Mogul Dynaſty. 1405.

When TIMUR BEC the renowned deſcendant of *Gengis*, firſt propoſed the invaſion of Hindoſtan in 1398, ten years after the death of *Feroſe*, he was anſwered according to [t] Gibbon, by a murmur of diſcontent: *The Rivers! and the Mountains and Deſerts! and the Soldiers clad in armour! and the Elephants, deſtroyers of men!* An infant ſon of Mohammed the fourth had been placed on on the throne of Delhi in 1392 by the name of MAHMUD SHAH, and this event was particularly favourable to the ambition of the Mogul Chieftain. TIMUR ſoon made his triumphant entry into the capital of *Hindoſtan*; advancing one hundred miles to the north-eaſt of *Delhi* he paſſed the *Ganges*, and completed his conqueſt at the famous rock of *Coupele*. On the death of *Timur* in 1405 began the famous *Mogul Dynaſty* in *Hindoſtan*, which ſucceeded that of the *Afghan*, or *Patan*, founded by CUTTUB. The dominions of *Timur* were divided according to his will among his children. MIRACHA a third ſon [u] received the eaſtern part of *Perſia*, the *Cabuliſtan*, a frontier province between Perſia and the Indies, and *Hindoſtan*; and with this prince the Mogul empire commenced. *Miracha*

[t] Ibid. P. 495. [t] Vol. 12. P. 13.

[u] Catrou's Hiſtory. See alſo in Harris's Collection of Voyages (vol. 1. p. 629.) *A ſuccinct account of the Empire of the great Mogul from its foundation to the preſent times, taken chiefly from the oriental writers.*

racha made choice of the city of *Herat* as his capital, situated almost in the centre of his dominions in the province of Choraſſan.

This courageous, but ungrateful emperor, was ſucceeded by his ſon ABOUCHAID, in 1451, whoſe ingratitude was proverbial throughout the Eaſt; after a diſgraceful reign of twenty-eight years his fifth ſon SHEIK OMAR was placed upon the throne; and during a long interval of peace he amuſed himſelf in teaching pigeons, which he kept, to live in a continual ſtate of enmity. Subſequent to his death in 1493 the Mogul empire was more fully eſtabliſhed in Hindoſtan by his ſon BABAR; who previous to any military expeditions for the extenſion of his empire, a conſiderable part of which had been wreſted from him by *Schaibec Khan* prince of the Uſbeck Tartars, reſolved with *Ranguildas* governor of Cabuliſtan, to make a tour of obſervation throughout Hindoſtan under the diſguiſe of Indian faquirs.

Having travelled from one extremity of *India* to the other, they drew up an account of that country ſome few years [x] previous to the firſt *Voyage of da Gama*. They found HINDOSTAN inhabited by four nations. (1) *Native Indians*, who notwithſtanding the repeated invaſions and conqueſts of the *Afghan* kings of *Delhi*, ſtill preſerved ſome faint reſemblance of their antient conſtitution. Their monarchs however were immerſed in the ſeraglio; the affairs of government abandoned to miniſters or their deputies; whilſt the *Brahmins*, forgetful of the opinions of their anceſtors, abuſed the eaſy confidence of the vulgar. The army conſiſted of an undiſ-

[x] Other writers, differing from *Catrou*, are of opinion that all *Hindoſtan* was divided into ſeparate States about the year 1450 under a prince called *Belloli*, who aſcended the Mogul throne on the abdication of Alla the ſecond; and that a ſon of this prince, having eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Agra in 1501, regained a conſiderable part of the empire. The firſt expedition of Babar is placed by them in 1518. Mr. *Paton* in his *Principles of Aſiatic Monarchies* (1801.) gives a ſketch of the Hiſtory of Hindoſtan from the firſt Mohammedan invaſion to the reign of Akber (p. 67.) According to him Babar advanced to *Delhy* in 1525, and died in 1530.

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undiſciplined rabble, and the general maſs of people were loſt in indolence and vice. (2) The ſecond claſs conſiſted of *Patans*, a Mohammedan race, who had paſſed over from the oppoſite coaſt of *Arabia*, and having firſt ſettled on the ſouthern ſide of the *Indus* where they founded the town of *Muſilipatan*, thence extended themſelves until they became maſters of the kingdom of *Delhi*; which they poſſeſſed when *Timur* invaded India. (3) The third claſs conſiſted of *Perſees*, who on the conqueſt of Perſia by the Mohammedans had been obliged to emigrate in great multitudes. (4) *Mogul* ſoldiers who had been placed in different gariſons, and *officers* appointed to collect the *tribute* of conquered Rajahs, formed the fourth claſs.

Death of Babar.

1530.

On the return of BABAR, and his faithful companion, the attention of this emperor was firſt directed towards the *Patans*, eſtabliſhed at *Delhi* under *Amwixa* the moſt powerful Rajah in Hindoſtan: the forces of *Amwixa* were defeated, and the victorious *Baber* re-eſtabliſhed the Mogul throne at *Delhi*. After reigning five years at *Samarcand*, three in *Cabuliſtan*, and thirty in *Hindoſtan*, this renowned emperor died in 1530, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Homayum* or *Homaion*. Babar like Cæſar compoſed commentaries of his own life and actions entitled *Vakeat Babari*, in which an ample account is given of his battles both in Tartary and India.

Malabar.

The Maritime parts of *Southern Hindoſtan* were always independent of the Court of *Delhi*; and it is extremely difficult to procure any hiſtorical information reſpecting them prior to the arrival of *da Gama* on the Coaſt of Malabar. The Arabian writers, as Dr. [7] Robertſon obſerves, 'mention a great Empire eſtabliſhed on the Malabar Coaſt, governed by monarchs whoſe authority was paramount to that of every power in *India*. Theſe monarchs were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Balchara*, a name yet known in India

[7] Ancient India, p. 121.

India [a]; and it is probable that the *Samorin* or emperor of *Calicut*, so frequently mentioned in the accounts of the first Voyages of the *Portuguese* to India, possessed some portion of their dominions." But the best information on this subject which perhaps can be at present obtained appears in a dissertation published in the [a] Asiatic Researches, entitled *Historical Remarks on the coast of Malabar*, of which the following is the substance.

Ch. III. § 1. *Retrospect of Indian History.*

In a curious work called [b] *Kerul Oodputte*, or the emerging of the country of *Kerul*, the origin of the *Malabar* Coast is ascribed to the piety or penitence of *Puresram Rama*; who, stung with remorse for the blood he had shed, applied to *Varuna* god of the Ocean, to supply him with a tract of ground to bestow on the *Brahmens*. *Varuna* listening to his prayer, withdrew the sea from the *Gowkern* a hill in the vicinity of Mangalore, to Cape Comorin; and in consequence that part of the Coast which extends along the base of the *Sukhien*, or *Ghaut* mountains, has acquired the name of *Mulyalum*, which rendered literally is *skirting at the bottom of the hills*: a term that may easily have been shortened into *Maleyam*, or *Maleam*, whence probably came *Mulievar* and *Malabar*.

The Country thus obtained from the [c] Sea, long continued in a marshy and scarcely habitable state, insomuch that the first settlers, whom

[a] Herbelot Article *Hend*, and *Belhar*.

[a] By Jonathan Duncan, Esq. (vol. 5. 8vo. p. 1.)

[b] Translated into English by Mr. Duncan, during his stay at *Calicut* in 1793, from the Persian version, made under his own inspection after the Malabaric copy in possession of one of the Rajahs of the Zamorin's family.

[c] In a MS. account of MALABAR, which Mr. Duncan has seen, and which is ascribed to a bishop of Virapoli, the seat of a famous Roman Catholic seminary near *Cochin*; according to the accounts of the learned natives of that coast, it is little more than two thousand three hundred years since the Sea came up to the foot of the *Sukien*, or *Ghaut* mountains; and that it once did so he thinks extremely probable from the nature of the soil. See page 375.

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whom *Purefram* is ſaid to have brought from the eaſtern, and even northern parts of *India*, were obliged to abandon it on account of innumerable ſerpents with which its mud and ſlime abounded. Theſe ſettlers however afterwards returned, being inſtructed by *Purefram* to propitiate and worſhip the ſerpents. This maritime diſtrict, according to the *Kerul Oodputte*, was afterwards ſeparated into four *Tookrees*, or diviſions; and theſe were again parcelled out into a greater number of *Naadhs*, or diſtricts, and of *Khunds* or ſubdiviſions. From the ſame ſource we learn, that the *Brahmens* appear to have firſt eſtabliſhed a ſort of republican or ariſtocratical government, under two or three principal chiefs, which continued for ſome time: until jealouſies ariſing among themſelves, the great body of *Brahmen* landholders applied for foreign aſſiſtance; and accordingly received a *Permal*, or chief governor, from the prince of the neighbouring country of *Chaldeſh*, a part of the ſouthern Carnatic. Theſe viceroys were regularly changed and relieved every twelve years; until one of them named *Sheo Ram*, or, according to the *Malabar* book, *Shermanoo Permaloo*, by others alſo called *Cheruma Perumal*, rendered himſelf ſo extremely popular that he was enabled to confirm his authority, and ſet his ſovereign the prince of *Chaldeſh* at defiance; who is known in their books by the name of Rajah *Kiſhen Rao*: An army was immediately ſent into *Malabar* to re-eſtabliſh the Rajah's authority, but the cauſe of *Shermanoo* was ſucceſsful: this event is ſuppoſed to have taken place one thouſand years anterior to the preſent period. From this epocha all the Rajahs, and chief *Nayrs*, as well as other titled and principal lords and landholders of *Malabar*, date their anceſtors' ſovereignty in that country. After the defeat of *Kiſhen Rao's* army, *Shermanoo Permaloo* being either weary of his ſituation, or wiſhing to become a convert to the Koran, reſolved to viſit Arabia; and accordingly made a general

diviſion

division of *Malabar* among his dependents, from whom its present chieftains are descended.

It is a received opinion among the *Malabars*, that when *Shermanoo Permaloo* had completed this division of his kingdom, he was applied to by an *Erary*, or person of the Cow-herd cast for some support; which *Erary*, with his brother, had left their native town of *Poondra* on the banks of the Cavery near *Errode*, and had been the principal cause of the Malabars' success against the army of the Rajah Kishen Rao. *Shermanoo* having little left, made the *Erary* a grant of his own place of abode at *Calicut*; he also gave him his sword, and ancle chainlet, with other insignia, and moreover presented him with water and flowers, the ancient symbol of a transfer of property in that part of India. Beside these marks of royal favour, *Shermanoo* authorised and instructed him to extend his dominion by arms; which this adventurer, the ancestor of the present [d] Zamorin, immediately attempted. In the true spirit of their original grant his family have ever since either meditated new conquests, or endeavoured to secure, what had been gained by the sword of *Shermanoo Permaloo*; which they assert to have still preserved as a precious relic.

Even anterior to the above partition of *Malabar*, the Nestorians had settled and planted [e] Christianity on that coast; and with those of

[d] The *Abbe de Guyon* in his *Histoire des Indes*, (3 vols. 12mo.) observes, that the *King of Calicut* took the title of *Zamorin*, according to an ancient regulation of *Ceram Peroumal*, or *Pereymal*, who retired to Mecca to pass the rest of his days. This prince, sovereign of all *Malabar*, divided his empire amongst his friends and relations, and thus gave rise to that multitude of petty Kings with which the Coasts are filled: but he ordained, that the King of *Calicut* should have the title of ZAMORIN.

[e] Pennant in his *Western Hindoostan*, (p. 164.) observes, "What weighs greatly with me concerning the truth of the existence of the *Indian Christians*, or *Christians of St. Thomas*, is, that the knowledge of them had reached *England* as early as the ninth century; for we are certain that our great *Alfred*, in consequence of a Vow, sent Sighelm the second, in the year

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of the Roman Catholic communion who arrived ſeveral centuries after in conſequence of *Vaſco da Gama*'s diſcovery, they conſtitute to this day a conſiderable body of the lower orders in *Travancore*, and *Cochin*, in which laſt diſtrict the moſt conſiderable, or rather, perhaps the only colony of Jews in *India* is ſettled.

From the period of *Shermanoo*'s abdication to the arrival of the Portugueſe at *Calicut*, the Mahommedan religion made great progreſs in *Malabar*. The Arabian traders, who annually brought conſiderable ſums of money to the *Malabar* Coaſt for its pepper, and other ſpices, received every encouragement from the ſucceſſive *Samoories*, or *Zamorins*; whence that part of the coaſt became the centre of Arabian traffic, and the reſidence of its merchants. The Rajahs of *Cochin*, and of other petty ſtates, jealous of the ambition and ſuperior power of theſe *Samoories*, were eager to afford the *Portugueſe* a kind reception in their ports; and from this colliſion of intereſts proceeded that warfare by ſea and land which ſhook the empire of *Hindoſtan* to its centre. Mr. Duncan adds, that the only Aſiatic account of theſe memorable conteſts he ever met with, is contained in an Arabic manuſcript compoſed by ZEIRREDDIEN MUKHDOM; who is thought to have been ſent to aſſiſt the Mahommedan princes of India, and the *Zamorin*, againſt the *Portugueſe*. His intereſting hiſtory cloſes with the year 1579-80, and contains among other valuable information an account of the then exiſting manners of the *Malabars*. The country of Malabar is deſcribed as being at that time divided into a number of independencies more or leſs extenſive; in which were Chieftains commanding from one, to two, and three hundred, up to a thouſand; and thence to five, ten,

883 (Biſhop of Sherbourn) firſt to *Rome*, and afterwards to *India*, with alms to the Chriſtians of the town of *Saint Thomas*, now *Meliapour*, who returned with various rich Gems, ſome of which were to be ſeen in the church of *Sherbourn*, according to *William of Malmſbury* (lib. 11. 248.) even in his days."

ten, thirty thousand, and upwards. In some of these independencies, two, three, and sometimes even more *Hakims*, or rulers, had at the same time distinct bodies of men attached to them respectively. The three greatest powers were the *Colastrian* Rajah to the north, the *Zamorin* in the centre, and farther south a Prince who ruled from the town of *Kolum*, or *Coulim*, to *Cape Comorin*, comprehending the States now held by the Rajah of *Travancore*. In *Zeirreddien*'s enumeration of what he considered as the chief peculiarities in the manners of the *Malabars*, he remarked, that the rulers were of two classes, or parties; one of which acted in support of the *Zamorin*, while the other party acted in concert with the *Hakim* of Cochin. He then proceeds to mention, that the towns built along the Coast of *Malabar* owed their origin to the Mahommedan traders, and were principally constructed by them. He also relates the arrival of the Portuguese fleets, under *Da Gama* in 1498, and that under *Cabral* a few years afterwards; with the negociations, jealousies, and wars that ensued, in a manner reconcileable to the accounts of the same transactions already published.

The multiplicity of subjects considered in this volume have not at present allowed me to pay that attention to the discovery of the mariner's compass which I could have wished. There is little doubt that it was used in India, long before any knowledge of it had reached Europe; and it is singular that the *Loadstone* seems to have been designated under the term of *The heavy*, or *rare Stone*, in the [f] Hebrew אבן יקרה, *by the navigators of Solomon's fleet*.—Certainly

[f] Our *Translation* (1 Kings 10. ch. 11. v.) styles it, *Precious Stones*, but the original term is *Stone*, in the singular. See *Michaelis Supplementa* ad Lexica Hebraica, No. 1049; who contends from the *Syriac* and *Arabic*, that the sense of *precious* annexed to the epithet, is not proper but derivative, the primary signification being heavy. The seventy however, and *Symmachus*, have rendered it σπανιος *rare*. (*Note by the Reverend S. Henley.*)

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tainly we now poſſeſs ſufficient evidence to believe, that the earlieſt ornament employed to mark the North, and which has generally been called a *Fleur de lis*, was no other than the *Indian Lotus*; ſince *Mr. Daniel* obſerved the ſame to be frequently introduced on ſome of the moſt ancient of the Hindoo temples. The following ſpecimens, which he was ſo obliging as to communicate, are therefore offered to the attention of nautical antiquarians.

SECTION II.

Reflections.—Accession of Emmanuel.—Conduct of Almeida.—Singular request of John the second.—Murmurs against the further progress of Discovery.—Fernan Lourenço receives orders to build the ships which John the second had destined for the discovery of India.—Da Gama appointed to command the squadron.—Narrative of his Voyage from Castanheda, Osorius, and Camoens.

Vasco! le cui felici, ardite antenne
In contro al sol, che ne riporta il giorno
Spiegar' le vele, è fer' colà ritorno,
Dove egli par che di cadere accenne:

Non più di te per aspro mar sostenne
Quel, che fece al Ciclope oltraggio, è scorno:
Ne chi turbo l'Arpie nel suo soggiorno
Ne diè più bel seggetto à colte penne.

Et hor quella del colto, è buon' Luige
Tant' oltré stende il glorioso volo
Che i tuoi spalmati legni andar' men' lungè.
Und' a quelli, à cui s'alza il nostro polo,
Et à chi ferma in contra i suoi vestigi
Per lui del corso tuo la fama aggiunge. Tasso.

As we approach the completion of Portuguese Discovery on the Coasts of Africa, and consider the astonishing revolution which *da Gama*'s Voyage produced throughout the greater part both of *Europe*, and *Asia;* we are naturally led to exclaim with Sir William [a] Monson: "It is strange and surprising, that out of so many flourishing Nations as God hath created and civilized, He should elect and chuse the

[a] Naval Tracts, Churchill's Collection (vol. 3. p. 352.)

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1495. EMMANUEL was only in his twenty-sixth year, when he received the news of his cousin's death, *John the second.* Brought up without any immediate expectations of the Crown, and being himself a younger [b] son, it was only at the conclusion of the late monarch's reign that *Emmanuel* had been taught to consider himself as *Infante* of Portugal. He received the express at *Salatia*, in which town he was immediately proclaimed king with the usual ceremonies: after which an assembly of his nobility, clergy, and deputies from the cities, was called at *Monte Mayor* about twelve miles from *Evora.* In this assembly the king gave early and striking proofs of great abilities by the noble plans which he suggested; and before he left *Monte Mayor* for his metropolis, an event occurred characteristic of the peculiar goodness of his disposition.

Among the number of loyal subjects who pressed forward to pay their earliest homage, the attention of the Court was particularly fixed on two persons. The scene that ensued is feelingly described by [c] Osorius.—*Diego Almeida* master of the order of knights hospitalers, a cavalier famed for his bravery and accomplishments, had been

[b] *Emmanuel* was the grandson of king *Edward*, the nephew of *Alfonso* the fifth, and cousin to *John* the second his predecessor. (*Elogios dos reis de Portugal.*) He was the third son of the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Viseo*, by Donna *Beatrix*, the daughter of the infant Don *Juan*. (*De Faria y Sousa Epitome.*) He was born at the castle of *Alchochetti*, May 3, 1469, which fell that year upon a Thursday, and the feast of *Corpus Christi*, at the very instant the sacrament passed by the door; and for this reason he took the name of *Emmanuel*. He received the principal part of his education in *Castile*, during the time he remained there as an hostage, and returned to Portugal about the time the Duke of Bragança lost his life.

[c] Page 7. (*Gibbs' Translation*, vol. 1. p. 8.)

been appointed tutor to George a favourite natural ſon of the late king. They both appeared in deep mourning: the contraſt between the youth of *George* who was only in his fourteenth year, and the age of his protector, gave additional intereſt. *Almeida* advancing, preſented his pupil for the firſt time, and thus addreſſed EMMANUEL: *Illuſtrious* SENHOR, *the deceaſed king who by nature was your couſin, but by the love he bore you might well be accounted your brother; when on his death-bed aſſured me, that he ſhould quit this life with the greateſt reſignation, if he were relieved from one anxiety which depreſſed his mind, the apprehenſion he experienced of leaving this deſtitute and forlorn Orphan. Yet at the ſame time he acknowledged that this uneaſineſs was greatly alleviated, when he called to remembrance the benevolence of your diſpoſition, the gratitude of your heart, and your inclination for every thing noble and generous. And then he enjoined me in his name, to deſire, nay even to entreat; as he had ever loved you as a ſon, as he had ever diſtinguiſhed you by the greateſt marks of honour, and conferred on you every kindneſs in his power, that you would ſhew a proper ſenſe of ſuch exalted favour, by a grateful return of the ſame to this his only child.—Moreover he ſtrictly charged me, that I ſhould frequently admoniſh this ſon to attach himſelf entirely to your ſervice, and to make it his ſole ambition to ſurpaſs every one in love and fidelity for your royal perſon, and in zeal for your intereſts.—Theſe were his Commands; and in order to execute the duties of my ſtation, I here, Senhor, preſent this youth, who at theſe tender years has been deprived of ſuch a parent. By diſpoſition as well as birth he is related to you. He comes as a ſuppliant; the ſeverity of his fate entitles him to your protection. In the name of his Father I preſent him.*—EMMANUEL was ſo greatly [d] affected by this ſpeech, that he at firſt was unable to reply; but afterwards aſſured *Almeida*,

Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

[d] Hac Almeidæ Oratione adeò fuit Emmanuelis moeror excitatus, ut cum dare reſponſum vellet, lacrymis et ſingultu ſpiritus illius impediretur. (*Oſorius.* P. 8.)

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Almeida, in few words, that, *he ſhould always conſider George as his own ſon; and would beſtow on him ſuch marks of favour as might beſt demonſtrate an inclination to preſerve and extend the name and memory of* JOHN THE SECOND. This circumſtance, adds *Oſorius*, we have thought worthy of a place in our hiſtory; ſince it equally proves how much the probity of John was regarded, and with what reaſon the excellency of Emmanuel's character was admired.

Venice.

VENICE was among the [e] firſt to congratulate *Emmanuel* on his acceſſion to the throne. This watchful and jealous ſtate muſt have been anxious to aſcertain the ſtrength of that oppoſition which continued in Portugal, againſt all attempts to diſcover a paſſage to India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope; and probably wiſhed to increaſe the murmurs then prevailing againſt any further encouragement of ſo deſperate an undertaking. It was therefore politic for the Venetian ſenate to aſſure *Emmanuel* of its friendſhip and eſteem; and accordingly the nation, which became the greateſt ſufferer by the preſent reign, was the firſt to compliment the future deſtroyer of its commercial ſupremacy.

John the ſecond, a ſhort time previous to his death, made every effort to induce his ſucceſſor to continue the progreſs of diſcovery beyond the point which *Bartholomew Diaz* had reached. The proſperous voyage of *Columbus* imparted to *John* additional impulſe; and in order that EMMANUEL might poſſeſs an equal ſtimulus to complete a developement of the Indian Ocean from its union with the Atlantic, he had been deſired by *John* to add a Sphere to the regalia of Portugal. After his deceaſe, the party which had long been [f] formed, recommenced a powerful oppoſition againſt the commercial intereſts of their country; deprecating the poſſibility of ever arriving in *India*, by a paſſage round the newly diſcovered Cape.

[e] Oſorius.

[f] See page 181.

Cape. The arguments that were urged on this occaſion had their effect on the public mind, and tended conſiderably to heighten the dangers of a voyage, which *Emmanuel* was determined to attempt. *Camoens* beautifully perſonifies the ſtate of mind which his countrymen then poſſeſſed, and under the following figure has recorded with [e] hiſtoric correctneſs the ſentiments of Emmanuel's council.

Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

" A reverend Figure fixt each wondering eye,
And beckoning thrice he wav'd his hand on high;
And thrice his hoary curls he ſternly ſhook,
While grief and anger mingled in his look;
Then to its height his faultering voice he rear'd,
And thro' the Fleet theſe awful words were heard:

" O frantic thirſt of Honour and of Fame,
The crowds' blind tribute, a fallacious name;
What ſtings, what plagues, what ſecret ſcourges curſt,
Torment thoſe boſoms where thy pride is nurſt!
What dangers threaten, and what deaths deſtroy
The hapleſs youth, whom thy vain gleams decoy!
. . . Thou dazzling Meteor, vain as fleeting air,
What new dread horror doſt thou now prepare!
High ſounds thy voice of INDIA's pearly ſhore,
Of endleſs Triumphs and of countleſs Store . . . .
And ſay, does Zeal for holy Faith inſpire
To ſpread its mandates, thy avow'd deſire?

Behold

[e] The *Luſitanian Homer*, as already obſerved (p. 73.), is entitled to the authority of an hiſtorian: his means of information were ample, and extended from *Portugal* to *India*. But the following ſuffrage of *Monteſquieu* is alone ſufficient to juſtify an inſertion of ſuch paſſages from the *Luſiadas*, as illuſtrate *Gama's* Voyage. " Les Portugais naviguant ſur l'ocean Atlantique, decouvrirent la pointe la plus meriodinale de l'Afrique; ils virent une vaſte Mer; elle les porta aux Indes Orientales: leurs périls ſur cette Mer, et la découverte de Mozambique, de Melinde, et de Calecut, ont été chanté par le CAMOENS, dont le poëme fait ſentir quelque choſes des charmes de l'Odyſſée, et de la magnificence de l'Eneide." (*L'Eſprit des Loix*, l. xxi. c. 21.)

Behold the HAGARENE in armour ſtands,
Treads on thy borders, and the foe demands:
A thouſand cities own his lordly ſway,
A thouſand various ſhores his nod obey.
Through all theſe regions all theſe Cities, ſcorn'd
Is thy Religion, and thine Altars ſpurn'd.
A Foe renown'd in arms the brave require;
That high-plum'd Foe, renown'd for martial fire,
Before thy gates his ſhining ſpear diſplays;
Whilſt thou wouldſt fondly dare the wat'ry maze,
Enfeebled leave thy Native Land behind,
On Shores unknown a foe unknown to find.
Oh! madneſs of ambition! thus to dare
Dangers ſo fruitleſs, ſo remote a war!
That Fame's vain flattery may thy name adorn,
And thy proud titles on her flag be borne:
Thee, lord of Perſia, thee of India lord,
O'er Ethiopia's vaſt, and Araby [h] ador'd."

Thus did the counſellors of *Emmanuel* ſtrive to withdraw their ſovereign from meaſures that were planned by conſummate wiſdom. Never was any expedition more [i] unpopular than this of *da*

[h] Mickle's Luſiad, book iv. vol. 2. p. 38.

[i] The ſame prejudices that prevailed againſt this Voyage, were afterwards urged to diſcountenance all trade to the Eaſt Indies. *Purchas* in his firſt volume (p. 732 lib. 5.) gives a long Diſſertation on the ſubject by *T. Mun*, in order to remove ſuch objections. "By the prouidence of Almightie God, the diſcouerie of that Navigation to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope (now ſo much frequented by the *Engliſh*, *Portugals*, and *Dutch*, and alſo attempted by other Chriſtian kingdomes) hath not onely much decayed the great Commerce betweene the *Indians* and the *Turkes* in the Red Sea, and in the *Perſian* Gulfe, to their infinite hurt, and to the great increaſe of Chriſtian trade; but it hath alſo brought a further happineſſe vnto Chriſtendome in generall, and to the realme of *England* in particular, for the venting of more *Engliſh* commodities; and for exporting of a leſſe quantitie of ſiluer out of Europe vnto the infidels, by many thouſand pounds yearely, than hath beene accuſtomed in former times; as I ſhall prooue moſt plainely by that which followeth .... So that by the ſubſtance, and ſummes of theſe Accounts it doth plainely appeare, that the buying of the ſaid quantitie of raw ſilkes, Indico, and ſpices, may be performed in the *Indies* for neere one-third

da Gama. Thefe murmurs of the Cabinet were re-echoed by the affrighted populace, who already beheld the Sultan of Egypt in the *Tagus*, and all the princes of chriftendom in confederacy to fubvert the kingdom of Portugal. They were afraid, fays [k] Bruce, 'left after having difcovered a paffage to *India*, the depriving the Moorifh States of their revenues from the Spice trade, fhould unite thefe powers to their deftruction. Now, to deftroy their revenues effectually, and thereby ruin their power, was the very motive which fet *Prince Henry* upon the difcovery, as worthy the Grand Mafter of the Order of Chrift; an order founded in the blood of unbelievers, and devoted particularly to the extirpation of the Mahometan religion.'—But the cool judgment of *Emmanuel* was not to be fhaken by fuch vague chimeras: his fuperior mind difcerned profpects of national advantage, and he therefore refolved to purfue that path which his predeceffor had fo ftrongly recommended. To ufe the words of [l] *Oforius*, *Emmanuel* regarded Diffidence as the mark of a low and groveling mind, whereas he confidered Hope to be the quality of a noble and afpiring foul.

On the arrival of *Diaz*, John the fecond had ordered fome timber to be purchafed in order to conftruct [m] fhips which in point of ftrength and tonnage might be enabled to furmount the raging *Tormentas* of the *grão Cabo de boa Efperãça.*—This important commiffion was now intrufted to *Fernan Lourenço*, treafurer of the houfe of *the Myna*; and after much deliberation *Emmanuel* fixed on *Vafco da Gama*, *Fidalgo de fua Cafa*, as *Capitãs mór* of the intended

third part of the readie moneys, which were accuftomed to be fent into Turkey to prouide the fame: fo that there will be faued euery yeere the value of 953,543 pounds, foure fhillings, foure pence Sterling, of readie moneys, that heretofore hath beene exported out of Chriftendome into Turkey." (Ibid. P. 734.)

[k] Vol. 2. p. 109.

[l] Page 23.

[m] *Caftanheda's* expreffion is *dous nauios da Madeira qēl Rey d. João mandara cortar.* (Tom. 1. p. 4. cap. 2.) See alfo *de Barros* (*Decada* 1. liv. 4. cap. 1.)

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intended voyage; who in a war with the French had already given proofs of enterprise and naval skill. Vasco was a native of *Sinis*, a sea port in the province of *Alentejo*, and was the son of *Estevão da Gama*, a person of rank, who had been already appointed to this expedition by *John*, on the return of Diaz; but died before the squadron was fitted out. On receiving this important charge, *Vasco* told *Emmanuel* that his mind had long aspired to the honour of such an enterprise:

> "Let Skies on fire,
> Let frozen Seas, let horrid war conspire,
> I dare them all, I cried, and but repine
> That one poor life is all I can [a] resign."

To great enthusiasm this Navigator united perseverance, prudence, and a constant possession of his judgment. *Osorius* [b] styles him a nobleman endowed with a singular strength of mind. '*Gama*,' says Dr. Vincent [c], 'was formed for the service to which he was called; violent indeed in his temper, terrible in anger, and sudden in the execution of justice; but at the same time intrepid, persevering, patient in difficulties, fertile in expedients, and superior to all opposition. He seems to have devoted himself to death if he should not succeed, from a sense of religion and loyalty. His success was owing to this sentiment.'

When *Gama* received these commands of his sovereign, the first nobility of Portugal were present. Emmanuel, after an eloquent speech, gave him with his own hand as the flag he was to bear, a sacred Banner, on which was emblazoned the Cross of the military order of CHRIST: it consisted [d] of a white cross inclosed in one

[a] Mickle's Lusiad, book iv. vol. 2. p. 33.

[b] *Hominem nobilem, et singulari animi robore præditum.* (P. 24.)

[c] *Periplus*, p. 221. and p. 209. n. 355.

[d] *Osorius*, p. 17. See also *Barros Eu Vasco da Gama . . . juro em o final desta Cruz, em que ponho as mãos, que por servico de Deos, e vosso.* (*Decada* 1. l. 4. cap. 1.)

one of a red colour; and on this ſtandard the admiral took his oath of fidelity. The king alſo delivered into his hands the Journal of *Pedro de Covilham*, with a chart, and letters to ſuch of the principal princes of *India*, as were known to the court of Portugal; among whom the renowned *Preſte João des Indias* was not omitted. Ch. II. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

The Squadron fitted out for this memorable voyage, conſiſted of three ſhips and a caravella: the *Sam Gabriel* of one hundred and twenty tons, and the *Sam Raſael* of one hundred tons, both built by Lourenco [r]; the other ſhip of two hundred tons which ſerved as a victualler, was purchaſed by the king of one *Ayres Correa*, and the caravella of fifty tons had been the property of *Berrio* a pilot at Lagos, whoſe name it received. The principal officers are thus given by *Caſtanheda*.

VASCO DA GAMA hoiſted his flag on board the *Sam Gabriel*, having with him as pilot *Pero Dalãquer*, who had been pilot to *Bartholomew Diaz*.

PAULO DA GAMA, brother of the Captain-General, commanded the *Sam Raſael*.

BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ accompanied them in a ſeparate caravella as far as the *Myna*, by the King's order.

GONÇALO [s] NUNEZ, whom Caſtanheda ſtyles *criad de Vaſco da Gama*, was appointed to the Store Ship.

NICULAO COELHO, commanded the caravella: he is mentioned in the ſubſequent Narrative as Brother to the Admiral.

The

[r] Previous to their Diſcoveries in the Atlantic, the *Portugueſe* had conſtructed Ships with Timber taken from their noble pine tree foreſt at *Marinhà*, planted by King *Denis* the magnificent. (*Murphy's* Travels in *Portugal*, p. 77. 84.)

[s] *Caſtanheda* (tom. 1. cap. 2. p. 5.) writes *Gonçalo Nunez*, which *Lichefield* has changed into *Gomez*. BARROS gives a more detailed Liſt. *Diago Diaz* brother of *Bartholomew* was *Eſcrivão* to *da Gama*. "Do ſegundo per nome S. Rafael era Piloto João de Coimbra, e Eſcrivão João de Sá. Do terceiro, a que chamavam Berrio, era Piloto Pero Eſcolar, e Eſcrivão Alvaro de Braga. Eda Náo era capitão hum Gonçalo Nunes criado delle Vaſco da Gama. (*Ibid.* Liv. 4. cap. 2.)

The total number of each crew consisted according to *Castanheda* of one hundred and forty-eight men, whilst others increase that number to one hundred and sixty. Perhaps, as [1] Mickle observes, *Gama* and his brother, and the ten malefactors who were on board, are not included in *Castanheda's* account. "The Voyage of *Columbus*," adds the same author, "has been called *the most daring and grand ever attempted by man*. *Columbus* himself, however, seems to have had a very different idea of it; for certain it is, he expected to reach *India* by the westward Passage in the space of not many weeks. The squadron with which he attempted this discovery consisted of only three vessels. Dr. Robertson calls the largest which Columbus commanded, *of no considerable burden*; and the two others, *hardly superior in burden or force to large boats*. The crew consisted of ninety men, and a few adventurers: and the expence of fitting out this equipment did not exceed four thousand pounds sterling, for which Queen Isabella pawned her jewels.

"When *Gama* sailed from Lisbon, it was unknown that a great and potent commonwealth of Mohammedan merchants deeply skilled in all the arts and views of Commerce, were scattered over the Eastern World. *Gama*, therefore, did not sail to *India* with a warlike fleet, like that which first followed him under *Cabral*, but with a squadron every way proper for discovery. The *Portuguese* historians ascribe the shipwreck of many Portuguese vessels on the voyage between *Europe* and *India*, to the avarice of their owners in building them of an enormous bulk, of four, five, and six hundred tons. The Fleet of *Gama* was therefore not only of the most perfect size which the art of ship-building could then produce; but was also superior in number, and nearly of the draught of water with the vessels which at this day are sent on [a] Voyages of Discovery.

[1] Vol. 1. Appendix, p. 348.

[a] The following is a list of the Tonnage of such Ships, as were either fitted out for the purpose of discovery, or served in a secondary manner to promote it, during the last century. (See also preceding page 188, note t.)

In

Ch. III. § 2.

Emmanuel.

Discovery. The disposition of *Gama*'s Voyage is also worthy of notice: the Captain who had already past the great southern promontory of *Africa* to accompany him to a certain latitude; the Pilot who

1. In the Voyage undertaken by *Dampier* and *Funnell* (1703) the tonnage of the principal ships is not mentioned in the printed journal. *Dampier*'s first Voyage was in 1679.

2. *Captain Edward Cooke* gained considerable fame as a circumnavigator during the years 1708—1711; and in 1712 published an account of his Voyages in two volumes, 8vo. At the instigation of Captain Dampier two Ships had been fitted out for this Voyage by some able persons at *Bristol*; *the Duke* of 350 tons, Captain *Woodes Rogers* commander, Captain *Thomas Dover* second captain, and Captain *William Dampier* pilot; and next THE DUTCHESS frigate of about 300 tons, Captain *Stephen Courtney* commander, *Captain Cooke* his second captain. Though this Voyage was not immediately undertaken for the purposes of discovery, it yet merits a place in this list.

3. Monf. Frezier sailed 1711—1714. during his voyage in the South Sea in the S. JOSEPH, of 350 tons, commanded by the Sieur *Duchêne Battas*.

4. The tonnage of the principal Ships under the command of Lord *Anson*, as well as that of the ships of other eminent navigators, is not mentioned in the printed Journals. Anson's squadron, 1740, consisted of five men of war, a sloop, and two victuallers; the *Centurion* was a sixty-gun ship; the victuallers were pinks, one of 400 tons, the other of 200 tons.

5. The Ships that were fitted out for the discovery of a passage to the western and southern ocean of America, through *Hudson's Straits*, 1746, and 1747, consisted of the DOBB'S GALLEY, 180 tons, commanded by *Captain William Moor*; and the CALIFORNIA, 140 tons, commanded by *Captain Francis Smith*.

6. In the Voyages of *Byron*, *Wallis*, and *Carteret*, the tonnage of their ships is not mentioned in the printed Journals. The *Dolphin* was a sixth rate, 24 guns; the *Tamar* a Sloop of 16 guns; and the *Swallow* a Sloop of 14 guns.

7. In *Lieut.* COOK'S *first* Voyage, 1768—1771, he sailed in the *Endeavour*, built for the coal trade, of 370 tons.

8. In Captain COOK'S *second* voyage (1772—1775) his two ships consisted of the RESOLUTION, 462 tons; and the ADVENTURE of 336 tons. Both built at *Whitby* by the same person who had built the *Endeavour*. In a general Introduction to that Voyage, we have the following opinion of *Captain Cook*, relative to the sort of Ship which is best adapted for Discovery.—(Page 23.) "The nature of this Voyage required Ships of a particular construction, and the *Endeavour* being gone to *Falkland Isles* as a store Ship, the Navy Board was directed to purchase two such ships as were most suitable for this service. At this time various opinions were espoused by different people, touching the size and kind of vessels most proper for such a Voyage. Some were for having large Ships; and proposed those of forty guns, or East India Company Ships. Others preferred large good sailing Frigates, or three-decked ships, employed in the Jamaica trade, fitted with round-houses. But of all that was said and offered to the Admiralty's consideration on this subject, as far as has come to my knowledge, what in my opinion was most to the purpose was suggested by the Navy Board . . . .

 "As

BOOK I. who had failed with that captain, to go the whole Voyage; the size of *Coello*'s Caravel, proper to enter Creeks, and Rivers; and the appointment of the Store Ship; are circumstances which display a knowledge

" As the greatest danger to be apprehended and provided against, on a Voyage of Discovery, especially to the most distant parts of the Globe, is that of the Ship's being liable to be run aground on an unknown, desert, or perhaps savage Coast; so no consideration should be set in competition with that of her being of a construction of the safest kind, in which the officers may, with the least hazard, venture upon a strange Coast. A Ship of this kind must not be of a great draught of water, yet of a sufficient burden and capacity to carry a proper quantity of provisions and necessaries for her complement of men, and for the time requisite to perform the Voyage. She must also be of a construction that will bear to take the ground: and of a size, which, in case of necessity, may be safely and conveniently laid on shore, to repair any accidental damage or defects. These properties are not to be found in Ships of War of *forty guns*, nor in *Frigates*, nor in *East India* Company's Ships, nor in large three-decked *West India* Ships, nor indeed in any other but *North-country-built* Ships, or such as are built for the coal trade, which are peculiarly adapted to this purpose. . .

" Hence, it may be concluded, so little Progress had been hitherto made in Discoveries in the *Southern Hemisphere*. For all Ships which attempted it before the *Endeavour*, were unfit for it; although the officers employed in them had done the utmost in their power. It was upon these Considerations, that the *Endeavour* was chosen for that Voyage. It was to these properties in her, that those on board owed their preservation; and hence we were enabled to prosecute Discoveries in those Seas so much longer than any other Ship ever did, or could do. And although Discovery was not the first object of that Voyage, I could venture to traverse a far greater space of Sea, till then unnavigated; to discover greater tracks of Country in high and low South Latitudes; and to persevere longer in exploring and surveying more correctly the extensive Coasts of those new-discovered countries, than any former Navigator, perhaps, had done during one Voyage.

" It was first proposed to sheath them with Copper; but on considering that Copper corrodes the Iron work, especially about the Rudder, this intention was laid aside, and the old method of sheathing and fitting pursued. The frame of a small vessel, twenty tons burthen, was properly prepared, and put on board each of the Ships to be set up (if found necessary) to serve as Tenders upon any emergency, or to transport the crew, in case the ship was lost."

9. Captain Cook in his Third Voyage (1776—1780) sailed again with the Resolution; the *Discovery* of 300 tons accompanied him.

10. Captain T. Forest in his Voyage to *New Guinea* and the *Moluccas* from *Balambangan*, (1774—1776) sailed in the TARTAR GALLEY, a *Soolo* boat, or *prow*, about 10 tons burthen.—The following are his remarks (Page 6.) " Sensible of the jealousy and watchfulness of the Dutch in the Molucca Islands, near which it was necessary for me to pass on my way to New Guinea, no less than of the danger of navigating in narrow Seas, in a Vessel that drew much water, I preferred a small one of ten tons burthen.

" In a large vessel we must have been cautious of coming near land. The Crew I had (*Malays* chiefly) make bad Sailors in square rigged vessels; and, having never been accustomed to

knowledge of and an attention to maritime affairs, far beyond any thing discovered by the court of *Spain* in the equipments of *Columbus*

to lie in an open road, or be in a harbour, without the indulgence of going on shore, they would not have had patience to remain on board, which even in a Sloop of 30 tons, would have been necessary: and, in a vessel no larger than 30 tons, with such a crew, I must have frequently run the risk of being wrecked, had I made free with the shore. This I was enabled to do boldly, in a boat of small burthen, that rowed, and drew little water; and, when she touched the ground, which often happened, part of the crew, by jumping overboard, could push her off again; and, when in harbour, every body had free access to the shore. - - - Her Keel was twenty-five foot long, and she had a kind of Gallery built on each side, from stem to stern, projecting about thirty inches over each gunnel. Here sat the rowers, sometimes twenty in number. She overhung so much forward and abaft, that she was forty foot long. Her draft of water was generally three foot and a half. She had for a Mast an *Artillery triangle* (gin or tripod) made of three stout bamboos, which could be struck with the greatest ease by three men. On this was hoisted a large four cornered sail, called by the Malays, *Lyre Tanjong* (pointed sail) because the upper corner appears sharp or pointed. I fixed to her a Foremast close forward, and a Bowsprit; and gave her a lateen, or three cornered Foresail. I also gave her a lateen mizen; but, when it blew fresh, I took down the *Lyre Tanjong* from the Tripod Mast, as it was a very large sail, and put in its place a Lateen Sail. The Sails then resembled those of the Galleys in the Mediterranean.—A great Improvement might be made in Navigation by means of the Tripod Mast. Lash two London wherries together, and give this double Vessel the Tripod Mast, and Lyre Tanjong, it will beat the fast sailing boats, at least three to two.

"The Galley steered with two *Commoodies*, (rudders,) a sort of broad paddle, but one generally served. She was covered almost entirely with the leaves of a certain Palm tree, called *Nipa*, such as those with which the natives cover houses on the south west coast of *Sumatra*; and in almost all *Malay* countries; it being a light kind of thatch, which keeps off sunshine and rain. One small part abaft was covered with boards. At *Tomoguy*, one of the *Molucca Islands*, I hauled her ashore to clean her bottom; and there I raised her one streak, or plank, about fifteen inches high, as I found her rather too low to proceed down the coast of New Guinea, she being apt to ship water in bad weather. I also new roofed or thatched her there. At *Magindano*, as I had leisure, I decked her, and turned her into a schooner."

11. Captain Vancouver sailed (1790-1795) in the DISCOVERY sloop of 340 tons burthen, built in the yard of Messrs Randall and Brent; and was accompanied by the Chatham armed tender of 135 tons burthen, built at Dover. The *Discovery* was copper fastened, sheathed with plank, and coppered over; the *Chatham* only sheathed with copper. Number of men on board the first, 100; and in the Chatham, 45.

12. Captain Marchand sailed (1790-1792) in the SOLIDE, of 300 tons burthen, constructed at the expence of the mercantile house of *Baux*. The crew, including the captain, consisted of fifty individuals.

13. Captain Colnett sailed (1793, 1794) in the RATTLER sloop of 374 tons burthen, which had been previously repaired and fitted up at Perry's Dock.

BOOK I.

bus and *Magalhaens*. The warlike ſtrength of GAMA's Fleet was greatly ſuperior to that of the firſt Voyage of *Columbus*, and little inferior to that of *Magalhaens*; though Magalhaens, who had been in India, well knew the hoſtile diſpoſition of the natives. In the art of war the *Indians* were greatly inferior to the Moors, and the *Moors* were as inferior to the Portugueſe. And the Squadron of GAMA not only defeated the whole naval force of the firſt Maritime State of *India*, but in every attack was victorious over the ſuperior numbers of the *Moors*. This comparative Diſcuſſion will not only give an accurate idea of the progreſs which the *Portugueſe* had made in Navigation, but it is alſo, perhaps, neceſſary in ſupport of the reputation of this work. Had an * Author of ordinary rank repreſented the Squadron of GAMA as *extremely feeble, conſiſting only of three veſſels, of neither burthen nor force adequate to the ſervice*, ſuch condemnation of our Narrative had been here unnoticed. But when a celebrated and juſtly admired Hiſtorian, in a work publiſhed about one year and an half after the firſt appearance of the *Luſiad*, has given ſuch repreſentation of the equipment of GAMA, directly contrary to the light in which it is there placed, the foregoing detail will not appear, it is hoped, an unneceſſary or rude vindication."

The conduct of *Gama* previous to his voyage, clearly evinces the opinion which that great navigator entertained of its dangers, and his determination to ſurmount them with the permiſſion and ſupport of Divine Providence. His mind was highly wrought; the natural piety of a Mariner was increaſed by the ſituation in which he was about to be placed; he was *to ſee the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep*, to traverſe an ocean hitherto conſidered as impaſſable. Ignorance might magnify its terrors, but even experience

* Robertſon's America, vol. 1. p. 145.

rience trembled when ſent to encounter dangers which the received and general opinion of that age had declared to be inſurmountable. But *Gama* poſſeſſed a firm reliance on his God; and therefore conducted the companions of this perilous voyage to the chapel of *noſſa Senhora de Belem*, or *Bethlehem*, which PRINCE HENRY had built [y] on the ſea ſhore, about four miles from Liſbon: the anxious [z] hours of the night were ſpent in prayer, and in the performance of devout rites. In the morning of Saturday, [a] July the eighth 1497, the awful proceſſion of the ſacred miniſters of Religion, preceded one of the moſt ſolemn and affecting ſcenes which hiſtory can diſplay. The King, attended by his Court, was preſent to honour the embarkation. GAMA, and his brave mariners appeared: their reſolution could not ſtand the general dejection, and their tears increaſed the diſtreſs of all who beheld them; they then haſtened to perform their duty, and followed their [b] commander. Thouſands remained immoveable on the ſhore until the moſt diſtant trace of the receding fleet had diſappeared.

In

[y] See preceding page 184.—Oſorius muſt have been guilty of a miſtake when he ſays this chapel was built by Emmanuel.

[z] Sermons on the character and profeſſional duties of Mariners. (P. 111. ed. 1801.)

[a] Some writers have made it the fourteenth, *Raynall* fixes on the eighteenth, and *Bruce* makes it the fourth of July. CASTANHEDA's expreſſion is, *bũ Sabado oyto dias de Julho do anno* 1497. (Tom. 1. p. 5.) OSORIUS ſays, *Gama tamen quanuis lacrymas ſuorum deſiderio funderet, rei tamen bene gerendæ fiducia confirmatus, alacriter in nauem fauſtis ominibus conſcendit vii. id. Julii, anno a Chriſto nato*, 1497. (Page 25.)—SEBASTIAN CABOT ſailed in the ſpring of the ſame year.

[b] Le PIERRE JARRIC gives the following dates, in a very ſcarce work entitled *Hiſtoire des choſes plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales, que autres pais, de la deſcouuerte des Portugais, a l'an* 1600; *le tout recueilly des lettres*, &c. (3. tom. 4to. *Bourdeaus* 1608. 1610. 1614.) This writer ſays that *Gama* ſailed on the 9th of July 1497, (tom. 1. page 20.) that they made the *Cape of Good Hope* on the 20th of November following, and doubled it on the 25th; and that they called the Coaſt to the eaſtward, *Le Terre de Noel*, or *Natal*, from having anchored off it on *Chriſtmas* day.

BOOK I.

In my subsequent narrative of this interesting Voyage the quaint language of *Nicholas Lichefield*, who translated a part of *Castanheda* so early as 1582 and dedicated it to *Sir Francis Drake*, has been preferred to a more modern diction after a careful comparison of the above translation with the original [e] Portuguese. This narrative will be occasionally enlarged by such passages from *Osorius*, as

[e] CASTANHEDA's history is extremely scarce; it is entitled, *Fernando Lopez de Castanheda Historia do Descobrimento a Conquista da India pelos Portuguezes*, eight volumes in folio, black letter, *Coimbra*, 1551-1561. Some further account of its earliest translations may be acceptable. (1.) A French translation of the first book was made by the learned *Nicolas de Grouchy*, or Gruchius, 1554, *Anvers* 12mo. (2.) An Italian one in 2 vols. quarto was published by *Alfonsa Ulloa* in 1578, and printed at *Venice*. That by *Lichefield* is in black letter, printed in small quarto. In the dedication to *Sir Frances Drake*, he adds; "*and for that I know your Worship, with great perill and daunger haue past those monstrous and bottomelesse seas, am therfore the more encouraged to desire and pray your worship's patronage and defence therof; requesting you with all to pardon those imperfections, which I acknowledge to be very many, and so much the more by reason of my long and many yeares continuaunce in Foreine Countries. Howbeit I hope to haue truly obserued the literall sence and full effect of the history, as the Author setteth it forth, which if it may please you to peruse and accept in good part, I shall be greatly emboldened to proceede and publish also the second and third booke.*" In CASTANHEDA's dedication to *Emmanuel*'s son, king *John the third*, we meet with the following information: "*Yea, those matters of the* INDYAS, *the which was done but yesterdaye, there is no man that hath the same in memorye more than foure personnes; so that if they had dyed, all the same hadde ended with them, the which woulde haue beene imputed to theyr greate shame and rebuke.*

"*And I hauing a regarde, and partlye a remorse to see this losse, did therefore determine my selfe to note of those notable actes, the which your subjects hath done in the Discouerie and Conquest of the* INDIAS, *of whose valiauntnesse there is none of theyr progenitours of any age or antiquitie that euer did exceede them. . . This of the* INDIAS *was done by Sea, and that by your Captaines, being upon the same a whole yeare, and eight monethes, and at the least six monethes not along or neere any Coast, but by the bottomlesse and great Oceean Sea; and departing from the lymites of the Occident, and bearing sayle alwayes towarde the Cape De las Playas, or such lyke, without discouering or seeing any other thing, but onelye the heauens and water, going round about all the Spheare, a matter neuer before attempted by anye mortall man, nor yet almost imagined by anye to put the same in practise; and they hauing past greate hunger, thrist and other infirmityes, besides that euerye day with those furious stormes and raines, in daunger a thousand times of their liues; and as I say, they hauing past those feares and daungerous troubles by Sea, yet after theyr arriuall into the* INDIAS *founde themselues in great and cruell battells.*

. . . *The which hath benefited me very much, my being in the* INDIAS, *where I trauayled with my Father, who by your highnes commaundement was sent thether to serue as a Judge. And for that I spent*

as tend more fully to elucidate the subject of our attention. A selection also of the most beautiful passages in the *Lusiad* of *Mickle*, founded on the history of the voyage, may possibly impart some portion of that enthusiasm to the reader, which equally glowed both in the minds of *da Gama*, and of *Camoens*.

" As [d] from our dear lov'd Native Shore we fly
Our votive shouts, redoubled, rend the sky;
Success! Success! far echoes o'er the tide,
While our broad hulks the foaming waves divide.
When slowly gliding from our wishful eyes
The *Lusian* Mountains mingled with the skies;
Tago's lov'd stream, and *Cyntra*'s mountains cold,
Dim fading now, we now no more behold;
And still with yearning hearts our eyes explore
Till one dim speck of Land appears no more."

" Thus

spent all my youth in learning, and gaue my selfe greatly in reading of auncient Histories, and hauing seene and read a great part thereof, did then immediately procure to know, and with all diligence did my best indeauour to understand what had bene done in the Discouerie of the INDIAS, *and in the Conquest of the same, by the Portingales; by meanes whereof, and through the instructions of sundry Gentlemen and Captaines, many things came to my knowledge, by such persons as were then and there present; and otherwise by many Letters and Pamphlets, the which were written by men of great credite. Moreover, I did not only use this dilygence in the* INDIAS, *but after my comming to Portingale didde the lyke. For as those matters the which I meant to write of, were many and of sundrye orders, so it was necessarye to enforme my selfe of the same by manye: and beside that those that gaue me this instructions were sworn, yet I was licensed to present them as witnesses . . . And in this I haue spent the most part of my lyfe; forsomuch as this was my onely recreation, hauing joyned together all these informations, since my being in the Uniuersitie of Coimbra."*

[b] The Voyage of *da Gama* is narrated by *de Barros*: an edition of his DA ASIA, with the continuation by *Diogo de Conto*, was printed at Lisbon, 1778, in fifteen duodecimo volumes, *Na regia Officina Typografica*: the paper and type of this edition are equally beautiful. *Gama's* Voyage is considered by *Osorius*, *Ramusio*, *Maffi*, and *Faria y Sousa*. Purchas gives a brief account (volume 1. book 2. page 26.) It is also noticed in *Bruce's* Translation of the Annals of Abyssinia (vol. 2. p. 110.), and in an able manner by Dr. *Vincent* PERIPLUS (p. 207.) An abridged history of the Discovery and Conquest of the Indies was printed by *M. d' Ussieux, a Bouillon*, one volume 12mo. 1770.—The following work may also be recommended to the reader's notice. *Jovio's History of Navigation and Commerce from the earliest times*, four vols. 4to.

[d] MICKLE, vol. 2. book v. p. 44.

BOOK I.

July, 1497.

"Thus [e] being set forward and under saile, the *Captaine generall* commaunded, that if by any happe whatsoeuer they should bee seuered and loose each other, they should euery one make, and keepe, their roote or course to *Cabo Verde*, where they would ioyne themselues together againe. And so following their Volage they came within eight daies after to the sight of the Ilandes of the *Canaries*, from whence going ouer against the river called *Ryo de Oro*, the night did growe so darke, and such great tempest and storme arose, as they lost each other, and therefore they retourned their course towardes *Cabo Verde*; and *Paulo da Gama*, *Niculao Coelho*, *Bertolame Diaz*, and *Gonçalo Nunez*, having met, and after eight daies sailing together, they came to sight of their *Captaine generall* upon the Wednesdaye in the evening; and saluting him with many shot of [f] ordinaunce, and with sound of trumpets, they spake unto him, each of them heartely reioysing and thanking God for their safe meeting, and good fortune, in this their first brunt of daunger and perill.

"The next day, beeing the twenty-eighth [g] day of *July*, the Captaine generall with all his fleete, attained unto the Ilandes of *Santiago*; when coming to ankor in the bay *de Santa Maria*, they remained there seuen dayes, taking in such water as they had need of, and repairing the yards of their Shippes and other harmes they had receiued in the Storme past. *Twsdaye*, being the *third* daie of *August*, the Captaine generall departed thence, following his Course to the East; but first, before his departure, he tooke his leaue of *Bertolame Diaz* who returned into *Portingale*.

"And

[e] Lichefield's Translation, chap. 2. *folio* 6.

[f] *C. muytos tiros dartelharia.* (Castanheda, cap. 2.)

[g] Here Lichefield is guilty of an error, and calls it the *twentieth* of July.

" And going towarde the *Cabo de boa Esperãça*, with all the Ships of his Companie, he entered the goulfe into the Sea, and from thence failed all *August*, *September*, and *October*. In which time they susteined many and great Tempests, or rather [h] torments of windes and raine; so that they expected nothing but present death, which still was represented before them by view of the manifolde daungers and perills, they presently then sawe, and whereof they were forced to abide the euenture. Beeing thus perplexed, God of his diuine goodnesse recomforted them; for upon the *Saturdaye*, being the *fourth* daie of *Nouember*, at nine of the clocke in the forenoone, they sawe Land whereat they greatly rejoysed: and the captaines beeing together, they then saluted the generall, all of them apparelled in their best araie; and hauing decked and garnished their Shippes with flagges accordingly, they drew neere the land as the Generall had commaunded, who was desirous to haue landed. Howbeit, for that they did not know the land, he commaunded them to cast about a sea-boord, and so they passed along by the same vntill *Tewsdaye* following, at what time they came to perfect viewe and sight of the land, perceiuing the same to lye lowe, and that there was a great bay; which as it was a conuenient place for the Shippes, so he commaunded them to fall to an ankor there, of purpose to take in water: and afterward they named it [i] *Angra de santa Elena*. The people of the Countrie within the said Bay, as our men afterward found, bee lyttle men ill favoured in the face, and of colour blacke; and

[h] *Muytas tormẽtas de vẽtos.* (*Castanheda*, ibid.)

[i] It being their customes, says *Purchas*, " to name lands at their first Discouerie, of that Saint on whose day they discouered the same." LICHEFIELD is guilty of a strange mistake, by translating this passage *the Island of Sancta Helena*. ULLOA's translation (1578) is more correct: *uidero ch'era una terra bassa, et che hauea una grande Baia, o spiaggia, et trouatosi, che hauea bon fondo per nauigli, comando ui si surgesse per far acqua, et gli mise nome Angra di Santa Helena.* (Vol. 1. p. 4.) This bay has also since been named *St. Martin's Bay*. It is however singular that *Van Keulen*, in his Chart of the *South Atlantic*, places an Island called *St. Helena de nova* in the same parallel of latitude as the old *St. Helena*.

BOOK I. November, 1498.

and when they did ſpeake, it was in ſuch manner as though they did alwayes [k] ſigh."—Purchas tranſlates it *uttering their ſpeech out of their throat, as it were ſobbing.*

The Narrative of *Caſtanheda*, as Dr. Vincent remarks, is brief and dry, but ſeems to be a copy of the Journal: it often glides from the third into the firſt perſon, without appearing conſcious of the change.—*Camoens*, in his voyage to the Eaſt Indies, followed the track of Gama ſo early as the year 1553, and was enabled to give an intereſt to his *Luſiadas* by deſcriptions of the naval ſcenery he had beheld. The foregoing journal of *Caſtanheda* is thus illuſtrated:

" Now paſt the limit, which his courſe divides,
When to the north the Sun's bright chariot rides,
We leave the winding Bays, and ſwarthy ſhores,
Where *Senegal*'s black wave impetuous roars.
And now from far the Lybian Cape is ſeen
Since by my mandate called the [l] *Cape of Green.*
Where 'midſt the billows of the Ocean ſmiles
A flowery ſiſter-train, the Happy Iſles,
Our onward Prows the murmuring ſurges lave;
And now our Veſſels plough the gentle wave
Where the Blue Iſlands, named of *Heſper* old,
Their fruitful boſoms to the deep unfold.
Here our bold Fleet their ponderous anchors threw,
The ſickly cheriſh, and our Stores renew.
From him the warlike guardian power of *Spain*,
Whoſe ſpear's dread lightning o'er th' embattled plain

Has

[k] In the bay of St. *Helena* they found the natives which we now call *Hottentots*, as we diſcover by the mention of a peculiarity in their utterance, which the *Journal* calls *ſighing*; and which *Vaillant* deſcribes by the term *Clappement*, a guttural cluck, the characteriſtick of their language. (*Periplus*, page 210.) *Gama* had on board ſeveral Portugueſe who were ſkilled in the *Ethiopic*, *Arabic*, and *Oriental* languages; but as *Oſorius* adds, not one underſtood theſe natives. The inhabitants that were brought to *da Gama* are deſcribed as being *Homines colorati, breui et criſpo capillo.* (*Oſorius*, p. 31.)

[l] A vignette of *Cabo Verde* is given at the end of this chapter.

Has oft o'erwhelm'd the Moors in dire diſmay,
And fixt the fortune of the doubtful day;
From him we name our Station of repair,
And JAGO's name that Iſle ſhall ever bear.
The northern Winds now curl'd the blackening Main,
Our Sails unfurl'd we plough the Tide again:
Round *Afric*'s [m] Coaſt our winding courſe we ſteer
Where bending to the Eaſt the ſhores appear.
Here JALOFO its wide extent diſplays,
And vaſt MANDINGA ſhews its numerous Bays;
Whoſe mountains' ſides, though parch'd and barren, hold
In copious ſtore the ſeeds of beamy Gold.
The GAMBEA here his ſerpent journey takes,
And through the lawns a thouſand windings makes;
A thouſand ſwarthy Tribes his current laves,
Ere mixt his waters with th' *Atlantic* waves.
The GORGADES we paſt, that hated ſhore
Famed for its terrors by the bards of yore.
Still to the South our pointed Keels we guide,
And through the *Auſtral* Gulph ſtill onward ride.
Her palmy Foreſts mingling with the ſkies,
LEONA's rugged Steep behind us flies:
The CAPE OF PALMS that jutting land we name,
Already conſcious of our Nation's fame.
Where the vext waves againſt our bulwarks roar,
And *Luſian* Towers o'erlook the bending ſhore;

Our

[m] In the *Diſcourſe of the Navigation which the Portugueſe do make to the Realms and Provinces of the Eaſtern parts of the world*, written in Spaniſh by BARNARDINE *of Eſcalanta*, (Churchill's Collect. vol. 8. from the Scarce Tracts in Lord Oxford's library,) the following remark occurs on *da Gama*'s Voyage. "He was five months at ſea before he could get as far as the Cape of *Buena Eſperança*, by reaſon in thoſe days the *Portugueſe* ſailed not by the *Bowling* in the high ſeas, in ſuch ſort as they do now, but always went near to the *Coaſt* of *Guiney*."

Our Sails wide ſwelling to the conſtant blaſt,
Now by the Iſle from THOMAS named we paſt;
And CONGO's ſpacious Realm before us roſe,
Where copious *Zayra*'s limpid billow flows. . .
" While thus our Keels ſtill onward boldly ſtrayed,
Now toſs'd by tempeſts, now by calms delay'd;
To tell the Terrors of the Deep untry'd,
What Toils we ſuffer'd, and what ſtorms defy'd;
What rattling deluges the black Clouds pour'd,
What dreary weeks of ſolid darkneſs lour'd;
What mountain Surges, mountain Surges laſh'd,
What ſudden Hurricanes the canvaſs daſh'd;
What burſting lightnings with inceſſant flare,
Kindled in one wide flame the burning air;
What roaring thunders bellow'd o'er our head,
And ſeem'd to ſhake the reeling Ocean's bed;
To tell each Horror in the Deep reveal'd,
Would aſk an iron throat with tenfold vigour ſteel'd.
Thoſe dreadful Wonders of the Deep I ſaw
Which fill the Sailor's breaſt with ſacred awe,
And which the Sages of their learning vain,
Eſteem the phantoms of the dreamful brain:
That LIVING FIRE by Seamen held [a] divine,
Of Heaven's own care in Storms the holy Sign;

Which

[a] The Ancients thus accounted for this appearance: the ſulphureous Vapours of the Air, after being violently agitated by a Tempeſt, unite; and when the Humidity begins to ſubſide, as is the caſe when the Storm is almoſt exhauſted, by the agitation of their atoms they take fire, and are attracted by the maſts and cordage of the Ship. Being thus naturally the pledges of the approaching Calm, it is no wonder that Sailors ſhould in all ages have eſteemed them *Divine*. By the *French*, and *Spaniards*, they are called St. *Helme's Fires*, and by the Italians, the *Fires* of St. *Peter* and St. *Nicholas*. Modern diſcoveries have proved that theſe Appearances are the Electric Fluid attracted by the Spindle of the Maſt. (*Mickle*.)

Ch. III. § 2.
Emmanuel.

Which 'midſt the horrors of the Tempeſt plays,
And on the Blaſt's dark wings will gaily blaze;
Theſe eyes diſtinct have ſeen that Living Fire
Glide through the Storm, and round my Sails aſpire.
And oft, while wonder thrill'd my breaſt, mine eyes
To heaven have ſeen the * WATERY COLUMNS riſe.
Slender at firſt the ſubtle Fume appears,
And writhing round and round its volume rears:
Thick as a maſt the Vapour ſwells its ſize,
A curling whirlwind lifts it to the ſkies:
The Tube now ſtraitens, now in width extends,
And in a hovering cloud its ſummit ends:
Still gulp on gulp in ſucks the riſing Tide,
And now the Cloud with cumbrous weight ſupply'd,
Full-gorged, and blackening, ſpreads and moves more ſlow,
And waving trembles to the waves below . . . .
"And now ſince wandering o'er the foamy ſpray,
Our brave *Armada* held her venturous way,
Five times the changeful Empreſs of the night
Had fill'd her ſhining horns with ſilver light;
When ſudden from the Main-top's airy round,
LAND! LAND! is echoed—At the joyful ſound
Swift to the crowded Decks the bounding Crew
On wings of hope and fluttering tranſport flew;
And each ſtrain'd eye with aching ſight explores
The wide horizon of the Eaſtern Shores.

As

* Called by the *Latins Typho* and *Sipho*, by the French *Trompe*, from its reſembling a ſpeaking trumpet in ſhape. *Signor Beccaria*, who died in 1781, publiſhed an *Eſſai ſur la Cauſe des Orages & des Tempêtes*, and endeavours to prove that *Water Spouts* have an Electrical origin. They generally appear in calm weather, and have been diſperſed by preſenting to them ſharp pointed knives or ſwords. An account of one is given by Mr. *Forſter*, as ſeen in *Cook's ſecond Voyage*, (vol. 1. p. 190.)

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As thin blue clouds the mountain Summits rise,
And now the Lawns salute our joyful eyes;
Loud through the Fleet the echoing shouts prevail,
We drop the Anchor and restrain the Sail:
And now descending in a spacious Bay
Wide o'er the Coast the venturous soldiers stray,
To spy the wonders of the savage Shore
Where Stranger's foot had never trod before.
I and my Pilots on the yellow sand
Explore beneath what Sky the shores expand:
That sage Device, whose wondrous use proclaims
Th' immortal honour of its author's [p] names,
The sun's height measured; and my Compass scann'd
The painted Globe of Ocean and of Land.
Here we perceiv'd our venturous Keels had past,
Unharm'd, the Southern Tropic's howling blast,
And now approach'd dread Neptune's secret reign;
Where the stern power, as o'er the Austral Main
He rides, wide scatters from the Polar Star
Hail, Ice, and Snow, and all the [q] wintery war.

"The Generall thus [r] lyeing at ankor commaunded to goe rounde about the Bay, to see if there were anie Riuer of sweete water; and finding none, he then sent *Niculao Coelho* in his boate along the Coast to seek out water, which he found fowre leagues off from thence, the which he named *Sant Jago*, from whence the whole Fleete prouided of fresh water. The next day the Generall and other Captaines, and some of the companie, went a shore; intending to see and view what manner of people they were, that inhabited

[p] The *Astrolabium*. See Note (s.)
[q] Mickle's Lusiad, vol. 2. book v. (P. 46—56.)
[r] Lichefield's Translation of *Castanheda* (*folio* 7.)

habited that countrie; and whether they coulde informe him how farre from thence the *Cabo de Boa Esperāça* was: which he knew not, neither was the head or chiefe Pilot of that Voiage of any certeintie which it was; for that in the Voiage wherein he went before with *Bertolame Diaz*, he departed in the morning from the Cape into the Sea, and past the same in the night with a forewinde—and at his first going, came not neare the Shore: by reason whereof he did not know the Lande, notwithstanding hee coniectured and deemed it not above thirtie leagues distaunt from thence at the vttermost."

The proceedings of our Navigators in the bay of St. Helena, and their passage round the Cape of Good Hope, is detailed with greater minuteness by *Osorius* and *Faria*.

A commerce having commenced between *Gama* and the natives, by means of signs and gestures, they received cloathes, bells, glasses, and other trifles; and in return supplied the fleet with plenty of wholesome and nourishing provisions. This friendly intercourse was however soon interrupted by the imprudence of a Portuguese youth. *Fernāo Veloso*, delighted with the novelty of the scene and the manners of the negroes, obtained permission to return with them to their huts; what they esteemed an elegant repast was immediately prepared, and a sea-calf dressed after the manner of the *Hottentots* was served up to the astonished *Veloso*. Curiosity immediately yielded to disgust, and, rising from the circle in an abrupt manner, he became impatient to return. Nor did the Negroes oppose this fickle disposition of their guest, but accompanied him with the greatest good humour. *Veloso* however became apprehensive; and the same rashness which first induced him to leave his companions, now occasioned a sudden vociferation for help as he approached the shore. *Coelho's* boat immediately left the squadron; the natives fled to the woods; and the needless apprehensions of

both

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both parties, increaſed by their ignorance of each others language, brought on the ſubſequent attack. Accordingly, whilſt *da Gama* with ſome of his officers were taking the altitude of the ſun with an Aſtrolabe [s], ſome negroes ſprang from an adjoining ambuſh; and hurling with great dexterity their ſpears, headed with ſharp pieces of horn, many of the *Portugueſe* with the admiral were wounded, yet judged it moſt prudent to retreat to their ſhips.

Having taken in a ſupply of freſh proviſions, and water, the Squadron left the *Bay of St. Helena* on *Thurſday* the *ſixteenth* of *November* in the forenoon, with the wind at ſouth ſouth-weſt, and ſteered for the Cape of Good Hope. They who aſſert with [t] Bruce, that *Gama* ſailed for India in a moſt unfavourable ſeaſon of the year, have been led into an error. The ſummer in the ſouthern extremity of *Africa*, as already [u] mentioned, continues from October to April; during which navigators have generally regular ſea breezes in the mornings from ſouth-weſt and weſt, which laſt until noon, and ſometimes longer: they are followed by a ſouth-eaſt, and eaſt ſouth-eaſt wind coming off the land; this uſually blows freſh the remaining part of the day, and all night until morning, when the ſea breeze, comes off again. *Gama*, therefore, in the ſubſequent part of his voyage was unfortunate; for on the ſame day in which he left his laſt ſtation he

[s] *Barros* gives the following account of this Inſtrument. *Principalmente com hum Aſtrolabio de páo de tres palmos de diametro, o qual armavam em tres páos á maneira de cabrea por melhor ſegurar a linha Solar, e mais verificada, e diſtinctamente poderem ſaber a verdadeira altura daquelle lugar; poſto que levaſſem outros de latão mais pequenos, tão ruſticamente começou eſta arte, que tanto fructo tem dado ao navegar.* (*Decada.* 1. Liv. 4. cap. 2.)

[t] The difficulties which *Vaſco da Gama* met with in doubling the *Cape of Good Hope* muſt have been many conſidering the people he had to deal with. But if he coaſted along ſhore to the Cape, he had reaſon to expect eaſterly winds in November, which would enable him to ſtand to the Southward, until he obtained a weſterly wind; and he would then have proceeded round the Cape with great eaſe at that time of year. (*Note communicated by* Mr. WHIDBEY.)

[u] Page 366.

he met with a sudden change of weather.—In this part of his Voyage the greatest proofs of his resolution were called [x] forth. The waves rose like mountains in height; his Ships seemed now heaved up to the clouds, and now appeared as precipitated by circling Whirlpools to the bed of the [y] Ocean. The winds were piercing cold, and so boisterous that the Pilot's voice could seldom be heard; whilst a dismal, and almost continual darkness, which at that tempestuous season, says *Osorius*, involves these Seas, added greatly to the danger. Sometimes the [z] Gale drove them to the southward, at other times they

[x] *Osorius*, p. 32. (Gibbs' Translation, vol. 1. p. 48. See also Mickle, vol. 1.) *Fluctus erant immanissimi: Tempestates perfrigidæ et aduersæ: Tenebræ vero assiduæque procellæ. . . Naues enim ita jactabantur, vt modò nubes contingere, rursus in imas profundi voragines detrudi viderentur.*

[y] The reader is referred to the frontispiece of the present volume, where a delineation is given of the Sea that rages round the Cape of *Good Hope*.

[z] This part of *Gama's Voyage* may induce the reader to compare the exertions of our own countrymen in the same Seas. I. Dampier gives an account of the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope, vol. 1. p. 531. II. Captain Cook in his second voyage made the land of this Cape on the 29th of October, 1772, and after standing off and on during the night, anchored safely in Table Bay on the 30th, in five fathom water (vol. 1. 4to. ed. p. 14.) III. Stavorinus an officer in the service of the Dutch East India Company, in his Voyage to *Batavia*, 1768, made the *Cape of Good Hope* on the 17th of November; and left Table Bay on the 12th of the next month, with a south-easterly wind, which veered to the south-west as soon as he was out at sea. They were in consequence, three days tacking about in vain, before they could double the Cape. (Vol. 1. p. 28—41.)—IV. Captain Cook in his third Voyage, 1776, being on the 6th of October in south lat. 35° 15′, and west long. 7° 45′ met with light airs and calms by turns, for three days successively. This calm weather was succeeded by a fresh Gale from the north-west, which lasted two days. They had then variable light airs for about twenty-four hours; when the north-west wind returned, and blew with such strength, that on the 17th they had sight of *The Cape of Good Hope*, and the next day anchored in *Table Bay* in four fathoms water. (Vol. 1. p. 35—37.) In the same Chapter are inserted *Nautical Remarks on the passage from England to the Cape, with regard to the Currents and the Variation.* (P. 46.)—V. Vancouver arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in July 1791, and had nearly the same boisterous weather to struggle against as *Da Gama*. The wind had been light and variable until the *first* of *July*, in south lat. 33° 54′ and west long. 58° 40″, when it blew a fine Gale from the N. N. E. attended with pleasant weather. But as they approached the *African shore* the weather became very unsettled, with sudden transitions from Calms to heavy Gales, attended with much Thunder, Lightning, and a heavy Swell from the westward, and south-west. One of these Gales, on the 5th, reduced them for a few hours to their Courses. The wind became southwardly with pleasant weather on the

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they were obliged to ſtand on the tack and yield to its fury, preſerving what they had gained with the greateſt difficulty. During any gloomy interval of the Storm, the ſailors, wearied out with fatigue and abandoned to deſpair, ſurrounded *Gama*, *begging he would not devote himſelf and Crew to ſo dreadful a death.* They exclaimed, *that the Gale could no longer be weathered; that every one muſt be buried in the Waves if they continued to proceed.* The firmneſs of the Admiral could not be ſhaken; and a formidable Conſpiracy was immediately formed againſt him: but of this deſperate proceeding he was informed by his brother *Paulo.* The Conſpirators and all the Pilots were immediately put in Irons; whilſt GAMA, aſſiſted by his brother, and the few who remained ſtedfaſt in their duty, *ſtood night and day to the helm.* Providence rewarded his heroiſm, and at length on *Wedneſday* the *twentieth of November*, all the ſquadron doubled this tremendous promontory.

"Going along the coaſt," adds [a] *Caſtanheda*, "with a fore-winde, *Gama* paſſed with great pleaſure of ſundry paſtimes, and in ſounding of the Trumpets in all their Shippes; chiefly hauing their whole confidence in God, by whoſe diuine furtherance they hoped to finde out, and attaine to that which they ſought for. So paſſing in this ſort

the ſeventh. . . The Wind blew a ſtrong Gale from W. S. W. in the afternoon of the 8th, when judging the *Cape of Good Hope* to bear from them N. 66 E. true, diſtant eighteen leagues, they experienced, for the ſpace of ſeven miles, a moſt extraordinary agitation in the Sea, comparable only to a large Cauldron of boiling water; this was ſuppoſed to be the effect of two contending Currents, and for this reaſon they did not try ſoundings. At day light on the 9th the Cape was in ſight, and they directed their Courſe to *Falſe Bay*. *Vancouver* then gives a retroſpect of his Voyage from the Cape de Verde Iſlands. (Vol. 1. p. 13, 14.) The PORTUGUESE never formed any ſettlement at the Cape: the firſt was made by our own Countrymen during the reign of king JAMES, 1620, thirty years antecedent to the eſtabliſhment of a Colony by the Dutch. Particulars of this tranſaction are entered on the records of our *Eaſt India* Company. (*Barrow's Travels* in ſouthern Africa, page 2.) THUNBERG in his Voyage, 1772, ſays, that the floating of a plant called Trumpet Graſs (*fucus buccinalis*) is a ſure ſign of the vicinity of The Cape.

[a] *Lichefield*'s Tranſlation (*folio* 8. cap. 3.).

ſort along that Coaſt, they ſawe upon the lande great ſtore of Cattell, whereof ſome were large, ſome ſmall, but all of them were growen and fat: howbeit ther appeared to them no Townes within this Lande, by reaſon that along thoſe Coaſts ther are none ſcituated; but further within the ſame, ther be Townes and Villages inhabited, the houſes whereof are all of earth couered with ſtrawe. The people are of colour ſomewhat blacke, and be apparailed as thoſe of *Sancta Elena*, ſpeaking the ſelfe ſame language. This countrey is very pleaſaunt with trees and waters; and joyning to this Cape on the ſouth ſide, there is a great [b] Harbour which reacheth into the lande ſixe leagues, at the entering it containeth well as much more.

"The Cape of *boa Eſperãça* being thus [c] doubled, the captaine generall foorthwith upon the *Sundaye* after, which was St. *Katherin*'s daie, came to the *Angra de Sam Blaze*, which is [d] threeſcore

[b] *Falſe Bay*. The opening of this Bay between the Cape of Good Hope, and *Falſe Cape*, is about five leagues, and an half: its extent to the northward is full ſix leagues. Mr. *Dalrymple* has publiſhed the angles which he took in *Auguſt*, and *September*, 1775, for determining the *reciprocal Poſitions* of the LANDS around FALSE BAY; which were eſpecially intended to aſſiſt in completing a SURVEY of SIMON'S BAY. We learn from this Memoir (page 19) "That the moſt important matter in entering FALSE BAY, is to know the exact ſituation of the ANVILL rock.—Doubts ſtill ſubſiſt concerning the exact ſituation of this Rock."

[c] BARROS thus deſcribes the doubling of this Cape. *Seguindo Vaſco da Gama ſeu caminho na volta do Mar, por ſe deſabrigar da terra, quando veio ao terceiro dia, que eram vinte de Novembro, paſſou aquelle grão Cabo de Boa Eſperança commenos Tormenta.* (Decada 1. Liv. 4. Cap. 3.)

[d] The *Angra de Sam Blaze*, or *Aguada de S. Braz*, as Barros ſtyles it, is now called *Fleſh Bay*; for its latitude and longitude ſee chart 5. This coaſt is thus deſcribed in one of Mr. *Dalrymple's Memoirs*. "From C. *das Aguilhas* (cape *Lagullas*) to the weſt point of *Struys-bay*, the coaſt extends north eaſterly 16 or 18'. This Point is low and covered with Sand-Downs, as well as the land to the eaſtward of it in *Struys-bay*: this Bay is nothing more than a large deep bite. . . The *Eaſtern* Point of *Struys-bay* is low and ſandy; from whence the land forms a bite to *Fleſh Bay*. This is no more than an open Bay, where there is no ſhelter but for northerly winds; there is in it a ſmall Iſland, and a round white Sand, by which it is eaſily known. The weſtern point of the Bay is a pretty high Sandy Point, from whence a Reef ſtretches out, juſt as from the Points above mentioned. From *Fleſh Bay* the Coaſt lies Eaſterly to *Fiſh Bay*, which is likewiſe a foul open Bay. . . From *Fiſh Bay* the Coaſt lies eaſt by north

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ſcore leagues beyonde the Cape; beeing a verie great baye, and paſſing good for all windes except onelye the north winde. The people heere are ſomewhat blacke of coulour, they couer themſelues with ſkinnes. In this Lande bee manye elephauntes and great, alſo oxen manye, both large of ſtature, and very fat, whereof ſome haue no hornes; and upon the fatteſt and faireſt of the ſame, the people do uſe to ride, ſadling them with pannells ſtuffed with the ſtrawe of rye, as the manner is in *Spayne*.

"In this Harbour, three croſſe bow ſhot from the ſhore, within the ſea, lieth a Rocke in the which be many ſea woulfes, which are as

north to *Moſſell* (*Muſcle*) Bay, which is a bay like the others, but it runs in 6' to the weſtward of the Weſt Point; where one lies ſheltered from the north eaſterly to ſoutherly winds but expoſed from the ſouth to eaſt. In this Bay is a ſmall Iſland, or Rock, and ſome brackiſh Springs and Rivers: it is the beſt of all the *Bays* or *Roads* hereabout, but not to be made uſe of, except in caſes of the greateſt neceſſity; becauſe the ſouth-eaſt and eaſt winds make a great Sea, and the water for drinking muſt be taken from brackiſh pits. The weſtern Point of this Bay is a middling high flat green Point, appearing at ſea like a *Table Hill*; off this Point is good anchor ground every where, but from the outermoſt point runs out a *reef of rocks*, a mile to the eaſt. (In the chart, adds Mr. Dalrymple, it is much more.) This Point lies in 33° 55' ſouth latitude. The *Eaſtern Point*, or the land to the eaſtward of the bay, is *high double mountains* running down to the Sea, with little Strand, whereby the Bay is eaſily known in coming from the eaſtward, as the [illegible] the laſt high land near the Sea; the Coaſt to the weſtward of this Bay being lower, and the hills farther in land. *Bay Algoa*, according to *Van Keuken*, is a deep Bay, where may be got freſh water and fire wood; the Soundings going in from twenty-four to ten fathom."—Mr. *Barrow* in his travels through ſouthern Africa (1797, 1798, page 346,) informs us, that the weſtern point of *Muſcle Bay* is called *Cape Saint Blaize*. Variation of the compaſs was 27° 54' weſt; time of high water, at full and change, about three o'clock. The ſame writer gives an account of the next Bay on this coaſt to the eaſtward, called *Plettenberg's Bay*. "Plettenberg's, as well as *Zwart Kop*'s bay, is entirely open to the ſouth-eaſt winds. The weſt point called *Robenberg*, or *Seal Mountain*, lies in latitude 34° 6' ſouth, longitude 23° 48' eaſt; diſtance from Cape Point three hundred and twenty miles. The eaſtern ſhore of the Bay rounds off into the general trending of the coaſt, which, ſeen from the landing place, terminates in a very high and regular cone-ſhaped mountain, called in the old *Portugueſe* Charts *Pic Formoſa*, but by the more modern Dutch navigators, the Grenadier's Cap. The beſt landing place is about three miles and a half to the northward of the *Robenberg*, on a ſandy beach. A heavy ſwell generally ſets into this Bay, except in northerly and north-weſterly winds. The ſouth-weſt winds occaſion the greateſt heave of the Sea." (Page 343.)

as large in bignes as great Beares; they be terrible, hauing great and long teeth, alſo ſo wilde and fierce that they do forcible ſet upon men: they are like unto lions; there be ſo manye of them in the Rocke, that when our men went thether of pleaſure one daie, they ſaw of them at that inſtant the number of three thouſand, little and great. In this Rocke alſo be many [e] *Stares*, which are as great as duckes.—The Captaine generall being come to this Port or baye, and lieng at ankor there, cauſed the Shippes which carried their victualls to be diſcharged thereof, and beſtowed the ſame in the others; commaunding thoſe veſſells to be then burned, as it was ordained and commaunded by the king in that behalfe. In doing whereof, and other things alſo which were neceſſarye and needfull to be looked unto, and foreſeene, for their more ſafetie in the reſt of their voyage, they remained [f] ten daies in that place. Where, upon the *Fridaye* next, after the Captaine generall and the reſt had arriued, ther appeared unto them about the number of foureſcore and ten men of that countrey; ſome along upon the ſandes, and ſome upon the top of their mountaines. Which when the Generall ſawe, he and other the captaines went to the ſhore ward, and all the company of the ſhippes went armed in their Boates, carrieng ordinaunce with them; as fearing the lyke chaunce that happened to them in the *angra de Santa Elena*.

Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

"The Boates then drawing neere to the ſhore, the Generall threw on lande little Belles, which the Nigroes tooke up; and ſome of them came ſo neere vnto him, that he gaue them the Belles into their owne handes. Whereat he wonderfully meruailed; for that *Bertolame Dias* had informed before, that when he was there, they did run away, and wold not be aliured to come ſo neere view. The Generall

[e] *Oſorius* adds—*quas incolæ appellant* SOTILICARIOS, *pares anſeribus magnitudine.* (P. 33.)

[f] *Barros* ſays, "E em *tres* dias que Vaſco da Gama ſe deteve aqui." (*Ibid. liv.* 4. *cap.* 3.)

BOOK I.

December, 1497.

Generall therefore perceiuing contrary to his expectation, the gentleneſſe of thoſe blacke people, hee then leapt out on lande with his men, making exchaunge of certaine red night caps with the Nigroes for braceleets of iuory which they had, and ſo for that time departed.

"The *Saterdaye* next after, came to the number of two hundreth blacke men, and more, ſome little ſome great, bringing with them twelue oxen and foure ſheepe; and, as our men went on ſhore, they began to play upon foure Flutes, accordingly with foure ſundry voyces, the Muſicke whereof ſounded very well. Which the Generall hearing, commaunded the Trumpets to ſound, and ſo they daunced with our men. In this Paſtime and feaſting, and in buying their oxen and ſheepe, that daie paſſed ouer; and in the ſelfe ſame ſort upon the Sundaye following, ſundry of the ſame, and many more with them as well men as women, came againe, bringing many kine. Hauing ſolde one oxe, our men ſawe certayne little nigroes, which were hidden in certayne buſhes, who had with them the Weapons of the greater ſort of men, wherein our men coniectured that ſome treaſon was meant to them; and therfore the Generall commaunded our people to retire to another place which was of more ſecuritie, and thoſe blacke men went all along the Shore directlye againſt our Boates, untill they came to the place where ours diſimbarked themſelues and went upon the lande in armour. The Nigroes then ioyned themſelues as though they intended to fight: which the Generall perceiuing, and not willyng to doe them anye harme, did then retyre, imbarking himſelfe; and for to feare them, commaunded two braſſe pieces of Ordinaunce to be ſhot off. Whereat they were amazed, and ranne away without anye order, leauing their weapons behinde them. After this, the Captaine Generall cauſed to be carried on the ſhore a certaine Mark, or Piller, with the King of Portingale's armes, and a Croſſe; which

being there set and erected, the nigroes pulled downe the same, our men yet being there. Ch. III. § 2. Emmanuel.

"These Daies thus passed ouer, the Captaine generall, with the rest of the Fleete, departed thence towards the River called *il Rio do Iffante*, upon the Fridaye being the eight day of *December*; and in sailing forward on their Voiage, ther arose so great a Storme with a forewinde, upon the *vespera de Sancta Luzia*, that our whole Fleete did runne with their small fayles, and that also verye low. In this Course they lost sight of *Niculao Coelho*; howbeit the next night after they all met together againe. Now hauing past and sailed through this great Storme, or rather *Tormenta* of winde, which then was ceased, the Captaine generall upon the *sixteenth* of *December* did discouer Lande; which consisted of certaine small [s] rockes, being distaunt from the harbour of *Sam Blaze* threescore leagues, and fiue leagues also from the other part of the Rocke called *do da Cruz*, where *Bertolame Diaz* did erect his last Pillar; from which place to the *Rio do Iffante* are fifteene leagues.

"This Countrey is very pleasant and sightly in viewe, and in the same is great store of Cattell; and the further our Fleete sayled on that Coast, the better and higher the Trees were: all which things our men might well perceiue and discerne, by reason they went so neere the Shore with their Shippes. And upon the *Saterdaye* they past hard by, and within sight, of the Rocke *do da Cruz*; and for that they were then come so far forward as the *Rio do Iffante*,

[s] Probably the *St. Croix Isles* in *Algoa* Bay; and the Rock *do da Cruz*, the *Doddington Rock* in south latitude 33° 44′ east longitude 26° 55′. The place where *Diaz* fixed his last Pillar seems to have been on *Cabo Padron*, south latitude 33° 35′ east longitude 27° 10′. Barros calls these small rocks, *Ilheos chãos*; he also mentions the strong Currents which Gama had to struggle against on this part of the Coast, *Nal qual paragem por causa das Grandes Correntes andáram ora ganhando, ora perdendo caminho.* (Ibid.)

BOOK I.

December, 1497.

Iffante [b], they were loath to paſſe the ſame, and thereof taking counſell all the next night, they went ſomewhat wide from the Coaſt with a forewinde untill Euenſong time, and then the winde came to the eaſt which was right againſt them. Wherefore the Captaine generall made to ſeawarde; going in ſuch ſort as ſometime he kept the Sea, and ſometime droue towards the lande, untill the *Tewſdaye*, being the *twentith* of *December*, at the ſetting of the Sunne, the winde then comming to the weſt which was a forewinde: and whether to attayne to have knowledge of the Lande, they conſulted all that night which were beſt to doe. The next daie at *tenne* of the clocke, in the *fore noone*, they came to the Rocke aforeſayde, which is three ſcore leagues a ſtearne the place wherevnto they minded to goe.

"This Rocke is the cauſe of the great Currents that are there; and the ſelfe ſame daie the Fleete through paſſed the ſame Courſe with a great forewinde, which had alſo indured them three or four daies; and wherewith they ranne through thoſe Currents which greatlye they feared, and were in doubt to haue done. Theſe daungerous Currents thus ſafelye and happelye paſſed without loſſe or damage, they all were very glad and joyfull that theyr good Fortune was to have paſſed the ſame in manner as *Bertolame Diaz*, before that time, had accordinglye done.—Wherefore the Captaine generall beeing animated and encouraged with this his great good lucke and Fortune, and after thanks giuen to God for the ſame, did then ſaye, *that hee verelye beleeved that it was God's good will and pleaſure that the* INDIAS *ſhould be founde.*"

The narrative of *Camoens* is in ſome parts more circumſtantial than *Caſtanheda's*; and the peculiar hardſhips to which GAMA was expoſed

[b] The *Rio do Iffante*, or *Infante*, has ſince been called by the *Dutch* the *Great Fiſh River*. Its mouth is placed by *D'Apres* in 33° 5'; it is deſcribed by him as being deep, but not ſufficiently ſo for large Veſſels. The direction of its courſe is South-Eaſt and North-Weſt.

expoſed, are tranſlated by Mickle with all the ſympathy of a [i] mind accuſtomed to ſimilar ſcenes of peril: Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

" Now from the wave the chariot of the Day
Whirl'd by his fiery courſers ſprings away,
When full in view the [k] GIANT CAPE appears,
Wide ſpreads its limbs, and high its ſhoulders rears;
Behind us now it curves the bending ſide,
And our bold Veſſels plow the Eaſtern tide.
Nor long excurſive off at Sea we ſtand,
A cultured Shore invites us to the Land.
Here their ſweet Scenes the rural joys beſtow,
And give our wearied minds a lively glow . . .
Fair blow the Winds: again with Sails unfurl'd
We dare the Main and ſeek the Eaſtern world.
Now round black *Afric*'s Coaſt our Navy veer'd,
And to the World's mid circle northward ſteer'd:
The Southern Pole low to the wave declined,
We leave the Iſle of Holy Croſs behind;
That Iſle where erſt a LUSIAN, when he paſt
The tempeſt-beaten Cape, his anchors caſt,
And own'd his proud ambition to explore
The kingdoms of the morn, could dare no more.
From thence, ſtill on, our daring Courſe we hold
Through trackleſs gulphs, whoſe billows never roll'd
Around the Veſſel's pitchy ſides before . . .
For many a dreary Night, and cheerleſs day,
In Calms now fetter'd, now the Whirlwind's play,
By ardent hope ſtill fired, we forced our dreadful way.

Now

[i] WILLIAM JULIUS MICKLE ſailed in 1779 to Liſbon, as Secretary to Commodore Johnſtone in the *Romney*.

[k] Mickle's *Luſiad*, vol. 2. book 5. page 74.

BOOK I. 1497.

Now ſmooth as glaſs the ſhining waters lie,
No Cloud ſlow moving ſails the azure ſky;
Slack from their height the Sails unmoved decline,
The airy Streamers form the downward line;
No gentle quiver owns the gentle Gale,
Nor gentleſt ſwell diſtends the ready Sail;
Fixt as in Ice the ſlumbering Prows remain,
And ſilence wide extends her ſolemn reign.
Now to the Waves the burſting Clouds deſcend,
And Heaven and Sea in meeting tempeſts blend;
The black-wing'd Whirlwinds o'er the Ocean ſweep,
And from his bottom roars the ſtaggering Deep.
Driven by the yelling Blaſt's impetuous ſway
Staggering we bound, yet onward bound away.
And now eſcaped the fury of the Storm
New Danger threatens in a various form;
Though freſh the Breeze th' expanding canvaſs ſwell'd,
A Current's headlong ſweep our Prows withheld:
The rapid force impreſt on every keel,
Backward, o'erpower'd, our rolling Veſſels reel:
When from their ſouthern caves the Winds, enraged
In horrid conflict with the Waves engaged;
Beneath the Tempeſt groans each loaded Maſt,
And o'er the ruſhing Tide our bounding Navy paſt."

Caſtanheda begins his FOURTH CHAPTER with the following enumeration of its contents: *How the Captaine generall came to the Lande, called Terra da boa gete, and after went to the Riuer called Ho Rio dōs bos ſinaes: how hee brought theyr ſhippes on grounde, and of the great ſickneſſe our people had after they arriued there.*

" Thus following their Voiage, they perceiued that vpon *Chriſtmas Daie* they had diſcouered along the [1] Coaſt three ſcore and tenne leagues

[1] An account of this part of the Coaſt of Africa little known to Europeans, was given to *Dampier* by his friend captain *Rogers*, who had often viſited it. (*Dampier's Voyages*, vol.

leagues to the Eastward, which was the waye he carryed with him in his Register, or instructions, and was the latitude in which the *Indias* were marked in his Charts. And heere the Fleete went along

vol. 2. page 108.) " The COUNTRY OF NATAL takes about three degrees and half of latitude from North to South, lying between the latitude of 31° 30′ south and 28° north. It is bounded on the south by a Country inhabited by a small nation of savage people, called by our English, wild-bush men, that live in caves and in holes of rocks, and have no other houses, but such as are formed by nature: they are of a low stature, tany-coloured, with crispell hair; they are accounted very cruel to their enemies. Their Weapons are bows and poisoned arrows. These people have for their neighbours on the south the Hottantots. *Dellagoa* is a navigable River in latitude 28° south, that bounds *Natal* on the north. The inhabitants of this River have a commerce with the *Portuguese* of *Monambique*, who often visit them in small barks, and trade there for elephants teeth, which they have in great plenty. Some *English* too have lately been there to purchase Teeth, particularly *Captain Freak*; who after he had been in the River of *Dellagoa*, and purchased eight or ten tun of Teeth, lost his Ship on a Rock near *Madagascar*. The Country of Natal lies open to the Indian sea on the East, but how far back it runs to the Westward is not yet known.

" That part of the Country which respects the Sea is plain champion and woody; but within land it appears more uneven, by reason of many Hills which rise in unequal heights above each other. Yet is it interlaced with pleasant valleys and large plains, and 'tis checkered with natural groves and savannahs. Neither is there any want of Water; for every hill affords little brooks, which glide down several ways; some of which, after several turnings and windings, meet by degrees and make up the *River of Natal*, which dischargeth itself into the *East Indian Ocean* in the latitude of 30° South. There it opens pretty wide, and is deep enough for small vessels. But at the mouth of the River is a Bar which has not above ten or eleven foot water on it in a Spring-Tide; though within there is water enough. This River is the principal of the Country of *Natal*, and has been lately frequented by some of our English Ships, particularly by a small vessel that Captain Rogers commanded.

" There are also other Streams and Rivers, which bend their Course Northerly, especially one of a considerable bigness, about 100 mile within land, and which runs due North. The Woods are composed of divers sorts of trees; many of which are very good timber, and fit for any uses, they being tall and large. The Savannahs also are cloathed with kindly thick grass.

" Here are Fowls of divers sorts; some such as we have in England, viz. *duck* and *teal*, both tame and wild: and plenty of *cocks* and *hens*. Besides abundance of wild birds, wholly unknown to us.

" The Sea and Rivers also do abound in Fish of divers sorts; yet the Natives do but seldom endeavour to take any, except *Tortoises*; and that is chiefly when they come ashore in the night to lay their eggs. Their chief employment is husbandry. They have a great many Bulls and Cows, which they carefully look after; for every man knows his own, though they run all promiscuously together in their Savannahs; yet they have Pens near their own houses, where they

BOOK I.

along upon the Sea without taking [m] Lande so farre, that they began to want, and haue lacke of Water for to drinke, and were inforced to dresse their meate with salt water; so that no man had then allowaunce of water to drinke more then one pinte a daie.

January, 1498.

"Howbeit upon *Fridaye* the *eleuenth* daie of *Januarie*, 1498, drawing neere the lande, they went out in their Boates along the Coast to take view thereof; and so passing by the same, they sawe many Nigroes with a great company of women, all of them of great stature, which went along the Sea Side. When the Captaine generall perceiued

they make them gentle and bring them to the pail. They also plant Corn, and fence in their fields to keep out all cattle, as well tame as wild. They have *Guinea Corn*, which is their Bread; and a small sort of grain no bigger than Mustard seed, with which they make their drink. They have Caps made with beef Tallow of about nine or ten inches high. They are a great while of making these Caps: for the tallow must be made very pure, before it is fit for this use. Besides they lay on but a little at a time, and mix it finely among the hair; and so it never afterwards comes off their heads. When they go a hunting, which is but seldom, they pare off three or four inches from the top of it, that so it may fit the snugger; but the next day they begin to build it up again, and so they do every day till it is of a decent and fashionable height.

"The common subsistence of these people is Bread made of Guinea corn, Beef, Fish, Milk, Ducks, Hens, Eggs, &c.; they also drink milk often to quench their thirst; and this sometimes when it is sweet, but commonly they let it be sower first. They are very just and extraordinary civil to Strangers: This was remarkably experienced by two *English Seamen* that lived among them five years; their Ship was cast away on the Coast, and the rest of their consorts marched to the *River of Dellagoa*; but they stayed here till *Captain Rogers* accidentally came hither and took them away with him. They had gained the language of the Country; and the natives freely gave them wives and cows. They were beloved by all the people; and so much reverenced that their words were taken as Laws. And when they came away many of the boys cried because they would not take them." An account of the *Terre Natal* is given by *D'Apres*, who places its first headland in 32°, whence its coast trends to the north-east and north-east by north, about forty-five leagues. It is known by a large rocky point: *Quand cette Pointe reste au Nord Ouest, on voit par dessus trois petites montagnes rondes, et à une lieue de-la au Nord-Est il y a un Bois qui descend jusqu' a la Mer; son sommet est onde, et on y remarque un intervalle sans bois, et trois autres Montagnes plus grandes que celles qui les précedent.*

[m] Though they did not land, according to *de Barros*, they discovered a River during this course, on the 6th of January, and as that day was the Feast of *Epiphany*, they called the river *Rio de los Reyes*.

perceiued that they ſhowed themſelues to bee a people flexible to ciuilitie, and of a quiet diſpoſition; hee commaunded one of our men called *Martim Afonſo*, who coulde ſpeake manye languages of the Nigroes, and one other with him, to leape out on Lande and to goe to them; which immediatelye thoſe two perſons did: Comming to the ſame blacke people they were well receyued, and eſpeciallye of the chieſe perſon or Gouernor; to whome our Generall viewing his and theyr manner of courteſie, forthwith ſent a Jacket, a payre of Hoſe, and a Cappe, beeing all redde, and a braceleet of copper; of which things he was very glad, and rendered great thankes to the Generall for the ſame, ſaeing, *That with a verye good will, hee ſhoulde haue of gifte anye thing he would deſire or had neede off, that was to be had in his Countrey.* All which *Martim Afonſo*, [a] vnderſtanding theyr language, tolde to the Generall; who was verye joyfull that by his interpretation, thoſe people and ours might of each other haue vnderſtanding; giuing alſo at that inſtant licenſe to the ſame *Afonſo* and one more of our men to goe with thoſe people for one night to their towne, at the requeſt of the ſame Gouernor, who verie earneſtly required the ſame. The Gouernour then apparelled himſelfe with thoſe garments which the Generall gaue him, and with great pleaſure gaue commaundement to many of his chieſe men, to goe before and receiue him when he came to their towne. The people, as they went, beheld with greate pleaſure and admiration thoſe Veſtures which our Generall had giuen him, clapping theyr

[a] Theſe Natives, as Dr. *Vincent* obſerves, "were no longer *Hottentots*, but *Caffres*, who even in that age bore the ſame marks of ſuperior civilization, which they preſerve to the preſent hour. A circumſtance more fortunate and more extraordinary was, that *Martin Alonzo* underſtood their language. This is a moſt remarkable occurrence, as *Alonzo* could ſcarcely have been lower than *Mina* on the *Weſtern Coaſt*, which is forty degrees from the Cape, and the breadth of the Continent from weſt to eaſt cannot, in the latitude of 20° ſouth, be leſs than eighteen or nineteen degrees more. What Negro Nation or Language do we know of ſuch an extent? and yet wonderful as it is, there is no reaſon to doubt the fact." (*Periplus*, page 212.)

BOOK I.

January, 1498.

theyr hands for joy thereof; which manner of gladſome rejoyſing they uſed three or foure times before they came to their towne. After their entraunce therein, they went round about the ſame; to the end all the people and inhabitants thereof, might ſee and behold thoſe giuen garments, and ſtraunge arraie. Which beeing done, the Gouernour entered into his houſe, where he commaunded *Aſonſo*, and his companion, to be well lodged, and gaue to them for Supper a Hen, euen ſuch as ours bee, and Pap made of *Mylylo*, a kinde of graine of a yeolow coulour, whereof alſo they make Bread: This Night repaired many Nigroes to theyr lodgings to ſee them.

" The next Daie after, the Gouvernour ſent them to theyr Shippes with certaine Nigroes of his, loden with Hens for the Captaine generall, who rendered thanks for the ſame; and required by his Interpretour thoſe Nigroes to ſaie unto theyr Governour, *that he now ſawe and perceiued him to be a noble man, or King of that Countrie; and foraſmuch as the Generall, and the reſt of our men, in thoſe fiue daies wherein they had houered upon and viewed that Coaſt, had no manner of damage done, or offered them, and ſaw both many quiet and gentle people there, and alſo many noble Men; he gaue to this Land an apt name, calling it* TERRA DA BOA [o] GETE.

" In the towne where *Martim Aſonſo* was, theyr houſes bee made all of ſtrawe, and verie well furniſhed within. The women be more in number then the men. They carrie with them long Bowes with arrowes and darts of Yron, and upon their armes and legges they weare many braceleets of Copper, and ſome peeces of them in their haires. Alſo they carrie daggars, the hafts or handles of Pewter, and the ſheathes of Iuorie; ſo that it is manifeſt they haue in that Countrie plentie of Copper and Tinne. Moreouer they haue great ſtore of Salt which they make of Salt Water, carrieng the ſame from

[o] Or according to de Barros, *Aguada da boa Paz*.

from the Sea ſide in Gourds, and putting it into certaine Caues where they make the Salt. Theſe kinde of people were ſo gladde of the linnen our men carried with them, and brought thether, that they gaue for one Shirt much Copper. They alſo were ſo quiet amongeſt our men, that they brought them Water to their Boates from a Riuer which was two Croſſe Bowe ſhotte from the place where our men tooke in the ſame, which Riuer they call *Rio do Cobre*, or the copper river."

Oſorius places the arrival of the Portugueſe on this part of the Coaſt a day earlier than *Caſtanheda*, and furniſhes additional information. "On the [p] *tenth* of *January* they diſcovered ſome ſmall Iſlands, about two hundred and thirty miles from their laſt watering place: theſe Iſlands had a very beautiful appearance, being covered with loſty Trees and enriched with meadows of a ſtriking verdure. They could ſee the Inhabitants walking on the ſhore in great numbers. Here *Gama* anchored, and diſpatched one of his men, whom he knew to be well verſed in languages, to wait upon the King. This meſſenger was received with civility, and diſmiſſed with preſents of the produce of the country. *Gama*, on ſetting ſail, left two Exiles, that they might inform themſelves of the character and cuſtoms of the Natives. There were in his Fleet ten Malefactors, who had been condemned to die, but were pardoned on condition of going this voyage: wherever *Gama* ſhould leave them, they were to examine the Country, and, on his return, be enabled to give intelligence of the inhabitants."—*Caſtanheda* thus proceeds:

"From this place our Fleete departed the *fiftenth* daie of *Januarie*, and going under ſaile, did diſcouer land of another [q] Countrie which

[p] *Oſorius*, page 33. (*Gibb's Tranſlation*, vol. 1. p. 50.)

[q] He ſeems to have paſſed cape *Corrientes*, at the opening of the *Moſambique* channel, in the night; and, on account of the ſtrong current driving towards the ſhore, to have kept ſo far from the land as not to have noticed *Sofala*. See *de Barros*.—*E daqui por diante começou de ſe aſſaſtar*

BOOK I.

January, 1498.

which lyeth verie lowe, (Sofala) wherein were trees high and thicke; and ſo proceeding forward, they diſcouered a Riuer verie open at the entering: and for that the Generall thought it neceſſarie to haue notice of that Countrie, and there to learne whether they might heare anye newes or intelligence of the *Indias*, hee commaunded to come to an ankor; which was upon the *Thurſdaye*, being ſeauen daies before the end of [r] *Januarie*. The ſame night he with his brother *Niculao Coelho* entered the Riuer, and at the dawning of daie, did well perceiue the lande to be lowe and couered with water, hauing Trees of great height, and thicke loaden with ſundrie ſortes of fruites.

"Our men then beholding the Lande, which was verie pleaſaunt, they ſawe alſo certaine Boates comming towardes them, with men in the ſame, whereof the Generall was very glad; ſuppoſing vpon ſight of thoſe people, and view of their Countrie in that manner which argued they had ſome knowledge and experience of the Sea, that therefore they were not farre off from the *Indias*, or at leaſtwiſe could not then goe farre but they ſhould heare newes of the ſame. When the people with theyr Boates came neere to our Fleete, our men perceiued they were all blacke people, of good ſtature; howbeit

aſſaſtar algum tanto da terra, com que de Noite paſſou o Cabo, a que ora chamamos das Correntes; porque começa a coſta encurvarſe tanto pera dentro paſſado elle, que ſentindo Vaſco da Gama que as aguas o apanhavam pera dentro, temeo ſer alguma enſeada penetrante, donde não pudeſſe ſahir. O qual temor lhe fez dar tanto reſguardo por fugir a Terra, que paſſou ſem haver viſta da povoação de çofala. (Ibid. liv. 4. cap. 3.)—CAPE CORRIENTES, was thus named from the violent *Currents* formed by the preſſure of the waters through the narrow channel between Madagaſcar and the main. *Marmol* deſcribes (vol. 3. p. 106.) not only the Currents, but Iſlands, Shoals, and the violent winds. (Dr. *Vincent*, ibid.)

[r] *Oſorius* makes this date to be the 15th of January. (Page 34. Gibbs' Tranſ. vol. 1. p. 50.) He ſays, that it was in the duſk of Evening when the *Portugueſe* arrived off this river; that Gama was honoured with the company of four of the principal Chiefs at an entertainment he gave on board, and on taking leave preſented each with a robe of Silk. *Oſorius* alſo adds, that one of the natives ſpoke *Arabic* very imperfectly; and that *Gama* left two of his Convicts to reſide in that part of *Africa*, to which he gave the name of S. RAFAEL.

beit all naked they came neere and entered into our Shippes without feare, in ſuch ſorte as though they had ben of long acquaintance. They were very well receiued of our people: the Captaine generall commaunded the ſame, and alſo that there ſhould be giuen unto them certeine little Bels, and other things; and he talked with them by Signes, for they did not vnderſtand any of *Martim Afonſo* his languages, nor any other Interpretour. After this their good interteinment they departed; and, as it ſeemed, well liking of the ſame they and many others afterward returned in their Boates to our Shippes, bringing ſuch victuals as their countrie yeeldeth: they haue in their lips three holes, and in euery hole a peece of tinne, which they eſteeme as a thing very gallant and gaye. They tooke with them certeine of our men to make merrie at a countrie Towne there neere hand, and where they fet Water for our Shippes.

Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

" After the three daies ſpace that our Generall was in that Riuer, there came of curteſie two noble men of that Countrie to viſit him in their boates; whoſe apparell was none other then of the reſt, ſauing that their lynnen aprons were farre greater then thoſe the common ſorte uſed, and one of them wore upon his head a tucke or kerchiefe wrought with ſilke, and the other had a night cap of greene [1] ſatten. The Captaine generall ſeeing thoſe men ſomewhat addicted to cleanlineſſe, was verie glad thereof; receiued them in curteous manner, and commaunded to giue them meate; and moreover he gave them apparell and certeine other things: but it appeared by their countinaunces they ſmallye or nothing at all eſteemed

[1] *De Faria y Souſa* in his Narrative differs in ſome reſpects from *Caſtanheda*, and ſays, " That the people of this River were not ſo black as the other Africans, and underſtood *Arabic*; that the *Portugueſe* judged them to be more civilized from the habit they wore, conſiſting of divers ſorts of Stuffs both *Cotton* and *Silk*, of ſeveral Colours. According to the information of the Natives, to the eaſtward lived White People who ſailed in Ships reſembling the Portugueſe."

BOOK I.

January, February, 1498.

esteemed thereof. Howbeit while they remained in our Shippes, the Generall perceiued by tokens and signs, which a young man that came with them then shewed, that their Countrie was farre of thence, and that they had seene as great Shippes as ours were; wherof he greatly rejoysed and all our people in like manner, as then verely hoping, and thereby coniecturing, that the *Indias* were neere to that place. Which their hope and coniecture was also farre the more augmented and confirmed; for that after those noble men were gone to Shore, they sent to the Fleete cloth to sell which was made of cotten, upon which also were certeine marks of *Okar*: in respect of which good newes and intelligence heere found, and likely to ensue, the Captaine generall gave to this Riuer the name of [t] *Ho Rio dos bõs sinaes*, the Riuer of Good Signs, and caused there a Pillar to be erected, calling the same according to the Shippe wherein he went that Voiage.

"Forasmuch as he perceiued by the signes of the young man, that those noble men inhabited a countrie farre thence, and that they had seene Shippes as greate as ours; he thereby and upon other coniectures gathered, that their Countrie was neere to the *Indias*: and so consequently that the *Indias* was farre off from that Riuer where our Shippes then lay. Wherefore consulting hereof, it was by him and the other Captaines then determined upon, that all the Shippes should be brought on ground; which determination was executed accordinglye, and the same Shippes repaired, dressed, and trimmed, in all points needfull and necessarie. In doing whereof they spent two and thirtie daies. In which time our men susteined

[t] It is a Circumstance particularly noticed by the Historians, that from *St. Helena* to this place no vestige of Navigation, no sort of Embarkation had been seen. But here, upon the morning after their arrival, they were visited by the Natives, in Boats, which had *Sails made of the Palm*. The expression is not clear, but intimates Cloth made of fibres of the Coco Palm. It is worthy of notice that *Castaneda* mentions *Boats* here, but nothing of *Sails* until they approached *Mosambique*. (*Dr. Vincent's Periplus, page* 213.)

ſuſteined great troubles, and torments of minde, by occaſion of a Sickneſſe which was thought to growe by meanes of the aire; for the hands and feete of many of them, and alſo their gums, in ſuch ſorte did ſwell that they could not eate. With this peſtilent Infection, and Sickneſſe, our men were greatly diſcomfited, and many of them dyed thereof; which alſo put the reſte of the companie in greate [u] feare and perplexitie of minde.—Yea, and further would haue increaſed and aggrauated their griefes of bodye, and ſorrowes, were it not, *that one* DA GAMA, *a Man of good nature and condition, had taken ſpeciall care and vſed greate dilligence, for the recouerye of their healths, and putting them in comfort: Who continually viſited the ſicke, and liberally departed vnto them ſuch wholeſome and medicinable things, as for his owne bodye hee had prouided and carried with him. Through whoſe good counſell giuen, great paines taken, and franke diſtribution of that he had, many of our men recouered which would otherwiſe haue died, and all the reſt thereby were greatly recomforted.*"

When it is remembered that *Camoens* compoſed his *Luſiadas* partly on the *Atlantic*, and partly on the *Indian Ocean*, the following paſſages impart additional intereſt:

" Now [x] dawn'd the ſacred Morn, when from the Eaſt
Three Kings the Holy cradled Babe addreſt,
And hail'd him KING OF HEAVEN: That feſtive day
We drop our anchors in an opening Bay;
The River from the Sacred day we name,
And Stores, the wandering Seaman's right, we claim.

" Now

[u] They afterwards found, ſays *De Barros*, that it proceeded from eating Salt Proviſions, and damaged Biſcuit—*que procedia das carnes, peſcado ſalgado, et Biſcouto corrompido de tanto tempo.* (Ibid. cap. 3.)

[x] *Mickle's* Luſiad, vol. 2. book 5. (P. 78—83.)

BOOK I.

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" Now the ſweet waters of the Stream we leave,
And the ſalt waves our gliding Prows receive.
Here to the left, between the bending Shores,
Torn by the Winds the whirling billow roars,
And boiling raves againſt the ſounding Coaſt
Whoſe Mines of Gold *Sofala's* merchants boaſt:
Full to the Gulph the ſhowery South-Winds howl,
Aſlant againſt the Wind our Veſſels rowl.
Far from the land, wide o'er the ocean driven,
Our helms reſigning to the care of Heaven,
By Hope and Fear's keen paſſions toſt, we roam;
When our glad eyes beheld the ſurges foam
Againſt the beacon's of a cultured Bay,
Where Sloops and Barges cut the watery way.
The River's opening breaſt ſome upward ply'd,
And ſome came gliding down the ſweepy Tide.
Quick throbs of tranſport heaved in every heart
To view the knowledge of the Seaman's Art;
For here we hoped our ardent wiſh to gain,
To hear of *India's* ſtrand, nor hoped in vain.
Though *Ethiopia's* ſable hue they bore
No look of wild ſurpriſe the Natives wore:
Wide o'er their heads the cotton turban ſwell'd,
And cloth of blue the decent loins conceal'd.
Their Speech, though rude and diſſonant of ſound,
Their Speech a mixture of *Arabian* own'd.
FERNANDO, ſkill'd in all the copious ſtore
Of fair *Arabia's* ſpeech and flowery lore,
In joyful converſe heard the pleaſing Tale;
" That o'er theſe Seas full oft the frequent Sail,
And lordly Veſſels tall as ours appear'd,
Which to the Regions of the Morning ſteer'd;

Whoſe

Whoſe cheerful Crews, reſembling ours, diſplay
The kindred face and colour of the day."
Elate with joy we raiſe the glad acclaim,
And [y] RIVER OF GOOD SIGNS the Port we name.

" Our Keels, that now had ſteer'd through many a Clime,
By ſhell-fiſh roughen'd, and incaſed with ſlime,
Joyful we clean; while bleating from the field
The fleecy dams the ſmiling Natives yield.
But while each face an honeſt welcome ſhews,
And big with ſprightly Hope each boſom glows;
Alas! how vain the bloom of human joy!
How ſoon the blaſts of woe that bloom deſtroy!
A dread Diſeaſe its rankling horrors ſhed,
And Death's dire ravage through mine army ſpread.
Never mine eyes ſuch dreary ſight beheld,
Ghaſtly the mouth and gums enormous ſwell'd;
And inſtant, putrid like a dead man's wound,
Poiſon'd with fœtid ſteams the air around.

No

y This River is the ZAMBEZÈ, which is navigable for two hundred leagues up to *Sucumba* (*Reſſende*, p. 80.), and penetrates into the interior of *Benomotopa*. It falls into the Sea through a variety of Mouths, between latitude 19° and 18° ſouth, which are known in our modern Charts as the Rivers of *Cuamo* and *Quilimanè*, from a Fort of that name upon the northern Branch.—I cannot aſcertain which mouth of the ZAMBEZÈ *Gama* anchored in. I ſuppoſe it to be the largeſt which is that moſt to the north, as *Reſſende* places the *River of Good Signs* in latitude 17° 50′ 0″. *P. Lobo* calls *Quilimanè* the *River of Good Signs*. I find nothing in *Caſtaneda*, or *Faria*, to mark the extent of *Gama's* knowledge at this place, but as he had the corrected Chart of *Covilham* on board, in which *Sofala* was marked as the limit of his Progreſs; if that Chart was furniſhed with the latitude, *Gama* muſt have known that he had now paſſed the Barrier, and that the Diſcovery was aſcertained. The moſt Southern branch of the ZAMBEZÈ is two degrees to the North of *Sofala*. He muſt likewiſe know that the Directions given by *Covilham* were to enquire for *Sofala* and the *Iſland of the moon*; which is an Arabic name, and occurs in *Al Edriſſi*. (Dr. Vincent's Periplus, p. 214.) The Country which Dr. *Vincent* ſtyles *Bonomotapa*, is perhaps more properly *Mocaranga*. The largeſt of the Mouths of the ZAMBEZÈ is that to the South: Dr. *Vincent* was miſled by *Reſende*. The *Zambezè* from the Cataracts, to its mouth, makes a Courſe of not more than 130 leagues. The old Navigators always reckoned the diſtance too great when aſcending Rivers, and made it as much too ſhort when they followed the river's Courſe.

BOOK I.

February, 1498.

No ſage Phyſician's ever watchful zeal,
No ſkilful Surgeon's gentle hand to heal,
Were found: each dreary mournful hour we gave
Some brave Companion to a foreign grave:
A Grave, the awful gift of every Shore!
Alaſs! what weary Toils with us they bore!
Long, long endear'd by fellowſhip in woe,
O'er their cold duſt we give the tears to flow;
And in their hapleſs lot forbode our own,
A foreign burial, and a Grave unknown."

But beſide the diſtreſs our Navigators thus experienced from theſe ravages of the ſcurvy, two events occurred, which had nearly fruſtrated all their hopes. De [a] Barros informs us, that Gama being alongſide of his brother *Paulo's* veſſel in a boat, and having hold of the chains in order to ſpeak to *Paulo*, the force of the current was ſo great, as to carry the boat from under him and his men: but immediate aſſiſtance being given, they were all providentially ſaved. After this, as the ſquadron paſſed the Bar at the mouth of the *Rio de bons ſinaes*, Paulo's ſhip grounded on a ſand-bank, and for a time was given up as loſt; the returning flood however relieved them from ſo perilous a ſituation, and the ſhip to their inexpreſſible joy was again afloat.

The fifth Chapter of *Caſtanheda* gives an account, *how the Captaine generall with all his Fleete came to the* ILHA MOÇĀBIQUE: "The Fleete beeing furniſhed and prouided of all things neceſſarie, the Captaine generall then mindfull of his Voiage, departed thence upon *Saturdaye*, the *twenty-fourth* daie of Februarie; and the ſame daie and all the night following, for that he was incalmed, and to auoide the Shore, made way into the Sea. Upon *Sundaye*, by euenſong time, our men diſcried *three Iſlands* a ſeaboord, all of them beeing

[a] *Ibid.* Liv. 4. cap. 3.

beeing but ſmall; they were diſtant one from another foure leagues. Two of them were repleniſhed with great woods, and the third was plaine. To arriue to theſe Ilands the Generall was not willing, for that he ſawe no cauſe to occaſion the ſame; and therefore he ſtill kept the Sea, ſtaieng and comming to an ankor alwaies as the night approched; which manner of courſe he continued the ſpace of ſixe daies. And upon the *Thurſdaye* being the *firſt* daie of *March*, towards euening, our men came within ſight of * *foure Ilands*; whereof two were neere the Shore, and the other two a ſea-

* De Barros (Ibid.) mentions a Pillar being placed by Gama on theſe Iſlands, and dedicated to St. George, who gave a name to them. *Neſtes Ilheos os quaes ora ſe chamam de S. Jorge por cauſa de hum Padr.o deſte nome, que Vaſco da Gama nelles poz.* Of this Coaſt, as already obſerved, Geographers know but little. It was at one time the intention of Government that *Sir Home*, then *Captain Popham*, ſhould be ſent to ſurvey it, but the deſign was given up. The late *Commodore Blanket* remained on this ſtation, during the laſt war, for a conſiderable time, and from his Journal much may be expected. Some drawings of the Coaſt have in conſequence been made for the Charts which are preparing at the Admiralty. Probably alſo information may be gleaned from that maſs of geographical information, which upwards of twenty years ago was procured on the Continent, and lodged in the Britiſh Muſeum; where it will now be ſoon arranged for the inſpection of the curious. *D'Apres* informs us, that all the Coaſt of *Africa*, from *Pate* to the *Equinoctial Line*, is lined by a Cluſter of Iſlets, whence ſhoals extend themſelves to the diſtance of a league. Theſe Iſlets form a double Shore; and are taken for the Coaſt itſelf, when their ſeparation is not diſcerned: in ſome places they lie at a league's diſtance from the Continent; the boats of the country are continually plying to and fro in the intermediate channel. Oppoſite to the Iſland of *Moçambique*, and about a quarter of a league at Sea, *D'Apres* deſcribes two ſmall low Iſlands, with ſome clumps of trees. They are ſurrounded with Reefs, and lie north north-eaſt and ſouth ſouth-weſt from each other. The northernmoſt is ſtill called *St. George*, the other has the name of *St. Jago*. A plan of Fort *Moçambique* is given in *Faria*, and a view of its Coaſt by *Herbert*, both of which are inſerted in Aſtley. Another deſcription occurs in a map of the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, with all the principal harbours, drawn on a large ſcale and publiſhed by *John Texeira* the Queen's Coſmographer at Liſbon, in the year 1649. This curious Map is inſerted in the firſt volume of M. Thevenot's Collection of Voyages. The lateſt, and moſt accurate delineation of *Moçambique* Bay, is in a MS. chart, which Mr. Arrowſmith has communicated for the ſubſequent volume of this work.

In *Linſchoten's* Voyage the nautical antiquarian will alſo find two repreſentations of the Bay of *Moçambique*, but without any ſoundings marked, as in the above Map. See chap. 4, where an excellent deſcription is given both of the Iſland and adjacent Coaſt. *Linſchoten* mentions *Moçambique* as a town in the Iſland of *Praſio*.

BOOK I.

March, 1498.

ſeaboord; and for that they would not that Night fall in with them, they ſtill kept the ſea, minding to paſſe between, as indeede they did. Wherevpon the Captaine generall commaunded *Niculao Coelho*, by reaſon his Shippe was leſſe than the others, ſhould go firſt; and ſo going upon the *Fridaye* within a certein Harbour which was betweene the maine Land, and one of the Ilands, the ſaid *Niculao* miſſed the channell and ranne on ground. Which daunger when our other Shippes ſawe, they did caſt then about, and went backe; and as they were returned, they perceiued comming out of that *Ilande* ſeven or eight little boates under [b] ſaile, being diſtant from *Niculao Coelho* a good league. At ſight of thoſe Boates comming towards them, *Niculao Coelho* and thoſe with him tooke great pleaſure, and for Joy gaue a great crye: at their repaire to them, *Coelho* and they went to the Generall, and ſaluted him; to whom the ſame *Coelho* ſayd, *How ſay you, Sir? heere is an other kinde of People!. Wherevnto the Generall anſwered, that hee was very glad of that good fortune, and therewith commaunded to let them go a ſeaboord with their Boates; for that his meaning was to beare with them to that Ilande from whence they came, and there to come to an ankor: of purpoſe to vnderſtand what Lande that was, and whether amongeſt thoſe people he might heare or haue anye newes or certeine intelligence of the Indias.* Yet notwithſtanding the Generall's commandement, they in their boates followed our Shippes; alwaies making ſignes, and calling to our men therein, to ſtay and tarrie for them. Wherefore the Captaine generall, with the other Captaines, came to an ankor, and ſo they in their Boates approached neere, and came to our Fleete.

"By view of their perſons it appeared they were men of a good ſtature, and ſomewhat blacke. They were apparelled in cloth of Cotten,

[b] It is upon the approach to the Port of *Moſambique* that Caſtaneda firſt mentions Boats furniſhed with SAILS. (*Dr. Vincent*, Periplus, p. 217.)

Cotten, welted with ſundry colours, ſome girdeled unto their knees, and others carried the ſame upon their ſhoulders as cloaks; and upon their heads they weare a certeine kinde of tucks or kerchiefe ſomewhat wrought with Silke and gold thrid: they have Swoords and Daggers as the *Moores* doe uſe them; in their Boates they brought with them their inſtruments called *Sagbuts*. Theſe men being thus come to our Shippes, they forthwith came a boord the ſame with great opinion of aſſuraunce, even as though they had knowne our men a long time, and immediatlye began to be conuerſant, and very familiar with them; vſing their [c] ſpeaches which they vttered in the language of *Algarauia* (Arabic) and would not be knowne they were *Moores*. The General commaunded to giue them meat; and being aſked by one [d] *Fernão Alvares*, who could ſpeake the language, what Land that was, they anſwered, *that it apperteined to a great king. The Iland was called Moçãbique; and the town there full of Merchantes, which haue trafficke with the Moores of the Indias, who bring thether Siluer, Linnen Cloth, Pepper, Ginger, Siluer ringes, many Pearles, and Rubie Stones; and, that out of another [e] Countrie, which remained behinde, they doe bring them Golde. Declaring further that if our men would enter into the Harbour, they would bring them thether, and they ſhuld perceiue and ſee the truth, and*

Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

[c] Barros ſays, *Chegados eſtes barcos ao navio de Vaſco da Gama, levantou-ſe, hum daquelles homens bem veſtidos, e começou per Aravigo perguntar que gente era, e o que buſcavam?* (Ibid.)

[d] Or according to Barros *Fernão Martins*.

[e] Juan dos Santos, in his Voyage publiſhed by *Le Grande*, and quoted by *Bruce* (vol. 1. p. 435.) ſays, that, "he landed at *Sofala* in the year 1586; that he ſailed up the great River *Cuama* as far as *Tetè*; where, always deſirous to be in the neighbourhood of Gold, his Order had placed their Convent. Thence he penetrated for above two hundred leagues into the Country, and ſaw the Gold Mines then working, at a mountain called *Afura*. At a conſiderable diſtance from theſe are the Silver Mines of *Chicoua*; at both places there is great appearance of ancient excavations, and at both places the houſes of the Kings are built with mud and ſtraw, whilſt there are large remains of maſſy buildings of Stone and Lime."

BOOK I.

March, 1498.

and more at large, touching those thinges they then gaue information of.

"The Generall hearing this, entered into counsell with the other Captaines debating the matter thereof; and argued whether it were good to enter the Harbour, and see if those things were of truth, which those *Moores* had imparted to them; and also there to take some Pilottes to carrye them further, since they were nowe destitute of such. Upon which Consultation it was there determined, that *Niculao Coelho* shuld first make an assay for enterance and founding of the Barre, by reason his Shippe was the least of the fleete; which accordingly he forthwith did. And so going to enter, he went and touched the Point of the Iland, and therewith brake his Helme: howbeit through God his goodnesse, he perished not there, although he was in great daunger; for as he went upon the Point unwares, so with quicke speede and good fortune he gote off the same. Neuertheleſſe he found that the Barre was good to enter, and therefore he came to an ankor two cross bow shot from the [f] Towne scituated in that Iland, which is in fifteen degrees towards the south. It hath a very good Harbour, and also great plentie of the victuals of that Countrie. The houses of that Towne be made of strawe, and the dwellers therein are [g] *Moores*, which trade to *Sofala* in great Shippes that

[f] A good account of the Town or City of *Moçambique*, is inserted in the Journal of the Dutch Pilot *Verheoven*.

[g] These MOORS so often mentioned by the *Portuguese* Navigators, were, as *Bruce* informs us, (vol. 2. p. 10.) Merchants who had been expelled from *Spain* by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*: they accordingly fixed their residence first on the *Western* Coast of *Africa*, where being joined by either fresh exiles from *Spain*, or mingling with the inhabitants of *Morrocco*, they extended themselves Eastward, and formed settlements in *Arabia*; until the great oppressions that followed the conquest of that country, and Egypt, under Selim and Soliman, interrupted their trade, and scattered them along the Coast of *Abyssinia*. These are the *Moors* which *Gama* so often met with both during his Voyage, and on his arrival in *India*. They had no profession but Trade, in every species of which they greatly excelled.—Dr. *Watson* quotes a passage from *Anderson*, to prove, that about the year 1150, the *Moors of Spain* first introduced the Art of Distillery into the west of Europe, they having learned it from the *African Moors*, who had it from the *Egyptians*.

that haue no deckes nor nailes, but are [h] sowed with *cayro* (cocoa fibres) and their Sailes are of mats made of the leafe of a *Palme* tree. Some of them do carrie with them [i] *Compasses of Geane, by which they doe*

Ch. III. § 2.
Emmanuel.

[h] This curious passage in the original, is as follows: *Pouoada de Mouros que tratavan dali pera Çofala em grandes Naos, e sem cuberta nẽ pregadura, cosidas con Çayro: e as Velas erão desteiras d' palma: e algũas trazião Agulhas genuiscas porque se região por quadrãtes, e Cartas de marear.* (Castanheda, tom. 1. cap. 5. p. 12.)

[i] Probably in consequence of this passage, *M. Robert de Vaugondy* in his *Essai sur l'histoire de la Geographie*, 1755, when giving a rapid sketch of the *Portuguese Discoveries* (p. 74.) observés. *Les habitants de la Riviere des bons Signes avoient l'usage de L'Aimant, avant qu'il fut connu chez les Européens.* The Italians have a singular term for *l'aimant*, or the *loadstone*, viz. CALAMITA. BARROS does not notice the Nautical Instruments in use among the *Moors*, until the arrival of the ships at *Melinda*. *Osorius* (page 35.) gives a very particular account of the Moorish Compass, and also mentions *Quadrants*, not *Astrolobe*. The whole of this curious passage is well worthy of the reader's attention; and as its value consists in the express terms used by *Osorius*, it is given in the original.

" Utebantur in navigando Normis Navicularibus, quas nautæ Acus appellunt. Quarum formam propter eos, qui à maritimis regionibus semoti sunt, haud alienum arbitror explicare.

" Vasculum est à ligno factum, planum atque rotundum, altitudine duorum aut trium digitorum. In medio habet stylum prefixum in summo præacutum, aliquanto breviorem, quàm sit vasculi ipsius altitudo. Regula deinde è ferro solertissime facta, tenuis et angusta ad vasculi modum dimensa, ita tamen ut diametri ipsius vasculi longitudinem non exæquet, inducitur. Styli vero cuspis per medium hujus regulæ, quod est inferius excavatum, et fastigiatum superius, immissa, ita eam suspensam, paribusque momentis libratam continet, ut utrinque angulos pares efficiat. Operculo deinde vitreo ænea virgula circundata firmato, ne possit regula excuti, et aliqua ex parte labare, contegitur. Cùm vero Magnetis ea natura sit, ut non modo ferrum ad se trahat, verùm etiam una illius pars ad Septentriones aspiret, altera in Austrum propendeat, naturámque suam cum ferro communicet, efficitur, ut cùm regulæ hujus caput ad eam magnetis partem, quæ spectat ad Septentriones, applicatum, attritúque illius extersum fuerit, eandem in se vim concipiat: et cum ita suspensa extiterit, ut mobiliter in varias partes impelli possit, semper in Septentriones insita propensione referatur. Sic autem fiebat, ut Nautæ hoc instrumento moniti, quanvis in profundo pelago versarentur, et cœlum esset nubilum et caliginosum, possent tamen ad Septentrionis rationem cursum dirigere. Hanc autem regulam, quia ad acus similitudinem proxime accedebat, Acum Navicularium appellabant. Deinde cum facillimum sit humanis ingeniis, addere semper aliquid ad ea, quæ sunt solerter inventa, aliam normæ rationem excogitarunt, qua possent exactius, quem cursum in navigando tenerent, ratione perspicere. E virgulis enim ferreis figuram efficiunt lateribus paribus, angulis imparibus, in rhombi speciem deformatam. Huic unam ex parte superiore, alteram ex inferiore chartam orbiculatam adglutinant. Magnetis autem adjuncta vi, sic figuram hanc temperant, ut unus ex acutis angulis Septentrionem, alter ad Occasum spectet. Diametri autem orbis hujus longitudo figuræ longitudinem non excedit. Habet autem orbis hic in medio æneum umbilicum affixum, ad eam formam factum, qua diximus regule medium fabricatum fuisse.

BOOK I.

March, 1498.

doe gouerne, and they be ſquare, they haue alſo *Seacards*. With theſe *Moores*, the *Moores* of *Indias* haue traficke, and with thoſe from the *Red Sea*, by reaſon of the Golde they haue there.

" When they ſawe our men, they ſuppoſed them to bee *Turks*; by reaſon of the knowledge they had of the *Turks* Countrie, through intelligence of the *Moores* which dwel in the Red Sea. They which were firſt in our Shippes went and tolde their XEQUE; for ſo they call him alwaies that is gouernour of the towne, which was there for the king of *Quiloa*, vnder whoſe obeiſance this Iland was."

The Narrative of GAMA's Voyage in *Camoens* being detached, and only occaſionally introduced according to the rules of the *epopee*; it may be deſireable to many readers to conſider theſe paſſages

" Per umbilicum illud igitur ſtyli cuſpis immiſſa, orbem hunc ſuſpenſum continet, qui non modò regula illius, de qua diximus, vice fungitur, ſed omnes ventorum regiones, quorum flatibus navis impellitur, in conſpectu proponit. In charta námque ſuperiore Septentrio, et Auſter, et Oriens, et Occidens, et interjectæ inter hos terminos regiones exactiſſime deſcribuntur. Norma ad hunc modum conſtituta, hoc reſtabat incommodi, quòd opus erat, quoties Navis fluctibus agitata, ut fieri neceſſe eſt, in puppim, aut proram, aut in alterutrum latus inclinaret, ut illa in profundo ſubſidens adhæreſceret, neque motu libero in Septentriones dirigi poſſet. Ne autem hoc eveniret, fuit ſolertiſſime excogitatum. Nam vas ipſum paulo infra labrum circulo æneo arctè conſtrigitur. Utrinque autem ab eo circulo virgula calybea ducta, in foramen alterius circuli majoris et exterioris, modico intervallo ab interiore diſtantis, immittitur.

" Virgulæ vero binæ ita ſunt æquales et oppoſitæ, ut ſi ex utraque una et perpetua fieret, circularis illius ſpatii diametrum contineret. Exterior autem circulus circa duas illas virgulas quaſi circum axem verſatur. Rurſus ab exteriore circulo aliæ binæ virgulæ pari intervallo ad ambitum alveoli cujuſdam orbiculati, intra quem hæc machinatio continetur, ſimili ratione perducuntur.

" Ita ſunt autem hæ virgulæ exteriores interioribus ex adverſo conſtitutæ, ut ſi duæ tantùm ex illis quatuor directæ fierent, ſe ſe ad angulos rectos interſecarent. Cùm vero machinatio ex inferiore parte ænea et ponderoſa ſit, neque fundum attingat ullum, ita undique pellitur, ut medium locum teneat. Et cum penſilis et mobilis exiſtat, pondere ſuo nixa ea ratione conſiſtit, ut quanvis maximi fluctus navem jactent, ipſa ſemper ad libellam directa permaneat. Sic autem fit, ut nihil interveniat, quod normam ab eo motu, quo in Septentriones fertur, impedire queat. His Normis ſolebant uti jam illo tempore Arabes illi, et Chartis præterea, quibus maritimarum regionum ſitus, ſecundum deſcriptas in illis lineas, exploratè cognoſcerent. Quadrantibus etiam, ſolis varias converſiones, et quantum quæque regio ab æquinoctiali circulo diſtaret, obſervabant. Tam multis denique erant ad navigandum artibus inſtructi, ut non multum Luſitanis nautis de rerum maritimarum ſcientia et uſu concederent."

paſſages as connected in the preſent ſection: the following contains the ſubſtance of the ſixth chapter of Caſtanheda. *How the Captaine generall entered into the Harbour of Moçãbique, and how the gouernour there came to viſit him at his Shippes, making peace with him, and gaue him two Pilottes to carry him to Calicut, verely ſuppoſing our people to be Turkes.*

" Right on they ſteer by *Ethiopia*'s ſtrand
And paſtoral [k] *Madagaſcar*'s verdant Land.
Before the balmy gales of cheerful Spring,
With Heav'n their friend, they ſpread the canvas wing.
Behind them now the Cape of [l] *Praſo* bends,
Another Ocean to their view extends,

Where

[k] Called by the *Portugueſe* the Iſland of *St. Lawrence*, on whoſe feſtival they diſcovered it. (*Mickle.*) Gama ſeems not to have noticed it.

[l] *Ptolemy*, with whom probably all the *Portugueſe* Pilots of Gama's Age were acquainted, places *Praſum* in ſouth latitude 15° 30′ 0″, and it is from this Latitude of 15° ſouth that the early *Portugueſe* univerſally aſſume *Moſambique* for *Praſum*.—Where *Praſum* is to be placed is an object worthy of inquiry, if there were *Data* ſufficient to determine it, as it is the final Limit of *Ancient Diſcovery* to the *South*. I can point out no fitter poſition for it than *Moſambique*.—One farther Obſervation is all that remains in this part of my diſcuſſion, which is, the peculiarity that *Praſum* ſignifying *green*, ſhould point out a *Green Cape* for the termination of Ancient Knowledge on the *Eaſtern* ſide of the vaſt Continent of *Africa*; while another *Green Cape*, Cape Verde, ſhould have been for many years the boundary of Modern Navigation on the *Weſtern* ſide. If I am not miſtaken, *Cape Verde* has its name from its verdant appearance when firſt ſeen by the *Portugueſe*; otherwiſe it might have been thought, that thoſe who firſt reached it had annihilated the Great Triangle like *Juba*, and *Pliny*, and thought they had arrived at the *Green Cape* of the Ancients. (Πρᾶσον, ſignifies a *Leek*, but it is alſo uſed for a Sea Weed of the ſame colour, and may poſſibly allude to ſuch Weeds found in this Sea.)—This will not appear an idle obſervation to thoſe who are converſant with the Ancient Geographers; and who know that they found a *Weſtern Horn* and *Carnè* on both ſides the Continent, and a *Thulè* from the Orkneys to the Pole. But there is another view in mentioning it, which is, that ſome future Navigator, with this clue to direct him, may, when he is going up the *Moſambique* Paſſage, ſtill find ſome characteriſtic greenneſs, either in the colour of the Sea, or on the Continent which may enable him to point out the *Praſum* of the Ancients. This is a point I cannot aſcertain to my own ſatisfaction, but it cannot be farther South than *Corrientes*, nor farther North than *Quiloa*, or the *Zanguebar Iſlands*. Engliſh ſhips generally leave the Coaſt before they are ſo far North, but accident may carry ſome curious obſerver to the ſpot, which he may recognize, by knowing previouſly where he is to ſearch, and what he is to ſearch for. (Dr. Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 164—189.)

BOOK I.
1498.

Where black-topp'd Iſlands to their longing eyes
Lav'd by the gentle waves in proſpect riſe.
But GAMA, Captain of the vent'rous band,
Of bold emprize, and born for high command,
Bears off thoſe Shores which waſte and wild appear'd,
And Eaſtward ſtill for happier Climates ſteer'd:
When gathering round and blackening o'er the Tide,
A fleet of war Canoes the Pilot ſpied;
Hoiſting their Sails of palm-tree leaves, inwove
With curious art, a ſwarming crowd they move:
Long were their Boats, and ſharp to paſs along
Through the daſh'd waters, broad their Oars and ſtrong.
Their Garb, diſcover'd as approaching nigh,
Was cotton ſtrip'd with many a gaudy dye:
'Twas one whole piece; beneath one arm, confin'd,
The reſt hung looſe and flutter'd on the wind;
All, but one breaſt, above the loins was bare,
And ſwelling turbans bound their jetty hair:
Their Arms were bearded darts, and faulchions broad,
And warlike Muſic ſounded as they row'd.
With joy the Sailors ſaw the Boats draw near,
With joy beheld the human face appear.....
And now with hands, and kerchiefs wav'd in air,
The barb'rous Race their friendly mind declare.
Glad were the Crew, and ween'd that happy day
Should end their dangers and their toils repay.
The lofty Maſts the nimble youths aſcend,
The Ropes they haul, and o'er the Yard-Arms bend;
And now their Bowſprits pointing to the ſhore,
(A ſafe moon'd [m] Bay,) with ſlacken'd Sails they bore:

With

[m] *Caerden* ſays that the Bay of *Moçambique* has ſeldom leſs than eight or ten fathom water, which is ſo clear that every Bank, Rock, and Shallow may eaſily be diſcovered.

With cheerful ſhouts they furl the gather'd Sail
That leſs and leſs flaps quivering on the gale;
The Prows, their ſpeed ſtopp'd, o'er the ſurges nod,
The falling Anchors daſh the foaming flood. . .
" From fartheſt Weſt, the *Luſian* race reply,
To reach the golden Eaſtern ſhores we try;
Through that unbounded Sea, whoſe billows roll
From the cold Northern to the Southern pole;
And by the wide extent, the dreary vaſt
Of *Afric*'s Bays already have we paſt;
And many a Sky have ſeen, and many a Shore,
Where but Sea-Monſters cut the waves before.
To ſpread the glories of our Monarch's reign,
For *India*'s Shore we brave the trackleſs Main,
Our glorious toil; and at his nod would brave
The diſmal gulphs of Acheron's black wave.
And now, in turn, your Race, your Country tell,
If on your lips fair Truth delights to dwell;
To us, unconſcious of the falſehood, ſhew
What of theſe Seas, and *Indias* ſite, you know.
" Rude are the Natives here, the *Moor* reply'd,
Dark are their minds, and brute-deſire their guide:
But we, of alien blood and Strangers here,
Nor hold their cuſtoms nor their laws revere.
From *Abram's* Race our holy Prophet ſprung,
An Angel taught, and heaven inſpir'd his tongue;
His ſacred Rites and mandates we obey,
And diſtant Empires own his holy ſway.
From Iſle, to Iſle, our trading Veſſels roam;
MOZAMBIC's Harbour our commodious home.
If then your Sails for *Indias* ſhores expand,
For ſultry *Ganges*, or *Hydaſpes*' Strand;
Here ſhall you find a Pilot ſkill'd to guide
Through all the dangers of the per'lous Tide,

Though

BOOK I.

1498.

Though wide ſpread Shelves and cruel Rocks unſeen,
Lurk in the way, and Whirlpools rage between.
Accept, mean while, what Fruits theſe Iſlands hold,
And to the Regent let your wiſh be told.
Then may your Mates the needful Stores provide,
And all your various wants be here ſupplied.
" So ſpake the *Moor*, and bearing ſmiles untrue,
And ſigns of Friendſhip, with his bands withdrew.
O'erpower'd with joy unhoped the Sailors ſtood,
To find ſuch kindneſs on a Shore ſo rude.
" Now caſting o'er the Flood his fervid blaze,
The red-brow'd Sun withdraws his beamy Rays;
Safe in the Bay the Crew forget their cares,
And peaceful reſt their wearied ſtrength repairs.
Calm Twilight now his drowſy mantle ſpreads,
And ſhade on ſhade, the gloom ſtill deepening ſheds.
The Moon, full orb'd, forſakes her watery cave,
And lifts her lovely head above the wave.
The ſnowy ſplendors of her modeſt Ray
Stream o'er the gliſtening Waves, and quivering play . . .
The Canvas whitens in the ſilvery Beam,
And with a mild pale red the Pendants gleam:
The Maſts' tall ſhadows tremble o'er the Deep;
The peaceful Winds an holy ſilence keep;
The Watchman's carol echoed from the prows,
Alone, at times, awakes the ſtill repoſe.
" The Sun comes forth! and ſoon the joyful Crew
Each aiding each, their joyful taſks purſue:
Wide o'er the Decks the ſpreading Sails they throw,
From each tall maſt the waving Steamers flow;
All ſeems a feſtive Holiday on board
To welcome to the Fleet the Iſland's Lord.
With equal joy the Regent ſails to meet,
And brings freſh Cates, his offerings, to the Fleet:

For of his kindred Race their line he deems. . . .
Brave *Vasco* halls the Chief with honest smiles,
And [n] gift for gift with liberal hand he piles.
His Gifts, the boast of *Europe*'s Arts disclose,
And sparkling red the Wine of *Tagus* flows.
High on the shrouds the wondering Sailors hung,
To note the *Moorish* garb, and barbarous tongue:
Nor less the subtle *Moor*, with wonder fired,
Their mien, their dress, and lordly Ships admired:
Much he enquires, their King's, their Country's name,
And, if from *Turkey's* fertile shores they came?
What God they worshipp'd, what their sacred Lore,
What arms they wielded, and what armour wore?
To whom brave GAMA; *Nor of Hagar's blood*
Am I, nor plow from Izmael's shores the flood;
From Europe's strand I trace the foamy way,
To find the Regions of the infant day.
The God we worship stretch'd yon heaven's high bow,
And gave these swelling Waves to roll below;
The hemispheres of Night and Day he spread,
He scoop'd each Vale, and rear'd each Mountain's head:
His Word produced the Nations of the earth,
And gave the spirits of the Sky their birth.
On earth, by Him, his Holy Lore was given,
On earth He came to raise mankind to Heaven.
—And now behold what most your eyes desire,
Our shining Armour, and our Arms of Fire.

" Straight as he spoke the Warlike Stores display'd
Their glorious shew; where, tire on tire inlaid,
Appear'd

n *Castanheda* says, that *Gama*'s presents consisted of *Red Hats, short Gowns, Coral, brasen Basons*, and small *Hawk Bells*; all of these were slighted by the governor, who begged to have *Scarlet* Cloth. *Osorius* adds, that the Xeque's name was *Zacoëia*, (page 27.) de Barros *Çacoeja*; that his Cloaths were richly embroidered, and his sword ornamented with diamonds.

1498.

Appear'd of glittering ſteel the Carabines,
There the plumed Helms, and ponderous Brigandines;
O'er the broad Bucklers ſculptur'd Orbs emboſt,
The crooked Faulchions dreadful blades were croſt:
Here claſping Greaves, and plated Mail-Quilts ſtrong,
The Long-Bows here, and rattling Quivers hung;
And like a grove the burniſh'd Spears were ſeen,
With Darts, and Halberts double-edged between;
And far around of brown, and duſky red,
The pointed piles of iron Balls were ſpread.
The *Bombadeers*, now to the Regent's view
The thundering Mortars and the Cannon drew...

" His joy and wonder oft the *Moor* expreſt,
But rankling hate lay brooding in his breaſt;
With Smiles obedient to his will's controul,
He veils the purpoſe of his treacherous ſoul.
For Pilots conſcious of the *Indian* Strand,
Brave VASCO ſues; and bids the *Moor* command
What bounteous gifts ſhall recompenſe their Toils;
The *Moor* prevents him with aſſenting ſmiles,
Reſolved that deeds of death, not words of air,
Shall firſt the Hatred of his ſoul [o] declare."

The Iſland of MOÇAMBIQUE, which is not above a league in circumference, is deſcribed by [p] *Barros*, as conſiſting of a low and ſwampy country: the original Settlers were *Moors*, who had arrived in the Ships that paſſed from *Quiloa* and *Sofala*. It was afterwards much reſorted to by the *Portugueſe* Indiamen as a winter ſtation, and became the key of the Eaſt Indies to their merchants. The *Dutch* made many attempts to obtain this Iſland, particularly in 1606, when [q] *Paul Van Caerden* beſieged it with a fleet conſiſting of forty

[o] Mickle's Luſiad, vol. 1. p. 20–28.

[p] *Ibid.* cap. 4.

[q] Hiſtory of the kingdom of MOSAMBICO. (*Mod. Univerſal Hiſt.* vol. 12. p. 361. See alſo *Paul Caerden*'s two *Indian* Voyages.)

forty ships. The African coast, stretching out on both sides of *Moçambique*, forms two Points; that to the north-east is called point *Pannoni*, off which extends a Shoal with three Islots upon it; the southern point is named *Mangale*. A fortress stands on the north eastern point of the Island, and to the south-west of this fortress is the Monastery of *St. Anthony*, which is the mark to enter the harbour. On the main land appears a mountain called the *Loaf*, and eastward of this another called the *Table*.

The Channel which *Gama* had now nearly explored, has since been called the *Inner Passage*, or the channel of *Moçambique*; and its southern part, the *Gulf of Madagascar*. Though the shortest course to *India*, its navigation even at this day is considered as [r] perilous and intricate. During the north-east monsoon, which begins to be felt in the beginning of *November* to the north of *Madagascar*, violent hurricanes arise. At this season the Currents set towards the South all along the Coast of *Africa*; and their common velocity, even in the offing, is seven or eight leagues in twenty-four hours. This was a tremendous obstacle to *Gama*, both before he arrived at *Moçambique*, and when he attempted to leave it. Among other dangers in this Channel, may also be mentioned the Shoals called *Baxos da Judia* by the *Portuguese*, in length about ten or twelve miles, and from five to six in breadth; also the Ledge of Rocks above two miles in breadth, which lies off the low land of *Sandy Island*; and the *Star Bank*, ten leagues in length, situated above twenty-four leagues from cape St. Mary's. These were fortunately avoided by keeping close to the *African* shore. The breadth of this Channel at its two extremities, is about 150 leagues, and the narrowest part from ninety to an hundred. It is formed

[r] *De Bry*, in his first volume, gives an engraving of the Shipwreck of a Portuguese ship, *S. Jago*, in this channel, 1595.

BOOK I.

March, 1498.

formed by the island of *Madagascar* which extends three hundred leagues in length, from south south-west to north north-east, between the parallels of 12° and 25° 36′ south latitude.

The conclusion of this intricate navigation is now to be attempted by the undaunted Gama; his crew struggling with the effects of scurvy, which they knew not how to counteract; surrounded by a treacherous enemy, whose information, and Pilots, he had sufficient reason to distrust. He however had gained intelligence from the *Xeque*, that the distance to *Calicut* was nine hundred leagues, and that in their course were many shoals. The Coast was described as being enriched by various cities; and *Çacoeja* added, that the kingdom of PRESTE JOAO [a] was in the interior, at a considerable distance from *Moçambique*. When the crafty *Xeque* came on board to take his leave, he brought both the Pilots he had promised, with the hope of decoying *Gama* into danger: each of them received thirty crowns and a coat; and promised, that whilst they remained in harbour, one at least should always continue in the Ship. But notwithstanding this specious conduct of *Çacoeja*, the *Moors*, from the instant they perceived that the strangers were christians, had been concerting a variety of plans to destroy Gama and his followers; and thus hoped to gain possession of their ships. Providentially the whole design was discovered to the admiral by one of the pilots, who thought his own life in danger. After a stay of seven days they got under weigh; and sailing out of harbour on *Saturday* the *tenth* of *March*, anchored off one of the islands near *Moçambique*. This was done in order to give an opportunity for the Crews to hear mass, and receive the sacrament, on the ensuing Sunday; which,

[a] *Barros* adds, that three *Abexijs* from the territory of *Preste João*, coming on board with the *Moors* who brought Provisions; *em vendo a Imagem do Anjo Gabriel pintada em o navio do seu nome, como cousa nota a elles por em sua patria haver muitas igrejas, que tem estas Imagens dos Anjos, e algumas do proprio nome, assentárem-se em giolhos, e fizeram sua adoração.* (*Ibid.* Liv. 4. cap. 4.)

which, adds *Castanheda*, they had not done since their departure from Lisbon. He then [s] proceeds with the narrative:

Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

" After our Shippes were thus at an ankor, the Captaine generall perceiuing the same to be in a place of assurance, so as the *Moores* should not burne them, he then determined to retourne to *Moçãbique* in his Boate, to demaund the other Pilot that remayned on lande at their comming thence; and so, leauing his Brother with the Fleete, to come and succour him if in daunger, he departed, carrieing with him *Niculao Coelho*, and the other Pilot *Moore*. Going in this sort, they sawe bearing right with his Boate, sixe [t] Boates with many armed *Moores*, hauing Long-bowes and Arrowes, and also Shieldes and Speares; who, when they sawe our men, beganne to call vnto them, willing them to come to the Harbour of their towne. The Pilot tolde the Generall what they meant by their Signes, and gaue him counsell to retourne thether; for that otherwise the Gouernour woulde not delyuer the other Pilot which remained on the Shore. At which his speach the Generall was very angry; supposing he gaue that counsell, to the ende at theyr comming neere the shore, hee might escape and runne away; and therefore commaunded him to prison, and caused foorthwith to shoote at theyr boates with ordinaunce. Which Shot when *Paulo da Gama* heard, he immediately came forwarde with the Shippe called *Berrio*; when the Nigroes fled so fast that the Captaine generall could not ouertake them, and therefore he returned with his Brother to the other Shippes at ankor.

" The next Daie the Generall with all his men went on lande, heard Masse, and receiued the sacrament very [u] deuoutlye: which beeing

[s] Cap. 7.

[t] Barros calls them *sete Zambucos*.

[u] It is a source of satisfaction to feel assured, that the same spirit of religion still exists in the British Navy. The devout conduct of *Gama* may be compared with that of *Lord Duncan* both before, and after his action off *Camperdown*. It also reminds me of the character of *Lord Gardner*, *Admiral Gambier*, and *Admiral Holloway*.

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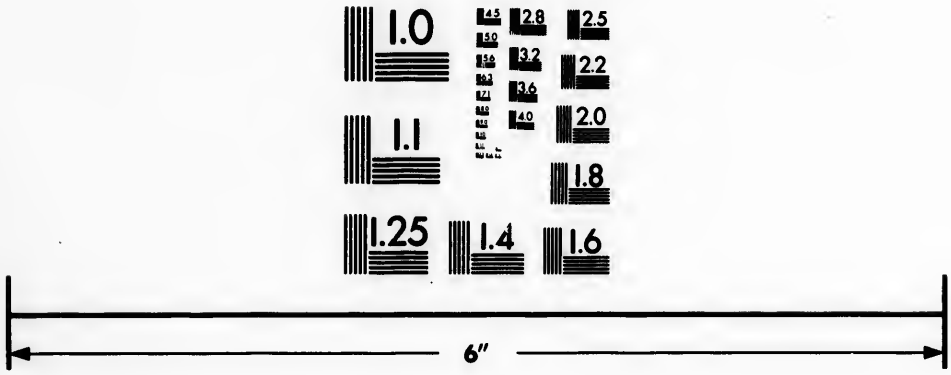

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beeing done, they went aboord their Shippes, and made sayle the same daie. The Generall, perceiuing no hope to remaine for recouerie of the other Pilot, gaue then commaundement to release him that was in the shippe committed to prison. This Pilot minded to be reuenged upon the Generall, determined to carrie them to the Iland *Quiloa*, which was peopled with *Moores*: therefore subtillie to shaddowe his wicked intent, he willed the Captaine generall, *not to trouble himselfe with the want of the other Pilot, for that he would carrie him to a great Iland, which was from thence one hundreth leagues; inhabited the one halfe by Moores, the other by Christians, which alwaies were at wars the one with the other; from whence also he might furnish himselfe with Pilots to Calicut.* But as the Captaine generall had good liking of those Speaches, so yet gaue he no great credite to the man; neuertheleſſe he did promise him great giftes, if he did carrie him to that Countrey: and so went forward on his Voyage with a small winde.

"The [z] *Tewsdaye* after, being within sight of Lande from whence he departed, hee was incalmed, which did indure *Tewsdaye* and *Wensdaye*. The next Night after, with an *Easterly* Wind beeing but smal, he made way and went into the sea; and upon *Thursdaye*, in the morning, founde himselfe and all the Fleete, foure leagues backe behinde *Moçambique*: and so going vntill the euening of the same daie, came then to an ankor hard to that Ilande, where the Sundaye next following he heard Masse. The winde thus beeing contrary to his purpose, he therefore remained in that place eight daies, to wait for such Gale as would serue to put him forward. In which time repaired to our Shippes a white *Moore*, which was a minister

[z] *Barros* differs in some respects: "The first four days they found the current so extremely rapid, as to carry the ships back within five leagues of *Moçambique*;" and since, by the information of the Pilot, they were not to expect a favourable wind until the New Moon, they returned to the *Ilha de São Jorge*, but would have no communication with the inhabitants of *Moçambique*. (Ibid. cap. 4.)

minister of the *Moores* of *Moçambique*; who comming on boord the Shippe of the Generall, declared, *that the Gouernour greatlye did repent him of the breach of friendship he had made.* To whom the Generall returned aunswere, *that he would make no peace with the Gouernour, neither would he be his Friend, vntill such time as he did send his Pilot, whom he had hired and payed.* With this aunswere the minister departed, and neuer came againe.

"The Captaine generall thus staieng still there, and expecting the Winde, there came to him a certaine [r] *Moore*, who brought his sonne with him, being a boye; and asked the Generall, whether he woulde carrie them in his Shippes to the Citie of *Melinde*, which he should finde in the Course towards *Calicut*? Declaring that he would gladly goe with him, and returne to his countrey which was neere to *Meca*, from whence he came as a pilot to *Moçambique*; and therewith aduertised the Generall not to tarry upon any aunswere from the gouernour, who he was assured would make no peace with him, for that he was a Christian.

"The Captaine was very gladde of the comming of this *Moore*; for by him he deemed to gather sufficient matter of information and intelligence of the *Straughtes* of the *Redde Sea*, and also of the Townes that lye along the Coast, by the which he must sayle to *Melinde*. Therefore he commaunded to receyue the same *Moore*, and his sonne, into his Shippe; and by reason it was then somewhat late, and that they had no store of Water, the Generall with the other Captaines determined to enter the harbour of *Moçambique*, to take in there so much as they needed: appointing also there shoulde be great watch for preuention of the *Moores*, lest they should by anye deuice set on fire the Shippes."

The

[r] Osorius says, *Illuc accurrit Arabs quidam cum parvo filio, Gamamque obsecravit, ut illos in Navem reciperet, ut possent in aliquem locum descendere, unde facilius Mecham, quæ erat illius patria, reverteretur. Quæsivit ab illo Gama, quam Artem coleret? Nauticam respondit.* (Page 38.)

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The watering of the Ships was not accomplished without opposition from some Moors who had assembled near the place. The Boats, commanded by *Gama* and *Coelho*, made the attempt at midnight, conducted by the Moorish Pilot, who thought by this means to effect his escape. Whether owing to the confusion or treachery of this man, the whole night was spent in vain; and at day break *Gama* judged it prudent to return for an additional guard. On again reaching the shore, a skirmish with the Moors took place; but the Spring was found, and a supply of water being thus procured, they arrived on board a little before sun set. *Paulo da Gama*, in the interim, had been much distressed by the loss of his Pilot, who, though a Christian, had escaped to the *Moors*. This was a severe disappointment to the admiral, who continued at his anchorage until the Friday following, but no Pilot appeared. A Moor indeed hailed them from the shore, and exclaimed in an insulting tone of voice, *that, if they wished for water, now was their time to procure it.* GAMA, already irritated by the desertion of his Pilot, grew, says Castanheda, *into some choler*. Orders were immediately issued to man and arm the boats, which drew up before the town and chastised the insolence of the Moors, who to the number of an hundred had assembled on the beach. A second attempt was afterwards made to seize some of the Moors, with the hope of thus having the *Pilot* restored. *Gama* also had heard, that two Indians were detained captives in the town, and these he wished to liberate. *Paulo* succeeded in procuring four prisoners; but every attempt either to regain the [a] Pilot, or deliver the *Indians*, was ineffectual. On the ensuing day they completed

March 24.

[a] Here *Barros* differs from *Castanheda*. According to him, the inhabitants abandoned their town on the attack made by the *Portuguese* boats; and the *Xeque*, apprehensive of what still might happen, sent *Gama* a Pilot to navigate *Coelho's* ship. *Barros* also adds, *Gama* was informed by the *Moor*, that from *Moçambique* to *Calicut* was a month's voyage. (*Ibid.* Liv. 4. cap. 4.)

pleted their ſtore of water without moleſtation: but before they left, what juſtly merited the title of *Traitor's Bay*, the Admiral reſolved to chaſtiſe a combination of villainy; which had nearly fruſtrated all that himſelf, and followers had undergone: the Ships were accordingly brought to bear upon the town, and its baſe inhabitants were driven from it in all directions. *Caſtanheda* then proceeds with his intereſting Journal.

"Upon the *Tewſdaye*, being the *twenty-ſeventh* daie of *March*, our Fleete wayed ankor, and departed from the towne of *Moçambique*; and ſo in going forwarde came to an ankor hard by two little Rocks of *Sam Jorge*, for ſo they named it after they came thether; where they remained, for that the winde was contrarie. Neuertheleſſe having after a ſmall winde they departed; howbeit the ſame was ſo ſmall, and the Currents there ſo great, that they were caſt backwarde.

"The Captaine generall [a] following his Voiage, and beeing very glad that they had found one of the foure *Moores*, which *Paulo* tooke, was a Pilot, and would carrie them to *Calicut*; upon *Sundaye* the *firſt* daie of *Aprill* came to certeine *Ilands* very neere the ſhore. To the firſt whereof they gaue a name, calling it *Ilha do Acoutado*: for that they there did whippe the Pilot *Moore* of *Moçambique* by commaundement of the Generall; as well for that he had told them thoſe Ilands were firme lande, as alſo, before, that he would not ſhew the Generall the Water at *Moçambique*, in the night when they ſought for the ſame. Therefore now taking him with the lie, the Generall was very angrie with this Pilot, ſuppoſing as it was likly, that he did carrie them thether of intent the Shippes ſhould be caſt away amongſt the ſame. The *Moore* beeing cruellye whipped, confeſſed that indeed he did carrie them thether of purpoſe they ſhould there haue periſhed.

"Theſe

[a] Cap. 8. See alſo Barros. *Ibid.* Liv. 4. cap. 5.

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"Thefe *Ilands* were fo manye, and fo neere together, that they coulde hardlye bee difcerned one from another. Which when the Generall perceiued, he made into the feaward; and upon the *Fridaye*, which was the *fourth* daie of *Aprill*, made his way to the northweft, and before Noone-Tide had fight of a great Lande, and of two Ilands neere it, about which were many Shoels. Beeing come neere to the Shore, the Pilots Moores did reknowledge the fame: howbeit, they faid *that the Iland of the Chriftians is that of Quiloa*, which was afterne us three leagues. Wherewith the Generall was much grieued, beleeuing that certainly they were Chriftians, as the Pilots had informed him; and that they had willingly loft their Courfe, for that the Shippes fhould not arriue at that place. The Pilots fhaddowing their treafon, made fhew of a reafonable excufe, faieng *that as the Winde was greate, fo were the Currents fwift*; by reafon whereof the Shippes had further made Saile then they thought for: but the truth was indeede, that they more forrowed their miffing and paffing by the *Iland*, then did our Captaine generall; for they were verely in hope to have been reuenged there upon our men by death of them all. But God, beholding the daunger and perill meant towards them, of his Diuine goodneffe and mercye deliuered them: for if our men had gone thether, not one of them had efcaped; fince the Generall, hauing fuch a beliefe that they were Chriftians in that Iland, as the Pilot had tolde him, would no doubt haue gone prefently on lande at his arriuall there; and fo thereby runne headlong into a place, where he and his people fhould haue bene put to flaughter.

"The Generall thus forrowing the miffe of that Ilande, for that he fuppofed there to have found Chriftians, and the Pilots *Moores* in chafe with themfelves, for that they had miffed their courfe thether; it was then on each part determined, to goe back and affaie to finde the fame. Neuertheleffe, although they earneftly bent

bent themſelues to attaine vnto that deſired *Iland*, and ſpent that daie in trauell to winne their purpoſe, yet coulde they not preuaile thereto: for ſtill the Winde was ſo contrarie, and the Currents ſo great, as doe what they could they failed of theyr wills, and were put off from arriual there; which no doubte was done by God's Prouidence. Ch. III. § 2. Emanuel.

"The Captaine generall, and the other Captaines, thus toſſing vp and downe, to and fro, as well with their Shippes, as alſo in their Mindes, determined to beare towards the Iland of *Mombaça*; in which, as thoſe two Pilots gaue information, were two townes, inhabited, as well with *Moores*, as Chriſtians. Which Inſtructions theſe Pilots gaue to deceiue our men, for that *Iland* was whollye inhabited by *Moores*, as in lyke manner all that Coaſte is. Therefore vnderſtanding that from thence to *Mombaça* are ſeauentie-ſeauen leagues, they made way to goe thether; and beeing then towards Euening, they ſawe a great Iland ſcituated towards the North. In this ſort our Shippes going vnder ſaile certayne daies, the ſhippe *Sam Rafael* one morning, two houres before daie lyght, came on ground upon certaine Shoells two leagues from the firme lande; and, as ſhe ſtrake, they within made Signes to the other Shippes to beware: whereupon they ſhot by the Shoells and came to an ankor, launching out their Boates to giue ſuccour to *Paulo da Gama*. And perceiuing when they came to the ſame, that the water did ebbe, the Generall was meruailous glad thereof; for then he well knew, that at the next floud the Shippe would be afloate againe. Thus recomforted with the certaintie they ſaw of the ſafetie of the Shippe, they foorthwith layed into the ſea many ankors. By this time it was daie lyght; and after that it was a lowe water, ſhe then remained drye upon the ſhore, beeing a ſandie ground, which was the cauſe ſhe tooke no harme. Our men placed theyr ankors which were layd foorth, right ouer againſt themſelues, and walked upon

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the Sandes whilest the Ebbe endured. They gaue for name to those Sandes, *Os Baixos de Sam Rafael*; and to certayne great Ilands and Hills, which were directly ouer against those Shoells, they gaue the name of the Hills and Ilands of *S. Rafael*.

"The Shippe thus being drye, our men sawe two Boates, and *Moores* of that country in the same, comming towards them to see our Shippes; bringing manie sweete Orenges, farre better than those of *Portingale*, and gaue the same to our men; saieing also to the Generall, *that in no wise hee should feare anye damage that couldc ensue to the Shippe on grounde, for that when it were full Sea she woulde then be on floate agayne.* With which speaches the Generall was very glad; not onelye for the good comfort they gaue him, but also in that they came in so good season, and time opportune; and therefore he gaue them Giftes, which they accepted with manye thankes. Certayne of them, vnderstanding that our Fleete intended its course to *Mombaça*, they desired the Generall to carrie them with him thether, who graunted their requests; the others retourning from our Fleete to their countrey. When it was a full Sea the Shippe was afloat; wherevpon the Captaine generall proceeded on his way with all his Fleete.

"The Generall [a] following this Voiage, did upon *Saterdaye* the *seauenth* daie of *Aprill*, about the going downe of the sunne, come to an ankor without the [b] barre of the Iland of *Mombaça*; which is

[a] Chap. 9.

[b] This Bar is laid down, and the Soundings marked at the entrance of the harbour of *Mombaça*, in *Teneira's Map of* 1649, already mentioned; giving sixteen, ten, nine, ten, and fifteen fathoms water.

Linschoten says (p. 10.) that the land of *Mombaça* shews high sandy Downs at a great distance.—In the *Portuguese East Indian Navigator*, drawn up by *Alcino da Motta*, who was Pilot Major to the *Caraques* of *Portugal* for thirty-five years, some valuable remarks occur respecting the Eastern Coast of Africa. This scarce Tract is translated by *M. Thevenot*, and given in his first volume; and occasional extracts from the original are inserted in his margin; engravings of headlands in a coarse manner are also annexed; and to the whole is subjoined *Teneira's*

is harde by the firme lande, and is verye plentie of victualls. Moreouer the Iland is verye pleasaunt, hauing manye sorts of fruites. In this *Iland* there is a Citie bearing the selfe same name, beeing in foure degrees on the south side; it is a verye great Citie scituated vpon a rocke, wherevpon the sea doth beat. At the entering into the Porte there is a Marke; and at the enteraunce upon the Barre, there is planted a lyttle Fort, lowe and neere to the water. The most parte of the houses in this Citie are builded with lyme and stone, with the loftes thereof (ceilings) wrought with fine knottes of *Plaister of Paris*; the Streetes therein are verye * fayre. They haue a King, and the inhabitaunts are *Moores*, whereof some bee white. They goe gallantly arrayed, especially the women, apparelled in gownes of silke, and bedecked with jewells of golde and precious stones. In this Citie is great trade of all kindes of marchandize; there is also a good Harbour where alwayes are manye Shippes.

" The

Teixeira's Map. *Da Motta* correcta an error of *Linschoten* respecting the Isles of *St. George* and *St. James*, in the bay of *Mozambique*, and places them more exactly than they had previously been laid down. Respecting the Bar of *Mombaça*, he observes, " The Bar of *Mombaça* is exactly in 3° 50′ south latitude, and has a quantity of Sands lying north and south of it. They who wish to cross this *Bar* with large Ships, like the *Caraques of Portugal*, should stand on along the Coast for a league, whether coming from the North or South; and then approach the land, sounding continually quite to the fort, until they get into twelve fathom water, when they should wait for a Pilot." *Da Motta* then proceeds to give very minute directions in case a Pilot cannot be procured, and concludes with observing, " that the Entrance is so narrow, and so filled with Shoals, as in many places to be only the length of a vessel in breadth."

* *Osorius* adds *Homines vivunt admodum laute, et domos more nostro edificant, tectoriaque varijs coloribus depicta parietibus inducunt.* (P. 39.) The City once stood on a peninsula, which became insular by a canal that was cut through its isthmus. (*See Marmol, Davity, Dapper*, and *La Croix*.) It was burnt by the Portuguese in 1507. The entrance of the Port is defended by a stout bulwark, which the inhabitants raised soon after the arrival of *da Gama*. In a description which *Captain Edward Hamilton* gives of the Eastern Coast of Africa, we learn that the Portuguese retained *Mombaça* for two hundred years, until it was taken by the *Muskat Arabs* in 1698; and in 1729 it was regained by the Portuguese. (*New Account of the East Indies*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1726.—*See also Astley*, vol. 3. p. 387.)

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"The Captaine generall thus come to the Barre of this Citie, did not then enter, for that it was almoſt night when he came to an ankor. But he commaunded to put foorth the Flagges, and to toll theyr Shippes; rejoycing and making great mirth for their good fortune, and hope they conceyued, that in that Iland there dwelled manye Chriſtians, and that the next daie they ſhould heare maſſe on the ſhore. Moreouer they were greatly comforted, as hauing confidence that in this place they might cure ſuch as were then ſicke, as in truth were almoſt all; in number but fewe, for the others were dead. Beeing thus at ankor, and the night almoſt approched, our men ſaw about an hundred in a great Barcke, euery one of them hauing a ſworde and a target; who, at comming to our ſhippes, woulde haue entered therein with all theyr weapons. Howbeit the Generall would not conſent thereto, neither permitted he anye more to enter than foure of them; declaring to them in their language, *that they ſhoulde pardon him, ſince he was a ſtraunger, and therefore coulde not tell whom he might truſt.* Vnto thoſe whom he gave licenſe to enter, he gave good and gentle entertainment, banketting the ſame with ſuch Conſerves as they had, whereof thoſe *Moores* did well eate; willing them not to deeme euill of him, for his denyall of their enteraunce in manner aforeſayde. Where-vnto they[d] aunſwered, *that theyr comming then was to ſee him, as a rare and new thing in theyr countrie; and that he ſhoulde not meruaile to ſee them bring theyr Weapons, ſince it was the cuſtome to carrie them, as well in peace, as in the time of warre.* Alſo they declared vnto the Generall, *that the King of Mombaça did vnderſtand of his comming, and for that it was ſo neere night, he had not then*

[d] The whole of this is ſomewhat different in Barros, *Os da Cidade tanto que houveram viſta dos Navios, mandáram logo a elles em hum barco quatro homens, que pareciam dos principaes; ſegundo vinham bem tratados: chegando a bordo, perguntáram, que gente era, e o que buſcavam?* (Ibid. Liv. 4. cap. 5.)

then sent to visit him; howbeit the next daie he would: and that as he was glad of his arrival there, so also would he be more glad to see him, yea, and to giue him Spices to load his Shippes. Futhermore they informed him, *that there were many Christians, which lived by themselues in that Iland.* Wherevpon the Generall was not onely joyfull, but also fullye perswaded that theyr Report was true; since the same was agreeable, and accorded with the information of the two Pilots: neuertheleſſe he carried some sparke of iealousie in his head, and for all theyr faire speaches and sugured talke, he wisely imagined, that those *Moores* came to see whether they might by anie traine take one of our Shippes. Wherein he gessed vpon the truth, for certeinly theyr comming then was onely for that purpose; as afterward it was made apparant. For most true it was, that the King of *Mombaça* had perfect intelligence that we were Christians, and also what we had done in *Moçambique;* and therefore he practised meanes to be reuenged of vs. Wherefore prosecuting his wicked intent the daie following, which was *Palme Sundaie*, he sent to our Generall certeine white *Moores;* which declared to him, *that theyr King was very glad of his comming thether; and if he would come into his Harbour, he would liberally giue him all things he stoode in neede of; and for assurance of the same, he sent him a Ring, a Sheepe, and many sweete Orenges, Cidrons, and Sugar Canes.* Wherefore the Generall receiued them very well, and gaue them certeine giftes; sending to the King greate thankes for his gentle and liberall offer, saieing further, *that the next daie he woulde come neerer in.* He sent also to the King a braunch of *Corall* verye fine; and for more assuraunce to confirme the same, he sent with those *Moores* two of our men, which were banished persons, and were carried of purpose to bee aduentured in such like respect of daunger.

Ch. III. § 2. Remained.

"When our men, and the two *Moores*, were come to the Shore, there met them a multitude of people; all which went with them,

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them, and viewed them euen to the King's Pallace. Where our men beeing entered, they passed through three doores before they came where the King was; at each of which there was a Porter attending, hauing euerye one of them a swoorde in his hand. They found the King but in small estate; neuertheless he receiued them verye well, and commaunded, that in the selfe same companie of *Moores* with whome they came, they should be * shewed the Citie. In going and viewing whereof, they sawe in the Streetes many men prisoners, and in Yrons; but because our men vnderstoode not theyr language, nor they had any vnderstanding of ours, there was no question demaunded what Prisoners those were: howbeit they beleeued the same to bee Christians.

"Moreouer they carryed our men to the Merchauntes House of the *Indias*, who both imbraced and banketted them; shewing them painted in a paper the figure of the Holy Ghost, which they did worshippe, and that with such a shew of greate deuotion, as though they were such men inwardlye, as in appearance outwardlye they then pretented. Furthermore, the *Moores* then tolde our men by signes, *that manye other Christians as those were, did dwell in another place farre from thence, and therefore they woulde not carrie them thether*: howbeit they sayde, *that after our Captaine generall were come into the Harbour, they shoulde goe and see them.* All these thinges those wilie people shewed to our men, of purpose to allure them within that Porte, where they were determined to destroy them.

"After they had seene the Citie, they were then brought to the presence of the King, who commaunded to shew them *Pepper*, *Ginger*, *Cloaues*, and *Wheate*, giuing them of euerye sorte thereof some portion to be carryed and shewed the Generall; and sent him worde

* *De Barros* says, the *Moors* were anxious that the *Portuguese* should see as little as possible. (Ibid.)

worde by his messenger, *that of all those Commodites he hadde greate Store, and woulde giue him his loading if that he woulde. Also that he had Golde, and Siluer, Amber, Wane, Iuorye, and other riches, in so great plentie, that hee shoulde haue when hee woulde, for lesse valour and prises than in anie other place.* This message was brought to our Captaine generall upon *Mundaye*; who hauing seene the Spices, and hearing of the Kinge his promise, was meruailous gladde of that offer: wherefore he and his Captaines immediatly aduised themselves thereof; and so entering into Counsel, it was by them thought good to come within the Porte. Thus hauing concluded, they determined to enter into Harbour the next daie. Ch. III. § 2. Emmanuel.

" In this meane while came certeine *Moores* to our Shippes, with so great quietnesse and humilitie, and with such shew and appearance of friendlinesse and loue, as though they had ben of long acquaintance with our men. The next daie in the morning, the floud being come, the Generall commaunded to take vp theyr ankors, minding to enter the harbour: but God, not willing that he and the rest should enter into that present mischiefe, nor to ende theyr liues in that place (as the *Moores* had determined they should haue done) did therefore prouide the meane that preuented that perill, and wrought theyr safetie. For when the Generalls's Shippe had wayed her ankor, and was going to enter the Porte, she strake upon a Shoel that was asterne the same; which hap when he perceiued, and fearing he should cast himselfe away, he then forthwith commaunded to let fall his ankor, and in like sort did the other Captaines also. Which chance when the *Moores* that were in the Shippes sawe, and that the Generall was come to an ankor, they then imagined, that during that daie they should not gette the Fleete into the Harbour; and therefore they ran to their Boate,

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which they had on the Shippe's ſide, to goe to the Citie. At which inſtant alſo the pilots of *Moçambique*, falling [f] a ſtearne the Admirall, tooke the Water, and thoſe of the Boates carried them away; although the Generall called vnto them, requiring them to bring backe, and deliuer them to him againe. But when he ſawe they would not ſo doe, then he apparantlye perceiued that ther was an euill meaning in theyr King, and them, towards him and [g] his. Thus hauing declared to all his company the opinion he conceiued, he then commaunded, the night beeing come, to giue Torture to two of the *Moores*, which he brought Captiues from *Moçambique*; thereby to ſee whether they had practiſed any treſon. Which commaundement being obſerued, by heating and dropping of bacon upon theyr fleſh, they immediately confeſſed they had conſpired treaſon; and that the Pilots tooke the Sea, as fearing the ſame had ben diſcloſed. Wherevpon the Generall altogether altered his purpoſe of going into that harbour. Neuertheleſſe being vnquiet, and greatly greeued at their falſhood, he was deſirous to vſe lyke torture to another *Moore* Captiue; but this Moore, perceiuing preperation made for that purpoſe, did caſt himſelfe, his hands being bound, into the Sea; as in lyke manner another of them did before it was daie light.

"The ſecrecie of the Miſchieſe prepared, beeing thus come to apparaunt view, the Generall gaue great thankes to God, by whoſe only goodneſſe, he and his company were delyuered from imminent death amongſt thoſe Infidels; and therefore, in thankeſgiuing for the ſame, he and his company ſayd the *Salue Regina*. After this, beeing

[f] *Barros* ſays *Os que eſtavam em o navio de Vaſco da Gama, vendo o que eſtes fazian, fizeram outro tanto: até o Piloto de Moçambique, que ſe lançou dos Caſtellos de Popa ao mar, tamanho foi o temor em todos.* (Ibid. Liv. 4. cap. 5.)

[g] D'Apres obſerves in a note to his Preface of the *Neptune Oriental*, that a ſimilar act of treachery at *Mombaça*, was planned againſt a French Frigate, called *Le Gloire*, in 1756.

beeing mindfull of theyr ſafetie, and fearing leaſt the *Moores* would attempt ſome matter againſt them in the Night time, they therefore ordained ſtrong and diligent watch, commaunding euerye man to watch armed. And heere by the way is to bee noted one thing, and that to bee meruayled at, which is this; that when our men came firſt before the towne of *Mombaça*, all ſuch as were ſicke, which indeede were many, began then preſently to be whole: ſo that in this time of theyr great neceſſitie, they found themſelves ſound and ſtrong. Which, as it was farre aboue the common Courſe of nature, ſo the more it appeared to be the ſupernaturall worke of God, miraculouſly done for the preſeruation of that poore diſtreſſed number, which then had theyr onely affiaunce in him.

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"The Watch thus prepared, and ſet for that night, it fortuned that thoſe which watched in the Shippe *Berrio*, felt the Gabell (cable) of the ſame wagging, whereat an ankor lay into the Sea; and at the firſt they adjudged that the *Gabell* had bene wagged, or ſhaken, by a kinde of fiſh called a *Tunnie*, whereof manye were there, about which bee very great and good meate. But giuing more attentiue eare thereto, they then perceiued that their enimies were at the ſame; who in truth did ſwimme about the Gabell, and were cutting of it with theyr woodkniues, or ſawchings; hoping, or rather verely knowing, that perfourming theyr enterpriſe thereof, the Shippe woulde runne aſhore, and ſo both ſhe and our men bee caſt away and taken. Howbeit, our men hauing diſcryed whereabout they were, preuented them, by crieng out to the other Shippes; wherevpon they of the Shippe *Raſael* came preſentlye to theyr ſuccour, finding ſome of theyr enimies amongeſt the cheines of the tacklings of theyr Formaſt. Who, perceiuing how they were diſcouered, ſodainly caſt themſelues vnder water, and with the others, that were cutting the *Gabell* of the ſhippe *Berrio*, fledde away, ſwimming to certaine Boates which they had lyeng ſome-

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what farre off; wherein (as our men afterward vnderstoode) were many *Moores*, who taking them in rowed fast awaye, and so retourned to the Citie. The *Wensdaye*, and *Thursdaye* following, our fleete still remained there; about which in the night time came the enimies in Boates, which alwayes lay harde by the shore, from which some of them did swimme of purpose to espie, if by anye meane they could cut a sunder the *Gabells* of the Ankors: but our men kept such diligent and warie watch, that they could not preuaile; neuertheless our men were greatlye troubled, and put in feare of burning theyr Shippes. For truly it was to be meruayled at, that the *Moores* came not about the same in such Shippes as they had; which if they had done, it had bene then lykely by all coniecture of man, that they should haue destroyed and killed us all. It was coniectured, that they beeing in feare of the ordinaunce in our Shippes, durst not giue attempt to set vpon the same by force; but, whatsouer cause appeared in our sightes to bee a lette in that respect to them, it was most certayne, that it was God his good will and fauour, to put theyr hearts in feare to deale with vs in anye forceable manner.

"The Captaine generall did [b] remaine before *Mombaça* the two daies, as before is declared, to see if he could haue from thence Pilots to carrie him to *Calicut*; for that without them it was verye hard to goe thether, since our Pilots had no knowledge of that Countrey. But when he sawe he coulde not haue anye there, he departed thence upon *Fridaye* in the morning with a small Winde. At the comming ouer the Barre he lefte behinde him one of his Ankors, for his men were so wearied with hailing vp the rest, that they coulde not waye vp the same: which afterward being

[b] Castanheda, cap. 10. *Osorius*, page 40. *Gibbs' Trans.* vol. 1. page 58. *Barros*, Decada 1. Liv. 4. cap. 5, and 6.

ing found ther by the *Moores*, was carried to the Citie, and placed harde by the King's Pallaice; and remained there at what time *Don Francisco d'Almeida* was the first *Viso-Rey* of the *Indias*, who when he tooke the same towne from the *Moores* found this Ankor there. Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

" Beeing thus departed from *Mombaça*, and passing on theyr Voiage eight leagues beyonde the same, the Generall and his Fleete, through lacke of Winde, came to an Ankor hard by the lande in the Night; and in the dawning of the daie they discouered [1] two *Zambuços* which are little Pinnacies, under the lye three leagues from the Fleete a Sea boord. Which when the Generall sawe, and beeing desirous to haue some Pilots to carrie him to *Calicut*, he supposed he might be sped of such to serue his turne, if he coulde take those small boates; and therfore, waying his ankors, he and the other Captaines went towards them, and pursued the same vntil euensong time: at which instant the Generall tooke one, but the other ranne alande, from whence before it came. In this *Zambuco* were seauenteene *Moores*, amongst which was one olde *Moore* who seemed to be master of the rest, hauing with him a young woman that was his wife. In the same also was found great store of Siluer, and Golde, and some Victualles.

" The Captaine, not stayeng vpon this occasion, foorthwith went forwarde, and in the selfe same dale with his whole Fleete came harde by *Melinde*; which is eighteene leagues from *Mombaça*,

[1] Osorius relates this somewhat different. *In via nauem Saracenorum capiunt, ex quibus* Gama *quatuórdecim tantùm vinctos habere voluit, reliquos autem missos fecit. Cum vero intellexit, vnum ex illis esse illorum patronum, qui præ se hominie authoritate grauis speciem ferebat, multo de illo quæsiuit: adque omnia, vt vir prudens, vere et considerate respondit, et de institutæ nauigationis ratione sapienter admonuit.* (P. 40. *Translation*, vol. 1. p. 58.) Barros says, *Partido Vasco da Gama daquelle lugar de perigo, ao seguinte dia achou dous Zambucos, que vinham pera aquella Cidade, de que tomáram hum com treze Mouros, porque os mais se lançáram ao mar, e delles soube como adiante estava huma Villa chamade Melinde, cujo rey era homem humano, per meio do qual podia haver Pilots pera a India. Vendo elle que perguntado cada hum destes á parte, todos concorriam na bondade del Rey de Melinde, e que no seu Porto ficavam tres, ou quatro Navios de Mercadores da India.* (*Ibid.* cap. 5.)

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baça, and in three degrees to the ſouthwarde. It hath no good Harbour, for that it is almoſt an open [k] Roade; but there is a certain Piere whereon the Sea doth beat, which is the cauſe why the Shippes doe ride far from the ſhore. This Citie ſtandeth in a broad field along the ſea ſide; and round about the ſame are many Palme trees, with many other ſorts of trees which all the yeare grow greene; alſo many gardens, and orchards, repleniſhed with all kind of hearbes and fruits, and very faire fountaines of good waters in the ſame: but principally theyr Orenges excel, which are not onely very great, but very ſweet and pleaſaunt in taſt. They haue alſo great ſtore and plentie of Victuals, as *Mylyo* and *Ryſe*; Cattell both greate and ſmall; alſo ſtore of Hennes, which bee very fat and good cheape. The Citie is great, hauing in the ſame faire ſtreets, and many faire houſes of lime and ſtone, builded with many lofts, with their windowes and tarriſis made of lime and earth. The naturall people of that Countrie are blacke, and of good proportion of bodie, with

[k] Such ſays Dr. Vincent (P. 220.) as are the *Ormoi* of the *Periplus*. See alſo Introduction p. 216.—The Coaſt, particularly near *Melinde*, is extremely dangerous and difficult of acceſs, being full of rocks and ſhelves. *Statio Navalis non eſt urbi propinqua. eſt enim Ora rupibus cincta, et procellis atque tempeſtatibus frequenter obnoxia. Id coegit Gamam in anchoris paulo longius ab urbe conſiſtere.* (Osorius, page 40.) The City of Melinda is ſituated in a plain; and the country is ſo thickly covered with Citron trees, as to perfume the air. A ſpecimen of the language of *Melinda* is given in the Lord's prayer by *Grammaye*,—*Aban ladi ſiſſan avari, et cades eſt moctati mala cutoca tacuna maſcitoca choma fiſſa*, &c. (Univ. Hiſt. *Modern*, vol. 12. p. 331.) The Voyage of *Captain Alexander Sharpey*, 1608, being the fourth that was ſent out by the Engliſh *Eaſt India Company*, may be compared with *Gama's*. (Purchas, vol. 1. p. 228. Aſtley, vol. 1. p. 336, and 344.) *Sharpey's* ſhip was aground on the coaſt of *Melinde*, and in the night; but by throwing all the ſails aback ſhe got off. *Le Grand* has a Diſſertation on the *Eaſtern coaſt of Africa, from Melinde, to the Strait of Babelmandib*, which is among thoſe tranſlated by *Dr. Johnſon*, and added to his Works by *Mr. Gleig*. (P. 220.) He deſcribes the Coaſt of Melinde as beginning at *Cape del Gado*, and extending to *Cape Guardaſui*: beyond the City of *Melinde* is the *Iſle of Lamo*, and near Lamo is the *Iſle of Pate*. Father *Jerome Lobo* tells us, that after he left *Pate*, he travelled along the Coaſt, part by ſea and part by land; but as he followed the courſe of the Shore, without daring to go far from the Sea Side, he could not tell us any thing of thoſe Nations which inhabit the country a little higher: the moſt conſiderable of theſe are the *Moſſegueios*, who are in alliance with the *Portugueſe*.

with curled haire. . . . In this Citie alſo dwel many Gentiles of the kingdome of *Cambaya*, which is in the *Indias*, and thoſe are greate Merchants, vſing trafficke for Golde, whereof there is ſome in that Countrie. The King of this Citie is a *Moore*, and is ſerued with farre greater eſtate then the other kings which remaine behinde. The Generall being come ouer againſt this Citie, did rejoyce in his heart very much, and ſo likewiſe did all the reſt of the Fleete; for that they now ſawe a Citie lyke vnto thoſe of *Portingale*; and therefore they rendered moſt heartie and humble thankes to God, for theyr good and ſafe arriual. Being deſirous to haue ſome Pilots to carrie them to *Calicut*, the Generall commaunded to come to an ankor; minding to aſſay, if he coulde by anye meanes obteine ſuch there as might ſerue for that purpoſe: for vntill this time he could not know of the *Moores* he had taken, whether amongeſt them were anye Pilots; who, albeit they were offered Torments, ſtill anſwered, there were none of them ſkilfull in that reſpect."—They however, according to *de Barros*, informed *Gama*, that the diſtance to *India* was about ſeven hundred leagues.

Ch. III. § 2. Emmanuel.

Caſtanheda [1] proceeds to relate, that on the next day, being *Eaſter Eve*, the old *Moor* who had been taken in the *Zambuco*, informed *Gama*, that if he would grant him permiſſion to go on ſhore, he would, as his ranſom, procure ſome Pilots, with ſuch ſupplies as the Ships wanted; and alſo added, that four Ships from *India* were in the port of *Melinde* commanded by *Chriſtians*, who in all probability would ſoon ſail [m] for *India*: theſe Merchants, as *de Barros* [n] informs us, came from *Cambaia*. In conſequence of this, the *Portugueſe* moved nearer the town, and came to anchor within half a league of it. Their capture of the *Zambuco* at firſt deterred any Boats from coming off, which

[1] Cap. xi. [m] Osorius, page 41. *Tranſlation*, vol. 1. p. 59.
[n] *Ibid.* Liv. 4. cap. 6.

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which induced *Gama*, who ſtill was apprehenſive, to land the old Moor on *Eaſter Monday* upon a Sand oppoſite the City. This had the deſired effect; the *Arabian* proved to be a perſon worthy of confidence, and a mutual good underſtanding immediately enſued, by his means, between the Subjects of the King of *Melinde*, and the Portugueſe. Upon which *da Gama* came the next day within the Port, and anchored cloſe by the four ſhips from *India*, whoſe Owners immediately viſited the *Portugueſe*. The whole of what follows, in the eleventh and twelfth chapters of *Caſtanheda*, is faithfully, and with more intereſt, given by *Camoens*:

" Right to the Port their courſe the * Fleet purſued;
And the glad dawn that Sacred Day renewed,
When, with the ſpoils of vanquiſhed death adorned,
To heaven the VICTOR OF THE TOMB returned.
And ſoon *Melinda*'s ſhore the ſailors ſpy;
From every maſt the purple ſtreamers fly:
Rich figured tap'ſtry now ſupplies the ſail,
The gold and ſcarlet tremble in the gale.
The Standard broad its brilliant hues bewrays,
And floating on the wind wide billowing plays.
Shrill through the air the quivering Trumpet ſounds,
And the rough Drum the rouſing march rebounds.
————Unawed by fear,
With warlike pomp adorned, himſelf ſincere,
Now in the Port the generous GAMA rides.
His ſtately Veſſels range their pitchy ſides
Around their Chief; the bowſprits nod the head,
And the barb'd anchors gripe the Harbour's bed.

Strait

* Mickle's *Luſiad*. (Book 2. vol. 1. p. 70—76.) The reader may perhaps be gratified by comparing this part of the *Luſiadas* with *Barros*. (Liv. 4. cap. 6.) *Seguindo Vaſco da Gama ſeu caminho com eſta preza de Mouros, ao outro dia, que era de Paſcoa da Reſurreição, indo com todolos navios embandeirados, e acompanha delles com grandes folias por ſolemnidade da feſta, chegou a Melinde. . . .*

Strait to the King, as friends to generous friends,
A captive Moor the valiant GAMA ſends.
The Luſian fame the King already knew;
What gulphs unknown the fleet had labour'd through,
What ſhelves, what tempeſts dared; his liberal mind
Exults the Captain's manly truſt to find.
With that ennobling worth, whoſe fond employ
Befriends the brave, the Monarch owns his joy;
Entreats the Leader, and his weary band,
To taſte the dews of ſweet repoſe on land,
And all the riches of his cultured fields
Obedient to the nod of Gama yields. . . .
What from the bluſtering winds and lengthening tide
Your Ships have ſuffered, ſhall be here ſupply'd.
Arms and proviſions I myſelf will ſend,
And great of ſkill, a Pilot ſhall attend.
So ſpoke the King: and now, with purpled ray,
Beneath the ſhining wave the god of day
Retiring, left the evening ſhades to ſpread,
When to the fleet, the joyful herald ſped:
To find ſuch friends each breaſt with rapture glows,
The feaſt is kindled, and the goblet flows.
The trembling Comet's imitated rays
Bound to the ſkies, and trail a ſparkling blaze.
The vaulting Bombs awake their ſleeping fire,
And like the Cyclops' bolts, to heaven aſpire.
The trump and fife's ſhrill clarion far around,
The glorious muſic of the fight reſound.
Nor leſs the joy *Melinda*'s ſons diſplay;
The Sulphur burſts in many an ardent ray,
And to the heaven aſcends in whizzing gyres,
Whilſt Ocean flames with artificial fires.
In feſtive war the ſea and land engage,
And echoing ſhouts confeſs the joyful rage. . .

 When

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When to the Fleet with many a ſounding oar
The [p] Monarch ſails; the natives crowd the ſhore:
Their various robes in one bright ſplendour join,
The purple blazes, and the gold-ſtripes ſhine.
Nor as ſtern warriors with the quivering lance,
Or moon-arch'd bow, *Melinda*'s ſons advance;
Green boughs of Palm with joyful hands they wave,
An omen of the meed that crowns the brave.
Fair was the ſhow the Royal Barge diſplay'd,
With many a flag of gliſtening ſilk array'd;
Whoſe various hues, as waving through the bay,
Return'd the luſtre of the riſing day:
And onward as they came, in ſovereign ſtate
The mighty King amid his princes ſate.
His robes the pomp of eaſtern ſplendour ſhow,
A proud tiara decks his lordly brow:
The various tiſſue ſhines in every fold,
The ſilken luſtre and the rays of gold.
His purple mantle boaſts the dye of Tyre,
And in the ſun beam glows with living fire.
A golden chain, the ſkilful artiſt's pride,
Hung from his neck; and glittering by his ſide
The dagger's hilt of ſtar-bright diamond ſhone,
The girding baldric burns with precious ſtone;
And precious ſtone in ſtuds of gold enchaſed,
The ſhaggy velvet of his buſkins graced.
Wide o'er his head, of various ſilks inlaid,
A fair umbrella caſt a grateful ſhade;

A band

[p] The reigning monarch of *Melinde* at this time ſeems to have governed for his father, who is repreſented as old and feeble. *Rex erat grandis admodum natu, et miti clementique natura præditus . . . Rex cùm valde cuperet Naves noſtras aſpicere, id morbo atque ſenio præpeditus aſſequi non potuit. Filius, qui iam vice illius imperium adminiſtrabat, ad naves magna hominum nobilium caterua ſtipatus adceſcit.* (OSORIUS. P. 41. *Gibb's Tranſ.* vol. 1. p. 59.)

A band of menials, bending o'er the prow,
Of horn wreath'd round the crooked trumpets blow;
And each attendant Barge aloud rebounds
A barbarous discord of rejoicing sounds.
With equal pomp the Captain leaves the Fleet
Melinda's Monarch on the tide to greet:
His barge nods on amidst a splendid train,
Himself adorn'd in all the pride of Spain.
With fair embroidery [9] shone his armed breast,
For polish'd steel supply'd the warrior's vest;
His sleeves, beneath, were silk of paly blue,
Above, more loose, the purple's brightest hue
Hung as a scarf, in equal gatherings roll'd,
With golden buttons and with loops of gold;
Bright in the sun the polish'd radiance burns,
And the dimm'd eye-ball from the lustre turns.
Of crimson satin, dazzling to behold,
His cassoc swell'd in many a curring fold;
The make was *Gallic*, but the lively bloom
Confest the labour of *Venetia*'s loom.
Gold was his sword, and warlike trowsers laced
With thongs of gold his manly legs embraced.
With graceful mein his cap aslant was turn'd;
The velvet cap a nodding plume adorn'd.
His noble aspect, and the purple's ray,
Amidst his train the gallant Chief bewray.
The various vestments of the warrior train,
Like flowers of various colours on the plain,

Attract

[9] *Camoëns* seems to have had in view the picture of *Gama*, which is thus described by *Faria y Sousa*: "He is painted with a black cap, cloak and breeches edged with velvet, all slashed, through which appears the crimson lining, the doublet of crimson satin, and over it his armour inlaid with gold."

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Attract the pleased beholder's wondering eye,
And with the splendor of the rainbow vie.
Now GAMA's bands the quivering trumpet blow;
Thick o'er the wave the crowding barges row,
The Moorish flags the curling waters sweep,
The Lusian mortars thunder o'er the deep.
Again the fiery roar heaven's concave tears,
The Moors astonished stop their wounded ears:
Again loud thunders rattle o'er the Bay,
And clouds of smoke wide-rolling dim the day;
The Captain's Barge the generous King ascends,
His arms the Chief enfold; the Captain bends
A reverence to the sceptered grandeur due.
In silent awe the Monarch's wondering view
Is fixt on VASCO's noble mien, the while
His thoughts with wonder weigh the Hero's toil."

Castanheda thus[5] proceeds: "Now hauing ended theyr talke, and confirmed the friendship betweene them, the King, then rowing amongest our Shippes, behelde the same with pleasure and admiration; out of which great store of Ordinaunce passed, wherewith they were greatlye delyghted: all which time our Generall went with him, to whom he declared, that he neuer sawe anye men of whom he tooke so great pleasure, as those of Portingall, whereof he woulde gladlye haue some with him, to helpe him in his Warres, which he hath sometime with his enimies. To which his speaches the Generall aunswered, *that if he had experience of theyr doings, he woulde then a great deale better lyke of them; and further that they would helpe him, if the King his master would sende his Shippes of Warre to Calicut: as he doubted not but he would, if it wer God his good pleasure to permit the same to be discouered.*

"After the King had in this sort solaced himselfe, he then desired the Generall, that since he would not go with him to his Citie, he

[5] Cap. 12.

he ſhould then let him haue two of his men, to go and ſee his Pallaice; and for pledge of the ſame, he would giue him his ſonne, and one of his chiefe Chaplaines, the which they call [r] *Cacis*. Wherevnto the Generall yeelded, and appointed two of our men to go with the King; who, at his departure, requeſted the Generall, that the next daie he would go along in his Boate hard by the Shore, where he ſhould ſee his Horſmen running; and ſo they parted for that time. The next daie, being *Thurſdaye*, the Captaine generall, and *Niculao Coelho*, went in theyr Boates armed along the Shore, the one ſomewhat diſtant from the other; betweene whom, vpon the Shore, were many men on horſebacke ſkirmiſhing. As our Boates approched, there came certeine footemen downe certeine ſtayres of ſtone from the king's houſe, which was in ſight, where they tooke the King vp in a Chaire, and carried him verye neere to the Boate of the Generall; to whom he ſpake verye louing Wordes, and once more requeſted him to enter vpon land, and go to his citie, *for that his father, beeing a lame man, was deſirous to ſee him; and that whileſt he ſhould remaine on ſhoare, both he and his children would enter and abide in his Shippes.* But our Generall fearing, leaſt under ſuch ſugred ſpeach ſome bitter baite might lie couered, did therefore ſtill excuſe himſelf for going on land, alleadging, *he muſt obey his Prince, who gaue him no licenſe ſo to do at anie time.* So taking his leaue of the King, he went a while hard by the Shippes of the *Indias*, ſhooting off much Ordinaunce. Who when they ſawe vs paſſe by lifted up theyr hands, ſaieng, *Chriſte! Chriſte!* and that night, with the King's licenſe, our men made them a great Feaſt, with much paſtime alſo of Squibs, Gunne Shot, and great and lowde cryes.

Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

"The Fleete thus lyeing in the Harbour, there came vpon the *Sundaye*, being the *twenty-firſt* daie of *Aprill*, from the King, a man that

[r] *Kádhi*, or *Kázi*, as the Turks and Perſians pronounce it.

BOOK I.

April, 1498.

that was in great credit with him to visite the Captaine generall. Who at that instant was very sad and heaule, for that it was then two daies since any man came to the fleet from the Citie: by reason whereof he feared, least that the King were offended with him, as taking occasion of offence, for that he refused to go on Shoare; supposing also, that he would therevpon breake the peace and league made between them, for which he was sorrowfull, especially since as yet he had no Pilots; and when he sawe, that he which was so great with the king did bring him no Pilots, he then began to haue some iealousie and suspition of the King. Who beeing informed thereof, and knowing the Generall remained there for that Cause, did therefore forthwith send him a Pilot, a Gentile, called in theyr language *Guzarate*, whose name was [1] *Canaca*; making excuse that he

[1] *De Barros*, and *Faria*, call this Pilot MALEMO CANA: the former adds, that he belonged to one of the *Indian Ships* which had arrived at *Melinde* from *Cambaia*, and shewed to *Gama* a Chart of the Indian coast, laid down with meridians and parallels very small, without having the Rhumbs of wind marked. This Pilot did not express any surprise on seeing the large wooden Astrolabe, and those of metal, which *Gama* used; since the Pilots in the *Red Sea* had been accustomed to Astronomical Instruments made of brass in a triangular form, and also to Quadrants. He added, that himself, and others who sailed from *Cambaia*, and the ports of *India*, sailed by the north and south Stars, and the Constellations in the eastern and western Hemisphere; that they did not employ the above Instruments in Navigation, but used one formed of three boards, after the same manner as the Portuguese made observations with the Balhestilha, or *Cross-staff*. This curious Passage may probably render some of my readers anxious to consult the original; which being scarce, has occasionally been cited: (*Decada* 1. Liv. 4. cap. 6.) *Entre os quaes vinha hum Mouro* GUZARATE *de nação chamado Malemo Cana, o qual assi pelo contentamento que teve da conversação dos nossos, como por comprazer a El-Rey, que buscava piloto para lhe dar, accepton querer ir com elles. Do saber do qual Vasco da Gama, depois que praticou com elle, ficou muito contente, principalmente quando lhe mostrou huma* CARTA *de toda a Costa da India arrumada ao modo dos Mouros, que era em* MERIDIANOS, *e* PARALLELOS *mui miudos sem outro Rumo dos Ventos; porque como o quadrado daquelles Meridianos, e Parallelos era mui pequeno, ficava a Costa per aquelles dous Rumos de Norte Sul, e Leste Oeste mui certa, sem ter aquella multiplicação de Ventos, d'agulha commum da nossa Carta, que serve de rain das outras. E amostrandolhe Vasco da Gama o Grande Astrolabio de páo que levava, e outros de metal, com que tomava a altura do Sol, não se espantou o Mouro disso, dizendo, que alguns Pilotos do Mar Roxo usavam de Instrumentos de Latão de figura triangular, e Quadrantes, com que tomavam a altura do Sol, e principalmente*

he had not ſent him ſooner; and ſo the King and Generall remained friends, and continued the peace before concluded upon betweene them." Oſorius adds, the King made *Gama* promiſe to ſtop at *Melinde* on his return, that an ambaſſador might be ſent to Liſbon, and an alliance formed between the Kings of *Melinde* and [1] *Portugal.* Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

With the thirteenth chapter of *Caſtanheda*, which relates the arrival of Gama at *Calicut*, the firſt book, or great diviſion of the progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery is completed.—*Barros* informs us, that before the *Portugueſe* left *Melinde*, Gama, as was cuſtomary, placed in that city with the King's permiſſion a Stone Pillar, or *Padrão*, to which he gave the name of *Sancto Eſpirito.*

"The Captaine generall beeing thus prouided of all things neceſſarie for his Voiage, departed from *Melinde* on [2] *Fridaye* the *twenty-fourth* daie of Aprill, and from thence he began to cut ouer a Goulfe, which is of 750 [3] leagues; for the Lande there doth make a certeine great

cipalmente da Eſtrella, de que ſe mais ſerviam em a navegação. Mas que elle, e os Marcantes de Cambaia, e de toda a India, però que a ſua navegação era per certas Eſtrellas, aſſi do Norte, como do Sul, e outras notaveis, que curſaram per meio do Ceo de Oriente a Ponente, não tomavam a ſua diſtancia per inſtrumentos ſemelhantes áquelles, mas per outro de que ſe elle ſervia, o qual Inſtrumento lhe trouue logo a moſtrar, que era de tres taboas.

[1] In the year 1790, Father *John de Souza* publiſhed a curious Collection of Papers entitled *Documentos Arabicos*, which he tranſlated into Portugueſe by permiſſion of her majeſty, from the Original Arabic MSS. depoſited in the Royal Archives of Liſbon. They chiefly conſiſt of copies of Letters, that paſſed between the Kings of *Portugal*, and the tributary Princes of *India* in the ſixteenth century. Among theſe is a letter from a king of *Melinde* to *Emmanuel*, the contents of which are given by Mr. Murphy, (*Travels in Portugal*, page 235.) The *Xeque Wagerage* was lord of *Melinde* when *Gama* afterwards concluded an alliance with him, and carried his ambaſſador to Portugal.

[2] Oſorius, (page 42. *Tranſlation*, vol. 1. p. 60.) Lichefield has inadvertently ſaid *Tewſdaye* the 22d of Aprile; in which he is neither juſtified by *Caſtanheda*, nor *de Barros*, who both make it the twenty-fourth of April.

[3] Barros ſays, *E atraveſſando aquelle grande golfo de ſetecentas leguas que ha de huma á outra coſta, per eſpaço de vinte dous dias.* (Ibid. cap. 6.)

BOOK I.

May, 1498.

great valley, which doth runne along the [7] Coast from the north to the south, and our Voiage, in demaunding of *Calicut*, lay to the Eastward. In following whereof, the next *Sundaye* our men sawe the [8] North, which a long time before they had not seene, and also they sawe the South; of which good fortune they thanked God, in that it represented, as then to them, Winter of the *Indias*; and where alwaies in that Goulfe are great Stormes, they now found none but rather faire weather. The *Fridaye*, being the seuenteenth daie of *May*, and *twenty-two* [9] daies next after theyr departing from *Melinde*, in which time they had seene no lande, they then discouered and came to sight of lande; and the Fleete beeing eight leagues of seaboord from the Shoare, the lande seemed high; theyr Pilot did as then let fall the Plommet, and found fortie-five fathom. Whereupon to auoide and apart himselfe from that Coast, he made his way to the South-East, and vpon *Saterdaye* he made to landward; howbeit

[7] *Osorius* thus describes their passage through the Indian Ocean: *Soluit inde Gama x Kalen. Maij. Quanquam autem nostri Orientem versus nauigarent, cursum tamen ad Septentrionem inflectebant. Intra paucos autem dies, regionem circulo æquinoctiali subiectam, peragrant, atque rursus Sydera, quæ tam multos menses latuerant, cum voluptate conspiciunt. Ursa maierem et minorem, et Oriona, et reliqua quæ circa polum Arcticum exiguum orbem conficiunt, oculis usurpant. Pelagus deinde maximum, cuius intimo recessu Septentrionem versus multæ Æthiopiæ, et Arabiæ, et Caramaniæ partes aluuntur, tempestate admodum secunda transmittunt.* (P. 42. *Transl.* p. 60.)

[8] A circumstance in the Letters of AMERICO VESPUCCI deserves remark. After having past the Line, he says, "*E come desideroso d'essere Autore che segnassi la Stella*, desirous to be the namer and discoverer of the Pole Star of the other hemisphere, I lost my sleep many nights in contemplating the Stars of the other Pole." He then laments, that as his Instruments could not discover any Star of less motion than ten degrees, he had not the satisfaction to give *a Name* to any one. But as he observed four Stars in form of an Almond (*The Cross of Cada Mosto*) which had but little motion, he hoped in his next Voyage he should be able to mark them out. All this is truly curious, and affords a good comment on the temper of the man who had the art to defraud *Columbus*, by giving his own name to *America*, of which he challenged the discovery. Near fifty Years before the Voyage of *Americo Vespucci* the Portuguese had crossed the Line; and *Diaz* fourteen, and *Gama* near three years before, had doubled the Cape of Good Hope. (*Mickle.*)

[9] *Litchefield* says *twenty-three*.

beit he ranne not ſo neere the ſame as he might certeinly knowe it, but he perceiued by ſmall ſhowres of raine, which fell as they made towards lande, that they were on the Coaſt of the *Indias*; for at that preſent time of the Yere the Winter is euer in thoſe *Indias*. Ch. III. § 2. *Emmanuel.*

" *Sundaye*, beeing the *twentieth* daie of *May*, the Pilot ſawe certeine high hills which were ouer the Citie of *Calicut*, and came ſo neere to Lande that he did reknowledge the ſame; and with great joy demaunded his [b] reward of the Generall, ſaieng, *that this was the Lande, which he and his companie ſo greatly deſired to ſee, and come to.* The [c] Generall repleniſhed with ioy of that good fortune, gaue *Canaca* his demaund, and forthwith went to Praier, ſaieng *the Salue*, wherein they gaue God greate thanks, for this theyr happie and ſafe arriuall upon that Coaſt, and in ſight of the place which they ſo earneſtly longed for to ſee. When Praier was done they made great joy, and feaſted on ſhipboord; and the ſelf ſame daie, in the euening, the Generall came to an ankor two leagues from *Calicut*. Immediatly came certeine people of that lande in fowre Boates called *Almaydyas* to our Fleete, to vnderſtand what Shippes theſe were, hauing neuer before ſeene anye of that making come to that Coaſt. Theſe people are browne. At theyr comming to vs ſome of them entered into the Generall's Shippe, and albeit the Pilot *Guzarate* tolde him that they were Fiſhermen, a poore kinde of people, for ſo they call all ſuch as bee poore men in the *Indias*; yet he receyued them all well, and commaunded his men to buye of

[b] In the original, *E no Domingo, vinte d' Mayo, vio ho Piloto hũas ſerras muyto altas q eſtão ſobre a Cidade d' Calicut . . . e com muyto Prazer pedio alviſaras a Vaſco da Gama.* (Caſtanheda, tom. 1. cap. 13. p. 27.)

[c] *Oſorius* adds, that *Gama* on this occaſion releaſed all his priſoners who were in fetters that every one might partake of his happineſs.

BOOK I.

May, 1498.

of theyr fish. Hauing some talke with them he did vnderstand that towne was not *Calicut*, for it was they said further off, and offered to carrie our fleete thether. Wherevpon the Generall required them so to doe; and therewith departed thence, and was brought by those fishermen to *Calicut*, which is a Citie scituated on the Coast of *Malabar*, a prouince of the second *Indias*, that hath his beginning in the Mount *Dely*, and endeth at *Cabo de Comorim*."

" Now Morn, serene in dappled grey, arose
O'er the fair Lawns where murmuring *Ganges* flows;
Pale shone the Wave beneath the golden beam;
Blue o'er the silver flood MALABRIA's mountains gleam.
The Sailors on the Main-top's airy round,
LAND! LAND! aloud, with waving hands, resound.
Aloud the Pilot of *Melinda* cries,
Behold O Chief the shores of India *rise!*
Elate the joyful Crew on tip-toe trod,
And every breast with swelling raptures glow'd.
GAMA's great soul confest the rushing swell,
Prone on his manly knees the Hero fell:
Oh bounteous Heaven! he cries, and spreads his hands
To bounteous Heaven, while boundless joy commands
No farther word to flow. In wonder lost,
As one in horrid Dreams through whirlpools tost,
Now snatch'd by demons rides the flaming air,
And howls, and hears the howlings of despair;
Awaked, amazed, confused with transport glows,
And, trembling still, with troubled joy o'erflows;
So, yet affected with the sickly weight
Left by the horrors of the dreary Night;
The Hero wakes in raptures, to behold
The *Indian* Shores before his Prows unfold.

O GLORIOUS CHIEF! WHILE STORMS AND OCEANS RAVED,
WHAT HOPELESS TOILS THY DAUNTLESS VALOUR BRAVED!
BY TOILS LIKE THINE THE BRAVE ASCEND TO HEAVEN;
BY TOILS LIKE THINE IMMORTAL FAME IS * GIVEN!"

* Mickle's Lusiad, vol. 2. book 6. p. 125.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Published Jan.y 1, 1808, by Cadell & Davies Strand.

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VOL. I

APPENDIX:

SCARCE AND DETACHED TREATISES WHICH HAVE A REFERENCE TO THE SUBJECT OF THE PRECEDING PAGES.—ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.—MEMOIR OF THE DIFFERENT METHODS THAT HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE HEALTH OF SEAMEN.—ESSAYS ON PHILOSOPHICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS AS EMPLOYED FOR THE PURPOSES OF NAVIGATION.—NEW INVENTIONS.—EXPLANATORY CATALOGUE OF VOYAGES, AND OTHER WORKS CONNECTED WITH THE PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY.

*** ANTONIO GALVANO, the celebrated author of the following Treatise, was a natural son of Edward Galvano, born in the East Indies. Having obtained the government of the Molucca Islands, he soon distinguished himself by a signal victory over 20,000 men, with the very inferior force of * 350. His attention was next directed towards the depredations of the Corsairs; and, with so much success, that the adjoining parts of the Indian Ocean were rendered entirely secure for the Commerce of the Portuguese. His humanity towards the natives, and his continued anxiety to instruct them respecting the consolatory doctrines of Christianity, are recorded to the honour of Galvano, and Portugal. Nor was he at the same time inattentive to its political interests: 500,000 *crusades* were added by his industry to the royal revenue of John the Third. Such distinguished merit was not however rewarded in this world: the humane disposition of Galvano involved him in pecuniary distress; and though the sums he had expended in the service of religion, amounting to 70,000 *crusades*, gained him the title of *the Apostle of the Moluccas*, he endured, without procuring relief, an embarrassment and poverty, which his compassion towards others had occasioned. Poor and neglected, he at length sought for consolation in the bosom of his country, where he arrived in 1540: but the only asylum, which this distinguished governor of the Moluccas could secure, was the *Hopital de Lisbon*, where he died during the year 1557.—The same epitaph may be inscribed on the tomb-stones of *Antonio Galvano* and *Camoens*: and though the statesman might blush at its perusal, the injudicious expectation of an ambitious mind would thus be humbled and repressed. —Galvano wrote *an History of the Molucca Islands*, which is lost. In 1555, his *Account of the different routes, by which the merchandise of India has been conveyed to Europe*, was printed at Lisbon.

* Historians differ as to the exact number; see page 8 of this Appendix.

THE

DISCOVERIES

OF

THE WORLD

FROM

THEIR FIRST ORIGINAL,

UNTO

THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1555.

WRITTEN IN PORTUGUESE,

By ANTONIO GALVANO.

Published by the Rev. RICHARD HAKLUYT, *Student of Christ-Church in Oxford; and afterwards inserted in Churchill's Collection of Voyages.*

THIS ancient piece comes well recommended, and deserves both our preservation and attention: as well on account of the author, who was no less than the famous Antonio Galvano, whose praise to this day is deservingly commemorated among his thankful countrymen, and succinctly collected from ancient authors, by Mr. Hakluyt, in the following epistle dedicatory: as again, on account of the translator, who was descended from an ancient family at Yetton in Herefordshire, and educated at Westminster-school: from whence, being elected a student of Christ-Church in Oxford, he took his batchelor and master of arts degrees; and at last, entering into holy orders, he first was made prebendary of Bristol, and afterwards of Westminster, and rector of Wetheringset in Suffolk, in the room of Dr. Richard Webster. Besides this translation, which gives us a proof of his capacity in the Portuguese tongue, he illustrated Peter Martyr Anglericus's eight decads de Novo Orbe, with curious notes; translated also from the Portuguese, Virginia, richly valued by the description of the main land of Florida, her next neighbour; and wrote notes of certain commodities in good request in the East-Indies, the Moluccas, and China. But what has most perpetuated his name, is his great pains and judgment in collecting English Voyages, Navigations, Traffics, and Discoveries.

Our famous Camden played the poet on this occasion, and adorned that collection with the following commendation in Latin verse:

In eximium opus R. Hakluyti de Anglorum ad disjunctissimas regiones navigationibus G. Camdeni hexasticon.

Anglia, quæ penitus toto discluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, parvus et orbis erat.
Nunc cum sepositos alios detexerit orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, orbis et orbis erat.
At quid, Haklute, tibi monstranti hæc debeat orbis?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR *ROBERT CECILL* KNIGHT,

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO HER MAJESTY, MASTER OF THE COURT OF WARDS AND LIVERIES, THE WORTHY CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, AND ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY-COUNCIL.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—While I went about to publish our English voyages and discoveries, I was advised by Mr. Walter Cope, a gentleman of rare and excellent parts, to draw them into a short sum; adding, that in his opinion that course would prove most acceptable to the world, especially to men of great action and employment. Although, in that work then under the press, I could not conveniently alter my course; yet holding his advice, as in many things else, so in this for sound and very good, I here present unto your honour a brief treatise, most agreeable to the same. The author whereof was one Antonio Galvano, a Portugal gentleman; of whose piety towards God, equity towards men, fidelity to his prince, love to his country, skill in sea causes, experience in histories, liberality towards his nation; vigilance, valour, wisdom, and diligence in restoring and settling the decayed state of the isles of Moluccas (where he remained six or seven years governor), if it please your honour to read Fernando Lopez de Castagneda, or Joannes Maffeius, in their histories of the East-Indies; you shall find more written in his singular commendation, than a large epistle can well comprehend.

The work, though small in bulk, containeth so much rare and profitable matter, as I know not where to seek the like within so narrow and strait a compass. For herein is orderly declared, who were the first discoverers of the world, since the time of the flood; by what ways, from age to age, the spicery, drugs, and riches of the East were conveyed into the West; what were the causes of the alterations of those courses, as namely, the changes of empires and governments; the ceasing of all traffic for many years by the Goths' invasion of the Roman Empire; the rising up of the Mahometan sect, with their overrunning of Africa and Spain; the renewing again, after many years' disturbance, of the traffic and intercourse of the East-Indies; first, by the califs of the aforesaid sect, and eftsoons by the Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines. Then followeth the taking of Ceuta in Barbary by John, the first king of Portugal of that name, in the year of our Lord 1415; whose third son Don Henry (which he had by the virtuous lady Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, and sister to Henry the fourth,

king

king of England) was the firſt beginner of all the Portugal diſcoveries, and continued the ſame for the ſpace of forty and three years, even to his dying day. By whoſe encouragement the kings of Portugal found out, with much patience and conſtancy, the laſt way of the bringing the ſpicery into Europe by the cape of Buona Sperança; and for theſe hundred years paſt have become the chief lords of the riches of the Orient. By emulation of which their good endeavours, the Antiles and the Weſt-Indies began to be diſcovered by the kings of Spain. The infancies of both which moſt important enterprizes; the progreſs of the ſame from time to time; the diſcoveries of iſlands, rivers, bays, and harbours; of many rich provinces, kingdoms, and countries; the erecting of caſtles in ſundry convenient iſlands and places, with the drawing of traffic unto the ſame; where, when, by whom, and by whoſe authority, is here ſuccinctly and faithfully recorded. So that if it pleaſe your honour, at your convenient leiſure, to take a ſea-chart, or a map of the world; and carry your eye upon the coaſt of Africa from Cape de Non, lying on the main, in twenty-nine degrees of northerly latitude, and follow the ſhore about the cape of Buona Sperança, till you come to the mouth of the Red-Sea; and paſſing thence along by the country of Arabia, croſs over to India, and doubling Cape Comory, compaſs the gulph of Bengala; and ſhooting by the city of Malacca, through the ſtreight of Cincapura, coaſt all the ſouth of Aſia to the north-eaſt part of China, and comprehend in this view all the iſlands from the Açores and Madera in the weſt, to the Moluccas, the Philippinas, and Japan in the eaſt; you ſhall here find, by order, who were the firſt diſcoverers, conquerors, and planters in every place; as alſo the natures and commodities of the ſoils, together with the forces, qualities, and conditions of the inhabitants; and that which I mention of the Orient, is likewiſe to be underſtood of the Occident.

Now, touching the tranſlation, it may pleaſe you, Sir, to be advertiſed, that it was firſt done into our language by ſome honeſt and well-affected merchant of our nation, whoſe name by no means I could attain unto, and that as it ſeemeth many years ago; for it hath lien by me above theſe twelve years. In all which ſpace, though I have made much enquiry, and ſent to Liſbon, where it ſeemeth it was printed, yet to this day I could never obtain the original copy, whereby I might reform the manifold errors of the tranſlator: For, whereas a good tranſlator ought to be well acquainted with the propriety of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he tranſlateth, and thirdly, with the ſubject or matter itſelf; I found this tranſlator very defective in all three, eſpecially in the laſt. For the ſupplying of whoſe defects I had none other remedy, but to have recourſe unto the original hiſtories (which, as it appeareth, are very many, and many of them exceeding rare and hard to come by), out of which the author himſelf drew the greateſt part of this diſcourſe. And, in very deed, it coſt me more travail to find out the grounds thereof, and to annex the marginal quotations unto the work, than the tranſlation of many ſuch books would have put me unto. Of which quotations there is yet a farther uſe; to wit, that ſuch as have leiſure ſufficient, and are deſirous to read theſe things more at large (for brevity oftentimes breedeth obſcurity), may fully ſatisfy their deſires, by having recourſe by the help thereof to the

pure

pure fountains, out of which thoſe waters which are drawn are for the moſt part moſt ſweet and wholſome. Now, if any man ſhall marvel that in theſe diſcoveries of the world, for the ſpace almoſt of four thouſand years here ſet down, our nation is ſcarce four times mentioned, he is to underſtand, that when this author ended this diſcourſe, (which was about the year of grace * 1555,) there was little extant of our men's travels. And for aught I can ſee, there had no great matter yet come to light, if myſelf had not undertaken that heavy burden; being never therein entertained to any purpoſe, until I had recourſe unto yourſelf, by whoſe ſpecial favour, and bountiful patronage, I have been often much encouraged, and as it were revived. Which travels of our men, becauſe as yet they be not come to ripeneſs, and have been made, for the moſt part, to places firſt diſcovered by others; when they ſhall come to more perfection, and become more profitable to the adventurers, will then be more fit to be reduced into brief epitomes by myſelf, or ſome other endued with an honeſt zeal of the honour of our country. In the mean ſeaſon, nothing doubting of your favourable acceptation of this my labour, I humbly beſeech the author of all goodneſs to repleniſh and enrich you with his beſt bleſſings, long to protect and preſerve your honour to the profitable ſervice of her majeſty, and to the common benefit and good of the realm.

Your Honour's chaplain,

In all duty, moſt ready to be commanded,

RICHARD HAKLUYT.

From London, this 29 Oct. 1601.

* Second year of Queen Mary's reign.

FRANCIS DE SOUSA TAVARES,

UNTO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE

DON *JOHN* DUKE OF AVEIRO.

ANTONIO GALVANO upon his death-bed left unto me, in his teſtament, among his papers, this book; and becauſe I am certain he ordained it to be preſented unto your grace, I have thought good herein to fulfil his will and teſtament, though in other things I have done nothing, the fault remaining not in me. And by all reaſon this treaty ought to be ſet forth by a Portugal, ſeeing it treateth of the variable ways from whence the pepper and ſpices came, in times paſt, into our parts, and alſo of all the navigations and diſcoveries in the old time; in both of which things the Portugals have moſt travelled. In this treatiſe, and in nine or ten books of things, touching Molucca and India (which the cardinal willed me to give to Damian de Goes, ſaying that he ſhould content me, for otherwiſe I could not deliver them), this true Portugal occupied himſelf againſt the unfortunate and ſorrowful times which he had been in, which were all ended before all our days and times; for when he received the captainſhip and fortreſſes of Molucca, all the kings and governors of all the iſlands about, being agreed to make war againſt the Portugals, until ſuch time as they might drive them all out of the country; he fought againſt them all with only an hundred and thirty Portugals, when they were all together, and ſtrong in Tidore; and he gave them the overthrow, and killed their king, and one Ternate, the principal author of that war; and he took their fortreſs: ſo upon this victory they ſubmitted themſelves, and came under the obeiſance and ſervice of our king of Portugal. Herein two things happened of great admiration; the firſt, that all the kings and governors of Molucca agreed together againſt us, a thing that never fell out, nor yet credible to be like to happen; for they are ever at variance among themſelves: the ſecond, that the captain of Molucca, with only his ordinary ſoldiers, ſhould have the victory againſt ſo many being all together. For ſometimes it happeneth, that ſome of the captains of Molucca, with many extraordinary ſoldiers, beſides their ordinary, yea, and with the aid of all the kings and lords of Molucca in their favour and aid, went againſt one king only of them, and came back again with loſs. So there may be reckoned three notable things done in India, I ſay of quality (but of more quantity and importance there have been others); which were, the taking of Muar by Emanuel Falcon, and

the winning of Bitam by Peter Mascarenas, and this, whereof we presently treat. For all these three deeds seemed to be impossible to be atchieved; considering, the small quantity of soldiers which the captains had in gaining the enterprize against so many; with the order and manner by them ordained, how and which ways to obtain their purpose, as well by their enemies as by themselves. And they could not be atchieved otherwise, but by using a mean, and order, not thought of at the first by the Portugals, nor yet ever suspected by their enemies. And, besides this, his father and four of his brethren were all slain in the king's service; and he now, being the last of his lineage, carried with him into Molucca about ten thousand crusadoes: which he spent not in idleness, nor yet in play, but only in bringing of many kings, and innumerable towns, unto our holy faith; and in the preserving of Molucca, employing all his power and strength, that all the cloves might come unto the hands of the king's highness: which, with Molucca, yielded unto him every year five hundred thousand crusadoes; being all to his great prejudice, let, and hindrance. For if he had gathered cloves for himself, as the captains of Molucca have done, then he had come home very rich. But when he came home into Portugal, in great hope (such is the simplicity of the best natures) to be rewarded for his good service; and to be more favoured and honoured, than if he had brought home with him an hundred thousand crusadoes; he was greatly deceived. For he found neither favour, nor yet honour; but only among the poor and miserable, to wit, in an hospital, where he was kept seventeen years, until the hour of his death: and there he had allowed unto him his winding-sheet to bury him in: and the brotherhood of the convent prepared for his burial as for a poor courtier, cast off by all men, leaving himself indebted in two thousand crusadoes, whereof part came out of India, and part thereof many of his friends had lent him to maintain him in the hospital: for in all these seventeen years he had not of his highness to help himself with, so much as one rial of plate; nor yet of the books which I delivered, received any thing to discharge his will with. Yet for all this, even as upon the prosperity of his victories, he never made any boast, so likewise, in his adversities, his great stomach did nothing abate his heart. As there are good proofs, that with so many, and so continual disgraces as he suffered, he never, unto the hour of his death, left off to raise and augment the yearly rent unto a Counto; which some made strange, and would not give ear unto: so that even as he was extreme painful in the performance of his service, so he was the like in the things sounding unto the perfecting of the same; which was the cause, that he was brought unto the state that he died in. For he could not see the quality of the time, but only those of his great service, by reason of the great charges that it stood him in. And his saying was, that he was born, not to say that his constellation was in the wars victorious; but in the overcoming of kings by the art of warfare; readiness in resolving; prudence in conserving; and great loyalty and patience; with many services unto his king and master. In which of all these he had most contentation, it cannot easily be determined. Wherefore your Noble Grace may see, that this treaty and the others were made with signs and afflictions; which his inferior will might have raised up in him, against his superior

rior reason. Neither was he willing to take for his remedy that which that great Turk Zelim, son to the great Mahomet, did (for he took Constantinople, and died in Rome), who used to make himself drunk, because he would not remember the great estate which he lost: nor yet would he give ear unto those things which many of his friends would tell him, wishing he would settle his mind out of the kingdom (for otherwise he should never be able to live): whereunto he answered, that in this point he would rather be compared unto the great Timocles the Athenian, than to be like the excellent Roman Coriolanus. Which is a goodly example of a true and faithful Portugal. (Though it were not so as I do say, yet I hear, that the hospitals are full of the most faithful subjects to their prince and country.) Wherefore, by all reason, this treatise ought to be of your grace favoured; setting apart all oversights, if there be any, in this work of the author, I being not able to attain unto the understanding of the contrary. God prosper your Grace with long life, and increase of honour.

*** The translation of the following work by Hakluyt, was first printed separately in one volume quarto: a copy of which is in the valuable library of Alexander Dalrymple, Esq.

THE

Excellent Treatise

OF

Antonio Galvano,

Containing the most Antient and Modern Discoveries of the World, especially by Navigation, according to the Course of Times, from the Flood until the Year of Grace 1555.

WHILE I had a desire to gather together some old and some new discoveries, which have been made by sea and by land, with their just times and situations; they seemed to be two things of so great difficulty, that being confused in the authors of them, I determined once to desist from any such purpose. For, touching the course of time, the Hebrews declare, that from the beginning of the world to the flood were 1656 years. The seventy interpreters make mention of 2242. And St. Augustine reckoneth 2262. In the situations likewise there be many differences; for there never sailed together in one fleet at sea, from ten pilots to the number of an hundred, but that some of them found themselves, by reckoning, in one longitude, and other some in another: but, considering better with myself, that the difficulties are opened, and the differences amended, by others of more exact judgment and understanding therein, I purposed notwithstanding to proceed in this Work of Discoveries.

August. de Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 20.

Some there are that say that the world hath fully been discovered; and they allege this reason—that as it hath been peopled and inhabited, so it might be frequented and navigable; and the rather, for that the men in that age were of a longer life, and of laws and languages almost one.

There be others of a contrary opinion to this; holding that all the earth could not be known, nor the people conversant one with another: for though it had been so once, yet the same would have been lost again by the malice of men, and the want of justice among the inhabitants of the earth. But because the best and most famous Discoveries were made by Sea, and that principally in our times, I desire to know who were the first discoverers since the time of the flood.

Some affirm that they were the Greeks; others say, the Phœnicians; others also the Egyptians. The people of India agree not hereunto, affirming that they were the first that sailed by sea; namely, the Tabencos, which now we call the Chinois. And they allege for the proof of this that they are the lords of the Indies; even unto the cape of Bona Sperança, and the island of St. Laurence, which is inhabited by them,

and all along the ſea; as alſo the Javaes, Timores, Celebes, Macaſares, Moluccas, Borneos, Mindanaos, Luçones, Lequeos, Japones, and other iſlands, being many in number; and the firm lands of Cauchin-China, Laos, Bramas, Pegu, Arracones, till you come unto Bengala: and beſides this, New Spain, Peru, Braſil, the Antiles, with the reſt adjoining unto them; as appeareth by the faſhions and manners of the men and women, and by their proportions, having ſmall eyes, flat noſes, with other proportions to be ſeen. And to this day many of theſe iſlands and countries are called by the names of Bato-China, Bocho-China; which is as much as to ſay the countries of China. Further it appeareth by hiſtories, that the ark of Noe reſted upon the north parts of the mountains of Armenia, which ſtands in forty degrees and upwards; and that immediately thereupon Scythia was firſt peopled, for that it is an high land, and appeared firſt after the flood. And ſeeing the province and country of the Tabencos is one of the chiefeſt of all Tartary, as they report, it is to be thought that they were of the moſt ancient inhabitants, and men of the moſt ancient navigations; the ſeas being as calm, as the rivers be, in thoſe parts lying between the tropics, where the days and nights do not much differ, as well in the hours as in the temperature; where blow no outrageous winds to cauſe the waters to riſe, or to be troubled. And by late experience it is found, that the ſmall barques wherein they ſail, have only a great high bough in the midſt of the barque, ſtanding inſtead both of maſt and ſail: and the maſter holdeth only an oar in his hand to ſtear withal; and ſo they ſail ſwiftly along the coaſt: and the reſt of the paſſengers ſit only upon certain poles, which are faſtened in the barque, which they call Catamarones, and ſo they paſs without rowing.

It is further ſaid, that the people of China were ſometime lords of the moſt part of Scythia, and ſailed ordinarily along that coaſt, which ſeemeth to reach unto ſeventy degrees towards the north. Cornelius Nepos is the author of this; who particularly affirmeth—that in the time Metellus the fellow-conſul of Afranius was pro-conſul in France, the king of Suevia ſent unto him certain Indians, which came thither in a ſhip from this country, coming by the north, and by the flats of Germany. And it is probable that they were people of China; for that they from twenty, thirty, and forty degrees upwards have ſtrong ſhips and clinchers that can well brook the ſeas, and endure the cold and intemperature of ſuch northerly regions. As for Cambaia, there is ſhipping alſo in it; and the people, by report, have uſed the ſeas many years: but it ſeemeth not that they were any of them which came into France; for that they traffic only to Cairo, and are men indeed of little traffic and leſs clothing.

Pomponius Mela, l. 3. Plinius, l. 2. c. 67.

As for thoſe which eſcaped the deſtruction of the flood, they were ſo amazed, that they durſt not deſcend into the plains and low countries, but kept the hills. And we read of Nimrod, who, an hundred and thirty years after the flood, built the Tower of Babel, intending thereby to ſave himſelf, if there ſhould come any more ſuch floods.

Joſeph. Antiquit. Judaic. l. 1 c. 5.

Therefore it ſeemeth, that they which firſt came to be Sailors, were thoſe which dwell in the Eaſt, in the province of China; although others, contrarywiſe, hold them which

which dwell in the Weſt, as in Syria, to have uſed the trade of the ſea ſooneſt after the flood. But this contention about the antiquity of Navigation I leave to the Scythians and Egyptians, who were at great variance and difference in this matter; for each of them challenged unto themſelves the honour of the firſt ſea travel. But omitting all jars and differences thereabouts, I will apply myſelf to my purpoſed diſcourſe, and ſpeak of that which hiſtories have left in record. Juſtinus, lib. 1.

There are ſome well ſeen in antiquities, which ſay, that in the hundred and forty-third year after the flood, Tubal came by ſea into Spain: whereby it ſeemeth, that in thoſe times navigations were uſed into our parts out of Ethiopia. Beroſius.

And they alſo ſay further, that not long after this the queen Semiramis went againſt the Indians in that river whereof they took their name, and therein gave battle unto the king Stabrobates, wherein he loſt a thouſand ſhips: which being credible by the ancient hiſtory, proveth manifeſtly, that in thoſe parts, in thoſe times, were many ſhips; and the ſeas frequented in good numbers. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. c. 5.

In the ſix hundred and fiftieth year after the flood, there was a king in Spain named Heſperus, who in his time, as it is reported, went and diſcovered as far as Cape Verde, and the iſland of St. Thomas, whereof he was prince; and Gonſalvo Fernandes of Oviedo, the chronicler of antiquities, affirmeth—that in his time the iſlands of the Weſt Indies were diſcovered, and called ſomewhat after his name Heſperides: and he allegeth many reaſons to prove it; reporting particularly, that in forty days they ſailed from Cape Verde unto thoſe iſlands. Beroſius. Gonſalvo Fernandes de Oviedo, l. 2. c. 3. Gen. Hiſt.

There are others that ſay, that the like was done from this Cape unto the iſlands of St. Thomas, and the iſle de Principe; and that they be the Heſperides, and not the Antiles: and they differ not far from reaſon; ſeeing in thoſe times, and many years after, they did uſe to ſail only along the coaſt, not paſſing through the main ocean ſea: for they had neither altitude, nor compaſs then in uſe, nor any mariners ſo expert. Plinius, l. 6. c. 31.

It cannot be denied, but that there were many countries, iſlands, capes, iſthmuſes, and points, which now are grown out of knowledge; becauſe the names of them are found in hiſtories: but the age of the world, and force of waters, have waſted and conſumed them; and ſeparated one country from another, both in Europe, Aſia, Africa, New Spain, Peru, and other places.

Plato ſaith, in his dialogue of Timæus, that there were in ancient times, in the Atlantic ocean, certain great iſlands and countries, named Atlantides, greater than Africa and Europe; and that the kings of thoſe parts were lords of a great part of this our country: but with certain great tempeſts the ſea overflowed it, and it remained as mud and ſhingle; ſo that in a long time after no ſhips could paſs that way. Plato in Timæo.

It is alſo recorded in hiſtories, that cloſe by the iſland of Cadiz, towards the ſtreights of Gibraltar, there was a certain iſland which was called Aphrodiſias, well inhabited, and planted with many gardens and orchards; and yet at this day we have no knowledge of this Aphrodiſias, but only a bare mention of it in ancient authors. The ſaid Plin. lib 4. cap. 22.

iſland

island of Cadiz is further said to have been so large, that it joined with the continent of Spain.

The Açores islands were sometime a point of the mountains of Estrella, which join to the sea over the town of Syntra: and also from Sierra Verde, or the green mountain, which adjoineth to the water hard by the city of Safin in the land of Cucu (which is the self-same island of Mouchin, where Algarbe is) lie the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira.

For it is held as a sure and undoubted verity, that all islands have their roots running from the firm land, though they be never so far from the continent, for otherwise they could not stand firm.

Eratosthenes apud Strabonem, lib. 1. p. 26.

There are other histories which say, that from Spain unto Ceuta in Barbary, men sometimes travelled on foot upon dry land; and that the islands of Sardinia and Corsica joined the one with the other, as did also Sicily with Italy, and Negroponto with Greece.

We read also, that there were found hulls of ships, anchors of iron, and other memorials of shipping, upon the mountains of Susa, far within the land; where, as it now seemeth, no salt water or sea ever came.

In India also, and in the land of Malabar, although there be now great store of people, yet many writers affirm, that it was once a main sea unto the foot of the mountains; and that the cape of Comarim, and the island of Zeilan, were all one thing: as also that the island of Sumatra joined with the land of Malacca by the flats of Caypasia; and not far from thence there now stands a little island, which, a few years past, was part of the firm land that is over-against it.

Furthermore, it is to be seen how Ptolemy, in his tables, sets the land of Malacca to the south of the line, in three or four degrees of latitude, whereas now it is at the point thereof, being called Jentana, in one degree on the north side, as appeareth in the streight of Cincapura, where daily they pass through unto the coast of Sian and China, where the island of Aynan standeth, which also, they say, joined hard to the land of China: and Ptolemy placeth it on the north side, far from the line, standing now above twenty degrees from it towards the north, as Asia and Europe now stand.

Well it may be, that in time past the land of Malacca and China ended beyond the line on the south side, as Ptolemy sets them forth: because it might join with the point of the land called Jentana, with the islands of Bintan, Banca, and Salitres, being many that way, and the land might be all slime and ouze; and so the point of China might join with the islands of the Luçones, Borneos, Lequeos, Mindanaos, and others which stand in this parallel: they also as yet having an opinion, that the island of Sumatra joined with Java by the chanel of Sunda, and the islands of Bali, Aujave, Cambava, Solor, Hogaleao, Maulva, Vintara, Rosalaguin, and others that are in this parallel and altitude, did all join with Java; and so they seem outwardly to those that descry them. For at this day the islands stand so near each other, that they seem but one firm land; and whosoever passeth between them, may touch with their hand the

boughs of the trees on the one, and on the other ſide alſo. And to come nearer to the matter, it is not long ſince, that in the eaſt the iſlands of Banda were divers of them overflown and drowned by the ſea; and ſo likewiſe in China, about nineſcore miles of firm ground is now become a lake, as it is reported: which is not to be thought marvellous, conſidering that which Ptolemy and others have written in ſuch caſes, which here I omit to return to my purpoſe.

After the flood 800 years, we read, that the city of Troy was built by the Dardans; and that before that time they brought out of the Indies into Europe, by the Red Sea, ſpices, drugs, and many other kinds of merchandizes, which were there more abundant than they now be. Whereunto if credit may be given, we may conceive, that the ſea was of old haunted and frequented; ſeeing that then they of the eaſt had ſo much and ſo great traffic with them of the weſt, that they brought their merchandize unto an haven which was named Arſinoe, being that which at this day is called Suez; ſtanding in thirty degrees on the north part of the Arabian gulph. It is alſo, by authors, farther written, that from this haven of Arſinoe or Suez, theſe merchandizes were carried by caravans, or great companies of carriers, upon camels, aſſes, and mules, unto the Levant ſea, to a city called Caſſou, ſtanding on the coaſt in thirty-two degrees of latitude; yielding unto every degree ſeventeen leagues and an half, as the manner is. And there are, by account, from the one ſea to the other, thirty-five leagues, or 105 miles. Theſe carriers, by reaſon of the heat of the country, travelled in the night only; directing themſelves by ſtars, and by marks of poſts and canes, which they uſed to ſtick in the ground as they went. But after that, becauſe this courſe and journey had many inconveniencies, they changed and altered the ſame twice, to find out the moſt commodious way.

Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

Strabo, l. 17. p. 560.

Nine hundred years, or thereabouts, after the flood, and before the deſtruction of Troy, there was a king in Egypt called Seſoſtris, who, perceiving that the former courſes and paſſages for carrying of merchandize by men and beaſts, were chargeable to the one, and moſt painful to the other, provided to have a way or ſtream cut out of the land, from the Red Sea unto an arm of the river Nilus, which runneth unto the city Heroum; that by the means thereof ſhips might paſs and repaſs with their merchandizes from India into Europe, and not be diſcharged till they came into Italy; ſo that this Seſoſtris was the firſt king that built great caracks to travel this way. But this enterpriſe, for all that, took little effect; for if it had, Africa had then been made as an iſland all compaſſed with water; being no more ground between ſea and ſea than the ſpace of twenty leagues, or ſixty miles.

Strabo, l. 17.

Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

About this time the Grecians gathered together an army or fleet, which now is called Argonautica, whereof Jaſon and Alceus were captains-general. Some ſay they went from the iſle of Crete, others from Greece; but whenceſoever they departed, they ſailed through the Propontick ſea, and Saint George's Sleeve, unto the Euxine ſea, where ſome periſhed, and Jaſon thereupon returned back into Greece. Alceus reported, that he was driven with a tempeſt to the lake Mæotis, where he was forſaken of all his company; and they which eſcaped with great travel, paſſed through by land unto.

Diod. Sic. l. 4. c. 4.

unto the German ocean, where they took ſhipping, paſſing the coaſts of Saxony, Friſeland, Holland, Flanders, France, Spain, Italy; and ſo returned to Peloponneſus and Greece, diſcovering the moſt part of the coaſt of Europe.

Strabo, l. 1. p. 26.

Strabo, alleging Ariſtonicus the grammarian, ſheweth, that after the deſtruction of Troy, Menelaus the king came out of the ſtreights of the Levant ſeas into the Atlantic ſea; and coaſted Africa and Guiney, and doubled the cape of Bona Sperança, and ſo in time arrived in India: of which voyage of his there may be many more particulars gathered out of the hiſtories. This Mediterranean ſea was alſo ſometimes called the Adriatic, the Ægæan, and the Herculean ſea, with other names; according to the lands, coaſts, and iſlands which it paſſeth by, running into the great Atlantic ſea along the coaſt of Africa.

1 Kings, c. 9. 2 Chron. c. 8.

In the year 1300 after the flood, Solomon cauſed a navy to be prepared on the Red ſea, at an haven called Ezeon-Geber, to ſail to the Eaſt-Indies, where, by opinion, ſtand the iſlands called Tharſis and Ophir. This navy was three years on this voyage; and then returned, and brought with them gold, ſilver, cypreſs, &c. whereby it ſeemeth, that thoſe places and iſlands were thoſe which now are called the Luçones, Lequeos, and Chinaes. For we know few other parts from whence ſome of thoſe things are brought, or wherein navigation was ſo long ſince uſed.

Herod. l. 4.

It is left us alſo in hiſtories, that a king of Egypt, called Neco, deſiring greatly to join the Red ſea with the river Nile, commanded the Phœnicians to ſail from the ſtreight of Mecca to the farther end of the Mediterranean ſea; to ſee if it made any turn back again unto Egypt: which command they obeyed, ſailing towards the ſouth, all along the coaſt and country of Melinde, Quiloa, and Sofala, till they came to the cape of Bona Eſperança, finding the ſea continually on the left-hand: but when they had doubled the cape, and found the coaſt continually on the right-hand, they marvelled much at it: notwithſtanding they continued their courſe forward toward the north, all along the coaſt of Guiney and the Mediterranean ſea, till they came back again into Egypt, whence they firſt went out: in which diſcovery they remained two years. And theſe are thought to be the firſt that compaſſed by ſea all the coaſt of Africa, and ſailed round about it.

Ariſt. lib. de mirandis in natura auditis.

In the year 590, before the incarnation of Chriſt, there went out of Spain a fleet of Carthaginian merchants, upon their own proper coſts and charges, which ſailed towards the weſt through the high ſeas, to ſee if they could find any land: and they ſailed ſo far, that they found at laſt the iſlands which we now call the Antiles and New Spain; which Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo ſaith were then diſcovered; although Criſtopher Columbus afterwards, by his travel, got more exact knowledge of them, and hath left us an evident notice where they be. But all theſe hiſtorians which wrote of theſe Antiles before, as of doubtful and uncertain things, and of places undiſcovered, do now plainly confeſs the ſame to be the country of New Spain.

Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo, l. 2. c. 3. of his general hiſtory.

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 3.

In the year 520, before the incarnation, and after the ſetting out of the aforeſaid army, Cambyſes, king of Perſia, took Egypt; after whom ſucceeded Darius, the ſon

ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and he determined to make an end of the enterprize which king Seſoſtris had begun, if they had not told him that the Red ſea was higher than the land of Egypt; and that, by means of the ſalt ſea coming into the river Nile, all the province would have been loſt and undone with hunger and thirſt: for the freſh water of the river Nile overfloweth the whole country, and the inhabitants have no other water than that for their drink; whereupon he left his firſt purpoſe of proſecuting that enterprize.

—But now to * return to my matter, and to proceed in the Diſcoveries.—In the year 485 before the incarnation of Chriſt, Xerxes the king of Perſia commanded Sataſpis his nephew to go and ſearch, and diſcover India: who, according to the precept, undertook the voyage; went through the ſtreights of Gibraltar, and paſſed the promontory of Africa, which now we call the cape of Bona Sperança, ſtanding ſouthward betwixt 34 and 35 degrees in latitude; and, being weary of ſo great a navagation, turned from thence back again, as Bartholomew Diaz did in our days. Plin. l. 2. c. 67.

Before the coming of Chriſt 443 years, Himilco, and Hanno his brother, Carthaginian captains, governing that part of Spain which is now called Andaluſia, departed from thence, each one with his navy. Hamilco, ſailing towards the north, diſcovered the coaſts of Spain, France, England, Flanders, and Germany. And ſome write farther, that he ſailed unto Gotland, and came to the iſland of Thule, or Iceland, ſtanding under the arctic circle, in 24 degrees from the north pole; and continued in his navigation two years, till he came unto this iſland; where the day hath in June twenty-two hours, and in December the night alſo hath twenty-two hours, whereby it is there wonderfully cold.

Now the other brother, Hanno, took his courſe towards Africa and Guiney, and he diſcovered the Fortunate Iſlands, which we call the Canaries; and beſides theſe he diſcovered others, as the Orcades, Heſperides, and the Gorgadea, which now are called the Cape de Verde iſlands. There he, with his company, went along the coaſt till they doubled the cape of Bona Sperança; and, taking their courſe towards the land, they went along by it unto another cape named Aromaticum, which is now called Guardafu, ſtanding ſouth-eaſt from cape Verde in 14 degrees toward the north; and he came to the coaſt of Arabia, ſtanding in 16 and 17 degrees; and was five years in this voyage, before he returned back into Spain. There are others who ſay, that he paſſed not beyond Sierra Leona, but peopled it, and afterwards diſcovered as far as the line: but it ſeemeth he made a full navigation, becauſe he ſpent ſo much time in his travel †. Plin. l. 6. c. 31.

In

* Though I am very unwilling to abridge or alter any part of this valuable diſquiſition by Galvano, yet I have ventured to omit his deſcription of ſome Egyptian animals.

† I here again leave out an account of the inchanters and ſnakes at the Cape of Good Hope, and other ſtrange relations.

Arist. de mirandis in natura auditis. Strabo, l. 2. p. 68. de Gaditanorum longinqua navigatione & ingentibus navibus.

In the year 355 before Christ it is said, that the Spaniards sailed through the main sea till they came to the flats of India, Arabia, and those coasts adjoining, whereunto they carried divers merchandizes, which trade they used in great ships; and, sailing to the north-west, they came unto certain flats, which were covered with the flowing of the sea, and with the ebb were discovered; finding there many tunnies of great bigness, where they commonly used to fish them to their great profit, because they were the first until that time that they had seen, and were greatly esteemed.

The time of Alexander the Great, as appeareth by the ages of the world, was before the coming of Christ 324 years: we all know that he was born in Europe; but he travelled into Asia and Africa, and passed through Arminia, Assyria, Persia, and Bactria, standing northerly in 44 degrees of latitude, which is the fartheſt country in longitude wherein he was in all his journeys. From thence he descended into India, by the mountains of Imaus, and the valleys of Paropamisus, and prepared a navy in the river Indus, and therewith passed into the ocean; where he turned by the lands of Gedrosia, Caramania, and Persia, unto the great city of Babylon, leaving Onesicritus and Nearchus captains of his fleet, which afterwards came unto him by the streights of the Persian sea, and up the river Euphrates, leaving that country and coast discovered.

Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

After this Ptolemy reigned king of Egypt, who by some is reputed to have been bastard son unto Philip, father of the aforesaid Alexander the Great. This Ptolemy, imitating the forenamed kings Sesostris and Darius, made a trench or ditch of an hundred feet broad, and thirty feet deep, and ten or twelve leagues in length, till he came to the bitter wells; pretending to have his work run into the sea, from a mouth of the river Nile, called Pelusium, passing now by the city Damiata. But this thing took no effect; for that the Red sea was thought to be higher by three cubits than the land of Egypt, which would have overflowed all the country, to the ruin and loss thereof.

Strabo, l. 17. p. 560, 561.

In the year 277 before the incarnation, succeeded in the government of the kingdom one Philadelphus, who brought to pass that the merchandizes should come out of Europe to the city of Alexandria, upwards by the river Nile unto a city named Coptus, and from thence to be conveyed by land to an haven standing upon the Red sea, called Myos-Hormos; which way was travelled in the night, the pilots directing themselves by the stars, who were expert in that practice. And because water was scant that way, they used to carry it with them for all the company; till at last, to avoid that trouble, they digged very deep wells, and made large cisterns for the reception of rain-water, by which the way, furnished with that commodity which at first it wanted, grew in continuance of time to be more frequented.

But whereas the streight way was dangerous, by reason of flats and islands, the aforesaid king Philadelphus, with his armies, went on the side of Troglodytica; and in an haven, called Berenice, caused the ships to arrive which came out of India, being a place of more surety, and less peril, from whence they might easily carry the wares to

to the city of Coptus, and so to Alexandria: and by this means Alexandria grew so famous and rich, that in those days there was no city in the world comparable to it. And to speak briefly and particularly of the abundance of traffic there used; it is left written, for an assured truth, that in the time of king Ptolemy Auletes, father to Cleopatra, it yielded unto him yearly, in customs, seven millions and an half of gold, although the traffic was not then quite twenty years old, by way of that city. Strabo, l. 17 p. 549.

But after that this province and country became subject to the emperors of Rome, as they were greater in power, and nearer in covetousness, they so enhanced the customs, that within a little time the city yielded double the aforesaid sum: for the traffic grew so exceeding great, that they sent every year into India 120 ships laden with wares; which began to set sail from Myos-Hormos about the middle of July, and returned back again within one year. Ibid. Plin. l. 6. c. 23.

The merchandize which they carried, amounted to one million two hundred thousand crowns; and there was made, in return of every crown, an hundred; insomuch that, by reason of this increase of wealth, the matrons or noble women of that time and place were profuse in decking themselves with precious stones, purple, pearls, musk, amber, and the like; whereof the writers and historians of that age speak very largely. Plin. l. 12. c. 18.

Cornelius Nepos, quoted by Pliny, reporteth of a king of Egypt that reigned in his time, called Ptolemæus Lathyrus, from whom one Eudoxus fled upon occasion; and the better to avoid and escape his hands, he passed through the gulph of Arabia, and the sea, all along the coast of Africa, and the coast of Bona Sperança, till he came to the island of Cadiz: and this navigation, by that course, was as often used in those days as it is now, if we may give credit to * history: which appeareth the more manifest by this, that Caius Cæsar, the son of Augustus, going into Arabia, found in the Red sea certain pieces of those ships which came thither out of Spain. It was usual also, long after those days, to pass to India by land: for so did the kings of the Soldans, the princes of Bactria, and other famous captains, who travelling thither, and into Scythia, by land, had the view of those provinces and countries, till they came that way to the west, and to the seas thereof on the north part, whereto many merchants then travelled. Marcus Paulus Venetus writeth much hereof: and though at the first his book was esteemed a fabulous piece, yet now there is better credit given to it; for, by the late experience of travellers and merchants who have been into those parts, the names of the countries, cities, and towns, with their situations, latitudes, and commodities, are now found true, as he, and other historiographers of that time, have reported. Plin. l. 2. c. 67.

In the year 200 before the incarnation, it is recorded, that the Romans sent an army, by sea, into India, against the great Can of Cathaia; which, passing through the streight of Gibraltar, and running to the north-west, found, opposite to cape Finis-terre,

* The reader is referred to a preceding *Historical Memoir of Commerce and the Progress of Maritime Discovery by the Antients*, for an examination into the truth of this voyage, and of the Periplus of Hanno and Hamilco.

terre, ten iſlands, wherein were large quantities of tin, which may be thoſe that were called the Caſſiterides: and being come to 50 degrees of latitude, they found a ſtreight, paſſing through which towards the weſt, they arrived in the empire of India; where they gave battle to the king of Cathaia, and then returned to the city of Rome. Which thing, howſoever it may ſeem poſſible or not, true or falſe, yet ſo I find it left us in the hiſtories of that time.

Xiphil. in vita Traj.

In the year 100 after the incarnation of Chriſt, the emperor Trajan prepared an army by ſea, on the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; but departed from them, and ſailed to the iſlands of Zyzara; and, paſſing the ſtreight of Perſia, entered into the ocean, and ſailed towards India, along the coaſt, till he came to the place where Alexander had been: there he took certain ſhips which came from Bengal, of whom he learned the ſtate of that country. But becauſe he was then in years, and weary with his travel, but eſpecially becauſe he found there ſmall relief for his army, he returned back.

After the Romans had got moſt part of the world, there were, in that age, many notable diſcoveries made. But then came the Goths, Moors, and other barbarous nations, and deſtroyed all: for in the year 412 after the incarnation of Chriſt, they took the city of Rome: and the Vandals came out of Spain, and conquered Africa.

And in the year 450, king Attila deſtroyed many cities in Italy; at which time the city of Venice began: and in this age the Franks and Vandals entered into France.

In the year 474, the empire of Rome was loſt, and fell from the Romans to the Goths.

After this came the Lombards into Italy, namely, in the year 560.

About this time the ſect of the Arians prevailed greatly; and Merlin, the Engliſh prophet, flouriſhed.

In brief, in the year 611 ſprung up the Mahumetan ſect, and Moriſco regiment, which invaded both Africa and Spain.

By this it may appear, that in that age all the world was in a ſtate of war, and all places very tumultuous; inſomuch that traffic and merchandize ceaſed; for no nation durſt trade one with another, either by ſea or land: nothing as then remained ſtedfaſt, neither in kingdoms, ſigniories, religions, laws, arts, ſciences, nor navigation. Nor did even the records and writings of ſuch things remain; but were all burnt and conſumed by the barbarous cruelties and unbridled power of the Goths, who became ſo covetous and ambitious, that they purpoſed of themſelves to begin a new world, and to root out the memory, and blot out the knowledge, of all other nations beſides.

Ramuſius, v. 1. f. 372. p. 2.

But they that ſucceeded in the government of things, perceiving the great loſſes that the Chriſtian world had by the want of traffic, and ſtagnation of navigation, whereby thoſe commodities and merchandizes could not be ſpent, which before went ordinarily from one nation to another by the uſe of trade; to the end that this decay and loſs might be repaired, and the treaſures of the eaſt be imparted with the weſt, as it was wont in times of peace, they began to deviſe a way to paſs to India; which was not as the former, by the Red Sea and the river Nile, but a way of farther failing,

ing, farther length, and greater coſt alſo: for they brought their ware up the river Indus, and there unladed it, carrying it by land through the country of Paropamiſus, by caravans, unto the province of Bactria; and then ſhipped it in barks on the river Oxus, which falls into the Caſpian ſea; and ſo ſailed over that ſea to an haven of the river Rha, named Citracan, or Aſtrican, and ſo upwards in the ſaid river, which is now called Volga: and, as it appears, they carried it to the city of Novogrod, in the province of Reſan, which now belongs to the great duke of Muſcovy, ſtanding towards the north, in 54 degrees of latitude: thence they travelled, over land, to the province of Sarmatia, to the river Tanais, which is the diviſion of Europe from Aſia; where they again laded it in barks, and carried it down the river, into the lake Mæotis, and to the city of Caffa, which, in ancient time, was called Theodoſia, and then belonged to the Genoeſe, who came thither for thoſe wares in their galliaſſes, or great ſhips. Ib. f. 373.

It is alſo left written, that the trade this way endured till the reign of Commodita, emperor of Armenia, who provided for a better courſe, and commanded this traffic of the ſpices to be continued by the Caſpian ſea, and ſo through the kingdom of Hiberia, which now is called Georgiana; and from thence they entered by the river Phaſis, now Phaſſo, into Pontus Euxinus, and to the city of Trapezunda, ſtanding in upwards of 40 degrees north latitude: and to that place came ſhipping for the merchandizes out of Europe and Africa. Strabo, l. 11.

It is further recorded concerning this way of traffic, that Nicanor determined, or had already begun, to open above 120 miles of land, which lieth between the Caſpian ſea and Pontus Euxinus, that they might come and go by water with their ſpices, drugs, and other commodities there uſed: but in the mean time this miſchief happened,—Ptolemy Ceraunos killed him; and by his death this worthy and famous enterprize ceaſed, without effect. Ibid. Plin. l. 6. c. 11.

But the other way being at laſt alſo loſt, by reaſon of the wars of the Turks, it pleaſed God to open another way to theſe merchandizes from the iſle of Sumatra, the city of Malacca, and the iſland of Java, unto Bengal, carrying them up the river Ganges to the city of Agra; from whence they travelled, over land, to another city ſtanding near the river Indus, named Boghar; where they diſcharged, becauſe the city of Cabor, or Laor, ſtands too far within the land, being the principal city of the Mogores. From thence they went forward to the great city of Samarcand, ſtanding in the country of Bactria: and there the merchants of India, Perſia, and Turkey, met; bringing thither their ſeveral commodities, as cloth of gold, velvets, chamolets, ſcarlet and woollen cloths, which were carried to Cathay, and the great kingdom of China; whence they brought back gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, pearls, ſilk, muſk, rhubarb, and many other things of great value. After this, theſe merchandizes, drugs, and ſpiceries, were carried in ſhips upon the Indian ſea, to the ſtreight of Ormus, and the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and were unladen in the city of Balſara, ſtanding in 31 degrees towards the north; from thence they were carried, over land, to the cities of Aleppo, Damaſcus, and Barutti, ſtanding on the ſame ſide, in 35 degrees; and

there the Venetian gallies, or galliasses, which transported pilgrims into the Holy Land, came and received those goods.

In the year 1153, in the time of Frederick Barbarossa, 'tis said, that there came to Lubeck, a city in Germany, a canoe, with certain Indians, like a long barge, which seemed to have come from the coast of Baccalaos, standing in the same latitude with Germany. The Germans greatly wondered to see such a barge and such people; not knowing from whence they came, nor understanding their speech, especially because there was then no knowledge of that country, as now there is. It may be credible, that though the boat was small in respect of those huge seas, yet the wind and water might bring them thither; as we see in our days, that the Almadie, which is but a small boat, comes, notwithstanding, from Quiloa, Mosambique, and Sofala, to the island of Saint Helena; a small spot of land, standing in the main ocean, off the coast of Bona Sperança, so far separated.

Joan. Leo African. Ramusius, v. 1. f. 373.

In the year 1300, after Christ, the great soldan of Cairo commanded, that the spiceries, drugs, and merchandizes of India, should be carried through the Red Sea, as it was before; at which time they unladed on the Arabian side, at the haven of Judea, and carried them to the house at Mecca; and the carriers of it were the pilgrims: so that each prince used a custom to augment the honour and increase the profit of his country: and these soldans had especial regard for Cairo, from whence the wares were carried to the countries of Egypt, Libya, and Africa; the kingdoms of Tunis, Tremessen, Fez, Morocco, and Suz; and some of it was carried beyond the mountains of Atlas, to the city of Tombuto, and the kingdom of the Jalophos; till afterwards, that the Portuguese brought it about the Cape of Bona Sperança to the city of Lisbon: as, in a convenient place, we purpose to shew more at large.

In the year 1344 king Peter, the fourth of that name, reigning in Arragon, the chronicles of his time report, that one Don Lewis, of Cerda, grandson of Don John, of Cerda, craved aid of him to go and conquer the Canary islands, standing in 28 degrees of latitude to the north; because they were given to him by pope Clement the sixth, who was a Frenchman: by which means, in those days, there grew a knowledge of those islands in all Europe, and particularly in Spain: for such great princes would not begin nor enterprise things of such moment, without great certainty.

About this time also the island of Madeira was discovered by an Englishman, named Macham; who, sailing out of England into Spain, with a woman of his, was driven out of his direct course by a tempest, and arrived in that island, and cast anchor in that haven which is now called Machico, after the name of Macham. And because his lover was then sea-sick, he went on land with some of his company; but in the mean time his ship weighed, and put to sea, leaving him behind; which accident occasioned his lover to die of grief. Macham, who was passionately fond of her, erected a chapel, or hermitage, in the island, to deposit her remains, naming it Jesus Chapel; and graved on the stone of her tomb both their names, with the occasion that brought them there. After this he made himself a boat out of a tree (trees being there of a great circumference), and went to sea in it, with those men of his company that were left

left with him, and fell in with the coaſt of Africa, without ſail or oar: the Moors, among whom he came, took it for a miracle, and preſented him to the king of the country, who, alſo admiring the accident, ſent him and his company to the king of Caſtile.

In the year 1395 king Henry III. reigning in Caſtile, the information Macham gave of this iſland, and alſo of the ſhip wherein he went thither, moved many of France and Caſtile to go and diſcover it, and the great Canary. They who went, were principally the Andaluſians, the Biſcanians, and the Guepuſcoes, carrying with them many people and horſes: but I know not whether the charge of that voyage was theirs, or the king's. But by whomſoever it was ſet out, they ſeem to be the firſt that diſcovered the Canaries, and landed in them; where alſo they took 150 of the iſlanders priſoners: concerning the time of this diſcovery, there is ſome difference among writers; for ſome affirm this to have been done in the year 1405.

THE PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES.

THE chronicles of Portugal have this record, that after the incarnation of Chrift 1415, king John the firft, of Portugal, departed from the city of Lifbon with the prince don Duart or Edward, and don Peter and don Henry, his fons, with other lords and nobles of his realm, for Africa; where he took the great city of Ceuta, ftanding on the north fide thereof, betwixt 35 and 36 degrees in latitude: which was one of the principal caufes of the enlarging the dominions of Portugal.

John de Barros Afiæ decad. 1. l. 1. c. 2.

When they were come from thence, Henry, the king's * third fon, defirous to inlarge the kingdom, and to difcover ftrange and unknown countries, being then in Algarve, gave direction for the difcovery of the coaft of Mauritania: for in thofe days none of the Portuguefe had ever paffed the cape de Non, ftanding in 29 degrees of latitude. And for the better accomplifhing of this difcovery, the aforefaid don Henry prepared a fleet, and gave command to the chief captains to proceed in difcovery from the faid cape forward; which they did: but when they came to another cape, named Bajador, there was not one of them that durft go beyond it: at which cowardly faintnefs the prince was exceedingly difpleafed.

In the year 1417 king John the fecond reigning in Caftile, and his mother, lady Catharine, then governing, one monfieur Ruben, of Bracamonte, who was then admiral of France, craved the conqueft of the Canary iflands, with the title of king of them, for a kinfman of his, called monfieur John Betancourt: which being granted him by the queen, and farther alfo furnifhed out, he departed from Seville with a good army. But the principal caufe that moved him to enter into this action, was to difcover and perfectly to take a view of the ifland of Madeira, whereof Macham before had given fo much information. But, for all that, he went to the Canaries, and carried with him a friar called Mendo, to be as bifhop thereof, admitted by pope Martin the fifth. When they were landed, they won Lancerota, Forteventura, Gomera, and Ferro; from whence they fent into Spain many flaves, honey, wax, camphire, hides, orchal, figs, fanguis draconis, and other merchandizes, whereof they made good profit: and this army alfo, as they report, difcovered Porto Santo. The ifland that they inhabited was Lancerota, where they built a caftle of ftone, for their better defence and fecurity.

John de Barros, decad. 1. l. 1. c. 2.

In the year 1418, one John Gonzales Zarco, and Triftram Vaz Teixera, gentlemen of the houfhold to don Henry, the king's * third fon, perceiving the defire their mafter

* It is fingular that a Portuguefe fhould not have been more correct: Henry was the fifth fon.

master had to discover new countries, and willing in that course to do him some service, craved of him a bark, and licence to undertake the action, which they obtained; and then sailed to the coast of Africa, where they were overtaken by a terrible tempest, but were succoured by falling in with the land, and entered into an haven called Santo, where they landed, and remained two years.

In the year 1420, they discovered the island of Madeira, where the found the chapel, stone, and tomb, whereon the aforesaid Macham had ingraved his name. There are others who write, that a certain Castilian, perceiving the desire and favour which don Henry had to navigation, told him, that they had found the island of Porto Santo; which being but a small thing, they made no account of it:—Don Henry sent Bartholomew Perestrello, John Gonzales Zarco, Tristran Vaz Teixera; and by the signs and likelihoods they had received, they went to Porto Santo, and there remained two years. After that, namely in 1420, they sailed also to the island of Madeira, where they found the memorial and monument left by Macham the Englishman. John de Barros, decad. 1. l. 1. c. 3.

As for monsieur Betancourt, who entered into the conquest of the Canaries, as is above mentioned, he was slain in the midst of the action, and left behind him, for his heir, a kinsman of his, called Menante; who, after that, sold the said islands to one Peter Barba, of Seville. But others say, that monsieur John Betancourt went into France to prepare a new army to complete this conquest, and left there a nephew of his; who, because he heard no more of his uncle, and finding he could no longer maintain the war, he sold the Canaries to don Henry, the king of Portugal's third son, for a certain thing that he gave him in the island of Madeira. Ib. l. 1. c. 12.

In the year 1424, they write, that the said don Henry prepared a Navy and army to conquer these islands, wherein there went, as Captain-general, one don Ferdinando de Castro; but by the valliantness and warlike behaviour of the natives, they were repulsed: whereupon don Ferdinando, considering the great charge, and little success, gave over the action, and returned back again. After this, don Henry resigned over these islands to the crown of Castile, in consideration of the aids which Betancourt had received. But the Castilians agree not to this report: for they say, that neither the kings of Portugal, nor don Henry, would render the islands, till they came in question before pope Eugenius the fourth; who, fully understanding the matter, gave the conquest of the islands, by order of judgment, to the king of Castile, in the year 1431; whereupon this contention ceased, touching the title of the Canaries, between the kings of Portugal and Castile.

The Islands, being seven in number, were called by the name of Fortunatæ, standing in 28 degrees to the north, where the longest day is but 13 hours, and the longest night the same, lying distant from Spain 200 leagues, and from the coast of Africa 18 leagues. The people were idolaters, and eat flesh raw for want of fire; they had no iron, and sowed without any tool: they raised and tilled the ground with the horns of oxen and goats. Every island spoke a separate language: divers paganish

customs prevailed there; but now the Christian faith is planted among them. The commodities of these islands are wheat, barley, sugar, wine, and Canary birds, much esteemed for their delightful harmony.

In the island of Ferro they have no other water but that which proceeds in the night from a * tree, compassed with a cloud, whence water issueth, serving the whole island, both men and cattle; a thing notorious, and known to many.

In the year 1428 it is written, that don Pedro, the king of Portugal's † eldest son, who was a great traveller, went into England, France, Germany, and from thence to the Holy Land, and other places; and came home by Italy, taking Rome and Venice in his way; from whence he brought a ‡ map of the world, which had all the parts of the world and earth described: the streight of Magellan was called in it, *the Dragon's Tail*; the cape of Bona Sperança, *the Fore-front of Africa*; and so of other places: by which map, don Henry, the king's third son, was much helped, and furthered in his discoveries.

It was told me, by Francis de Sosa Tavares, that in the year 1528 don Ferdinando, the king's eldest son, shewed him a § map, found in the study of Alcobaza, that had been made 120 years before, which map set forth all the navigation of the East Indies, with the cape of Bona Sperança, as our later maps have described it: whereby it appeareth, that in antient time there was as much, or more, discovered, than there is now.—Notwithstanding all the travel, pains, and expences, in this action of don Henry, yet he was never weary of his purposed discoveries. At length a servant of his, named Gilianes, was the first that passed the cape Bajador, a place before terrible to all men; who brought word, that it was not so dangerous as was reported: for on the other side of it he landed; and, in a manner of taking possession, he set up a cross of wood, to remain as a mark or token of his discovery so far.

Barros decad. 1. l. 1. c. 4.

In the year 1433, in the month of August, don John died; and his son don Duarte, or Edward, succeeded him in the kingdom.

Ib. c. 5.

In the year 1434 don Henry set out one Alphonso Gonsales Baldaja, and Gilianes aforesaid, and they went to another cape, which was beyond the former; and going on land, perceived the country to be inhabited: and because they were desirous to satisfy don Henry with as much relation and knowledge as they could get, they continued their voyage, and went forward, till they came to a certain point of land, from whence they turned back again.

In

* This tree is mentioned by *Du Perier* in his History of Voyages, and has been described, by a Mr. Lewis Jackson. An engraving of the tree appears in *De Bry*. See also *Linschoten*, p. 177. and Astley's Collection, vol. i. p. 544.

† Here Galvano is again guilty of an inaccuracy. *Edward* was the eldest, and *Pedro* the third son.

‡ This circumstance is noticed by Bruce, vol. ii. p. 96. Dr. Vincent considers this as a copy of Marco Polo's map, which was exhibited in the church of St. Michael di Murano at Venice. (Periplus Erythrean, p. 205. n. 345.)

§ If this is really fact, it still, as *Dr. Vincent* observes, proves nothing: the Cape of Good Hope was inserted from the imagination of the draftsmen. (Periplus, p. 200.) See also preceding page, 65.

In the year 1438 king Edward, called don Duarte, died; and don Alphonſo, the prince, being young, don Pedro, his uncle, governed the kingdom.

In the year 1441, don Henry ſent out two ſhips; and the captains were, in the one Triſtan, and Antonio Gonſales in the other. Being put to ſea, they took a prize upon the coaſt, and ſailed on to cape Blanco, that is, the White Cape, ſtanding in 20 degrees; and informed don Henry of the ſtate of the country, by the Moors which they brought from thence. Whereupon he ſent one Fernan Lopez de Savado, to give knowledge thereof to pope Martin, truſting to make theſe things commodious to the Holy Church. Upon which knowledge the pope granted indulgences, and everlaſting pardon, and all other things demanded of him, unto thoſe which ſhould die in this enterprize. Barros decad. 1. l. 1. c. 6.

After this, in the year 1443, don Henry commanded Antonio Gonſales to carry back the ſlaves which he had brought, and to ranſom them in their country; which he did, and the Moors gave in exchange for them again, black Moors with curled hair, and ſome gold; ſo that now that place is called Rio del Oro, that is, the Golden River; whereby the deſire of the diſcovery might be the more increaſed. Ib. c. 7.

Not long after he ſent out another named Nunnez Triſtan, who came unto the iſlands of Arguin, where he took more ſlaves, and brought them to Portugal in the year 1444.

Hereupon alſo one Lanſarote, a groom of don Gilian's chamber, with others aſſociated with him, armed out certain ſhips, which went coaſting till they came to the iſlands of Garze, where they took two hundred ſlaves: which were the firſt that were brought from thence to Portugal.

In the year 1445, there went as captain of a barque, one Gonſalo de Syntra, an eſquire belonging to don Henry, into thoſe parts; and he went on land, where he was taken with ſix or ſeven more of his company, which place was therefore called after his name, Angra de Gonſalvo de Syntra. This was the firſt loſs, which the Portugueſe received in their diſcoveries. Ib. c. 9.

In the year following don Henry ſent out three caravels, wherein went as captains Antonio Gonſales, Diegu Aloizio, and Gomes Perez, who had their direction, not to enter into Rio del Oro, nor to bear themſelves diſorderly; but to travel in peace, and to convert as many infidels as they could to Chriſtianity: but none of theſe things were performed by them; for they returned without doing any memorable act.

In the ſame year 1446, another eſquire belonging to the king of Portugal, called Denis Fernandes, of the city of Liſbon, entered into theſe diſcoveries, more to win fame than to reap commodity by them. And he, being in his voyage, came to the river Sanaga, ſtanding between fifteen and ſixteen degrees of latitude towards the north, where he took certain Negroes; and not contented therewith, he went forward, and diſcovered Cape Verde, ſtanding in fourteen degrees on the ſame ſide; and there he ſet up upon the land a croſs of wood, and then returned with great content. Ib. c. 9. and c. 13.

Barros decad. 1. l. 1. c. 14.

In the year 1447 one Nunnez Triſtan went forth to diſcover in a caravel, and he paſſed the aforeſaid Cape Verde, and Rio Grande, and went paſt it unto another, ſtanding beyond it in twelve degrees, where he was alſo taken, with eighteen Portugals more; but the ſhip came home again in ſafety, conducted by four or five which eſcaped the hands of the Negroes.

In this year alſo, 1447, it happened that there came a Portugal ſhip through the ſtreight of Gibraltar; and, being taken with a great tempeſt, was forced to run weſtward more than willingly the men would, and at laſt they fell upon an iſland which had ſeven cities, and the people ſpake the Portugal tongue; and they demanded if the Moors did yet trouble Spain, whence they had fled for the loſs which they received by the death of the king of Spain, don Roderigo. The boatſwain of the ſhip brought home a little of the ſand, and ſold it unto a goldſmith of Liſbon, out of which he had a good quantity of gold. Don Pedro, underſtanding this, being then governor of the realm, cauſed all the things thus brought home, and made known, to be recorded in the houſe of juſtice.

There be ſome that think, that thoſe iſlands whereunto the Portugals were thus driven, were the Antiles, or New Spain, alleging good reaſons for their opinion; which here I omit, becauſe they ſerve not to my purpoſe. But all their reaſons ſeem to agree, that they ſhould be that country, which is called Nova Spagna.

Ib. l. 2. c. 1.

In the year 1449, the king don Alfonſo gave licence unto his uncle don Henry to inhabit the iſlands of the Açores, which were long before diſcovered. And in the year 1458, this king went into Africa, and there he took the town called Alcaçer. And in the year 1461, he commanded Signior Mendez, a gentleman of his houſe, to build the caſtle of Arguin, whereof he gave unto him the government, as to his lieutenant.

Ib. l. 2. c. 1.

In the year 1462, there came into the realm of Portugal three Genoeſe of good parentage, the chief of whom was called Antony de Noli, and of the other two, the one was his brother, the other was his nephew; and each of theſe had his ſeveral ſhip, craving liberty of don Henry to diſcover the iſlands of Cape Verde, which was granted them. Others ſay, that the places which they diſcovered, were thoſe which antiquity called the *Gorgades*, *Heſperides*, and *Dorcades*: but they named them Mayo, Saint Jago, and Saint Philip, becauſe they diſcovered them on thoſe ſaints' days: but they are alſo called by ſome the iſlands of Antonio.

In the year following, 1463, this good nobleman don Henry died; leaving from Cape de Non diſcovered unto the mountain called Sierra Leona, ſtanding on this ſide the line, in eight degrees of latitude, where no man had been before that time.

Ib. l. 2. c. 1.

In the year 1469, the king of Portugal did let out for yearly rent the trade of Guiney, unto one called Fernan Gomez, which country was afterwards called *The Mine*. He let it out for five years, for two hundred thouſand reys by the year; which is of our Engliſh money 138l. 17s. 9d. *ob.*; and added unto his leaſe this condition, that every year he ſhould diſcover an hundred leagues.

In

In the year following, which was 1470, this king went into Africa with his ſon prince John, where they took the town of Arzila; and the people of the city of Tangier fled out for fear, and that he took alſo. It ſeemeth that good fortune followeth a courageous attempt.

In the year 1471, Fernan Gomez gave command, that the coaſt ſhould be diſcovered as it lay: which was undertaken by John de S. Aren, and John de Scovar; and they went and found the Mine in five degrees of latitude.

And the next year, which was 1472, one Fernando da Poo diſcovered the iſland now called after his name. Alſo about this time the iſlands of Saint Thomas and del Principe were diſcovered, ſtanding under the line; with the firm land alſo, wherein is the kingdom of Benin, reaching to the Cape de Santa Catarina, ſtanding on the ſouth ſide of the line, in three degrees. The man that made this diſcovery was a ſervant of the king's, and his name was Sequetra.

Many ſuppoſe, that then alſo there were thoſe places, countries, and iſlands diſcovered, which before were never known to us ſince the flood.

In the year 1480, the valiant king don Alphonſo died, and left many things worthy of memory behind him; and his ſon don John the ſecond ſucceeded him; who in the year 1481, gave direction for the building of the * caſtle de Mina to one Diego d'Azambuxa; who did ſo, and was made captain of it. Barros decad. 1. l. 1. c. 2.

In the year 1484, the aforeſaid king John ſent out one Diego Caon, a knight of his court, to diſcover; and he went to the river of Congo, ſtanding on the ſouth ſide in ſeven or eight degrees of latitude; where he erected a pillar of ſtone, with the royal arms and letters of Portugal, wherein he wrote the command that he had received from the king, with the time and day of his being there. From thence he went unto a river near the tropic of Capricorn, ſetting ſtill up pillars of ſtone where he thought it convenient; and ſo came back again unto Congo, and to the king of that country; who thereupon ſent an ambaſſador and men of credit into Portugal. Ib. l. 3. c. 3.

In the next year, or the ſecond following, one John Alonſo d'Aveiro, came from the kingdom of Benin, and brought home pepper † with a tail; which was the firſt of that kind ſeen in Portugal.

In the year 1487, king John ſent to diſcover India over land; in which journey went one Pedro de Covillan, a ſervant of the king's, and Alfonſo de Payva, becauſe they could ſpeak the Arabian tongue. They went out in the month of May, and the ſame year they took ſhipping at Naples, and arrived in the iſle of Rhodes, and lodged in the houſe that was provided for the Portugal knights of that order: from thence they went to Alexandria, and ſo to Cairo, and thence to the haven of Toro, in the company of the caravans or carriers, which were Moors. There they took ſhipping, and, being on the Red ſea, they arrived at the city of Aden, and there they ſeparated themſelves: for Alfonſo de Payva went towards Ethiopia, and Pedro de Covillan into India, who came unto the cities of Cananor and Calicut, and came back unto Goa; where Ib. l. 3. c. 5.

* St. George del Mina, ſee PLATE *the ſecond*.

† Long pepper.

where he took ſhipping unto Sofala, being on the coaſt of Africa, in the ſouthern latitude of twenty degrees, to ſee the mines that were of ſo great name. From Sofala he turned back to Moſambique, and unto the cities of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinde, till he came back again unto the city of Aden; where he and Alfonſo de Payva divided themſelves; and thence he ſailed again through the Red ſea unto the city of Cairo, where he thought to have met with his companion: but there he heard that he was dead, by the letters that he received from king John his maſter, in which letters he was farther commanded to travel into the country and dominions of Preſbyter John.

Upon this command he provided for his farther journey, and from Cairo went back again to the haven of Toro, and from thence to Aden, where he had been twice before; and there hearing of the fame of the city of Ormuz, he determined to go thither; and therefore went along the coaſt of Arabia, unto the cape Razalgate, ſtanding under the tropic of Cancer; and from thence he went to Ormuz, ſtanding in twenty-ſeven degrees on that ſide. There he learned and underſtood of the ſtreight of Perſia, and of that country: and entered there into the Red ſea, and paſſed over to the realm of the Abaſſini, which is commonly called Preſbyter John's country, or Ethiopia; and there he was detained till the year 1520, when there came thither the ambaſſador don Roderigo de Lima. This Pedro de Covillan was the firſt Portugal that ever knew and ſaw the Indies and thoſe ſeas, and other places adjoining thereunto.

Barros decad. 1. l. 3. c. 9.

In the year 1490, the king ſent unto Congo one Gonzalo de Soſa, a gentleman with three ſhips; and in them ſent home the ambaſſador to Congo, which was ſent into Portugal, whom Diego Caon had brought from thence: who, at his being in Portugal, was baptized, both himſelf, and others of his company.

The aforeſaid Gonzalo de Soſa died in that journey by the way, and in his room they choſe his nephew Ruy de Soſa for their captain; and ſo being come unto Congo, the king was very glad of their coming, and yielded himſelf, and the greater part of his realm, to be baptized: whereof the Portugueſe had good cauſe to rejoice, ſeeing by them ſo many infidels were converted from gentility, and paganiſm, to Chriſtianity.

THE DISCOVERIES OF THE SPANIARDS,

WITH A

CONTINUATION OF THOSE MADE BY THE PORTUGUESE.

In the year 1492, in the time of don Ferdinando king of Castile, he being at the siege of Granada, dispatched one Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, with three ships, to go and discover Nova Spagna; who first had offered his service for a western discovery unto king John of Portugal, but he would not entertain him.

He being sufficiently furnished for this enterprize, departed from the town of Palos the third day of August, having with him as captains and pilots Martin Alfonso Pinzon, Francis Martinez Pinzon, Vincent Yannes Pinzon, and Bartholomew Columbus his brother, with an hundred and twenty persons more in his company: and some affirm, that they were the first that sailed by latitudes. They took the Canaries in their way, and there refreshed themselves, taking their course thence towards * Cipango; but finding the sea by the way full of weeds, they were amazed, and with great fear arrived at the Antlles the tenth day of October, and the first island that they descried was called Guanahany, where they went on land, and took possession of it, and named it San Salvador. This island standeth in 25 degrees of northerly latitude. And after that they found many islands, which they called the Princes, because they were the first that they had discovered.

The savages of those parts call these islands by the name of Lucaios, having indeed several names for them; and they stand on the north side, almost under the tropic of Cancer. As for the island of St. James, or Jamaica, it standeth between 16 and 17 degrees.

Thence they went to the island which the natives of the country call Cuba, and the Spaniards call it Ferdinandina, because their king's name was Ferdinando, standing in 22 degrees: from whence the Indians conducted them unto another island, which they call Hayti, and the Spaniards called it Isabella, in the memory of the queen of Castile, who was so called, and they named it also Hispaniola. In that island the admiral ship of Columbus was cast away; with the timber and planks whereof they made a fort, wherein they left thirty-eight men, and a captain called Roderigo de Arana, to learn the language and customs of the country. They brought from thence musters and shews of gold, pearls, and other things, which that country yielded; and ten Indians also, whereof six died, the rest were brought home and baptized.

Hereupon

* See chap. the second, for the discovery of Porto Santo, and Madeira.

Hereupon there grew ſuch a common deſire of travel among the Spaniards, that they were ready to leap into the ſea to ſwim if it had been poſſible, into thoſe new found parts. The aforeſaid company of Columbus, at their coming home, took in their way the iſles of the Açores; and the fourth day of March in the year 1493 they entered into the bar of Liſbon, which diſcovery pleaſed not the king of Portugal: whereupon roſe a contention between thoſe two kings.

Chriſtopher Columbus, being arrived, went preſently into Caſtile, with the news of all things, and acquainted king Ferdinando with the diſcontentedneſs of the king of Portugal. Whereupon he, and the queen Iſabella his wife, ſent word thereof unto pope Alexander VI. whereat he and the Italians were in great admiration, marvelling that there was any more land beſides that which was under the Romans. But the end of this matter was this: Alexander the pope gave theſe countries by his judgment unto the kingdoms of Leon and Caſtile; with this condition, that they ſhould labour to extirpate idolatry, and plant the holy Faith in thoſe countries.

Gomara hiſtoriæ gen. l. 1. c. 15.

Fernando the king, having received this anſwer, was glad of it; and ſent Chriſtopher Columbus again on the former voyage, having made him admiral, and given him other honours, with particular arms, and a poſy written about his arms to this effect—

For Caſtile and for Leon
A new world found out Colon.

In the year 1493, the twenty-fifth of the month of October, Chriſtopher Columbus went back unto the Antiles; and from Cadiz he took his courſe, having in his company ſeventeen ſhips, and fifteen hundred men in them, with his brethren Bartholomew Columbus, and Diego Columbus, with other knights, gentlemen, men of law, and religious men—with chalices, croſſes, rich ornaments, and with great power and dignity from pope Alexander; and the tenth day after their ſetting forth, they arrived at the Canaries; and from thence, in twenty-five or thirty days, they ſailed unto the Antiles: the firſt iſland that they ſaw ſtanding in 14 degrees towards the north, due weſt from Cape Verde on the coaſt of Africa. They ſay that the diſtance from thence to the Canaries is 800 leagues. The name they gave it was Deſeàda, that is, the Deſired or Wiſhed Iſland, for the great deſire which the company had to come to ſight of land. After that they diſcovered many more, which they named the Virgins, which the natives of the country call the Carribees, for that the men of that country are good warriors, and ſhoot well with bows: they poiſon their arrows with an herb, whereof he that is hurt dieth, biting himſelf like as a mad dog doth.

From theſe iſlands, and others, they went unto the principal iſland there, which they of the country call Boriquen, and the Spaniards call it St. John; and thence to Hiſpaniola or Iſabella, where they found all the men dead which they had left there. Here the admiral left the moſt part of the people to plant it, and appointed his brethren to be governors there; and ſo took two ſhips, and went to diſcover the other ſide of the iſland of Cuba, and from thence to Jamaica. All theſe iſlands ſtand from

16 unto 20 degrees of northerly latitude. In the mean time that the admiral failed about, his brethren, and they that were left with them, were much troubled, becauſe the ſavages did riſe againſt them. So that Chriſtopher Colon went back again into Spain, to tell the king and queen of his adventures.

In the year 1494, and in the month of January, there was an agreement made of the differences which were between the two kings of Spain and Portugal. For the which agreement there were ſent out of Portugal Ruy de Soſa, and Don John his ſon, and the doctor Ayres de Almada; and for the king of Spain there were Don Henry Henriques, Don John de Cardenas, and the doctor Maldonado. All theſe met in the town of Tordeſillas, and they divided the world from the north to the ſouth, by a meridian which ſtandeth weſt from the iſlands of cape Verde 300 leagues: ſo that the one half which lay unto the eaſt ſhould belong unto Portugal, and that which lay to the weſt, to the king of Spain; whereby, notwithſtanding, liberty to travel was left equal unto both.

In the year following, 1495, John (the ſecond) king of Portugal died, and Emmanuel his couſin began to reign.

In the year 1496, there was a Venetian in England called John Cabota, who having knowledge of ſuch a new diſcovery as this was, and perceiving, by the globe, that the iſlands before ſpoken of ſtood almoſt in the ſame latitude with his country, and much nearer to England than to Portugal, or to Caſtile, he acquainted king Henry the ſeventh, then king of England, with the ſame; wherewith the ſaid king was greatly pleaſed, and furniſhed him out with two ſhips, and three hundred men: which departed and ſet ſail in the ſpring of the year; and they ſailed weſtward till they came in ſight of land, in 45 degrees of latitude toward the north, and then went ſtrait northward till they came into 60 degrees of latitude, where the day is 18 hours long, and the night is very clear and bright. There they found the air cold, and great iſlands of ice, but no ground in an hundred fathoms ſounding; and ſo from thence, finding the land to turn eaſtward, they trended along by it, diſcovering all the bay and river named Deſeàdo, to ſee if it paſſed on the other ſide. Then they ſailed back again till they came to 38 degrees toward the equinoctial line, and from thence returned into England. There be others which ſay, that he went as far as the cape of Florida, which ſtandeth in 25 degrees.

In the year 1497, the king of Spain, don Fernando, ſent out Chriſtopher Columbus with ſix ſhips, and he himſelf provided two ſhips at his own coſt; and, ſending his brother before, he made ſail from the bay of Cadiz, carrying with him his ſon, don Diego Colon. It was then reported, that he went to take the iſland of Madeira, becauſe he miſtruſted the Frenchmen, and therefore ſent thither three ſhips: others ſay it was to the Canaries. But however it was, this is true, that he and three more went unto the iſlands of cape Verde, and ran along by the line, finding great calms and rain; and the firſt land which they came unto of the Antiles was an iſland, ſtanding in * nine

Gomara hiſtoriæ l. 1. c. 21.

* Galvano, conſidering the time when he wrote, in general fixes the ſituation of different places with more accuracy than might be expected: though he ſeldom, if ever, is entirely free from error. The N. E. point of La Trinidada lies in lat. 10 degrees, 45 min. N.

degrees of latitude, towards the north, joining fast unto the main land, which they called La Trinidada; and so he entered into the gulf of Paria, and came out of the mouth, which they name Bocca de Dragone, or *the Dragon's mouth*: and they took their course hard by the coast, where they found three small islands, which they named Los Testigos, that is to say, *The Witnesses*, beyond which standeth the island of Cubagua, where is great fishing of muscle-pearls; where also, as they say, there springeth a well of oil: and beyond that island they came to the isles of Frailes, Roques, Aruba, and Curaçao, with other small ones all along the bay: and they came to the point of Cabo de Vela, and discovered along the coast almost 200 leagues: from whence they crossed over to Hispaniola, having had also sight of the island called Beata.

Barros decad. 1. l. 4. c. 2. and to the end of the 11. chapter.

In this same year 1497, on * the 20th day of the month of June, one VASQUES DE GAMA sailed from Lisbon, by king Emmanuel's command, to India, with three ships; wherein there went for captains—Vasques de Gama, Paulus de Gama his brother, and Nicolas Coello, with 120 men; with whom also there went one ship, laden only with provisions; and, in fourteen days, they came unto cape Verde, unto the island of Saint Jago, where they refreshed themselves: and from thence they went along the coast, beyond the cape of Bona Sperança, whereupon they erected certain pillars of stone, and so came unto Mosambique, standing in 15 degrees to the south of the line: where they staid not long, but went from thence to Mombaza, and unto Melinde; where the king of that place gave them pilots, which conducted them into India; in which discovery they found out Los Baxos do Padua, that is to say, the flats of Padua.

In the year 1498, in the month of May, they came to an anchor before the city of Calicut, and Panama, where they remained all the winter: and the first day of September they set sail towards the north, discovering the coast all along till they came to the island of Angediva, which standeth on that side in 15 degrees of latitude, where they came to an anchor in the beginning of October: and so they departed from Angediva in February in the year 1499, and came in sight of the coast of Africa, about Melinde, toward the north three or four degrees; and from thence they sailed unto the said city, and so unto Mosambique again, and to the cape of Bona Sperança, sailing along by the coast; and then they came to the islands of cape Verde, and last of all to the city of Lisbon, in the month of September, having been in the voyage twenty-six months.

Gomaræ historia general.

In the year 1499, on the 13th of the month of November, there departed from Palos one Vincent Yannez Pinson, and his nephew Aries Pinson, with four ships, well appointed, at their own cost and charges, to discover the new world, under the licence of the king of Castile; and with command not to touch there, where the admiral Columbus had been. And so they went to the islands of cape Verde, and passed the line to the southward, and discovered the cape of Saint Augustine, standing on that side, in eight degrees of latitude; and there they wrote on the rinds of pine-trees the names of the king and queen, also the year and day when they arrived there.

* OSORIUS, on the contrary, says it was on the ninth of July.

there. They fought with the people of Brasil, but got nothing; they took their course all along the coast towards the west, unto the river Maria Tambal; and at that time they had taken thirty and odd prisoners. The chief places where they touched were the cape of Saint Augustine, and the angle or point of Saint Luke, and Tierra de los Humos; the rivers of Marannon, and of the Amazones, and Rio dolce, or the sweet river, and other places along the coast: and they came to ten degrees of latitude on the north side, where they lost two ships and their company, and remained in that voyage of discovery ten months and fifteen days.

In the year 1500, and in the month of March, one Pedro Alvarez Cabral sailed out of Lisbon with thirteen ships, with command not to come near the coast of Africa to shorten his way; and he, losing the sight of one of his ships, went to seek her; and in seeking her lost his course, and sailed till he came within sight of the land. The general was so long in seeking his ship, that the company were weary of it, and intreated him to leave his enterprize. The next day they fell in sight of the coast of Brasil: whereupon the general commanded a bark to go to land, and seek an haven; which they did, and found a good and safe haven, and they named it Puerto Seguro, that is to say, the safe haven, standing on the south side in 17 degrees of latitude. From thence they sailed towards the cape of Bona Sperança, and Melinde, and crossed over to the river of Cochin, which before was not known, where they laded themselves with pepper; and, at their return, Sancho de Thovar discovered the city of Sofala upon the coast of Africa. Baros decad. 1. l. 5. c. 2.

In this same year 1500, it is reported, that Gaspar Cortereal craved a general licence of the king Emmanuel to discover the Newfoundland. He went from the island Tercera with two ships, well appointed, at his own cost; and he sailed unto that climate which standeth under the north in 50 degrees of latitude, which is a land now called after his name; and he came home in safety unto the city of Lisbon: and, making another time this voyage, the ship was lost wherein he went, and the other came back to Portugal. Wherefore his brother Michael Cortereal went to seek him, with three ships, well appointed, at his own cost; and when they came unto that coast, and found so many entrances of rivers and havens, every ship went into her several river, with this rule and order, that they all three should meet again the 20th of August. The two other ships did so; and they, seeing that Michael Cortereal was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certain time, returned back to Portugal, and never heard any more news of him, nor yet any other memory. But that country is called, the land of Cortereal, unto this day.

In the year 1501, in the month of March, John de Nova departed from the city of Lisbon with four ships, and passed the line on the south side, into eight degrees of latitude, and he discovered an island, which he called the Isle de Ascension: and he went unto Mosambique, and to Melinde, and from thence he crossed over to the other side, where they took lading; and so came back, and doubled the Cape, and found an island called Saint Helena, being but a small thing, but yet of great importance in respect of the situation thereof. Ib. l. 5. c. 10.

In this same year 1501, and in the month of May, there departed out of Lisbon three ships, by the order of Emmanuel the king, to discover the coast of Brasil: and they sailed in the sight of the Canaries, and from thence to cape Verde, where they refreshed themselves in the town of Bezequiche; and passed from thence beyond the line southward, and fell in with the land of Brasil, in five degrees of latitude; and so went forward till they came in 32 degrees, little more or less, according as they accounted it; and from thence they came back in the month of April, because it was there, at that time, cold and tempestuous. They were in that voyage fifteen months, and came to Lisbon again in the beginning of September 1502.

Gomera historiæ general. l. 2. In the year 1502, one Alfonso Hoieda went to discover *Terra firma*, and followed his course till he came to the province of Uraba.

The next year following also one Roderigo Bastidas, of Sevil, went out with two caravels, at his own cost; and the first land of the Antiles that he saw was an island, which he named Isla Verda, that is, the Green Island, standing fast by the island of Guadalupe, towards the land; and from thence they took their course towards the west to Santa Martha, and cape De la Vela, and to Rio Grande or the great river: and they discovered the haven of Zamba, the Coradas, Carthagena, and the islands of S. Bernard of Baru, and Islas de Arenas; and went forward unto Isla Fuerta, and to the point of Caribana, standing at the end of the gulf of Uraba, where they had sight of the Farrallones, standing on the other side, hard by the river of Darien: and from cape De la Vela unto this place are two hundred leagues; and it standeth in nine degrees and two parts of latitude. From thence they crossed over unto the island of Jamaica, where they refreshed themselves. In Hispaniola they grounded their ships, because of the holes which certain worms of the water had eaten in the planks. In that country they got four hundred marks of gold, although the people there be more warlike than in Nova Spania: for they poison their arrows which they shoot.

Ib. l. 1. c. 24. In this same year 1502, Christopher Columbus entered the fourth time into his discovery, with four ships, by the command of don Fernando, to seek the streight, which, as they say, did divide the land from the other side; and he carried with him Ferdinando his son. They went first to the island of Hispaniola; to Jamaica, to the river Azua, to the cape of Higueras, to the islands Gamares, and to the cape of Honduras, that is to say, *the Cape of the depths*. From thence they sailed towards the east, unto the cape Gracias a Dios, and discovered the province and river of Veragua, and Rio Grande, and others, which the Indians call Hienra: and from thence he went to the river of Crocodiles, which now is called Rio de Chagres, which hath its springs near the South Sea, within four leagues of Panama, and runneth into the North Sea: and so he went unto the island which he called Isla de Bastimentos, that is, *the isle of victuals*; and then to Porto Bello, that is, *the fair haven*; and so unto Nombre de Dios, and to Rio Francisco, and so to the haven of Retreat; and then to the gulph of Cabesa Cattiva, and to the islands of Caperosa, and, lastly, to the cape of Marble, which is two hundred leagues upon the coast: from whence they began to turn again unto the island of Cuba, and from thence to Jamaica, where he grounded his ships, being much spoiled and eaten with worms.

In this year alſo, 1502, don Vaſques de Gama being now admiral, went again into India with nineteen or twenty caravels. He departed from Liſbon the 10th day of February, and by the laſt day of that month he came to an anchor at cape Verde; and from thence went to Moſambique, and was the firſt that croſſed from that iſland into India, and he diſcovered another in four degrees of latitude, which he called the iſland of the admiral; and there he took in his lading of pepper and drugs, and left there one Vincent Sodre to keep the coaſt of India with five ſhips. Barros de. cad. 1. l. 6. c. 8.

Theſe were the firſt Portugueſe that, with an army, ran along the coaſt of Arabia Felix. It is there ſo barren, that their cattle and camels are only maintained with dry fiſh brought from the ſea; whereof there is ſuch plenty and abundance, that the cats of the country uſually take them.

In the year following, as it is reported, one Antonio de Saldania diſcovered the iſland which formerly was called Coradis, and now Socotora, and the cape of Guardaſu, which adjoineth to that country.

In the year 1504, Roderigo de Baſtidas obtained licence of king Ferdinando, and by the means of John de Ledeſma, and others of Seville, armed and furniſhed out two ſhips, having for his pilot one John de Coſa, of Saint Mary Port; and he went and diſcovered that part of *terra firma* where now ſtandeth Carthagena, being in ten degrees and an half of northerly latitude: and it is ſaid that they found captain Lewis de la Guerra; and they together took land in the iſland of Codego, where they took 600 perſons of the ſavages: and, going farther along the coaſt, they entered into the gulph of Uraba, where they found ſand mingled with gold, being the firſt that was brought to king Ferdinando. From thence they returned to Santo Domingo, laden with ſlaves, without victuals, becauſe they of the country would not bargain with them, which added to their great trouble and grief.

In the latter end of this year died lady Iſabella, queen of Caſtile; which queen, while ſhe lived, would not ſuffer any man of Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia, nor any born in the country of don Fernando her huſband, to enter into theſe diſcoveries, ſave thoſe which were their ſervants, or by ſpecial command, but only the Caſtilians, Biſcaians, and thoſe which were of their own ſigniories, by whom all the lands aforeſaid were diſcovered.

In the year 1505, upon our lady-day in March, Franciſco de Almeida, viceroy of India, took his courſe, with twenty-two ſail, towards India, as now is accuſtomed. He came to the city of Quiloa, where he built a fort, appointing one Peter Fereira to be captain thereof: and beyond Melinde he traverſed to the iſland of Anguediva, where he placed, as captain, one Emmanuel Paſſavia. In Cananor alſo he built another fort, giving the captainſhip of it to Laurence de Brito. In Cochin he did the like, where don Alphonſo de Noronia was made captain. This year one Peter de Anahay built the fortreſs of Sofala, whereof alſo himſelf was made captain. Ib. l. 2. c. 3.

In the latter end of this year the Viceroy commanded his ſon, whoſe name was don Laurenço, to make ſome entry upon the iſlands of Maldiva; and, with contrary weather, he arrived at the iſlands, which of antient time were called Traganæ, but the

the Moors called them Ytterubenero, and we call them Ceilan; where he went on land, and made peace with the people there, and after went back to Cochin, failing along the coaſt, and fully diſcovering it. In the midſt of this iſland there ſtands a rock of ſtone, very high, having the ſign of the foot of a man on the top of it, which they ſay to be the footſtep of Adam; and the Indians have it in great reverence.

In the year 1506, after the death of the queen of Spain, king Philip and queen Joan his wife came into Spain to take poſſeſſion thereof, and king don Fernando went into Arragon, being his own patrimony. In this ſame year the ſaid king Philip died, and then Fernando came again to govern Spain, and gave licence to all Spaniards to go to the new land, and to the Antiles, but not to the Portugueſe. In this year, and in the month of May, Chriſtopher Columbus died, and his ſon don Diego Columbus ſucceeded in his room.

Barros decad. 2. l. 1. c. 1.

In the year 1506, and entering into the month of March, Triſtan de Acunha, and Alphonſo de Albuquerque, went into India, with fourteen ſhips in their company, and ſailed till they came to an anchor at the town of Bezequiche, where they refreſhed themſelves; and before they came to the Cape of Bona Sperança, in 37 degrees they found certain iſlands, which now are named the Iſles of Triſtan de Acunha, where they had ſuch a tempeſt that therewithal the fleet was diſperſed. Triſtan de Acunha and Alphonſo de Albuquerque went to Moſambique; and Alvaro Telez ran ſo far, that he came to the iſland of Sumatra, and ſo back again to the cape of Guardafu; having diſcovered many iſlands, ſeas, and lands, never ſeen before that time by any Portugueſe. Emmanuel Telez de Meneſes was alſo driven without the great iſland of Saint Laurence, and he ran along the coaſt thereof, and arrived at laſt at Moſambique, and there met with Triſtan de Acunha, who was the firſt captain that wintered there; and by them it was told, that in this iſland were much ginger, cloves, and ſilver; whereupon he went and diſcovered much of it within the land; but finding nothing, he came back again unto Moſambique; from whence he ſailed to Melinde, and ran along that coaſt, and entered into Brava; and from thence they croſſed over to the iſland of Socotora, where they built a fortreſs, and made one don Antonio de Noronia captain thereof.

Ib. l. 2. c. 1.

In the year 1507, in the month of Auguſt, Triſtan de Acunha took ſhipping for India, and Alphonſo de Albuquerque remained there with five or ſix ſhips to keep the coaſt and entry of the ſtreight; but being not therewith ſatisfied, he took his courſe over unto Arabia, and, running along that coaſt, he doubled the cape of Roſalgate, ſtanding under the tropic of Cancer.

Ib. l. 4. c. 3.

In the year 1509, one Diego Lopez de Sequeira went out of Liſbon with four ſail, to the iſland of Saint Laurence, and continued in his voyage almoſt a year; and in the month of May, the ſame year, he arrived in Cochin, where the viceroy gave him another ſhip; and in the beginning of the month of September he took his courſe to Malacca, paſſing betwixt the iſlands of Nicubar, and many others. He went alſo to the land of Sumatra, to the cities of Pedir and Pacem, and all along by all that coaſt to the iſland of a Poluoreira, and the flats of Capacia: and from thence he went over to Malacca,

Malacca, ſtanding in two degrees of latitude towards the north; but in that city the people killed and took priſoners ſome of his men; whereupon he turned back to India, having diſcovered in this voyage five hundred leagues. This iſland of Sumatra is the firſt land wherein we knew men's fleſh to be eaten, by certain people which live in the mountains, called Bacas, who uſed to gild their teeth: they hold opinion, that the fleſh of the black people is ſweeter than the fleſh of the white. The oxen, kine, and hens, which are in that country, are in their fleſh as black as any ink. They ſay that there are certain people there, called Daraqui Dara, which have tails like ſheep; and ſome of their wells yield oil.

The king of Pedir is reported to have a river in his land running with oil; which is a thing not to be marvelled at, ſeeing it is found written, that in Bactria there is alſo a well of oil: it is farther ſaid, that there groweth here a tree, the juice whereof is ſtrong poiſon, and if it touch the blood of a man, he dieth immediately; but if a man drinks of it, it is a ſovereign remedy againſt poiſon, ſo ſerving both for life and death. Here alſo they coin pieces of gold, which they call drachms, brought into the land, as they ſay, by the Romans; which ſeemeth to have ſome reſemblance of truth, becauſe from that place forward there is no coined gold: but that which is thus coined, runs current in the buying of merchandiſe, and other things.

In the year 1508, one Alfonſo de Hojeda, with the favour of don Fernando, purpoſed to go to *terra firma*, to conquer the province of Darien. He went forth at his own charges, and diſcovered the firm land, where it is called Uraba, which he named Caſtilia del Oro, that is, Golden Caſtilia, becauſe of the gold which they found among the ſand along the coaſt: and they were the firſt Spaniards that did this. Alfonſo de Hojeda went firſt from the iſland of Hiſpaniola and the city of San Domingo, with four ſhips and three hundred ſoldiers, leaving behind him the bachelor Anciſo, who afterwards compiled a book of theſe diſcoveries. And after him there went alſo a ſhip with victuals, ammunition, and 150 Spaniards. He went on land to Carthagena; but there the people of the country took, ſlew, and eat ſeventy of his ſoldiers; whereupon he grew very weak.

In the year 1508, one Diego de Niqueſa prepared ſeven ſhips in the port of Beata, to go to Veragua, and carried in them almoſt 800 men. When he came to Carthagena, he found there Alfonſo de Hojeda much weakened by his former loſs; but then they joined together, and went on land, and avenged themſelves on the people. In this voyage Diego de Niqueſa went and diſcovered the coaſt called Nombre de Dios, and went unto the ſound of Darien, and called it Puerto de Miſas, which is upon the river Pito. When they were come unto Veragua, he went on ſhore with his army, his ſoldiers being out of hope to return to Hiſpaniola. Alfonſo de Hojeda began a fortreſs in Caribana againſt the Caribbees; which was the firſt town that the Spaniards builded on the firm land: and in Nombre de Dios they built another, and called it Nueſtra Seniora de la Antigua. They builded alſo the town of Uraba. And there they left for their captain and lieutenant, one Francis Piſarro, who was there

Gom. hiſt. gen. l. 3. c. 7.

Ib. c. 6.

there much troubled. They builded other towns alſo, whoſe names I here omit: but, theſe captains had not that good ſucceſs which they hoped for.

In the year 1509, the ſecond admiral Don Diego Columbus went into the iſland of Hiſpaniola, with his wife and houſhold; and ſhe being a gentlewoman, carried with her many other women of good families, who were there married, and ſo the Spaniards and Caſtilians began to people the country: for Don Fernando the king had given them licence to diſcover and people the towns of Hiſpaniola, ſo that the ſame place grew to be famous, and much frequented. The foreſaid admiral alſo gave order to people the iſland of Cuba, which is very great and large; and placed there as his lieutenant one Diego Velaſques, who went with his father in the ſecond voyage.

Barros decad 2. l. 5. c. 10. and l. 6. c. 2. Ibid. decad. 2. l. 6. c. 5.

In the year 1511, in the month of April, Alfonſo de Albuquerque went from the city of Cochin unto Malacca; in which year and month the Chineans went from Malacca into their own country, and Alfonſo ſent with them, for maſter, a Portugal called Duarte Fernandes, with letters alſo, and order unto the king of the Mantias, which now is called Sian, ſtanding in the ſouth. They paſſed through the ſtreight of Cincapura, and ſailed towards the north, went along the coaſt of Patane, unto the city of Cuy, and from thence to Odia, which is the chief city of the kingdom, ſtanding in 14 degrees of northerly latitude. The king greatly honoured and welcomed Duarte Fernandes, being the firſt Portugal that he had ſeen, and with him he ſent back ambaſſadors to Albuquerque: they paſſed over land towards the weſt unto the city of Tanaçerim, ſtanding upon the ſea on the other ſide in 12 degrees, where they embarked themſelves in two ſhips, and ſailed along the coaſt unto the city of Malacca, leaving it all diſcovered. The people of this country of Sian are people that eat of all kind of beaſts, or vermin *: this kingdom hath in length 250 leagues, and in breadth 80.

After that Duarte Fernandes had been with the Mantales or people of Sian, Alfonſo de Albuquerque ſent thither a knight called Ruy Nunnez de Acunha, with letters and embaſſage unto the king of the Seguies, which we call Pegu. He went in a junk of the country, in ſight of the cape Rachado; and from thence unto the city of Pera, which ſtandeth faſt by the river Salano, and many other villages ſtanding all along this river, (where Duarte Fernandes had been before,) unto the cities of Tanaçerim and of Martavan, ſtanding in 15 degrees toward the north, and the city of Pegu ſtandeth in 17. This was the firſt Portugal which travelled in that kingdom; and he gave good information of that country, and of the people.

Ibid. c. 7.

In the end of this year 1511, Alfonſo de Albuquerque ſent three ſhips to the iſlands of Banda and Malacca: and there went as general of them one Antonio de Breu, and with him alſo went one Francis Serrano; and in theſe ſhips there were an hundred and twenty perſons. They paſſed through the ſtreight of Sahan, and along the iſland of Sumatra, and others; leaving them on the left hand, towards the eaſt, and they

* I have in this, as in ſome other inſtances, omitted remarks not immediately connected with the ſubject.

they called them the Salites. They went also to the islands of *Palimbam* and *Lu Suparam*; from whence they sailed by the noble island of *Java*, and they ran their course east, sailing between it and the island of Madura: the people of this island are very warlike and strong, and do little regard their lives; the women also are there hired for the wars.

Beyond the island of *Java* they sailed along by another called Bali; and then came also unto others called Avajave, Sambaba, Solor, Galao, Malva, Vitara, Rosalanguin, and Arus, whence are brought delicate birds, which are of great estimation because of their * feathers; they came also to other islands lying in the same parallel on the south side in 7 or 8 degrees of latitude: and they are so near the one to the other, that they seem at the first to be one intire and main land. The course by these islands is about 500 leagues. The antient cosmographers call all these islands by the name of *Javos*: but late experience hath found their names to be very diverse, as you see. Beyond these there are other islands toward the north, which are inhabited with whiter people, going arrayed in shirts, doublets, and slops like unto the Portuguese, having also money of silver. The governors among them carry in their hands red staves, whereby they seem to have some affinity with the people of China. There are other islands, and people about this place which are red; and it is reported, that they are of the people of China.

Antonio de Breu, and those that went with him, took their course toward the north, where is a small island called *Gumnape* or *Ternate*, from the highest place whereof there fall continually into the sea flakes or streams like unto fire; which is a wonderful thing to behold. From thence they went to the islands of Burro and Amboyna, and came to an anchor in an haven called Guliguli, where they went on land, and took a village standing by the river; where they found dead men hanging in the houses, for the people there are eaters of man's flesh. Here the Portuguese burnt the ship wherein Francis Serrano was, for she was old and rotten. They went to a place on the other side, standing in 8 degrees toward the south, where they laded cloves, nutmegs, and mace, in a junk or barque, which Francis Serrano bought here.

They say that not far from the islands of Banda, there is an island, where there breedeth nothing else but snakes, and the most are in one cave in the midst of the land. This is a thing not much to be wondered at; forasmuch as in the Levant sea, hard by the isles of Majorca and Minorca, there is another island, of old named *Ophiusa*, and now *Formentera*, wherein is abundance of these vermin; and in the rest of the islands lying by it there are none.

In the year 1512, they departed from Banda toward Malacca, and on the baxos or flats of Luçapinho Francis Serrano perished in his junk or barque, from whence escaped unto the isle of Mindanao, nine or ten Portuguese, which were with him, and the kings of Malacca sent for them. These were the *first Portuguese* that came to the

* Probably, the bird of paradise.

the *islands of cloves*, which stand from the equinoctial line towards the north in one degree, where they lived seven or eight years.

The island of *Gumnape*, now called *Ternate*, is much to be admired; for that it casteth out fire. There were some princes of the Moors, and courageous Portuguese, which determined to go near to the fiery place to see what it was; but they could never come near it. But Antonio Galvano, hearing of it, undertook to go up to it, and did so; and found a river so extreme cold, that he could not suffer his hand in it, nor yet put any of the water in his mouth: and yet this place standeth under the line, where the sun continually burneth.

Barros decad. 2. l. 7. c. 1.

In the year 1512, in the month of January, Alfonso de Albuquerque went back from Malacca unto Goa, and the ship wherein he went was lost, and the rest went from his company. Simon de Andrada, and a few Portuguese, were driven unto the islands of *Maldiva*, being many, and full of palm-trees; and they stand low, by the water: who stayed there till they knew what was become of their governor. These were the first Portuguese that had seen those islands, wherein there grow *cocos*, which are very good against all kind of poison.

In this year 1512, there went out of Castile one John de Solis born in Lisbon, and chief pilot unto Don Fernando; and he having licence went to discover the coast of Brasil. He took the like course that the Pinsons had done: he went also to the cape of St. Augustine, and went forwards to the south, coasting the shore and land, and he came unto the port De Lagoa: and in 35 degrees of southerly latitude he found a river, which they of Brasil call *Paranaguaçu*, that is, *the great water*. He saw there signs of silver, and therefore called it *Rio de Plata*, that is *the river of silver*. And it is said, that at that time he went farther, because he liked the country well; but he returned back again into Spain, and made account of all things to Don Fernando, demanding of the king the government thereof, which the king granted him. Whereupon he provided three ships, and with them, in the year 1515, he went again into that kingdom; but he was there slain. These SOLISES were great discoverers in those parts, and spent therein their lives and goods.

Pet. Martyr decad. 3. c. 10.

In the same year 1512, John Ponce of Leon, who had been governor of the isle of St. John, armed two ships, and went to seek the isle of Boyuca; where the natives of the country reported to be a well, which maketh old men young. Whereupon he laboured to find it out, and was in searching for it the space of six months, but could find no such thing. He entered into the isle of *Bimini*; and discovered a point of the firm land standing in 25 degrees towards the north, upon Easter-day, and therefore he named it *Florida*. And because the land seemed to yield gold and silver, and great riches, he begged it of the king Don Fernando, but he died in the discovery of it, as many more have done.

Ib. decad. 2. c. 10. Gomara hist. gen. l. 2. c. 10.

Pet. Martyr decad. 3. c. 10.

In the year 1513, Vasco Nunnes de Valboa hearing speech and news of the *South Sea*, determined to go thither, although his company dissuaded him from that action: but being a man of good valour, with those soldiers that he had, being two hundred and ninety, he resolved to put himself into that jeopardy. He went therefore from Darien

Ib. c. 1.

Darien the first of September, carrying some Indians of the country with him to be his guides, and he marched across the land, sometimes quietly, sometimes in war: and in a certain place, called Careca, he found Negroes, captives, with curled hair. This Valboa came to the sight of the South Sea on the twenty-fifth day of the said month, and on St. Michael's day came unto it: where he embarked himself against the will of Chiapes, who was the lord of that coast; who wished him not to do so, because it was very dangerous for him. But he, desirous to have it known, that he had been upon those seas, went forwards, and came back again to land in safety, and with great content, bringing with him good store of gold, silver, and pearls, which there they took: for which good service of his Don Ferdinando, the king, greatly favoured and honoured him.

This year 1513, in the month of February, Alfonsus de Albuquerque went from the city of Goa towards the streight of Mecha, with twenty ships: they arrived at the city of Aden, and battered it, and passed forward, and entered into the streight. They say that they saw a cross in the element, and worshipped it: they wintered in the island of Camaran. This was the *first Portuguese captain* that gave information of *those seas*, and of that of *Persia*, being things in the world of great account. Barros decad. 2. l. 7. c. 7.

In the year 1514, and in the month of May, there went out of St. Lucar one Pedro Arias de Avila, at the command of Don Ferdinando. He was the fourth governor of Castilia del Oro, or *golden Castile*: for so they named the countries of Darien, Carthagena, and Uraba, and that country which was newly conquered. He carried with him his wife, the lady Elizabeth, and fifteen hundred men, in seven ships; and the king appointed Vasco Nunnes de Valboa governor of the South Sea, and of that coast. Pet. Martyr decad. 3. c. 5.

In the beginning of the year 1515, the governor Pedro Arias de Avila sent one Gaspar Morales with an hundred and fifty men, unto the gulph of St. Michael, to discover the islands of Tararequi, Chiapes, and Tumaccus. There was a Casique, Valboa's friend, which gave him many canoes or boats made of one tree, to row in, wherein they passed unto the island of Pearls; the lord whereof resisted them at their coming on land. But Chiapes and Tumaccus did pacify him, in such order that the captain of the isle had them home unto his house, and made much of them, and received baptism at their hands, naming him Pedro Arias, after the governor's name; and he gave unto them, for this, a basket full of pearls, weighing an hundred and ten pounds, whereof some were as big as hasel nuts, of twenty, twenty-five, twenty-six, or thirty-one carats: and every carat is four grains: there was given for one of them one thousand two hundred ducats. This island of Tararequi standeth in five degrees of latitude towards the north. Ib. decad. 3. c. 10. Gomar. hist. gen. l. 6. c. 2.

In this year, 1515, in the month of March, the governor sent one Gonsalvo de Badajos, with eighty soldiers, to discover new lands, and they went from Darien to Nombre de Dios; where came unto them one Lewis de Mercado, with fifty men more, which the governor sent to aid him: they determined to discover toward the south, saying that country was the richest. They took with them Indians to be their Pet. Martyr decad. 3. c. 10.

their guides, and, going along the coaſt, they found ſlaves marked with irons as the Portugueſe do uſe; and, having marched a good way through the countries with great travel, they gathered together much gold, and forty ſlaves to do them ſervice: but one Caſique named Pariza did ſet upon them, and ſlew and took the moſt part of them.

The governor, hearing of this news, the ſame year 1515, ſent forth his ſon John Arias de Avila to be revenged, and to diſcover alſo by ſea and by land. They went weſtward to cape De Guerra, ſtanding in little more than ſix degrees towards the north, and from thence unto Punta de Borica, and to cape Blanco, or *the white cape*, ſtanding in eight degrees and an half: they diſcovered 250 leagues, as they affirm, and peopled the city of Panama.

Barros, decad. 2. l. 10. c. 5. Oſorius l. 10. p. 277.

In this very year 1515, in the month of May, Alfonſus de Albuquerque, governor of India, ſent from the city of Ormuz one Fernando Gomes de Lemos as ambaſſador unto Xec, or Shaugh Iſmael, king of Perſia; and it is declared, that they travelled in it 300 leagues, and that it is a pleaſant country like unto France: and this year the worthy viceroy Alfonſus de Albuquerque died.

In the year 1516, and one hundred years after the taking of *Ceuta* in Barbary, Lopez Suares being governor of India, there was a diſpatch made by the command of the king's highneſs unto one Fernando Perez de Andrada to paſs to the great country and kingdom of *China*: he went from the city of Cochin in the month of April. They received pepper, being the principal merchandize to be ſold in all China, of any value: and he was farther commanded by the king Don Emmanuel to go alſo to *Bengala*, with his letter and diſpatch to a knight called John Coelo. This was the firſt Portugueſe, as far as I know, who drank of the water of the river Ganges. This year 1516, died Don Ferdinando, king of Spain.

Ib. l. 11. fol. 312.

In the year 1517, Fernando Perez went unto the city of Malacca; and in the month of June he departed from thence towards China, with eight ſhips, four Portugueſe, and the other Malahans. He arrived in China: and becauſe he could not come on land without an embaſſage, there was one Thomas Perez which had order for it: and he went from the city of Canton, where they came to an anchor: they went by land 400 leagues, and came unto the city of Pekin, where the king was: for this province and country is the biggeſt that is in the world. It beginneth at Sailana, in 20 degrees of latitude towards the north, and it endeth almoſt in 50 degrees, which muſt be 500 leagues in length; and they ſay, that it containeth 300 leagues in breadth. Fernando Perez was fourteen months in the iſle De Veniaga, learning as much as he could of the country, according as the king his maſter had commanded him. And although one Raphael Pereſtrello had been there in a junk, or barque, of certain merchants of Malacca, yet unto Fernando Perez there ought to be given the praiſe of this diſcovery; as well for that he had command from the king, as in diſcovering ſo much with Thomas Perez by land, and George Maſcarenhas by ſea; and for coaſting unto the city of Foquiem ſtanding in 24 degrees of latitude.

In

In this same year 1517, Charles, which afterward was emperor, came into Spain, and took possession thereof. And in the same year Francis Fernandes de Cordova, Christopher Morantes, and Lopez Ochoa, armed three ships at their own proper charges, from the island of Cuba. They had also with them a barque of Diego Velasques's, who then was governor: they came on land in Jucatan standing in 20 degrees of latitude, at a point which they called Punta de las duennas, that is to say, the point of ladies; which was the first place wherein they had seen temples, and buildings of lime and stone. The people here go better apparelled than in any other place. They have crosses which they worship, setting them upon their tombs when they are buried; whereby it seemeth, that in times past they had in that place the faith of Christ among them: and some say, that thereabouts were *the seven cities*. They went round about it towards the north, which is on the right hand; from whence they turned back unto the island of Cuba, with some samples of gold, and men which they had taken. And this was the first beginning of the discovery of New Spain. Gomar. hist. gen. l. 3. c. 2.

In the year 1518, Lopez Suares commanded Don John de Silveira to go to the islands of Maldiva; and he made peace with them: and from thence he went to the city of Chatigam, situate on the mouth of the river Ganges, and tropick of Cancer. For this river, and the river Indus which standeth 100 leagues beyond the city of Diu, and that of Canton in China, do all fall into the sea, under one parallel or latitude: and although, before that time, Fernando Perez had been commanded to go to Bengala, yet notwithstanding *John de Silveira* ought to bear away the commendation of this discovery; because he went as captain-general, and remained there longest, learning the commodities of the country, and manners of the people. Castagneda l. 4. c. 36 & 37. Osorius l. 11. f. 315. p. 2.

In the said year 1518, the first day of May, Diego Velasques, governor of the island of Cuba, sent his nephew John de Grisalva, with four ships and two hundred soldiers, to discover the land of Jucatan: and they found in their way the island of Columel, standing towards the north in 19 degrees, and named it Santa Cruz, because they came to it the third of May. They coasted the land lying upon the left hand of the gulph, and came to an island called Ascension, because they came unto it upon Ascension day; they went unto the end of it standing in 16 degrees of latitude: from whence they came back, because they could find no place to go out at; and from hence they went round about it to another river, which they call the river of Grisalva, standing in 17 degrees of latitude: the people thereabout troubled them sore, yet notwithstanding they brought from thence some gold, silver, and feathers, being there in great estimation; and so they turned back again to the island of Cuba. Pet. Martyr decad. 4. c. 4. Gomar. hist. gen. l. 2. c. 14. & 17.

In the same year 1518, one Francis Garay armed three ships in the isle of Jamaica, at his own charges, and went towards the point of Florida, standing in 25 degrees towards the north, seeming to them to be an island most pleasant; thinking it better to people islands than the firm land, because they could best conquer them and keep them. They went there on land, but the people of Florida killed many of them, so that they durst not inhabit it: so they sailed along the coast, and came unto the river of Panuco, standing 500 leagues from the point of Florida, in sailing along the coast; Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 1. c. 12. & 61.

but

but the people resisted them in every place. Many of them also were killed in Chila, whom the savages slaied and eat, hanging up their skins in their temples, in memorial of their valour. Notwithstanding all this Francis de Garay went thither the next year, and begged the government of that country of the emperor, because he saw in it some shew of gold and silver.

Pet. Martyr decad. 4. c. 6.

In the year 1519, in the month of February, Fernando Cortes went from the island of Cuba, to the land which is called Nova Spagna, with eleven ships and five hundred and fifty Spaniards in them. The first place where he went on the land was the island of Cosumel; where they immediately destroyed all the idols, and set crosses on the altars, and the images of the virgin Mary. From this island they went, and arrived on the firm land of Jucatan, at the point De las duennas, or the point of ladies; and went thence to the river of Tavasco, and set upon a city hard by, called Potoncion, environed with wood, and the houses were built with lime and stone, and covered with tile: they fought there eagerly; and there appeared unto them St. James on horseback, which increased their courage. They called that city *Victoria:* and they were the *first people* which were subdued to the Spaniards' obedience in all New Spain. From hence they went discovering the coast till they came unto a place named St. John de Vilhua, distant as they said from Mexico, where the king Muteçuma was, 60 or 70 leagues; and there was a servant of his that governed that province, named Tendilli, which gave them good entertainment, although they understood not one another.

Gomar. hist. gen. l. 2. c. 18, &c.

Because S. John de Vilhua was then no place for a navy to ride in, Cortes sent Francis de Montejo, and the pilot Antonio Alaminos, in two brigantines, to discover that coast; who came to a place where they might ride without danger. They came to Panuco, standing in 23 degrees northward; from whence they came back, upon an agreement to go to Culvacan, being an haven of more safety. They set sail, but Cortes went by land westward, with the most part of his men, on horseback, and they came unto a city called Zempoallan, where they were well received. And from thence he went to another town, called Chiavitztlan: with the lord of which town, as with all the country besides, he made league to be against Muteçuma. And when he knew that his ships were come, he went unto them, and there built a town, and called it *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz:* from whence he sent unto Charles the emperor a present, and made report of all that he had done, and that he had determined to go to Mexico, and to visit Muteçuma: and besought the emperor to give him the government of that country. And because his people should not rise in mutiny, as they began, he destroyed all his ships.

Ib. l. 2. c. 21, 22, 23, 24.

Cortes presently went from Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, leaving there one hundred and fifty Spanish horsemen, and as many Indians, to serve them; and the villages round about became his friends. He went unto the city of Zempoallan: there he heard news that Francis Garay was on the coast with four ships, to come to land: and by subtilty he got nine of his men; of whom he understood, that Garay had been

been in Florida, and came unto the river Panuco, where he got ſome gold, determining to ſtay there, in a town which is now called Almeria.

Cortes overthrew the idols in Zempoallan, and the tombs of their kings, whom they worſhipped as Gods; and told them that they were to worſhip the true God. From thence he went toward Mexico the 16th day of Auguſt 1519, and travelled three days journey, and came to the city of Zalapan, and to another beyond it named Sicuchimatl, where they were well received, and offered to be conducted to Mexico, becauſe Muteçuma had given ſuch command. Beyond this place he paſſed, with his company, a certain hill, of three leagues high, wherein there were vines: in another place they found above a thouſand load of wood ready cut; and beyond they met with a plain country, and in going through the ſame, he named it Nombre de Dios. At the botttom of the mountain he reſted, in a town called Teuhixuacan; and from thence they went through a deſolate country, and ſo came to another mountain, that was very cold, and full of ſnow; and they lay in a town named Zaclotan: and ſo from town, to town, they were well received and feaſted, till they came into another realm, named Tlaxcallan, which waged war againſt Muteçuma; and, being valiant, they ſkirmiſhed with Cortes; but in the end they agreed, and entered into league with him againſt the Mexicans; and ſo they went from country to country till they came within ſight of Mexico. The king Muteçuma fearing them, gave them good entertainment, with lodging and all things neceſſary: and they were with this for a time contented; but miſtruſting that he and his ſhould be ſlain, he took Muteçuma priſoner, and brought him to his lodging with good guard. Cortes demanded how far his realm did extend, and ſought to know the mines of gold and ſilver that were in it, and how many kings, neighbours to Muteçuma, dwelled therein, requiring certain Indians to be informed thereof, whereof he had eight provided: and he joined to them eight Spaniards, and ſent them, two and two, into four countries, namely, into Zucolla, Malinaltepec, Tenich, and Tututepec. They which went unto Zucolla went 80 leagues; for ſo much it was from Mexico thither: they which went to Malinaltepec went 70 leagues, ſeeing goodly countries, and brought ſamples of gold, which the natives of the country took out of great rivers: and all this province belonging to Muteçuma.

Gomara hiſtoriæ l. 2. c. 25.

The country of Tenich, and up the river, were not ſubject to Muteçuma, but had war with him, and would not ſuffer the Mexicans to enter into their territory. They ſent ambaſſadors unto Cortes with preſents, offering him their eſtate and amity; whereof Muteçuma was nothing glad. They which went to Tututepec, ſtanding near the South Sea, did alſo bring with them ſamples of gold, and praiſed the pleaſantneſs of the country, and the multitude of good harbours upon that coaſt; ſhewing to Cortes a cloth of cotton wool, all woven with goodly works, wherein all the coaſt, with the havens and creeks, were ſet forth. But this thing then could not be proſecuted, by reaſon of the coming of Pamphilus de Narvaez into the country, who ſet all the kingdom of Mexico in an uproar.

Ib. l. 2. c. 48.

In-

Gomara hiſtoriæ general. l. 4. c. 2.

In this year 1519, the 10th day of Auguſt, one *Fernando de Magellanes* departed from Sevil, with five ſhips, toward the iſlands of Malacca: he went along the coaſt of Braſil, till he came unto the river of Plate, which the Caſtilians had before diſcovered. From thence therefore he began his diſcovery, and came to an haven, which he called the port of Saint Julian, ſtanding in 49 degrees; and there he entered and wintered: they endured much cold by reaſon of ſnow and ice: the people of that country they found to be of great ſtature, and of great ſtrength; taking men by the legs, and rending them in the midſt, as eaſily as one of us will rend an hen: they live by fruits and hunting. They call them Patagones, but the Braſilians call them Morcas.

In the year 1520, in the beginning of the month of September, growing then ſomewhat temperate, they went out of the port and river of Saint Julian, having loſt in it one of their ſhips; and, with the other four, he came to the ſtreights, named after the name of Magellanes, ſtanding in 52 degrees and an half. From thence one of the ſhips returned back to Caſtile, whereof was captain and pilot one Stephen de Porto, a Portugal; and the other three went forward, entering into a mighty ſea, called *Pacificum*, without ſeeing any inhabited land till they came in 13 degrees, towards the north of the equinoctial; in which latitude they came unto iſlands which they called Los Jardines; and from thence they ſailed to the Archipelagus of S. Lazarus; and in one of the iſlands, called *Matan*, Magellanes was ſlain, and his ſhip was burnt; and the other two went to Borneo; and ſo from place to place they went back, until they came to the iſlands of Maluccas; leaving many others diſcovered, which I rehearſe not, becauſe I find not this voyage exactly written.

Ib. l. 4. c. 3. Pet. Martyr. decad. 5. c. 7.

About this time pope Leo the tenth ſent one Paulus Centurio, as ambaſſador to the great duke of Muſcovy, to wiſh him to ſend into India an army along the coaſt of Tartary: and, by the reaſons of this ambaſſador, the ſaid duke was almoſt perſuaded to that action, if other inconveniences had not prevented him.

Gomara l. 4. c. 17.

In this ſame year 1520, in February, Diego Lopes de Sequeira, governor of India, went towards the ſtreight of Mecca, and carried with him the ambaſſador of *Preſbyter John*, and Roderigo de Lima, who alſo went as ambaſſador to him. They came unto the iſland of Maçua, ſtanding in the Red Sea, on the ſide of Africa, in 17 degrees towards the north; where he ſet the ambaſſadors on land, with the Portugals that ſhould go with them. Peter de Covillan had been there before, being ſent thither by king *John the ſecond* of Portugal: but yet Francis Alvarez gave principal light and knowledge of that country.

Ramuſius 1 vol. fol. 374.

Ramuſius 1 vol. fol. 190.

Gomara hiſt. gen. l. 2. c. 7.

In the year 1520, the licentiate Lucas Vaſques de Aillon, and other inhabitants of S. Domingo, furniſhed two ſhips, and ſent them to the iſles of Lucayos to get ſlaves; and finding none, they paſſed along by the firm land beyond Florida, unto certain countries called Chicora and Gualdape, unto the river Jordan and the cape of Saint Helena, ſtanding in 32 degrees toward the north. They of the country came down to the ſea-ſide to ſee the ſhips, as having never before ſeen the like. The Spaniards went on land, where they received good entertainment, and had given unto them

ſuch

ſuch things as they were in need of: but they brought many of them into their ſhips, and then ſet ſail, and brought them away for ſlaves, but in the way one of their ſhips ſunk, and the other was alſo in great danger. By this news the licentiate Aillon, knowing the wealth of the country, begged the government thereof of the emperor, and it was given him, whither he went to get money to pay his debt.

About this time Diego Velaſques, governor of Cuba, hearing the good ſucceſs of Cortes, and that he had begged the government of New Spain, which he held to be his, he furniſhed out thither, againſt Cortes, 18 ſhips, with 1000 men and 80 horſes, whereof he ſent as general one *Pamphilus de Narvaez*. He came unto the town, called Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, where he took land, and commanded thoſe of the country to receive him as governor thereof; but they took his meſſenger priſoner, and ſent him to Mexico, where Cortes was. Which thing being known by Cortes, he wrote letters unto Narvaez, not to raiſe any uproar in the country which he had diſcovered, offering him obedience, if he had any commiſſion from the emperor; but he corrupted the people of the country with money. Whereupon Cortes went from Mexico, and took Narvaez priſoner in the town of Zempoallan, and put out one of his eyes. Gomara hiſt. gen. l. 2. c. 48.

Narvaez being thus taken priſoner, his army ſubmitted themſelves to Cortes, and obeyed him: whereupon preſently he diſpatched 200 ſoldiers unto the river of Garay, and he ſent John Vaſquez de Leon, with other 200, unto Coſaalco; and withal ſent a Spaniard, with the news of his victory, unto Mexico. But the Indians, being in the mean time riſen, hurt the meſſenger. Which being known to Cortes, he muſtered his men, and found 1000 footmen, and 200 horſemen, with which he went towards Mexico; where he found Peter de Alvarado, and the reſt which he had left there, alive and in ſafety; wherewith he was greatly pleaſed, and Muteçuma made much of him. But yet the Mexicans ceaſed not, but made war againſt him: and the war grew ſo hot, that they killed their king Muteçuma with a ſtone. And then there roſe up another king, ſuch an one as pleaſed them, till ſuch time as they might put the Spaniards out of the city; being no more than 504 footmen, and 40 horſemen. The Spaniards, with great loſs, being driven out of Mexico, retired themſelves with much ado to the Tlaxcallan; where they were well received; and there they gathered together 900 Spaniards, 80 horſemen, and 200,000 Indians, their friends and allies; and they went back again to take Mexico, in the month of Auguſt, in the year 1521. Ib. l. 2. c. 50.

Cortes obtaining ſtill more and more victories, determined to ſee farther within the country: and for this purpoſe, in the year 1521, and in October, he ſent out one Gonſalo de Sandoval, with 200 footmen, and 35 horſemen, and certain Indians, his friends, unto Tochtepec and Coazacoalco, which had rebelled, but at length yielded. And they diſcovered the country, and built a town 120 leagues from Mexico, and named it *Medelin*: and another town they made, naming it *Santo Spirito*, four leagues from the ſea, upon a river: and theſe two towns kept the whole country in obedience. Ib. l. 2. c. 60.

Osorius l. 12. f. 366. This year 1521, in December, *Emmanuel king of Portugal died*; and after him his son king *John the third* reigned.

Gomara hist. gen. l. 4. c. 8. In the year 1521, there went from Malacca one of *Magellan*'s ships, laden with cloves; they victualled themselves in the island of Burro, and from thence went to Timor, which standeth in 11 degrees of southerly latitude. Beyond this island, 100 leagues, they discovered certain islands, and one named *Eude*, finding the places from thenceforward peopled. Afterward passing without Sumatra, they met with no land, till they fell in with the cape of Bona Sperança, where they took in fresh water and wood: so they came by the islands of cape Verde, and from thence to Sevil, where they were notably received, as well for the cloves that they brought, as that they had compassed about the world.

Ib. l. 6. c. 4. In the year 1522, in January, one Gilgonzales armed four ships in the island of Tararequl, standing in the South Sea, with intent to discover the coast of *Nicaragua*: and especially a streight or passage from the South Sea, into the North Sea: and sailing along the coast, he came unto an haven, called S. Vincent, and there landed with 100 Spaniards and certain horsemen, and went within the land 200 leagues; and he brought with him 200 pesoes of gold, and so came back again to S. Vincent; where he found his pilot Andrew Nigno, who was as far as Tecoantepec, in 16 degrees to the north, and had sailed three hundred leagues: from whence they returned to Panama, and so over land to Hispaniola.

Castagneda historia della Indie Orientali l. 6. c. 41. Gomara hist. gen. l. 4. c. 8. & 12. In the same year 1522, in the mouth of April, the other ship of *Magellan*, called The Trinity, went from the island of Tidore, wherein was captain Gonzala Gomez de Espinosa, steering their course toward Nova Spania; and because the wind was scant, they steered toward the north-east, into 16 degrees, where they found two islands, and named them the *isles of Saint John*: and in that course they came to another island, in 20 degrees, which they named *La Griega*, where the simple people came into their ships; of whom they kept some to shew them in Nova Spania: they were in this course four months, until they came into 42 degrees of northerly latitude, where they saw sea fishes, called seals and tunnies. And the climate seemed to them coming newly out of the heat, to be so cold and intemperate, that they could not well bear it; and therefore they turned back again to Tidore, being thereunto enforced also by contrary winds: these were the *first Spaniards* which had been in so high a latitude toward the north. And there they found one *Antonio de Britto* building a fortress; who took from them their goods, and sent forty-eight of them prisoners to Malacca.

Ib. l. 6. c. 12. In this year 1522, Cortes, desirous to have some havens on the South Sea, and to discover the coast of Nova Spania on that side, whereof he had knowledge in Mutecuma's time (because he thought by that way to bring the drugs from Malacca and Banda, and the spices from Java, with less travel and danger), he sent four Spaniards, with their guides, to *Tecoantepec*, *Quahutemallan*, and other havens; where they were well received, and brought some of the people with them to Mexico: and Cortes made much of them; and afterwards sent ten pilots thither to search the seas thereabout.

thereabout. They went 70 leagues in the sea, but found no haven. One Casique, or lord called Cuchatasquir, used them well; and sent with them to Cortes two hundred of his men, with a present of gold and silver, and other things of the country: and they of Tecoantepec did the like. And, not long after, this Casique sent for aid to Cortes against his neighbours, which did war against him.

In the year 1523, Cortes sent unto him for his aid Peter de Alavardo, with two hundred footmen, and forty horsemen; and the Casiques of Tecoantepec and Quatemallan asked them for the *monsters of the sea*, which came thither the year past, meaning the ships of Gil Gonsales de Avila, being greatly amazed at the sight of them, and wondering much more when they heard that Cortes had bigger than those: and they painted to them a mighty carake, with six masts, and sails and shrouds, and men armed on horseback. This Alvarado went through the county, and built there the city of *Saint Jago* or *Saint James*, and a town which he called *Segura*, leaving certain of his people in it. Gomara hist. gen. l. 6. c. 12.

In the same year 1523, in the month of May, Antonio de Britto, being captain of the isles of Malacca, sent his chosen Simon de Bru to learn the way, by the isle of Borneo, to Malacca: they came in sight of the islands of *Manada* and *Panguensara*: they went through the streight of Treminao and Taguy, and to the islands of Saint Michael, standing in seven degrees; and from thence discovered the islands of *Borneo*, and had sight of *Pedra Branca*, or the *White Stone*; and passed through the streight of *Cincapura*, and so to the city of Malacca. Castag. hist. delle Ind. Orient. l. 6. c. 42.

In this same year, 1523, Cortes went with 300 footmen, 150 horsemen, and 40,000 Mexicans, to Panuco, both to discover it better, and also to inhabit it; and withal to be revenged on them that had killed and eaten the soldiers of *Francis Garay*. They of Panuco resisted him; but Cortes in the end overthrew them, and conquered the country: and hard by Chila, upon the river, he built a town, and named it *Santo Stephano del Puerto*, leaving in it 100 footmen and 30 horsemen, and one Peter de Valleio for lieutenant. This journey cost him 76,000 Castilians, besides the Spaniards, horses, and Mexicans which died there. Gomara hist. gen. l. 2. c. 61.

In the year 1523, *Francis de Garay* made nine ships, and two brigantines, to go to Panuco and Rio de las Palmas, to be there as governor; for that the emperor had granted to him from the coast of Florida unto Panuco, in regard of the charges which he had been at in that discovery. He carried with him 850 soldiers, and 140 horses, and some men out of the island of *Jamaica*, where he furnished his fleet with ammunition for the war; and he went to Xagua, an haven in the island of Cuba, where he understood that Cortes had peopled the coast of Panuco: and that it might not happen to him as did to Pamphilus de Narvaez, he determined to take another companion with him, and desired the doctor Zuazo to go to Mexico, and procure some agreement between Cortes and him; and they departed from Xagua, each one about his business. Zuaza came in great jeopardy, and Garay went not clear without. Garay arrived in Rio de las Palmas on Saint James's day, and then he sent up the river one Gonsalvo de Ocampo, who at his return declared that it was an evil and desert country: Ib. & en la Conq. de Mex.

try: but, notwithſtanding, Garay went there on land with 400 footmen and ſome horſemen; and he commanded one John de Grijalva to ſearch the coaſt, and he himſelf marched by land towards Panuco, and paſſed a river, which he named *Rio Montalto*; he entered into a great town, wherein they found many hens, wherewith they refreſhed themſelves, and he took ſome of the people of Chila, which he uſed for meſſengers to certain places; and, after great travel, coming to Panuco, they found no victuals there, by reaſon of the wars of Cortes, and the ſpoil of the ſoldiers. Garay then ſent one Gonçalo de Ocampo to Saint Iſtevan del Puerto, to know whether they would receive him or no; and received a good anſwer: but Cortes's men privately lay in ambuſh, and took 40 of Garay's horſemen, alleging that they came to uſurp the government of another: and beſides this misfortune, he loſt four of his ſhips, whereupon he left off to proceed any farther.

Gomara en la Conq. de Mex. f. 226.

While Cortes was preparing to ſet forward to Panuco, Francis de las Caſas, and Roderigo de la Paz, arrived at Mexico, with letters patents, wherein the emperor gave the government of New Spain, and all the country which Cortes had conquered, to Cortes, and namely Penuco; whereupon he ſtaid his journey: but he ſent Diego de Ocampo with the ſaid letters patents, and Pedro de Alvarado with ſtore of footmen and horſemen. Garay, knowing this, thought it beſt to yield himſelf into Cortes's hands, and go to Mexico; which thing he did, having diſcovered a great tract of land.

Ib. f. 242.

In the year 1523, Gil Gonçales de Avila made a diſcovery, and peopled a town called *San Gil da Buena Viſta*, ſtanding in 14 degrees towards the north, and almoſt in the bottom of the bay called the Aſcenſion, or the Honduras. He began to conquer it, becauſe he beſt knew the ſecrets thereof, and that it was a very rich country.

Ib. f. 229. & in ſeq.

In this year 1523, the 6th day of December, Peter de Alvarado went from the city of Mexico by Cortes's command, to diſcover and conquer *Qualiutemallan*, *Utlatlan*, *Chiapa*, *Xochnuxco*, and other towns towards the *South Sea*. He had with him 300 ſoldiers, 170 horſemen, four field-pieces, and ſome noblemen of Mexico, with people of the country to aid him, as well in the war, as by the way being long. He went by Tecoantepec to Xochnuxco, and other places aboveſaid, with great travel, and loſs of his men; but he diſcovered and ſubdued all the country. There are in thoſe parts certain hills that have alum in them, and out of which diſtilleth a certain liquor, like unto oil; and ſulphur or brimſtone, whereof the Spaniards made excellent gunpowder.

Ib. f. 230.

He travelled 400 leagues in this voyage, and paſſed certain rivers which were ſo hot, that they could not well endure to wade through them. He built a city, calling it *Saint Jago de Quahutemallan*. Peter de Alvarado begged the government of this country; and the report is, that it was given him.

Ib. f. 233.

In the year 1523, the 8th day of December, Cortes ſent Diego de Godoy, with 100 footmen and 30 horſemen, two field-pieces, and many of his friends, Indians, unto the town of Spiritu Santo; he joined himſelf with the captain of that town, and they went to Chamolla, the head city of that province, and that being taken, all the country grew quiet.

In

In the year 1524, in February, Cortes ſent one Roderigo Rangel, with 150 Spaniards, and many of the Tlaxcallans and Mexicans, againſt the Zapotecas and Nixticas; and to other provinces and countries not ſo well diſcovered; they were reſiſted at the firſt, but quickly put the people to the worſt, and kept them for ever after in ſubjection. Gomara en la Conq. de Mex. f. 234.

In the ſame year 1524, one *Roderigo de Baſtidas* was ſent to diſcover, people, and govern the country of *Santa Martha*; where he loſt his life, becauſe he would not ſuffer the ſoldiers to take the ſpoil of a certain town. They joined with Peter Villaforte; and he, being ſometimes his intire friend, helped to kill him with daggers, lying in his bed. Afterward don Pedro de Lugo, and don Alfonſo his ſon, were governors of that place, who behaved themſelves like covetous tyrants, and grew very troubleſome. Ib. hiſt. gen. l. 3. c. 21.

In this ſame year alſo, 1524, after the licentiate *Lucas Vaſques de Aillon* had obtained of the emperor the government of Chicora, he armed for that purpoſe certain ſhips from the city of Santo Domingo, and went to diſcover the country, and to inhabit it; but he was loſt, with all his company, leaving nothing done worthy of memory. And I cannot tell how it comes to paſs, except it be by the juſt judgment of God, that of ſo much gold and precious ſtones as have been gotten in the Indies by ſo many Spaniards, little or none remains, but the moſt part is ſpent and conſumed, and no good thing done. Ib. l. 2. c. 7.

In this year 1524, Cortes ſent one Chriſtopher de Olid, with a fleet, to the iſland of Cuba, to receive the victuals, and ammunition, which Alonſo de Contreras had prepared, and to diſcover and people the country about *cape De Higueras* and the *Honduras*; and to ſend Diego Hurtado de Mendoça by ſea, to ſearch the coaſt from thence even to Darien, to find out the *ſtreight* which was thought to run into the South Sea, as the emperor had commanded. He ſent alſo two ſhips from Panuco, to ſearch along the coaſt unto Florida: he commanded alſo certain brigantines to ſearch the coaſt from Zacatullan to Panama. This Chriſtopher de Olid came to the iſland of Cuba, and made a league with Diego Velaſquez againſt Cortes, and ſo ſet ſail, and went on land hard by Puerto de Cavallos, ſtanding in 10 degrees to the north, and built a town, which he called *Triumpho de la Cruz*. He took Gil Gonzales de Avila priſoner, and killed his nephew, and the Spaniards that were with him, ſaving one child; and ſhewed himſelf an enemy to Cortes, who had ſpent in that expedition 30,000 Caſtellans of gold, to pleaſure him. Ib. l. 2. c. 65. & en la Conq. de Mex. f. 243.

Cortes underſtanding hereof the ſame year, 1529, in the month of October, he went out of the city of Mexico to ſeek Chriſtopher de Olid to be revenged of him, and alſo to diſcover, carrying with him 300 Spaniſh footmen and horſemen, and Quahutimoc, king of Mexico, and other great lords of the ſame city: and coming to the town called La Villa del Spiritu Santo, he required guides of the lords of Tavaſco and Xicalanco; and they ſent him ten of their principal men for guides; who gave him alſo *a map of cotton-wool*, wherein was painted the ſituation of the whole country, from Xicalanco to Naco and Nito, and even as far as Nicaragua; with their mountains, Ib. hiſt. gen. l. 2. c. 66. & en la Conq. de Mex. f. 246. & 251.

mountains, hills, fields, meadows, valleys, rivers, cities, and towns; and Cortes, in the mean time, sent for three ships which were at the haven of Medellin, to follow him along the coast.

Gomara hist. gen. l. 2. c. 66. & en la Conq. de Mex. f. 257.

In this year, 1524, they came to the city of Izancanac, where he understood that the king Quahutimoc, and the Mexicans that were in his company, were conspired against him, and the Spaniards; for which he hanged the king, and two others of the chiefs; and so came to the city of Mazatlan, and after that to Piaca, the head city of a province so called, standing in the midst of a lake: and hereabout they began to find the train of the Spaniards, which they went to seek; and so they went to Zuzullin, and at length came to the town of Nito. From Nito, Cortes, with his own company, and all the Spaniards that he found there, departed to the shore, or strand, called La Baja de Saint Andres; and, finding there a good haven, he built a town in that place, and called it *Natividad de nuestra Sennora.*

Ib. in the Conquest of Mexico, f. 268.

From hence Cortes went to the town of Truxillo, standing in the haven of the Honduras, where the Spaniards that inhabited there entertained him well; and while he was there, there arrived a ship which brought news of the stir in Mexico in Cortes's absence: whereupon he sent word to Gonsalo de Sandoval, to march with his company from Naco to Mexico by land, towards the South Sea, unto Quahutemellan, it being the usual, plain, and safest way; and he left as captain in Truxillo, Ferdinando de Saavedra his cousin, and he himself went by sea along the coast of Jucatan to Chalchioeca, now called Saint Juan de Ullhua; and so to Medellin, and from thence to Mexico, where he was well received, having been from thence eighteen months, and gone 500 leagues, travelling often out of his way, and suffering many hardships.

Ib. f. 270 & 273.

Ib. hist. gen. l. 5. c. 1, 2.

In the year 1525, Francis Pizarro, and Diego de Almagro, went from Panama to discover *Peru*, standing beyond the line toward the south, which they called *Nueva Castillia.* The governor Pedro Arias would not intermeddle with this expedition, because of the evil news which his captain Francis Vezerra had brought.

Francis Pizarro went first in a ship, having with him 124 soldiers; and Almagro went after him in another ship with 70 men. He came to Rio de San Juan, standing in three degrees, where he got 2000 pesoes of gold; and, not finding Pizarro, he went to seek him, repenting his doings, by reason of a mishap that he had. But he went first to an island called *Isla del Gorgona*, and afterwards to another called *Isla del Gallo*, and to the river called *Rio del Peru*, standing in two degrees northward, wherefrom so many famous countries take their name. From thence they went to *Rio de San Francisco*, and to *Cabo de Passaos*, where they passed the equinoctial line, and came to Puerto Vejo, standing in one degree to the south of the line: from whence they sailed to the rivers of Chinapanpa, Tumbez, and Payta, standing in four or five degrees, where they had knowledge of king Atabalipa, and of the exceeding wealth and riches of his palace: which news moved Pizarro speedily to return home again to Panama, and so into Spain, and to request the government of that country of the emperor, which he also obtained. He had spent above three years before in this discovery, not without enduring great labour and perils.

In

In the ſame year 1525, there was ſent out of Spain a fleet of ſeven ſhips, whereof don *Garſia de Loaiſa* was captain-general, to the iſlands of Malucca: they went from the city of the Groine and paſſed by the iſlands of the Canaries, and went to Braſil, where they found an iſland in two degrees, and named it *Saint Matthew*; and it ſeemed to be inhabited, becauſe they found in it orange-trees, hogs, and hens in caves; and upon the rinds of moſt of the trees there were ingraven *Portugal letters*, ſhewing that the Portugueſe had been there *ſeventeen* years before that time. A patch, or pinnace, of theirs paſſed the ſtreight of Magellan, having in her one John de Reſaga, and ran all along the coaſt of Peru and Nova Spagna; they declared all their ſucceſs unto Cortes, and told him, that frier Garſia de Loaiſa was paſſed to the Iſlands of Cloves. But, of this fleet, the admiral only came thither, wherein was captain one Martin Mingues de Carchova; for Loaiſa and the other captains died by the way: all the Moors of Malucca were found well-affectioned to the Spaniards.

Pet. Mart. dec. 8. c. 9. Gomara hiſt. gen. l. 4. c. 12.

Gomara in the Conqueſt of Mexico, p. 281.

In the ſame year 1525, the pilot Stephen Gomez went from the port of the Groin toward the north, to diſcover *the ſtreight* to Maluccas *by the north*, to whom they would give no charge in the fleet of frier Garſia de Loaiſa: but yet the Earl don Ferdinando de Andrada, and the doctor Beltram, and the merchant Chriſtopher de Sarro, furniſhed a galleon for him; and he went from the Groin in Galicia to the iſland of Cuba, and to the point of Florida, ſailing by day, becauſe he knew not the land: he paſſed the bay Angra, and the river Enſeada, and ſo went over to the other ſide. It is alſo reported, that he came to *cape Razo*, in 46 degrees to the north; from whence he came back again to the Groin, laden with *ſlaves*. The news hereof ran preſently through Spain, that he was come home laden with *cloves* (miſtaking the word), and it was carried to the court of Spain: but when the truth was known, it turned to a pleaſant jeſt. In this voyage Gomez was ten months.

Pet. Mart. decad. 8. p. 601. Gomara hiſt. gen. l. 1. c. 5.

In this year 1525, don George de Meneſes, captain of Malucca, and with him don Garcia Henriques, ſent a foiſt to diſcover land towards the north, wherein went as captain one Diego de Rocha, and Gomez de Sequiera for pilot. In nine or ten degrees they found certain iſlands ſtanding cloſe together, and they called them the iſlands of *Gomez de Sequeira*, he being the firſt pilot that diſcovered them: and they came back again by the iſland of Batochina.

In the year 1526, there went out of Seville one *Sebaſtian Cabota*, a Venetian by his father, but born at Briſtol in England, being chief pilot to the emperor, with four ſhips, towards Malucca: they came to Pernambuco, and ſtaid there three months for a wind to double the cape of Saint Auguſtine. In the bay of Patos, *or of ducks*, the admiral's ſhip periſhed; and, being without hope to get to the iſles of Malucca, they made a pinnace to enter up the river of Plate, and to ſearch it. They ran 60 leagues up before they came to the bar, where they left their great ſhips; and with their ſmall pinnaces paſſed up the river *Parana*, which the inhabitants count to be the principal river. Having rowed up 120 leagues, they made a fortreſs, and ſtaid there above a year; and then rowed farther till they came to the mouth of another river, called *Paragica*; and, perceiving that the country yielded gold and ſilver, they kept

Ib. l. 3. c. 39.

on their course, and sent a brigantine before, but those of the country took it: and Cabota understanding of it, thought it best to turn back unto their fort, and there took in his men which he had left there, and so went down the river where his ships rode; and from thence he sailed home to Seville in the year 1530, leaving *discovered above* 200 *leagues within this river*, reporting it to be very navigable, and that it springs out of a lake named Bombo: it standeth in the firm land of the kingdom of Peru, running through the valleys of Xauxa, and meets with the rivers Parso, Bulcasban, Cay, Parima, Hiucax, with others which make it very broad and great. It is said also, that out of this lake runneth the river called *Rio de San Francesco;* and by this means the rivers come to be so great: for the rivers that come out of lakes, are bigger than those which proceed from a spring.

Ramusio, v. 3. f. 310.

In the year 1527, one Panfilo de Narvaez * went out of Saint Lucar de Barameda, to be general of the coast and land of Florida, as far as Rio de las Palmas; and had with him five ships, 600 soldiers, 100 horses, besides a great sum and quantity of victuals, armour, cloathing, and other things. He could not go on land where his desire was, but went on land somewhat near to Florida, with 300 of his company, some horses, and some victuals, commanding the ships to go to Rio de las Palmas; in which voyage they were near all lost: and those which escaped passed great dangers, hunger and thirst, in an island called *Xamo*, and by the Spaniards, *Malhada*, being very dry and barren, where the Spaniards killed one another, and the people of the country did the like. Narvaez, and those which went with him, saw some gold with certain Indians, and he demanded of them where they gathered it: and they answered, that they had it at *Apalachen*. They therefore searched for this gold; and, in searching, came to the said town, where they found neither gold nor silver; but they saw many bay trees, and almost all other kind of trees, with beasts, birds, and such like. From *Apalachen* they went to a town called *Aute;* and from thence to *Xamo*, a poor country, with small sustenance. Here the people desired the Spaniards to cure their sick, for they had many: and certain of the Spaniards, being in extreme poverty, attempted it, and used prayer; and it pleased God that they did indeed recover, as well those that were hurt, as those which were diseased; insomuch that one that was thought verily to be dead, was by them restored to life, as they themselves report. They affirm, that they passed through many countries, and many strange people, differing in language, apparel, and customs: and because they played the physicians, they were, as they passed, greatly esteemed, and held as Gods; and the people offered them no violence, but would give them part of such things as they had. Therefore they passed quietly, and travelled so far till they came to a people that use continually to live in herds with their cattle, as the Arabians do. They are poor, and eat snakes, lizards, spiders, ants, and all kind of vermin; and herewith they live so well contented, that commonly they sing and dance. These Spaniards travelled above 800 leagues; and there escaped alive in this journey not above seven or eight

* Ramusio gives a long, an excellent account of this voyage, intitled, *Relatione che fece Alvaro Nunez detto capo di vacca; di quello che interuenne nell' Indie all'armata, della qual era gouvernatore* Pamphilo Narvaez, *dell' anno 1527, fino al 1536, che ritorno in Sibillia con tre soli suoi compagni.*

eight of them: they came upon the coaſt of the South Sea to a city called Saint Michael of Calvacan, ſtanding in upwards of 23 degrees towards the north.

This year 1527, when Cortes underſtood by the pinnace aforeſaid, that don Garcia de Loaiſa was paſſed by the ſtreight of Magellan toward the *iſlands of Cloves*, he provided three ſhips to ſeek him, and to diſcover by that way of New Spain, as far as the iſles of Malacca. There went as governor in theſe ſhips one Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, couſin to Cortes, a man fit for that purpoſe: he made ſail from Civatlanejo, now named St. Chriſtopher, ſtanding in twenty degrees toward the north, on All Saints day. They arrived at the iſlands which Magellan named *The Pleaſures*; and from thence ſailed to the iſlands which Gomez de Sequeira had diſcovered; and, not knowing thereof, they named them Iſlas de los Reyes, that is to ſay, *The iſles of the kings*, becauſe they came unto them on twelfth-day: in the way Saavedra loſt two ſhips of his company, of which they never after heard news. But from iſland to iſland he ſtill ſailed, and came to the iſland of Candiga, where he bought two Spaniards for ſeventy ducats, which had been of the company of frier Loaiſa, who was loſt thereabout. Gom. hiſt. gen. l. 2. c. 72. and in the Conqueſt of Mexico, f. 282.

In the year 1528, in March, Saavedra arrived at the iſlands of Malacca, and came to an anchor before the iſle of Gilolo: he found the ſea calm, and wind at will, without any tempeſts; and he took the diſtance from thence to Nova Spagna to be two thouſand and fifty leagues. At this time Martin Yniguez de Carquiçano died, and Fernando de la Torre was choſen their general; who then was in the city of Tidore, had there erected a gallows, and had fierce war with Don George de Meneſes, captain of the Portugueſe; and in a fight which they had the fourth day of May, Saavedra took from him a galleot, and ſlew the captain there, called Fernando de Baldaya; and in June he returned towards New Spain, having with him one Simon de Brito Patalin, and other Portugueſe; and, having been certain months at ſea, he was forced back unto Tidore, where Patalin was beheaded and quartered, and his companions hanged.

In this year 1528, Cortes ſent two hundred footmen and ſixty horſemen, and many Mexicans, to diſcover and plant the country of the *Chichemecas*; for it was reported to be rich of gold. This being done, he ſhipped himſelf, and came into Caſtile with great pomp, and brought with him two hundred and fifty thouſand marks of gold and ſilver: and, being come to Toledo, where the emperor then lay, he was entertained according to his deſerts; and the emperor made him *marquis Del Valle*, and married him to the lady Jane de Zuniga, daughter to the earl de Aguilar; and then the emperor ſent him back again to be general of New Spain. Gomar. hiſt. gen. l. 2. c. 73.

In the year 1529, in May, Saavedra returned back again toward New Spain, and he had ſight of land toward the ſouth in two degrees; he ran eaſt along by it above five hundred leagues till the end of Auguſt. The coaſt was clean, and of good anchor-ground; the people black, and of curled hair. Ib. l. 2. c. 72.

Saavedra, having ſailed four or five degrees to the ſouth of the line, returned unto it, and paſſed the equinoctial towards the north; and diſcovered an iſland which he

called Isla de los Pintados, that is to say, *the isle of painted people*; for the people thereof are white, and all of them marked with an iron: and by the signs which they gave, he conceived that they were of China. There came to them from the shore a kind of boat full of these men, making tokens of threatenings to the Spaniards; who, seeing that the Spaniards would not obey them, they began to skirmish with slinging of stones; but Saavedra would suffer no shot to be fired at them, because their stones were of no strength, and did no harm.

A little beyond this island, in ten or twelve degrees, they found many small low islands, full of palm-trees and grass, which they called *Los Jardines*; and they came to an anchor in the midst of them, where they tarried certain days. The people seemed to descend from them of China; but, by reason of their long continuance there, they are become so brutish, that they have neither law, nor yet give themselves to any honest labour. They wear white clothing, which they make of grass; they stand in great fear of fire, because they never saw any; they eat cocos instead of bread, breaking them before they are ripe, and putting them under the sand, and then after certain days they take them out, and lay them in the sun, and then they will open: they eat fish, which they take in a kind of boat called a *parao*, which they make of pine-wood, which is driven thither at certain times of the year, they know not how, nor from whence; and the tools wherewith they make their boats are of shells.

Saavedra, perceiving that the time and weather was then somewhat better for his purpose, made sail toward the firm land and city of Panama, where he might unlade the cloves and merchandize which he had; that so in carts it might be carried four leagues to the river of Chagre, which they say is navigable, running out into the north sea, not far from Nombre de Dios, where the ships ride, which come out of Spain: by which way all kind of goods might be brought unto them in shorter time, and with less danger, than to sail about the Cape of Bona Sperança. For, from Malacca unto Panama, they sail continually between the tropics and the line; but they never found wind to serve that course, and therefore they came back again to Malacca very sad, because Saavedra died by the way: who, if he had lived, *meant to have opened the land of Castilia del Oro and New Spain, from sea to sea.* Which might have been done in *four* places: namely, from the gulph of *St. Michael* to *Uraba*, which is 25 leagues; or from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*, being 17 leagues distance; or through *Xaquator*, a river of Nicaragua, which springeth out of a lake three or four leagues from the South Sea, and falleth into the North Sea; whereupon sail great barques and crayers. The other place is from *Tecoantepec* through a river to *Verdadera Cruz*, in the bay of *Honduras*, which also might be opened in a streight. Which if it were done, then they might sail from the Canaries unto the Malaccas, under the climate of the Zodiac, in less time, and with much less danger, than to sail about the Cape De Bona Sperança, or by the streight of Magellan, or by the northwest: and yet, if there might be found a streight there, to sail into the sea of China, as it hath been sought, it would do much good.

Gomara hist. gen. l. 4. c. 14.

In

In this year 1529, one *Damiano de Goes*, a Portugal, being in Flanders, after that he had travelled over all Spain, was yet desirous to see more countries, and fashions, and diversities of people; and therefore went over into England and Scotland, and was in the courts of the kings of those parts: and after that came again into Flanders, and then travelled through Zealand, Holland, Brabant, Luxenburg, Switzerland, and so through the cities of Colen, Spires, Argentine, Basil, and other parts of Germany, and then came back again into Flanders: and from thence he went into France through Picardy, Normandy, Champagne, Burgundy, the dukedom of Bourbon, Gascoign, Languedoc, Dauphiné, the dukedom of Savoy; and passed into Italy, into the dukedom of Milan, Ferrara, Lombardy, and so to Venice; and turned back again to the territory of Genoa, and the dukedom of Florence, through all Tuscany: and he was in the city of Rome, and in the kingdom of Naples, from the one side to the other.

From thence he went into Germany to Ulm, and other places of the empire, to the dukedom of Suevia and of Bavaria, and the archdukedom of Austria; the kingdom of Bohemia, the dukedom of Moravia, and the kingdom of Hungary, and so to the confines of Greece. From thence he went to the kingdom of Poland, Prussia, and the dukedom of Livonia, and came into the great dukedom of Moscovy: from whence he came back into High Germany, and through the countries of the Landsgrave, the dukedom of Saxony, the countries of Denmark, Gotland, and Norway; travelling so far, that he found himself in 70 degrees of latitude towards the north. He did see, speak, and was conversant with all the kings, princes, nobles, and chief cities of all Christendom, in the space of twenty-two years: so that by reason of the greatness of his travel, I thought him a man worthy to be here remembered.

In the year 1529 or 1530, one *Melchior de Sousa Tavarez* went from the city of Ormuz unto Balsora, and the islands of Gissara, with certain ships of war; and passed up as far as the place where the rivers Tigris and Euphrates meet each other. And although other Portuguese had discovered and sailed through that streight, yet never any of them sailed so far upon the fresh water till that time, when he discovered that river from the one side to the other; wherein he saw many things which the Portuguese knew not.

Not long after this one *Ferdinando Coutinho*, a Portuguese, came unto Ormuz; and being desirous to see the world, he determined to go into Portugal from thence over land, to see Asia and Europe; and, to do this the better, he went into Arabia, and up the river Euphrates, the space of a month; and saw many kingdoms and countries, which in our time had not been seen by the Portuguese: he was taken prisoner in Damascus, and afterward crossed over the province of Syria, and came unto the city of Aleppo. He had been at the holy sepulchre in Jerusalem, and in the city of Cairo, and at Constantinople with the great Turk; and, having seen his court, he passed over unto Venice, and from thence into Italy, France, Spain, and so came again to Lisbon. So that he, and Damiano de Goes, were in our time the most noble

Portuguese, that had discovered and seen most countries and realms for their own satisfactions.

Gomar. hist. gen. l. 5. c. 3. In the same year 1530, little more or less, one Francis Pizarro, who had been in Spain, to obtain the government of Peru, turned back again to the city of Panama, with all things that he desired; he brought with him four brethren, Ferdinand, John, Gonsalvo, and Francis Martines de Alcantara: they were not well received by Diego de Almagro, and his friends; for that Pizarro had not so much commended him to the emperor as he looked for, but omitted the discovery, wherein he had lost one of his eyes, and spent much: yet in the end they agreed, and Diego de Almagro gave Pizarro seven hundred pezoes of gold, victuals, and ammunition, wherewith he prepared himself the better for his journey.

Not long after this agreement Francis Pizarro, and his brethren, went in two ships, with the most of their soldiers and horses; but he could not arrive at Tombez, as he was minded, and so they went on land in the river of Peru; and went along the coast with great pains, because there were many bogs and rivers in their way, wherein some of his men were drowned: they came to the town of *Coache*, where they rested, and found much gold and emeralds, of which they brake some, to see if they were perfect. From thence Pizarro sent to Diego de Almagro twenty thousand pezoes of gold, to send him men, horses, ammunition, and victuals; and so he went on his journey to the haven named *Porto Viejo:* and thither came unto him one Sebastian de Benalcazar, with all such things as he had sent for, which pleased and gratified him very much.

Ib. l. 5. c. 4. In the year 1531, he, having this aid, passed over into a rich island called *Puna*, where he was well received of the governor; yet at last he conspired to kill him, and all his men: but Pizarro prevented him, and took many of the Indians, and bound them with chains of gold and silver. The governor caused those that kept his wives, to have their noses and arms cut off, so jealous was he.—Here Pizarro found above six hundred men prisoners belonging to the king Attabalipa, who waged war against his eldest brother Guascar to win reputation: these he set at liberty, and sent them to the city of Tombez, who promised to be a means that he should be well received in those parts: but when they saw themselves out of bondage, they forgot their promise, and incited the people against the Spaniards. Then Pizarro sent three Spaniards to Tombez, to treat for peace, whom they took, and slew, and sacrificed; and their priests wept not for pity, but of custom. Pizarro, hearing of this cruel fact, passed over to the main, and set upon the city one night suddenly, and killed many of them; so that they presented him with gifts of gold and silver, and other riches, and so became friends. This done, he builded a town upon the river Cira, and called it *St. Michael of Tangarara*, which was the first town inhabited by Christians in those parts; whereof Sebastian de Benalcazar was appointed captain. Then he searched out a good and sure haven for his ships, and found that of *Payta* to be an excellent harbour.

Ib. c. 5.

In this ſame year 1531, there went one Diego de Ordas to be governor in the river of *Maragnon*, with three ſhips, ſix hundred ſoldiers, and thirty-five horſes. He died by the way, ſo that the intention came to none effect. After that, in the year 1534. there was ſent thither one Hierom Artal, with an hundred and thirty ſoldiers; yet he came not to the river, but peopled *St. Michael de Neveri*, and other places in Paria. Alſo there went unto this river Maragnon, a Portugueſe gentleman, named Aries D'Acugna; and he had with him ten ſhips, nine hundred Portugueſe, and an hundred and thirty horſes: he ſpent much, but he that loſt moſt was one *John de Barros*. This river ſtandeth in three degrees toward the ſouth, having at the entrance of it fifteen leagues in breadth, and many iſlands inhabited, wherein trees grow that bear incenſe of a greater bigneſs than in Arabia;—gold, rich ſtones, and one emerald was found there as big as the palm of a man's hand. The people of the country make their drink of a kind of oats, which are as big as quinces. Gomar. hiſt. gen. l. 3. c. 37.

In the year 1531, one Nunnez de Guſman went from the city of Mexico, towards the northweſt, to diſcover and conquer the countries of Xaliſco, Ceintiliquipac, Ciametlan, Tovalla, Cnixco, Ciamolla, Culhuacan, and other places: and, to do this, he carried with him two hundred and fifty horſes, and five hundred ſoldiers. He went through the country of Mechuacan, where he had much gold, ten thouſand marks of ſilver, and ſix thouſand Indians to carry burdens. He conquered many countries, and called that of Xaliſco, *Nueva Galicia*, becauſe it is a ragged country, and the people ſtrong. He builded a city, which he called *Compoſtella*, and another named *Guadalajara*, becauſe he was born in Guadalajara in Spain: he likewiſe builded the towns de *Santo Eſpirito*, *de la Conception*, and *de San Miguel*, ſtanding in 24 degrees of north latitude. Ib. l. 6. c. 16.

In the year 1532, Ferdinando Cortes ſent one Diego Hurtado de Mendoça unto Acapulco, 70 leagues from Mexico, where he had prepared a ſmall fleet to diſcover the *coaſt of the South Sea*, as he had promiſed the emperor: and finding two ſhips ready, he went into them, and ſailed to the haven of Xaliſco, where he would have taken in water and wood; but Nunnez de Guſman cauſed him to be reſiſted, and ſo he went forward: but ſome of his men mutinied againſt him, and he put them all into one of his ſhips, and ſent them back into New Spain: they wanted water, and going to take ſome in the bay of the Vanderas, the Indians killed them. But Diego Hurtado ſailed two hundred leagues along the coaſt, yet did nothing worth the writing. Ib. l. 2. c. 74.

In the year 1533, Francis Pizarro went from the city of Tombez to Caxamalca, where he took the king Attabalipa, who promiſed for his ranſom much gold and ſilver: and to accompliſh it there went to Cuſco, ſtanding in 17 degrees on the ſouth ſide, Peter de Varco, and Ferdinando de Sotto, who diſcovered that journey, being 200 leagues, all cauſeways of ſtone, and bridges were made of it; and from one journey to another, lodgings made for the *Yngas*; for ſo they call their kings. Their armies are very great and monſtrous; for they bring above an hundred thouſand fighting men to the field. They lodge upon theſe cauſeways, and have there proviſion ſufficient Ib. l. 5. c. 6, 7, & 8.

cient and neceſſary, after the uſe and cuſtom of China, as it is ſaid. Ferdinando Pizarro, with ſome horſemen, went unto Paciacama, 100 leagues from Caxamalca, and diſcovered that province; and, coming back, he underſtood how Guaſcar, brother to Attabalipa, was, by his command, killed; and that his captain Ruminaguy roſe up in arms with the city of Quito. After this Attabalipa was, by the command of Pizarro, ſtrangled.

Gomar. hiſtoria general. l. 5. c. 11.

In the year 1534, Francis Pizarro, ſeeing that the two kings were gone, began to inlarge himſelf in his ſigniories, and to build cities, forts, and towns, to have them more in ſubjection. Likewiſe he ſent Sebaſtian de Benalcazar, the captain of St. Michael of Tangarara, againſt Ruminaguy, unto Quito. He had with him two hundred footmen, and eighty horſemen: he went diſcovering and conquering an hundred and twenty leagues, from one city to the other, eaſt, not far from the equinoctial line; where Peter Alvarado found mountains full of ſnow, and ſo cold, that ſeventy of his men were frozen to death. When he came unto Quito, he began to inhabit it, and named it *St. Francis*. In this country there is plenty of wheat, barley, cattle, and plants of Spain, which is very ſtrange. Pizarro went ſtrait to the city of Cuſco, and found by the way the captain Quiſquiz riſen in arms, whom ſhortly he defeated. About this time there came unto him a brother of Attabalipa, named Mango, whom he made *Ynga*, or king of the country. Thus marching forward on his journey, after certain ſkirmiſhes he took that exceeding rich and wealthy city of Cuſco.

Ibid. l. 5. c. 18.

Ibid. l. 5. c. 19.

Ibid. l. 5. c. 16.

In this ſame year 1534, a Briton called *Jaques Cartier*, with three ſhips, went to the land of Corterealis, and the bay of St. Laurence, otherwiſe called *Golfo Quadrato*, and fell in 48 degrees and an half towards the north; and ſo he ſailed till he came unto 51 degrees, hoping to have paſſed that way to China, and to bring thence drugs and other merchandize into France. The next year after he made another voyage into thoſe parts, and found the country abounding with victuals, and good habitations, with many and great rivers. He ſailed in one river toward the ſouthweſt, 300 leagues, and named the country thereabout *Nova Francia*: at length finding the water freſh, he perceived he could not paſs through to the South Sea; and having wintered in thoſe parts, the next year following he returned into France.

In the year 1535, or in the beginning of the year 1536, Don Antony de Mendoça came unto the city of Mexico, as viceroy of New Spain. In the mean while Cortes was gone for more men, to continue his diſcovery, which immediately he ſet in hand, ſending forth two ſhips from Tecoantepec, which he had made ready. There went as captains in them, *Fernando de Grijalva*, and *Diego Bezerra de Mendoça*; and for pilots there went a Portugueſe named Acoſta, and the other Fortunio Ximenez, a Biſcaine. The firſt night they divided themſelves: Fortunio Ximenez killed his captain Bezerra, and hurt many of his confederates; and then he went on land to take water and wood in the bay of Santa Cruz; but the Indians there ſlew him, and above twenty of his company. Two mariners which were in the boat eſcaped, and went unto Xaliſco, and told Nunnes de Guſman, that they had found tokens of pearls; he went into the ſhip, and ſo went to ſeek the pearls: he diſcovered along the coaſt above

Ib. l. 2. c. 74. and l. 2. c. 98.

above 150 leagues. They said that Ferdinando de Grijalva sailed 300 leagues from Tecoantepec without seeing any land, but only one island, which he named the island of *St. Thomas*, because he came unto it on that saint's day: it standeth in 20 degrees of latitude.

In this year 1535, Pizarro built the city *de los Reys*, upon the river of Lima. The inhabitants of Xauxa went to dwell there, because it was a better country, standing in 12 degrees of southward latitude. In this same year of 1535, he caused the city of *Truxillo* to be built, on a river side, upon a fruitful soil, standing in eight degrees on that side. He built also the city of *Saint Jago* in Porto Viejo; besides many others along the coast, and within the land, where there breed many horses, asses, mules, kine, hogs, goats, sheep, and other beasts; also trees and plants, but principally rosemary, oranges, lemons, citrons, and other sour fruits; vines, wheat, barley, and other grains: radishes, and other kind of herbage and fruits, are brought out of Spain thither, to be sown and planted. Gomar. hist. gen. l. 4. c. 23. L. 5. c. 22.

In the same year 1535, one *Diego de Almagro* went from the city of Cusco to the provinces of Arequipa and Chili, reaching beyond Cusco towards the south unto thirty degrees. This voyage was long, and he discovered much land; suffering great hunger, cold, and other extremities, by reason of the abundance of ice, which stoppeth the running of the rivers; so that men and horses die in those parts of the cold. About this time Ferdinando Pizarro came out of Spain to the city de los Reyes, and brought with him the title of marquisate of Atanillos for his brother Francis Pizarro; and to Diego de Almagro he brought the government of 100 leagues, over and besides that which was discovered; and named it, *The new kingdom of Toledo*. Ferdinando Pizarro went strait to the city of Cusco: and one John de Rada went to Almagro into Chili, with the emperor's patents. L. 5. c. 24. L. 5. c. 25.

Diego de Almagro, having received the letters patents which the emperor had sent him, went strait from Chili unto Cusco, to have it, seeing it did appertain unto him: which was the cause of a civil war. They were mightily oppressed with want of victuals, and other things, in this their return; and were enforced to eat the horses, which had died four months and an half before, when they passed that way. Ib. c. 27.

In this same year 1535, Nunnez D'Acunha being governor of India, while he was making a fortress at the city of Diu, he sent a fleet to the river of Indus, being from thence 90 or 100 leagues toward the north, under the tropic of Cancer. The captain's name was *Vasquez Perez de San Paio*: also he sent another army against Badu, king of Cambaia, the captain whereof was Cosesosar, a renegado. They came to the bar of that mighty river in the month of December, of the water whereof they found such trial as Quintus Curtius writeth of it, when Alexander came thither.

In this year 1535, one Simon de Alcazava went from Seville with two ships, and 240 Spaniards in them: some say they went to New Spain; others, that they went to Malacca; but others also say, to China, where they had been with Ferdinando Perez de Andrada. Howsoever it was, they went first unto the Canaries, and from thence to the streight of Magellan, without touching at the land of Brasil, or any Ib. l. 4. c. 13.

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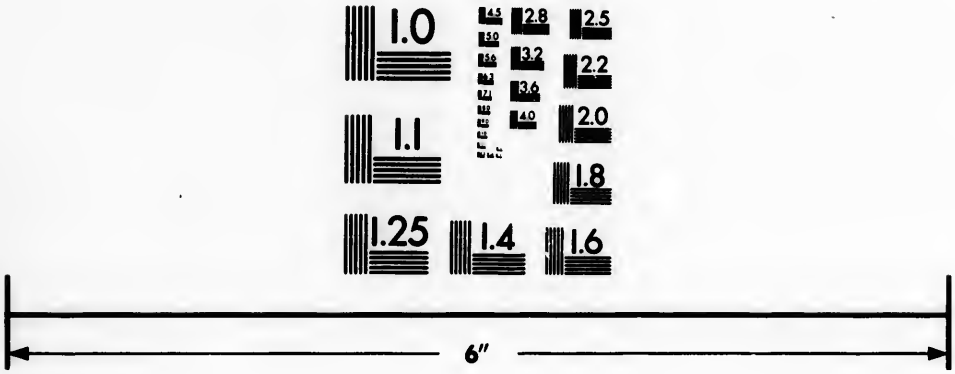

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part of that coaſt: they entered into the ſtreight in the month of December, with contrary winds, and cold weather. The ſoldiers would have had him turn back again; but he would not: he went into an haven on the ſouth ſide, in 53 degrees; there the captain Simon, of Alcazava, commanded Roderigo de Iſla, with ſixty Spaniards, to go and diſcover land: but they roſe up againſt him, and killed him; and appointed ſuch captains and officers as pleaſed them, and returned: coming thwart the Braſil, they loſt one of their ſhips upon the coaſt; and the Spaniards that eſcaped drowning, were eat by the ſavages. The other ſhips went to Saint Jago in Hiſpaniola; and from thence to Seville in Spain.

Gomar. hiſt. gen. lib. 3. c. 39.

In this ſame year 1535, *don Pedro de Mendoça* went from Cadiz toward the river of Plata, with twelve ſhips, and had with him 2000 men; which was the greateſt number of ſhips and men that ever any captain carried into the Indies. He died by the way returning homewards. The moſt part of his men remained in that river, and built a great town, containing now two thouſand houſes, wherein great ſtore of Indians dwell with the Spaniards. They diſcovered and conquered the country till they came to the mines of Potoſi, and to the town La Plata, which is 500 leagues diſtant from them.

Ib. l. 2. c. 74, 98.

In the year 1536, Cortes underſtanding that his ſhip, wherein Fortunio Ximenez was pilot, was ſeized on by Nunnez de Guzman, he ſent forth three ſhips to the place where Guzman was; and he himſelf went by land, well accompanied, and found the ſhip which he ſought, all ſpoiled and rifled. When his three other ſhips were come about, he went on board himſelf, with the moſt part of his men and horſes, leaving for captain of thoſe which remained on land, one Andrew de Tapia. So he ſet ſail; and, coming to a point the 1ſt day of May, he called it *Saint Philip* and an iſland that lieth cloſe by it, he called *Saint Jago*. Within three days after, he came into the bay where the pilot Fortunio Ximenez was killed, which he called *La Plata de Santa Cruz*, where he went on land, and commanded Andrew de Tapia to diſcover. Cortes took ſhipping again, and came to the river now called *Rio de San Pedro y San Paulo*, where, by a tempeſt, the ſhips were ſeparated; one was driven to the bay de Santa Cruz; another to the river of Guajaval; and the third was driven on ſhore near Xaliſco, and the men thereof went by land to Mexico.

Cortes long expected his two ſhips that he wanted; but they not coming, he hoiſted ſail, and entered into the gulph now called *Mar de Cortes*, *Mar Vermejo*, or the gulph of *California*, and ſhot 50 leagues within it; where he eſpied a ſhip at anchor; and, ſailing towards her, he had been loſt, if that ſhip had not ſuccoured him. But having graved his ſhip, he departed with both the ſhips from thence. He bought victuals, at a very dear rate, at Saint Michael of Culvacan; and from thence he went to the haven of Santa Cruz, where he heard that Don Antonio de Mendoça was come out of Spain to be viceroy: he therefore left to be captain of his men one *Francis de Ulloa*, to ſend him certain ſhips to diſcover that coaſt. While he was at Acapulco, meſſengers came to him from don Antonio de Mendoça the viceroy, to certify him of his arrival; and alſo ſent him the copy of a letter, wherein Francis

Ib. in the Conqueſt of Mexico, f. 290, 291, 292.

Pizarro

Pizarro wrote, that Mango Ynga was rifen againft him, and was come to the city of Cufco, with an hundred thoufand fighting men; and that they had killed his brother John Pizarro, and above 400 Spaniards, and 200 horfes, and he himfelf was in danger; fo that he demanded fuccour and aid. Cortes being informed of the ftate of Pizarro, and of the arrival of don Antonio de Mendoça, becaufe he would not as yet be at obedience; firft, he determined to fend to Malacca, to difcover that way under the equinoctial line, becaufe the iflands of Cloves ftand under that parallel: and for that purpofe he prepared two fhips, with provifion and men, befides all other things neceffary. He gave the charge of one of thefe fhips to Ferdinando de Grijalva, and of the other to one Alvarado, a gentleman: they went firft to Saint Michael de Tangarara in Peru, to fuccour Francis Pizarro; and from thence to Malacca, all along near the line, as they were commanded: and it is declared, that they failed above a thoufand leagues without fight of land either on the one fide, or yet on the other, of the equinoctial: and in two degrees towards the north they difcovered an ifland named *Afea*, which feemeth to be one of the iflands of Cloves. Five hundred leagues, little more or lefs, as they failed, they came to the fight of another, which they named *Ifla de los Pefcadores*. Going ftill in this courfe, they faw another ifland, called *Hayme*, towards the fouth, and another, named *Apia*; and then they came to the fight of *Seri*: turning towards the north one degree, they came to anchor at another ifland, named *Coroa*; from thence they came to another under the line, named *Meoufum*, and from thence unto *Bufu*, ftanding in the fame courfe.

From thefe iflands they came to others, named *the Guelles*, ftanding one degree towards the north, eaft, and weft, from the ifle of Ternate, wherein the Portuguefe have a fortrefs: thefe men are haired, like the people of the Malaccas. Thefe iflands ftand 124 leagues from the ifland named Moro, and from Ternate betwixt 40 and 50. From thence they went to the ifle of Moro, and the iflands of Cloves, going from the one to the other: but the people of the country would not fuffer them to come on land; faying unto them, *Go unto the fortrefs, where the captain Antonio Galvano is, and we will receive you with a good will*: for they would not fuffer them to come on land without his licence; for he was factor of the country, as they ftiled him. A thing worthy to be noted; that thofe of the country were fo affectioned to the Portuguefe, that they would venture for them their lives, wives, children, and goods!

In the year 1537, the licentiate John de Vadillo, governor of Carthagena, went out with a good army from a port of Uraba, called Saint Sebaftian de Buena Vifta, being in the gulph of Uraba, and from thence to Rio verde; and from thence by land, without knowing any way, nor yet having any carriages, they went to the end of the country of Peru, and to the town La Plata, by the fpace of 1200 leagues; a thing worthy of memory: for, from this river to the mountains of Abibe, the country is full of hills, thick forefts of trees, and many rivers; and for want of a beaten way, they had pierced fides. The mountains of Abibe, as it is recorded, have 20 leagues in breadth: they muft be paffed over in January, February, March, and April; for from

Pedro de Cieça, part. prim. de la Chron. del Peru, c. 9, 10.

from that time forward it raineth much, and the rivers will be so greatly increased, that you cannot pass for them. Moreover they declared the diversities of the people, tongues, and apparel that they observed in the countries, kingdoms, and provinces through which they passed; and the great perils and dangers that they were in till they came to the town called Villa de la Plata, and to the sea thereunto adjoining. This was the greatest discovery that hath been heard of by land, and in so short a time; and if it had not been done in our days, the credit thereof would have been doubtful.

Ramusius 3 vol. fol. 356.

In the year 1538, there went out of Mexico certain friars, of the order of Saint Francis, towards the north, to preach to the Indians the catholic faith. He that went fartheſt was one friar Mark de Nizza, who passed through Culvacan, and came to the province of Sibola, where he found seven cities; and the farther he went, the richer he found the country with gold, silver, precious stones, and sheep bearing very fine wool. Upon the fame of this wealth, the viceroy don Antonio de Mendoça, and Cortes, determined to send a power thither: but when they could not agree thereupon, Cortes went over into Spain in the year 1540, where he afterwards died.

In this year 1538, began the civil war between Pizarro and Almagro, wherein, at last, Almagro was taken, and beheaded.

Gomar. hist. gen. l. 5. c. 34.

In the same year 1538, *Antonio Galvano* being chief captain in the isles of Malacca, sent a ship towards the north, whereof one Francis de Castro was captain, having command to convert as many as he could to the faith: he himself christened many; as the lords of the Celebes, Maccasares, Amboynos, Moros, Moratax, and divers other places. When Francis de Castro arrived at the island of Mindanao, six kings received the water of baptism, with their wives, children, and subjects; and the most of them Antonio Galvano gave command to be called by the name of John, in remembrance that king John the third reigned then in Portugal.

Ib. l. 2. c. 74. Ramusius 3 vol. fol. 329.

In the year 1539, Cortes sent three ships with *Francis Ulloa*, to discover the coast of Culvacan northward: they went from Acapulco, and touched at Saint Jago de buena Sperança, and entered into the gulph that Cortes had discovered; and sailed till they came in 32 degrees, which is almost the fartheſt end of that gulph, which place they named *Ancon de Saint Andres*, because they came thither on that saint's day. Then they came out along the coast on the other side, and doubled the point of California, and entered in between certain islands and the point, and so sailed along by it, till they came to 32 degrees; from whence they returned to New Spain, forced thereto by contrary winds, and want of victuals, having been out about a year. Cortes, according to his account, spent 200,000 ducats in these discoveries.

Gomar. hist. gen. l. 6. c. 17.

From Cabo del Enganno, to another cape called *Cabo de Liampo*, in China, there are 1000 or 1200 leagues sailing. Cortes and his captains discovered New Spain, from 12 degrees to 32, from south to the north, being 700 leagues; finding it more warm than cold, although snow lay upon certain mountains most part of the year. In New Spain there are many trees, flowers, and fruits of divers sorts, and profitable for many things. The principal tree is named *Metl*, growing neither very high nor thick:

they plant and dreſs it as we do our vines. They ſay it hath forty kind of leaves, like woven cloth, which ſerve for many uſes; when they are tender, they make conſerves of them, paper, and a thing like unto flax: they alſo make of it mantles, mats, ſhoes, girdles, and cordage. Theſe trees have certain prickles, ſo ſtrong and ſharp, that they ſew with them: the roots make fire and aſhes, which aſhes make exceeding good ley. They open the earth from the root, and ſcrape it; and the juice which cometh out is like a ſyrup. If you ſeeth it, it will become honey; if you purify it, it will become ſugar: alſo you may make wine and vinegar of it: it beareth the *Coco*. The rind roaſted, and cruſhed upon ſores and hurts, healeth and cureth. The juice of the tops and roots, mingled with incenſe, are good againſt poiſon, and the biting of a viper. For theſe manifold benefits it is the moſt profitable tree known to grow in thoſe parts.

In the year 1538 and 1539, after that Diego de Almagro was beheaded, the marquis Francis Pizarro was not idle: for he immediately ſent one Peter de Baldivia, with a good company of men, to diſcover and conquer the country of Chili. He was well received of thoſe of the country, but afterwards they roſe againſt him, and would have killed him by treaſon. Yet, for all the war that he had with them, he diſcovered much land, and the coaſt of the ſea toward the ſouth-eaſt, till he came into 40 degrees and more in latitude. While he was in theſe diſcoveries, he heard news of a king called *Lucengolma*, who commonly brought to the field two hundred thouſand fighting men, againſt another king his neighbour; and that this Leucengolma had an iſland, and a temple therein, with two thouſand prieſts; and that beyond them were the Amazons, whoſe queen was called *Guanomilla*, that is to ſay, *The golden Heaven*: but as yet there are none of theſe things diſcovered. About this time Gomez de Alvarado went to conquer the province of Guanuco; and Francis de Chavez went to ſubdue the Conchincos, which troubled the town of Truxillo, and the countries adjoining. Peter de Vergara went to the Bracamores, a people dwelling toward the north from Quito; John Perez de Vergara went againſt the Ciaciapoians; Alfonſus de Mercadiglio went unto Mulubamba; Ferdinando and Gonſalvo Pizarros went to ſubdue Collao, a country rich in gold; Peter de Candia went to the lower part of Collao; Peranzures alſo went to conquer the ſaid country: and thus the Spaniards diſperſed themſelves, and conquered above 700 leagues of country in a very ſhort ſpace, though not without great travels and loſs of men.

Gomar. hiſt. gen. l. 5. c. 35.

Cieça, c. 103.

The countries of Braſil and Peru ſtand eaſt and weſt, almoſt 800 leagues diſtant. The neareſt is from the cape of St. Auguſtine unto the haven of Truxillo; for they ſtand both almoſt in one parallel and latitude: and the fartheſt is 950 leagues, reckoning from the river of Peru to the ſtreights of Magellan, which places lie directly north and ſouth, through which country paſs certain mountains called the *Andes*, which divide Braſil from the empire of the *Yngas*: after this manner the mountains of Taurus and Imaus divide Aſia into two parts; which mountains begin in 36 and 37 degrees of northerly latitude, at the end of the Mediterranean ſea, overagainſt the iſles of Rhodes and Cyprus, running ſtill towards the eaſt unto the ſea of

China: and so likewise the mountains of Atlas in Africa divide the tawny Moors from the black Moors, which have frizzled hair; beginning at mount Meies about the desert of Barca, and running along under the tropic of Cancer unto the Atlantic Ocean.

The mountains of the Andes be high, ragged, and in some places barren, without trees or grass, whereon it raineth and snoweth most commonly: upon them are winds, and sudden blasts; there is likewise such scarcity of wood, that they make fire of turfs, as they do in Flanders. In some places of these mountains and countries the earth is of divers colours, as black, white, red, green, blue, yellow, and violet, wherewith they dye colours without any other mixture. From the bottoms of these mountains spring many small and great rivers, principally from the east side; as appeareth by the rivers of the Amazons, of St. Francis, of Plata, and many others which run through the country of Brasil, being larger than those of Peru, or those of Castilia del Oro. The country of Peru, adjoining unto the mountains of Andes westward, toward the sea, and containing 15 or 20 leagues in breadth, is all of very hot sand, yet fresh, bringing forth many good trees and fruits, because it is well watered; where there grow abundance of flags, rushes, herbs, and trees, so slender and loose, that, laying your hands upon them, the leaves will fall off: and among these herbs and fresh flowers the men and women live and abide, without any houses or bedding, even as the cattle do in the fields, and some of them have * tails. They are gross, and wear long hair: they have no beards, yet have they divers languages.

Those which live on the tops of these mountains of Andes, between the cold and the heat, for the most part are blind of one eye, and some altogether bind; and scarce you shall find two men of them together, but one of them is half blind. Also there groweth in these fields, notwithstanding the great heat of the sand, good maiz, and potatoes, and an herb which they name *cocoa*, which they carry continually in their mouths (as in the East India they use another herb named *betele*), which also, they say, satisfieth both hunger and thirst.

Likewise they affirm, that from Tumbez southward, it doth neither rain, thunder, nor lighten, for the space of five hundred leagues of land: but sometimes there falleth some little shower.—There are certain beasts which those of the country call *macos*, and the Spaniards sheep, because they bear wool like unto a sheep, but are made much like unto a deer, having a saddle-back like unto a camel: they will carry the burden of an hundred weight. The Spaniards ride upon them; and, when they are weary, they will turn their heads backward, and void out of their mouths a wonderful stinking water.

From the river of Plata and Lima southward, there breed no crocodiles, nor lizards, no snakes, nor any kind of venomous vermin, but great store of good fish breed in those rivers. On the coast of St. Michael, in the South Sea, there are many rocks of salt

* This idea, ever since the time of Lord Monboddó, has been renewed, and occupies the attention of the explorers of Africa: links may exist, in creation, with which we are yet unacquainted.

ſalt covered with eggs. On the point of St. Helena are certain well-ſprings, which caſt forth a liquor, *that ſerveth inſtead of pitch and tar.* They ſay, that in Chili there is a fountain, the water whereof will convert wood into ſtone. In the haven of Truxillo there is a lake of freſh water, the bottom whereof is good hard ſalt. In the Andes beyond Xauxa there is a river of freſh water, in the bottom whereof there lieth white ſalt.

In the year 1540, the captain *Ferdinando Alorchon* went, by the command of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoça, with two ſhips, to diſcover the bottom of the gulph of California, and divers other countries. Ramuſius, vol. 3. f. 303

In this year 1540, Gonſalvo Pizarro went out of the city of Quito to diſcover the country of *Canell*, or *Cinnamon*, a thing of great fame in that country. He had with him two hundred Spaniards, horſemen and footmen, and three hundred Indians to carry burdens: he went forward till he came to *Guixos*, which is the fartheſt place governed by the *Yngas*; where there happened a great earthquake, with rain and lightning, which ſunk ſeventy houſes. They paſſed over cold and ſnowy hills, where they found many Indians frozen to death, marveling much of the great ſnow that they found under the equinoctial line. From hence they went to a province called *Cumaco*, where they tarried two months, becauſe it rained continually; and beyond they ſaw the cinnamon-trees, which are very great, the leaves thereof reſembling bay-leaves; both leaves, branches, roots, and all, taſting of cinnamon; the roots have the whole taſte of cinnamon: but the beſt are certain knobs like unto *alcornoques*, or acorns, which are good merchandize. It appeareth to be wild cinnamon, and there is much of it in the Eaſt Indies, and in the iſlands of *Jaoa* or *Java*. Gomar. hiſt. gen. l. 5. c. 36.

From hence they went to the province and city of Coca, where they reſted fifty days. From that place forwards they travelled along by a river's ſide, being ſixty leagues long, without finding of any bridge, nor yet any ford to paſs over to the other ſide. They found one place of this river, where it had a fall of 200 fathoms deep, where the water made ſuch a noiſe, that it would make a man almoſt deaf to ſtand by it: and not far beneath this fall, they ſay they found a chanel of ſtone, very ſmooth, of two hundred foot broad, and the river runneth by; and there they made a bridge to paſs over on the other ſide, where they went to a country called *Guema*, which was ſo poor, that they could get nothing to eat, but only fruits and herbs. From that place forward they found a people of ſome reaſon, wearing certain cloathing made of cotton-wool, where they built a brigantine; and there they found alſo certain canoes, wherein they put their ſick men, and their treaſure, and beſt apparel, giving the charge of them to one Francis de Orellana: and Gonſalvo Pizarro went by land with the reſt of the company along by the river's ſide, and at night went into the boats; and they travelled in this order two hundred leagues, as it appeareth. When Pizarro came to the place where he thought to find the brigantine and canoes, and could have no ſight of them, nor yet hear of them, he thought himſelf out of all hope; becauſe he was in a ſtrange country, without victuals, cloathing, or any thing elſe: wherefore they were fain to eat their horſes, yea, and dogs alſo, becauſe the country

country was poor and barren, and the journey long; to go to Quito. Yet, notwithstanding, taking a good heart to themselves, they went on forwards in their journey, travelling continually 18 months; and it is reported, that they went almost five hundred leagues, wherein they did neither see sun, nor any thing else whereby they might be comforted: wherefore, of two hundred men which went forth at the first, there returned not more than ten unto Quito; and these so weak, ragged, and disfigured, that they knew them not. Orellana went five or six hundred leagues down the river, seeing divers countries and people on both sides thereof, among whom he affirmed some to be Amazons; he came into Castile, excusing himself, that the water and streams drove him down by force: this river is named the river of Orellana, and others name it the river of the Amazons, because there are women there who live like unto them.

In the year 1540, Cortes went with his wife into Spain, where he died seven years after.

In the year 1541, it is recorded, that *Don Stephen de Gama*, governor of India, sailed toward the streight of Mecca. He came with all his fleet to an anchor in the island of Maçua, and from thence upwards, in small shipping, he went along the coast of the Abassins and Ethiopia, till he came to the island of Suachen, standing in 20 degrees towards the north, and from thence to the haven of Costir, standing in 27 degrees; and so he crossed over to the city of Toro, standing on the shore of Arabia; and along by it he went unto Stiez, which is the fartheſt end of the streight; and so he turned back the same way, leaving that country and coast discovered so far as never any other Portuguese captain had done: although Lopez Suarez, governor of India, went to the haven of Juda, and the haven of Mecca, standing on the coast of Arabia, in 23 degrees of latitude, and 150 leagues from the mouth of the streight. Don Stephen de Gama, crossing over from Cosir to the city of Toro, as it is reported, found an island of brimstone, which was dispeopled by the hand of Mahomet.

In the same year 1541, Don Diego de Almagro killed the marquis Francis Pisarro, and his brother Francis Martinez of Alcantara, in the city de los Reyes, otherwise called Lima; and made himself governor of that country.

Gomar. hist. gen. l. 6. c. 17.

In the year 1540, the viceroy Don Antony de Mendoza sent one Francis Vasquez do Coronado by land, unto the province of Sibola, with an army of Spaniards and Indians: they went out of Mexico, and came to Culvacan, and from thence to Sibola, which standeth in 30 degrees of latitude: they required peace with the people, and some victuals, being thereof destitute; but they answered, that they used not to give any thing to those that came unto them in warlike manner. So the Spaniards assaulted the town, and took it, and called it *Nueva Granada*, because the general himself was born in Granada. The soldiers found themselves deceived by the words of the friers, which had been in those parts before; and because they would not return back to Mexico again with empty hands, they went to the town of Acuco, where they had knowledge of Axa and Quivira, where there was a king very rich, that did worship a cross of gold, and the picture of the queen of heaven. They endured many extremities

extremities in this journey, and the Indians fled away from them, and in one morning they found thirty of their horses dead. From Cicuic they went to Quivira, which was 200 leagues off, according to their account, passing all through a plain country, and making by the way certain hillocks of cow-dung, because thereby they might not lose their way in their return: they had there hail-stones as big as oranges. Now, when they were come to Quivira, they found the king called Tatarrax, which they sought for, with a jewel of copper hanging about his neck, which was all his riches. They saw neither any cross, nor any image of the queen of heaven, nor any other token of the Christian religion. It is written of this country, that it is poorly inhabited, principally in the plain and champagne places, because the men and women go in herds with their cattle, whereof they have great plenty, even as the Arabians do in Barbary; and they remove from place to place, as the season serveth, and the pastures to feed their cattle. In these parts are certain beasts almost as big as horses, they have very great horns, and they bear wool like unto sheep; and so the Spaniards call them. I pass over many things, because the order which I follow will not permit me to be long. Gomar. hist. gen. l. 6. c. 18, & 19.

In the year of our Lord 1542, one Diego de Frietas being in the realm of Siam, and in the city of Dodra, as captain of a ship, there fled from him three Portuguese in a junk (which is a kind of ship) toward China. Their names were *Antonio de Mota*, *Francis Zeimoro*, and *Antonio Pexoto*, directing their course to the city of Liampo, standing in thirty and odd degrees of latitude. There fell upon their stern such a storm, that it set them off the land; and in a few days they saw an island toward the east, standing in 32 degrees, which they name *Japan*, which seemeth to be the isle of *Zipangri*, whereof *Paulus Venetus* maketh mention, and of the riches thereof: and this island of Japan hath gold, silver, and other riches.

In this year 1542, *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, viceroy of Nova Spagna, sent his captains and pilots to discover the coast of cape del Engannon, where a fleet of Cortes' had been before: they sailed till they came to a place called *Sierras Nevadas*, or *the snowy mountains*, standing in 40 degrees toward the north, where they saw ships with merchandises, which carried on their stems the images of certain birds called *alcatrarzi*, and had their yards gilded, and their bow laid over with silver. They seemed to be of the isles of Japan, or of China; for they said, that it was not above thirty days sailing unto their country. Ib. l. 6. c. 18.

In the same year 1542, *Don Antonio de Mendoça* sent unto the islands of Mindanao a fleet of six ships, with four hundred soldiers, and as many Indians of the country, the general whereof was one Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos, being his brother-in-law, and a man in great estimation. They set sail from the haven of Natividad, standing in 20 degrees toward the north, upon All Saints eve, and shaped their course toward the west: they had sight of the island of St. Thomas, which Hernando de Grijalva had discovered; and beyond, in 17 degrees, they had sight of another island, which they named *La Nubladu*, that is, *the cloudy island*: from thence they went to another island named *Roca partida*, that is, *the cloven rock*. The third of December they found certain Ibid. l. 4. c. 12. Ramus. vol. 1. f. 375. p. 2.

certain baxos or flats, of six or seven fathoms deep. The fifteenth of the same month they had sight of the islands, which Diego de Roca, and Gomez de Sequeira, and Alvaro de Saavedra, had discovered, and named them *Los Reyes*, because they came unto them on Twelfth-day. And beyond them they found other islands in 10 degrees, all standing round; and in the midst of them they came to an anchor, where they took fresh water and wood.

In the same year 1542, Don Diego de Almagro was slain in Peru, by the hands of one Don Vaca de Castro.

In the year 1543, in January, they departed from the aforesaid islands with all the fleet; and had sight of certain islands, out of which there came unto them men in a certain kind of boats, and they brought in their hands crosses, and saluted the Spaniards in the Spanish tongue, saying, *Buenos dias, matelotes*, that is to say, *Good day, companions*; whereat the Spaniards much marvelled, being then so far out of Spain, to see the men of that country with crosses, and to be saluted by them in the Spanish tongue; and they seemed in their behaviour to incline somewhat to our catholick faith. The Spaniards not knowing that many thereabout had been christened by Francis de Castro, at the command of Antonio Galvano, some of them named these islands *Islas de las cruzos*, and others named them *Islas de los matelotes*.

In the same year 1543, the first of February, Ruy Lopez had sight of that noble island *Mindanao*, standing in nine degrees: they could not double it, nor yet come to an anchor, as they would, because the christened kings and people resisted them, having given their obedience to Antonio Galvano, whom they had in great estimation; and there were five or six kings that had received baptism, who by no means would incur his displeasure. Ruy Lopez, perceiving this, and having a contrary wind, sailed along the coast, to find some aid; and in four or five degrees he found a small island, which they of the country call *Sarangam*, which they took by force; and in memory of the viceroy, who had sent them thither, they named it *Antonia*, where they remained a whole year, in which time there fell out things worthy to be written; but because there are more histories that treat of the same, I leave them, meaning to meddle with the discoveries only.

In the same year 1543, and in the month of August, the general Ruy Lopez sent one Bartholomew de la Torre in a small ship into New Spain, to acquaint the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoça with all things. They went to the islands of *Siria*, *Gaonata*, *Bisaia*, and many others, standing in 11 and 12 degrees towards the north, where Magellan had been, and Francis de Castro also, who there baptized many; and the Spaniards called them the *Philippinas*, in memory of the prince of Spain. Here they took victuals and wood, and hoisted sails: they sailed for certain days with a fair wind, till it came upon the skanting, and came right under the tropick of Cancer. The twenty-fifth of September they had sight of certain islands, which they named *Malabrigos*, that is to say, *The evil roads*. Beyond them they discovered *Las dos Hermanas*, that is, *The two sisters*: and beyond them also they saw four islands more, which they called *los Volcanes*. The second of October they had sight of *Farfana*, beyond

The relation of John Gaietan, in the first vol. of Ramus. f. 376.

yond which there ſtandeth an high-pointed rock, which caſteth out fire at five places. So ſailing in 16 degrees of northerly latitude, from whence they had come, as it ſeemeth; wanting wind, they arrived again at the iſlands of the Philippinas: they had ſight of ſix or ſeven iſlands more, but they anchored not at them. They found alſo an archipelagus of iſlands well inhabited with people, lying in 15 or 16 degrees: the people are white, and the women well proportioned, and beautiful, and better arrayed than in any other of thoſe parts, having many jewels of gold, which was a token, that there was ſome of that metal in the ſame country. Here were alſo barques of forty-three cubits in length, and two fathoms and an half in breadth, and the planks five inches thick, which barques were rowed with oars. They told the Spaniards, that they uſed to ſail in them to China; and that, if they would go thither, they ſhould have pilots to conduct them, the country not being above 5 or 6 days ſailing from thence. There came unto them alſo certain barques or boats, handſomely decked, wherein the maſter and principal men ſat on high, and underneath were very black Moors, with frizzled hair: and, being demanded where they had theſe black Moors, they anſwered, that they had them from certain iſlands, ſtanding hard by *Sebut*, where there were many of them; a thing that the Spaniards much marvelled at, becauſe from thence it was above 300 leagues to the places where the black people were. Therefore it ſeemed, that they were not naturally born in that climate; but that they are in certain places ſcattered over the whole circuit of the world: for even ſo they are in the iſlands of Nicobar and Andeman, which ſtand in the gulph of Bengal; and from thence by the ſpace of 500 leagues we do not know of any black people. Alſo Vaſco Nunnez de Valboa declareth, that as he went to diſcover the South Sea, in a certain land named Quareca, he found black people, with frizzled hair; whereas there were never any other found either in Nova Spagna, or in Caſtilia del Oro, or in Peru.

In the year 1544, *Don Gutierre de Vargas*, biſhop of Placenza, ſent a fleet from the city of Seville to the ſtreights of Magellan; which is reported to have been done by the counſel of the viceroy don Antonio de Mendoça his couſin. Some ſuſpected that they went to Malacca; others to China; others, that they went only to diſcover the land betwixt the ſtreight and of Peru, and the other ſide of Chili; becauſe it was reported to be very rich in gold and ſilver. But this fleet, by reaſon of contrary winds, could not paſs the ſtreight: yet a ſmall bark paſſed the ſame, and ſailed along the coaſt, and diſcovered all the land till it came to Chirimai and Arequipa, which is above 500 leagues; for the reſt was already diſcovered by Diego D'Almagro, Francis Pizarro, and their captains and people, at divers times. By this it appeareth, that from the ſtreight to the equinoctial line, on both ſides, is wholly diſcovered. Gomar. hiſt. gen. l. 4. c. 14.

In the year 1545, and in the month of January, Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos, and Giraldo, with the Caſtilians, came to the iſland of Moro, and the city of Camaſo, where they were well received of the kings of Gilolo and Tidore, and of the people of the country (becauſe Antonio Galvano was gone); and they put the captain don George de Caſtro to great trouble, as appeared by thoſe things which paſſed between him and the Portugueſe, and the great expences whereunto he put the fortreſs.

In the ſame year 1545, Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos ſent from the iſland of Tidore another ſhip towards New Spain, by the ſouth ſide of the line, wherein was captain one *Ignatius Ortez de Rotha*, and for pilot one *Jaſper Rico*. They ſailed to the coaſt of Os Papuas, and ranged all along the ſame; and becauſe they knew not, that Saavedra had been there before, they challenged the honour and fame of that diſcovery; and becauſe the people there were black, and had frizzled hair, they named it Nueva Guiney: for the memory of Saavedra then was almoſt loſt, as all things elſe fall into oblivion, which are not recorded and illuſtrated by writing.

In this year 1545, and in the month of June, there went a junk from the city of Borneo, wherein went one *Pedro Fidalgo*, a Portugueſe; but, by contrary winds, he was driven towards the north, where he found an iſland ſtanding in nine or ten degrees, that ſtretched itſelf to 22 degrees of latitude, which is called, the iſle of the Luçones, becauſe the inhabitants thereof were ſo named: it may have ſome other name and harbours, which as yet we know not. It runneth from the north to the ſouth-weſt, and ſtandeth between Mindamo and China. They ſay they ſailed along by it 250 leagues, where the land was fruitful, and well covered: and there, they affirm, that they will give two peſoes of gold for one of ſilver, and yet it ſtandeth not far from the country of China.

In the year 1553, there went out of *England* certain ſhipping; and, as it appeared, they ſailed northward along the coaſt of Norway and Finark, and from thence eaſt till they came between 70 and 80 degrees to Muſcovy, for ſo far one of the ſhips went; but I know not what became of the reſt; and this was the laſt diſcovery made till this time. From this land of Muſcovy, eaſtward, you ſail to Tartary, and at the farther end of it ſtands the country and province of China. It is ſaid, that between China and Tartary, there is a wall above 200 leagues in length, ſtanding near to 50 degrees of latitude.

Now I gather by all the precedent Diſcoveries, that the whole Earth is in circuit 360 degrees, according to the geometry thereof; and to every degree antient writers allow 17 leagues and an half, which amount to 6300 leagues; yet, I take it that every degree is juſt 17 leagues: however it be, all is diſcovered, and ſailed from the eaſt to the weſt, almoſt even as the ſun compaſſeth it; but from the ſouth to the north there is great difference: for, *towards the north pole, there is found diſcovered no more than* 77 *or* 78 *degrees, which come to* 1326 *leagues: and towards the ſouth pole there is diſcovered from the equinoctial to* 52 *or* 53 *degrees:* that is, to the ſtreight which Magellan paſſed through, which amounts to about 900 leagues; and putting both theſe ſaid main ſums together, they amount to 2226 leagues. Now, take ſo many out of 6300 leagues, *there remaineth as yet undiſcovered, north and ſouth, above the ſpace of* 4000 *leagues.*

APPENDIX (B.)

MR. LOCKE'S

HISTORY OF NAVIGATION,

FROM ITS ORIGINAL TO THE YEAR 1704, WITH AN EXPLANATORY CATALOGUE OF VOYAGES, PREFIXED BY THAT LEARNED WRITER TO CHURCHILL'S COLLECTION, IN EIGHT VOLS. FOLIO.

*** This learned Treatiſe was added to the laſt octavo edition of Mr. Locke's Works, in nine volumes, at the expreſs recommendation of *Dr. Law, Biſhop of Carliſle;* and probably was the concluding effort which the former made in literature, as Mr. Locke died during the ſame year on the twenty-eighth of October, 1704: Churchill's Collection of Voyages had been previouſly preſented by Mr. Locke to the Univerſity of Oxford. In the modern part of this Hiſtory of Navigation he appears to have been much aſſiſted by the preceding work of Galvano; however, as Mr. Locke ſome times differs from him, has made conſiderable additions, and continued the ſubject to a much later period, I have thought it right to inſert this Treatiſe, without alteration or abridgment, which would have taken conſiderably from its value.

THE

HISTORY OF NAVIGATION,

BY THE CELEBRATED

JOHN LOCKE.

Pancir. Part 2. Tit. 10. p. 233.

Schefferus de Mil. Nav. vet. p. 19.

OF all the inventions and improvements the wit and induſtry of man has diſcovered and brought to perfection, none ſeems to be ſo univerſally uſeful, profitable, and neceſſary, as the art of Navigation. There are thoſe that will not allow it to be called the invention of man, but rather the execution of the direction given by Almighty God, ſince the firſt veſſel we read of in the world, was the *Ark of Noah*, built by the immediate command and appointment of the Almighty. But this is not a place to enter upon ſuch a controverſy, where ſome will aſk, Why it ſhould be believed there were not ſhips before the flood, as well as after, ſince doubtleſs thoſe firſt men extending their lives to eight or nine hundred years, were more capable of improving the world than we whoſe days are reduced to fourſcore years, and all beyond them only miſery or dotage?—It is impertinent to ſpend time upon ſuch frivolous arguments, which only depend on opinion or fancy. If then we give any credit to Hiſtory, on which all our knowledge of what is paſt depends, we ſhall find that Navigation had but a mean and obſcure original, that it was gradually and but very leiſurely improved, ſince in many ages it ſcarce ventured out of ſight of land; and that it did not receive its final perfection till theſe latter times, if we may be allowed to call that perfect which is ſtill doubtleſs capable of a further improvement: but I give it that epithet only, with regard to the infinite advancement it has received ſince its firſt appearance in the world.

The firſt Veſſel ever known to have floated on the waters, was the Ark made by God's appointment, in which Noah and his three ſons were ſaved from the univerſal deluge. But this Ark, Ship, or whatever elſe it may be called, had neither oars, ſails, maſts, yards, rudder, or any ſort of rigging whatſoever; being only guided by Divine Providence, and having no particular port, or coaſt to ſteer to, only to float upon the waters; till thoſe being dried up, it reſted on the mountains of Ararat, as we read in Gen. viii. 4. From this time till after the confuſion of tongues there was no uſe of Navigation, there being as yet no ſufficient multitude to people the earth; and thoſe men

there were, having undertaken to build the tower of Babel, from thence were dispersed into all other parts of the known world. These first travellers doubtless met with many rivers before they came to the sea, as plainly appears by the situation of Babel, generally agreed upon by all that treat of scriptural geography; and those rivers they passed in an hollowed piece of timber, no better than a trough, or a sort of basket covered over with raw hides, being the easiest that occurred to invention, and sufficient for their present purpose; which was only to pass on in their way to other parts, without the prospect of trade or commerce, which cannot be supposed to have then entered into their thoughts. What Vessels they built when they came to the sea no history describes, and therefore it would be a rashness to pretend to any knowledge of them: that they were small, ill rigged, and only durst creep along the shores, is out of all dispute; if we consider that many succeeding ages were no better furnished, though they never failed from time to time to correct the defects they found in their shipping, and industriously laboured to improve the art of Navigation. Not to speak therefore of what is absolutely fabulous, or only suppositious, let us come to the first Sailors famed in history; and touching those times lightly, descend to matters of more certainty and better authority.

If we give credit to poets and poetical writers, we shall find Neptune covering the Mediterranean sea with his mighty fleets, as admiral under his father *Saturn*, supposed to be *Noah*, as *Neptune* is to be *Japheth*; and to him is ascribed the first building of ships, with sharp stems, or heads shod with iron or brass, to run against other ships, and split them, and with towers on them for men to fight when they came to lie *board and board*. Yet there are others that give the honour of inventing of ships, and steering them to *Glaucus*; affirming it was he that built, and piloted the ship *Argo*, in Jason's expedition against the Tyrrhenians; which others attribute to Argos, making him the builder and pilot. These notions, or rather poetical fictions, are rejected by the learned Bochartus in his *Geographia Sacra*, (p. 819, 820.) where he shews that the ship Argo ought properly to be called *Arco*, which in the Phœnician tongue signifies *long*: a name given it because it was the first long ship built by the Greeks, who learned it of the Phœnicians, and called it by their name, whereas all the vessels used by them before that time were round. This ship Argo, or rather galley, he says had fifty oars, that is twenty-five on each side, and therefore must be fifty cubits in length. Here it appears that the Greeks had round vessels before that time, and all we can reasonably conclude is, that this ship or galley Argo, or Arco, was larger, and perhaps better built and contrived than any before it, and might perform the longer voyage; which rendered it famous, as if it had been the first ship. But it is certain there were many fleets, such as they were, before this time; for the Argonauts' expedition was about the year of the world 2801, which was after the flood 1144 years: whereas we find *Semiramis* built a fleet of two thousand sail on the coasts of Cyprus, Syria, and Phœnicia, and had them transported on carriages and camels' backs to the river Indus; where they fought and defeated the fleet of Staurobates king of India, consisting

ing of four thousand boats made of cane, as Diodorus Siculus writes, (L. 2. Antiq. cap. 1.) About the year of the world 2622, and 965 after the flood, *Jupiter* king of Crete, or Candia, with his fleet stole away Europa the daughter of Agenor, king of the Sidonians. In 2700 of the world, and after the flood 1043, *Perseus* went on the expedition by sea against Medusa in Afric.—Now to return to the Argonauts so much celebrated by the poets; upon the strictest examination into truth, we shall only find them inconsiderable coasters in the Mediterranean, and sent out by the public to suppress pirates; though fabulous Greece has extolled their expedition beyond all measure. Next follows the *Trojan war* about the year of the world 2871, and 1214 after the flood, where we find a fleet of one thousand one hundred and forty sail of all sorts, still creeping along the shores, without daring to venture out of sight of land.

Now leaving the Greeks, it is fit we return to the *Phœnicians*, who are the same the scripture calls the Philistines or Canaanites, as is largely proved by Bochartus, certainly the earliest and ablest mariners in those first ages: they made the greatest discoveries of any nation, they planted colonies of their own in most of those countries so discovered, and settled trade and commerce in the most distant regions. There can be no greater testimony of their wealth and naval power, than what we find in holy writ, (Ezek. xxvii.) where the prophet speaking of Tyre, says *it is situate at the entry of the sea, is a merchant for many isles, its ship-boards are of fir-trees of Senir, their masts of cedars, their oars of oak of Bashan, their benches of ivory, their sails of fine embroidered linen;* and so goes on through most of the chapter, extolling its mariners, pilots, ships, and all things belonging to them. This, though from the undeniable oracle of scripture, were no sufficient proof of their knowledge in this art, were not all histories full of their many expeditions. The first was on the coast of Afric, where they founded the most powerful city of Carthage, which so long contended with Rome for the sovereignty of the world: thence they extended their dominions into Spain, and not so satisfied, coasted it round, still pursuing their discoveries along the coasts of France, and even into this island of Great Britain; where they afterwards had a settled trade for tin, and such other commodities as the country then afforded: as may be seen at large in Procopius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and many other ancient authors. Pliny, (lib. 2. cap. 69.) with others affirms, that in the flourishing times of the republic of Carthage, *Hanno* being sent out from thence to discover southward, sailed quite round Afric into the Red Sea, and returned the same way; and that *Kimilco* setting out at the same time northwards, sailed as far as *Thule* or *Iceland*. Both these relations are in part rejected by most authors as fabulous; because it does not appear that the utmost extent of Afric was ever known, till the *Portuguese* in these latter times discovered it; and the very northern parts of Europe were not thoroughly discovered, even in the time of the Roman greatness. However, no doubt is to be made but that they sailed very far both ways, and might perhaps *add something of their own invention, to gain the more reputation to their undertakings*. Nor were they confined to the Mediterranean and westward Ocean, it

was

was they that conducted Solomon's fleets to Ophir; and we read in 1 Kings ix. 27. that *Hiram* (who was king of Tyre, and consequently his men Phœnicians) *sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea:* and again, (chap. x. ver. 11.) *and the navy also of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir.* Thus we see the Phœnicians traded to Ophir before king Solomon, and for him.—To enter into the controversy where this *Ophir* was, is not proper for this place, but the most probable opinions conclude it to be some part of the *East Indies*, and indeed there is not the least shew of reason to place it elsewhere. How they performed these long voyages without the help of the Compass, or magnetical needle, would be another no less difficult inquiry; considering they could not always sail by day, and lie by at night, or continually keep within sight of land, whence tempests at least would often drive them into the open sea; but this is easily solved by all authors, who with one consent inform us, that they were directed by the course of the sun in the day, and by the stars at night. And in this knowledge of the heavens the Phœnicians exceeded all other nations, as may be gathered from Pliny, (lib. 5. c. 12, and 19.) where he shews that mankind is obliged to the Phœnicians for five things of the greatest use, *viz.* letters, the knowledge of the stars, the art of navigation, military discipline, and the building of many towns. By this their knowledge of the stars, they recovered themselves when lost in foul weather, and knew how to shape their course across spacious gulphs, and bays, which would have spent them much time in coasting round. However it must not hence be inferred that they were capable of traversing the vast Ocean betwixt Europe and America, as some would endeavour to make out; because it is well known that Voyage, even with the help of the compass, was at first thought impracticable; and when discovered, for some time proved very difficult and dangerous, till time and experience had made it more familiar. The very reason alleged for the possibility of their sailing to the West Indies, which is the certainty of the *trade winds* blowing always at east within the tropics, makes against them; because had those winds carried them thither, the vast difficulty in returning the same way would deter them from that enterprise: they being altogether ignorant, and we may say incapable of coming away north, which was accidentally found out many years after the discovery of the West Indies.

The *Greeks*, though occasionally mentioned before them, were the next in order to the Phœnicians in Maritime Affairs, and learned the art of them. They not only equalled their masters in this art, but soon excelled them, and gave them several notable overthrows on their own element; for we often find them, though much inferior in numbers, gaining glorious victories over the Persians, whose fleets were all managed by Phœnicians. One instance or two may serve for all—the first is the famous battle of *Salamis*, where the confederate Greeks, whose whole force consisted but of three hundred and eighty ships, defeated thirteen hundred of the Persians, with inconsiderable loss to themselves, and incredible to their enemies; as may be seen in *Plutarch*'s lives of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, in Diod. Sic. lib. XI. Herod. lib. VII, and VIII. and others. Again, the Athenian fleet commanded by *Cimon*, lorded it along

along the coasts of Asia; where closely pursuing the Persian admiral *Titraustes*, he obliged him to run his ships aground, of which he took two hundred, besides all that perished on the shore. And not so satisfied, *Cimon* proceeded to *Hydrope*, where he destroyed seventy sail, which were the peculiar squadron of the Phœnicians; for which particulars see *Thucydid.* (lib. I. cap. 11, and 12.) *Plutarch in vit. Cimon*, and *Diod. Sic.* lib. XII. These victories were the bane of Greece, which growing rich with the spoils of the Persians, fell into those vices it had before been a stranger to, and which broke that union which had preserved it against the common enemy. Hence followed the war betwixt the Athenians and Lacedemonians, and several others, where those little states confederating one against another, sent out many numerous Fleets, and strove for the sovereignty of the sea; till having sufficiently weakened themselves they at length became a prey to others. Yet during their flourishing times, and even in adversity, when driven from home by disasters, they never ceased sending out colonies upon all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and particularly of Asia, Spain, France, Italy, and Sicily; in all which countries they so far extended their empire, that it would fill a volume to give but an indifferent account of them. Yet under *Alexander the Great*, the founder of the Grecian empire, there are some things so singular that they well deserve a place here. That these latter ages may not boast of the invention of *fireships*, we find in *Curtius*, (lib. IV.) that at the siege of Tyre, when a mole was carrying on to join that city to the continent, the inhabitants having loaded a large ship heavily astern with sand and stones, to the end the head might rise high above the water, and prepared it for their purpose with combustible matter, they drove it violently with sails and oars against the mole, where they set fire to it, the seamen in it escaping in their boats: the mole being in a great measure made of wood, with wooden towers on it, was by this device utterly destroyed. Thus we see the Tyrians successfully invented the first fireship we read of in history.—The next thing remarkable in this mighty conqueror's reign, in relation to Navigation, was his sailing down the river Indus into the Indian ocean; where we may by the bye observe the wonderful ignorance, not only of his landmen, but even of the sailors, who, as *Curtius*, (lib. IX.) testifies, were all astonished and beside themselves at the ebbing and flowing of the river. From hence, the same author tells us, Alexander sent his admiral *Nearchus* to coast along the Ocean as far as he could, and return to him with an account of what he should discover. *Nearchus* accordingly, keeping along the Indian and Persian shores, and entering the Persian Gulph, returned to him up the river Euphrates, which was then looked upon as a wonderful discovery, and a great masterpiece of that admiral, for which he received a crown of gold from Alexander. Thus much we have concerning this expedition in *Curtius* quoted above, and in *Plutarch in vit. Alex.*—*Purchas* in his first vol. (p. 86, 87, 88.) gives a very particular account day by day of this voyage of Nearchus, taken out of *Arianus*, lib. VIII. who delivers it as Nearchus's journal of the expedition.

Next to the Phœnicians and Greeks, the *Romans* became sovereigns of the sea; yet not all at once, but after hard struggling with the Carthaginians, then in the height of

of their power, having by their naval force made themselves masters of the greatest part of Spain, and the coast of Afric, of many islands in the Mediterranean, and being intent upon the conquest of Sicily. This island furnished these mighty cities with an occasion of trying their forces on pretence of protecting their allies, but in reality out of a desire of sovereignty. The Romans were altogether unacquainted with naval affairs, insomuch that they knew not how to build a galley, but that the Carthaginians cruizing on the coast of Italy, as we find in *Polybius*, (lib. I.) one of their *Quinquereme* galleys happened to fall into the hands of the Romans; who by that model built an hundred of the same sort, and twenty *Triremes*. Whilst the galleys were building, they exercised the seamen in rowing upon the dry shore, causing them to sit in ranks as if they were aboard, with oars in their hands, and an officer in the middle; who by signs instructed them how they should all at once dip their oars, and recover them out of the water. When the fleet was launched, finding the galleys not artificially built, but sluggish and unwieldy, they invented an engine to grapple fast with the enemy at the first shock, that so they might come to handy-strokes, at which they knew themselves superior, and prevent being circumvented by the swiftness of the Carthaginian galleys, and experience of their mariners. This engine they called *corvus*; it consisted of a large piece of timber set upright on the prow of the vessel, about which was a stage of several ascents of boards well fastened with iron, and at the end of it two massive irons sharp-pointed: the whole could be hoisted or lowered by a pulley at the top of the upright timber. This engine they hoisted to the top when the enemy drew near, and when they came to shock ship to ship, they let it run down amain into the enemy's vessel, with which its own weight grappled it so fast that there was no breaking loose; and if the attack happened on the bow, the men went down two and two into the enemy's vessel, by the help of the afore-mentioned scaffold; all which may be seen more fully described in *Polybius* above quoted. By the help of these engines, *Duillius* the Roman admiral overthrew *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, though superior to him in number of vessels and experience in maritime affairs; taking his own *Septireme* and fifty other vessels, with great slaughter of his men, though he himself escaped in his boat: this was in the year of Rome 493. In 497, *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius Volso*, consuls, commanded another fleet, in which were above one hundred and forty thousand men; the Carthaginians had then in their fleet, one hundred and fifty thousand men under the conduct of *Hamilcar*, who was intirely overthrown, fifty of his ships taken, and sixty-four sunk. Thus far the sea had proved favourable to the Romans; but in the year of Rome 499, having sent out a fleet of three hundred *Quinqueremes*, they lost one hundred and forty by storms; which made them resolve to lay aside all naval enterprises, keeping only seventy sail of ships to serve as transports; till in the year 503, perceiving their affairs in Sicily decline, the Carthaginians being absolute masters at sea, they again sent out two hundred sail, and the following year received a mighty overthrow with the loss of ninety-three galleys. Resolving now to put an end to the war, they again fitted out two hundred *Quinqueremes*, built by the model of a *Rhodian* they had before

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taken, and with them gave the Carthaginians such a fatal overthrow, as reduced them to accept of a dishonourable peace. This was the rise of the Roman power at sea, which they after not only held, but increased as long as their empire subsisted. Their actions are too many and too great for this place; those that desire to see more may read them in *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and many other authors who deliver them at large: thus much having been said only to deduce the succession of Navigation from one people to another. Now, though the Romans at this time gained the sovereignty of the seas, and held it for some ages, yet we do not find that they applied themselves to New Discoveries, or ever exceeded the bounds of what the Phœnicians had before made known; their greatest voyage being that which *Pliny*, (lib. VI. cap. 23.) gives an account of, being from Egypt to India, before-mentioned to have been frequently performed by the Phœnicians, and therefore had nothing new in it. What occurs in this place, is to say something of the several sorts of galleys called *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, *Quinqueremes*, and so forth, whereof mention was made above. *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Diodorus* agree, that *Aminocles* the Corinthian was the first that invented the *Trireme* galley, about three hundred years after the destruction of Troy. Pliny will have it, that *Aristotle* a Carthaginian first built a *Quadrireme*, and *Nesichton* of Salamis a *Quinquereme*; but Diodorus contradicts it, attributing the invention of the *Quinqueremes* to *Dionysius* the Sicilian. Pliny further adds, that *Zenagorus* the Syracusan, built the first vessel of six ranks; *Nesigiton* one of ten; *Alexander the Great* is reported to have proceeded to twelve; Philostephanus makes *Ptolomy Soter* the first that made one of fifteen ranks; *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* of thirty; *Ptolomy Philadelphus* of forty; and *Ptolomy Philopator* of fifty. Thus we have the original of them all; but what sort of vessels these were, that is, how the several degrees or ranks of oars were disposed, has been much controverted, and is a most difficult point to be determined. The shortness of this discourse will not allow much canvassing of the point; yet a few words out of two or three learned authors will give some satisfaction to the curious.—*Morisotus* in his *Orbis Maritimus*, (p. 608.) positively affirms, that each of these vessels had its name from the number of ranks of oars placed one above another, so that the *Trireme* had three, the *Quinquereme* five ranks; and so every one according to its name, even till we come to *Ptolomy Philopator*'s *Tesseraconteres*, which he asserts had forty ranks of oars placed one over another; wherein he agrees with *Baisius*, whom he quotes, as he does the emperor *Leo*, whose words are these: *Every ship of war must be of its due length, having two ranks of oars, the one higher, and the other lower.* This, which to him seems concluding, to others appears of no force; for allowing there might be vessels that had two ranks of oars one above another, that does not at all prove the possibility of having twenty or forty, which must of necessity rise to such a height as would look more like a mountain than a ship; and those upper oars must be so long, and in proportion so large and unwieldy, that no strength of hands could ever manage them. Others will have these several ranks of oars to be taken lengthways, and not in height; that is, so many in the prow, so many in the midships, and so many in the poop: whence will follow that Ptolomy's galley had

forty ſeveral ranks in length, with intervals betwixt them, in one line from ſtem to ſtern; which, allowing but a ſmall number of oars to each of theſe ranks, will quite outrun the length aſſigned that veſſel, being two hundred and eighty cubits. This opinion is followed by *Stewechius*, *Caſtilionius*, and ſeveral others: but ſir *Henry Savil* is of another mind, and ſuppoſes theſe ranks not to lie in length from head to ſtern, nor in height one above another, but athwart; which muſt appear prepoſterous, becauſe allowing ſo many ranks this way, that is athwart the galley, its breadth would exceed all proportion. The fourth ſolution of this difficulty, and that very much received, is, that the veſſel had its name from ſo many men tugging at one oar; that is three in a *Trireme*, five in a *Quinquereme*, and ſo of the reſt; which indeed as far as ſix or ſeven men to an oar, has the moſt reſemblance of truth: but when we come to forty or fifty men to an oar, it will be difficult to reconcile either to the breadth of the veſſel; not to be ſuppoſed capable of eighty men in a rank, or to the height of the men: becauſe though the firſt man, next the ſide of the galley, had the oar under hand, yet the end of it, when it came to the fortieth, muſt of neceſſity riſe above his reach. Theſe two objections are again anſwered, the firſt by allowing each oar to reach quite athwart the galley, and ſo the forty men to fill up the whole breadth, rowing as they do in our wherries or barges; and the ſecond by allowing an aſcent from one ſide of the galley to the other, for each ſeat or ſtanding of thoſe that rowed; and, for the ſoldiers and ſailors, we muſt imagine a deck over the heads of the ſlaves at the oar. This carries much of reaſon, but little of ancient authority, for we find no ancient monuments that deſcribe any thing of this nature. We will conclude this matter with the opinion of *Scheffer us de militia navali*, (lib. II. cap. 2.) where allowing a competent diſtance, according to the length of the veſſel betwixt each bank of oars, he ſuppoſes the firſt row to be as in our galleys next the level of the water; then in the intervals another row, not diſtinguiſhed by a deck, but raiſed ſo high by their ſeat that their feet reſted againſt that which was the back of the bank below them; and ſo one above the other in thoſe intervals, which takes off much of the height, that muſt have been, allowing them ſeveral decks, and conſequently ſhortens the upper oars in proportion: yet cannot at all leſſen the difficulty that will occur upon plying ſo many oars, which will come to dip ſo cloſe together in the water, that it ſeems impracticable to avoid clattering of them, and falling into confuſion, not to mention many more inconveniences obvious enough to every man's reaſon that has ſeen any veſſels of this nature: and therefore it is beſt to determine nothing amidſt ſuch uncertainties, but leave every one to approve that which ſhall beſt ſuit with his notion of the matter. Therefore leaving theſe obſcurities, it is better to proceed upon the hiſtory of Navigation where we left off, and ſee in what ſtate it continued from the time of the Romans laſt ſpoken of, till the fortunate diſcovery of the magnetical needle; from which time is to be dated its greateſt advancement, as will be viſible in that place.

As long as the Roman empire continued in ſplendor, it ſupported what it had found of Navigation, but added little or nothing to it; that people being altogether intent upon making new conqueſts, and finding ſtill more work than they were able to com-

paſs upon dry land, without venturing far out to ſea. But when the barbarous nations began to diſmember that monarchy, this art inſtead of improving, doubtleſs declined, as did all others.—The firſt of theſe barbarians were the *Goths* and *Vandals*, of whom no great actions appear on the ſea; their farthest expeditions on this element being in the Mediterranean, betwixt Italy and Afric, Spain and the iſlands, where nothing occurs worth mentioning. The *Saracens* were next to them as to order of time, though much ſuperior in naval power, yet contained within the ſame bounds, and conſequently did nothing more memorable. After the Saracens may be reckoned the NORMANS, who for ſeveral years infeſted the coaſts of Britain and France with their fleets from Norway; till having ſettled themſelves in Normandy, they ran out plundering all the coaſts of Spain, and entering the ſtraits conquered a great part of the kingdom of Naples, and the whole iſland of Sicily. Still theſe, though they undertook longer voyages, were but coaſters; and ſatisfied with what they found, did not endeavour to add any thing to the art of Navigation, eſpecially for that they were as then but rude and barbarous, war and rapine being their only profeſſion. Other nations famous at ſea were the *Genoeſes* and *Venetians*, betwixt whom there were bloody wars for ſeveral years; and the latter, till the *Portugueſes* diſcovered the way by ſea to the Eaſt Indies, had all the trade of thoſe parts in their own hands; either brought up the Red Sea into Egypt, or by caravans to the ſea-port towns of Aſia. We might here mention the expeditions of Engliſh, French, Danes, Dutch, and other nations, but ſhould find nothing new in them all. They all in their turns were powerful at ſea; they all ventured ſometimes far from home, either to rob, conquer, or trade: but all in the ſame manner creeping along the ſhores, without daring to venture far out to ſea, having no guides out of ſight of land but the ſtars, which in cloudy nights muſt fail them. It is therefore time to leave theſe blind ſailors, and come to the Magnet or Loadſtone, and to the Compaſs or magnetical needle, which has opened ways in the unknown ocean, and made them as plain and eaſy in the blackeſt night as in the brighteſt day: to come then to the point.

The Loadſtone, or Magnet, ſo called from the Latin word *magnes*, had this name given it becauſe found in the country of *Magneſia*, which is a part of Lydia in Aſia; or becauſe the *Magneſians* firſt diſcovered its virtue of attracting iron: for both theſe reaſons are given by the learned *Bochartus* (*Geogr. Sacr.* p. 717.) What other virtues and qualities it has, does not belong to this place: but it is certain the *magnet* has two poles, anſwering to the two poles of the world, and to which they naturally incline (if nothing obſtructs) to lie parallel. This property is not confined to itſelf, but communicative, as daily experience ſhews us in the nautical needles; which by the touch of this ſtone partake ſo much of its nature, that the point ſo touched, unleſs otherwiſe hindered, will always look towards the north pole. Let the learned Naturaliſt plunge himſelf into the inſcrutable abyſs of nature to find out reaſons for this ſympathy; it ſhall ſuffice here, to ſhew the benefits and advantages navigation, and in it mankind, has reaped by the diſcovery of this moſt wonderful ſecret. The Magneſians, as was ſaid above, were counted the firſt diſcoverers of the Loadſtone's virtue of attracting iron;

iron; but this greater virtue of pointing out the North Pole, was never found till about the year 1300, if we will believe all the beſt modern inquirers into antiquity; who upon diligent ſearch unanimouſly agree they cannot find the leaſt ground to believe it was known before; rather than give credit to ſome few writers, who more ſuppoſe ſuch a thing to have been uſed by the Phœnicians, than pretend to prove it; having nothing but their own fancies, raiſed upon weak and groundleſs ſurmiſes, to build upon. The great advocate I find for this opinion (in *Bochart. Geog. Sac.* p. 716. and in *Purchas*'s pilgrims, p. 26.) is *Fuller* in his miſcellanies, (l. 4. c. 19.) yet neither of them mentions any proof, or ſtrong argument, he brings to corroborate his opinion, and therefore they both with reaſon reject him. Theſe two authors, and *Pancirol* lib. ii. tit. 11. do not forget the verſe often urged out of *Plautus in Mercat.*

Hic ſecundus ventus nunc eſt, cape modo Verſoriam.

Which *Verſoria* ſome will have to be the compaſs. But there is nothing ſolid in this argument, it is only catching at ſtraws, when all Hiſtory and Practice of former ages make againſt it: hiſtory, becauſe it could not but have made ſome mention of a thing ſo univerſally uſeful and neceſſary; and practice, becauſe it is well known no ſuch voyages were then performed, as are now daily by the help of the compaſs. It has ſufficiently been proved before, that in all former ages they were but coaſters, ſcarce daring to venture out of ſight of land; that if out at night they had no other rule to go by but the ſtars: and what is ſtill more, it is manifeſt they ſcarce ventured at all to ſea in the winter months. That this is ſo, appears by *Vegetius*, (lib. IV.) where ſpeaking of the months, he ſays,—the ſeas are ſhut from the third of the ides of November, to the ſixth of the ides of March, and from that time till the ides of May, it is dangerous venturing to ſea. Thus much may ſuffice to ſhew the Compaſs was not known to antiquity; let us ſee when it firſt appeared in the world.

Its ancient uſe being rejected by general conſent, there have ſtill been ſome who have endeavoured to rob the diſcoverer of this honour: among them *Goropius* quoted by Moriſotus, will have this invention attributed to the Cimbrians, Teutonics, or Germans, for this weak reaſon; becauſe the names of the thirty-two winds about it are Teutonic, and uſed by almoſt all Europeans. Others will not allow this to be the product of any part of Europe, and therefore go as far as China for it; alleging that *M. Paulus Venetus* brought it from thence about the year 1260: but this is aſſerted without any the leaſt authority, only becauſe Paulus Venetus travelled into China, and when afterwards the Portugueſes came thither, they * found the uſe of the needle common among all thoſe eaſtern nations, which they affirmed they had enjoyed for many ages. Not to dwell upon groundleſs ſuppoſitions, the general conſent of the beſt authors on this ſubject is,—that the Magnetical needle or Compaſs was firſt found out in Europe by one *John Gioia*, whom others call *Flavio Gioia*, of the city of Amalfi, on the coaſt of that part of the kingdom of Naples called *Terra di Lavoro*. This happened about the year of our Lord 1300; and though the thing be of ſuch ſtupendous advantage to the world, yet it did not prove ſo greatly profitable to the firſt finder,

* See Extract from *Oſorio's Hiſtory*, article (H).

finder, whose bare name is all that remains to posterity; without the least knowledge of his profession, or after what manner he made this wonderful discovery. So wonderful that it seems to contradict the opinion of Solomon, who many ages since said there was nothing new under the sun; whereas this certainly appears, though so long after him, to be altogether new, and never so much as thought of before; which cannot so plainly be made out of any other of those we look upon as modern inventions or improvements. For to instance in a few things; we find the use of Fire-Ships among the Tyrians in the time of Alexander the Great, as was mentioned before out of Curtius, lib. IV. and therefore not repeated here. Our Sea-Charts, on which latter times have so much valued themselves, are of such ancient date, that we cannot find their original; yet Morisotus, p. 12. says that Eolus gave Ulysses a sea-chart drawn on a ram's skin, that is, a parchment. Again, p. 14. the same author out of Trogus observes, that *Democedes* the Cratonian, employed by Darius Hystaspes to view the coasts of Greece, sent him charts of them all, with the ports, roads, and strong-holds exactly marked down. Then, p. 215. he shews out of Ælianus and Aristophanes, that there were Maps of the world in Socrates's time. This, he says, was about the eightieth Olympiad, and then quotes Strabo, who from Eratosthenes affirms, that Anaximander the Milesian was the first who made geographical tables about the fiftieth Olympiad. *Sheathing of ships* is a thing in appearance so absolutely new, that scarce any will doubt to assert it altogether a modern invention; yet how vain this notion is, will soon appear in two instances. *Leo Baptisti Alberti* in his book of architecture, lib. V. cap. 12. has these words: *But Trajan's ship weighed out of the lake of Riccia at this time, while I was compiling this work, where it had lain sunk and neglected for above thirteen hundred years: I observed, that the pine and cypress of it had lasted most remarkably. On the outside it was built with double planks, daubed over with Greek pitch, caulked with linen rags; and over all a sheet of lead fastened on with little copper nails.* Raphael Volaterranus in his geography says, this ship was weighed by the order of cardinal Prospero Colonna. Here we have caulking, and sheathing together, above sixteen hundred years ago; for I suppose no man can doubt that the sheet of lead nailed over the outside with copper nails was sheathing, and that in great perfection; the copper nails being used rather than iron, which, when once rusted in the water with the working of the ship, soon lose their hold and drop out. The other instance we find in Purchas's pilgrims, (vol. I. lib. 4.) in captain Saris's voyage to the court of Japan, p. 371. where the captain giving an account of his voyage says; that rowing betwixt Firando and Fuccate, about eight or ten leagues on this side Xemina-seque, he found a great town, where there lay in a dock a *junck* of eight or ten hundred tun burden, *sheathed all with iron.* This was in the year 1613, about which time the English came first acquainted with Japan; and it is evident, that nation had not learned the way of sheathing of them, or the Portuguese, who were there before, but were themselves ignorant of the art.

Now to return to the Magnetical Needle, or Sea-Compass; its discoverer, as has been said, appears to be Flavius, or John Gioia of Amalfi, and the time of its discovery about

about the year 1300. The reason of its tending to, or pointing out the north, is what many natural philosophers have in vain laboured to find; and all their study has brought them only to be sensible of the imperfection of human knowledge: which when plunged into the inquiry after the secrets of nature, finds no other way to come off but by calling them *occult qualities*; which is no other than owning our ignorance, and granting they are things altogether unknown to us: yet these are not all the wonders of this magnetic virtue. The Variation of it is another as inscrutable a secret. This Variation is when the needle does not point out the true pole, but inclines more or less either to the east or west; and is not certain, but differs according to places, yet holding always the same in the same place, which is found by observing the sun or stars. The Cause of this Variation some philosophers ascribe to magnetical mountains, some to the pole itself, some to the Heavens, and some to a magnetical power even beyond the heavens; but these are blind guesses, and fond ostentations of learning, without any thing in them to convince one's reason. There is nothing of it certain but the Variation itself; nor is this Variation alone; there is a *variation of the variation*, a subject to be handled by none but such as have made it a peculiar study; and which deserving a peculiar volume, is daily expected from a most able pen.—But let us leave these mysteries, and come to the historical part, as the principal scope of this discourse; where we shall find, that though the use of the Needle was so long since found out; yet, either through its being kept private by some few persons at first as a secret of great value, or through the dullness of the sailors, at first not comprehending this wonderful phenomenon; or through fear of venturing too far out of the known shores; or lastly, out of a conceit that there could not be more habitable world to discover;—whether for these, or any other cause, we do not find any considerable advantage made of this wonderful discovery for above an age after it: nay, what is more, it does not appear how the world received it; who first used it upon the sea, and how it spread abroad into other parts. This is not a little strange, in a matter of such consequence, that the histories of nations should not mention when they received so great an advantage, nor what benefit they found at first by it. But so it is; and therefore to shew the advancement of Navigation since the discovery of the Magnetical needle, it will be absolutely necessary to begin several years after it, before which nothing appears to be done. This shall be performed with all possible brevity, and by way of Annals, containing a summary account of all Discoveries from year to year: yet, lest the distance and variety of places should too much distract the reader, if all lay intermixed, the *European northern discoveries* shall be first run through in their order of years; next to them, as next in order of time, shall follow the African, and so of the East India or Asiatic, the one being the consequence of the other; and in the last place shall appear the West Indian, or American.—The first part of the northern European discoveries is all taken out of *Hakluyt*, beginning with the nearest after the discovery of the Needle; quoting the authors out of him, and the page where they are to be found.

An.

Northern European Discoveries.

An. 1360, *Nicholas de Linna*, or of *Linn*, a friar of Oxford, who was an able astronomer, took a voyage with others into the most northern islands of the world; where leaving his company he travelled alone, and made draughts of all those northern parts, which at his return he presented to king Edward III. This Friar made five voyages into those parts: for this he quotes Gerardus Mercator, and Mr. John Dee, (Hak. p. 122.) And this, though it is not there mentioned, being sixty years after the discovery of the Compass, we may look upon as one of the first trials of this nature, made upon the security of the magnetical direction in these northern seas. Yet after this for many years we find no other discovery attempted this way, but rather all such enterprises seemed to be wholly laid aside; till—

An. 1553, and in the reign of king Edward VI. Sir *Hugh Willoughby* was sent out with three ships to discover *Cathay* and other northern parts. He sailed in May, and having spent much time about the northern islands subject to Denmark, where he found no commodity but dried fish and train oil; he was forced about the middle of September, after losing the company of his other two ships, to put into an harbour in Lapland called *Arzina*, where they could find no inhabitants; but thinking to have wintered there, were all frozen to death. However the *Edward*, which was the second ship in this expedition, and commanded by *Richard Chancellor*, who was chief pilot for the voyage, having lost Sir Hugh Willoughby, made its way for the port of Wardhouse in Norway, where they had appointed to meet if parted by storms. Chancellor staid there seven days; and perceiving none of his company came to join him, proceeded on his voyage so fortunately, that within a few days he arrived in the bay of St. Nicholas on the coast of Muscovy; where he was friendly received by the natives, being the first ship that ever came upon that coast. Chancellor himself went to the court of Mosco, where he settled a trade betwixt England and Muscovy, with John Basilowitz the great duke, or *Czar*, then reigning. This done, Chancellor returned home with the honour of being the first discoverer of Russia.

An. 1556, *Stephen Burrough* was sent out in a small vessel to discover the river *Ob*: he sailed in April, and in May came upon the coast of Norway; whence continuing his voyage, in July he arrived at Nova Zembla, that is, the new land, where he received directions how to shape his course for the river *Ob*. He spent some time in search of it; but coming to the straits of *Weygats* found no passage, and the summer-season being almost spent, returned to Colmogro in Muscovy, where he wintered, designing to prosecute his voyage the next summer; but was countermanded, and so this was all the event of the expedition.

An. 1558, *Anthony Jenkinson* sailed for Muscovy with four ships under his command: he left his ships, and travelled by land to Mosco; where having been nobly entertained by the Czar, he obtained his pass, and continued his journey through Muscovy across the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan; where shipping himself on the river Volga he sailed down into the Caspian sea, having travelled by land about six hundred leagues in the Czar's dominions from Mosco. On the Caspian sea he spent twenty-seven days; after which landing, he proceeded five days journey by land among a sort of

of wild Tartars with a caravan of one thousand camels; then twenty days more through a desert, suffering much from hunger and thirst. This brought him again to another part of the Caspian sea, where formerly the river Oxus fell into it, which now he says runs into another river not far from thence, called *Ardock*, which runs towards the north, and under ground, above five hundred miles, after which it rises again, and unburdens itself in the lake of *Kitay*. Hence he continued his discovery amidst those countries of Tartars to Boghar in Bactria, whence he returned to Mosco. Northern European Discoveries.

An. 1561, He returned to Muscovy with letters from *queen Elizabeth* to the *Czar*; and taking the same way as before down to the Caspian sea, crossed over it into Hircania; where being nobly entertained, and conducted by the princes of that country, he passed through to the court of the king of Persia at Casbin, there he obtained several privileges for the English nation, and returned home in safety the same way he went.

An. 1580, Mr. *Arthur Pet* and Mr. *Charles Jackman* sailed in May from Harwich in two barks to make discoveries in the north-east beyond Weygats. In June they doubled the north cape of *Norway*, and having spent some days in that part of Norway, continued their voyage into the bay of *Petzora*; where Jackman's vessel being in no good sailing condition, he left Pet, who proceeded on to the coast of Nova Zembla; where in July he met with much ice, yet making his way through part of it, though with great difficulty, he at last came to the straits of Weygats: there he drew as close as the shoal water would permit, coming into two fathom and an half water, and sending his boat to sound till he found there was not water enough even for the boat in the strait, and therefore returned the same way he came. A few days after Pet met with Jackman again in some distress, as not being able to steer, his ship's stern-post being broken, and the rudder hanging from the stern. Having remedied this the best they could for the present, they both stood northward to endeavour to find some passage that way; but meeting with much ice, they despaired of success, and resolved to turn again to Weygats, there to consult what was further to be done. All the passage thither they met with such quantities of ice, that some days they were not able to make any progress. Being come again upon the Weygats, they made another attempt that way, but to as little purpose as before, the ice obstructing their progress. Wherefore winter now coming on, they found it necessary to quit their design for the present. Accordingly Pet being parted from Jackman, arrived safe in the river of Thames about the end of December this same year; Jackman put into a port in Norway betwixt Tronden and Rostock in October, where he wintered. In February following, he departed thence in company of a ship of the king of Denmark's towards Iceland, and was never more heard of.—The *English* having made these unsuccessful attempts, gave them over for many years; and the *Dutch* growing powerful at sea, resolved to try their fortune; hoping the failures of the English might help to point out to them what course they were to avoid, and what to follow; and accordingly, Hitherto out of Hakluyt.

An. 1594, the *States* fitted out three ships, commanded by *William Barentz*, *Cornelius Cornelissen*, and *John Hugens*: they all sailed together, but Barentz ran further

Northern European Discoveries.

up to the northward than the others, till he came into seventy-eight degrees of latitude; and in August met with much ice, and abundance of sea-monsters, at which the seamen being discouraged they resolved to return home. The other two ships discovered some islands; and at last a Strait or Passage capable of the greatest ships, and about five or six leagues in length: being passed it, they came into an open and warmer sea, and upon the coast of Tartary near the river Ob or Oby, a very fruitful country: this they called the *Strait of Nassau*, and might have gone further but for want of provisions. This done, they came back the same way very joyful to Holland. (*Meteren.* hist. of the Low Countries, lib. XVIII.) This we see positively delivered, but with how much of truth I dare not decide; only must think it strange, that if such a Strait had been once found, it should never be met with since, though often searched for; and once by the same persons that pretended to have been the first discoverers, as may be seen in the year 1596: yet we see this assertion repeated by the same author, who takes it from the relations of the sailors, and in the same place before quoted says, that—

An. 1595, the States being much encouraged by the relation of these discoverers, fitted out seven ships, six of them to proceed on their voyage to China, Japan, &c. this way, and the seventh to bring back the news of their being passed the Strait; but they met with too much ice at strait Nassau, coming to it too late by reason of the contrary winds they had in their passage thither: yet the inhabitants of the place told them many particulars more than they knew before; but they returned *re infecta*, (*Meteren. ubi supra.*)

An. 1596, the Dutch not discouraged by the former disappointment, fitted out two ships under the command of *William Barentsen* and *John Cornelissen*, who sailed on the eighteenth of May, and on the nineteenth of June found themselves in the latitude of 80 degrees, and eleven minutes, where they found a country they supposed to be *Greenland*, with grass, and beasts grazing like deer, &c. and less cold and ice than in 76 degrees:—they turned back to an island they had before called the *Island of Bears*, because of the many bears they saw in it, and there parted company. Cornelissen went up again into 80 degrees of latitude, thinking to find a passage east of the land they had discovered, but returned home without doing any thing considerable. Barentsen made towards Nova Zembla, and coasted along it till he met with an island which he called *Orange*, in 77 degrees of latitude; thence he steered south and doubled a cape; but was stopped by ice, and making towards the land, on the last of August, was so inclosed that there was no stirring. They landed and built a house with timber and planks, into which they put all their provisions and goods, where they continued suffering much hardship all the winter. On the twenty-second of June they set out from thence in two boats they had repaired, leaving their ship among the ice, and an account in writing of their being there. Thus with much difficulty, they arrived at Cola in Lapland on the second of October 1597, where they found Cornelissen; who had made a voyage to Holland in the mean while, and was returned

returned thither. Barentſen died by the way, but the ſurvivors arrived in Holland on the twenty-ninth of October; (Meteren. lib. XIX.) Northern European Diſcoveries.

An. 1676, Captain *John Wood* in his majeſty's ſhip the Speedwell, with the Proſperous Pink to attend him, ſailed from the *Buoy of the Nore* to diſcover the North Eaſt Paſſage. June the fourth he anchored in the iſland of Shetland, and the tenth ſailed out again, directing his courſe north-north-eaſt, and north-eaſt by eaſt, till the twenty-ſecond; when at noon he ſaw ice right a-head about a league from him, and ſailed cloſe to it, as they did the next day, entering into many openings which they perceived to be bays. Sometimes the weather proved foggy, and then they made little way; but as faſt as the fog fell, it froze on their ſails and rigging: they perceived the ice here joined to the land of Nova Zembla, and run out five leagues to ſea. They continued coaſting the ice to find a paſſage, till on the twenty-ninth of June at near midnight the Proſperous Pink fired a gun and bore down upon the man of war, crying out, *ice on the weather-bow*; whereupon he clapped the helm hard a-weather to come about, but, before ſhe could be brought upon the other tack, ſtruck upon a ledge of rocks that lay ſunk: the Pink got clear, but the ſhip ſtuck faſt, and there being no getting her off, the men got all aſhore in their boats with what proviſion they could ſave, ſome arms and other neceſſaries; only two men were loſt with the pinnace. Here they ſet up a tent, and ſaw no other inhabitants but white bears. The following days the ſhip broke and much wreck drove aſhore, which was a great help to them, there being wood for firing, ſome meal, oil, brandy, and beer: they killed a white bear and eat her, which they ſaid was very good meat.—Thus they continued, contriving to build a deck to their long-boat to carry off ſome of the men, the others to travel afoot towards the Weygats; till on the eighth of July, to their great joy, they diſcovered the pink, and making a fire for a ſignal, ſhe ſent her boat to help to bring them off, and by noon they all got aboard. They preſently ſtood off to weſtward, and made the beſt of their way home, arriving on the twenty third of Auguſt at the *Buoy of the Nore*. (Taken out of captain Wood's own journal.)

Theſe are the Principal Diſcoveries attempted and performed to the North Eaſt; which have proved unſuccefsful, as failing of the main deſign of finding a paſſage that way to the Eaſt Indies.

Let us now leave the barren frozen North, where ſo many have miſerably periſhed, and yet ſo little been diſcovered of what was intended; ice, ſhoals, rocks, darkneſs, and many other obſtacles having diſappointed the bold undertakings of ſo many daring ſailors, and for ſo many loſſes made us no return but the bare trade of Ruſſia; whilſt our intentions were levelled at that of the mighty kingdom of Cathay, and a paſſage to China, Japan, and all the other eaſtern regions. Let us, I ſay, quit theſe unfortunate attempts, and come now to ſpeak of thoſe, ſo ſuccefsful, made towards the South and South Eaſt, along the coaſt of Afric firſt, and then to thoſe of the more frequented, as more profitable Aſia. The firſt we find in this order, if the authority we have for it be good, is of an Engliſhman, by name *Macham*; who, Weſtern Coaſt of Africa.

Weſtern Coaſt of Africa.

An. 1344, having ſtolen a woman, with whom he was in love, and intended to fly with her into Spain, was by a ſtorm caſt upon the iſland Madera, in 32 degrees of north latitude. Going aſhore there with his miſtreſs to refreſh her after the toils of the ſea; the ſhip, taking the opportunity of a favourable gale ſailed away, leaving them behind. The lady ſoon died for grief of being left in that deſolate iſland; and Macham with what companions he had, erected a little chapel and hermitage under the invocation of the name of JESUS, to bury her. This done, they contrived a boat made of one ſingle tree, in which they got over to the coaſt of Afric; where they were taken by the Moors, and preſented to their king for the rarity of the accident. He for the ſame reaſon ſent them to the king of Caſtile; where giving an account of what had befallen them, it moved many to venture out in ſearch of this Iſland. This ſtory we find in Hakluyt, (vol. II. part 2. p. 1.) where he quotes Antonio Galvano a Portugueſe author for it; and D. Antonio Manoel, in his works among his *Epanaforas*, has one on this particular ſubject, which he calls *Epanafora Amoroſa*. Upon this information, as was ſaid, ſeveral adventurers went out, but to no effect that we can hear of; till

An. 1348, *John Betancourt* a Frenchman, obtained a grant of king John the ſecond of Caſtile, and went to conquer the Canary iſlands long before diſcovered, and made himſelf maſter of five of them; but could not ſubdue the two greateſt, as moſt populous and beſt defended. Theſe were afterwards ſubdued by king Ferdinand, as may be ſeen in Mariana, (lib. XVI. p. 29.) Theſe were ſmall beginnings, and out of regular courſe: next follow the Gradual Diſcoveries made by the Portugueſes, which may be ſaid to have been the ground-work of all the enſuing Navigations, which happened in this manner.—*King John of Portugal* enjoying peace at home after his wars with Caſtile, was perſuaded by his ſons to undertake the conqueſt of Ceuta on the African ſhore. Prince Henry, his fifth ſon accompanied him in this expedition, and at his return home brought with him a ſtrong inclination to diſcover new ſeas and lands; and the more, on account of the information he had received from ſeveral Moors concerning the coaſts of Afric to the ſouthward, which were as yet unknown to Europeans; who never pretended to venture beyond Cape *Nao*, which had therefore this name given it, ſignifying in Portugueſe *No*, to imply there was no ſailing further: and the reaſon was, becauſe the Cape running far out into the ſea, cauſed it to break and appear dangerous; and they, as yet not daring to venture too far from land, were ignorant that by keeping off to ſea they ſhould avoid that danger. PRINCE HENRY reſolving to overcome all difficulties, fitted out two ſmall veſſels,

An. 1417, commanding them to coaſt along Afric, and doubling that Cape to diſcover further towards the equinoctial. They ventured to run ſixty leagues beyond cape Nao, as far as *Cape Bojador*, ſo called becauſe it ſtretches itſelf out almoſt forty leagues to the weſtward.—Here finding the difficulty of paſſing further, greater than at cape Nao, for the ſame reaſon of the ſea's breaking upon the cape, they returned home ſatisfied with what they had done. The following year,

An.

An. 1418, The prince ſent *John Gonzalez Zarco* and *Triſtan Vaz*, with orders to paſs that Cape; but before they could come upon the coaſt of Afric they were carried away by a ſtorm, and not knowing where, they accidentally fell in with an iſland, which they called *Porto Santo*, or *Holy Haven*, becauſe of their deliverance there after the ſtorm. It is a ſmall iſland a little to the northward of the Madera: thither the prince, being informed of what had happened, ſent Bartholomew Pereſtrello with ſeeds to ſow, and cattle to ſtock the place; but one couple of rabbits put in among the reſt, increaſed ſo prodigiouſly, that all corn and plants being deſtroyed by them, it was found neceſſary to unpeople the iſland. Weſtern Coaſt of Africa.

An. 1419, John Gonzalez and Triſtan Vaz making another voyage by order of the prince, diſcovered the iſland *Madera*, before mentioned to have been accidentally found by Macham the Engliſhman, and loſt again till this time. The reaſon of calling it Madera was, becauſe they found it all over-grown with trees, this word in Portugueſe ſignifying wood. They ſet fire to the woods to clear them, which are ſaid to have burnt ſeven years continually, and ſince the greateſt want is of wood. The following years were employed in peopling and furniſhing the iſlands diſcovered, till

An. 1434, *Gilianez* was ſent by the prince to paſs that dreadful *Cape Bojador*, though at the ſame time many blamed the attempt; imagining, that in caſe they ſhould happen to paſs much farther on thoſe coaſts, all that did it would turn black; others ſaying there was nothing there but deſerts, like thoſe of Lybia; others alleging equal abſurdities of this nature, ſuitable to the ignorance the world was then in of all parts yet undiſcovered. Gilianez was ſatisfied with ſailing 30 leagues beyond the Cape, giving name there to the bay called *Angra de Ruyvas*, or *Bay of Gurnets*, becauſe he there found many of that ſort of fiſh. The next year,

An. 1435, The ſame commanders paſſed twelve leagues further, where they alſo landed, but the people fled from them: whereupon they proceeded twelve leagues further, where they found a vaſt multitude of ſea-wolves, of which they killed many, and returned home with their ſkins; which was the greateſt return made this voyage, they being valued for their rarity.

An. 1440, Antonio Gonzalez was ſent to the place of the ſea-wolves to load his veſſel with their ſkins. He landed, took ſome of the natives, and killed others; then coaſted on as far as *Cabo Blanco*, or *White Cape*, and returned to Portugal.

An. 1442, Antonio Gonzalez returned, and carrying thoſe perſons he had taken in his former voyage, exchanged them for ſome Guinea ſlaves and a quantity of gold duſt; for which reaſon the river, that there runs into the country, was called *Rio del Oro*, or the *River of Gold*.

An. 1443, the Gold above mentioned ſharpening men's appetites, *Nuno Triſtan* undertook the voyage, and paſſing further than the others, diſcovered one of the iſlands of *Arguim*, called *Adeget*, and another *De las Garzas*, or of the *Herons*, becauſe they ſaw many herons in it.

An.

Weſtern Coaſt of Africa.

An. 1444, a ſmall Company was erected, paying an acknowledgment to the prince, to trade to thoſe parts lately diſcovered, whither they ſent ſix caravels; which coming to the iſles of Arguim, took there about two hundred ſlaves, which yielded them good profit in Portugal.

An. 1445, *Gonzalo da Cintra* failed to the iſland of Arguim, and venturing up a creek in the night to ſurprize the inhabitants, the tide left his boat aſhore; ſo that two hundred Moors coming down upon him, he was killed with ſeven of his men, and from him the place was called *Angra de Gonzalo da Cintra*, fourteen leagues beyond Rio del Oro.

An. 1446, three Caravels ſailed for the ſame river to ſettle commerce; but effected nothing, and only brought away one of the natives, and left a Portugueſe there to view the country. But *Dinis Fernandez* the ſame year paſſed beyond the river *Sanaga*, which divides the *Azanagi* from *Jaloſ*, and diſcovered the famous cape called *Cabo Verde*, or the *Green Cape*.

An. 1447, three Caravels performed the ſame Voyage without doing any thing remarkable, more than taking up the Portugueſe left there before; whom they found in good health, and he gave them ſome account of the country. This year likewiſe *Nuno Triſtan* failed ſixty leagues beyond Cabo Verde, and anchoring at the mouth of *Rio Grande*, or the great river, ventured up in his boat, where he and moſt of his men were killed by the Blacks with their poiſoned arrows. *Alvaro Fernandez* the ſame year went forty leagues beyond Rio Grande. Prince Henry, the great encourager, or rather undertaker in all theſe diſcoveries, dying, they were afterwards managed by his nephew, Alonſo the fifth, king of Portugal. Under him,

An. 1449, *Gonſalo Vello* diſcovered the Iſlands called *Azores*, or of *Hawks*, becauſe many of thoſe birds were ſeen about them. They are eight in number, *viz. S. Michael*, *S. Mary*, *Jeſus* or *Tercera*, *Graciofa*, *Pica*, *Fayal*, *Flores*, and *Corvo*. They are near about the latitude of Liſbon. In the laſt of them was found the Statue of a man on horſeback with a cloak, but no hat, his left-hand on the horſe's mane, the right pointing to the weſt, and ſome characters carved on the rock under it, but not underſtood.

An. 1460, *Antonio Nole*, a Genoeſe in the Portugueſe ſervice, diſcovered the *Iſlands of Cabo Verde*, the names whereof are *Fogo*, *Brava*, *Boaviſta*, *Sal*, *S. Nicholas*, *S. Lucia*, *S. Vincente*, and *S. Antonio*. They lie about an hundred leagues weſt of Cabo Verde, and therefore take name from that Cape. He alſo found the iſlands *Maya*, *S. Philip*, and *S. Jacob*. This ſame year *Pedro da Cintra* and *Suero da Coſta* ſailed as far as Serra Leona.

An. 1471, *John de Santarem* and *Peter de Eſcobar* advanced as far as the place they called *Mina*, or the *Mine*, becauſe of the trade of gold there; and then proceeded to Cape S. Catharine, thirty-ſeven leagues beyond Cape Lope Gonzalez in two degrees and an half of ſouth latitude. Ferdinand Po the ſame year found the iſland, by him called *Hermoſa*, or *Beautiful*, which name is loſt, and ſtill keeps that of the diſcoverer. At the ſame time were found the Iſlands of *S. Thomas*, *Anno Bom*, and *Principe*.

Some

Some years paſſed without going beyond what was known; but in the mean time king *John the ſecond*, who ſucceeded his father Alonſo, cauſed a fort to be built at Mina, which he called fort S. George, and ſettled a trade there. East Indian Diſcoveries.

An. 1480, *James Cam* proceeded as far as the river Congo in the kingdom of the ſame name, called by the natives *Zayre*; whence he continued his Voyage as far as 22 degrees of ſouth latitude, and thence home again.

An. 1486, King John being informed by an ambaſſador from the king of Benin on the coaſt of Afric, that there was a mighty prince two hundred and fifty leagues from his country, from whom his maſter received his confirmation in his throne; and imagining this to be the ſo much talked of *Preſter John*, he ſent *Pedro de Covillam*, and Alonſo da Payva by land, to get intelligence of this great potentate, and ſome account of *India*. They went together by the way of Grand Cair to Tor on the coaſt of Arabia, where they parted; Covillam for India, and Payva for Ethiopia, agreeing to meet by a certain time at Grand Cair: the firſt went to *Cananor*, *Calicut*, and *Goa*, paſſed thence to *Zofala* in Afric, then to *Aden* at the mouth of the Red Sea on the ſide of Arabia, and at laſt to Grand Cair, where he found his companion had died. Hence he ſent an account to the king of his proceedings, by a Jew come from Portugal; and with another embarked for Ormuz, then went over into Ethiopia, where he was kindly entertained, but never ſuffered to return home. At the ſame time theſe were ſent away by land, BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ put to ſea with three ſhips, and out-going all that had been before him, an hundred and twenty leagues, diſcovered the mountains he called *Sierra Parda*, and paſſed on in ſight of the bay called *De los Vaqueros*, or of the *Herdſmen*, becauſe of the great herds of cattle they ſaw there; beyond which he touched at the ſmall iſland *Santa Cruz*, entered the mouth of the river called *Del Infante*; and at laſt came to the now famous, and till then unknown Cape, which he called *Tormentoſo*, becauſe he there met with ſtorms: but the king, in hopes of diſcovering the *Eaſt Indies*, changed its name to that of *Cabo da Buena Eſperanza*, or Cape of *Good Hope*: this done he returned home, having diſcovered more than any man before him. The ſtrange conceit which poſſeſſed the heads of the ſailors, that there was no poſſibility of paſſing beyond *Cabo Tormentoſo*, as they called it, and the conſtant employment the kings of Portugal found in their great diſcoveries on the coaſt of Afric, very much retarded the proſecution of further deſigns; ſo that nothing was advanced till,

An. 1497, *King Emanuel*, who with the crown of Portugal had inherited the ambition of enlarging his dominions, and the deſire of finding a way by ſea to the Eaſt Indies, appointed VASCO DE GAMA, a gentleman of an undaunted ſpirit, admiral of thoſe ſhips he deſigned for this expedition; which were only three, and a tender: their names were the *S. Gabriel*, the *S. Raphael*, and *Berrio*; the captains *Vaſco de Gama* admiral, *Paul de Gama* his brother, and *Nicholas Nunez*; and *Gonzalo Nunez* of the tender, which was laden with proviſions. Gama ſailed from Liſbon on the eighth of July, and the firſt land he came to after almoſt five months ſail was the bay of *S. Helena*, where he took ſome Blacks. The twentieth of November he ſailed thence, and doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*; and on the twenty-fifth touched at the bay of S. Blas,

East Indian Discoveries.

S. Blas, sixty leagues beyond the aforesaid Cape, where he exchanged some merchandize with the natives. Here he took all the provisions out of the tender, and burnt it. On Christmas day they saw the land, which for that reason they called *Terra da Natal*, that is, Christmas land; then the river they named *De les Reyes*, that is of the kings, because discovered on the feast of the Epiphany, and after that Cape *Corrientes*, passing fifty leagues beyond *Zofala* without seeing it, where they went up a river in which were boats with sails made of palm-tree leaves: the people were not so black as those they had seen before, and understood the Arabic character, who said that to the eastward lived people who sailed in vessels like those of the Portuguese. This river Gama called *De Bons Sinays*, or of good tokens, because it put him in hopes of finding what he came in search of. Sailing hence, he again came to an anchor among the islands of S. George opposite to *Mosambique*; and removing thence anchored again above the town of Mosambique in 14 degrees and an half of south latitude; whence after a short stay, with the assistance of a Moorish pilot, he touched at Quiloa and Monbaza; and having at Melinde settled a peace with the Moorish king of that place, and taken in a Guzarat pilot, he set sail for India; and crossing that great gulph of seven hundred leagues in twenty days, anchored two leagues below Calicut on the twentieth of May. To this place, had Gama discovered twelve hundred leagues beyond what was known before, drawing a straight line from the river *Del Infante*, discovered by Bartholomew Diaz, to the port of Calicut; for in sailing about by the coast it is much more. Returning home not far from the coast, he fell in with the Islands of *Anchediva*, signifying in the Indian language five islands, because they are so many; and having had sight of Goa at a distance, sailed over again to the coast of Afric, and anchored near the town of Magadoxa. At Melinde he was friendly received by the king, but being again under sail, the ship *S. Raphael* struck ashore and was lost, giving her name to those sands: all the men were saved aboard the other two ships, which parted in a storm near Cabo Verde. Nicholas Coella arrived first at Lisbon, and soon after him Vasco de Gama, having spent in this voyage two years and almost two months. Of an hundred and sixty men he carried out, only fifty-five returned home, who were all well rewarded

An. 1500, King Emanuel, encouraged by the success of Vasco de Gama, fitted out a fleet of thirteen sail under the command of *Pedro Alvarez Cabral*, and in it twelve hundred men, to gain footing in India. He sailed on the eighth of March, and meeting with violent storms was cast off from the coast of Afric so far, that on Easter eve the fleet came into a port, which for the safety found in it was called *Seguro*, and the country at that time *Santa Cruz*; being the same now known by the name of BRAZIL, on the south continent of America. Hence the admiral sent back a ship to advertise the king of the accidental new discovery, leaving two Portuguese ashore to enquire into the customs and product of the land. Sailing thence on the twelfth of May for the Cape of Good Hope, the fleet was for twenty days in a most dreadful storm; insomuch, that the sea swallowed up four ships, and the admiral arrived with only six at Zofala on the sixteenth of July, and on the twentieth at Mozambique; where having

ing refitted, he profecuted his voyage to Quiloa, and thence to Melinde, whence the fleet ftood over for India, and reached Anchediva on the twenty-fourth of Auguft: then coming to Calicut, peace and commerce was there agreed on with the Zamorin, the king of Calicut, but as foon broken; and the Portuguefes entered into ftrict amity with the kings of Cochin and Cananor, where they took in their lading and returned to Portugal. Portuguefe Afiatic Difcoveries.

An. 1501, *John de Nova* departed from Lifbon with four fhips and four hundred men, and in his way difcovered *the ifland of Conception*, in eight degrees of fouth latitude, and on the eaft fide of Afric that, which from him was called the ifland of *John da Nova*. At Cananor and Cochin he took in all his lading, deftroying many veffels of Calicut; and in his return home found the ifland of St. Helena in 15 degrees of fouth latitude, diftant fifteen hundred forty-nine leagues from Goa, and eleven hundred from Lifbon, being then unpeopled, but fince of great advantage to all that ufe the trade of India.

An. 1502, The king fent out a fleet of twenty fail commanded by the firft difcoverer of India, *Vafco da Gama*, whofe fecond voyage this was. No new difcoveries were made by him, but only trade fecured at Cochin and Cananor; feveral fhips of Calicut taken and deftroyed; the king of Quiloa on the coaft of Afric brought to fubmit himfelf to Portugal, paying tribute; and fo Vafco de Gama returned home with nine fhips richly laden, leaving Vincent Sodre behind with five fhips to fcour the coafts of India, and fecure the factories there.

An. 1503, Nine fhips were fent under three feveral commanders, *Alfonfo de Albuquerque*, *Francis d'Albuquerque*, and *Antonio da Saldanha*, each of them having three fhips. The *Albuquerques*, with permiffion of that king, built a port at Cochin, burnt fome towns, took many fhips of Calicut, and then returned richly laden homewards; where Alonfo arrived fafe with his fhips, but Francis and his were never more heard of. *Saldanha*, the third of thefe commanders, gave his name to a bay fhort of the cape of Good Hope, where he endeavoured to water; but it coft the blood of fome of his men, and therefore the place was called *Aguada da Saldanha*, or Saldanha's watering place. Thence proceeding on his voyage, he obliged the king of Monbaza on the other coaft of Afric to accept of peace; and then went away to cruize upon the Moors at the mouth of the Red Sea, which was the poft appointed him.

An. 1504, Finding no good was to be done in India without a confiderable force, king Emanuel fitted out thirteen fhips, the biggeft that had been yet built in Portugal, and in them twelve hundred men, all under the command of *Lope Soarez*; who made no further difcoveries, only concluded a peace with the Zamorin, and returned rich home.

An. 1505, *D. Francifco d'Almeyda* was fent to India, with the title of viceroy, carrying with him twenty two fhips, and in them fifteen hundred men; with whom he attacked and took the town of Quiloa on the eaft coaft of Afric, and in about 9 degrees of fouth latitude, where he built a fort;—then burnt Monbaza on the fame coaft in four degrees, and failing over to India erected another fort in the ifland Anchediva, and a third at Cananor on the Malabar coaft.

Portuguese Asiatic Discoveries.

An. 1506, *James Fernandez Pereyra* commander of one of the ships left to cruize upon the mouth of the Red Sea, returned to Lisbon with the news of his having discovered the island *Zocotora*, not far distant from the said mouth, and famous for producing the best aloes, from it called *succotrina*. In March this year sailed from Lisbon *Alonso d'Albuquerque*, and *Tristan da Cunha*, with thirteen ships, and thirteen hundred men; the former to command the trading ships, the latter to cruize on the coast of Arabia: in their passage they had a sight of cape S. Augustin in *Brasil*; and standing over from thence for the cape of Good Hope, Tristan da Cunha ran far away to the south, and discovered the islands which still retain his name. Sailing hence, some discovery was made upon the island of *Madagascar*, that of *Zocotora* subdued, and the fleet sailed part for the coast of Arabia, and part for India. In the former Albuquerque took and plundered the town of *Calayate*, the same he did to *Mascate*; *Soar* submitted, and *Orfuzam* they found abandoned by the inhabitants. This done, Albuquerque sailed away to *Ormuz*, *then first seen by Europeans*: this city is seated in an island called *Gerum*, at the mouth of the Persian gulph, so barren that it produces nothing but salt and sulphur, but it is one of the greatest marts in those countries. Hence Albuquerque sailed to India, where he served some time under the command of the viceroy Almeyda, till he was himself made governor of the Portuguese conquests in those parts, which was in the year 1510; during which time the whole business was to settle trade, build forts, and erect factories along those coasts already known—that is, all the east side of Afric, the shores of Arabia, Persia, Guzarat, Cambaya, Decan, Canara, and Malabar; and indeed they had employment enough, if well followed, to have held them many more years: but avarice and ambition know no bounds. The Portuguese had not yet passed cape *Comori*, the utmost extent of the Malabar coast, and therefore,

(*An.* 1510,) *James Lopez da Sequeira* was sent from Lisbon with orders to pass as far as Malaca: this is a city seated on that peninsula, formerly called *Aurea Chersonesus*, running out into the Indian sea from the main land, to which it is joined by a narrow neck of land on the north, and on the south separated from the island of *Sumatra* by a small strait or channel; Malaca was at that time the greatest emporium of all the farther India. Thither Sequeira was sent to settle trade, or rather to discover what advantages might be gained; but the Moors who watched to destroy him, having failed of their design to murder him at an entertainment, contrived to get thirty of his men ashore on pretence of loading spice, and then falling on them and the ships at the same time, killed eight Portuguese, took sixty, and the ships with difficulty got away. However here we have Malaca discovered, and a way open to all the further parts of India. In his way to Malaca, Sequeira made peace with the kings of Achem, Pedir, and Pacem, all at that time small princes at the north-west end of the island Sumatra. Whilst Sequeira was thus employed, Albuquerque assaults the famous city of *Goa*, seated in a small island on the coast of Decan, and taking the inhabitants unprovided, made himself master of it, but enjoyed it not long; for Hidalcan the former owner returning with sixty thousand men, drove him out of it

after a siege of twenty days: yet the next year he again took it by force, and it has ever since continued in the hands of the Portuguefes, and been the metropolis of all their dominions in the eaft; being made an archbifhop's fee, and the refidence of the viceroy who has the government of all the conquefts in thofe parts. Albuquerque, flufhed with this fuccefs, as foon as he had fettled all fafe at Goa, failed for Malaca with fourteen hundred fighting men in nineteen fhips: by the way he took five fhips, and at his arrival on the coaft of Sumatra was complimented by the kings of Pedir and Pacem.—It is not unworthy relating in this place, that in one of the fhips taken at this time was found *Nehoada Beeguca*, one of the chief contrivers of the treachery againft Sequeira; and though he had received feveral mortal wounds, yet not one drop of blood came from him; but as foon as a bracelet of bone was taken off his arm, the blood gufhed out at all parts. The Indians faid this was the bone of a beaft called *Cabis*, which fome will have to be found in Siam, and others in the ifland of Java, which has this ftrange virtue, but none has ever been found fince. This being looked upon as a great treafure, was fent by Albuquerque to the king of Portugal, but the fhip it went in was caft away, fo that we have loft that rarity, if it be true there ever was any fuch. Albuquerque failing over to Malaca, had the Portuguefes that had been taken from Sequeira delivered; but that not being all he came for, he landed his men, and at the fecond affault made himfelf mafter of the city, killing or driving out all the Moors, and peopling it again with ftrangers and Malays. Portuguefe Aftatic Difcoveries.

An. 1513, Albuquerque made an attempt upon the city of *Aden*, but failed, being repulfed with lofs. This place is feated on the coaft of Arabia Felix, near the mouth of the Red Sea, under the mountain *Arzira*, which is all a barren rock: it is rich, becaufe reforted to by many merchants of feveral nations, but the foil exceffive dry, fo that it fcarce produces any thing. Being difappointed here, Albuquerque fteered his courfe towards the *Red Sea*, being the *firft European that ever entered it with European fhips*.

An. 1517, *Lope Soarez d'Albergoria* governor of India failed over to the ifland of *Ceylon* with feven galleys, two fhips, and eight fmaller veffels, carrying in them all feven hundred Portuguefe foldiers. This Ifland had been before feen by the Portuguefes paffing to Malaca, but not much known. Here Lope Soarez built a fort, and in procefs of time the Portuguefes made themfelves maffers of all the fea-coafts of this wealthy ifland.

About the fame time *John da Silveyra*, who had the command of four fail, made a farther progrefs than had been done before in the *difcovery of the Maldivy iflands*; which are fo many that the number of them is not yet known, lying in clufters, and thefe in a line N. W. and S. E.; and twelve of thefe clufters in the line, befides two other little parcels lying together, eaft and weft from one another, at the fouth end of the aforefaid twelve: thefe, though fo numerous, are fo very fmall, that no great account is made of them. From them he failed to the kingdom of *Bengala*, lying in the upper part of the gulph of the fame name in about 23 degrees of north latitude, being all the country about the mouth of the river Ganges. To this joins the king-

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dom of *Arracam* descending southward, then that of *Pegu*, and next to it that of *Siam*, which joins to the *Aurea Chersonesus*, or peninsula of Malaca. All these countries abound in wealth, producing infinite plenty of silk and cotton, of which last they make the finest callicoes and muslins, with much reason admired by all the nations of Europe. They have numerous droves of elephants, and consequently great plenty of ivory, besides plenty of black cattle and buffaloes.

An. 1517, *Fernan Perez d'Andrade*, sent by the king of Portugal to make New Discoveries, leaving all behind that had been before known, and passing the strait betwixt Malaca and the island Sumatra, came upon the coast of the kingdom of *Camboia*, whence he proceeded to that of *Chiampa*, where taking of fresh water had like to have cost him his life. He went on to *Patane*, and established peace and commerce with the governor there; which done, the season being unfit to proceed further, he returned to Malaca to refit. As soon as the weather was seasonable he set out again, and continued his discoveries till he arrived at *Canton*, or *Quantung*, the most remarkable sea port town on the southern coast of the vast empire of China. He treated with the governor of Canton, and sent an ambassador to the emperor of China, and settled trade and commerce in that city for the present. Though this was not lasting, (for the very next Portuguese that arrived, behaved themselves so insolently, that the fleet of China attacked them, and they had much difficulty to get off; and their ambassador being sent back from Peking by the emperor to Canton unheard, was there put to death,) nevertheless some years after the Portuguese obtained leave to settle in a little island opposite to the port of Canton, where they built the city *Macao*, which they hold to this day, though subject to the emperor of China.

An. 1520, *James Lopez da Sequeira*, then governor of India, sailed for the Red Sea with a fleet of twenty-four ships, and in it eighteen hundred Portuguese, and as many Malabars and Canarins. Coming to the island *Maz ua* in the Red Sea, he found it forsaken by the inhabitants, who were fled over to *Arquico*, a port belonging to *Prester John*, or the emperor of Ethiopia, which was now first discovered by sea. At this time it was a vast monarchy, and extended along the shores of the Red Sea above an hundred and twenty leagues, which was counted the least of its sides; but since then all the sea-coast has been taken from them by the Turks. Here the Portuguese in following years made some progress into the country, five hundred of them being sent under the command of D. Christopher da Gama to assist the emperor against his rebellious subjects, and his enemies the Turks.—The actions performed by this handful of men being all by land, do not belong to us; but they travelled a great part of the country, and opened a way for the Jesuits, who for several years after continued there.

An. 1521, *Antonio de Brito* was sent to the Molucco islands from Malaca. These had been before discovered by *Antony d'Abreu*. The Molucco islands are five in number, their names, *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Moufel*, *Machien*, *Bacham*. These islands were afterwards long struggled for by the Portuguese and Dutch, till at last the Dutch prevailed, and continue in possession of that trade till this day.—A few years now past without

without any considerable Discoveries by sea, though still they found several little islands, and advanced far by land, too long for this discourse, designed only to shew the progress of Navigation. Let us then proceed to the next considerable Voyage, that was,

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(*An.* 1540,) which furnishes as remarkable a piece of sea-service as any we shall read undertaken by a private man. *Pedro da Faria* governor of Malaca sent his kinsman *Antonio da Faria y Sousa*, to secure a peace with the king of Patane. He carried with him goods to the value of twelve thousand ducats; and finding no sale for them there, sent them to Lugor in the kingdom of Siam, by one *Christopher Borallo*, who coming to an anchor in the mouth of that river was surprised by a Moor of Guzarat called *Coje Hazem*, a sworn enemy to the Portuguese. *Borallo* having lost his ship swam himself ashore, and carried the news of what had happened to *Faria* at Patane, who vowed never to desist till he had destroyed that Moor; and in order to it fitted out a small vessel with fifty men, in which he sailed from Patane towards the kingdom of Champa, to seek the pirate there. In the latitude of 3 degrees 20 minutes, he found the island of *Pulo Condor*, whence he sailed into the port of *Bralapisam* in the kingdom of Camboia, and so coasted along to the river *Pulo Cambier*, which divides the kingdoms of Camboia and Tsiompa. Coasting still along, he came to an anchor at the mouth of the river *Toobasoy*, where he took two ships belonging to the pirate Similau, and burnt some others: the booty was very rich, besides the addition of strength, the ships being of considerable force. Thus increased, he goes on to the river *Tinacoreu*, or *Varela*, where the Siam and Malaca ships trading to China, barter their goods for gold, Calamba wood, and ivory. Hence he directed his course to the island *Aynan* on the coast of China, and passed in sight of Champiloo in the latitude of 13 degrees, and at the entrance of the bay of Cochinchina; then discovered the promontory *Pulocampas*, westward whereof is a river, near which spying a large vessel at anchor, and imagining it might be *Coje Hezem*, he fell upon and took it, but found it belonged to *Quiay Tayjam* a pirate. In this vessel were found seventy thousand quintals, or hundred weight of pepper, besides other spice, ivory, tin, wax, and powder, the whole valued at sixty thousand crowns, besides several good pieces of cannon, and some plate. Then coasting along the island *Aynan*, he came to the river *Tanangquir*, where two great vessels attacked him, both which he took, and burnt one for want of men to sail her. Further on at *C. Tilaure* he surprised four small vessels, and then made to Mutipinam, where he sold his prizes for the value of two hundred thousand crowns of uncoined silver. Thence he sailed to the port of Madel in the *island Aynan*, where meeting *Himilan* a bold pirate, who exercised great cruelties towards Christians, he took and practised the same on him: this done, he ran along that coast, discovering many large towns and a fruitful country.—And now the men weary of seeking *Coje Hazem* in vain, demanded their share of the prizes to be gone, which was granted: but as they shaped their course for the kingdom of Siam, where the dividend was to be made, by a furious storm they were cast away on the island called *de los Ladrones*, which lies south of China; where of five hundred men

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men only eighty-six got ashore naked, whereof twenty-eight were Portuguese: here they continued fifteen days with scarce any thing to eat, the island not being inhabited. Being in despair of relief, they discovered a small vessel which made to the shore, and anchoring, sent thirty men for wood and water. These were Chinese, whom the Portuguese, upon a sign given as had been agreed, surprized, running on a sudden and possessing themselves of their boat and vessel; and leaving them ashore, directed their course towards *Liampo*, a sea-port town in the province of Chequiang in China, joining by the way a Chinese pirate, who was a great friend to the Portuguese, and had thirty of them aboard. At the river Anay they refitted and came to *Chincheo*, where Faria hired thirty-five Portuguese he found; and putting to sea met with eight more naked in a fisher-boat, who had their ship taken from them by the pirate *Coje Hazem*; which news of him rejoiced Faria, and he provided to fight him, having now four vessels with five hundred men, whereof ninety-five were Portuguese.—He found his enemy in the river *Tinlau*, where he killed him and four hundred of his men, and took all his ships but one that sunk, with abundance of wealth; but it prospered very little, for the next night Faria's ship and another were cast away, and most of the goods in the others thrown overboard, and one hundred and eleven men lost. Faria escaped, and taking another rich ship of pirates by the way, came at last to winter at Liampo, as was said before a sea-port town in the province of Chequiang in China, but built by the Portuguese, who governed there. Having spent five months here, he directed his course for the island *Calempluy* on the coast of China; where he was informed were the monuments of the ancient kings of China, which he designed to rob, being reported to be full of treasure. After many days sail through seas never before known to the Portuguese, he came into the bay of *Nanking*, but durst not make any stay there, perceiving near three thousand sail lie at anchor about it. Here the Chinese he had with him, being ill used, fled; but some natives informed him he was but ten leagues from the island Calempluy: he arrived there the next day, and intending to rob all the tombs, the old keepers of them gave the alarm, which prevented his design, and he was obliged to put to sea again; where having wandered a month, he perished in a storm, both his ships being cast away, and only fourteen men saved.—Thus ended this Voyage, famous for several particulars, and especially for having discovered more of the north of China than was known before, though the design of the undertaker was only piracy. The city Liampo before mentioned was soon after utterly destroyed by the governor of the province of Chequiang, for the robberies and insolences committed in the country by the Portuguese.

An. 1542, *Antonio da Mota*, *Francis Zeimoto*, and *Antonio Peixoto*, sailing for China, were by storms drove upon the islands of *Nipongi*, or *Nifon*, by the Chinese called *Gipon*, and by us *Japan*: here they were well received, and had the honour, though accidentally, of being the first discoverers of these Islands. Their situation is east of China, betwixt 30 and 40 degrees of north latitude: there are many of them, but the principal is *Nipongi*, or *Japan*, in which the emperor keeps his court at the city of

Meaco.

Meaco. The chief islands about it are *Cikoko*, *Tokocsi*, *Sando*, *Sisime*, *Bacasa*, *Vusqui*, *Saycock* or *Xima*, *Gezo*, *Ceuxima*, *Tanaxuma*, *Toy*, *Cisima*, *Jasima*, *Tanaxuma*, and *Firando*.—Hitherto we have mentioned none but the Portuguese, they being the only discoverers of all those parts; and all other nations have followed their track, yet not till some years after this time, as we shall soon see. I do not here mention the discovery of the *Philippine islands*, though properly belonging to the east, as not very remote from China, because they were discovered and conquered the other way, that is from America; and therefore we shall speak of them in their place among the Western Discoveries. What has been hitherto said concerning these Portuguese Voyages is collected out of *John de Barros*'s decades of India, *Osorius*'s history of India, *Alvarez* of Abassia, and *Faria*'s Portuguese Asia: having seen what has been done by these discoverers, let us next lightly touch upon the Voyages of those who followed their footsteps.

English Voyages to the Coast of Africa.

An. 1551, We meet with *The first English Voyage on the coast of Afric*, performed by Mr. *Thomas Windham*, but no particulars of it.

An. 1552, the same Windham returned with three sail, and traded at the ports of *Zafim* and *Santa Cruz*; the commodities he brought from thence being sugar, dates, almonds, and molosses.

An. 1553, This *Windham*, with *Anthonio Anes Pinteado*, a Portuguese and promoter of this voyage, sailed with three ships from Portsmouth; they traded for gold along the *coast of Guinea*, and from thence proceeded to the kingdom of Benin, where they were promised loading of pepper: but both the commanders and most of the men dying through the unseasonableness of the weather, the rest, being scarce forty, returned to Plymouth with but one ship and little wealth.

An. 1554, Mr. *John Lock* undertook a voyage for Guinea with three ships, and trading along that coast brought away a considerable quantity of gold and ivory, but proceeded no further. The following years Mr. *William Towerson*, and others, performed several voyages to the coast of Guinea; which having nothing peculiar but a continuation of trade in the same parts, there is no occasion for giving any particulars of them. Nor do we find any account of a further progress made along this coast by the English, till we come to their voyages to the East Indies, and those begun but late; for the first Englishman we find in those parts was one *Thomas Stevens*, who,

(*An.* 1579,) wrote an account of his voyage thither, to his father in London; but he having sailed aboard a Portuguese ship, this Voyage makes nothing to the English nation, whose first undertaking to India in ships of their own was,

(*An.* 1591,) three stately ships called the *Penelope*, the *Merchant Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, were fitted out at Plymouth, and sailed thence under the command of Mr. *George Raymond*: they departed on the tenth of April, and on the first of August came to an anchor in the bay called *Agnada da Saldanha*, fifteen leagues north of the cape of Good Hope. Here they continued several days, and traded with the Blacks for cattle; when finding many of their men had died, they thought fit to send back Mr. *Abraham Kendal*, in the *Royal Merchant* with fifty men, there being too few

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to manage the three ſhips, if they proceeded on their voyage: *Kendal* accordingly returned, and *Raymond* and *Lancaſter* in the *Penelope* and *Edward Bonaventure* proceeded, and doubled the cape of Good Hope. But coming to cape *Corrientes* on the fourteenth of September, a violent ſtorm parted them, and they never met again; for *Raymond* was never heard of, but *Lancaſter* held on his voyage. Paſſing by Mozambique he came to the iſland Comera, where after much ſhew of friendſhip, the Mooriſh inhabitants killed thirty-two of his men, and took his boat, which obliged him to hoiſt ſail and be gone; and after much delay by contrary winds he doubled cape Comori, oppoſite to the iſland of Ceylon in India, in the mouth of May 1592. Thence in ſix days, with a large wind which blew hard, he came upon the iſland of *Gomes Polo*, which lies near the northermoſt point of the iſland Sumatra; and the winter ſeaſon coming on, ſtood over to the iſland of *Pulo Pinao*, lying near the coaſt of Malaca, and betwixt it and the iſland Sumatra, in 7 degrees north latitude; where he continued till the end of Auguſt, refreſhing his men the beſt the place would allow, which afforded little but fiſh, yet twenty-ſix of them died there. Then the captain running along the coaſt of Malaca, and adjacent iſlands, more like a pirate than merchant or diſcoverer, took ſome prizes, and ſo thought to have returned home: but his proviſions being ſpent when they came to croſs the equinoctial, where he was ſtaid by calms and contrary winds ſix weeks, he ran away to the Weſt Indies to get ſome ſupply; where after touching at ſeveral places, the captain and eighteen men went aſhore in the little iſland *Mona*, lying betwixt thoſe of Portorico and Hiſpaniola—but five men and a boy left in the ſhip, cut the cable and ſailed away. *Lancaſter* and eleven of his men ſome days after ſpying a ſail, made a fire; upon which ſignal the Frenchman, for ſuch a one it proved to be, took in his topſails, and drawing near the iſland received them aboard, treating them with extraordinary civility; and ſo brought them to Diepe in Normandy, whence they paſſed over to Rye in Suſſex, and landed there in May 1594, having ſpent three years, ſix weeks, and two days in this voyage. Hitherto Hakluyt, (vol. II.)

Dutch Voyages to India.

An. 1595, The DUTCH reſolving to try their fortune in the Eaſt Indies, fitted out four ſhips at Amſterdam under the command of *Cornelius Hootman*; which ſailed on the ſecond of April, and on the fourth of Auguſt anchored in the bay of S. Blaſe, about forty-five leagues beyond the cape of Good Hope, where they continued ſome days trading with the natives for cattle in exchange for iron. Auguſt the eleventh they departed that place, and coaſting along part of the iſland Madagaſcar, came at laſt into the bay of S. Auguſtin; where they exchanged pewter ſpoons and other trifles with the natives for cattle, till they fell at variance; and the natives keeping away, no more proviſions were to be had: and therefore on the tenth of December they weighed, directing their courſe for Java; but meeting with bad weather and ſtrong currents were kept back till the tenth of January, when they were forced for want of refreſhments to put into the iſland of S. Mary, lying on the eaſtern coaſt of Madagaſcar in 17 degrees of ſouth latitude, whence they removed to the great bay of Antongil, and continued there till the twelfth of February: then putting to ſea again, they

they arrived on the coaſt of the great iſland Sumatra on the eleventh of June, and ſpending ſome days along that coaſt, came at laſt to Bantam in the iſland of Java. They lay here, very favourably entertained by the emperor of Java, till falling at variance many hoſtilities paſſed betwixt them; and in November the Dutch removed from before Bantam to Jacatra, which is no great diſtance. In January finding themſelves much weakened by loſs of men, and the *Amſterdam* one of the biggeſt ſhips leaky, they unladed and burnt her. Having thoughts of ſailing for the Molucco iſlands, they ran along as far as the ſtrait of *Balambuan* at the eaſt end of Java; but the ſeamen refuſing to paſs any further, they made through the ſtrait, and on the twenty-ſeventh of February ſailed along the coaſt of Java towards the cape of Good Hope; and three of their four ſhips, beſides the pinnace that was a tender, and eighty-nine ſeamen, being all that were left of four hundred and forty-nine, returned to Holland in Auguſt following, having been abroad twenty-nine months. This and the voyage ſoon after following in 1598, may ſeem to be miſtaken, becauſe it is ſaid in both, that the commander in chief was *Cornelius Hootman;* but it muſt be obſerved, they differ not only in time, but in all other circumſtances, and this is certainly the firſt voyage the Dutch made to India, whereas in the other there is mention of thoſe people having been there before. This is to be ſeen at large in the Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch Eaſt India company, printed this preſent year 1703. Dutch Voyages to India.

An. 1596, Sir *Robert Dudley*, as principal adventurer, ſent out three ſhips under the command of *Benjamin Wood*, deſigning to trade in China; for which purpoſe he carried letters from queen Elizabeth to the emperor of China: but theſe ſhips and the men all periſhed, ſo we have no account of their voyage. Purchas, (vol. I. p. 110.) Engliſh. 1596.

An. 1598, three merchants of Middleburgh fitted out two ſhips under the command of *Cornelius Hootman* for the Eaſt Indies, which ſailed on the fifteenth of March. In November they put into the bay of Saldanha on the coaſt of Afric, in 34 degrees of ſouth latitude, and ten leagues from the cape of Good Hope: here pretending to trade with the natives, they offered them ſome violence; to revenge which, three days after they came down in great numbers, and ſurprizing the Dutch ſlew thirteen of them, and drove the reſt to their ſhip. January the third they again anchored in the bay of S. Auguſtin in the ſouth weſt part of the iſland of Madagaſcar, and 23 degrees of ſouth latitude, where the natives would not trade with them; and being in great want of proviſions, they ſailed to the iſland *Magotta*, or *S. Chriſtopher*, on the north of Madagaſcar, and having got ſome relief went on to *Anſwame*, or *Angovan*, another ſmall iſland, where they took in more proviſions: then proceeding on their voyage, they paſſed by the Maldivy iſlands; thence by Cochin, and in June arrived in Sumatra at the port of Achen, where after being kindly received by the king, he ſent many men aboard on pretence of friendſhip; but with a deſign to ſurprize the ſhips, which they had near accompliſhed, but were with difficulty beaten off, yet ſo that the Dutch loſt ſixty-eight of their men, two pinnaces of twenty tun each, and one of their boats. Sailing hence they watered and refreſhed at *Pulo Batun* off Dutch. Cornelius Hootman.

Dutch Voyages to India.

Queda, which is on the coaſt of Malaca; and having ſpent much time about thoſe parts, in November anchored at the iſlands of Nicobar in 8 degrees of latitude, where they had ſome refreſhment, but little; to remedy which, in their way towards Ceylon, they took a ſhip of Negapatan and plundered it. Then directing their courſe home in March 1600, they doubled the cape of Good Hope, and in July returned to Middleburg. Purchas (vol. I. p. 116.)

This ſame year 1598, the Holland Eaſt India company ſent out ſix great ſhips and two yatchs for India under the command of *Cornelius Hemſkirke*, which ſailed out of the Texel on the firſt of May; and coming together to the Cape of Good Hope in Auguſt, were there ſeparated by a terrible ſtorm: four of them and a yatch put into the iſland Maurice eaſt of Madagaſcar; the other two ſhips and yatch put into the iſland of S. Mary on the eaſt alſo of Madagaſcar, where they made no ſtay, but ſailing thence arrived on the twenty-ſixth of November 1598 before Bantam; and a month after them came the other four ſhips and a yatch from the iſland Maurice. The firſt comers having got their lading, departed from before Bantam on the eleventh of January 1599, and arrived happily in the Texel on the ninth of June 1599, richly laden with pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, and cinnamon, having ſpent but fifteen months in the whole voyage. The other four ſhips and yatch, left in India under the command of *Wybrant*, ſailed from *Bantam* along the north ſide of *Javan* to the eaſt end of it, where the town of *Aroſoya* is ſeated. Here the natives, in revenge for ſome of their people killed by the Dutch in their firſt voyage, ſeized ſeventeen of them that were ſent aſhore for proviſions; and fifty more being ſent to their relief in ſloops and boats, were all of them killed, drowned, or taken. The priſoners were ranſomed for two thouſand pieces of eight, and then the ſhips put to ſea; and on the third of March 1599 came into the ſtrait of *Amboina*, where they anchored before a ſmall town in that iſland, called *Itan*. This is near the Moluccos, and produces plenty of cloves. There being lading but for two ſhips here, the other two were ſent to *Banda*, where they took their lading of cloves, nutmegs, and mace, and returned home in April 1600. The other two ſhips left behind at Amboina, having taken in what lading of cloves they could get, ſailed away to get what they wanted at the Moluccos, and anchored at *Ternate*; where having got the reſt of their lading, they departed thence on the nineteenth of Auguſt 1599, and came to *Jacatra* in the iſland Java on the thirteenth of November, being then reduced to extremity for want of proviſions: whence after a few days ſtay they proceeded to *Bantam*, and thence on the twenty-firſt of January for Holland, where after a tedious voyage they arrived in ſafety, having loſt many men through ſickneſs and want of proviſions. (*Collect. of Dutch Eaſt India voyages.*) Every year after, the Dutch ſailed not to ſet out new fleets, being allured by the vaſt returns they made; yet there was nothing in theſe voyages but trade, and ſome encounters with the Spaniards, and therefore it will be needleſs to mention them all in particular; till in the year 1606, the Dutch poſſeſſed themſelves of *Tidore*, one of the Molucco iſlands, and *Amboina*, expelling the Portugueſes firſt, and afterwards the Engliſh. In 1608 the Dutch admiral *Matelief* laid

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ſiege to *Malaca*, but without ſucceſs. Soon after they grew formidable at *Jacatra*, or *Batavia*, on the iſland *Java*, where they continue to this day, that being the chief ſeat of all their dominions in the eaſt: not ſo ſatisfied, they at length made themſelvees maſters of Malaca, and expelled the Portugueſes the iſland of *Ceylon*, by which means they are poſſeſſed of the moſt conſiderable trade of the eaſt, all the cinnamon, nutmegs, and cloves being entirely in their own hands. Nor is this all; for they have conquered the iſland *Formoſa* on the coaſt of China, whence they trade to *Japan*, with the excluſion of all Chriſtian nations from that iſland. And here we will leave the Dutch, to give ſome further relation of the *Engliſh Proceedings*, and ſo conclude with the Eaſt Indies.

An. 1600, a company of Merchant Adventurers was by * patent from queen Elizabeth authorized to trade in the Eaſt Indies, and accordingly in January 1600-1, they fitted out four great ſhips and a victualler, all under the command of captain *James Lancaſter*; who ſailed out of the river of Thames on the thirteenth of February, having four hundred and eighty men aboard his ſhips, yet got not beyond Torbay till the ſecond of April, and on the firſt of November doubled the cape of Good Hope. In April following they anchored at the iſlands of *Nicobar*, north-eaſt of the great iſland of Sumatra, and in June came before *Achem*, where they had a good reception, and ſettled peace and commerce with that king; but having little to trade with, put to ſea, and took a great Portugueſe ſhip richly laden, and returned to Achem, whence they ſailed to *Bantam* in the iſland of *Java*: here they had alſo good entertainment, and liberty of trade was agreed on; and having taken in what more lading was wanting, which conſiſted in pepper and cloves, on the twentieth of February they ſet ſail in order to return for England: but meeting with violent ſtorms were carried into 40 degrees of ſouth latitude, where *Lancaſter* loſt his rudder, which was reſtored with much labour; and ſo they arrived at the iſland of St. Helena in June, and having refreſhed themſelves there put to ſea again, and returned ſafe to England in Auguſt. Purchas (vol. I. p. 147.)

Engliſh Voyages to India.

An. 1604, the aforeſaid company ſent four ſhips more to the Eaſt Indies under the command of Sir *Henry Middleton*, who ſailed on the ſecond of April, and arrived at *Bantam* on the twenty-third of December. Two of theſe ſhips loaded pepper at Bantam; Sir Henry with the others ſailed to the *iſles of Banda*, where he continued twenty-one weeks, and then returned to Bantam, and arrived in the Downs on the ſixth of May 1606. The ſame year captain *John Davis* and ſir *Edward Michelburn* with one ſhip and a pinnace ſailed into the Eaſt Indies, trading at Bantam, and taking ſome prizes, but performed nothing elſe remarkable. Purchas (vol. I. p. 185.)

An. 1607, the company fitted out their *third* Voyage, being three ſhips, under the command of *William Keeling*, but only two of them kept company; and ſetting out in April, arrived not at Priaman in the iſland *Sumatra* till July the following year; having ſpent all this time along the coaſts of Afric, and beating at ſea againſt contrary

* The patent was for fifteen years, and is given by Purchas, (vol. I. p. 139.)

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trary winds. Here they took in ſome pepper, and then ſailed to *Bantam*, where a Siam ambaſſador invited them to ſettle commerce in his maſter's dominions; and ſo they proceeded to *Banda*, where they were hindered taking in their lading of ſpice by the Dutch, who had built a fort on that iſland. So being diſappointed they returned to *Bantam*, loaded pepper, and ſettled a factory there, which continued in proſperity till overthrown by the Dutch. Purchas (vol. I. p. 188.)

The third ſhip mentioned above, which did not keep company with the other two, but ſet out at the ſame time, after touching at the bay of Saldanha on the coaſt of Afric, and at Bantam in the iſland of Java, proceeded to the *Molucco iſlands*; where, with the permiſſion of the Spaniards then poſſeſſed of thoſe iſlands, they had a trade for ſome days, but were afterwards commanded away. Then ſailing towards the iſland *Celebes* at the iſland *Buttone*, or *Buton*, they were friendly entertained by the king, and brought their full loading of cloves; which done, they returned to Bantam, and thence to England. Purchas (vol. I. p. 226.)

An. 1608, the Eaſt India company for its *fourth* voyage ſent out two ſhips, the *Union* and *Aſcenſion*, commanded by *Alexander Sharpy* and *Richard Rowles*, who ſailed on the fourteenth of March; and having ſpent above a year by the way, and loſt the *Union* in a ſtorm, the *Aſcenſion* came on the eighth of April 1609, to an anchor before the city *Aden* on the coaſt of Arabia Felix, whence they ſailed into the *Red Sea*, being the firſt Engliſh ſhip that ever entered it, and on the eleventh of June anchored in the road of the city of *Mocha*; and having made a ſhort ſtay to refit, ſailed away for the coaſt of Cambaya, where refuſing to take in a pilot the ſhip was loſt on the ſhoals, but all the men ſaved in two boats, who got aſhore at the ſmall town of Gandevel, about forty miles from Surat, whither they travelled by land, and were relieved by the Engliſh factor there. The captain and moſt of the company went from thence to Agra, the court of the Mogul, reſolving to take their journey through Perſia to return into Europe. But *Thomas Jones*, the author of this account, with three others, committed themſelves to a Portugueſe religious man, who promiſed to ſend them home; and accordingly carried them through *Damam* and *Chaul* to *Goa*, where in January they were ſhipped aboard the admiral of four Portugueſe ſhips homeward bound, and arrived at Liſbon in Auguſt, where embarking in an Engliſh ſhip they came ſafe into England in September 1610. The reſt of the company that went with the captain diſperſed, and few of them came home.

The *Union*, mentioned before to be ſeparated from the *Aſcenſion* in a ſtorm, touched at the bay of St. Auguſtin in the iſland Madagaſcar; where the captain and five more going aſhore upon friendly invitation, were killed by the natives, who thought to have ſurprized the ſhip with their boats, but were beaten off with great loſs. So ſailing hence, they directed their courſe to Achem on the iſland *Sumatra*, where and at *Priaman* they took in their lading of baſts and pepper, and directed their courſe to return home: but their voyage proved ſo unfortunate, that all the men died by the way, except three Engliſh and an Indian, who were ſcarce alive; and not being able to hand their ſails, the ſhip was carried upon the coaſt of Britany in France, where the French conveyed her into harbour, and moſt of the lading was ſaved for the company.

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An. 1609, the English East India company for its *fifth* voyage sent out but one ship, commanded by *David Middleton*, who arriving at Banda was by the Dutch there hindered loading any spice; and therefore sailed to *Puloway*, a small island not far distant, where with much difficulty and hazard he got loading of spice, and returned home safe. Purchas (vol. I. p. 238.) English Voyages to India.

An. 1610, Sir *Henry Middleton* sailed with three ships under his command; and being informed by the natives of the island *Zocotora*, that he would be friendly received at Mocha in the Red Sea, and find good vent for his goods, he ventured up thither; and after much deceitful kindness shewn him by the Turks, was himself with many of his men secured, and sent up the country several miles to another *bassa*. Some men were also killed by the Infidels, who attempted to surprize one of the ships, and were possessed of the upper decks; till the seamen blew up some, shot others, and drove the rest into the sea, so that only one of them that hid himself escaped and was afterwards received to mercy. After much solicitation Sir *Henry Middleton* and his men were sent back to Mocha, where most of them made their escape aboard their ships. Many fruitless contests having afterwards passed with the *bassas* about the restitution of the goods taken, at last he sailed to Surat, where he arrived in September 1611; and having, notwithstanding the opposition made by the Portuguese, sold some of his goods, and departing thence to Dabul, had some more trade in that place, yet not so much as to dispose of all he had, whereupon he resolved to return to the Red Sea, there to traffic with the ships of India, which usually resort to those parts; he detained many of them by force, and bartered with them as he thought fit, the Indians being under restraint, and in no condition to oppose whatever was offered them. Being thus furnished, he sailed for *Sumatra*, where he got loading of spice, and sent one ship home with her burden; his own having been on a rock, and therefore unfit for the voyage till repaired, which could not be done so soon. This ship arrived safe in England, but Sir *Henry Middleton* and his were cast away in India. *Purchas* (vol. I. p. 247.) Other ships sailed the latter end of the year 1610, and beginning of 1611, which still ran much the same course with the former, and have nothing singular to relate. But,

(*An.* 1611), in April sailed captain *John Saris* with three ships, who having run the same course all the rest had done severally before, entering the Red Sea; and touching at Java, he received a letter from one *Adams* an Englishman, who sailed aboard some Dutch ships to Japan, and was there detained, in which he gave an account of that country. Captain *Saris* dismissing his other two ships, directed his course for that island; and passing by those of *Bouro*, *Xula*, *Bachian*, *Celebes*, *Silolo*, the *Moluccos*, and others, came to an anchor on the eleventh of June 1613, at the small island and *Port of Firando*, lying south-west of the south-west point of the great island of Japan. This and several other small islands about it are subject to petty kings, who all acknowledge the emperor of Japan for their sovereign. These little princes shewed all imaginable kindness to the *English*, being *the first that ever appeared in those parts*. Captain *Saris*, with the assistance of the king of Firando, was conducted to the emperor's court at *Meaco*; where he had audience of him, and settled peace and commerce

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merce in as authentic manner, as if he had been ſent from England only upon that errand; the emperor granting to the Engliſh free liberty of trade, and ſeveral privileges and immunities for their encouragement. All things being ſettled there, captain *Saris* returned to *Firando* well pleaſed with his ſucceſs; and there the goods he brought being not yet all diſpoſed of, he erected a Factory, leaving in it eight Engliſh, three Japoneſes for interpreters, and two ſervants. Theſe were to diſpoſe of the goods left behind, and provide loading for ſuch ſhips as were to continue the trade now begun. This done, he left *Firando* on the fifth of December, and ſtood for the coaſt of China, along which he kept to that of Cochinchina and Camboya, whence he ſtruck over to the ſouthward, and came into Bantam road, where he continued ſome time, and laſtly put into Plymouth in September 1614. (Purchas, vol. I. p. 334.) Thus have we brought the *Engliſh* to Japan, the furtheſt extent of what vulgarly is comprehended under the name of the *Eaſt Indies;* and therefore think it needleſs to proſecute their voyages this way any longer, ſince they can afford nothing new; nor indeed have theſe hitherto added any thing to what was diſcovered by the *Portugueſes*, to whom all theſe countries were well known long before, as has been made appear. Of the *Dutch* Navigations this way ſomewhat has been ſaid; and it ſeems needleſs to add any thing concerning the *French*, who are not ſo conſiderable there as any of thoſe nations already mentioned; beſides that they came thither the lateſt, and therefore not as diſcoverers, but tracing the beaten road, ſo that all that can be ſaid of them will be only a repetition of things already ſpoken of.—Having thus given an account of the firſt Diſcoverers, and the ſucceſs of all the firſt voyages to Afric and Aſia, it now remains to ſhew what *a vaſt extent of land is by theſe means made known*, which before Europe was wholly a ſtranger to, and the commodities it ſupplies us with; which is one great point of this diſcourſe, *viz.* what benefit is reaped by Navigation, and the vaſt improvement it has received ſince the diſcovery of the Magnetical Needle, or Sea Compaſs: then having performed this with all poſſible brevity, it will be fit to proceed to give the like relation of the diſcovery of America, or the New World; which will lead us to the Voyages round the Globe, where this Diſcourſe will end.

Extent of coaſt made known.

To begin then where the Diſcoveries commenced, that is, at Cape *Nam*, or *Nao*, which is on the coaſt of the kingdom of Morocco, and in the twenty-eighth degree of latitude; we find the extent made known from thence, taking it only from north to ſouth, from 18 degrees of north latitude to 35 degrees of ſouth latitude, in all 53 degrees in length, at twenty leagues to a degree,—to be one thouſand ſix hundred leagues; but very much more if we run along the coaſt, eſpecially upon that of Guinea, which lies eaſt and weſt for above 25 degrees, which at the ſame rate as before amounts to five hundred leagues. So that we have here a Coaſt, only reckoning to the Cape of Good Hope, of above fifteen hundred leagues in length made known to us; and in it the further Lybia, the country of the Blacks, Guinea, the kingdoms of Benin, Conga, Angola, and the weſtern coaſt of the Cafres: theſe are the general names by which theſe vaſt regions are known. The natives are for the moſt part

black, or else inclining to it. All the commodities brought from thence, are gold-dust, ivory, and slaves; those black people selling one another, which is a very considerable trade, and has been a great support to all the American plantations: this is all that mighty Continent affords for exportation, the greatest part of it being scorched under the torrid zone, and the natives almost naked, no where industrious, and for the most part scarce civilized. In the southermost parts among the wild Cafres, there is plenty of good cattle, which the first traders to India used to buy for knives and other toys at the bay of Saldanha, and other places thereabouts. The *Portuguese* here have the largest dominions on this coast of any nation, which are in the kingdoms of Congo and Angola. The *English* and *Dutch* have some small forts on the coast of Guinea; and the Dutch a large strong town, with all manner of improvements about it, at the Cape of Good Hope. From this Cape of Good Hope, to Cape Guardafu at the entrance into the Red Sea, the coast, running north-east and south-west, extends above twelve hundred leagues in a strait line, containing the eastern Cafres and Zanguebar, which are the two great divisions of this side; the latter of these subdivided into the kingdoms of *Mozambique*, *Pemba*, *Quiloa*, *Monbaca*, *Melinde*, *Magadoxa*, and *Adel*. Of these the Portuguese possess the town and fort of *Mozambique*, having lost *Monbaca* within these few years, taken from them by the Moors. No other European nation has any dominions on this coast, which is all in the possession of the natives or Moors. The commodities here are the same as on the west side of Afric, gold, ivory, and slaves. All this vast Continent produces many sorts of fruit and grain unknown to us, as also beasts and fowl, which being no part of trade, are not mentioned here.—Yet before we leave this Coast we must not omit to mention the island *Zocotora*, famous for producing the best aloes, and situate not far distant from Cape Guardafu. Next in course follows the *Red Sea*, the mouth whereof is about an hundred and twenty leagues from Cape Guardafu, and its length, from the mouth to Suez at the bottom of it, above four hundred leagues, lying north-west and south-east; on one side of it is the coast of *Aben* and *Egypt*, on the other that of *Arabia Petrea*, and *Arabia Felix*, all in the possession of the Turks; and not at all resorted to by any European nation, but somewhat known to them by the way of Egypt, before the discovery of India. From the mouth of the Red Sea to the gulph of Persia lies the *coast of Arabia*, extending about four hundred leagues north-east and south-west to *Cape Rosalgate*, at the entrance into the bay of Ormuz. This coast is partly subject to the Turk, and partly to Arabian princes; and its principal commodities are rich gums, and coffee. Turning Cape Rosalgate to the north-west is the great bay of Ormuz, along which runs still the coast of Arabia, where stands *Mascate*, once possessed by the Portuguese, now by the Arabs. Next we come into the gulph of *Bazora*, or of *Persia*, almost two hundred leagues in length, and enclosed by Arabia on the one side, and Persia on the other. At the mouth of this bay in a small island is the famous city *Ormuz*, conquered and kept many years by the Portuguese, but at last taken from them by the Persians, with the assistance of the English. Within the bay on the Arabian side is the island *Baharem*, famous for a great

Extent of Coast made known.

fishery

Extent of Coast discovered.

fishery of pearls. From the mouth of the *Persian gulph*, to that of *Indus*, are about three hundred and forty leagues, being the *coast of Persia*, where no prince possesses any thing but that great monarch. The chiefest commodities here are raw silk, rhubarb, wormseed, carpets of all sorts, wrought and plain silks, silks wrought with gold or silver, half silks and half cottons. From the mouth of *Indus* to *Cape Comori*, taking in the bend of the *coast from Indus to Cambay*, lying north-west and south-east, and from that bay to the Cape almost north and south, are near four hundred leagues, including the shores of *Guzarat*, *Cambaya*, *Decan*, *Canara*, and *Malabar*: of these *Guzarat* and *Cambaya*, with part of *Decan*, are subject to the Great Mogul, the other parts to several Indian princes. Yet the Portuguese have the port of *Diu* in *Guzarat*, *Damam* in *Cambaya*, and the great city of *Goa* in *Decan*, besides other ports of lesser consequence: the English the island of *Bombaim*, and the Dutch some forts.—Doubling Cape Comori, and running in a straight line north-east, there are about four hundred and forty leagues to the bottom of the bay of Bengala; and turning thence south-east, somewhat more than the same number of leagues to the southermost point of the *Aurea Chersonesus*, or coast of *Malaca*; and in this space the shores of *Coromandel*, *Bisnagar*, *Golconda*, *Orixa*, *Bengala*, *Arracan*, *Pegu*, *Martaban*, and the *Aurea Chersonesus*, or Peninsula of *Malaca*.—Hence we will make but one line more for brevity sake, up to Japan on the northern coast of China; which in a strait line, without allowing any thing for the bays of *Siam* and *Cochinchina*, is at least eight hundred leagues; and in it, the east side of the Peninsula of Malaca, the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Camboia*, *Chiampa*, and *Cochinchina*, and the vast empire of *China*: all these immense regions from Persia eastward are vulgarly, though improperly, comprehended under the name of the *East Indies*. The product of these countries is no less to be admired, being all sorts of metals, all beasts and birds, and the most delicious of fruits. But to speak by way of *trade*, the commodities here are diamonds, silk raw and wrought in prodigious quantities, cotton unwrought, and infinite plenty of it in callicoes and muslins; all sorts of sweet and rich woods, all the gums, drugs, and dyes, all the precious plants, and rich perfumes, not to mention the spices, which I leave to the islands; in fine, all that is precious, delightful, or useful: insomuch, that though here be mines of silver and gold, yet none is sent abroad, but hither it flows from all other parts, and is here swallowed up. But something must be said of the *islands belonging to this great Continent*, for the value of them is immense, as well as their number, and the extent of some of them.—The first in order that are any thing considerable, are the *Maldivy Islands*; rather remarkable for their multitude than any other thing, being so many that the number is not known, yet so small, that no great account is made of them: they lie south-east of Cape *Comori*, betwixt three and eight degrees of north latitude; for so far they run, being disposed in twelve several clusters or parcels that lie north-west and south-east: at the south end whereof lie two other less clusters or parcels east and west from one another. As for Trade, or Commerce, though these islands are very fruitful, they have not any thing considerable to promote it; especially to supply Europe, which is the thing here to be considered.

considered. Next to these is the great and rich Island of * *Ceylon*, beyond Cape *Comori*, formerly divided into several petty kingdoms, till the Portuguese first reduced all the sea-coasts under their dominion, and were afterwards dispossessed by the Dutch, who still remain masters of them, but could never yet conquer the inland. This is a place of mighty traffic, for it produces the best cinnamon in the world, and supplies all Europe: here are also found the finest rubies, and several other sorts of precious stones. The elephants of this island are counted the best in all India, and as such coveted by all the eastern princes, who, though they have herds of them in their own dominions, do not spare to give considerable prices for these, which is a great enriching of the country.—The Islands of *Sunda*, or the *Sound*, are that great parcel lying south and south-east of Malaca, the principal whereof are *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, and *Java*; the two first directly under the line, *Sumatra* above three hundred leagues in length, lying north-west and south-east, and about sixty in breadth in the widest place. *Borneo* is almost round, and about six hundred in circumference. *Java*, the last of them, lies betwixt 7 and 10 degrees of south latitude, is about two hundred leagues in length from east to west, and not above forty in breadth in the widest place from north to south. There are many more, but all small in comparison of these, unless we reckon *Celebes*, lying under the line, near an hundred and eighty leagues in length, the longest way north-east and south-west, and about eighty in breadth in the broadest place from east to west: as also *Gilolo*, under the equator as well as the last, of an irregular shape, and not above one fourth part of the bigness of *Celebes*. All these Islands have a prodigious trade, being resorted to from all parts, not only of India, but even from Europe. Their wealth is incredible, for they produce whatsoever man can wish; but the principal commodities exported are ginger, pepper, camphir, agarick, cassia, wax, honey, silk, cotton; they have also mines of gold, tin, iron, and sulphur, all sorts of cattle and fowl, but no vines nor olive trees. In *Sumatra* the Dutch have some forts, and are very powerful, but much more in *Java*, where *Batavia*, a populous city, is the metropolis of their eastern dominions. The English had a great trade and factory at *Bantam* in the same island, but were expelled by the Dutch in the year 1682. After these follow the *Moluccо* Islands, which are five in number properly so called, *viz. Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Machian*, *Moutil* or *Mousil*, and *Bachian*: they lie along the west side of *Gilolo*, so near the equinoctial, that the last of them lies 24 or 25 minutes south, and the first of them about 50 minutes north of it. They are so small, that all of them do not take up above one degree, and 10 or 15 minutes of latitude. *Ternate* is the northermost, and in order from it lie to the south *Tidore*, *Moutil*, *Machian*, and *Bachian*. The whole product of these islands is Cloves, which are scarce found elsewhere, and here little besides them; which is the reason why the Dutch have possessed themselves of them, expelling the Portuguese, who after long contests had bought out the Spaniards claim to them. With the *Moluccos* may be reckoned the islands of *Amboina* and *Banda*: the first of these produces Cloves like the other, and was once much resorted to by the English, till the Dutch

East India Islands.

* See PLATE the third.

 destroyed

deſtroyed their factory, of which action there are particular * printed accounts. *Banda* is a larger iſland than any of the others, and in five degrees of ſouth latitude, poſſeſſed alſo by the Dutch; who have here all the trade of Nutmegs and Mace, which ſcarce grow any where but in this and two or three neighbouring iſlands. A vaſt multitude of other little Iſlands are ſcattered about this Sea, but thoſe already mentioned are the moſt conſiderable; for though thoſe of *Chiram* and *Papous* be large, there is very little of them known, by which it is natural to gueſs they are not of much value; for if they were, the ſame avarice that has carried ſo many European nations into their neighbourhood to deſtroy not only the natives, but one another, would have made them long ſince as familiar to us as the reſt.—Of *Japan* enough was ſaid when firſt diſcovered by the Portugueſes, and in captain *Saris*'s Voyage thither, where the reader may ſatisfy his curioſity: all that needs be added is, that it produces ſome gold, and great plenty of ſilver. For other commodities, here is abundance of hemp, excellent dyes, red, blue, and green; rice, brimſtone, ſaltpetre, cotton, and the moſt excellent Varniſh in the world, commonly called *Japan*, whereof abundance of cabinets, tables, and many other things are brought into Europe. Thus are we come to *Japan*, the utmoſt of theſe eaſtern diſcoveries, omitting to ſay any thing of the *Philippine* Iſlands, and thoſe called *de las Ladroner*, though within this compaſs, becauſe they were diſcovered from the Weſt Indies; and therefore they are left to be treated of among the American affairs, as are the Iſles of *Solomon*, whereof hitherto the world has had but a very imperfect account.—This SUMMARY ſhews the improvement of Navigation on this ſide the world ſince the diſcovery of the Magnetical Needle, or Sea Compaſs; it having made known to us as much of the coaſts of Afric and Aſia, as running along only the greateſt turnings and windings, amounts to about five thouſand leagues; an incredible extent of land, were it not ſo univerſally known to be true, and ſo very demonſtrable. The benefit we reap is ſo viſible, it ſeems not to require any thing ſhould be ſaid of it: for now all Europe abounds in all ſuch things as thoſe vaſt, wealthy, exuberant Eaſtern regions can afford; whereas before theſe diſcoveries it had nothing but what it received by retail, and at exceſſive rates from the Venetians; who took in the precious drugs, rich ſpices, and other valuable commodities of the eaſt in Egypt, or the coaſt of Turky, whither it was brought from India, either by caravans or up the Red Sea; and they ſupplied all other countries with them at their own prices. But now the Sea is open, every nation has the liberty of ſupplying itſelf from the fountain-head; and if ſome have encroached upon others, confined them to a narrower trade in thoſe parts, yet the returns from thence are yearly ſo great, that all thoſe goods may be purchaſed here at the ſecond hand, infinitely cheaper than they could when one nation had the ſupplying of all the reſt; and that by ſo expenſive a way, as being themſelves ſerved by caravans, and a few ſmall ſhips on the Red Sea. *To conclude*; theſe Parts, the Diſcovery whereof has been the ſubject of this diſcourſe, ſupply the Chriſtian world with all gums, drugs,

* The contents of the Pamphlet publiſhed by our Eaſt India Company, relative to the cruelties practiſed on the Engliſh, by the Dutch, in 1622, are preſerved by Dr. Campbell in Harris's Collection of Voyages (vol. i. p. 877.), as alſo the Dutch account of the ſame horrid tranſactions (p. 884). See alſo Pennant's Outlines of the Globe.

ſpices, ſilks, and cottons; precious ſtones, ſulphur, gold, ſaltpetre; rice, tea, China ware, coffee, Japan varniſhed works, all ſorts of dyes, of cordials, and perfumes; pearls, ivory, oſtrich feathers, parrots, monkeys, and an endleſs number of neceſſaries, conveniences, curioſities, and other comforts and ſupports of human life, whereof enough has been ſaid for the intended brevity of this Diſcourſe.—It is now time to proceed to a ſtill greater part, greater in extent of land, as reaching from north to ſouth, and its bounds not yet known; and greater in wealth, as containing the inexhauſtible treaſures of the ſilver mines of Peru and Mexico, and of the gold mines of Chile, and very many other parts. A fourth part of the world, not much inferior to the other three in extent, and no way yielding to them for all the bleſſings nature could beſtow upon the earth. A world concealed from the reſt for above five thouſand years, and reſerved by Providence to be made known three hundred years ago. A region yet not wholly known, the extent being ſo immenſe, that three hundred years have not been a ſufficient time to lay it all open. A portion of the univerſe wonderful in all reſpects:—1. For that being ſo large it could lie ſo long hid. 2. For that being well inhabited, the wit of man cannot conclude which way thoſe people could come thither, and that none others could find the way ſince. 3. For its endleſs ſources of gold and ſilver, which ſupplying all parts, ſince their firſt diſcovery, are ſo far from being impoveriſhed, that they only want more hands to draw out more. 4. For its mighty rivers, ſo far exceeding all others, that they look like little ſeas, compared with the greateſt in other parts. 5. For its prodigious mountains, running many hundred leagues, and whoſe tops are almoſt inacceſſible. 6. For the ſtrange variety of ſeaſons, and temperature of air to be found at very few leagues diſtance. And laſtly, For its ſtupendous fertility of ſoil, producing all ſorts of fruits and plants which the other parts of the world afford, in greater perfection than in their native land, beſides an infinity of others which will not come to perfection elſewhere.

American Diſcoveries.

To come to the Diſcovery of this fourth and greateſt part of the earth; it was undertaken and performed by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a Genoeſe, excellently ſkilled in ſea affairs, an able coſmographer, and well verſed in all thoſe parts of the mathematics, which might capacitate him for ſuch an enterpriſe. This perſon being convinced by natural reaſon, that ſo great a part of the world as till then was unknown could not be all ſea, or created to no purpoſe; and believing that the earth being round, a ſhorter way might be found to *India by the weſt*, than by compaſſing all Afric to the ſouthward, as the Portugueſes were then attempting to do; he reſolved to apply himſelf wholly to the diſcovery of thoſe rich countries, which he poſitively concluded muſt extend, from what was known of the Eaſt Indies, ſtill to the eaſtward one way, and to be the eaſier met with by ſailing round to the weſtward. Having been long fully poſſeſſed with this notion, and provided to anſwer all objections that might be ſtarted againſt it, he thought the undertaking too great for any leſs than a ſovereign prince, or ſtate; and therefore, not to be unjuſt to his Country, he firſt propoſed it to the State of Genoa, where it was rather ridiculed than any way encouraged. This repulſe made him have recourſe to king *John the ſecond* of Portugal; who having

 caused

American Discoveries.

caused the matter to be examined by those that had the direction of the Discoveries along the coast of Afric; by their advice he held him in hand, till he had sent out a caravel with private orders to attempt this discovery. This caravel having wandered long in the wide ocean, and suffered much by storms, returned without finding any thing. *Columbus* understanding what had been done, resented it so highly, that in hatred to Portugal he resolved to go over to Castile and offer his service there; but for fear of any disappointment, at the same time he sent his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* into England, to make the same overture to king *Henry* the seventh. His brother had the ill fortune to be taken at sea by pirates, which much retarded his coming to the court of England; where when at last he came, being poor and destitute of friends, it was long before he could be heard, or at least be looked upon; so that in fine, *Columbus* was gone before he returned to Spain with his answer. *Columbus* in the mean while stole away out of Portugal, and coming to the court of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, king and queen of *Castile* and *Aragon*, he there spent eight years soliciting with little hopes, and many difficulties; till at last, when he had utterly despaired of success, he met with it, through the assistance of some few friends he had gained at court. At his earnest suit he had all the conditions he required granted, which were—that he should be admiral of all those seas he discovered, and viceroy and governor-general of all the lands; that he should have the tenth of all things whatsoever brought from those parts, and that he might at all times be an eighth part in all fleets sent thither, and to receive the eighth of all the returns: this to him and his heirs for ever. With these titles, and sufficient power from the queen, who espoused the undertaking, he repaired to the port of *Palos de Moguer*, on the coast of *Andaluzia*, where there was furnished for him a ship called the *S. Mary*, and two caravels, the one called *La Pinta*, commanded by *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, and the other *La Nina*, by *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*. In these vessels he had ninety men, and provisions for a year; and thus equipped he sailed from *Palos de Moguer*.—

(*An.* 1492,) on the twenty-third of August, directing his course to the *Canary islands*, where he made a new rudder to the caravel *Pinta*, which had hers broke off at sea, he took in fresh provisions, wood, and water with all possible expedition; and on the sixth of September put to sea again, steering due west, and on the *seventh* lost sight of land. The eleventh, at an hundred and fifty leagues distance from the island of *Ferro*, they saw a great piece of a Mast drove by the current, which set strong towards the north; and the fourteenth the admiral observed the Variation of the Needle to the westward about two points. On sunday the sixteenth the men were surprised to see green, and yellow weeds, scattered about in small parcels on the superficies of the water, as if it had been newly torn off from some island or rock; and the next day they saw much more, which made some conclude they were near land, and others supposing it only to be rocks, or shoals, began to mutter. Every day they saw some birds flying to the ships, and abundance of weeds in the water, which still made them conceive hopes of land; but when these failed, then they began again to murmur; so that the admiral was forced to use all his art to keep them quiet, sometimes with fair words, and sometimes with threats and severity, they imagining, that since

for

for the moſt part *they ſailed before the* * *wind, it would be impoſſible for them ever to return.* Thus their mutinous temper daily increaſed, and began to appear more open, ſome being ſo bold as to adviſe throwing the Admiral over board. The firſt of October the pilot told the Admiral, he found by his account they were five hundred and eighty-eight leagues weſt of the iſland of Ferro, which is the weſtermoſt of the Canaries; who anſwered, his reckoning was five hundred and eighty-four, whereas in reality his computation was ſeven hundred and ſeven; and on the *third* the pilot of the caravel *Nina* reckoned ſix hundred and fifty, he of the caravel *Pinta* ſix hundred and thirty-four: but they were out, and *Columbus* made it leſs, for fear of diſcouraging the men, who nevertheleſs continued very mutinous, but were ſomewhat appeaſed on the fourth, ſeeing above forty ſparrows fly about the ſhips, beſides other birds. The eleventh of October there appeared manifeſt tokens of their being near land; for from the admiral's ſhip they ſaw a green ruſh in the water, from the *Nina* they ſaw a cane and a ſtick, and took up another that was artificially wrought, and a little board, beſides abundance of weeds freſh pulled up; from the *Pinta* they beheld ſuch-like tokens, and a branch of a thorn tree with the berries on it: beſides, that ſounding they found bottom, and the wind grew variable. For theſe reaſons the Admiral ordered, they ſhould make but little ſail at night, for fear of being aground in the dark; and about ten of the clock that night the Admiral himſelf ſaw a light, and ſhewed it to others. About two in the morning the caravel *Pinta*, which was furtheſt a-head, gave the ſignal of Land; and when day appeared, they perceived it was an Iſland about fifteen leagues in length, plain, well wooded and watered, and very populous; the natives ſtanding on the ſhore, admiring what the ſhips were. The Admiral and Captains went aſhore in their boats, and called that iſland *S. Salvador*, the natives calling it *Guanahani*, and is one of the *Lucayos*, in about 26 degrees of north latitude, nine hundred and fifty leagues weſt of the Canaries; and diſcovered the thirty-third day after they ſailed from them.—*Columbus* took poſſeſſion for the king and queen of Spain, and all the Spaniards joyfully took an oath to him, as their Admiral and Viceroy. He gave the Indians, who ſtood in admiration to ſee him and his men, ſome red caps, glaſs beads, and other trifles, which they valued at an high rate. The Admiral returning aboard, the natives followed; ſome ſwimming, others in their canoes, carrying with them bottoms of ſpun cotton, parrots, and javelins pointed with fiſh bones, to exchange for glaſs baubles and horſe bells. Both men and women were all naked, their hair ſhort and tied with a cotton ſtring, and well enough featured, of a middle ſtature, wall ſhaped, and of an olive colour, ſome painted white, ſome black, and ſome red. They knew nothing of iron, and did all their work with ſharp ſtones. No beaſts or fowl were ſeen here but only parrots. Being aſked by ſigns, whence they had the gold, whereof they wore little plates hanging at their noſes, they pointed to the South. The Admiral underſtanding there were other countries not far off, reſolved to ſeek them out; and taking ſeven Indians that they might learn Spaniſh, ſailed on the fifteenth to another Iſland, which he called the *Conception*, ſeven leagues

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* The ſteady current of *the Trade Wind*, muſt have been dreadful even to Columbus himſelf; and became, as he advanced to the weſtward, the principal cauſe of his anxiety.

from

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from the other. The sixteenth he proceeded to another Island, and called it *Fernandina*, and so to a fourth, to which he gave the name of *Isabella*; but finding nothing more in these than in the first, he proceeded on to the Island of *Cuba*, which he called *Juana*, and entered the port on the east end called *Baracoa*; whence after sending two men to discover without finding what he sought for, he went on to *Hispaniola*, and anchored on the north side of it. Here the admiral finding there were gold mines, and plenty of cotton, the people simple, and one of the *Caciques*, or princes, shewing all tokens of love and affection; and having lost his own ship, which through the carelessness of the sailors in the night run upon a sand; he resolved to build a fort, which with the assistance of the Indians was performed in ten days, and called the *Nativity*: here he left thirty-nine men, with provisions for a year, seeds to sow, baubles to trade with the natives, all the cannon and arms belonging to his own ship, and the boat. This done, he departed from the port of the *Nativity* on the fourth of January 1493, steering eastward, and the sixth discovered the caravel *Pinta*, which had left him some days before, the captain hoping to get much gold to himself. *Columbus* having sailed some days along the coast of the Island, discovered more of it, and trafficking with the natives, and seeing some other islands at a distance, at length launched out to sea to return for Spain. In the way they struggled with the dreadfullest storms any of them had ever seen; which separated the admiral from the caravel *Pinta*, so that he saw her no more: but at last it pleased God to bring his shattered caravel into the river of Lisbon, where the people flocked with admiration to see him, and some advised the king of Portugal to murder him; but he having entertained him generously dismissed him: and he putting to sea again, arrived safe at *Palos de Moguer*, from whence he set out on the fifteenth of March, having been out *six months and an half* upon his discovery. The Court was then at *Barcelona*, whither the Admiral repaired; carrying with him the Indians he brought, some gold, and other samples of what the Discovery afforded. The King and Queen received him with all possible demonstrations of honour, making him sit down in their presence, and ordering all the privileges and titles before granted him to be confirmed. After some time spent in these entertainments, the Admiral desired to be fitted out as became his dignity, to conquer and plant those new countries, which was granted; and he departed for *Seville*, to set out on his *second voyage*, which we are to speak of next.—We have been very particular in this, because being the first, it required a more exact account to be given of it, and shall therefore be more succinct in those that follow.

An. 1493, A fleet of seventeen sail of all sorts was fitted out at *Seville*, well furnished with provisions, ammunition, cannon; corn, seeds, mares and horses; tools to work in the gold mines, and abundance of commodities to barter with the natives. There were aboard fifteen hundred men, many of them labouring people, and artificers; several gentlemen, and twenty horse. With this fleet *Columbus* set sail from *Seville* on the *fifteenth of September* the aforesaid year, and on the fifth of October came to the *Gomeru*, one of the Canary islands; where he took in wood and water, as also cattle, calves, sheep, goats, and swine to stock the Indies, besides hens and garden seeds. Sailing hence *more to the southward* than the first voyage, on the third

third of November in the morning, all the fleet ſpied an iſland, which *Columbus* called *Dominica*, becauſe diſcovered on a Sunday; and ſoon after many others—the firſt of which he called *Marigalanti*, the name of the ſhip he was in, the next *Guadalupe*; then *Montſerrate*, *Santa Maria Redonda*, *Santa Maria el Antigua*, *S. Martin*, *Santa Cruz*; theſe are the *Caribbe* Iſlands. Next he came to the large iſland, which he called *S. John Baptiſt*, but the Indians *Borriquen*, and it is now known by the name of *Puerto Rico*.—November the twenty-ſecond the fleet arrived on the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, where they found the fort burnt down, and none of the Spaniards; they being all deſtroyed either by diſcord among themſelves, or by the Indians. Not liking the place he had choſen the firſt Voyage to plant his Colony, he turned back to the eaſtward; and finding a ſeat to his mind, landed and built a little town which he called *Iſabella*, in honour of *Iſabel* then queen of Caſtile. Then keeping five ſhips of the fleet with him for his uſe there, he ſent back twelve to Spain, under the command of *Antonio de Torres*, with ſome quantity of gold, and a full account of what had been done. Thus ended this year 1493; and here it muſt be obſerved, that all the actions done aſhore muſt be omitted, as too great for this Diſcourſe, and in reality no way belonging to it; the deſign of it being only to ſhew what advantages have been made by ſea ſince the diſcovery of the Magnetical Needle, as has been declared before. American Diſcoveries.

An. 1494, *Columbus* ſailed from his new colony of *Iſabella* with one great ſhip and two caravels on the twenty-fourth of April, directing his courſe weſtward; and came upon the point of *Cuba* on the eighteenth of May, where ſailing along the coaſt he ſaw an infinite number of ſmall iſlands; ſo that it being impoſſible to give them all names, he in general called them the *Queen's Garden*. Thus he proceeded as far as the iſland *de Pinos*, near the weſtermoſt end of *Cuba*, having diſcovered three hundred and thirty leagues to the weſtward from his colony of *Iſabella*. He ſuffered very much in this voyage by the continual ſtorms of rain, wind, thunder and lightning; and therefore reſolved to return, taking his way more to the ſouthward, and on the twenty-ſecond of July found the iſland of *Jamaica*; whence he directed his courſe to *Hiſpaniola*, and coaſting about it, arrived at the town of *Iſabella* on the twenty-ninth of September, where he found his brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, who was come with four ſhips from Spain. The Admiral built many forts in the iſland, and being much offended at the ill behaviour of many of the Spaniards, who began to uſe him diſreſpectfully, and ſent complaints againſt him to the court, returned into Spain to juſtify his proceedings, and ſecure his authority. Thus far out of *Herrera*'s firſt decade, (lib. I, II, and III.)

The fame of theſe mighty Diſcoveries being ſpread abroad throughout Europe, *Sebaſtian Cabot*, a Venetian, but reſiding in England, made application to king Henry the ſeventh, to be employed in finding out a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies through the north-weſt. The king admitted of his propoſal, and

(*An.* 1497,) Ordered him two ſhips provided with all neceſſaries for ſuch an undertaking, with which he ſailed from *Briſtol* in the beginning of Summer (for here does not appear a particular journal), and directing his courſe north-weſt came into 56,

Herrera

American Discoveries.

Herrera says 68 degrees of north latitude; where he discovered land running still to the northward, which made him despair of finding a passage that way, as he had projected; and therefore came about to the southward, hoping to meet it in less latitude. Thus he soon fell in upon the now much frequented island of *Newfoundland*, reaching from 54 to 48 degrees; where he found a wild people clad in skins of beasts, and armed with bows and arrows, as also bears and stags, and great plenty of fish, but the earth yielding little fruit. Here he took three of the savages, whom at his return he carried into England, where they lived long after. Hence he continued his course along the American coast as far as 38 degrees of latitude, where his provisions beginning to fall short he returned to England, (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 6. *et seq.*) This imperfect account is all we have of this voyage, which was not prosecuted by the English in many years after; and *Cabot* finding little encouragement went away into Spain, where he was entertained.

An. 1498, On the thirtieth of May, Admiral *Columbus* having been again well received and honoured by the king and queen of Castile and Aragon, and provided as he desired, sailed from *S. Lucar* with six ships upon new discoveries; and coming to the island *Gomeru*, one of the Canaries, on the nineteenth, sent thence three of his ships with provisions to sail directly for *Hispaniola*. He with the other three made the islands of *Cabo Verde*, resolving to sail southward as far as the equinoctial; and therefore steering south-west on the thirteenth of July, he felt such violent heat, that they all thought they should there have ended their days: and this continued till the nineteenth, when the wind freshening they stood away to the westward, and the first of August came to an anchor in the island which he called *La Trinidad*, near the continent of South America, in about 11 degrees of north latitude. Discovering land from this place, which he supposed to be another Island, *but it was the Continent*, he sailed over and came upon the point of *Paria*, and run many leagues along the coast of the continent, without knowing it was so, trading with the Indians for gold and abundance of pearls. However thinking his presence necessary at *Hispaniola*, he could not continue his discovery, but returned the same way he came to the island *Trinidad*: and found that he called *Margarita*, where was afterwards the great pearl fishery, and that of *Cubagua*, besides many others of less note, and arrived at *Santo Domingo*, a town newly built on the south coast of the island *Hispaniola*, on the twenty-second of August; Herrera, (dec. 1. lib. IV.)

An. 1499, The news having been brought to Spain of the discovery *Columbus* had made on the Continent, though it was not yet certainly known whether it was continent or an island; *Alonso de Ojeda* and some other private men fitted out four ships to make discoveries, and sailed from Port *S. Mary* on the twentieth of May. *John de la Cosa*, a Biscainer, went with him as pilot, and *Americus Vespucius* as merchant. They took their course to the south-west, and in twenty-seven days had sight of land, which they supposed to be the Continent. Being within a league of the shore, they sent some men in the boat, who saw abundance of naked people, who presently fled to the mountains; and therefore they followed the Coast to find some harbour, which they found two days after, with multitudes of natives, thronging to see the ships.

They

They were of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, broad faced, and of a ruddy complexion. Their wealth conſiſted in fine feathers, fiſh bones, and green and white ſtones, but they had neither gold nor pearls. *Ojeda* ran along this coaſt till he came to a town ſeated like Venice in the water, but containing only twenty-ſix great houſes; for which reaſon he called it *Venezuela*, or little *Venice*, in about 11 degrees of north latitude. Still he kept along the coaſt of *Paria*, before diſcovered by *Columbus*, for the ſpace of two hundred leagues, and then proceeded two hundred further to the point called *Cabo de la Vela*. Then turning back he came to the iſland *Margarita*, where he careened, and on the fifth of November arrived at the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*; where we may put an end to his diſcovery. Spaniſh voyages to America.

This ſame year *Pedro Alonſo Nino* and *Chriſtopher Guevara* ſailed from *Sevil* with one ſhip to diſcover, but did nothing more than had been done before, trading along the coaſt where *Columbus* and *Ojeda* had been; Herrera, (decad. 1. lib. IV.)

An. 1500, *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who was with *Columbus* the firſt voyage, ſent out four ſhips at his own charge, and ſailing to the ſouthward was *the firſt Spaniard that ever cut the equinoctial line*. Then ſailing to the weſtward, on the twenty-ſixth of January he diſcovered land at a diſtance, which was the point of land now called Cape *S. Auguſtin*, on the coaſt of *Braſil*, where he took poſſeſſion for the king of Spain: but not being able to bring the natives to trade with him, he paſſed on to a river, [illegible]nding, eight of his men were killed by the Indians; which made him remove a[illegible] down to the mouth of the river *Maranon*, which is thirty leagues over, and runs with ſuch force, that the water is freſh forty leagues out at ſea. Finding no benefit could be made along this coaſt, he held on his courſe to *Paria*, whence he ſailed over to the iſlands in the way to *Hiſpaniola*; and being at an anchor among them, a furious ſtorm ſunk two of their ſhips downright, the other two eſcaping repaired to *Hiſpaniola*, and having refitted returned to Spain. In this Voyage they diſcovered ſix hundred leagues along the coaſt lying ſouth-eaſt from *Paria*. Spaniards diſcover Braſil, 1500.

In December, this ſame year, *James de Lepe* ſailed from *Palos de Moguer* to diſcover, and went ſome way to the ſouthward of cape *S. Auguſtin*, but did little conſiderable; Herrera, (dec. 1. lib. IV.)

This year alſo EMANUEL king of Portugal fitted out a fleet of thirteen ſail for the *Eaſt Indies*, commanded by *Pedro Alvarez Cabral*; who ſailing from Liſbon in March, to avoid the calms on the coaſt of Guinea, ſtood out far to ſea; and being carried away further to the weſtward than he intended by a ſtorm, on the twenty-fourth of April fell in upon the coaſt of *Braſil* in America, in 10 degrees of ſouth latitude. He ſailed along it one day, and going aſhore found a tawny people; but the weather ſtill forced him to the ſouthward, to a harbour he called *Porto Seguro*, in 17 degrees of ſouth latitude, where he landed, and found the country abounding in cotton and Indian wheat. Here he erected a croſs in token of poſſeſſion, and therefore called the country *Santa Cruz*, but the name of *Braſil* prevailed, becauſe of that ſort of wood brought from thence. *Pedro Alvarez* ſent a ſhip to Portugal to give advice of this Portugueſe diſcover Braſil, 1500.

Portuguese voyage to North America, 1500.

this discovery, and he with the rest prosecuted his voyage to the East Indies, as may be seen in the account of them; Herrera *ubi sup.* and Faria in Asia, (part I. p. 53.)

Again this year 1500, *Gasper de Cortereal*, a Portuguese, sailed to the *north parts of America* with two caravels, where he run along a great part of what was said before to be discovered by *Cabot*, and gave his name to some small islands about the north of *Newfoundland*, bringing away sixty of the natives.—He made a *second* voyage into those parts, but was cast away; Herrera, (dec. 1. lib. VI.)

Spanish voyages to America.

An. 1501, *Roderick de Bastidas* fitted out two ships at Cadiz, and taking *John de la Cosa*, who was best acquainted with the western seas, for his pilot, put to sea in the beginning of February, following the same course *Columbus* had taken when he discovered the continent; and coasting all along where he and the others had been, he traded with the Indians. Not so satisfied, he run to the westward, and discovered *Santa Marta Carthagena*, and as far as *Nombre de Dios*, being above an hundred leagues more than was known before. His ships being now leaky and worm-eaten, so that they could not long keep the sea, and having traded for a considerable quantity of gold and pearls, he with difficulty made over to *Xaragua* in *Hispaniola*, where his ships sunk after saving the treasure; and he, after being imprisoned in this island, got over into Spain with his wealth. He carried some Indians from the continent to *Hispaniola*, who went stark naked; Herrera *ubi sup.*

An. 1502, Admiral COLUMBUS, being through the malicious insinuations of his enemies removed from the government of *Hispaniola*, but still fed by the king with fair words, obtained of him four ships to go upon some new discovery, and sailed with them from Cadiz on the ninth of May. On the twenty-ninth of June he came before *Santo Domingo* in the island *Hispaniola*, where the governor refused to admit him into the port. On the fourteenth of July he sailed away to the westward, and driving some days with the currents in calms, struggled for sixty days with violent storms; after which he discovered the little island *Guanaja*, northward of cape *Honduras*, in 19 degrees of latitude. He sent his brother ashore, who met with a canoe as long as a Spanish galley, and eight foot wide, covered with mats; and in it many men, women, and children, with abundance of commodities to barter, which were large cotton cloths of several colours, short cotton shirts without sleeves curiously wrought; wooden swords edged with flint, copper hatchets to cut wood, horse-bells of the same metal, and broad flat plates of it, crucibles to melt the copper, cocoa-nuts, bread made of Indian wheat, and drink of the same. Being carried aboard the admiral, he exchanged some commodities with them, and then dismissed them, only keeping an old man, of whom he enquired for gold; he pointed eastward, which made *Columbus* alter his design of sailing still westward. Therefore taking the way he was directed, the first land he came to was Cape *Casinas* on the continent of the province of *Honduras*, where his brother landed and took possession; the natives coming down in peaceable manner, wearing short jackets of cotton, and bringing him plenty of provisions. Sailing hence many days to the eastward against the wind, he

came to a great point of land, from which perceiving the shore run to the southward, he called it *Cabo de gracias a Dios*, or Cape *thanks be to God*, because then the easterly winds would carry him down the coast. He ran along trading with the natives, and touched at *Porto Bello*, *Nombre de Dios*, *Belen*, and *Veragua*, where he heard there were gold mines, and sent his brother up the country, who returned to him with a considerable quantity of that metal, exchanged for inconsiderable trifles. Upon this encouragement *Columbus* resolved to leave his brother there with eighty men, and accordingly built houses for them; yet after all, the Indians becoming their enemies, and the Spaniards mutinous, he was forced to take them aboard again, and then sailed away for *Hispaniola*. The ships being quite shaken with the many storms, and eaten through with the worms, could not reach that island; and therefore he was forced to run them a-ground on the coast of Jamaica, close board and board by one another, shoring them up with piles drove in the sand, and making huts on the decks for the men to live in, because they were full of water up to the deck. Hence with incredible difficulty and danger, he sent messengers in a canoe over to *Hispaniola* for some vessels to carry him and his men away, and after suffering much was at last transported to that island, and thence into Spain, where he died. Herrera, (dec. 1. lib. V, VI.)—So that we have here an end of his Discoveries; and all the continent of America made known from Cape *Honduras* in 18 degrees of north latitude, to *Porto Seguro* on the coast of Brasil in 17 degrees of south latitude, being above *fifteen hundred leagues*, taking only the greater windings of the coast.

Spanish voyages to America, and the adjacent islands.

An. 1506, The news of *Columbus*'s new discovery being spread abroad in Castile, *John Diaz de Solis*, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon* resolved to prosecute what he had begun; and coming to the island *Guanaja*, whence *Columbus* had turned back to the eastward, they held on their course still westward; running along the coast of *Honduras*, till they came to the bottom of that deep bay, which they called *Baia de Navidad*, now called the Gulph of *Honduras*. Then turning to the north-east, they discovered a great part of the province of *Yucatan*, whereof little was afterwards known till the discovery of New Spain.

An. 1507, It being still unknown whether *Cuba* was an island or part of the continent, *Nicholas d'Obando*, governor of *Hispaniola*, sent *Sebastian d'Ocampo* to discover it: he sailed along the north side of it, touching at several places, and careened his ships at the port now well known by the name of the *Havana*, which then he called *de Carenas*. Then continuing his Voyage to the westermost end of the island now called *Cabo de S. Anton*, he turned to the eastward along the south coast of the island, and put into the port of *Xagua*, which is one of the best in the world, and capable of containing a thousand ships. Here he was most courteously entertained, and supplied with abundance of partridges and good fish. Having rested here a few days, he held on his way along the coast, and returned to *Hispaniola*, with the certain news of *Cuba*'s being an island. (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.)

An. 1508, *John Ponce de Leon* sailed over from *Hispaniola* to the island called by the Indians *Borriquen*, by the Spaniards *S. Juan de Puerto Rico*, and by the English

Spanish voyages to America, and the adjacent islands.

Porto Rico; it is but 15 leagues distant from *Hispaniola*, has a good harbour, which with the plenty of gold found in it gave it the name of *Puerto Rico*, or the *rich Harbour*. (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.)

This same year, 1508, *John Diaz de Solis*, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who before discovered the Gulph of *Honduras*, sailed with two caravels fitted out at the king's expence, to discover the south coast of America; and coming upon Cape S. Augustin in about 11 degrees of south latitude, continued thence their navigation along the coast, often landing and trading with the natives, till they came into 40 degrees of the same latitude; whence they returned with an account of what they had found into Spain. (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.)

An. 1509, *John de Esquibel* was sent from *Hispaniola*, by the admiral *James Columbus*, son to *Christopher Columbus*, with seventy men to settle a colony in the island of *Jamaica*.

This same year *John de la Cosa* sailed from Spain with one ship, and two brigantines, to join *Alonso d'Ojeda* in the island *Hispaniola*, thence to go and settle on the continent: *James de Nicuessa* set out soon after him with four ships upon the same design. After some dispute about the limits of their provinces, they agreed that the river of Darien should part them, and then they set out towards their several governments. (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.)

An. 1510, *Ojeda* landed at *Carthagena*, where after endeavouring to gain the Indians by fair means without success, he came to a battle with them, in which *John de la Cosa* was killed, and *Ojeda* escaped by flight, having lost seventy Spaniards. *Nicuessa* arriving a few days after, and joining the other Spaniards belonging to *Ojeda*, revenged the death of the former seventy, and took a great booty. However *Ojeda* removed thence to the gulph of Uraba, where he founded the town of *S. Sebastian*, being *the second built on the continent*; if we reckon that before founded by *Columbus* near the same place, which did not stand, as has been mentioned, nor did this continue long at that time, being removed after most of the Spaniards were consumed, to Darien. Hence the Indians carried swine, salt, and fish up the country, and in return brought home gold and cotton cloth. *Nicuessa* with his ships sailed to *Veragua*, and after many miseries and calamities, at last founded the town of *Nombre de Dios* on the small Isthmus that joins the two Continents of north and south America; (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII, VIII.)

An. 1511, The admiral *James Columbus*, from the island *Hispaniola*, sent *James Velasquez* with about three hundred men to plant the island of *Cuba*, where no settlement had yet been made.

An. 1512, *John Ponce de Leon*, before mentioned as *first planter* of the island of *Puerto Rico*, being grown rich, fitted out three ships in that island, resolving to discover to the northward. He sailed on the third of March, steering north-west and by north, and on the eighth anchored at *Baxos de Babueca*, near the island *del Viejo*, in 22 degrees and an half of north latitude; and on the fourteenth, at the island *Guanahani*, which was *the first discovered by Columbus*. Hence he directed his course north.

north-weſt, and on the twenty-ſeventh, being Eaſter Sunday, diſcovered an iſland not known before; whence he proceeded, ſteering weſt-north-weſt till the ſecond of April, when they came to an anchor near a port of the continent they had run along, in 30 degrees and 8 minutes of north latitude; which he believed to be an iſland called *Florida*, that is, flowery, or flouriſhing, both becauſe it looked green and pleaſant, and becauſe it was Eaſter time, which the Spaniards call *Paſqua Florida*. After landing to take poſſeſſion, he ſailed ſouth and by eaſt till the twenty-firſt of April; when he met ſo ſtrong a current, that though they had the wind large, his ſhips could not ſtem it, which obliged him to come to an anchor; this being the now well known channel of *Bahama*, through which moſt ſhips return out of thoſe parts into Europe. Here he landed, and had a ſkirmiſh with the Indians, who were warlike. On the eighth of May he doubled the point of Florida, which he called Cape *Corrientes*, becauſe of the great ſtrength of the current there. Being come about, they ſpent many days along the coaſt and neighbouring iſlands, watering and careening, and dealing with the Indians for hides and Guanines, which are plates of a mixture of gold and copper. In June he had two battles with the Indians, who in their canoes came out to draw his ſhips aſhore, or at leaſt to cut his cables. Having beaten them off he came upon the coaſt of Cuba, though he knew it not to be that iſland, and thence returned to *Puerto Rico*; whence he ſailed into Spain to beg of the king the government of what he had diſcovered; (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. IX.)

Spaniſh diſcoveries on the Coaſt of America.

An. 1513, *Boſco Nunez de Balboa*, who had ſubtiley wound himſelf into the government of the Spaniards, who were before mentioned to have built the town of *Darien*, having uſed all his endeavours as others did to find out more gold; and being told by an Indian, that there was a mighty prince beyond the mountains who had vaſt plenty of it, and that there was alſo *an open ſea*, he reſolved to venture over to find theſe treaſures, and gain the honour of being the firſt that diſcovered this ſo long looked for Sea. Accordingly he ſet out from *Darien* in September with Indian guides, and others given him by the Caciques his friends, to carry burdens. Entering upon the mountains, he had a fight with a Cacique that would have ſtopped him, in which he killed the Cacique and ſix hundred of his men. On the *twenty-fifth of September* he reached the top of the mountains; from whence, to his unſpeakable joy, he ſaw the *South Sea*; with this ſatisfaction he went down, and coming to the ſhore walked into the ſea to take poſſeſſion of it for the king of Spain. This done, he with eighty of his men, and a Cacique his friend, went into nine canoes, and put out to ſea; where a ſtorm riſing, they had all like to have periſhed; however, with much difficulty they got into a ſmall iſland, where ſome of their canoes were beaten to pieces, and all their proviſions loſt. The next day with what canoes remained, they landed on the further ſide of the bay, where after ſome oppoſition from the Indians they made peace, and the Cacique brought a good quantity of gold as a preſent, and two hundred and forty large pearls; and ſeeing the Spaniards valued them, he ſent ſome Indians to fiſh, who in four days brought twelve mark weight of them, each mark being

Pacific Ocean diſcovered, 1513.

Spanish Voyages to America.

being eight ounces. *Basco Nunez* would have gone over to the *island of pearls*, five leagues distant, but was advised by the Indians his friends to put it off till summer, because of the danger of the sea at that time. Here he had some information of the wealth of *Peru*, and was assured that the Coast ran along to the southward *without end*, as the Indians thought. *Basco Nunez* having made so great a discovery, and gathered much wealth, returned over the mountains to *Darien*, whence he presently sent advice to the king of what he had found; (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. X.)

An. 1515, *John Diaz de Solis* was sent out by the king to discover to the *southward*; he sailed on the eighth of October, and came to *Rio de Janeiro* on the coast of Brasil in 22 degrees twenty minutes of south latitude; whence he continued his course down the Coast which lies south-west, to cape S. Mary in 35 degrees of latitude, where he landed and took possession. Then turning with one of his caravels into the river of Plate, which because it was so large and fresh, they called the *Fresh Sea*, and by another name, the *river of Solis*, he spied along the shore abundance of houses of Indians, and the people coming down to gaze at the ships, and offering what they had. *Solis* landed with as many men as his boat could carry, who going a little up from the shore, were set upon by the natives, who lay in ambush in the woods, and every man of them killed, notwithstanding the cannon fired from aboard. When they had killed the men they removed them further from the shore; yet not so far but that the Spaniards aboard might see them; where cutting off their heads, arms, and legs, they roasted the whole trunks of the bodies and eat them. Having seen this dismal sight, the caravel returned to the other vessel, and both together repaired to cape S. Augustin, where having loaded with Brasil wood, they sailed back to Spain.—Thus ended the famous Seaman *John Diaz de Solis*; (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. I.)

An. 1516, *Padrarias*, governor of Darien, before spoken of, sent the licentiate *Espinosa* with a good body of men over the mountains to *Panama*; who had some encounters with the Indians in those parts, and made some considerable Discoveries along that coast. But having gathered a great quantity of gold, and abundance of slaves, he returned to Darien, leaving *Hernan Ponce de Leon* with a small force at Panama. This commander lost no time, though he had no good vessels but some small barks, for in them he ventured to run up to the north-west as far as the port of *Nicoya* in the province of *Nicaragua*, an hundred and forty leagues from *Nata*, which is at the mouth of the bay of Panama; where finding the people in arms, and that they fled to the mountains upon the first firing, he concluded there was not much good to be done there at that time, and returned to Panama. At the same time *Basco Nunez de Balboa*, who first discovered the South Sea, cut timber at Ada on the north Sea, and having hewed it out fit to put together, had it all carried up twelve leagues to the top of the mountains by Indians, Blacks, and Spaniards, and thence down to the South Sea; which was an incredible labour, there being all the timber, iron work, and rigging for two brigantines; (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. II.)

This

This ſame year, 1516, Hackluyt mentions a Voyage made by Sir *Thomas Pert* and *Sebaſtian Cabot*, by order of king Henry the eighth of England, to *Braſil*, but gives no particulars of it; (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 498.) English Voyage to Braſil, 1516.

An. 1517, *James Velaſquez*, governor of Hiſpaniola, gave commiſſion to *Francis Hernandez de Cordova* to make ſome further Diſcovery on the Continent. He bought two ſhips and a brigantine, furniſhed them with all neceſſaries, and an hundred and ten men, and ſailed from *Havana* on the eighth of February to the weſtward. At the end of twenty-one days they ſaw land, and drawing near perceived a town. Five canoes came to the ſhip, and thirty men went aboard, wearing ſhort jackets without ſleeves, who being well entertained were diſmiſſed: and the next day twelve canoes came with a Cacique, who ſaid, *conez Cotoche*, that is, come to my houſe; and the Spaniards not underſtanding it, called that point of land Cape *Cotoche*, being the weſtermoſt of the province of *Yucatan*, in 22 degrees of latitude. The Spaniards going aſhore with this invitation, were ſet upon by Indians that lay in ambuſh, whom they put to flight. Here they found three ſtructures like little temples, with idols, built with lime and ſtone, which were the firſt that had been ſeen in America. Returning to their ſhips, they kept along the coaſt weſtward till they came to *Campeche*, where they took water out of a well; there being no other; and retired to their ſhips, the Indians purſuing at their heels, yet without engaging. Further on at a place called *Potonchan*, being aſhore again to water, they were beſet by the Indians, who killed fifty of them; and the reſt, whereof many were wounded, with much difficulty got aboard their ſhips. Wanting hands for them all, they burnt one, and with the other two veſſels in great want of water, ſtood over for the coaſt of Florida; where as they were watering, the Indians fell on them and killed four or five more, but were put to flight, ſo that the Spaniards had time to carry off their water, and returned to Cuba, where *James Fernandez* the commander died of his wounds; (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. II.) Spaniſh diſcoveries on the Coaſt of America.

An. 1518, The report of the Diſcovery made in *Yucatan* pleaſing the undertaker *James Velaſquez* governor of Cuba, he provided three ſhips and a brigantine, with two hundred and fifty men, to proſecute that enterpriſe, under the command of *John de Grijalva;* who ſailed from Cuba on the eighth of April, and driving to the ſouthward with the currents, came upon the iſland of *Cozumel*, in the twentieth degree of latitude, not known before, and ſouth of the Cape of *Cotoche;* where keeping along its coaſt, they anchored at a place they called *Santa Cruz*, becauſe that was the third of May, and the feaſt of the finding of the croſs. Landing he could not prevail with any of the natives to come to trade, yet found in the iſland good honey, ſwine with their navels on their backs, and ſeveral ſmall temples of ſtone, as alſo an Indian woman of Jamaica, who went aboard. *Grijalva* ſailed on to *Potonchan*, where *Francis Hernandez*, the firſt diſcoverer of that country, had been; and after defeating the natives held on to the river of his own name; ſaying, this country was like a new Spain, becauſe of the many ſtructures he ſaw of lime and ſtone, whence the name remained to the adjacent kingdom of Mexico. Coming to the river of *Tabaſco*, he treated with the natives, and

and a Cacique there with his own hand, put upon *Grijalva* a ſuit of complete armour all of beaten gold, beſides many other rich preſents he gave him. Then coaſting along, he ſaw the great mountains of *S. Martin*, and the rivers of *Alvarado*, and *Banderas*, on the coaſt of New Spain, at which laſt place he was ſupplied with proviſions, and traded for much gold with the governor, who had received orders ſo to do from *Montezuma* the great monarch of Mexico, upon the news brought him of the firſt ſhips that appeared on that coaſt. He ſpent ſeven days at *S. John de Ulva*, trading with the natives, and then went on as far as the province of *Panuco*, from whence he returned to Cuba, having in this voyage diſcovered all the coaſt of New Spain, almoſt as far as the province of Florida; (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. III.)

This ſame year the Licentiate *Eſpinoſa*, by order of *Pedro Arias Davila*, governor of Darien, founded the town of *Panama* on the South Sea. (*Ibid.*)

An. 1519, FERDINAND CORTES, with eleven ſail fitted out at the charge of *James Velaſquez*, ſailed from Cuba in February, and landing on the coaſt of New Spain, before diſcovered by *Grijalva*, marched up to Mexico; made himſelf maſter of that mighty city, and ſubdued all the provinces about it till he came to the South Sea. Here were found thoſe rich mines of ſilver, which with the others of Peru have ever ſince enriched the univerſe; not to ſpeak of the abundance of cotton, and very many other precious commodities. In fine, his actions and the wealth of this Country are the ſubject of large volumes, and too great for ſo ſhort a Diſcourſe: therefore we will proceed to the Diſcoveries. (*Ibid.*)

This year alſo FERDINAND MAGALHAENS, or as we call him, MAGELLAN, ſailed from Spain to diſcover the ſtrait of his name; the particulars of which Voyage are the ſubject of the firſt of thoſe round the world, to be found together at the latter end of this Diſcourſe, and therefore need not be repeated in this place; for there the reader may find it at large, with an account of thoſe ſouthern parts of America.

Engliſh at Puerto Rico, 1519.

This ſame year, 1519, an Engliſh ſhip of two hundred and fifty ton arrived at the iſland of *Puerto Rico*, pretending it came out with another to diſcover a paſſage to Tartary, and had been at Newfoundland, where there were fifty Spaniſh, French, and Portugueſe ſhips fiſhing, and that offering to go aſhore their pilot was killed. They further ſaid they came to load Braſil wood, and carry the king of England an account of thoſe countries: hence they ſailed over to Hiſpaniola; where being fired at from the caſtle they returned to *Puerto Rico*, where they traded with the inhabitants, and going thence were never more heard of. (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. V.) Hackluyt, (vol. III. p. 499.) gives the ſame account out of Ramuſio, only differing in that he ſays it was in the year 1517.

An. 1522, CORTES having ſubdued the mighty kingdom of *Mexico*, and greateſt part of the provinces of *Mechoacan*, *Panuco*, *Guaxaca*, *Tabaſco*, and *Soconuſco*, a conqueſt above two hundred leagues in length, upwards of an hundred and fifty in breadth in the wideſt part, and lying betwixt 14 and 24 degrees of north latitude; and having diſcovered the South Sea, which waſhes the ſhores of ſeveral of the provinces mentioned,

tioned, he resolved *that way to send to the Molucco islands;* and in order to it sent ship-wrights to the port of Zacatula to build two ships to discover along the coast, and two caravels to sail to the Moluccos, causing all the iron work, sails, and rigging to be carried upon men's backs from *Vera Cruz* across the country, which is at least an hundred and forty leagues.

Whilst these vessels were preparing in New Spain, *Giles Gonzales Davila* with incredible labour had built four in the island *Tarrarequi*, not far from Panama, whence he sailed on the twenty-first of January, this same year 1522, taking *Andrew Nino* along with him as his pilot. Having sailed an hundred leagues along the coast to the north-west, they were forced to send to Panama for necessaries to refit their ships, which being brought they proceeded. At Nicoya, *Giles Gonzales* landed and travelled into the province of Nicaragua, where abundance of Indians with their Cacique submitted themselves: but afterwards meeting with a more warlike nation, he was forced to retire to the sea. Whilst *Gonzales* travelled by land, *Andrew Nino* had sailed along the coast as far as the bay of *Fonseca* in the province of *Guatimala*, discovering three hundred leagues that way further than was known before; which done, they both returned to Panama with great wealth in gold and pearls (Herrera, dec. 3. lib. IV.)

French Voyages to the Coast of America, 1524.

An. 1524, Francis the first, *king of France*, employed *John Varrazona* a Florentine, to make some discovery to the *north-west*. He set out from *Diep* with four ships, and after some time spent privateering on the coast of Spain, he steered to the island of Madera; whence dismissing the rest, he departed with one ship and fifty men upon his enterprise. The first twenty-five days he ran five hundred leagues to the westward, after which followed a dreadful storm; and that ceasing, in twenty-five days more run four hundred leagues, and then discovered a land before unknown, which was low and well peopled, running to the southward. He sailed fifty leagues along the coast to the south without finding any harbour, which made him stand about to the northward, and at last come to an anchor, where he traded with the Indians; who went naked, with garlands about their heads made of fine feathers; their complexion like the other Indians, their hair black and long, tied up behind like a tail. His short stay there gave him not leisure to learn any thing of their customs, but the country seemed delightful, with pleasant plains, and plenty of woods of several sorts of trees, great variety of beasts and birds, and some tokens of gold. This country was in 34 degrees of north latitude, a temperate climate, and is the northern part of the province of Florida. Sailing hence fifty leagues to the north-east, they came upon another coast, where they took a boy; and so run on, seeing all the way abundance of trees, variety of herbs and flowers for two hundred leagues, where they again anchored, and were well entertained by the natives; a Cacique coming often aboard, and seeming well pleased with the French. Hence they held on their course above an hundred leagues, and saw people clothed with feathers, and a very pleasant country; but passed on still to a great island, and anchored betwixt it and the Continent, where the people were still naked, and valued copper beyond gold. Thus he proceeded, landing and taking a

view of the ſhores, till he came into fifty degrees of north latitude, where his proviſions falling ſhort, he reſolved to return into France; having diſcovered ſeven hundred leagues along the coaſt, and giving it the name of *New France*; (Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VI.—Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 295.—Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1603.)

Spaniſh Diſcoveries on the Coaſt of America.

The ſame year 1524, *Francis Pizarro* ſailed from Panama in November with one ſhip and two canoes, in which were eighty Spaniards, and four horſes, to diſcover to the ſouthward. Coming under the equinoctial, which was further than any had diſcovered on that ſide, he landed, and proviſions failing ſent back the ſhip for them; remaining himſelf aſhore with moſt of the men, where they were drove to ſuch extremities, that twenty-ſeven of them died for want, and therefore they called this place *Puerto de Lahambre*, that is, *Port Famine*. The ſhip returning with proviſions, they proceeded on their voyage to the port they called *De la Candelaria*, where they again went aſhore and travelled up the country; but all the people fled from them, and the continual rains rotted their clothes. Though all the reſt of his actions in this expedition were in the enſuing years, yet the ſummary of them ſhall here be delivered together, to avoid the confuſion that might be cauſed by the diſmembering of them. Hence they went on to a place they called *Pueblo Quemado*, where they had two bloody encounters with the Indians, and therefore proceeded to Chicama, whence they again ſent back the ſhip to Panama for proviſions. Whilſt the ſhip was returning, *James d'Almagro*, who was at the chief expence of this enterpriſe, went out of Panama with a ſhip full of proviſions, and ſixty men in it, and running along the coaſt, at length found *Pizarro* at Chicama; and having relieved and conferred with him, returned to Panama for more men, whence he brought two ſhips and two canoes, with arms, men, ammunition, and proviſions. Leaving *Chicama*, they proceeded along the coaſt; and after many delays, and ſeveral times ſending back to Panama, during which time the reſt of the men were left aſhore, and ſuffered incredible hardſhips, *Pizarro* came to *Tumbez*; where he ſent men aſhore, who were friendly entertained by the natives, ſupplied with proviſions, and returned aboard with the joyful news, that they had ſeen ſtately palaces, and all ſorts of veſſels of ſilver and gold. Here he was invited aſhore, and went twice, having much diſcourſe with the Indians, who gave him an account of the great city of *Cuſco*, and of the immenſe wealth of the mighty monarch *Guaynacapa*. This done, having gathered a good quantity of gold, and got ſome of the large Peru ſheep, and other things to ſhew the wealth of the country, he returned to Panama to gather a force ſufficient to make a conqueſt in that rich country he had diſcovered. In this Voyage he reached as far as the port of *Santa*, in 9 degrees of ſouth latitude, having run above two hundred leagues; in which he ſpent three years, being detained ſo long by the misfortunes and wants above mentioned, beſides many more too tedious to inſert here. The conqueſt and further Diſcoveries ſhall fall in their due place (Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VII, VIII, and X. and dec. 4. lib. II.)

An. 1525, The Emperor *Charles the fifth* fitted out ſix ſhips and a tender at Corunna, under the command of *D. Garcia Joſre de Loayſa*, well furniſhed with proviſions,

visions, ammunition, and commodities to trade, as also four hundred and fifty Spaniards. These ships were to pass through the straits of Magellan to the Molucco islands, and sailed from Corunna in July. On the fifth of December they came upon the coast of Brasil in 21 degrees and an half of south latitude. December the twenty-eighth the ships were parted in a storm, but met all again except the admiral. January the fifth they came to Cape *Blanco* in 37 degrees, and thence to *Santa Cruz* in 51 degrees; where the admiral and another ship being missing, they put up some signs to direct them: coming to the mouth of the straits, one of the ships was cast away in a storm, the other three with much difficulty got into the Strait. January the twenty-sixth the admiral, with the other ship that was missing, and the tender, came to the mouth of the strait, where it was near perishing in a storm: and on the fifth of April the five ships being again joined, put into the strait, whence the foul weather had beaten them out. May the twenty-fifth they came into the South Sea, where a violent storm parted them all; and the tender being left alone with very little provision, sailed to the northward, till it came upon the coast of New Spain, where the men were plentifully relieved by the Indians for the present, and afterwards by *Cortes* from Mexico. The admiral was parted from the other ships, and never saw them more, for he died on this side the line; and soon after him *John Sebastian Cano* his successor, who had brought the ship called the *Victory* home, after sailing round the world in the voyage undertaken by Magellan. Then they chose *Toribio Alonso de Salazar* for their admiral; and so directing their course for the islands *Ladrones*, on the thirteenth of September discovered an island, which they called *S. Bartholomew*; and the wind not permitting them to come near it, followed on their course to the *Ladrones*, and came to the two southermost of them, where there came to them a Spaniard, that had been left there when the ship of Magellan's company, left at the Moluccos, attempted to return to New Spain, as may be seen in that voyage. Five days, this which was the admiral's ship continued in the island *Bataha*, and then prosecuted its voyage to the Moluccos on the tenth of September 1526; and on the second of October came to the great island *Mindanao*, one of the *Philippines*, where they got some fresh provisions, and then sailed away towards the Moluccos; and arrived safe at Tidore on the last day of December, and there built a fort; whence for a long time after they made war with the Portuguese of Ternate; where we will leave them, having ended their Navigation, and shall hear of them again in the following years (Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VII, VIII, IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.)

Spanish Voyages to the East Indies, through the Straits of Magellan.

An. 1526, SEBASTIAN CABOT, who made the great discovery in North America for king Henry the seventh of England, being now in the Spanish service, sailed from Cadiz with four ships, designing for the Moluccos through the strait of Magellan: but when he came upon the coast of Brasil, his provisions began to fail, and the men to mutiny; both which things obliged him to lay aside his first design, and run up the river then called of *Solis*, now of *Plate*; and going up it thirty leagues, he came to the island of *S. Gabriel*, and seven leagues above it to the river *S. Salvador*, where he landed and built a fort, in which he left some men, whilst he discovered higher.

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Thirty leagues further up he found the river of *Zarcarana*, and erected another fort, which was called by his name. Then continuing the same course, after running up two hundred leagues he came to the river *Paraguay*, up which he turned, leaving the great river, and at the end of thirty leagues found a people that tilled the ground, which he had not seen before; and they opposed him so vigorously, that he was forced to return down the river after losing twenty-eight of his men: where we must leave him a while, to shew that this same year *James Garcia* was sent from Galicia with one ship, a small tender, and a brigantine to discover this same river of *Plate*, and came, at the end of the year, upon that part of the coast of Brasil, which for its many rocks and shoals is called *Abrolojo*, or *open your Eyes*.

An. 1527, At the beginning of the year he came into the river of *Plate*, and there found two of *Cabot*'s ships, but sent back his own to carry slaves into Portugal. Then he run up the river, and found *Cabot* in that of *Paraguay*, where we said he lost his men, whence they returned together to the ships. *Cabot* sent one of them back into Spain, with an account of what he had discovered, the reasons why he went not to the Moluccos, and some silver and gold; desiring to be reinforced, and to have leave to plant there, which was not done till some time after, when it shall be mentioned in its place (Herrera, dec. 3. lib. IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.)

This same year CORTES fitted out three ships on the coast of New Spain in the South Sea, and sent them to the *Molucco islands*, where they joined the Spaniards before mentioned, and prosecuted the war with the Portuguese. One of the ships attempted to return with cloves to New Spain, but was beaten back to Tidore by contrary winds; where the continual wars reduced the Spaniards to only twenty, who were forced to put themselves into the power of the Portuguese, and by them were carried into India, whence some of them returned into Spain. These ships were in several of the *Philippine islands*, and took possession of them for the king of Spain; (Herrera, dec. 4. lib. I.)

This year also *Francis de Montejo* sailed from Seville with three ships, and five hundred men in them, to conquer the province of *Yutacan*, and *Pedro d'Alvarado* for that of *Guatimala*. Of the discovery of both something has been said already, and therefore there needs no repetition.

The same year still *Pamphilo de Narvaez* sailed from *Sanlucar* on the seventeenth of June with five vessels, and in them seven hundred men, and spent much time at Hispaniola and Cuba; where, after escaping a dreadful storm, he was forced to winter. In March following he put to sea with four ships and above four hundred men; and on the twelfth of April, after many storms and dangers, came upon the coast of *Florida*; he landed his men and forty horses, and then travelled with them by land, sending the ships at the same time to coast along and find a safe harbour where they might settle a town. Those that marched by land, after incredible suffering ashore, and losing their ships, built some barks to carry them off, making sails of their shirts, and ropes of their horses tails and manes. By the twenty-second of September they had eaten all their horses, and then went aboard their barks: they crept along the

ſhore ſeven days in thoſe creeks almoſt ſtarved, till they found ſome dry fiſh in an Indian houſe; but after this ſuffered ſuch extremity of thirſt, that five of them died with drinking of ſalt water. They landed again and got ſome refreſhment, but the Indians proving treacherous, they loſt ſome men, and ſo put to ſea again, where they ranged many days in ſoul weather, and were all parted. At laſt all the barks were caſt upon the ſhore and ſeveral men drowned; thoſe that eſcaped almoſt naked and ſtarved, met with charitable Indians, who came down and lamented their misfortune with tears; fetching wood to make fire to warm them, carrying them to their houſes, and giving them all the beſt they had: but this laſted not long, for the Indians, though ſo loving were poor, and ſoon after ſuffered extreme want themſelves, ſo that the Spaniards diſperſed to ſhift, and the ſixty that landed were ſoon reduced to fifteen. Such was their miſery, that five of them who had kept together ate up one another till only one was left. Three or four that ſurvived theſe calamities travelled ſome hundreds of leagues acroſs the country, and with incredible hardſhips at length came to New Spain, the reſt with their officers all periſhed; and this was the end of the expedition (Herrera, dec. 4. lib. II. IV.)

Before we proceed, it muſt be here noted, that this ſame year *king Henry the eighth of England* ſent out two ſhips to diſcover to the northward, which ſailed out of the Thames on the twentieth of May, and entering between the north of Newfoundland and the Continent, one of them was caſt away. The other directed its courſe towards *Cape Breton*, and the coaſt of *Arambec*, often ſending men aſhore to get information of the country, and returned home in October, which is all the account we have of this voyage (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 129.) English N. America.

An. 1530, *Francis Pizarro* having been in Spain, and obtained many favours of the emperor, and power to conquer what he had diſcovered, ſailed from Panama with an hundred and eighty-five Spaniards, and thirty-ſeven horſes. At the bay of S. Matthew he landed the horſes and moſt of the men, to march along the ſhore, whilſt the ſhips coaſted; and falling upon the town of *Quapel*, he took a vaſt booty of gold, ſilver, and emeralds: then he ſent three ſhips to *Panama* and *Nicaragua* to bring recruits of men and proviſions: being reduced to great ſtraits, and ready to abandon the country, a ſhip arrived with ſupplies. Hence they ſailed to the iſland *Puna*, which lies between three and four degrees of ſouth latitude; where after much feigned friendſhip from the Indians, he came to a battle with them; and having gained the victory, continued there, ſetting at liberty ſix hundred Indians of Tumbez, kept there in ſlavery, which gained him the affection of thoſe people. Two ſhips coming to him with recruits from Panama, *Pizarro* ſailed over to Tumbez, of which place he poſſeſſed himſelf after killing many Indians, who uſed all means by open force and treachery to deſtroy him. Here inquiring into the affairs of the country, he was informed of the greatneſs and infinite wealth of the city of *Cuzco*, and of the vaſt power and large dominion of the emperor of *Peru*. Then moving ſtill to the ſouthward, he founded the city of S. Michael; and ſtaid there long to ſettle that new colony, to get more ſupplies and further intelligence into the affairs of the country; Spaniſh Voyages.

and

Spanish Voyages.

and though these things happened in the following years, we will conclude with them at once, according to the intended brevity. At that time two brothers contended for the monarchy of Peru; these were *Atahaulpa* and *Guascar*, of whom the former had been successful in several battles. *Pizarro* resolved to make his advantage of their divisions. He therefore marched into the country with scarce two hundred men, and coming to *Caxamalca*, whence *Atahaulpa* drew out with his army, he sent to invite him back. The *Inga* came with an infinite multitude of Indians; and having filled the great market of *Caxamalca*, he ordered they should seize all the Spaniards, and take care that not one escaped: upon which, as his horns and other warlike instruments began to make a dreadful noise, *Pizarro* gave the signal in like manner; and falling on, routed that multitude, and took the *Inga* prisoner, and with him an incredible treasure of gold, silver, and cotton cloth. The *Inga* being prisoner, offered for his ransom ten thousand ingots of gold, and a great room full to the top of silver; which he had almost performed, when new troubles arising, he was put to death. After which *Pizarro* marched to the great city of *Cuzco*, near two hundred leagues from *Caxamalca*, to the south-east; whence moving to the sea, he founded the city of *Lima* in 18 degrees of south latitude, and subdued all that vast empire of Peru (Herrera, dec. 4. lib. VII. and IX. and dec. 5. throughout the greatest part of it.)

An. 1532, *Nunho de Guzman*, sent out by *Cortes* from Mexico by land to reduce the province of *Mechoacan*, discovered and subdued the provinces of *Culiacan* and *Cinaloa*, extending to 28 degrees of north latitude on the coast of the South Sea, and opposite to the south end of *California*; all which was done by land, and was a consequence of the former Navigations (Herrera, dec. 5. lib. I.)

Some Ships were sent out these years by *Cortes* from New Spain, to discover to the *north-west*; but they having gone no further than has been already mentioned, it is needless to give any account of them.

An. 1534, *Simon d'Alcazova*, a Portuguese in the king of Spain's service, undertook to discover to the southward of Peru: passing the strait of Magellan, and fitting out two good ships with two hundred and fifty men, he sailed from S. Lucar on the twenty-first of September, and entered the mouth of the *straits of Magellan* in January following. Having spent some time in it, and being half way through; the violent storms, which lasted many days, were the occasion that his men in a mutinous manner obliged him to turn back out of the strait, and put into *port Lobos*, a little above the mouth of it. Here he landed an hundred men to discover up the country, appointing his lieutenant to command them, because he could not himself, by reason of his indisposition. They marched ninety leagues through a desart country, seeing scarce any inhabitants, and being ready to perish sometimes for want of water; and by this time all the provisions they brought from aboard were spent, the country affording little or nothing. This done, they returned towards the ships, and some of them mutinying by the way, secured those that opposed their wicked designs; and coming aboard, murdered *Alcazova* their commander in chief and his pilot; designing

to

to leave the reſt that had oppoſed them aſhore, and turn pirates. But being divided among themſelves, the loyal party took the advantage to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſhips, and executed many of them. This done, they directed their courſe for the iſlands of America. The greateſt ſhip was caſt away on the coaſt of Braſil, the other in much diſtreſs arrived at the iſland *Hiſpaniola*. Thus ended this enterpriſe (Herrera, dec. 5. lib. VII. and VIII.)

This ſame year 1534, *Jaques Cartier* ſailed from the port of S. Malo, by order of Francis I. king of France, to diſcover the north part of America. He ſet out on the twentieth of April, and on the tenth of May put into the port of S. Catharine in Newfoundland; where having ſpent ſome days in refitting, he ſailed all the length of the iſland from cape *Raz* to cape *de Grace*; and entering between the iſland and the Continent, run to the weſtward along the ſhore; till at the mouth of the great river *Canada*, he turned to the ſouthward, came to the bay called *du Chaleur*, and traded with the natives in a very peaceable manner, as they did all along thoſe ſhores on the back of Newfoundland; viewing all the creeks and harbours, till the fifth of Auguſt, when they departed thence homeward, and arrived at S. Malo on the fifth of September (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 201.) French Voyages to North America.

An. 1535, The ſame *Jaques Cartier* ſailed again from S. Malo, May the nineteenth, with three ſhips upon the ſame diſcovery: and after ſuffering much by ſtorms, which parted them, *Cartier* on the twenty-fifth of June came upon the coaſt of Newfoundland in 49 degrees and 40 minutes of latitude, and ſtaying ſome days, was there joined by his other two ſhips. Then they all together entered the great bay on the back of Newfoundland, ſailing to the weſtward; and ſoul weather coming on, anchored in the port of S. Nicholas, where they ſtaid till the ſeventh of Auguſt; and then ſteering to the ſouthward, on the fifteenth came upon the iſland of the *Aſſumption*. Thence he turned again into the great river, and coaſting along it, came to the iſland he called of *Orleans*, in the country of Canada, where he traded amicably with the Indians; and leaving the ſhips there, with fifty men in the boats, he ran fifty leagues higher, where he ſaw the town of *Hochelaga*, conſiſting of about fifty great houſes, each capable of a great number of people, and the town incloſed with a triple fence, all of timber. Returning hence to his ſhips, he went to *Stadacona*, a town about a league from them, to viſit the prince of that part of Canada. In theſe parts he found much fiſh, Indian wheat, and tobacco. He continued here all the winter, diſcovering what was neareſt, and inquiring into the further parts of the country; and in May following returned home with a particular account of the great river of Canada, and the whole country called by that name, or *New France* (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 212.)

This year *D. Pedro de Mendoza* ſailed from S. Lucar with eleven ſhips, and eight hundred men in them, for the river of *Plate*, where he happily arrived, and ſettled the colony of *Buenos Ayres*, which continues and is famous to this day; though the greateſt part of his people periſhed there for want, before they were relieved from Spain (Herrera, dec. 5. lib. IX.) Spaniſh.

An.

English N. America.

An. 1536, Two ſhips were fitted out at London, under the command of Mr. *Hore*, with an hundred and twenty men, for *North America*; of whom we find no account that they did any more than get to Newfoundland, where they were in ſuch want, that they eat up one another; and thoſe that were left, ſurpriſed a French ſhip that came into thoſe parts, and ſo returned home (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 129.)

Spaniſh American Diſcoveries.

An. 1539, *F. Mark de Niza*, with his companion *F. Honoratus*, a Black, whoſe name was *Stephen*, and ſome Indians for interpreters, ſet out on the ſeventh of March from the town of Culiacan at the entrance into the ſtrait of California on the South Sea ſhore, to diſcover the country to the northward by land. *F. Honoratus* fell ſick, and was left behind; and *F. Mark* proceeded to Petathen, ſixty leagues from Culiacan; the people there and all the way paying him extraordinary reſpect, and ſupplying him plentifully with all neceſſaries. Hence he went on to *Vacapa*, and ſent the Black towards the ſea to diſcover that port, who ſoon after ſent meſſengers, deſiring the father to come ſpeedily to him, becauſe he had received information of a country called *Cibola*, where there were ſeven great cities, built with ſtone two ſtories high, and the people well clad; and that it was but thirty days journey from the place where he then was. *F. Mark* ſet out towards this country, and all the way he went the people offered him not only proviſions, but Turky ſtones, earthen diſhes, and other things, whereof he would receive nothing, but what was barely for his and his company's maintenance. He paſſed through a deſart of four days journey, and coming out of it, the people of the firſt towns ran to meet him clad in cotton cloth, or ſkins, with collars and other ornaments of Turky ſtones. Having travelled an hundred and twenty leagues from *Vacapa*, he came into a moſt delightful plain, all inhabited by very civilized people, and ſix days journey over; and then entered into a deſart of fifteen days journey, where an Indian brought him the news that *Stephen* his Black, who had gone all the way before, was killed at *Cibola* by the governor's order; which was confirmed by other Indians that went with him, and had eſcaped. *F. Mark* having with much difficulty perſuaded ſome few Indians to follow him, went on till he came in ſight of *Cibola*, which he viewed from a riſing ground; and afterwards declared it was the beſt city he had ſeen in America, the houſes being two or three ſtories high, and very beautiful; but durſt not go into it, for fear if they ſhould kill him, there would be none to carry back an account of that diſcovery. He therefore returned, having ſeen many good towns in his way, and found people very much civilized; whereof he ſent an account to the viceroy. He alſo was informed, that beyond *Cibola* there were three great and powerful kingdoms, called *Murata*, *Acus*, and *Tonteac*, where the people lived very politely, wove cloth, and had great riches. *Cibola* lies in about 38 or 39 degrees of north latitude (Herrera, dec. 6. lib. VII.)

Upon the news of this great Diſcovery by land, *Cortes* ſent out three ſhips from New Spain, under the command of *D. Franciſco de Ulloa*; who directed his courſe to the north-weſt, run along the back of California, ſearching all that coaſt as far as cape *Enganho*, in the latitude of 30 degrees: but here was no diſcovery of any conſequence made,

made, and *Ulloa* resolving to go further, was never more heard of; another of his three ships had been lost before, and the third, which now left him, returned to New Spain (Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.)

Spanish American Discoveries.

An. 1540, Don *Antony Mendoza*, viceroy of Mexico, upon the information above given by *F. Mark* of the country of *Cibola*, ordered *Francis Vasquez de Cornado*, governor of *New Galicia*, to march thither with some forces, and plant colonies where he thought convenient. *Cornado* set out from *Culiacan* in May, with an hundred and fifty horse and two hundred foot, and store of ammunition and provisions. He directed his course almost north-east, and after a long march of many days came to the first town, where *Stephen* the Black above mentioned was killed. Here they saw five towns, each of about two hundred inhabitants, and the houses of stone and mud, and flat at the top; the country cold, but plentiful, the people clad in skins of beasts. Five days journey to the north-east of *Cibola* is a province called *Tucayan*: all these places gave the Spaniards friendly reception, except the first town of *Cibola*. They travelled seven days further still north-east, and came to the river *Cicuique*, where they found abundance of cows, and then proceeded twenty days without knowing where they were. Here *Cornado* ordered all his forces to stay, except thirty men, and with them he travelled thirty days to the northward, always among abundance of cattle, and on the feast of *St. Peter* and *Paul* came to the river to which he gave those names. Hence they turned into the province of *Quivira*, which is a finer country than most in Europe, and where they saw grapes and several sorts of European fruits, as also flax growing wild: having taken an account of all this country, he returned to his government. In his way outwards he travelled three hundred and thirty leagues, and but two hundred in his return, because he came back the direct way. *Quivira* is in 40 degrees of latitude. *Cornado* was out two years upon his discovery, and was blamed at his return for not having planted a colony.

The same year the Viceroy of Mexico sent out two ships at Acapulco on the South Sea, to discover on that element, whilst *Cornado* travelled by land, and gave the command of them to *Ferdinand d'Alarcon*, who set sail on the ninth of May. Coming to the flats at the entrance of the strait of California, he sent his boats before to sound, and yet run aground; but the tide rising, brought him off, and he run up till he came to a great river, up which he went with his boats, and traded with the Indians for provisions and hides. Having gone very far up this river, *Alarcon* heard tidings of *Cibola*, which was what he looked for, and of the death of *Stephen* the Black. He called the river *Buena Guia*, and returning to his ships, put aboard his boats abundance of provisions and commodities to trade with; resolving to join *Francis Vasquez de Cornado* that way. *Alarcon* went up this river eighty-five leagues, and then hearing no news of *Cornado*, in search of whom he went, he took down the river again to his ships. He proceeded on his voyage many days after up the coast, enquiring for *Cornado* and *Cibola*; till perceiving at last there were no hopes of finding them, he returned to New Spain, having sailed four degrees further than the ships sent by *Cortes* (Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.)

 This

French N. America.

This year ſtill, *Jaques Cartier* before mentioned ſailed from S. Malo with five ſhips on the twenty-third of May, for the coaſt of *Canada* and *Saguenay*: and meeting with very bad weather at ſea, were parted, and came together again after long beating at ſea, in the port of Carpont in *Newfoundland*; and on the twenty-third of Auguſt put into the haven of *Santa Croix*, or the holy croſs, in Canada. Hence the lord of *Roberval* ſailed four leagues further, where he thought a convenient place, and there erected a fort, into which he landed the proviſions and ammunition; and keeping three ſhips with him, ſent back the other two into France. This is the firſt colony I find in *North America*, and the firſt in all that Continent of any nation, except the Spaniards or Portugueſes (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 232.)

Spaniſh S. America.

There occurs another Navigation this year, no leſs remarkable in its way, than any of thoſe already mentioned. *Pizarro* having conquered the mighty empire of *Peru*, guided by his boundleſs ambition travelled up into the inland, and wanting proviſions, ſent captain *Orellana* down the river of the *Amazons* with eighty men in a boat, and ſeveral canoes. He ſet out about the latter end of this year, (1540) and being carried two hundred leagues from the place where he entered, the violence of the current driving the boats twenty-five leagues a-day, he thought he was too far gone to return againſt the ſtream, and therefore held on his way; till in January for want of proviſions his men eat all the leather they had. Being ready to periſh, they came to an Indian town, where they found proviſions, the Indians abandoning it at firſt; but *Orellana* ſpeaking to ſome in the Indian tongue, they all returned, and plentifully furniſhed him with turkeys, partridges, fiſh, and other neceſſaries. Finding theſe Indians ſincere, they ſtaid here twenty days; in which time they built a brigantine, and ſet out again on Candlemas day, and ran two hundred leagues farther without ſeeing any town; when being again in great want, they ſpied ſome Indian dwellings, where they civilly aſked for ſome ſuſtenance, and had abundance of tortoiſes and parrots given them. In the way hence they ſaw good towns, and the next day two canoes came aboard, bringing tortoiſes and good partridges, and much fiſh, which they gave to *Orellana*, who in return gave them ſuch things as he had. Then he landed, and all the Caciques of the country about came to ſee and preſent him with proviſions: ſo that he ſtaid here thirty-five days, and built another brigantine, which he caulked with cotton, and was ſupplied by the Indians with pitch for it. They left this place on the twenty-fourth of April, and running eighty leagues without meeting any warlike Indians, came to a deſart country. May the twelfth they came to the province of *Machiparo*, where many canoes full of Indians ſet upon them; yet they landed ſome men, who brought proviſions from the town in ſpite of the multitudes of natives that oppoſed it, and repulſed the Indians from their boats. Yet when he went off, they purſued him two days and two nights, and therefore when they left him, he reſted three days in a town, whence he drove the inhabitants, and found much proviſion, whereof he laid in good ſtore. Two days after he came to another town as plentiful as the laſt, and where they ſaw much ſilver and gold, but valued it not, being now intent only upon ſaving their lives. In fine, with ſuch-like accidents

dents he run down this vaſt river, ſeeing many towns and large rivers that fell into this; fighting often with the Indians, till he came into the *North Sea*. Theſe Spaniards judged the mouth of the river to be fifty leagues over; that the freſh water ran twenty leagues into the ſea; that the tide riſes and falls five or ſix fathoms, and that they had run along this river eighteen hundred leagues, reckoning all the windings. Being out at ſea, they coaſted along by gueſs with their ſmall veſſels, and after many labours and ſufferings, arrived at laſt in September at the iſland *Cubagua* on the coaſt of Paria, where was then a Spaniſh town, and great pearl fiſhery (Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.)

An. 1542, *John Francis de la Roche*, lord of *Roberval*, whom Francis I. king of France had conſtituted his lieutenant in the countries of *Canada*, *Saguenay*, and *Hochelaga*, ſailed from Rochel with three ſhips, and in them two hundred perſons, as well women as men, on the ſixteenth of April; and by reaſon of contrary winds did not reach *Newfoundland* till the ſeventh of June. Here he made ſome ſtay to refit; and there came into the ſame port *Jaques Cartier* with all his company, who we mentioned went into Canada two years before. He left the country becauſe he was too weak to withſtand the natives; and *Roberval* commanding him now to return with him who had ſtrength enough, he ſtole away in the night, and returned into France. The laſt of June the general ſailed out of port *S. John* in Newfoundland, and ran up the river of Canada till four leagues above the iſland of Orleans, the place now called *Quebec*. Finding here a convenient harbour, he landed and erected a ſtrong and beautiful fort, into which he conveyed his men, proviſions, and all neceſſaries, ſending two ſhips back into France with the account of his proceedings. Being ſettled in this place they ſuffered much hardſhip, their proviſions falling ſhort, but were relieved by the natives. *Roberval* took a journey into the country of *Saguenay* to diſcover, but we have no particulars of this his expedition (Hackluyt, vol. III, p. 240.) French N. America.

This ſame year 1542, *D. Antony Mendoza*, viceroy of Mexico, fitted out two ſhips on the coaſt of the South Sea to diſcover to the northward, under the command of *John Rodriguez Cabrillo*, a PORTUGUESE. He ſailed from the port of Navidad on the twenty-ſeventh of June, and on the twentieth of Auguſt came up with Cape *Engano* on the back of California in 31 degrees of latitude, where *Cortes* his diſcoverers had been before. September the fourteenth they anchored at a Cape they called *de la Cruz*, or of the croſs, in 33 degrees of latitude. October the tenth they traded with ſome peaceable Indians in 35 degrees 20 minutes, and called thoſe the towns of the canoes, becauſe they ſaw many there. On the eighteenth of the ſaid month they anchored at Cape *Galera*, and above it, in a port they called *of Poſſeſſion*, trading with the natives, who go naked, have their faces painted in chequers, and are all fiſhermen. From this time they had many ſtorms, which obliged them to turn back to the iſland *of Poſſeſſion*, where they continued many days by reaſon of the foul weather. At length they put to ſea again, and ſailed to the northward as far as 44 degrees, where the cold was ſo intenſe they could not bear it; and their proviſions now failing, they returned to New Spain; having ſailed further to the northward than any had done on that ſide; (Herrera, dec. 7. lib. V.) Spaniſh Diſcoveries, Coaſt of the Pacific.

Spanish Discoveries, in the Pacific.

An. 1543, The viceroy last mentioned gave the command of two ships, a galley, and two small tenders, to *Ruy Lopez de Villalobos*, to discover the islands to the westward. He sailed from the coast of New Spain on the first of November, and having run an hundred and eighty leagues in 18 degrees and an half of latitude, came to two desart islands about twelve leagues distant from one another, which he called *S. Thoma* and *Anublada*. Eighty leagues further they saw another, and called it *Roca Portida*. Seventy-two leagues beyond it they found an Archipelago of small islands inhabited by a poor people, where they watered; and on the sixth of January passed by ten other islands, which for their pleasantness they called the *Gardens*, all of them in about 9 or 10 degrees of latitude. January the tenth after a great storm, in which they lost their galley, they discovered another island, from which some Indians came in boats, making the sign of the cross, and bidding them good-morrow in Spanish. February the second they came to an island they called *Cæsarea Caroli*, about fifteen hundred leagues from New Spain, where *Villalobos* would have planted a colony, but forbore because the place was unwholsome. This island by its bigness, for he coasted along it sixty leagues to the south, must be *Luzon* or *Manila*, the bigest of the Philippines, and he says it is three hundred and fifty leagues in compass. In a small island near to it he found China ware, musk, amber, civit, benjamin, storax, and other perfumes, as also some gold. Here they resolved to stay, and sowed some grain, which being little, they were reduced to extremity. Hence they removed to the island of *Gilolo* near the *Moluccos*, at the invitation of the king of it; whence they sent two ships at several times to carry news of them to New Spain, which were both forced back by contrary winds. Between the Moluccos and Philippine islands the Spaniards were long tossed, sometimes removing to one, sometimes to another, ever persecuted by the Portuguefes, and suffering great wants; till being quite spent and without hopes of relief, they put themselves into the hands of the Portuguefes, and were by them sent through India into Spain (Herrera, dec. 7. lib. V.)

French N. America.

An. 1562, The French admiral *Chastillon* fitted out two of the king's ships under the command of captain *John Ribault* who sailed with them on the eighteenth of February, and two months after arrived on the coast of *Florida*, where he landed at cape François in about 30 degrees of latitude, but made no stay. Running hence to the northward, he came into the river of May, where he was friendly entertained by the Indians, who presented him with fish, Indian wheat, curious baskets, and skins. He proceeded still northward to the river of Port Royal, about which he saw turkey-cocks, partridges, and several other sorts of birds and wild beasts. The mouth of the river is three leagues over, and he sailed twelve leagues up it, where landing, the natives presented him Chamois skins, fine baskets, and some pearls; and here he erected a pillar with the arms of France. Having taken a view of all the shores of this river, he built a fort here but sixteen fathom in length and thirteen in breadth, with proportionable flanks, in which he left only twenty-six men with provisions, ammunition, and all other necessaries, and called it *Charles Fort*. This done, he sailed some leagues further along the coast, and finding it dangerous, and his provisions almost spent, re-

turned to France. Those left in the new fort discovered up the river, and contracted great friendship with five Indian princes, whose subjects when their provisions failed them, gave them all they had; and when that was spent guided them to other princes southward, who freely presented them with what they wanted. The fort happening accidentally to be burnt down, the Indians of their own accord rebuilt it. The French had lived long in a peaceable manner, and having no enemy abroad they fell out among themselves, and murdered their captain, choosing another in his stead. After which growing weary of the place, they built a small bark and put to sea in it; but their provisions failing, they were all like to perish, and eat one of their company. In this distress they met an English vessel, which set some of them ashore, and carried the rest into England (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 308.)

This same year Mr. *Hawkins* made a voyage to *Guinea*, where having got three hundred Blacks, he sailed over with them to *Hispaniola*, and sold them at good rates. But this being a trading voyage, and not upon discovery, deserves no further mention (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 500.) English.

An. 1564, Captain *Laudonniere* had the command of three ships given him by the king of France, and sailed with them on the twenty-second of April for Florida. He passed by the islands Antilles, and arrived on the coast of Florida on the twenty-second of June. After spending some days along the coast, every where entertained with the greatest tokens of affection by the Indians, he sailed up the river of May, and finding a convenient place erected a fort, which he called *Caroline*, in honour of Charles king of France. The fort finished, *Laudonniere* sent some of his men up the river, who at several times run eighty leagues, always meeting with natives that courted their friendship. After some time many mutinies happened among the French, of whom several went away with two brigantines to the Spanish islands; and having committed some rapine were closely pursued and drove back to Florida, where four of them were hanged. Whilst these mutineers were abroad, *Laudonniere* sent some of his men up the river, who discovered as far as the great lake out of which it runs, and the mountain *Apalache*, in which the Indians said there were rich mines. The following winter the French having exchanged away all their commodities, the Indians forsook them, and they were reduced to great straits, being obliged to use force to get provisions. In the height of their distress, when they had thoughts of venturing to return to France in a small vessel scarce able to contain them, with very slender provisions; Mr. *Hawkins* before-mentioned, who this same year had made another voyage to Guinea, and thence to the West Indies to sell Blacks, and in his way home run along the coast of Florida, coming to the river of May, found the French in this distress, and therefore sold them a ship upon credit; generously supplying them with all they wanted, which done, he sailed away and returned into England. The French were now preparing to depart for France, this being French N. America.

(*An.* 1565,) when in August captain *John Ribault* arrived with seven sail of French ships to take possession of that country. A few days after six great Spanish ships came upon French N. America.

upon the coaſt, and gave chaſe to four of *Ribault*'s that were without the port, which being better ſailers eſcaped; and *Ribault* made out with the other three after them, leaving *Laudonniere* in the fort with eighty-five men, where the Spaniards attacked him, and made themſelves maſter of the fort. *Laudonniere* with ſome of his men eſcaped aboard two ſhips they had in the river, in one of which he arrived in England, and thence into France. *Ribault* with his ſhips as ſoon as he was out of May river met with a dreadful ſtorm, which wrecked them all on the coaſt of Florida; where abundance of his men ſaved themſelves from the ſea, but were afterwards deſtroyed by the Spaniards (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 319, and 349; and Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1604.)

An. 1567, Captain *Gourgues* ſailed from France with three ſhips, and coming to the river of May in Florida, revenged the death of his countrymen, killing all the Spaniards he found there, but did nothing as to diſcoveries (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 356.—Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1604.)

Engliſh North-weſt Paſſage.

An. 1576, Mr. Martin Forbisher with two barks and a pinnace ſet out from *Gravesend* for the diſcovery of a paſſage to China and Cathay by the north-weſt, on the twelfth of June. Sailing about the north of Scotland, on the twenty-eighth of July, and in 62 degrees of latitude, he diſcovered land, which he ſuppoſed to be the continent of America, called *Tierra de Labrador*, with abundance of ice about it. Within a cable's length of the ſhore he found an hundred fathom water; and not being able to anchor ſtood to the north-eaſt, as the coaſt there lies, and by reaſon of the ice could not come within five leagues of the ſhore. The tenth of Auguſt he landed on a deſart iſland: the eleventh, in 63 degrees and 8 minutes latitude he entered a Strait which is called by his own name; the twelfth, he came to S. Gabriel's iſland, and anchored in a bay which he called *Prior's ſound*. The eighteenth, having ſailed north-north-weſt, he came to *Butcher's iſland*, where landing they ſpied ſeven boats: theſe people came aboard and looked like *Tartars*, with long black hair, broad faces and flat noſes, of a tawny complexion, clad in ſeal-ſkins, the boats alſo made of ſeal-ſkins with a wooden keel. The twenty-ſixth, one of theſe men came aboard, and the boat going to ſet him aſhore, was taken by thoſe ſavages with all the men. Having ſtaid a day in hopes to recover them, and no ſigns appearing, he ſailed homewards, and arrived at Harwich on the firſt of October (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 29. 57.)

An. 1577, Mr. *Forbiſher* ſailed the ſecond time, on the twenty-ſixth of May, with a ſhip of two hundred tons and two barks, and in them an hundred and forty men, upon the ſame Diſcovery he had attempted the foregoing year. June the ſeventh, he arrived at the iſles of *Orkney*, and July the fourth at *Frieſland*: the ſixteenth, he came to his Strait diſcovered the laſt year, and much ice appearing durſt not venture in with his ſhip, but went with two pinnaces, and took one of the ſavages aſhore. July the nineteenth, the ice driving away the ſhips, he run into the Strait, and anchored in a bay which they called *Jackman's ſound*: here he landed with moſt of his men, and having

travelled

travelled some way and found nothing to satisfy his desires, he coasted a little in the barks and boats, both east and west; and though he saw several people, could take none but a woman and her child; and therefore on the fourth of August came to that he called *Anne Warwick's Sound and Island*. Here he used all possible means to bring the natives to trade, or give some account of themselves, but they were so wild, that they only studied how to destroy the English. *Forbisher* this year did not run above thirty leagues up the Strait, and the winter drawing on returned into England, having loaded his vessels with a sort of shining sand and stones, which he imagined to be gold, but it proved a fallacy (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 32. 60.)

English North-west Passage.

An. 1578, The noise of gold pretended to be found, and the hopes of a Passage, encouraged people to prosecute this Voyage; and fifteen sail of ships provided for it met at Harwich, carrying a wooden fort ready framed to be set up in the golden country discovered, and an hundred men that were to be left there. The thirty-first of May they left Harwich, and the second of July came into *Forbisher's Strait*, which they found choaked up with ice; and as they struggled to work through it, a sudden storm arose and so enclosed them with mountains of ice, that it was wonderful they did not all perish. One vessel of an hundred tons was lost, but the men saved; two others had not been seen in twenty days before, and four that were fartherest out at sea best escaped the danger of the ice, clearing themselves of it in time. Being got out of this danger by the wind turning to the north-west, and into sea-room, they were driven down by the current to the southward of *Forbisher's* strait, and run into another about 60 leagues; without knowing where they were, the cloudy weather obstructing their making an observation. Returning out of it again, most of the scattered fleet met and made for *Forbisher's Strait*, in hopes of those golden mountains, but found others of ice to obstruct their passage. After many other difficulties *Forbisher* with most of the ships worked his way through, and on the thirty-first of July reached his long desired port of the *Countess of Warwick's Sound*. Here they landed, and thought of erecting the house or fort brought from England: but part of it being lost in the ship cast away; and more of it, as also of the provisions not yet come, being in four ships, the design of inhabiting them was laid aside. The other ships that had been missing, after hard struggling with ice and storms, joined the fleet. Here they set their miners to work, and loaded abundance of ore, which done, they directed their course for England, whither they returned in safety (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 39. 74.)

The same year, 1582, *Francis d'Ovalle* sailed from *Acapulco*, and running to the westward about eighteen hundred leagues, came to the island *del Engano*, the fartherest of those called *de los Ladrones*, in thirteen degrees of north latitude: thence he held on his course westward two hundred and eighty leagues, to *Cabo del Espiritu Santo*, or the Cape of the *Holy Ghost*, in the island of *Tandaya*, the first of the Philippines. He spent several days in the narrow channels among these islands, shaping his course diversely as they would permit; and coming out into the open sea run up into the bay of Manila, now the metropolis of the Philippine islands, lying in 14 degrees and a quarter.

First Voyage from New Spain to China.

quarter. Returning out of this bay, he made over to the coaſt of China, and arrived in the port of Macao. Here he furniſhed himſelf with neceſſaries, and turning again to the eaſtward paſſed through the iſlands called *Lequios*, whence he held his courſe eaſt, and eaſt and by north, never touching any where, or meeting with any land till he came upon the coaſt of California in 38 degrees and an half of latitude. From this place he ran ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth-eaſt and by ſouth to cape S. Lucas, which is five hundred leagues from the north cape called *Mendocino*, whence he continued his voyage ſucceſsfully back to the port of Acapulco. (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 442.) This voyage is inſerted becauſe it is the firſt from *New Spain* to *China*, and the firſt that found the way of returning to New Spain by the northward; for want of which knowledge, many ſhips that attempted to return from the Moluccos to America, were ſtill beaten back, there being no poſſibility of returning the way they go, which is near the line, where the eaſterly winds continually reign.

English Voyages to N. America.

An. 1583, On the eleventh of June Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* ſailed from the weſt of England with five veſſels, and in them two hundred and ſixty men, deſigning to plant a Colony in ſome part of North America. On the thirteenth, the biggeſt ſhip ſtole away by night, and returned to Plymouth, there being a contagious diſtemper among the men. July the thirtieth, he came upon the back of *Newfoundland*, which is about fifty leagues from the coaſt, and has at leaſt twenty-five or thirty fathom water, and about ten leagues over, lying like a long ridge of mountains in the ſea; for on each ſide of it there are above two hundred fathom water. He came upon the coaſt, and running along it put into *S. John's harbour*, where he anchored among abundance of fiſhermen of ſeveral countries, who were there before. Here he went aſhore, and took poſſeſſion. One of his ſhips had before played the pirate at ſea, robbing a French veſſel; and here his men run away with a ſhip laden with fiſh, and others hid themſelves: ſo that finding too few men for his ſhips, ſome being ſick, he put them into one of his veſſels, and ſent it home, remaining now with only three. Auguſt the twentieth, he ſailed from port S. John, and the next day came up with cape Raz, in 46 degrees 25 minutes latitude. Turning from hence to the weſtward towards *Cape Breton*, eighty-ſeven leagues diſtant, they ſpent eight days in the paſſage; and coming among the flats, the biggeſt ſhip of the three was caſt away, and nothing ſaved except a few men in the boat. Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* was not aboard the ſhip caſt away: the other two left reſolved to return home, but by the way the ſmall veſſel Sir *Humphrey* was in periſhed, the other arrived ſafe at Dartmouth (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 143.)

An. 1584, Mr. *Philip Amadas*, and Mr. *Arthur Barlow*, ſailed on the twenty-ſeventh of April from the weſt of England in two barks, to diſcover in America. On the tenth of June they came among the iſlands of America, much more to the ſouthward than they had deſigned. July the fourth, they diſcovered the Continent, and ſailed along the coaſt four leagues till they came to a river on the thirteenth, where they anchored, and going aſhore took poſſeſſion. This place they afterwards found to be the iſland of *Wokoken*, on the coaſt of Virginia, in 34 degrees of latitude, and in it

deer,

deer, rabbits, hares, fowl, vines, cedars, pines, saſſafras, cypreſs, and maſtich trees. The natives from the Continent repaired to the ſhips, and exchanged ſeveral ſorts of ſkins, white coral, and ſome pearls, for tin things, and other trifles. The country is fruitful, producing all things in a very ſhort time. The natives called it *Wingandacoa*, and the Engliſh *Virginia*: going aſhore they were entertained with extraordinary civility at a little village, and heard news of a great city up the country, but ſaw it nor. They made no long ſtay here, nor proceeded any further upon diſcovery, only juſt to the neighbouring parts in their boats, and returned to England in September, bringing two of the natives with them (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 246.)

Engliſh Voyages to N. America.

An. 1585, On the ninth of April, Sir *Richard Greenvil* departed from Plymouth with ſeven ſail; and after touching at the iſlands of *Puerto Rico*, and *Hiſpaniola*, on the twenty-ſixth of June came to an anchor at the iſland *Wokoken* in Virginia, where the admiral's ſhip was loſt through the ignorance of the pilot. Here Mr. *Lane* was ſet aſhore with above an hundred men to ſettle a colony, with all neceſſaries for that purpoſe. Then the admiral returned to England, and the new planters made ſeveral diſcoveries up the country, finding it every where plentiful and pleaſant. Here they continued a year, at the end whereof the natives conſpiring to deſtroy them, and no relief as yet coming from England, they returned home aboard Sir *Francis Drake*'s ſhips, which happened to touch there after his expedition to the Spaniſh plantations (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 251.—Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1645.)

The ſame year, 1585, on the ſeventh of June, Mr. John Davis ſailed from Dartmouth with two barks, for the diſcovery of the *North-Weſt Paſſage to China*. July the nineteenth they met with much ice, and on the twenty-ninth diſcovered land bearing north-eaſt of them in 64 degrees 15 minutes latitude. Here they went aſhore, and found a tractable ſort of people, with whom they dealt for ſeals ſkins, and ſeveral ſorts of leather. Auguſt the firſt, they proceeded on their diſcovery to the north-weſt, and on the ſixth, came into 66 degrees and 40 minutes free from ice, and landed under an hill which they called mount *Raleigh*, where they ſaw no inhabitants, but many white bears. The eighth they coaſted on, and the eleventh found themſelves in a Paſſage twenty leagues wide, and free from ice, along which they ſailed ſixty leagues; and ſearching all about found many iſlands and ſeveral harbours, with all appearances of a further paſſage: yet the winds proving contrary to proceed, they returned for England, and arrived at Dartmouth on the thirtieth of September (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 98.)

Engliſh North-Weſt Paſſage.

An. 1586, Mr. *Davis* ſailed the ſecond time on the ſeventh of May, with one ſhip, two barks, and a ſmall pinnace, upon the ſame diſcovery. The fifteenth of June, he diſcovered land in the latitude of 60 degrees, but could not come near it for ice, till the twenty-ninth he came to land in 64 degrees latitude; and went aſhore on an iſland, where he traded very friendly with the natives for ſeals, ſtags, and white hares ſkins, and dried fiſh and ſome fowl. Here he continued ſome days trading with the natives, who were very thievith; at his departure he brought away one of them with him. He run into 66 degrees 20 minutes latitude, and then coaſted ſouthward again

to 56 degrees, where in a good harbour he continued till September; and failing thence in 54 degrees, found an open ſea tending weſtward, which they hoped might be the Paſſage ſo long ſought for: but the weather proving tempeſtuous, they returned to England in October (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 103.)

The ſame year, 1586, Sir *Richard Greenvil* returned to Virginia with three ſhips to relieve the colony left by him there; which being gone, as was ſaid before, he left fifteen men on the iſland *Roanouk* with proviſions for two years, and then returned to England (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 265.)

This year alſo was begun the Voyage round the World by Sir *Thomas Candiſh*, which may be ſeen among the Voyages about the globe after theſe Weſt India Diſcoveries.

An. 1587, Mr. *John Davis* on the nineteenth of May ſailed with three ſmall veſſels, upon his third voyage for Diſcovery of a Paſſage to the north-weſt. June the eighteenth, they came to an anchor on the northern American coaſt, and the twentieth, were in 67 degrees 40 minutes latitude in an open ſea; and then ſteering weſtward ran forty leagues, where meeting with much ice, and the north wind driving them from their intended northerly courſe, they were forced to ſeek the open ſea again. The twentieth, they had ſight of the Straits they diſcovered the year before, and ſailed up it 60 leagues; and having landed without finding any thing more than the year before, came out again to the wide ſea; then they coaſted along to the ſouthward as far as 52 degrees of latitude, whence they returned home, without doing any thing of note (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 111.)

Engliſh Voyages to N. America.

The ſame year, 1587, Sir *Walter Raleigh* provided three veſſels, to carry over to Virginia an hundred and fifty men, to ſettle a colony there under the command of *John White*. They ſailed from Plymouth on the eighth of May; and having ſpent ſeveral days among the Spaniſh American iſlands, arrived at laſt on the twenty-ſecond of July at *Hatoroſk* in Virginia; whence croſſing over to the iſland *Roanoak*, they found the fifteen Engliſh, left there the year before, were killed by the natives. Here the new planters were ſet aſhore with all their proviſions, goods, and ammunition, and the ſhips returned into England; carrying with them the governor to ſolicit for ſpeedy ſupplies to be ſent to the new colony (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 280.)

An. 1590, *John White* returned to Virginia, to the place where he had left the Colony, but found none of the men; only an inſcription on a tree, ſignifying they were removed to *Croatoan*, another iſland on the coaſt; and many cheſts broke up, and ſome lumber belonging to them, ſcattered about the place. In going aſhore here a boat was overſet, and a captain with ſix men drowned; the reſt with much difficulty got aboard again, leaving behind them ſeveral caſks they had carried to fill with freſh water. They had ſpent much time before they came hither, ranging about the Spaniſh iſlands; and the ſeaſon being now ſtormy, they were forced to return to England, without ſo much as knowing what was become of the colony (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 288.)

An.

An. 1602, Captain *Gosnels* failed from Falmouth on the twenty-sixth of March, and on the fourteenth of April discovered land in about 40 degrees of north latitude; and having spent some days sounding along the coast, on the twenty-fourth came upon *Elizabeth's island*, in 41 degrees 10 minutes, and four leagues from the Continent. This island was not inhabited, but overgrown with trees and shrubs of all sorts, and in it a pool of fresh water, about two miles in compass; one side of it not above thirty yards from the sea, and in the midst of it a small rocky island about an acre in extent, all covered with wood, where the captain designed to build a fort, and leave some men. The thirty-first, he went over to take a view of the Continent, which he found a most delicious and fruitful country, and the natives peaceable and friendly. Having taken this small view of the country, and the men refusing to be left on that desart place, he returned for England (Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1651.)

English Voyages to N. America.

An. 1603, Captain *Samuel Champlain* of *Brouage*, sailed from the port of *Honfleur* in Normandy on the fifth of March for Canada. The second of May, they came upon the bank of Newfoundland in 44 degrees 20 minutes of latitude. The twelfth, they came upon cape *S. Mary*, and the twentieth to the island of the *Assumption*, at the mouth of the river of Canada. He ran up it an hundred leagues, to the little port of *Tadoussac* on the north side of Canada, and at the mouth of Sanguenay river, where they contracted strict friendship with the natives: he ran twelve leagues up the river Sanguenay, all which way is a mountainous country, and the river deep and wide. Next they run up the great river of Canada as far as that of the *Iroquois*, and thence to the first great fall of the river, which tumbles down there about two fathom with an incredible fury; and the Indians told them there were ten more falls, though not so great, beyond the first. After discovering thus much, and getting information of several great lakes up the country, and of a boundless ocean at four hundred leagues distance westward, they returned to *Tadoussac*; and spending some days more in searching the great and lesser rivers, and getting intelligence of the country, they sailed back into France (Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1605.)

This same year, 1603, two vessels of Bristol, and one of London, made their voyages to *Virginia*, in which there was nothing remarkable, except that the last of them run up into *Chesapeac* Bay in about 37 degrees of latitude, where the captain going ashore, was killed with four men; upon which the rest presently returned home (Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1654, and 1656.)

An. 1604, Monsieur *de Monts* having obtained a patent from Henry IV. king of France, for peopling the countries of *Acadie* and *Canada*, he sailed for those parts with two ships well manned, and Monsieur *de Potrincourt* with him. They were kept long at sea by contrary winds, and met with much ice; but on the sixth of May they put into a port in the south of Acadie, which they called *Rossignol*; because there they took a French ship, commanded by a captain of that name, being confiscate for trading there contrary to the king's patent. Then doubling *Cape Sable*, the southermost of that country, they ran up to the northward, in a large bay to that of S. Mary, and thence to a convenient harbour, which they called *Port Royal*; which Monsieur

de Potrincourt demanded a grant of, to settle a colony and inhabit there, and had it given him. They proceeded still further up to Cape *Mines*, so called because of some found there, and into the river of S. John; and then turning back, erected a fort in a small island twenty leagues from the said river, resolving to settle there, and calling it the island of *Sante Croix*, or the *Holy Cross*: it is small, but very fruitful, and lies as it were hid among many others. Here winter coming on, and the fort being ill seated, as exposed to the north, the men suffered very much through extremity of cold and deep snows; and being forced to cross a great river for water and wood, many of them were dangerously sick. This hard season being over, Monsieur *de Monts* searched all the coast, in a small vessel he built, to discover a more convenient place to settle, and at last pitched upon Port Royal; where he left part of his men, and returned himself to France (Purchas. vol. IV. p. 1620.)

An. 1605, And on the last day of March, captain *George Weymouth* with one ship sailed from the Downs, and on the eighteenth of May came to an anchor in S. George's island on the coast of Virginia, where he found great plenty of fish; and two days after removed into an excellent port, which he called *Pentecost* harbour. Then he run up a great river twenty-six miles, and found it fit to receive and secure any number of ships. The natives of this coast traded in a friendly manner for several days, but were found at last to be treacherous, as only contriving by their fair shew of kindness to draw the English into their power; who being aware of them in time, broke off the correspondence, and returned into England without making any considerable advantage of this small discovery (Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1659.)

French. *An.* 1606, Monsieur *de Monts*, and Monsieur *de Potrincourt*, sailed again from Rochel with one ship of an hundred and fifty ton. The twenty-eighth of June they came upon the bank of *Newfoundland*, and making the shore, coasted all along to *Port Royal*, where they had before left their colony, and anchored at the mouth of the harbour on the twenty-sixth of July. Here they found but two Frenchmen, the rest being gone with their small vessel towards Newfoundland; but soon returned, being met by a pinnace belonging to this last come ship, left to coast along close by the shore. Here they settled a-new, viewed all the country about for a more convenient seat for their town, were most obligingly treated by the natives, and planted, and had crops of all sorts of European grain and garden-stuff: yet after all, the Colony was forsaken, not for any defect in the country, as may appear by what has been said; but because new measures were taken in France, and the supplies that should have been sent them were employed another way (Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1627.)

English Voyages to N. America. The same year, 1606, on the twentieth of December, three ships sailed from London, commanded by captain *Newport*, to settle a colony in *Virginia*; and passing among the Spanish American islands, on the twenty-sixth of April came into the bay of Chesapeac, where they presently landed, and had some men hurt in a skirmish with the natives. The twenty-seventh, they marched eight miles up the country, and the twenty-eighth went up the bay in their boats, where they always found shallow water; but returning, they fell into a channel six, eight, and ten fathom deep, which

was

was a satisfaction, and therefore they called the point of land next it, Cape *Comfort*. The point at the mouth of the bay they called Cape *Henry*. The following days they surveyed all the shores in their boats, being civilly treated every where by the Indians; and running up *Powhatan* river, found a place where their ships could lie moored to the trees in six fathom water. Here on the fourteenth of May, they landed all their men, and fell to work to fortify themselves; resolving to settle their Colony, as they did, giving it the name of *James Town*: which is the first plantation of the English in Virginia that continued, as it does to this day. June the twenty-second, Captain *Newport* in the Admiral, was sent back into England. In the colony were left an hundred and four men with little provision, and therefore they were soon reduced to great extremities; many also dying of diseases peculiar to that country. But in their greatest distress, the natives, who before had been their enemies, supplied them with plenty of all sorts of victuals, which recovered the sick men, and was the saving of the colony. Every year after ships arrived from England with supplies, till the new town grew to a considerable body, and sent out other colonies to the parts adjacent, where they were thought necessary, till they made themselves masters of that northern part of America. The relation is too long any more than to be hinted as above, but to be seen at large in Purchas, (vol. IV. p. 1705.)

An. 1610, Mr. *Hudson* again undertook the discovery of a North-West Passage, which had been laid aside for some years, and proceeded an hundred leagues further than any before him had done; giving names to some places, to be seen in the maps; as *Desire provokes*, *Isle of God's Mercies*, *Prince Henry's Cape*, *King James's Cape*, and *Queen Anne's Cape*: but he could proceed no farther for ice. English North-West Passage.

An. 1611, Sir *Thomas Button*, at the instigation of prince Henry, whose servant he was, pursued the North-West Discovery. He passed *Hudson's Strait*, and leaving Hudson's bay to the south, sailed above two hundred leagues to the south westward, through a sea above eighty fathom deep, and discovered a great Continent, called by him *New Wales*; where after much misery and sickness, wintering at *Port Nelson*, he carefully searched all the bay, from him called *Button's bay*, back again almost to *Digg's island*. He discovered the great land called *Cary's Swansnest*. He lost many men during his stay in the river called *Port Nelson*, in 57 degrees 10 minutes of north latitude; though he kept three fires in his ship all winter, and had great store of white partridges, and other fowl, besides deer, bears, and foxes.

An. 1612, Mr. *Richard Moore* was sent in April, with one ship and sixty men, to inhabit the *Summer islands*, otherwise called *Bermudas*, long before discovered by the Spaniards, who after some attempts to settle there, abandoned them; and were after accidentally found by Sir *Thomas Gate* and Sir *George Summers*, who were shipwrecked upon them, and lived there nine months; during which time they built a ship and a pinnace with the cedar growing there, and in 1610 sailed away for *Virginia*, leaving only two men in the great island. A ship sent thither from Virginia left only three men in the island, who found there amber-greece to the value of nine or ten thousand pounds. Mr. *Moore*, at his coming this year, found those three men in perfect health. He settled Bermudas, 1612.

settled a colony, and continued there three years, being relieved from time to time, till they amounted to above six hundred inhabitants; who built several forts, but had like to have been themselves destroyed by an infinite number of rats, which increased from a few coming ashore out of a ship, and continued for four years devouring all the growth of the country; notwithstanding all possible means were used to destroy them.

An. 1612, *James Hall* and *William Baffin* returned into England, having discovered *Cockin's sound* in 65 degrees 2 minutes latitude, and tried the mine at *Cunningham's River*, which they found to be worth nothing.

An. 1615, Mr. *Baffin* went again, and the chief thing he discovered was, that there is no Passage in the north of *Davis's Strait.*

An. 1616, Mr. *Baffin* was sent the third time, and entered Sir *Thomas Smith's Bay* in 78 degrees of latitude; and returned, despairing of finding any passage that way.

An. 1620, A ship sailed from Plymouth for *New England* on the sixth of September; though we have not the commander's name, nor what force his ship was of. It is also here to be observed, that all the northern coast from about 60 to 40 degrees of north latitude, was first discovered by *Sebastian Cabot*; and afterwards at several times by *Corterea*l a Portuguese; as has been set down in their proper places, and by sundry English and French discoverers: to particularize every one of whose voyages would swell a volume, and therefore only the principal Discoveries and Plantations are here set down, as most suitable to the nature of this Discourse, and the intended brevity. This ship we now speak of, anchored in the bay at *Cape Cod* in New England, and in 41 degrees and an half of north latitude, on the eleventh of November. Here they put out their boat, and landed men; who went some miles into the country several ways without meeting any people, and only found some little Indian wheat buried, the boat coasting along the shore. This they continued for several days, seeking out some proper place to settle. At length on the twenty-third of December, they pitched upon a place to their mind, and fell to work to building their houses, dividing themselves into nineteen families, that the fewer houses might serve. About this place they found no people, but were told by an Indian, who came to them from the next part inhabited, that the natives there had all died lately of a plague. This savage brought some of the neighbouring people to them, by whom they concluded peace and amity. The following year this new colony was reinforced with thirty-five men from England, and supplied with provisions and necessaries, and called *New Plimouth* in New England. A war soon breaking out with another Indian prince, the English fortified their colony to secure themselves against all attempts of their enemies. From hence all other colonies were by degrees sent into other parts of the country; of which it were too tedious to give any further account (Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1842.)

An. 1631, Captain *James* sailing into the north-west, was much pestered with ice in June and July; and entering a great bay near port *Nelson*, he named the land *New South Wales.* Roving up and down these seas, he gave names to these places discovered

covered by him, viz. Cape *Henrietta Maria*, *Lord Weſton's Iſland*, *Earl of Briſtol's Iſland*, *Sir Thomas Roe's Iſland*, *Earl of Danby's Iſland*, and *Charlton Iſland*. He wintered there in 52 degrees 3 minutes latitude, and returned home the following year, 1632, having diſcovered much beyond *Hudſon*, *Button*, and *Baffin*.—The Danes have attempted to diſcover in theſe northern parts, but there is nothing remarkable in their actions.

An. 1667, *Zachariah Gillam*, in the *Nonſuch* ketch, paſſed through *Hudſon's Strait*, and then into *Baffin's Bay*, to 75 degrees of latitude, and thence ſoutherly into 51 degrees; where in a river called *Prince Rupert's River*, he had a friendly correſpondence with the natives; built a fort, which he called *Charles Fort*, and returned with ſucceſs, having laid the foundation of an advantageous trade in thoſe parts.

An. 1669, Captain *John Narbrough*, afterwards Sir *John Narbrough*, ſailed in the *Sweepſtakes*, a man of war of three hundred ton, thirty-ſix guns, and eighty men and boys, with a pink of ſeventy ton and nineteen men, both ſent out at the charge of his majeſty king *Charles* II. and his royal highneſs the Duke of York, to make a farther Diſcovery on the coaſt of *Chile*. On the twenty-firſt of October the year following, he came to the mouth of the ſtraits of Magellan, and through them to the South Sea, about the middle of November; having taken a moſt exact ſurvey of that paſſage, which is made public in his voyage. On the twenty-ſixth of November he went aſhore on the ſmall iſland called *Neuſtra Senora del Socorro*, or *our Lady of Succour*; where he watered, but found no people. Holding on his courſe to the northward, on the fifteenth of December he ſent his boat, with the lieutenant in her, aſhore on the ſouth ſide of *port Baldivia*, which is in 39 degrees 56 minutes of ſouth latitude. Here the lieutenant and three others going aſhore to a Spaniſh fort, were detained, and the ſhip ſailed away without them. From hence captain *Narbrough* turned again to the ſouthward, and through the Strait of Magellan returned into England; where he arrived in June following, having been out above two years. Survey of the Straits of Magellan, 1669.

An. 1673, On the thirteenth of May, *F. Marquette* a Jeſuit, with only ſix other Frenchmen, ſet out in two canoes from the *Lac des Puans*, or the *Stinking Lake*, in the province of Canada in North America; and paſſing through the provinces of *Folle Avoine* and *Iliquois*, Indians in peace with France, ſometimes carrying their boats by land, and ſometimes being carried in them, they came at length to the great river *Miſſiſſipi*. They ran many leagues along this river through a deſart country, their courſe always ſouth, though ſometimes bending eaſt, and ſometimes weſt. At the end of ſeveral days ſolitude, they came among ſavage Indians, were friendly received, and heard that the ſea was within two or three days ſail of them; which was the gulph of Mexico. Thus he diſcovered all that inland part of North America along the river, from 38 to 34 degrees of north latitude, lying on the back of Canada, Virginia, &c. down to Florida. The particulars of this voyage may be ſeen in *Thevenot's* ſmall collection of voyages in octavo. French explore the Miſſiſſipi.

An. 1680, and 1681, Captain *Sharp* having been buccaneering in the South Sea, and not able to recover the ſtrait of Magellan to return home, he ran further to the ſouth

ſouth beyond *le Maire*'s and *Brower*'s, till he came into 60 degrees of ſouth latitude; meeting with many iſlands of ice, and abundance of ſnow, froſt, and whales, and called a ſmall place he found the *Duke of York's iſland*. Thus he came into the North Sea a new way, and made it appear that the land in the ſtraits of *le Maire*, and *Brower*, muſt be iſlands, and not joined to any continent.—(Introduction to the account of ſeveral late diſcoveries, printed in 1694, p. 13.)

Extent of Coaſt diſcovered.

Here we may conclude with the American Voyages and Diſcoveries, having run along from north to ſouth on the eaſt ſide of that new world, or along that commonly called the *North Sea*; and back from ſouth to north along the weſt ſide, or *South Sea*. It follows next, as was done, after the eaſtern diſcoveries, to ſhew the extent of this vaſt tract of land thus found, and what benefits the world has received by this navigation.—The whole length of what has been diſcovered, is from 78 degrees of north latitude, in which Sir *Thomas Smith's* Bay lies, to 60 degrees of ſouth latitude, in all an hundred and thirty-eight degrees; which, allowing twenty leagues to a degree, in a ſtrait line amounts to two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty leagues, a thing almoſt incredible, were it not ſo well known, that ſo great and ſtupendous a part of the world ſhould lie concealed ſo many ages; being never known ſince the creation, till about three hundred years ago. Now to deſcend to particulars:—from 80 to almoſt 50 degrees of north latitude being 30 degrees, and according to the rate above of twenty leagues to a degree, ſix hundred leagues; the extremity of the cold, which is there more fierce than in the parts of Europe under the like elevation, renders that part little regarded, and conſequently not inhabited by any European nation, though much of it be peopled by ſavages, living there little better than brutes: and all the advantage made of thoſe northern nations is the fiſhery of whales and morſes; the former for their oil and bone, and the latter for their teeth, which are finer than ivory. The *next* diviſion, beginning above 50 degrees of north latitude, and reaching to about 44, is *Canada* or *New France*; running up the river of Canada above two hundred leagues into the Continent, and poſſeſſed by the French, who have there ſeveral colonies, and trade with the natives for furs. Next to Canada is *New England*, lying along the ſea-coaſt, north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, about ſeventy miles, ſubject to the crown of England, and their chief trade furs, flax, hemp, and ſome corn. After it follows *New York*, the trade much the ſame with thoſe ſpoken of. Then comes *Penſylvania*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, almoſt north and ſouth for above an hundred leagues of Engliſh conqueſt, and the principal commodity tobacco. *Carolina* is next in courſe, being a part of the great province of *Florida*, lying between 29 and 36 degrees of latitude, and therefore about an hundred and forty leagues in length: it has been poſſeſſed by the Engliſh but of latter years, in the reign of king Charles II, from whom it took the name; and being ſo lately ſubdued, the returns of it are not yet great, but much is hoped from it. *Florida* is a vaſt part of the Continent, reaching above two hundred and fifty leagues from north to ſouth, and above four hundred from eaſt to weſt, beſides a large province of it ſhooting out into the ſea, where begins the *channel of Bahama*: part of it is ſubject to the Spaniards, and a greater part

not yet conquered; so that it affords no great profit. But now follows the great and wealthy kingdom of *Mexico*, running above an hundred and thirty leagues almost north and south; and about the same length upon a turn it makes in the south part towards the east, including the great peninsula of *Yucatan*, above three hundred leagues in compass. In this vast dominion, entirely subject to Spain, is to be found in great plenty all that is necessary and convenient for human life, except wine and oil; and from it Europe is supplied with great store of silver, cochineel, indigo, cacao, bairullas, cotton, mechoacan, and many other precious commodities. Whence to *Porto Bello* the coast runs partly near east and west, and partly almost north and south, above three hundred and fifty leagues of countries incredibly rich, and affording all the commodities abovementioned, more plenty of gold, and many other precious things. From *Nombre de Dios* to *Cabo de Galera*, taking it in a straight line, the Coast runs east and west about four hundred and fifty leagues, all still Spanish, and abounding in wealth; particularly the pearl-fishery on the coast of *Paria*, and the rich emeralds up the inland. From Cape *Galera* to *Cabo de Conde*, along the coast of *Caribana*, lying south-east, and north-west, about two hundred and fifty leagues, and thence to *Caparare* more southerly about an hundred and twenty leagues, in all three hundred and seventy; all this for the most part unconquered, and peopled by savage Indians. From Cape *Caparare* to *Cabo de Natal* about four hundred leagues east and west, somewhat southerly; and from *Cabo de Natal* to *Rio de Janeiro* almost north and south near four hundred leagues, and so to *Logoa de Pernaba* an hundred and fifty leagues, in all nine hundred leagues; all this tract of land, commonly known by the name of BRASIL, and subject to the crown of Portugal, yielding abundance of tobacco and sugar, infinite quantities of Brasil wood, which gives the name to the country, and of late years a gold mine found in it, which yields considerable treasure.—From *Lagoa de Pernaba* to the river of *Plate*, about three hundred leagues south-west and north-east, under the dominion of Spain: from the mouth of the river of *Plate*, running up the Continent on the back of Brasil, the Spanish dominions reach quite across to *Peru*, being at least four hundred leagues, and above as much north and south in the inland; being fruitful countries, almost overrun with flocks and herds of all sorts of cattle, whence they send abundance of hides to Spain, and much silver, which they have from *Peru* by way of trade. From the mouth of the river of *Plate* to the entrance into the Strait of *Magellan*, south-west and north-east four hundred leagues; all this country is inhabited only by savage Indians, and was never subdued by any European nation: therefore yielding no profit, though fruitful and good land. *Terra del Fuego*, or *Terra Magellanica*, lying to the south of the Strait, is little known, and not worth conquering by reaon of its coldness, and therefore no more needs be said of it. *The Strait of Magellan* is about an hundred leagues in length, and coming out of it into the South Sea, from Cape *Victoria* to *Rio de los Gallegos*, about two hundred leagues; all still the country of the *Patagones*, never inhabited by Christians, nor yielding them any benefit.—But here begins the *Coast of Chile*, extending above three

Extent of Coast discovered.

Extent of Coast discovered.

hundred leagues; a Country infinitely rich in gold, for which the silver is neglected, though it has plenty of it, and yielding the most precious natural balsam in the world; all subject to Spain, as is the whole Coast on the South Sea up to 40 degrees of north latitude, for which reason it will be needless to repeat it.—*Peru* reaches four hundred leagues north-west and south-east, well known for its inexhaustible silver mines of *Potosi* and *Porco*. Next is the province of *Quito*, about an hundred leagues along the coast north and south. Then the firm land, or Continent so called peculiarly, and provinces of *Panama* and *Veragua*, above an hundred leagues north-east and south-west, and north-west and south-east. After this follows the government of *Guatemala*, near three hundred and fifty leagues along the Coast, north-west and south-east; and then that of *Mexico* two hundred and fifty leagues, abounding in gold, silver, all useful woods, rich drugs, cotton, and many other precious commodities. Lastly, *New Mexico* reaching up to 40 degrees of north latitude, being about four hundred leagues; a rich country in silver mines, and plentiful in cattle, corn, and all other blessings for human life.—Having run along both sides of AMERICA, and given a particular of each division, as to extent, product, and by whom possessed, as far as the brevity of this discourse would permit; it is fit to note, that all the lengths are here taken in a strait line, and not winding with the shores, which would make them double what is computed; and, as in such vast extents, not pretended to be measured to exactness, but according to the general computation of sailors. The total thus amounts to *six thousand five hundred leagues*, taking only the greatest windings of the coast, and this along what is conquered by Europeans; excepting only the seven hundred leagues of the land of the *Patagones* about the Strait of Magellan, and two hundred and fifty or thereabouts, of *Caribana*, not so well subdued. And to sum up the commodities we have from these countries; the principal are gold, silver, pearls, emeralds, amethists, cochineal of several sorts, indigo, anatto, logwood, Brasil, Nicaragua wood, brasilette, sustick, *lignum vitæ*, sugar, ginger, cacao, bairullas, cotton, red wool, tobacco of various sorts, snuff, hides raw and tanned, amber-greece of all sorts, bezoar, balsam of Tolu, of Peru, and of Chile, jesuit's bark, jallap, mechoacan, sarsaparilla, sassafras, tamarinds, cassia, and many other things of lesser note. It only remains now to add a word concerning the ISLANDS belonging to this mighty Continent.—The first of these, beginning northerly, is *Newfoundland*, above three hundred leagues in compass, peopled by French and English, who have some colonies in it fruitful enough, were it well cultivated; yet it yields no commodity to export from the land: but the sea is an inexhausted treasure, furnishing all Europe with salt and dried fish; which yield a mighty profit to those that follow the Fishery, and is a general benefit to all men. The next are the *Bermudas*, or *Summer Islands*, lying above three hundred leagues east from the coast of Virginia; the biggest of them is not twenty miles long, and not above two or three in breadth, the others much smaller: yet here is a strong colony of English, the land being delightful to live in, producing all things for human life plentifully, and the trade is some cochineal,

neal, amber-greece, and pearl; it used to send abroad the fairest oranges in these parts, but they have failed of late years. Off the coast of Florida are the islands called *Lucayos*, the first discovered by Columbus; but they are small, and of no account. South of the point of Florida is *Cuba*, about two hundred leagues in length, and about forty in breadth in the widest place; a pleasant place, has gold and copper mines, and yields tobacco, sugar, and cotton. East of Cuba lies *Hispaniola* an hundred and fifty leagues in length, and about sixty in breadth, producing the same commodities as Cuba; and both subject to Spain. *Jamaica* lies south of Cuba, about seventy leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, possessed by the English, and producing sugar, indigo, and cotton. The Island of *Puerto Rico* is less than *Jamaica*, yields the same commodities, and belongs to Spain. The *Caribbe islands* are many, but small; some of them possessed by the English, French, and Dutch, others not inhabited: they produce sugar, indigo, cotton, and tobacco, and run from the coast of *Paria* to *Puerto Rico*. The *Leeward Islands* lie along the coast of *Paria*, the most remarkable of them being *Margarita*, and *Cubagua*, famous for the pearl fishery. *La Trinidad* is a large island before the gulph of Paria, near which there are many small ones, but not considerable. All the Coast southward has no Island of any note, till we come to the Strait of Magellan; the south part whereof is made by *Terra del Fuego* and other islands, of which little is known. Nor is there any, ascending again northward, worth speaking of, till the mouth of the bay of Panama, where are the *Islands of Pearls*, so called from a pearl-fishery there; they are small, and of no consideration in any other respect. The only great Island on this side America is *California*, found to be so but of late years, running from the tropic of Cancer to 45 degrees of north latitude, north-west and south-east; above five hundred leagues in length, and an hundred in breadth in the northern part, whence it runs tapering down to south. It has hitherto yielded no great profit to the Spaniards, who have not had leisure to build colonies there till within these very few years, and not above two as yet. This is all that belongs to America; it remains to add some few *Voyages to the isles of Solomon*, *Terra Australis incognita*, and the land of *Yesso*, or *Jedso*; which being properly no parts either of the East or West Indies, and but little of them as yet known, they have been reserved to be spoke of by themselves. American Islands.

An. 1595, *Alvaro da Mendana* with the title of governor and lord-lieutenant, set out from Peru for the *islands of Solomon*, whereof some uncertain knowledge was had before by ships that accidentally had seen some of them: he had four sail, with men and women, and all other necessaries to settle a Colony. In about 9, or 10 degrees of south latitude, and fifteen hundred leagues west of the city of Lima in Peru, he discovered *four small islands* inhabited by very handsome and civilized people. Hence holding on his course still westward, he found several other more considerable islands, where he intended to have settled his Colony, but was hindered by many misfortunes, and among the rest sickness. All that is extant of this relation, is only a fragment in Spanish taken out of *Thevenot*'s second volume: three of the ships perished, Islands of Solomon.

perifhed, two were never heard of, a third caft away on the *Philippine iflands*, the men faved; and the fourth, being the admiral, arrived at Manilla, with the men almoft ftarved: and thus this enterprife was difappointed.

An. 1600, Four fhips failing from Peru for the Philippine iflands, were by northerly winds driven fouth of the equinoctial, where they fell upon feveral rich countries and iflands, not far from the ifles of *Solomon*: they called one place *Monte de Plata*, or *Mountain of Silver*, becaufe they found plenty of it there. After which a captain of note went out on purpofe, and faw thefe difcoveries. This is all we have of it in Purchas, (vol. IV. p. 1432.) only he adds two petitions of captain *Peter Fernandez de Quiros* to the king of Spain, fuing to be employed in conducting colonies to thofe fouthern parts; alleging the vaft extent and riches of the Continent, and great value of the Iflands, which he fpeaks of as an eye-witnefs, and by the report of natives he brought away from thence, as may be feen more at large in Purchas, (vol. IV. p. 1422.)

Dutch Eaft Indies.

An. 1628, On the twenty-eighth of October, the DUTCH fent out eleven fail for India, among which was the *Batavia*, commanded by captain *Francis Pelfart*; which being parted from the reft was caft away on the rocks near fome fmall iflands not inhabited, and having no frefh water in upwards of 38 degrees of fouth latitude, but all the people faved on the iflands: this want obliged them to build a deck to their long boat and put out to fea, where they foon difcovered the Continent, bearing north and by weft about fix miles from them. This was on the eighth of June,

(*An.* 1629,) and the weather being rough, and the coaft high, they were forced to beat at fea till the fourteenth, when they found themfelves in 24 degrees of fouth latitude; and fix men fwimming afhore, faw four favages quite naked, who fled from them: they went to feek frefh water, but finding none, fwam back to their boat. The fifteenth, the boat made into fhore, and found no frefh water, but the remains of the rain that lay in the hollow of the rocks, which relieved them, being almoft choaked. The fixteenth, they went afhore again, but found no water, the latitude here 22 degrees; the twentieth, in 19 degrees; the twenty-fecond in 16 degrees 10 minutes. Thus *Pelfart* failed along this Coaft to the northward, till he came among the Indian iflands, and then ftruck over to *Java*, where he met two Dutch fhips, which carried him to Batavia, whence he returned with a veffel to fave as much as might be of the wreck (Thevenot, vol. I.)

Diemen's Lands.

An. 1642, *Abel Janfen Tafman* fet fail from Batavia in the ifland of Java, with a yacht and a flyboat, and September the fifth anchored at the Ifland *Mauritius* in 20 degrees of fouth latitude. The eighth, they departed thence fouth till 40 or 41 degrees, then bore away eaft fomewhat foutherly, till the fixth of November they were in 49 degrees. The twenty-fourth, in 42 degrees 25 minutes, they faw land eaft and by north at ten miles diftance, and called it *Antony van Diemen's* lands; and after running along the Coaft came to an anchor on the firft of December in a bay they named *Frederick Hendrick's Bay*: they heard fome noife as of people, but faw none, and only the footing of wild beafts, and fome fmoke. Departing hence, on the thirteenth

thirteenth of December they anchored in the country called in the maps *New Zealand*; here they saw some natives lusty people, and half naked, who coming aboard on pretence to traffic, fell upon the men in the boat and killed four of them, for which reason it was called *Murderers Bay*. Here they seemed to be embayed, but on the fourth of January 1643, came up with the N. W. cape of this land, and finding an island there, called it *Three Kings Island*; and going thither to refresh, they saw some large men, but could not understand them. Hence they directed their course north-east, till in 22 degrees 35 minutes they saw a small island, which they could not come at, but called it *Pilstreets Island*. January twenty-first, in 21 degrees 20 minutes they called two islands, the one *Amsterdam*, the other *Zealand*: on the first, they got many hogs, hens, and all sorts of fruit. The inhabitants were friendly, had no weapons, and seemed to know no evil, but that they would steal. In the latter of these islands they saw gardens with square beds and trees regularly planted. Leaving this place, they saw many Islands as they stood northward; and in 17 degrees 19 minutes they run among eighteen or twenty islands, which in the charts are called *Prince William's Islands*, or *Hemskirk's Shoals*. Directing their course now N. or N. N. W. after much foul weather, on the twenty-second of March, in 5 degrees 2 minutes south latitude they had sight of land four miles west of them; being about twenty islands, called in the charts *Onthong Java*, about ninety miles from the coast of *New Guinea*. March the twenty-fifth, in 4 degrees 35 minutes, they were up with the *Islands of Mark*, found before by *William Schouten*, and *John le Mair*: the natives are savage, and have their hair tied up. March the twenty-ninth, they passed by *Green Island*, the thirtieth by *S. John's Island*; and April the first, in 4 degrees 30 minutes, they reached the coast of New Guinea at a Cape called by the Spaniards *Santa Maria*, and run along the coast to the promontory called *Struis Hook*, where the land bends to the south and south-east, as they did to find a passage to the south, but were forced to turn to the west. April the twenty-eighth they came to the burning island, where they saw a great fire come out of the hill, and sailing betwixt the island and the main saw many fires. At the islands *Jama*, and *Moa*, they got refreshment. May the twelfth, in only 54 minutes of south latitude, they sailed along the side of *William Schouten's island*, which seems to be well inhabited; and the eighteenth they came to the west end of New Guinea, and on the fifteenth of June returned to Batavia, having finished the voyage in ten months (Thevenot, vol. II.)

An. 1643, A Dutch ship sailing to the northward of Japan, came upon a Coast in 39 degrees 45 minutes latitude. Running up as far as 43 degrees, they saw several villages near one another, and say there are about them many mines of silver: the land in some places seemed to bear no grass, but the sea was very full of fish. In 44 degrees 30 minutes, they went ashore in a mountainous country, supposed to be full of silver mines. In 46 degrees, the land resembled the coast of England, the soil being good, but the natives do not till it. In 48 degrees there are small hills covered with short grass. In 45 degrees 50 minutes is an Island which the Dutch call *Staten Island*, and beyond it *the companies land*, another island: in this they found a sort of mineral

Land of Yedso.

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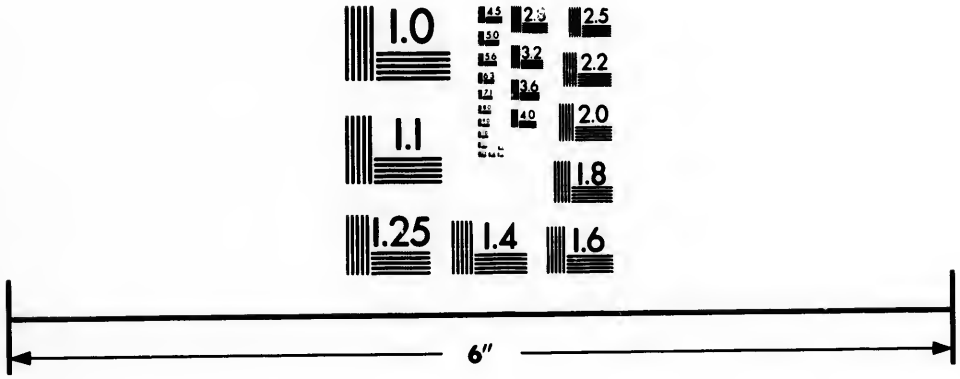

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mineral earth, that looked as if it had been all silver. In 45 degrees they observed, that though the land was not cultivated it yielded very good fruit of several sorts; the sea shore was covered with rose trees, and on the rocks many large oysters, but on the land they saw no beast but one bear. The inhabitants of this Land of *Eso*, or *Yedso*, for so it is called, are all strong set, thick, with long hair and beards, good features, no flat noses, black eyes, a sallow complexion, and very hairy about their bodies: the women are not so black as the men; some of them cut their hair, and others tie it up. They seem to have no religion nor government, every man has two wives, who serve him at home and abroad: they are very jealous of their women, love drinking, look like savages, but yet are very civil and obliging to strangers: their houses are only small cottages, and but a few of them together: they eat the fat and oil of whales, all sorts of fish and herbs, and rose-buds are their greatest dainty. Their clothes are some of silk and some of the skins of beasts. They use bows and arrows to kill wild beasts, and they spin hemp. They trade with the Japonese, whom they furnish with train-oil, whales tongues smoaked, furs, several sorts of feathers, for which they receive rice; sugar, silk, and other coarser garments, copper pipes, tobacco boxes, and varnished dishes and vessels for their meat and drink; pendants for their ears, copper ear-rings, hatchets, knives, &c. The capital of the country is small, they call it *Matsinay*, where the prince or governor of the country resides, who every year goes over to pay his respects to the emperor of Japan, and carry him presents. This is what the DUTCH discovered, but a Japonese told them this land of *Eso*, or *Yedso*, was an island (Thevenot, tom. I.)

New Holland, Captain Dampier.

An. 1698-9, On the fourteenth of January, Captain *Dampier* in his majesty's ship the *Roe-Buck*, sailed from the Downs upon a New Discovery, touched at the Canaries and isles of Cabo Verde, and the twenty-fifth of March came to an anchor in *Bakia de Todos Santos*, or the *Bay of all Saints* in Brasil. April the twenty-third he left this place, and the third of April saw the land about the cape of Good Hope. August the first, having run from Brasil an hundred and fourteen degrees, he made in to the shore of New Holland in 26 degrees south latitude, thinking to put into some harbour; but finding rocks and foul ground, stood out to sea again till August the sixth, when he came to an anchor in 25 degrees at an opening, which he called *Sharks Bay*; where he could get no fresh water, but plenty of wood, and refreshed the men with raccoons, tortoises, sharks, and other fish, and some sorts of fowl. He sounded most of this Bay, and on the fourteenth sailed out of it; coasting as the weather would permit to the northward, and then to the north-east, as the coast runs; where in 20 degrees 21 minutes he found several Islands, and going ashore on some of them could get no fresh water, nor see any inhabitants: so he continued along the shore as near as could be with safety, till on the thirtieth he anchored in eight fathom water, where he saw some of the natives, but could not take any. Looking for water none was found, and digging pits they got some that was brackish and not fit to drink. Finding no water or other refreshment on this coast, in the beginning of September he stood over for the island Timor; where he took in fresh water, and on the third of

of December arrived on the coast of New Guinea, and had some commerce with the inhabitants of an Island called *Pulo Sabuti*. Then passing to the northward, and to the eastermost part of New Guinea, he found it did not join to the main land of New Guinea, but was an Island, which he called *New Britain*. Having discovered thus far, and being unprovided to proceed, he returned by Timor and Java, so to the cape of Good Hope, and island of S. Helena. At the island of the Ascension his ship foundered, but the men were saved, and returned to England aboard the East India ship called the *Canterbury* (*Dampier's* voyage to *New Holland*, being his third volume.)

The VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD which, for so many thousand years as past from the creation till the discovery of the West Indies; could never so much as enter into the thoughts of man, and which after they were performed gave just subject of admiration, do well deserve to be mentioned apart from all others; as being the boldest action that could be undertaken, and to be performed but one way, though several attempts have been made to find out others; as has been shewed in the fruitless Voyages for Discovery of the North-East and North-West Passages: for this reason they have been reserved for this place, where something shall be said of all hitherto performed, but more particularly of the first; as the most glorious and honourable, because it shewed the way to all that followed. This wonderful enterprise was undertaken and performed after this manner:

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS. 1. Magellan.

An. 1519, FERDINAND DE MAGALHAENS, or as we corruptly call him, *Magellan*, by nation a Portuguese, by descent a gentleman, and by profession a soldier and seaman; having served his prince well both in Afric and India, and being ill rewarded, renounced his Country, disnaturalizing himself as the custom then was, and offered his service to the emperor Charles the fifth, then king of Spain. He had long before conceived an opinion, that another way might be found to *India*, and particularly to the *Molucco islands*, besides the common track by the cape of Good Hope followed by the Portuguese. This he proposed to the emperor, with such assurance of performing what he promised, that he had the command of five ships given him, and in them two hundred and fifty men: with this squadron he sailed from *S. Lucar de Barrameda* on the twentieth of September, the aforesaid year 1519. Being come to the river called *Rio de Janeiro* on the coast of Brasil, and near 23 degrees of south latitude, some discontent began to appear among the men, which was soon blown over; but proceeding to the bay of S. Julian in 49 degrees of latitude, where they were forced to winter, the mutiny grew so high, three of the captains and most of the men being engaged, that *Magellan* having in vain endeavoured to appease it by fair means, was forced to use his authority; executing two of the said captains, and setting the third with a priest, who had sided with them, ashore among the wild Indians. This done, he proceeded on his Voyage, and on the twenty-first of October 1520, having been out above a year, discovered the cape which he called *Cabo de la Virgines*, or the *Virgins Cape*, because that day was the feast of *S. Ursula*, and the eleven thousand virgins; and there turned into the Strait he went in search of, which from him to this day is called the *Strait of Magellan*: it lies in 52 degrees of south latitude, is about

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS. 1. Magellan.

about an hundred leagues in length; in some parts a league wide, in some more, in some less, but all narrow, and enclosed with high land on both sides; some bare, some covered with woods, and some of the loftiest mountains with snow. Having sailed about 50 leagues in this Strait, they discovered another branch of it, and *Magellan* sent one of his ships to bring him some account of it; but the seamen being parted from him took the opportunity, and confining their captain for opposing their design, returned into Spain, spending eight months in their return. *Magellan* having expected beyond the time appointed, and finding they did not return to him, proceeded through the Strait, and came into the South Sea with only three ships; having lost one in his passage, but all the men saved, and another as was said being stolen away from him. The last land of the Strait he called *Cabo Desedado*, or the *Desired Cape*, because it was the end of his desired passage to the South Sea. The cold being somewhat sharp, he thought good to draw nearer to the equinoctial, and accordingly steered west north-west. In this manner he sailed three months and twenty days, without seeing land; which reduced them to such straits, that they were forced to eat all the old leather they had aboard, and to drink stinking water; of which nineteen men died, and near thirty were so weak, that they could do no service. After fifteen hundred leagues sailing he found a small island in 88 degrees of south latitude, and two hundred leagues further another, but nothing considerable in them; and therefore held on his course, till in about 12 degrees of north latitude, he came to those islands which he called *De los Ladrones*, or of *Thieves*, because the natives hovered about his ships in their boats, and coming aboard stole every thing they could lay hold of. Finding no good to be done here, he sailed again, and discovering a great number of islands together, he gave that sea the name of *Archipelago de S. Lazaro*, the islands being those we now call the *Philippines*. On the twenty-eighth of March he anchored by the island of *Butbuan*, where he was friendly received, and got some gold; then removed to the isle of *Messana*, at a small distance from the other, and thence to that of *Cebu*.—*Magellan* having hitherto succeeded so well, stood over to the island *Matan*, where not agreeing with the natives he came to a battle, and was killed in it with eight of his men. After this disaster the rest sailed over to the island *Bohol*, and being too weak to carry home their three ships, burnt one of them, after taking out the cannon and all that could be of use to them. Being now reduced to two ships, they made away to the south-west in search of the *Molucco islands*, and instead of them fell into the great one of *Borneo*, where they made some short stay, being friendly received; and departing thence, with the assistance of Indian pilots arrived at length at the Moluccos on the eighth of November 1521, in the twenty-seventh month after their departure from Spain; and anchored in the port of Tidore, one of the chief of those islands, where they were lovingly treated by the king, who concluded a peace, and took an oath ever to continue in amity with the king of Spain. Here they traded for Cloves, exchanging the commodities they brought to their own content: when they were to depart, finding one of the ships leaky, and unfit for so long a Voyage, they left her behind to refit, and then sailed for Spain as soon as possible;

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1. Magellan.

ſible. The other ſhip called the *Victory*, commanded by *John Sebaſtian Cano*, and carrying forty-ſix Spaniards, and thirteen Indians, took its courſe to the ſouth-weſt, and coming to the iſland *Malva*, near that of *Timor*, in 11 degrees of ſouth latitude, ſtaid there fifteen days to ſtop ſome leaks they diſcovered in her. On the twenty-fifth of January 1522, they left this place, and the next day touched at *Timor*; whence they went not till the eleventh of February, when they took their way to the ſouthward: reſolving to leave all India, and the iſlands, to the northward, to avoid meeting the Portugueſes, who were powerful in thoſe ſeas, and would obſtruct their paſſage: therefore they run into 40 degrees of ſouth latitude before they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, about which they ſpent ſeven weeks; beating it out againſt contrary winds, ſo that their proviſions began to fail, and many men grew ſick, which made ſome entertain thoughts of turning back to *Mozambique*, but others oppoſed it. In fine, after two months more hardſhips, in which they loſt twenty-one of their company, they were forced to put into the iſland of *S. James*, being one of thoſe of *Cabo Verde*; where with much intreaty they obtained ſome ſmall relief of proviſions; but thirteen of them going aſhore again for ſome rice the Portugueſes had promiſed to ſupply them with, were detained aſhore, which made thoſe that were left aboard the ſhip hoiſt ſail and put to ſea, fearing the like treachery might ſurpriſe them; and on the ſeventh of September arrived ſafe at S. Lucar, below the city Sevil, where after firing all their guns for joy, they repaired to the great church in their ſhirts and barefoot to return thanks to God. The Ship that performed this wonderful Voyage was called the *Victory*, as was ſaid before, the commander's name was *John Sebaſtian Cano*, who was well rewarded and honoured by the emperor. This was the firſt Voyage round the World, which we ſhall ſoon ſee followed by other nations; and this was the Diſcovery of the Strait of *Magellan*, which made the voyage practicable. The other Spaniſh ſhip we mentioned to be left at the Moluccos to ſtop her leaks, attempted to return the way it came to Panama; but after ſtruggling above four months with the eaſterly winds, moſt of the men dying, and the reſt being almoſt ſtarved, it went back to the Moluccos, where it was taken by the Portugueſes; and the few men that ſurvived, after being kept two years in India, were ſent to Spain in the Portugueſe's ſhips (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. IV. IX. and dec. 3. lib. I. IV.—Hackluyt, vol. III. and Purchas, vol. I.)

The Second Voyage round the World was begun

2. Sir Francis Drake.

(*An.* 1577,) by Mr. *Francis*, afterwards SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, with five ſhips and barks, and an hundred and ſixty-four men; who ſailed from Plymouth on the thirteenth of December, and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month touched at Cape *Cantin* on the African coaſt, in 31 degrees of north latitude; on the ſeventeenth of January 1578, at Cape *Blanco* on the ſame coaſt, and 21 degrees of latitude, and then at the iſlands of *Cabo Verde*. Departing thence, they ſailed fifty-four days without ſeeing land, and on the fifth of April came upon the coaſt of *Braſil*, where they watered, and proceeded to the mouth of the river of Plate, in 36 degrees of ſouth latitude. Sailing hence, on the twenty-ſeventh of April they put into a port in the

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS. 2. Sir Francis Drake.

latitude of 46 degrees, where *Drake* burnt a flyboat that attended him, after saving all that could be of use. On the twentieth of June he again put into a good harbour, called *Port S. Julian*, in the latitude of 49 degrees, and continued there till the seventeenth of August; when putting to sea again, he entered the Straits of *Magellan* on the twenty-first of the same month. What sort of Straits these are was described in *Magellan*'s Voyage, and therefore needs no repetition. Here on an island they found fowl that could not fly, as big as geese, whereof they killed three thousand, which was good provision; and they entered the South Sea on the sixth of September. Hence they were drove by a storm to the southward, as far as the latitude of 57 degrees 20 minutes, and anchored among certain islands; whence removing to a good bay, they saw many men and women naked in canoes, and traded with them for such things as they had. Steering away again to the northward, they found three islands, and in one of them an incredible quantity of fowl; but on the eighth of October they lost sight of one of their ships commanded by Mr. *Winter*, which the rest supposed to be cast away, but it was put back by the tempest into the Strait of *Magellan*, and returned home the same way it came.—*Drake* with the rest sailed for the coast of *Chile*, and sending for water at the island *Mocha*, two of his men were killed by the Indians, which made him depart without it. This island is on the coast of Chile in 39 degrees of south latitude. Coasting still along, he came to the bay of *Valparaiso*, where he found a Spanish ship with only eight Spaniards and three Blacks in her, whom he surprised and took; and then going ashore plundered nine houses, being all there were in that which they called the town of *Santiago*. At *Coquimbo* in 29 degrees 30 minutes of latitude, fourteen men landing, one of them was killed by the Spaniards, the rest fled back to their ships. Not far from thence landing for fresh water, they met one single Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight *lamas*, or Peru sheep, loaded with silver, which they took. Running on thence to *Arica* on the coast of Peru, in 18 degrees 30 minutes latitude, he plundered three barks, in which was some quantity of silver, but not one man. Hence he advanced to the port of *Lima* in 12 degrees of latitude, and after rifling what little was in them cut the cables of twelve vessels that lay there; letting them drive wheresoever the water would carry them, there being no man aboard, as having never seen an enemy in those seas. Near Cape S. Francis, in 1 degree of north latitude, he took a rich ship called *Cacafuego*, and a little further another. Then he plundered *Guatulco*; and after refitting his ship in a small island, run away to the northward into 43 degrees of latitude; where feeling much cold he returned into 38 degrees, and there put into a large bay on the coast of *California*, which *Drake* called *Nova Albion*. Here he was well received by the people, and continued some time, and sailing hence directed his course for the *Molucco islands*; seeing no land till the thirteenth day of October, when he discovered the islands *de los Ladrones* in 8 degrees of north latitude. On the fourteenth of November he fell in with the Molucco islands, and came to an anchor in that of *Ternate*, the king whereof came aboard *Drake*'s ship, offering him all the island could afford; and he, having taken in what was most necessary and could be had there, went over to a small

small island south of *Celebes*, where he graved his ship, and fitted her to return home; which took him up twenty-six days. Thinking to return to the *Moluccos*, they were drove by contrary winds to the northward of the island *Celebes*; till turning again to the southward for fear of the many small islands in that sea, the ship on a sudden sat upon a rock, where it was feared she would have perished; but lightening her of three ton of Cloves, eight guns, and some provisions, she got off.—On the eighth of February 1579, they fell in with the island *Barateve*, where they refreshed themselves after their fatigues, and took in store of such provisions as the place afforded; the natives proving very friendly, and bartering their commodities for linen. Being well furnished with all necessaries, they left this place, and again made some stay at the island of *Java*, the natives by their civility inviting them to it. Thence they steered directly for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first land they came near from *Java*: yet touched not there, nor at any other place till they came to *Sierra Leona*, the westermost point of *Guinea*, in 8 degrees of north latitude, on the twenty-second of July, and there recruited themselves with provisions. Departing thence on the twenty-fourth, they arrived in England on the third of November 1580, and the third year after their departure. This Relation is to be seen at large in Hackluyt, (vol. III. p. 742.) and in Purchas, (vol. I. lib. II. p. 46.)

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS. 2. Sir Francis Drake.

An. 1586, Mr. *Thomas*, afterwards SIR THOMAS CANDISH, undertook the Third Voyage round the World with three small vessels, one of an hundred and twenty, the second of sixty, and the third of forty tons burden, all fitted out at his own charges; and failed from Plymouth on the twenty-first of July 1586. On the twenty-third of August he put into a bay on the coast of Afric, and destroyed there a village of the Blacks, because they killed a man with a poisoned arrow. After some days spent about this place, he sailed away south-west, and on the first of November put in between the island of *S. Sebastian*, and the continent of *Brasil*, in 24 degrees of south latitude; where the men were set to work ashore to build a pinnace, make hoops for the casks, and fill fresh water, which took them up till the twenty-third of the month; when sailing again on the seventeenth of December, they entered *Port Desire* in 47 degrees and an half of latitude, and that being a convenient place for the purpose, careened their ships, and refitted what was amiss. The third day of January 1587, they anchored at the mouth of the Straits of Magellan, the weather being very stormy, which lasted three days, all which time they continued there, but lost an anchor, and the sixth day entered the Strait. The seventh, as they drew near the narrow part of the Strait they took a Spaniard, being one of the twenty-three that still remained alive; which were all then left of five hundred landed there three years before to guard the Strait, the rest being dead with hunger. These had built a town, which they called *king Philip's city*, and fortified it, but they could make no works against famine, which consumed them all to those before mentioned; who, except him that was taken, were gone along the coast, hoping to get to the river of Plate. *Candish* having wooded and watered here, called this place *Port Famine*. The weather proving very boisterous and foul, he was forced to ride it out often at anchor, and there-

3. Sir Thomas Candish.

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS. 3. Sir Thomas Candiſh.

fore did not get out into the *South Sea*, till the twenty-fourth of February. On the firſt of March, a violent ſtorm parted the bark of forty tons from the other two ſhips; and they met not before the fifteenth, betwixt the iſland of *S. Mary* and the continent of *Chile*, in 37 degrees and an half of ſouth latitude. Here they took in as much corn as they would have, and abundance of potatoes, all which had been laid up in the iſland for the Spaniards; beſides as many hogs as they could ſalt, abundance of hens, and five hundred dried dog-fiſhes. The eighteenth they left this place, and on the laſt of the month landed at *Punta de Quenuro* in 33 degrees of latitude; but ſaw no man, though they travelled ſome miles, only ſpied ſome herds of very wild cattle; but the firſt of April going to water, the men were ſet upon by the Spaniards, and twelve of them cut off.—Proceeding hence along the coaſt of *Chile* and *Peru*, they took ſome coaſting veſſels carrying proviſions from one place to another. In this manner they ran along to the iſland *Puna*, in about 3 degrees of ſouth latitude, being a place famous for ſupplying all thoſe coaſts with cables. Here the Engliſh took what they found for their uſe, the iſland being inhabited by none but Indians, except ſome few Spaniards that lived in the chief town, who killed twelve of the Engliſh; but were put to flight, and the town burnt, as was the church particularly, and the bells carried away. This ſecond loſs of men obliged *Candiſh* to ſink his bark of forty ton, that had attended him out of England.—On the twelfth of June they cut the equinoctial line; and holding on their courſe to the northward all that month, on the firſt of July came upon the coaſt of *New Spain*; where on the ninth, they took and burnt a ſhip with ſeven men in her, and ſoon after a bark, whoſe men were fled to ſhore. The twenty-ſixth day they anchored at *Copalita*, in 16 degrees of north latitude, whence they went with thirty men to *Aguatulco* a ſmall Indian town, which they burnt and rifled. Then keeping along that coaſt, they continued ravaging the Indian towns, till they came to a ſmall iſland in 23 degrees of latitude, and eleven leagues from the city *Chiametlan*; where having watered, and ſtaid till the ninth of November, they then ſtood over to cape *S. Lucar*, which is the ſouthermoſt point of *California*; and beating about it till the fourth of November, met then with the S. ANN, being the Spaniſh galeon bound from the Philippine iſlands to the port of Acapulco in New Spain. After a fight of ſix hours the Galeon was taken and carried into the port called *Puerto Seguro*; where ſetting aſhore the Spaniards, and taking out what goods they could carry, they burnt the Galeon, and on the nineteenth of November ſailed thence towards India.—This night *Candiſh*, who was in the *Deſire*, loſt his other ſhip called the *Content*, and never ſaw her after: being thus left alone he ſailed before the wind, as is uſual there, for the ſpace of forty-five days, and on the third of January 1588, came up with the iſlands *de los Ladrones*, having run about eighteen hundred leagues; on the fourteenth with cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, a great headland of one of the Philippine iſlands to the weſtward, in 13 degrees of latitude, and about three hundred leagues from the iſlands *Ladrones*. At the iſland *Cabul* he continued ſome days getting freſh proviſions; and ſailing amidſt all thoſe iſlands ſouthweſt and by ſouth, on the eighth of February diſcovered the iſland *Batochina* near

Gilola,

Gilolo, in one degree of south latitude; whence he steered to the south side of the great island of *Java*, and touching there on the twelfth of March, traded with the natives for provisions, which were brought him in great plenty. On the sixteenth, he set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, and doubled it about the middle of May; having spent nine weeks betwixt the island of Java and this place, which is about eighteen hundred leagues distance. On the ninth of June he anchored at the island of S. Helena, about five hundred leagues distant from the Cape of Good Hope, lying betwixt the coast of *Afric* and *Brasil*, in about 15 degrees of south latitude. This Island is generally touched at by ships going to and returning from the East Indies, because of the convenieney of watering; besides the great plenty it produces of excellent fruit, as also abundance of fowl, swine, and goats, the place being extremely pleasant, but very small. Having taken in wood and water here, and made clean the ship, on the twentieth of June CANDISH sailed for England; on the twenty-fourth of August he discovered the islands *Flores* and *Corvo*, two of the *Azores*, and on the ninth of September after a terrible storm, which carried away part of his sails, put into the port of Plymouth (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 803. and Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 57.)

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS. 3. Sir Thomas Candish.

An. 1598. The DUTCH resolving to perform as much as had been done before by *Magellan*'s ship, and by Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *Thomas Candish*, they fitted out four ships under the command of captain *Olivier d'Oirt*, as *Van Meteren* calls him, or OLIVER NOORT, according to Purchas. The rest proceeded on their voyage upon the nineteenth of of July; and to omit particulars of less moment, and their touching at places not material, on the tenth of December they came to the *Prince's Island*, or *Ilha do Principe*, on the coast of Congo, in 2 degrees of north latitude; where the Portuguese killed some of their men, and the Dutch commander in revenge assaulting their fort, was repulsed with greater loss. This made him desist; and sailing thence, on the fifth of February 1599, came on the coast of *Brasil*. Here they spent much time, seeking refreshment and water along the shore; and being much shaken by a storm, and abundance of the men sick—besides, that it was the winter season there, they put into a little island called *S. Clare*, on the coast of Brasil, in about 21 degrees of south latitude. Here the sick men being set ashore, some of them presently died; the rest ailing nothing but the scurvy, were cured with eating sour plumbs they found there. One of the ships being very leaky, was here burnt, after all that could be of use had been taken out of her. On the sixteenth of July they left this place, steering for *Port Desire* in 47 degrees; and after many storms put into it on the twentieth of September, careened their ships, and took abundance of fowl. Some men were here killed by the Indians. Departing hence on the twenty-ninth, they came to Cape *Virgines* at the mouth of the Strait of Magellan, on the fourth of November; where they met with storms of wind, rain, hail, and snow, besides much sickness and contention among themselves, having been from home fifteen months, before they could get into the Strait: so that it was the last of February 1600 before they came out into the South Sea. March the twelfth, they lost sight of the vice-admiral, and sailed without him to the island *Mocha*, in 38 degrees south. Another ship.

4. Oliver Noort.

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS. 4. Oliver Noort.

ſhip miſſing the iſland of *S. Maries*, and being drove by neceſſity to make the continent for proviſions, loſt moſt of its men aſhore, the reſt putting to ſea with the veſſel. Being now in fear of the Spaniſh men of war, he directed his courſe with the two ſhips he had left, for the iſlands *de los Ladrones*, which he had ſight of on the fifteenth of September; and on the fourteenth of October diſcovered the Iſland of *Luzon* or *Manila*, the chief of the Philippines. Near this iſland he met the two Spaniſh ſhips bound thence for New Spain; and after a deſperate fight, *Noort* ſunk one of them; but at the ſame time the other took his ſecond ſhip, and he made all haſte away to *Bornes*, but made no ſtay there for fear of the natives, who attempted to cut his cable; and therefore ſailing hence, he traded for pepper at *Java*, and at length returned by the Cape of Good Hope, and iſle of S. Helena, arriving at Amſterdam on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt 1601 (Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 71.—Van Meteren, lib. XXIII.)

5. George Spilbergen.

An. 1614, GEORGE SPILBERGEN, commander of five Dutch ſhips, ſailed out of the Texel on the eighth of Auguſt, and entered the *Strait of Magellan* on the twenty-eighth of March 1615, but being drove out again by contrary winds, he re-entered on the ſecond of April. In the Strait they continued going aſhore on the ſouth ſide upon the land called *Tierra del Fuego*, known ſince to be an iſland, till the ſixth of May; when they came out into the South Sea, which received them with ſtorms, and on the twenty-ſixth came up with the iſland *la Mocha*, on the coaſt of Chile, mentioned in all the former Voyages. Here they traded with the Indians, exchanging hatchets, and other utenſils, as alſo coral, for large Peru ſheep, which ſerve not only to eat, but to carry burdens. Landing at the iſland of *S. Mary* on the twenty-ninth, they had a ſkirmiſh with ſome few Spaniards, and got ſome booty of ſheep. Running along the coaſt, they touched at *Valparaiſo*, Cape *Quintero*, and other places; but finding the Spaniards every where had taken the alarm, they durſt not do any thing aſhore. July the ſeventeenth, keeping along the ſhores of Peru, they diſcovered eight Spaniſh ſhips ſet out to engage them: that very night they engaged, and after an hot diſpute, three of the Spaniſh ſhips ſunk. In this action they had forty men killed, and ſixty wounded. Drawing too near the ſhore at *Callao*, the port of *Lima*, the *Huntſman*, one of the Dutch ſhips, was almoſt ſunk with a thirty-ſix pounder, which made them keep further off: and holding their courſe to the northward, they took the little town of *Peita*. Therefore Auguſt the twenty-firſt, they ſet out to ſea again, and beat about in bad weather till the eleventh of October, when they put into the harbour of Acapulco in New Spain, and there exchanged the priſoners they had taken for proviſions: which done, they run up into twenty degrees of north latitude, and on the twenty-ſixth of November ſtood over for the iſlands *de los Ladrones*. In January following, which was the year 1616, many of the men died of diſeaſes. On the twenty-third of the ſame month they diſcovered the *Ladrones*; and on the ninth of February Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, the eaſtermoſt point of the Philippine iſlands to the northward; paſſing among which, they arrived at *Ternate*, the chief of the Moluccos, on the twenty-ninth of March, which the Dutch in the iſland reckoned the twenty-eighth;

eighth; the fleet by following the course of the sun having lost a day, whereas they that sail round to the eastward gain a day. About these Islands they continued some months, and arrived at *Jacatra* in the island of *Java* on the fifteenth of September; on the thirtieth of March 1617 at the island of S. Helena; and in July following in Zealand (Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 80.)

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS. 5. George Spilbergen.

An. 1615, ISAAC LE MAIRE, a merchant of Amsterdam, and WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOUTEN of Horn, resolving to find out a *new way to the East Indies*, besides those already known by the Cape of Good Hope and Strait of Magellan; at their own charges fitted out a good ship of three hundred and sixty ton and twenty guns, and a smaller of an hundred and ten ton and eight guns, in which they sailed themselves out of the Texel on the sixteenth of June in the aforesaid year, resolving to find another passage into the South Sea, to the southward of the Strait of Magellan; which their design they kept secret, till they came near the line, where they discovered it to the seamen, who were well pleased with the undertaking.—To pass by all other particulars, as too like those in the foregoing Voyages, on the ninth of December they sailed up into *Port Desire*, on the coast of America, in 47 degrees and 40 minutes of south latitude; where bringing their ships ashore to clean them, as they were burning reeds under the lesser of them, she took fire and burnt, till the tide coming up, quenched the flame; yet so that nothing of her could be saved, but a little wood for fuel and the iron work. The thirteenth of January 1616, the great ship now left alone sailed out of *Port Desire*, and on the twenty-fifth discovered the island they called *Staten land* to the eastward, and the point of *Tierra del Fuego* to the westward, which they called *Maurice land*, in almost 55 degrees of south latitude. Entering betwixt these two lands, they steered south south-west, till coming under 55 degrees 36 minutes, they stood south-west, and then south. Thus the twenty-sixth they came under 57 degrees, and the twenty-ninth discovered those they called *Barnevelt's Islands*. The third of February they were under 59 degrees 25 minutes, and the twelfth found the Straits of Magellan lay east of them; and therefore being satisfied that they were in the South Sea, they called the new found passage the *Strait of le Maire*.—March the first they came near the Islands of *Juan Fernandez*, in 33 degrees 40 minutes of south latitude, and at some distance from the coast of Chile: but, though they endeavoured it, could never come near enough to anchor, being still beaten off by the wind and current; and therefore steered away to the westward to prosecute their Voyage; and in April they discovered several small Islands inhabited by naked people, none of whom would come aboard, nor could they come to an anchor. These Islands were in about 14 and 15 degrees of south latitude. Sailing on still westward, they saw many more Islands in May, and had some trade with the natives, who attempted to surprise the ship, or at least the boat; but were soon scared away by the fire-arms, when they saw they did execution, for before they thought they had only made a noise. Finding no Continent, and perceiving they were at least sixteen hundred leagues to the westward of *Chile* or *Peru*, they steered to the northward; for fear they should fall south of New Guinea, and perhaps not be able to clear themselves of the coast, the winds being always

6. Le Maire, and Schouten.

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS. 6. Le Maire, and Schouten.

ways at eaſt. Many more Iſlands are mentioned in the journal, at ſome of which they touched and got refreſhment; but on the firſt of July they anchored near the coaſt of New Guinea, whence they ſailed ſtill along the ſhore, and amidſt a multitude of iſlands, till they came into half a degree of ſouth latitude; where they ſaw a ſmall iſland off the ſhore of the land of *Papous*, and called it *William Schouten's Iſland* after the captain's name, and the weſtermoſt point of it the Cape of Good Hope. September the 17th they arrived at the iſland *Ternate*, and thence in October to *Jacatra*, or *Batavia*, in the iſland of *Java*; where the preſident of the Dutch Eaſt India Company ſeized the ſhip and goods. Whereupon *William Corneliſon Schouten* the maſter, *Jacob le Maire* the merchant, and ten ſeamen, put themſelves aboard the *Amſterdam*, a Dutch ſhip homewards bound, and twelve others aboard the *Zealand*, and arrived in ſafety at Amſterdam in July; having diſcovered the new Strait called *le Maire*, as was ſaid before, and performed the Voyage round the world in two years and eighteen days (Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 88.)

7. Brower.

An. 1643, *Brewer*, or BROWER, went another way into the South Sea, by a paſſage called after his own name, which is eaſt of *le Maire's Strait*; but whether this was a Strait with land on each ſide, or an open ſea, is not known, his diary not being made public: but moſt maps make it a new Strait.

8. Cook, 1683.

An. 1683, One JOHN COOK ſailed from Virginia in a ſhip of eight guns and fifty-two men a buccaneering; and with him one *Cowley*, as maſter. On the coaſt of Guinea they took a ſhip of forty guns by ſurpriſe, in which they ſailed away to the South Sea; meeting by the way another ſhip commanded by one *Eaton*, who joined them to follow the ſame trade. They ran into 60 degrees of ſouth latitude, and paſſed that way into the South Sea; where *Cowley* ſays they diſcovered ſeveral Iſlands about the line. Thence they ſailed over to the *Ladrones*, whence they continued their courſe and anchored at *Canton* in China. Departing from *Canton*, they came to the iſland *Borneo*, where *Cowley*, the author of this relation, with nineteen others, got a great boat in which they went away to *Java*. At *Batavia* the author, with two others, ſhipped himſelf aboard a Dutch veſſel, and ſo returned to Europe.—The relation of this Voyage is ſhortened, becauſe there have been ſo many Voyages round the world before, and all of them performed in the ſame ſhip; whereas in this there was much ſhifting. Thoſe that deſire may ſee it at large in the collection of original Voyages, publiſhed by captain *Will. Hack*, (*an.* 1699.)

Captain *Dampier* in his firſt book of Voyages gives an account of this ſame laſt mentioned, but more at large, he being aboard with the ſame *Cook*; and therefore no more needs be ſaid of it, though there may be many circumſtances which this diſcourſe cannot deſcend to: wherefore here ſhall end the Voyages round the World, it being time to proceed to what remains.

National Benefits derived from the above Voyages.

After ſo long a diſcourſe of VOYAGES and DISCOVERIES, it may ſeem ſuperfluous to treat of the advantages the public receives by Navigation, and the faithful journals and accounts of travellers. The matter is natural, and no man can read the one without being ſenſible of the other; and therefore a few words may ſuffice on this ſubject,

ſubject, to avoid cloying the judicious reader with what is ſo viſible and plain, and to ſave running out this Introduction to an unreaſonable length. What was Coſmography before theſe diſcoveries, but an imperfect fragment of a ſcience, ſcarce deſerving ſo good a name? when all the known world was only Europe, a ſmall part of Afric, and the leſſer portion of Aſia; ſo that of this terraqueous globe not one ſixth part had ever been ſeen or heard of. Nay, ſo great was the ignorance of man in this particular, that learned perſons made a doubt of its being round; others no leſs knowing imagined all they were not acquainted with, deſart and uninhabitable. But now Geography and Hydrography have received ſome perfection by the pains of ſo many mariners and travellers; who to evince the rotundity of the earth and water, have ſailed and travelled round it, as has been here made appear, to ſhew there is no part uninhabitable, unleſs the frozen polar regions; have viſited all other countries, though never ſo remote, which they have found well peopled, and moſt of them rich and delightful; and to demonſtrate the *Antipodes*, have pointed them out to us. Aſtronomy has received the addition of many conſtellations never ſeen before. Natural and moral Hiſtory is embelliſhed with the moſt beneficial increaſe of ſo many thouſands of plants it had never before received; ſo many drugs and ſpices; ſuch variety of beaſts, birds, and fiſhes; ſuch rarities in minerals, mountains, and waters; ſuch unaccountable diverſity of climates and men, and in them of complexions, tempers, habits, manners, politics, and religions. Trade is raiſed to the higheſt pitch, each part of the world ſupplying the other with what it wants, and bringing home what is accounted moſt precious and valuable; and this not in a niggard and ſcanty manner, as when the *Venetians* ſerved all Europe with ſpice and drugs from India by the way of Turky and the Red Sea; or as when gold and ſilver were only drawn from ſome poor European and African mines; but with plenty and affluence, as we now ſee, moſt nations reſorting freely to the *Eaſt Indies*, and the *Weſt*, yearly ſending forth prodigious quantities of the moſt eſteemed and valuable metals. To conclude, the empire of *Europe* is now extended to the utmoſt bounds of the earth, where ſeveral of its nations have conqueſts and colonies. Theſe and many more are the advantages drawn from the labours of thoſe, who expoſe themſelves to the dangers of the vaſt Ocean, and of unknown nations; which thoſe who ſit ſtill at home abundantly reap in every kind: and the relation of one traveller is an incentive to ſtir up another to imitate him, whilſt the reſt of mankind, in their accounts, without ſtirring a foot, compaſs the Earth and Seas, viſit all countries, and converſe with all nations.

It only remains to give ſome few Directions for ſuch as go on long Voyages; which ſhall be thoſe drawn up by Mr. *Rock*, a fellow of the Royal Society, and geometry profeſſor of Greſham College, by order of the ſaid ſociety, and publiſhed in the philoſophical tranſactions of the eighth of January 1665-6, being Number eight. They are as follow:

1. To obſerve the *declination of the Compaſs*, or its variation from the meridian of the place, frequently; marking withal the latitude, and longitude of the place, where

Rook's directions to Navigators.

ſuch obſervation is made, as exactly as may be, and ſetting down the method by which they made them.

2. To carry dipping Needles with them, and obſerve the inclination of the Needle in like manner.

3. To remark carefully *the ebbings* and *flowings of the Sea* in as many places as they can, together with all the accidents ordinary and extraordinary of the Tides; as, their preciſe time of ebbing and flowing in rivers, at promontories or capes, which way the Current runs; what perpendicular diſtance there is between the higheſt tide and loweſt ebb, during the ſpring Tides and neep Tides; what day of the moon's age, and what times of the year the higheſt and loweſt Tides fall out: and all other conſiderable accidents they can obſerve in the Tides, chiefly near ports, and about iſlands, as in *S. Helena*'s iſland, and the three rivers there, at the *Bermudas*, &c.

4. To make *Plots and Draughts of proſpect* of coaſts, promontories, iſlands, and ports, marking the bearings and diſtances as near as they can.

5. To ſound and mark the *Depth of Coaſts* and *Ports*, and ſuch other places near the ſhore, as they ſhall think fit.

6. To take notice of the nature of the *ground at the bottom of the Sea*, in all Soundings, whether it be clay, ſand, rock, &c.

7. To keep a regiſter of all *Changes of Wind and Weather* at all hours, by night and by day, ſhewing the point the wind blows from, whether ſtrong or weak: the rains, hail, ſnow, and the like; the preciſe times of their beginnings and continuance, eſpecially hurricanes and ſpouts; but above all, to take exact care to obſerve the Trade-Winds; about what degree of latitude and longitude they firſt begin, where and when they ceaſe or change, or grow ſtronger or weaker, and how much; as near and exact as may be.

8. To obſerve and record all Extraordinary meteors, lightnings, thunders, *ignes fatui*, comets, &c. marking ſtill the places and times of their appearing, continuance, &c.

9. To carry with them good ſcales, and glaſs-vials of a pint, or ſo, with very narrow mouths, which are to be filled with *Sea-Water in different degrees of Latitude*, as often as they pleaſe; and the weight of the vial full of water taken exactly at every time, and recorded, marking withal the degree of latitude, and the day of the month; and that as well of water near the top, as at a greater depth.

AN

AN EXPLANATORY CATALOGUE OF VOYAGES, AND GEOGRAPHICAL WORKS, BY MR. LOCKE.

LATIN.

DEscriptio Africæ, 8vo.
Descriptiones Asiæ.
De Lege Mahumetica, and
De Rebus Mahumeticis.

Latin Writers.

These *four* by JOHN * LEO, a Spaniard by birth, and a Mahometan by education, but afterwards converted; who before his conversion travelled through the greatest part of Afric, and has given the best light into it of any writer, as *Johannes Bodinus* affirms. He first writ them in the Arabic for his own nation, but afterwards translated them himself into Italian; and *John Florianus* into Latin. He gives an excellent account of the religion, laws, customs, and manners of the people of Afric, but is too brief in martial affairs, and the lives of the African princes.

Epistolæ viginti sex de rebus Japonicis, or twenty-six letters concerning the affairs of Japan, to be seen in several collections of this sort of letters.

Historica relatio de legatione regis Sinensium ad regem Japonum: or an account of the Embassy sent by the emperor of China to *Taicosoma* king of Japan, *An.* 1596, and of the strange prodigies that happened before the embassy, *Rome* 1599, 8vo.

Historica relatio de rebus per Japoniam, An. 1596, *à patribus societatis durante persecutione gestis:* or an account of the proceedings of the Jesuits in Japan, in the year 1596, during the persecution. These three by F. LEWIS FROES, a Jesuit, who lived forty-nine years in the east, and thirty-six of them in the island of Japan as a missioner.—It is believed these relations were writ in Portuguese by the author, and afterwards translated into Latin.

De Abassinorum rebus, deque Æthiopiæ patriarchis, Lions, 1615, 8vo. The author was F. NICHOLAS GODINHO, a Portuguese Jesuit, who divides his work into three books, and in it refutes the fabulous history writ by *F. Urreta.*

Itinerarium ab oppido Complutensi Toletanæ provinciæ usque ad urbem Romanam. A journal of a journey from the university of Alcala in Spain to Rome, by Dr. JAMES LOPEZ DE ZUNIGA, a pious and learned man.

LITERÆ ANNUÆ. The annual or yearly letters out of Ethiopia, China, India, and other parts, give much light into the affairs of those countries, and are to be found in several volumes, and scattered in collections of travels; of all which it will be needless to give any account in this place.

ATHANASII KIRCHERI *è societate Jesu China, monumentis qua sacris qua profanis, illustrata, fol.* This is a complete history of China, and held in great reputation for some years, but of late

* *John Leo*, the African geographer, was a native of Grenada, and after the taking of that city in 1492, retired into Africa. He not only travelled through different parts of that Continent, but also both in Europe and Asia. His description of Africa which is given in the second volume of Purchas, book the sixth, was originally composed in Arabic, and thence translated into the Italian. It was translated into French by *Jean Temporal*, and printed at Lyons in 1556, in 2 vol. fol. The Latin translation by *Florian* is not much esteemed. *Leo* died in 1526. EDIT.

Latin Writers.

its reputation has declined, since so many books of that empire have appeared writ by Missioners, who have resided there many years, and discovered great mistakes in *Kircher*.

JOBI LUDOLFI *historia Æthiopica, fol.* This history of Ethiopia is written by a German, who having gathered most of it from the writings of the Jesuits, yet makes it his business to contradict them, from the information given him by an Ethiopian he was acquainted with in Germany, for he was never near Ethiopia himself; and his whole book has more of controversy, and of the Ethiopian language, than of history.

Relatio eorum quæ circa S. Cæs. Majest. ad magnum Moscorum Czarum ablegatos anno æræ christianæ 1675, *gesta sunt, strictim recensita per* ADOLPHUM LYSECK, *dictæ legationis secretarium*, 8*vo. Saltzburg* 1676. In this account of an Embassy to the Czar of Muscovy, we have an account of his travels through Silesia, Pomerania, Prussia, Lithuania, and Muscovy, to the court of Moscow, and of all things of note the author saw or heard of; being an ingenious person, and having a greater privilege than common travellers, as secretary to the Embassy (*Giorn. de Letter.*)

JOHANNIS SCHEFFERI *Argentoratensis Lapponiæ, id est regionis Laponum et gentis, nova et verissima descriptio*, 4to. *Lipsiæ* 1674. An account of Lapland, which though it be not by way of travels, well deserves a place here; because we shall scarce find travellers that will go into that frozen region to bring us a just relation of it. This however is authentic, as gathered from the Swedish writers, who are best acquainted with those parts.

THEODORI ET JOHANNIS DE * BRYE *India orientalis et occidentalis*, 6 vols. fol. *Francfort* 1624. This collection being three volumes of the East, and three of the West Indies, begins with a particular account of the kingdom of Congo in Afric, as lying in the way to, and having accordingly been discovered before India; this account translated from the Italian writ by *Philip Pigafetta*.—Next follow five voyages of *Samuel Bruno* of Basil; the three first to Congo, Ethiopia, and other parts round the coast of Afric; the fourth to several parts in the Straits, and the fifth to Portugal and Spain, &c. translated into Latin from the author's original in High Dutch.—The next are *Linschoten*'s Indian voyages, translated from the Dutch, and containing a very full account of all things remarkable in those parts.—Then three *Dutch voyages* to the North-East Passage; and after them a great number of cuts and maps, besides very many dispersed throughout the book, and a considerable number at the beginning. These are the contents of the first Volume.—The second begins with a large account of *Buntam, Banda, Ternate*, and other parts of India, being a voyage of eight Dutch ships into those parts in the year 1598, translated out of High Dutch.—After that the description of *Guinea* out of *Spilberg*'s voyage, *An.* 1601.—*Gaspar Balbi*'s voyage, *An.* 1579.—In the third Volume *Jacob Neck*'s voyage, *An.* 1603; *Jo. Hermon de Bree, An.* 1602; *Corn. Nicolas, Cornelius Ven*, and *Stephen de Hagen*, all to India.—*Verhuff*'s voyage to India, *An.* 1607.—Dialogues in Latin and the Malaye language.—*Hudson*'s voyage to the North-East Passage.—An account of *Terra Australis incognita*, by captain *Peter Ferdinand de Quir*; and the description of Siberia, Samoieda, and Tiagoesia.—Two voyages of *Americus Vesputius* to the East Indies.—A very strange relation of an Englishman, who being shipwrecked on the coast of *Cambaia*, travelled through

* *Theodore de Brye* was a German engraver, who died in 1598. The greater part of the plates in the Collection were made by him. This valuable work when complete is in seven volumes: it is divided into twenty-five parts, thirteen for what is termed *Les Grands Voyages*, and twelve for *Les Petits Voyages*, being printed in a smaller form. Of the few persons who have ever possessed a complete set, the Abbe de Rothelin is mentioned; who in 1742 printed a dissertation, intitled, *Observations et details sur la collection des grands et des petits voyages*; this curious treatise was only given to particular friends. EDIT.

many

many of those eastern countries; and the description of the northern country of Spitzbergen: the whole illustrated with a vast number of maps, and other cuts. *Thus far the three volumes of the East Indies.* The three of the West are composed of these parts. *Vol. I.* an ample account of Virginia. The unfortunate expedition of the French to Florida, *An.* 1565.—*Laudonniere*'s voyage thither, *An.* 1574.—Two voyages of *John Stadius* to Brazil and the river of Plate, where he lived among the Indians.—*Leri*'s account of Brazil.—*Villagano*'s voyage to South America.—*Benzo*'s history of the discovery of America. *Vol. II.* The second and third parts of *Benzo*'s history of the West Indies.—*Faber's* description of several parts of America, where he travelled.—Voyages of Sir *F. Drake*, *Cavendish*, and *Raleigh*.—Dutch expedition to the Canaries.—General account of America.—*Sebald de Weert*'s voyage through the straits of Magellan.—*Noort* round the world. *Vol. III.* Two voyages of *Americus Vesputius*. *Hamor*'s account of the state of Virginia.—Captain *Smith*'s description of New England. *Schouten* and *le Maire*'s discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, called *Strait le Maire*. *Spilbergen*'s voyage through the Straits of Magellan.—*Herrera*'s description of the West Indies. These are the Contents of the Six Volumes, the whole illustrated and adorned with such a vast number of maps and cuts, representing all such things as require it, that the like is not in any other collection, nor is it likely that any will be at so excessive an expence. To be short, this Collection is a small Library, including all the Voyages and Discoveries of any note till the time it was published, when most of the remote parts began to be well known, and therefore is of excellent use and great value.

Italian.

Delle navigationi et viaggi, raccolse da M. Gio Battista * Ramusio, *Venice*, 3 vol. fol. 1613. *Ramusio*'s collection of voyages and travels, the most perfect work of that nature extant in any language whatsoever: containing all the discoveries to the east, west, north, and south; with full descriptions of all the countries discovered; judiciously compiled, and free from that great mass of useless matter, which swells our English *Hackluyt* and *Purchas*; much more complete and full than the Latin *de Brye*, and in fine, the noblest work of this nature.—The contents of it as briefly as may be set down, are as follow. In the *first* Volume, *John Leo*'s description of Afric.—*Alvise de ca da Mosto*'s voyage; and that of *Peter da Santra* to the coast of Afric. *Hanno* the Carthaginian's navigation on the coast of Afric.—Voyage from Lisbon to the island of S. Thomas.—*Gama*'s voyage to Calicut.—*Peter Alvarez* to India.—Two voyages of *Americus Vesputius*.—Voyages to India by *Tho. Lopez* and *Gio. da Empoli*.—*Barthema*'s travels to, and account of, India.—*Corsali* to India.—*Alvarez* to Ethiopia.—Discourse of the overflowing of the *Nile*.—*Nearchus* admiral to *Alexander the Great*, his navigation.—Voyage down the Red Sea to Diu.—*Barbosa* of the East Indies.—Voyages of *Conti*, and *S. Stephano*.—First voyage round the world performed by the Spaniards.—*Gaetan* of the discovery of the Molucco islands.—Account of Japan.—Extracts of *Barros*'s history of India.—The *second* Volume; *Marcus Paulus Venetus*'s travels.—*Hayton* the Armenian of the great Chams, or emperors of Italian Writers.

* *Giov Battista Ramusio*, a Venetian, was secretary of the council of the Republic, and died at Padua, in 1557. He published besides his collection of voyages, a treatise *De Nili incremento*. In order to have a perfect edition of his *Raccolta delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, the first volume, according to De Bure, should bear the date of 1563, the second of 1583, and the third of 1605, printed for the *Giunti*, Venice. (De Bure vol. V. p. 190.) Du Fresnoy, on the contrary, recommends that the first volume should have the date of 1606, or 1613; or that at least the two first volumes should be the editions of 1583, and 1588, and the third of 1606, or 1613. Edit.

Tartary.

Italian Writers.

Tartary.—*Angiolello* of the wars betwixt *Uſſuncaſſan* king of Perſia, and *Mahomet* emperor of the Turks; of *Iſmael Sophy* and the ſultan of Babylon, and of *Selim* the Turk's ſubduing the Mamalucks.—*Barbaro*'s travels to Tartary and Perſia.—*Contarino*'s embaſſy from the republic of Venice to *Uſſuncaſſan* king of Perſia.—*Campenſe* of Muſcovy.—*Jovius* of Muſcovy.—*Arianus* of the Euxine, or Black Sea.—*Geor. Interiano* of the Circaſſians.—*Quini*'s ſhipwreck and adventures in 60 degrees of north latitude.—The ſame by *Chriſt. Fioravante* and *J. de Michele*, who were with him.—Baron *Herbertain* of Muſcovy and Ruſſia.—*Zeno*'s voyage to Perſia. *Nich.* and *Ant. Zeni*'s diſcovery of Frizeland, Iceland, and to the north pole.—Two voyages to Tartary by *Dominicans*, ſent by pope *Innocent* IV.—*Odoricus*'s two voyages into the eaſt. *Cabot*'s voyage into the north-weſt.—*Guagnino*'s deſcription of Poland, Muſcovy, and part of Tartary.—The ſame by *Micheorus*.—In the *third* Volume; an abridgement of *Peter Martyr* of Angleria, his decads of the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies.—An abridgment of *Oviedo*'s hiſtory of the Weſt Indies.—*Cortes*'s account of his diſcovery and conqueſt of Mexico.—*Alvarado* of his conqueſt and diſcovery of other provinces above Mexico.—*Godoy* of ſeveral diſcoveries and conqueſts in New Spain.—Account of Mexico and New Spain, by a gentleman belonging to *Cortes*.—*Alvar Nunez* of the ſucceſs of the fleet ſent out by *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, and his ſtrange adventures for ten years.—*Nunno de Guzman* of ſeveral cities and provinces of New Spain. *Francis de Ulla*'s voyage to California.—*Vaſquez Coronado* and *Marco da Nizza* of the provinces north of New Spain.—*Alarcon*'s voyage by ſea to diſcover the ſeven cities north of Mexico.—Diſcovery and conqueſt of Peru, writ by a Spaniſh captain.—*Xeres*'s conqueſt of Peru.—The ſame by *Pizarro*'s ſecretary.—*Oviedo*'s account of a voyage up the great river of *Maranon*.—*Verazzano*'s diſcovery of North America.—*Jacques Cartier*'s firſt and ſecond voyages to Canada or New France.—*Federici*'s voyage to India, with a large account of the ſpice, drugs, jewels, and pearls in thoſe parts.—Three voyages of the Dutch to diſcover *the north-eaſt paſſage* to China and Japan, in which they found the ſtraits of *Weygats* and *Nova Zembla*, and the coaſt of *Greenland*, running to 80 degrees of north latitude.—Theſe, with many learned diſcourſes and obſervations of the author's, are the contents of the three Volumes.

Prima ſpeditione all' Indie orientali del P. F. Gioseppe *di Santa Maria*, 4to, *Roma* 1668. This author was ſent by pope *Alexander* VII. to the Malabar Chriſtians of S. Thomas, being himſelf a barefoot Carmelite, and has in this left a moſt excellent piece of curioſity. He gives a very particular account of the places and people he ſaw; of birds, beaſts, and other animals; and of the philoſophy of the *Brahmans*, their ſecrets, and of all the other Malabars, as alſo of the infinite number of their gods. Hence he proceeds further, to treat of the vaſt empire of the Mogul, of the pearl-fiſhery, of the *Sabeans* about Baſſora, who pretend they received their religion from *S. John Baptiſt*; and concludes with the errors of the Jacobites, Neſtorians, Greeks, Armenians, and other eaſtern ſects.

Hiſtoria delle Guerre Civili di Polonia, progreſſi dell'arme Mocovite contro a Polacchi, relationi della Moſcovia e Suetia, e loro governi, di D. Alberto Vinina Belluneso, 4to, *Venetia* 1672. Though the wars of Poland may not ſeem relating to travels, this work is inſerted, as giving a good account of the Poles, Tartars, and Coſſacks, their government, manners, &c. then follows that of Muſcovy and Sweden, where the author travelled, and made his excellent obſervations.

Il viaggio all'Indie orientali, del P. F. Vincenzo Maria *di S. Caterina da Siena, fol. Roma* 1673. A voyage to the Eaſt Indies, performed by *F. Vincent Maria* of S. Catherine of Siena, procurator-general of the barefoot Carmelites, and ſent to India by the way of Turkey

and Persia by the pope; together with *F. Joseph* of S. Mary, who writ also an account of his travels, which is mentioned above. This author divides his work into five books: in the *first* and *last*, is a journal of all things remarkable in his travels thither and back again. The *second* treats of the affairs of the Malabar Christians. The *third* and *fourth* of all the nations of India, their manners, customs, wealth, government, religion, plants, animals, &c. The whole is so faithful, exact, and learned an account of all things remarkable in those parts, that scarce any other can equal it. Italian Writers.

Istorica descrittione de tre regni Congo, Matamba, et Angola, et delle missione apostoliche essercitaevi da religiosi Capuccini, compilata dal P. Gio. Antonio Cavazzi, *et nel presente stile ridotta dal P. Fortunato Alamandini, fol. Bologna* 1687. An historical description of the kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and Angola; the authors were Capuchin missioners, who compiled it by order of the congregation *de propaganda fide*, and have given a most accurate description of those countries, and all things of note in them; as also of the Missions thither, which was the principal end of their painful travels.

Relatione della citta d'Attene, colle provincie dell' Attica, Focia, Beotia, e Negroponte, ne tempi che furono queste passeggiate da Cornelio Magni *l'anno* 1674, 4to. *Parma* 1688. An account of Athens, and the provinces of Attica, Focia, Beotia, and Negropont, which the author viewed, and took a particular account of; and for further satisfaction conferred with Mr. *Spon*, who had travelled the same parts, for his approbation of what he delivers. He treats very briefly of Syria, Chaldea, and Mesopotamia, and principally inlarges himself upon the city of Athens, the condition whereof he describes more fully than any other has done.

Relatione e viaggio della Moscovia del signor cavaliere D. Ercole Zani, *Bolognese*, 12mo, *Bolognia* 1690. This voyage to Muscovy is writ by a most judicious person, who had spent a great part of his life in travelling, and deserves to be highly valued, as coming from such an hand; and the more, because we have but very imperfect accounts of that country.

Viaggio del monte Libano del R. R. Jeronimo Dandina, 12mo. He performed this voyage to *mount Libanus* by order of pope *Clement* VIII. to inquire into the faith of the Maronite Christians; he describes the country, gives an account of the people's doctrines, their manner of living, their books, learning, bishops, priests, and religious men. A work very curious and useful. It is translated into French, and the translator has added many useful remarks of his own.

Relazione del viaggio fatto a Constantinopoli, et da Gio. Benaglia, 12mo. *Bologna* 1664. This is an account of Count *Caprara*'s embassy to the great Turk, the author being his secretary; and has many good remarks of that court, and of the Turkish army, taken by him upon the spot, and therefore well worth the observation of the curious (*Biblioth. Univ.* vol. XV. p. 75.)

French.

Relations de divers voyages curieux par M. Melchisedec * Thevenot. There is no need to give a character of this author, any further than that he has received the general approbation of the learned, for compiling a Collection of curious Travels in two volumes folio.—The *first* contains *Greaves*'s description of the Pyramids of Egypt, and *Buratini*'s account of the Mummies. An account of the Cossacks, another of the Tartars, another of *Mingrelia*, and another of

* *Melchisedec Thevenot* possessed an ardent desire for travelling from a child, and at an early age his favourite propensity was in part gratified. The care of the king's library was afterwards intrusted to his diligent research. He died in 1692. Edit.

Georgia.

French Writers.

Georgia.—*Jenkinson*'s voyage to Cathay.—An extract of the Dutch embassy to the Tartar. A relation of the conquest of the island *Formosa* by the Chinese; another of the court of the Mogol.—Sir *Thomas Roe*'s and *Terry*'s voyage to the Mogol.—A Greek description of the East Indies.—The Arabic geography of *Abulfeda*.—The antiquities of *Persepolis*.—The beginning of a book of the Chaldeans of Bassora.—Relations of the kingdoms of Golconda, Tanassari, and Aracan, of the gulph of Bengala and of Siam.—*Bontekoue*'s voyages to India.—The discovery of *Terra Australis*.—The sailing course to India.—Instructions upon the trade of India to Japan.—*Beaulieu*'s voyage to the West Indies.—Accounts of the Philippine islands, of Japan, of the discovery of the land of Yedso.—A description of the plants and flowers of China.—Ancient monuments of Christian religion in China.—The *second* Volume; the Dutch embassy to China; the Chinese Atlas.—The state of India.—The portraiture of the Indians. *Acarete*'s voyage on the river Plate, and thence to Peru and Chile.—Journey by land to China. The second book of *Confucius* the Chinese philosopher.—The history of Ethiopia, and of some countries about it.—Travels to the province of Zaide in Egypt.—The history of Mexico in figures explained.—*Tasman*'s voyage to *Terra Australis*.—Instructions for the navigation from Holland to Batavia.—Two embassies to the emperor of Cathay.—A chronological synopsis of the Chinese monarchy.—*Barros*'s Asia, or conquest of India.—An account of the Christians of *St. John*.—A voyage to *Tercera*.—The elements of the Tartar language.—A fragment concerning the isles of Solomon; another of the history of some eastern princes.

Thevenot has also composed one volume in 8vo, in which is an Embassy from the Czar of Moscovy to China by land.—The discovery of some countries in North America, and of the great river Mississippi.—A discourse of navigation.—The natural histories of the *Ephemera*, or fly that lives but a day, and the *Cancellus*.

Les six voyages de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER *en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes.* These travels are printed in several sorts of volumes in French, according to the several editions, and have been translated into English. He is a faithful writer, and deserves full credit in what he delivers upon his own sight and knowledge; but in some relations taken from others, he was imposed upon, being a person of integrity, and not suspecting others would give a false information. His accounts are very particular and curious, and the extent he travelled very great; having taken several ways in his six journies. But above all, he gives the best description of the diamonds, mines, and rivers where they are found, and manner of finding them; having been upon the spot, as being a great dealer in those precious stones.

Recueil de plusieurs relations et traites singuliers et curieux de Jean Baptiste * *Tavernier, divise en cinque parties*, 4to. This is an addition to his voyages; in which he treats of the Dutch practices to exclude all Christians from Japan, negotiations of French deputies in Persia and India, remarks on the trade of India, an account of the kingdom of Tunquin, and the history of the proceedings of the Dutch in Asia.

Relation nouvelle de la CAROLINE, *par un gentilhomme François, arrive depuis deux mois de ce nouveau pais, ou il parle de la route quil faut tenir pour y aller le plus surement, et de l'etat ou il a*

* *Jean Baptiste Tavernier* was born at Paris in 1605, where his father conducted the business of a geographer. Such was his love of travelling, that before he had reached his twenty-second year, he had visited almost every part of his own country, England, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, Hungary, and Italy. During the space of forty years he made six voyages into Turkey, Persia, and the Indies. The two first volumes of his Voyages in 4to, were written from his notes by Samuel Chappuzeau, and the third by *Chapelle*, secretary to the first president De Lamoignon. He died in 1689. EDIT.

trouve

trouve cette nouvelle contrée. A la Haye 1686, 12mo. This is a modern account of Florida, its eſtate in the year 1684, and the beſt way to it. The book has a good reputation; and as Florida is one of thoſe American countries we have not the beſt account of, this is a conſiderable light into it. French Writers.

*Relation du Voyage de monſieur l'*EVESQUE DE BERYTE *par la Turquie, la Perſe, les Indes juſques au Royaume de Siam, et autres lieux, eſcrit par monſieur de Bourges, Preſtre*, 8vo. An account of the biſhop of *Berytus*'s journey by land through Turkey, Perſia, and India, into China, by a prieſt that went with him; very curious in the deſcription of thoſe countries and manners of the people, with inſtructions for travellers to thoſe parts (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 591.)

L'Ambaſſade de D. GARCIA DE SILVA FIGUERRA. This is a tranſlation out of Spaniſh, and the account of the book is among the Spaniſh under the title, *Embaxada*, &c. to which the reader may turn; only he is advertiſed that he may ſee more concerning this tranſlation in *Journ. des Scav.* (vol. I. p. 205.)

Les voyages de monſieur de MONCONYS. Monſieur *Monconys*'s travels in three volumes, 4to. The *firſt* through Portugal, Italy, Egypt, Syria, and Conſtantinople. The *ſecond* into England, the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy. The *third* into Spain. Beſides the general account of thoſe countries and particular places, they contain abundance of rare and extraordinary obſervations and ſecrets in phyſic and chemiſtry, and mathematical inventions. But the author dying before the work was fitted for the preſs, it is in ſome meaſure imperfect, and has many particulars of no uſe to any but himſelf; which there is no doubt he would have omitted, had he lived (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 339, and 424.)

Deſcription des coſtes de l'Amerique ſeptentrional, avec l'hiſtoire de ce pays, par monſieur DENYS, 2 vol. 12mo. The firſt volume is a deſcription of the northern coaſts of America and the countries adjacent, with a map of them, rendered extraordinary diverting by ſeveral ſtories related. The ſecond is the natural hiſtory, very curious and learned (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. III. p. 141.)

Relation ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes orientales, contenant les affaires du pais, et les eſtabliſſements de pluſieurs nations, &c. 12mo. This author ſet out on his voyage in the year 1671. He is worth reading for ſeveral obſervations not eaſily to be found in others; but moſt for his account of the ſettlements of European nations, yet all ſhort.

Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Egypt, par le P. VANSLEB *en* 1672, *et* 1673, 12mo. The author to what he ſaw himſelf, for the better information of his reader, adds all that is to be found remarkable in other late travellers relating to Egypt.

Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant, aux années 1675, *et* 1676, *par* JACOB SPON, 12mo. 3 vols. This work, beſides the general obſervations of travellers, is ſingular for its curioſity in the ſearch of antiquities (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. VI. p. 128, and 185.)

Voyage de FRANÇOIS PIRARD DE LA VAL *aux Indes orientales, Maldives, Moluques, et au Breſil*, &c. 4to. This is one of the exacteſt pieces of travels, and the moſt diverting hitherto made public. M. *Pirard* the traveller furniſhed the materials, which were digeſted, and methodiſed by ſeveral very able men in France. Many who have travelled after him mention much of what he does, and yet he has ſome curioſities which others have not touched upon (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. VII. p. 85.)

AMBASSADE *de la compagnie des Indes orientales des Provinces unies vers les empereurs du Japon, An.* 1641, *fol.* It is a perfect account of all that happened to the ſaid embaſſadors, and full deſcription of the country, towns, cities, &c. with variety of cuts (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. VIII. p. 130. and *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. IV. p. 499.)

French Writers.

Nouvelle relation d'un voyage de Conſtantinople, preſentée au roy par le SIEUR GRELOT, *An.* 1680, in 4to. A curious account not only of that city, but of all places to it, with cuts drawn by the author upon the ſpot (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. VIII. p. 296.)

Relation des miſſions et des voyages des Eveques vicaries apoſtoliques, et de leurs eccleſiaſtiques en années 1676, *et* 1677, in 8vo. This is a relation of what thoſe preachers obſerved in their travels in Aſia.

Les voyages de JEAN STRUYS *en Moſcovie*, &c. in 4to. In theſe travels through Muſcovy, Tartary, Perſia, India, the iſle of Madagaſcar, and other places, being a vaſt extent of ground, and to be travelled many ſeveral ways, there are abundance of notable obſervations, not to be found in other books of this ſort; the whole very inſtructive and diverting (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. IX. p. 260.)

Relation nouvelle particulier du voyage des Peres de la mercy aux royaumes de Fez et de Moroc, en l'an 1681, 12mo. Beſides what theſe fathers did, as the peculiar buſineſs of their religious profeſſion, this book contains many curioſities relating to the king of Morocco, and the cuſtoms of the country (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. X. p. 354.)

Relation de la riviere des Amazons traduit par M. GOMBERVILLE, *ſur l'original Eſpagnol du P. d'Acuſia jeſuite.* This is a relation of the ſaid father's voyage down this vaſt river; to which the tranſlator has added a diſſertation, the principal matters treated of therein being the towns of Manoa, Dorado, and the lake of Parima (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XI. p. 107.)

Relation du voyages de Veniſe a Conſtantinople de JAQUES GASSOT, 12mo. This author, though he writ above an hundred years ago, is valuable for many curious obſervations not to be found in later travellers (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XII. p. 139.)

Relation du voyage des Indes orientales, par M. DELLON, two volumes 12mo. The author affirms, he has inſerted nothing but what he ſaw; much of what he relates has been delivered by other authors: but he is very particular, and out-does them all in his account of the coaſt of Malabar; and concludes with a treatiſe of diſeaſes in thoſe parts, and their cures (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 121.)

Hiſtoire de la conqueſte de la Floride par les Eſpagnols, traduit du Portugais, 12mo. This is a very exact account of that country, and all that happened in the conqueſt of it, writ by a Portugueſe gentleman, who ſerved in that war, and was an eye-witneſs of all that paſſed (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 394.)

Voyages de l'empereur de la Chine dans la Tartarie, auſquels on a joint une nouvelle decouverte au Mexique, 12mo. It treats of two journies the emperor of China made into the eaſtern and the weſtern Tartary. The other part ſhews the ſettlement made by the Spaniards in the iſland of California, *An.* 1683 (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 446.)

Relation de l'embaſſade de Mr. LE CHEVALIER DE CHAUMONT *a la cour du roy de Siam*, 12mo. He writes not like a common traveller, but like an ambaſſador; and is therefore more political, and treats of higher matters than others, though often deſcending to things of leſs moment, worth the general obſervation; as the deſcription of the country, cuſtoms and manners of the inhabitants, and other things of that nature (*Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XIV. p. 396. and *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. III. p. 521.)

Journal du voyage du CHEVALIER CHARDIN *en Perſe, et aux Indes orientales par la mer Noire, et par la Colchide, fol.* Though ſo many travellers as have viſited thoſe parts before, ſeem to have left nothing new to write of; yet in him are found abundance of rarities not to be ſeen in any other, and remarks no where elſe to be found, and particularly the expoſition of ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, which the author makes out by cuſtoms preſerved in the

eaſt from the time of Moſes till our day (*Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XIV. p. 535. and *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. III. p. 520.)

French Writers.

AMBASSADES *de la compagnie Hollandoiſe d'orient vers l'empereur du Japon*, 2 vol. 12mo. It is an abridgement of a volume in folio, printed in the year 1680, and is divided into three parts: the firſt is the deſcription of Japan; the ſecond an account of the embaſſy there; and the third of five other embaſſies. To which is added, a relation of the civil wars in Japan (*Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XV. p. 139.)

*Journal du voyage de Siam, fait par monſieur l'*ABBE DE * CHOISI, 4to. It is compoſed of ſeveral letters writ by this gentleman, who was ſent by the king of France with the character of embaſſador in caſe the king of Siam had embraced Chriſtianity, as was hoped; and does not only inform us as to all particulars of that great kingdom, but of many others about it as far as Tonquin and Cochinchina, without neglecting in the way to treat very accurately of the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 301.)

Hiſtoire des Indes orientales, 4to. It is divided into two parts. The firſt treats of the voyage to, and obſervations at Cape Verde, of the iſle of Madagaſcar, and ſeveral paſſages which happened in Argier and Conſtantinople; the ſecond of two voyages into India (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 436. and *Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. II. p. 307.)

Hiſtoire naturelle et politique du royaume de SIAM, 4to. It is divided into four parts, which treat, 1. Of the ſituation and nature of the country. 2. The laws and cuſtoms of the people. 3. Their religion; and, 4. Of the king and court. Monſieur GERVAISE the author of it reſided there four years, underſtood the language perfectly, read their books, and converſed with the moſt intelligent perſons, and therefore got good information of what he writes, having been careful to deliver as little as he could of what others had before made public (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 612.)

Relation nouvelle et exact d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, 12mo. Contains an exact deſcription of all the places where the principal paſſages of our Saviour's paſſion happened; and many other things well worth obſerving, being very ſhort, and yet full enough (*Journal des Scavans*, vol. XVI. p. 204. and *Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. III. p. 417.)

Voyage en Moſcovie d'un ambaſſadeur de l'empereur Leopold, 12mo. *An.* 1661. He deſcribes the great rivers, the chief towns on the banks of them, the manners, government, and religion of the people (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVI. p. 232.)

Deſcription hiſtorique du royaume de Macaçar, 12mo. It is divided into three books, the firſt the deſcription of the country, the ſecond the manners and government of the people and kingdom, the third the religion (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVI. p. 532. and *Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. V. p. 324.)

Relation de la Nigritie, 12mo. It contains an exact deſcription of the kingdoms of the Blacks, their government, religion, manners, rarities of the country; with the diſcovery of river Senegal, and a map of it; by four FRANCISCAN FRIARS, who went thither upon the miſſion in the year 1689, from France (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 311.)

Voyage du PERE TACHARD *et des* JESUITES *envoyez par la roy, au royaume de Siam, An.* 1685, 4to. This is an hiſtorical, phyſical, geographical, and aſtronomical account, being taken by learned men, and great mathematicians. The firſt book is moſtly aſtronomical obſervations in the

* *François Timoléon de Choiſi*, was prior of S. Lo, *Grand-doyen* of the cathedral of Bayeaux, and one of the forty of the Academie Françoiſe. He was born at Paris in 1644: in 1685 he was ſent ambaſſador to the king of *Siam*; and died at Paris in 1724.

French Writers.

voyage to the Cape of Good Hope; the second, a relation of the Table-mountain, and many other things about the aforesaid cape; the third, passages at Batavia and Macassar; the fourth, of affairs of Siam, and others; the fifth continues the same matter; the sixth, much natural history, concluding with the king of Siam's letters to the pope, king of France, and *F. le Chaise*; the seventh, the father's return home; and the eighth, from thence to Rome (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 415. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. IV. p. 472.)

Second voyage du PERE TACHARD *et des* JESUITES *envoyez par le roy, au royaume de Siam*, 1689, 8vo. This father returned from his first voyage to carry more missioners; and this second voyage, which he divides into eight books, like the other contains many historical, physical, geographical, and astronomical remarks, besides abundance of other observations and curiosities omitted in the first voyage (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XIV. p. 445.)

Histoire de l'Eglise du Japon, par Mr. l'Abbé de T. 2 vol. 4to. It was writ by F. SOLIER, a Jesuit, and published by *l'Abbé*, who refined the language. This, though an ecclesiastical history, contains all the diverting particulars to be found in books of travels, as being composed by those fathers, who were all travellers in that country. It is an excellent work, in twenty books (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 486.)

Journal du voyage fait a la Mer du Sud avec les Flibustiers de l'Amerique, en 1684, *et années suivantes, par le* SIEUR RAVENEAU DE LUSSAND, 12mo. It is a buccaneering expedition, containing very much of robbery, with an account of the Isthmus of America, and countries about it, where the author with his gang travelled much by land (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 721.)

Histoire de monsieur Constance premier ministre du roy de SIAM, *et de la derniere revolution de cet estat. Par le P. d'*ORLEANS, 12mo. It is a relation of that gentleman's wonderful adventures in Siam, where he attained to be first minister to that great monarch in the year 1685; and those that followed, with the revolution of that kingdom, and the persecution that ensued against the Christians (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVIII. p. 373.)

Du royaume de SIAM. *Par Mr.* DE LA LOUBERE, *envoye extraordinaire du roy, aupres du roy de Siam, en* 1687, *et* 1688, 2 vol. 12mo. In this there are many particulars not to be found in other relations. The first volume divided into three parts; the first geographical, the second of customs in general, and the third of manners in particular. The second volume begins with strange fables and superstitions, proceeds to the practices of the religious men, and many other particulars extraordinary, curious, and remarkable (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 256, *et* 269.)

Relation du voyage d'Espagne, 3 vol. 12mo. Treats of the country in general, of the situation of its towns, of public and private structures, of palaces and churches, with their ornaments, &c. of the king's power, government, councils, employments, benefices, and their revenues; of the orders of knighthood, and the inquisition: with many pleasant adventures, in which there is much of the romantic (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 364.) It is writ by the Countess *d'Aunoi*, and has much of the woman.

Nouvelle relation de la Gaspesie. Par le P. CHRETIEN LE CLERCQ, 12mo. This is a complete account of the manners and religion of the savages called *Gaspesians*, carrying crosses, and worshipping the sun; and other nations of Canada in North America. It was taken in twelve years, the author residing there as missioner, beginning *An.* 1675 (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 395. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XXIII. p. 86.)

Premier establissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France. Par le P. LE CLERCQ, *missionaire*, 2 vol. 12mo. It is the complete history of Canada, or New France, from the first discovery of it till this time; containing the discoveries, settling of colonies, conquests, and all other passages

from

from those northern parts down to the gulph of Mexico; with the battles with the English and Iroquois, *An.* 1690 (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 131.) French Writers.

Voyages en divers estats d'Europe, et d'Asie, pour decouvrir un nouveau Chemin a la Chine, 4to. These travels were writ and performed by F. AVRIL, a Jesuit, who spent five years traversing Turky, Persia, Muscovy, Poland, Prussia, Moldavia, and Tartary, and embarked in several seas to find out this way to China, to avoid the tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope and India. The relation is physical, geographical, hydrographical, and historical (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 187.)

Les avantures de JAQUES * SADEUR *dans la decouverte, et le voyage de la Terre Australe*, 12mo. This is a very extraordinary account of *Terra Australis incognita*, infinitely exceeding all that has been writ of it by others; the author being cast upon that country after the loss of the ship he was in, and living thirty years among those savages. He therefore treats of the manners of the people, their religion, employments, studies, wars; of the birds and beasts, and other rarities (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 256.)

Voyages historiques de l'Europe, 8 vol. 12mo. The first of these volumes treats only of France; the second of Spain and Portugal; the third of Italy; the fourth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the fifth of the Seven United Provinces; the sixth of the empire; the seventh of Muscovy; the eighth of Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. These volumes are travels into the most considerable parts of Europe, and contain abundance of singularities not observed by other travellers and writers (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXI. p. 93. 95. 276.)

Relation du voyage, et retour des Indes orientales, pendant les années 1690, 1691, *par* UN GARDE DE LA MARINE *servant sur le bord de M.* DUQUESNE *commandant de l'Escadre*, 12mo. It has many curious observations during the voyage outward and homeward bound, and an account of all places the squadron touched at (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXI. p. 177.)

Les voyages du SIEUR LE MAIRE *aux isles Canaries, Cap Verde, Senegal et Gambie*, 12mo. In this are many particulars of those African countries, little known, and scarce to be found in other travellers (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXIII. p. 364.)

Nouvelle relation de la Chine, en l'année 1688, *par le R. P.* GABRIEL DE MAGAILLANS, *de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 8vo. This was originally writ in Portuguese, and ought to have been among the travels in that language, had we any number of them. It was thought worth translating into French first, and from that into English, but was never printed in its original language. It has the reputation of an exact and faithful account (*Hist. des ouvrages des Scav.* vol. II. p. 203.)

Relation universelle de l'Afrique ancienne et moderne, par le SIEUR DE LA CROIX, 12mo. 4 vols. Besides the chronology and geography, it has the customs, manners, religion, trade, plants, and other particulars of the continent and islands; and what the king of France has done against the Barbary Corsairs, (An. 1688, *A Lyon.*)

Le Bouclier de l'Europe, contenant des avis politiques et chretiens, &c. *Avec une relation de voyages faits dans la Turquie, la Thebaide, et la Barbarie. Par le R. R.* JEAN COPPIN, 4to. This father was first a soldier, then consul for the French nation at Damietta in Egypt, and

* *Jacques Sadeur*, his real name was *Gabriel Foigni*, a Cordelier: his voyage was first published in 1676. This work has lately lost considerably in point of credit. Foigni died at a convent in Savoy during the year 1692.

lastly,

French Writers.

lastly, a Religious man. The design of his work is to stir up Christian princes to make war on the Turk; and accordingly his first, and second books, are taken up in shewing of how great consequence that war is, the methods of managing it, the causes of the rise and decay of the Ottoman empire, and much more to that effect. In the following books he proceeds to his travels; first in Egypt, where he has many curious observations not to be found in other travellers, but more particularly, in that he took the pains to travel the great desart of Thebaida, where few besides him have been in these latter times; and this is the subject of his third and fourth books. The fifth treats of Barbary, Phœnicia, and the Holy Land; and the work concludes with an exact description of the city Damietta, where he resided some years. His relation is faithful, and deserves all credit, especially in those things he delivers as an eye-witness. It was published at Paris in the year 1686 (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. V. p. 103.)

Journal, ou suite du voyage de SIAM, *en forme de lettres familieres, fait en* 1685, *et* 1686, *par monsieur l'*ABBE DE CHOISI, 8vo. It is the third account of the French ambassadors sent to Siam; monsieur *de Chaumont* and *P. Tachard*, both before mentioned, being the two others. It contains an exact journal of that Voyage, has all the sea-terms, much of the same as *F. Tachard*, and several other remarks. He treats of the war at Bantam, of the island of Java, of Batavia, the power of the Dutch in India, of Siam, Tonquin, Cochinchina, &c. (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. VI. p. 274.)

Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de SIAM, *par monsieur* GERVAISE, 1688, 4to. The author lived four years at the court of Siam, and affirms nothing but what he saw, or found in the best books of that country, as also by discourse with the best people there. He says little or nothing of what has been mentioned by other travellers to Siam; and adds much, which they, as being only passengers, could not observe. The work is divided into four parts: the first contains the description of the country; the second the laws, customs, manners, and government of that nation; the third the religion; the fourth speaks of the king, royal family, and court (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. X. p. 516.)

Relation nouvelle et exacte d'un voyage de la TERRE SAINTE, *ou description de l'etat present des lieux, ou se sont passées les principales actions de la vie de Jesu Christ. Paris* 1688, 8vo. This is a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and therefore writ in a religious stile, and contains the account of all the holy places in Palestine, and a description of Malta; and is a good guide for such as desire to travel into those parts.

Voyages de M. de THEVENOT *en Asie et en Afrique. Paris* 1689, 3 vols. 12mo. It is to be observed, that whereas before mention is made of *Thevenot*'s travels, that is a collection of other men as appears there; but these are M. *Thevenot*'s own travels, divided into three parts: the first, of the eastern countries under the Turk; the second, continues other eastern parts, proceeding towards Persia; and the third, the East Indies. It is one of the most curious and exact works of this nature hitherto published, and well deserving to be read by all that are curious of travels (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XIII. p. 246.)

Voyages d'Amerique, histoire des avanturieres qui se sont signalez dans les Indes, &c. *Par* ALEXANDER OLIVIER OEXMELIN. *Paris* 1688, 2 vols. 12mo. This was a surgeon sent over in the service of the French West India company, and sold in America, where he lived several years. The author of the *Biblioth. Univers.* gives a great character of this work; and says, no man has yet given so good an account of the manner of living in those parts, besides very good descriptions, and all that is requisite in such a work; of which see more in the said *Biblioth. Univers.* (vol. XVIII. p. 129.)

Nouveau

Nouveau voyage d'Italie fait en l'année 1688, *avec un memoire contenant des avis utiles a ceux qui voudront faire le meme voyage. A la Haye*, 1691, 2 vols. 12mo. *Par monsieur* MISSON. This author gives a general account of all things observable in Italy, and therefore is the more diverting. He begins his travels in Holland, of which he gives a short account; then crossing Germany and Tirol, he runs down Italy by the Adriatic shore, and returns on the other side through Tuscany, Genoa, Piedmont, Switzerland. French Writers.

Voyage en divers etats d'Europe et d'Asie, entrepris pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin a la Chine. Par LE P. AVRIL. *Paris* 1693, 12mo. The first book contains the author's travels from Marseilles to Erivan in Persia; the second from Erivan to Moscow; in the third he gives an account of Tartary, but it was such as he received from others, for he was not in that country; and in the fourth, of his return to Poland, thence to Constantinople, and thence for want of health to France (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XXIV. p. 203.).

Histoire de la revolution de l'Empire du Mogol, par monsieur F. BERNIER, 8vo. This history of the revolution of the Empire of the Mogul, contains the whole account of *Aurenge Zeb* dethroning his father, with all the intrigues and wars on that account; the description of *Agra* and *Delhi*, capital cities of that empire, many particulars of that court, the doctrines, customs, &c. of the Indians, the Mogul's journey to Cachemire, and other curious observations made by the author in his travels in that country.

Relation d'un voyage en la Mauritanie, par le sieur ROLAND FREJUS, 8vo. The author of this voyage into Mauritania was sent by the king of France's order in the year 1666, to settle trade in the kingdom of Fez, and gives a very just, though brief account of his voyage and negotiation. There is added to it a letter of monsieur *Charant*, who lived twenty-five years in Suez and Morocco, giving an account of the religion, manners, trade, &c. of those people.

Voyages en Asie, Afrique, et l'Amerique. Par monsieur JEAN MOCQUET, 8vo. (See this among the English.)

Voyage par monsieur du QUESNE *aux Indes en* 1691, *et* 1692, &c. (See more of this among the English, 8vo.)

Voyages historiques et curieux en Allemagne, Boheme, Suisse, Holland, &c. *de monsieur* CHARLES PATIN, 8vo. (See this among the English.)

Voyage aux Indes, de DILLON, 2 vol. 12mo.

Histore de la Chine sous la domination des Tartares; par le P. GRESLON *de la Comp. de Jesus*, 8vo. *Paris* 1672. We have here a succinct history of China from the year 1651, till 1669, delivered by a missioner resident there many years; his principal subject is the astronomy of China, which gained the first admission to the missioners; of which, and all its parts, and how used and practised there, he treats very ingeniously and learnedly (*Giorn. de Letter.*)

Voyage du Levant; par monsieur de LOIR, 12mo. A voyage to the Levant in ten letters, containing all things remarkable in the islands of the Archipelago; Ephesus, Smyrna, Constantinople, Scutari, Negropont, Greece, the Morea, and all the coasts to Venice; in which are all the ancient and modern names of places, and what authors have said of them, compared with what was when the author travelled. A work no less learned than curious (*Giorn. de Letter. An.* 1673.)

Voyage d'Angleterre, par monsieur SORBIERE, 12mo. This account of England is not methodical, but contains some observations worth reading.

Relation universelle de l'Afrique ancienne et moderne, par le sieur de la CROIX, 4 vols. 12mo. *Lyon* 1688. This is the fullest, and most perfect account yet extant of that great part of the world.

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would being a judicious and laborious collection of all the best that has been writ on the subject (*Giorn. de Letter. An.* 1689.)

Histoire de l'isle de Ceylon, par le capitain JEAN RIBEYRO, *traduite du Portugais en François*, 12mo *Paris* 1701. This short history of Ceylon, though writ originally in Portuguese, and published in the year 1685, is here inserted in the French translation, because the translator Mr. *Le Grand* has added to it several chapters, collected from the best authors tha have writ of that island. It is divided into three books: the first is the description of the island, its government, religion, product, &c. the second treats of the wars there between the Portuguese, the natives, and the Dutch; and the third, of the errors the Portuguese committed in their conquest of India; and the power of the Dutch in those parts (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXIX. p 389.)

Nouveau memoires sur l'estat present de la Chine, par le P. LOUIS LE COMTE, 2 vols. 12mo. *Paris* 1696. F. *Le Comte*'s memoirs of China have appeared in English; they have abundance of very remarkable passages and singular curiosities, and have been too much talked of to require much to be said of them (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXV. p. 58.)

Derniere descouvertes dans l'Amerique septentrionale de monsieur DE LA SALE, *mises au jour par monsieur le* CHEVALIER TONTI, *governeur du fort S. Louis aux Islinois*, 12mo. *Paris* 1697. This is an account of a vast discovery in North America, being the whole length of the river Missisipi, from the French plantations in Canada down to the gulph of Mexico to the southward; and from the same plantation to the source of the said river northwards (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXV. p. 311.)

Relation d'un voyage fait en 1696, *et* 1697, *aux costes de l'Afrique, detroit de Magellan, Brezil, Cayenne, et isles Antilles, par le sieur* FROGER. This is a relation of an expedition of six French ships, fitted out during the war with Spain in those years; it is looked upon as very faithful, and adorned with a great number of maps and cuts of all sorts (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXVI. p. 164.)

Memoires du Chevalier BEAUJEU, *contenant divers voyages en Pologne, Allemagne, et en Hongries*, 12mo. *Paris* 1679. The author of these memoirs having travelled in Poland, Germany, and Hungary, undertakes to rectify many mistakes in the maps as to distances of places; he gives a particular account of these countries, and most especially of Poland, and all things relating to it (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXVI. p. 284.)

Relation du voyage du SIEUR DE MONTAUBAN *capitain des Flibustiers en Guinée, dans l'année* 1695. This was a privateer voyage, which ended in the blowing up the ship; but so that the captain escaped, and got ashore on the coast of Afric, of which he gives some account; thence he got over to Barbadoes, and thence into France.

Relation curieuse et nouvelle de Moscovie, contenant l'etat de cet empire, 12mo. *Paris* 1698. This account of Muscovy is composed by Mr. DE NEUVILLE, envoy from the king of Poland to the Czar, who during his residence there collected the best account of a way through Muscovy and Tartary to China, as convenient as any for travellers in Europe, which he says he was told by one that travelled it twice; but that the Czar at the request of the Dutch has prohibited merchants trading that way.

Journal du Voyage des grandes Indes, contenant tout ce qui s'y est fait et passe par l'escadre de sa majeste, envoye sous le commandement de M. de la HAYE, 12mo. *Orleans* 1697. This is a voyage of a French fleet to the Indies in the year 1670; it describes Goa, and gives some account of those coasts of taking the city of S. Thomas or *Meliapor*, and the losing it again to the Dutch and infidels, with the return of the French.

Voyage

Voyage d'Italie et de Grece, avec une dissertation sur la bizarrerie des opinions des hommes, 12mo. *Paris* 1698. This author set out from France in the year 1691, and gives such a description of the countries he passed through, and of the adventures that befel him, as renders it extremely diverting; concluding with a reflection upon the extravagant humours of men, whose behaviour he condemns in many particulars, which are rather pleasant and diverting than solid (*Journ. des Sav.* vol. XXVI. p. 535.) French Writers.

SPANISH.

Historia del Gran Tamorlan. Itinerario, y relacion de la embaxada que RUY GONZALES DE CLAVIJO *le hizo por mandado del senor Rey D. Henrique tercero de Castilla.* Sevil 1582, fol. This is the first Spanish book of travels, at least of any reputation, now extant, and is of no less than 300 years antiquity; for though the book was published as above, the embassy was in the year 1403, in which the author spent three years, saw a considerable part of Asia, following *Tamerlan*'s camp, and besides what he saw during those years, had an ample account of all that mighty prince's wars: it is a book rare and of great value. Spanish Writers.

Comentarios do grande ALPHONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE *capitao general da India, collegidos por seu filho das propias cartas, que elle escrivio ao rey D. Manoel.* Lisboa 1576, folio. This is a large relation of the actions of that great man, who was one of the first Portuguese conquerors of the East Indies; and a particular encomium of it is given by *Anthonio Ferreira* in his poems.

*Naufragios d'*ALVAR NUNEZ *Cabeca de Vaca, y—*

*Comentarios d'*ALVAR NUNEZ *Adelantado y governador de la provincia del Rio de la Plata.* Valladolid 1555, 4to. The first was writ by *Alvar Nunez* himself, wherein he gives an account of his shipwreck, and unparalleled sufferings in Florida. The second was composed by his order by *Pedro Fernandez* his secretary, and is an account of the province of the river of Plate, where he was governor: both curious and scarce.

Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Catayo, o Reynos de Tibet en el anno de 1624. Madrid 1627. It is writ by F. ANTHONIO D'ANDRADA, a Jesuit, who in it gives an account of his travels in the most remote eastern countries.

Verdadera description de la Tierra Santa como estava el anno de 1530. Alcala 1531, 8vo. It is an exact account of the Holy Land at that time, writ by F. ANTHONIO D'ARANDA, who travelled it all over as a pilgrim.

El devoto peregrino viage de la Tierra Santa. Madrid 1654, 4to. The description of the Holy Land in a pious style, for the help of pilgrims, by F. ANTONIO DEL CASTILLO, a Franciscan; who was superior of the monastery at Bethlehem.

Relacion de lo sucecido a los Padres de la compania de Jesus en la India, y Japon, en los anos de 1630 *y* 1631. Valladolid, 4to. An account of the travels and actions of the Jesuits in India and Japan, by F. ANTONIO COLLACO.

Jornada do Arcebispo da Goa D. F. Aleino de Menesses, &c. *as serras de Malabar, et lugares em que moram os antigos Christaos de S. Thome.* Coimbra 1606, fol. It was writ by F. ANTONIO DA GOUVEA of the order of S. Augustin, who treats very curiously of the inland parts of Malabar, and Christians of S. Thomas there.

Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las islas, y Tierra Firma del mar oceano, escrita por ANTONIO DE HERRERA. Madrid 1615, 4 vols. folio. A most excellent and complete history of the Discovery and Conquest of America by the Spaniards, not omitting to mention the discoveries made at the same time by other nations. It reaches from *Columbus*'s

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first discovery *an.* 1492, till 1554, divided into four volumes, and those into eight decads, with a very just description of that vast continent.

Historia general de la India oriental, los descubriemientos y conquista que hon hecho los armos de Portugal en el Brasil, &c. *hasta el ano de* 1562. Valladolid 1603, folio. This though ancient, is the fullest account there was till that time of the actions of the Portuguese in the East Indies and Brasil, writ by F. Antonio de S. Roman of the order of S. Benedict.

Historia de la conquista espiritual de la provincia del Paraguay. Madrid 1639. 4to. It is an account of the progress of the Preaching Jesuits in that province, and written by one of them, who was rector of some colleges in that country.

Itinerario da India a Portugal per terra ano 1520. Coimbra 1565, 16mo. A journal of Antonio Tenreiro's travels from India by land into Portugal. It was more rare in those days than now, yet there are good remarks to be found in it.

Viage desde Munila a la China. This voyage was performed by F. Augustin de Tordesillas, a Franciscan, but published by *John Gonzales de Mendoza, an.* 1585, being a voyage from the Philippine islands to China; which I have not seen, nor met with any further account of it.

Historia del descubrimiento, y conquista del Peru, de Augustin de Zarate. Sevilla 1577, 8vo. The author was an examiner or controler of accounts in the king's houshold, and sent over to Peru to enquire into the king's revenue, during the rebellion in those parts; where he gathered materials for his history, which has always been in good esteem where known, as appears by its having been twice translated into Italian.

Historia da Ethiopia alta, do P. Baltasar Tellez, folio. He was a Portuguese Jesuit, who collected this history of Ethiopia from the writings of the Jesuits, who resided there. He is highly commended by *D. Francisco Manoel* in his epistles and his history, and no less by *Georgius Cordosus* in *Agiologio.*

Conquista de las islas Molucas, de Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola. Madrid 1609, fol. This author was historiographer of the kingdom of Arragon, and the most accomplished master of the Spanish tongue in his time: so that his history is not only valuable for his excellent account of the Molucco islands, but for its language, wherein he has outdone most men.

Manual y relacion de las cosas del Peru, de F. Bernardino de Cardenas. Madrid 1634, 4to. The author was a native of Peru, and bishop of Paraguay; so that his birth, education, and learning, qualified him to give a good account of that country.

Navigacion de oriente y noticias de la China, 1577, 8vo. It is a short but ingenious treatise of the eastern Voyages, and some affairs of China.

Historia de Yucatan, de Bernardo de Lizana. The author was a missioner in the province of Yucatan, whose history he writes, but intermixed with much devotion.

Historia de las cosas antiguas que los Indios usavan en su infidelidad, por F. Bernardino de Sahagun. This history treats of the idolatry, rites, and ceremonies of the Indians, and of their government, laws, and politics. The same author also writ *La Conquista,* or the Conquest of Mexico.

Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España, por Bernal Diaz del Castillo, fol. The author of this history of the conquest of Mexico, served in it under *Cortes,* from the beginning till the last; and therefore speaks as an eye-witness, having been in all the expeditions of note, and received what he could not be present at from those that were. He says he finished his work in the year 1568, but it was not published till some years after.

Relacion de las grandezas de Peru, Mexico, y los Angelos de BERNARDO DE LA VEGA. Mexico 1601, 8vo. This is only a collection of rarities in those parts, as the title imports. The author was canon of the church of Tucuman in South America. Spanish Writers.

Sitio naturaleza y propriedades de Mexico, de DIEGO DE CISNEROS, 1618. The author was physician to the Marquis *de Guadalcacar* viceroy of Peru, and gives a very good account of that place.

Decadas da Asia, de JOAO DE BARROS. He finished three decades, in as many volumes, of the history of India; of which the learned *Nicholaus Antonius*, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana*, (pag. 498,) says it is a most complete work, which will last for ever to the honour of the compiler. His fourth volume and decade, which he left imperfect, was finished by *John Baptist Labanha*, historiographer to K. *Philip II.* But after that, *James de Couto* undertook to continue the history from the third decade, where *Barros* ended, and writ nine more; so that the whole work consists of twelve decades, but of these only seven have been printed at Lisbon.

Relaciones del Pegu, de DUARTE FERNANDIZ. Of this relation I find no further account.

Relacion de la provincia de Tucuman, de FERNANDO DE QUINTANA. This relation is of good authority, and the author was one of the first that went over to inhabit that country.

Memorial y relacion las islas Philippinas, de FERNANDO *de los rios Coronel.* The author was a priest in good repute, and gives an account of the wealth, not only of the Philippine, but of the Moluccо islands; representing at the same time what faults there are in the government of those parts to be redressed.

Verdadeira informazao do Presse Joao das Indias de FRANCISCO ALVAREZ. *Lisboa* 1540, folio. The author, a man of great probity, was sent by king *Emanuel* of Portugal into Ethiopia, with his ambassador *Edward Galvao*, and resided there six years, returning thence in the year 1533; and during his stay there had time to collect this historical account, in which he gives a description of the country, of its trade, and all things that happened there during the stay of the Portuguese.

Relazao das provincias de Japao, Malabar, Cochinchina, &c. do P. FRANCISCO CORDIM. The author was a Portuguese Jesuit, who had been in those parts; and his work was so well approved of, that it was thought worthy to be translated into French, and printed at Paris 1645.

Historia general de las Indias de FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA. This author wrote in a commendable stile; but his history is of no credit, being full of false relations, as is made out by all other authors that write of those parts, some of whom were eye-witnesses of the things he misrepresents, and others received them upon much better information.

Conquista del Peru, por FRANCISCO DE XERES. *Salamanca* 1547, fol. The author was secretary to *Francis Pizarro* the great discoverer and conqueror of Peru; and wrote this account of the conquest of that vast kingdom, as an eye-witness, which he presented to the emperor *Charles* the fifth.

Commentarios de los reges Incas del Peru. Lisboa 1609. Folio.

Historia general del Peru, 1617. Fol.

Historia de la Florida, y jornada que hizo a ella el governador Hernando de Soto. 1695, 4to. These three by GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, who calls himself *Inca*, as being the son of a Spaniard, who was one of the conquerors of the kingdom of Peru, by an Indian woman of the imperial race of the *Incas*, from whom he took that name. The history of the ancient *Incas* he

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he received from the natives, that of the actions of the Spaniards from his father and others, who had a share in them.

Trasado em que se contam muitopor estenso as cousas da China, e assi do regno de Ormuz, pelo P. GASPARDA CRUZ. *Ebora* 1569, 4to. The author, a Dominican friar, travelled as a missioner in India, Persia, and China, where he made his observations; and dedicated his work to king *Sebastian* of Portugal: several authors of note make mention of him.

Historia general de las Indias. Salamanca 1547, fol.

Historia del Estrecho de Magallones, 1552. fol.

Navigacion del Rio Marannon. These three by GONZALO FERNANDES D'OVIEDO, who after many honourable employments in Spain, was sent governor of the city of *Santo Domingo* in Hispaniola, where he resided ten years; and compiled his history of the Indies mentioned in the first place, which he had divided into fifty books, whereof only nineteen are in the volume above mentioned; to which is added one called, *Of shipwrecks.* The rest have not appeared, unless we allow his history of the Straits of Magellan, the second here spoke of, to be his twentieth book, which is published by itself. His account of the river *Marannon* is in the third volume of *Ramusio*'s travels.

Tratado de la Conquista de las islas de Persia y Arabia, de las muchas gentes, diversas gentes, y estranas y grandes batallas que vio, por JUAN ANGIER. *Salamanca* 1512, 4to. The author, of whom we have no further account, assures he saw all he writes; which is all the character we can here give his work, but only that it treats of the conquest of the islands on the coasts of Arabia and Persia, and of several nations where he travelled, and the battles he was in.

Historia de las Cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran regno de la China. Madrid 1586, 8vo. This history of the most remarkable things, and the customs and manners of China, was writ by F. JUAN GONZALES DE MENDOZA, of the order of St. Augustin; who in the year 1580 was sent into China by K. *Philip* the second of Spain, where he gathered the materials of his history, and composed it at his return.

Virtudes del Indio, de D. JUAN DE PALAFOX Y MENDOZA, *obispo de la Puebla de los Angelos*, 4to. This is a treatise writ in defence of the Indians by the good bishop, and gives an account of their disposition and manners, in opposition to those that represented them as brutal, and scarce endued with reason. This, though it seems not a book of travels, being the manners and customs of strange nations, and by a traveller to those parts, very well deserves admittance among them.

Ethiopia Oriental, e varia historia de cousas notaveis do oriente, do P. F. JOAO DOS SANTOS. *Ebora* 1609, fol. It treats of the eastern parts of Afric, where the author, who was a Dominican, resided eleven years as a missioner, making his collections on the spot, which he after methodised in his own country.

Historia natural y moral de las Indias, por el P. JOSEPH D'ACOSTA. *Madrid* 1610, 4to. This history is so well known and generally esteemed, that little needs be said of it; the universal character of it being better than what it can here receive, being the History Natural and Moral of the West Indies.

Description del nuevo orbe, y de los naturalez del, por el P. F. LUIS JERONYMO DE ORE. *Lima* 1598, fol. The author was an American by birth, a great traveller in those parts, an able scholar, and of excellent natural parts; all which rendered him capable to write well upon this subject.

Description

Description general de Africa, por LUIS DEL * MARMOL CARAVAJAL. 3 vols. folio. This is the fullest account extant of Afric, generally esteemed in all parts, and has been translated into French. The author being a slave at Morocco, there read and heard those recounts he afterwards published, of the interior parts of Afric which remain inaccessible to Christians. *Thuanus*, and *Ambrosius Morales*, in their histories commend this work. Spanish Writers.

Historia de Ethiopia, y

Historia de la orden de predicadores en Ethiopia, por F. LUIS D'URRETA. 2 vols. 4to. Both these generally condemned as fabulous, and particularly by *F. Nicholas Godinho* in his book *de Abyssinorum rebus.*

Historia de las islas del Archipelago, China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboja, y Japon, por el P. MORCELLO DE RIBADENEIRA. *Barcelona* 1601, 4to. This history of those eastern counties was collected there by the author, who travelled the greatest part of them as a missioner.

Relacion del Nombre, Sitio, Plantas, &c. *de regno de Sardenha, por el Dr.* MARTIN CAMILLO. *Barcelona* 1612, 4to. This was a doctor of the civil law, who being sent by King *Philip* of Spain into Sardinia, to inspect all the courts there, travelled over the whole island of Sardinia, and took that opportunity to write this learned Treatise of its name, situation, plants, conquest, conversion, fertility, towns, cities, and government.

Relacion del Govierno de los Quixos en Indias, 1608, 4to. An account of the province called *Los Quixos* in South America, writ by D. PEDRO DE CASTRO *Eorle* of Lemos. What more to say of it I do not find.

Relacion de Philippinas, por el P. PEDRO CHIRINO. *Roma* 1604, 4to. The author of this account of the Philippine islands, spent the greatest part of his life, and ended his days there, so that he was well acquainted with what he writ; but a great part of it consists of the actions of the Jesuits in those parts, he being of that society.

Primera parte de la Chronica de Peru, de PEDRO CIECA DE LEON. *Antwerp* 1554, 8vo. It treats of the limits and description of the provinces of Peru, the founding of cities, and the customs and manners of the Indians. Only this first part is extant, the other four, which the author promises, and were historical, having never been published; which is a great loss, for by the value of this first we may judge of the rest.

Historia da provincia de Santa Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil. The history of the province of Santa Cruz, vulgarly Brasil, by PEDRO DE MAGALHAENS GANDAVO. *Lisbon* 1579, 4to. It is commended by *Antonius Leo*, in his *Bibliotheca Indica.*

Relacion dos reges da Persia y Ormuz, viage da India oriental a Italia por terra no anno de 1604. An account of the kings of Persia and Ormuz, and travels from India to Italy by land, in the year 1614, 4to. The author PEDRO TEXEIRA, a Portuguese, who performed the journey.

Itinerario de las missiones orientales, con une sumaria relacion del imperio del gran Mogor. An account of the eastern missions, and of the empire of the Mogol. *Rome* 1649, 4to. Composed by SEBASTIAN MANRIQUE, of which we have no other particulars.

Cortas de D. HERNANDO CORTES *Marques del Valle, de la conquista de Mexico, al emperador.* The original letter writ by *Cortes* the famous conqueror of Mexico, giving the emperor

* *Louis Marmol* was a native of Grenada. His description of Africa was first printed at Grenada in 3 vols. folio, 1573. The French translation was published at Paris in 3 vols. 4to, 1667. Marmol was present at the siege of Tunis in 1536, and was for eight years prisoner in Africa. A great part of Marmol is taken from the Africa of John Leo. EDIT.

Charles

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Charles the fifth an account of his expedition. There is no need to speak of the value of such papers, than which nothing can be more authentic, as being the relation of a commander in chief to his sovereign.

Corta do P. GONZALO RODRIGUES *do sua embaixado a Ethiopia, e do que lá succedeo com o seu Rey Claudio.* A letter giving an account of the embassy of *F. Gonzalo Rodriguez*, sent by the king of Portugal to the emperor of Ethiopia. It is to be seen in *F. Nicholas Godinho de rebus Abyssinorum*, (lib. II. cap 58.)

Relacion del viage que hizieron los capitones BARTOLOME GARCIA DE NODAL, *y* GONSALO DE NODAL *hermanos al descubrimento del Estreco Nuevo de S. Vincente, y reconocimiento del de Magalhanes.* This is an account of a voyage performed by the two captains above named to the Straits of St. Vincent, which we call Strait *le Mayre*, and to view that of Magellan, in the years 1618, and 1619. *Madrid* 1621, 4to. It is an exact journal of their voyage and observations whilst they were out, which was 11 months; and they were both able seamen, who had served the king many years.

Viage a la santa ciudad de Jerusalem, descripcion suaya y de toda la tierra santa, y peregrinacion al monte Sinai, por el P. BERNARDO ITALIANO. *Naples* 1632, 8vo. A journey to Jerusalem, the description of that holy city and country, and a pilgrimage to mount Sinai, performed by the author, a Franciscan friar.

Relacion de los Sagrados lugares de Jerusalem, y toda la Tierra santa. The author, F. BLAZE DE BUIZA, a Franciscan, and collector of the charity gathered to pay the Turks the tribute for the privilege of those holy places. It is a curious relation, printed at Salamanca 1624, 8vo.

Tratado de las Drogas, y medicinas de las Indias orientales. Burgos 1578, 4to.

Tratado del viage de las Indias orientales y loque se navega por aquellas partes. Both these by CHRISTOPHER DA COSTA, a native of Tangier; who spent many years in his travels in Afric and Asia, and was a doctor of physic, which enabled him to write that most excellent treatise first mentioned of these two, of the plants and drugs of the East Indies. The second is of the East India voyage, and of those seas.

Relazao da navigazao de DUARTE LOPEZ *a Africa, e Congo, no anno de* 1578. Or *Lopez* his voyage to Afric, and the kingdom of Congo, which is to be seen in Latin in *Theodore de Bry*'s collection.

Viage de D. FRADRIQUE HENRIQUEZ DA RIBERA *a Jerusalem. Lisboa* 1580, 4to. This is a pilgrimage to Jerusalem performed by this nobleman, who was Marquis of *Tarifa*, and spent two years in it, setting out in November 1518, and returning in October 1520, when he left this monument of his piety and ingenuity.

Peregrinacao de FERNAN MENDEZ PINTO. *Lisboa* 1614, fol. *Pinto*'s travels in India, so fabulous that the general consent of the world has exploded them, though some few have taken the pains to defend those chimeras.

Viage que hizo a Jerusalem FRANCISCO GUERERO. *Sevil* 1645. This is another pilgrimage to Jerusalem, by a demi-canon of the cathedral of Sevil, and can only be a repetition of what we see in the others above mentioned.

Chorographia de alguns lugares que stam em hum caminho que Fez GASPOR BARREIRAS, *o ano de* 1546, *de Badajoz em Castel la ate Milan en Italia. Coimbra* 1561, 4to. The author gives an account of the places he passed through in his journey from Badajoz in Spain, to the city of Milan: but *Andrew de Resende* complains that he stole notes which he friendly communicated to him, and inserted them as his own.

Itinerario

Itinerario da India per terra ate Portugal, com a descripzao de Jerusalem. Lisboa 1611, 4to. This journey was performed and book writ by F. GASPAR DA SA, a Portuguese Franciscan, being a journal of his travels from India to Portugal by land, and a description of Jerusalem; but of this sort there are several, and this I do not find has any thing more remarkable above others. Spanish Writers.

Viage de JERONIMO DE SANTISTEVAN *de Genova por el Cairo a la India, y sa buelta a Portugal.* A voyage by *Jerome de Santistevan* from Genoa by the way of Grand Cairo to India, and his return to Portugal. It is to be seen in Italian in the first volume of *Ramusio*'s collection.

Itinerario d'Esparca a las Philippinas, y de alli ala China, y buelta por la India oriental. This is a voyage round the world by F. MARTIN IGNATIUS DE LOYALA, a Franciscan; who took his way from Spain to America, thence to the Philippine islands, thence to China, and so round home by the East Indies. It is printed in *F. John Gonzales de Mendoza*'s history of China, with the author's name to it, in the edition of the year 1585, but the name is left out in that of 1586.

Jornada da terra Santa. Another holy land pilgrimage, by F. NICHOLAS DIAZ, of the order of St. Dominic.

Itinerario da terra santa, e todas as suas particularidades. Another pilgrimage still to the Holy Land, by F. PANFALEO D'AVEIRO. Lisbon 1593, 4to.

Relazao de PEDRO ALVAREZ CABRAL *da sua navegazao a India oriental.* This *Cabral* was the next after *Gama* sent by *Emanuel* king of Portugal into India; and accidentally being drove thither by storms, discovered Brasil. This relation is to be seen in Italian in *John Baptista Ramusio*'s collection.

Relazao de PEDRO DA CINTRA, *da sua navegazao a costa de Guinée, y a India.* A voyage to the coast of Guinea and India, by *Pedro da Cintra*, of which I find no more, but that it was translated into Italian by *Aloisius Cadamustus.*

Relazao do viage de PEDRO COVILLAM *de Lisboa a India per terra, e volta ao Cairo,* 1587. This *Covillam* was one of the first sent from Portugal to discover India by land, before the way to it had been opened by sea; and this is the account of his travels thither, and back to Grand Cairo.

Viage que hizo a Jerusalem el P. F. PEDRO *de Santo Domingo, de la orden del mismo santo.* This was a Dominican lay-brother, who gave an account of his pilgrimage; but enough of them. It was in the year 1600, and printed at Naples in 1604, in 8vo.

Viage de Jerusalem de PEDRO GONZALES GALLARDO. Another Holy Land voyage, printed at Sevil 1605, 8vo.

Naufragio y peregrinacion en la Costa del Peru, de PEDRO GOVEO DA VICTORIA. This is an account of a shipwreck and travels in America by this *Goveo* in his youth, a book of no great fame, and therefore hard to find any account of it. Printed in 1610, in 8vo.

Viage del mundo, por PEDRO ORDONEZ DE ZEVALLOS, 4to. This, though the author calls it the voyage of the world, only shews a piece of vanity, for it reaches no further than America; a part whereof the author saw, and writes of.

Relacion del voyage que hizo a la India THOMAS LOPEZ, *el anno de* 1502. This voyage to India by *Lopez*, is to be seen in Italian in *Ramusio*'s collection.

Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazonas. A new discovery of the great river of the Amazons, by CHRISTOPHER D'ACUNA, a Jesuit, who went upon that expedition by order of the king of Spain. Madrid 1641, 4to.

Relacion

Spanish Writers.

Relacion del voyage de los hermanos Nodales, de DIEGO RAMIREZ. This is a relation of the voyage made by the two brothers *Bartholomew* and *Garcia de Nodal* to the ſtraits of *Le Mayre;* their own journal of this voyage was mentioned before, yet this relation is much commended by *Antonio de Leon* in his *Biblioth. Ind. occident.* (p. 91.)

Relacion del naufragio de la Nao Santiago, y Itinerario de la gente, que della ſe ſalvo, el año de 1585. This is an account of a Portugueſe ſhip caſt away, and of the great ſufferings of thoſe that were ſaved. It is a very remarkable relation, and printed *An.* 1602, in 8vo.

Relacion del deſcubrimiento de las ſiete ciudades, de FERNANDO D'ALARCON. The diſcovery of ſeven cities in the north America by *Ferdinand d'Alarcon*; it is to be found in Italian in *Ramuſio*'s collection, (vol. III.)

Relacion del deſcubrimiento de las ſiete ciudades, de FRANCISCO VASQUEZ CORONADO. The diſcovery of the ſeven cities laſt mentioned by *Coronado*, and to be found in the ſame volume of *Ramuſio.*

Tratado de las guerras de los Chichimecas. An account of thoſe northern people in America, called *Chichimecas*, and the wars with them, by GONZALO DE LOS CASAS, a native of Mexico, and lord of the province of Zanguitan in that country.

Relacion de lo ſucedido a los PADRES DE LA COMPANIA DE JESUS *en la India oriental y Japon en los anos* 1600, 1601. 1607, *y* 1608. This account was firſt writ in Portugueſe, and tranſlated in Spaniſh, and has not very much but what relates to religious affairs.

Hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica del Japon deſde el ano 1602, *haſta el de* 1621. This is an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Japan for thoſe years above mentioned, compoſed by F. JACOBO COLLADO, and printed at Madrid, *An.* 1623, in 4to. It was continued to the year 1622, by *F. Jacintus Oſſanel* of the order of S. Dominic, as was the other.

Hiſtoria evangelica del regno de la China del P. F. JUAN BAPTISTA MORALES. This hiſtory of China has been always in good repute; the author was a Dominican and miſſioner firſt in Camboya, and then in China, where he ſuffered much, being put to the rack, twice whipped, and then baniſhed. Coming to Rome he gave the pope a good account of the affairs of that country, whither he returned and ſpent there the remainder of his life, dying at 70 years of age in the province of Fokien. Thus much has been ſaid of him, to ſhew that he was well acquainted with what he writ, and well deſerves the general approbation he has met with.

Embaxada de D. GARCIA DA SILVA FIGUEROA *a la Perſia.* This embaſſador was a man curious and knowing, and obſerved many conſiderable things which other authors have not ſpoke of, and made learned reflections on what ancient hiſtorians have writ of the eaſtern countries. He gives an account of the manners and cuſtoms of the people, and deſcription of all places in the way he went from Goa to Iſpahan, the capital of Perſia. The relation of the Perſians taking Ormuz from the Portugueſes; a deſcription of *Chilminara* the ancient palace of *Perſepolis*, burnt by *Alexander the Great* when he was drunk. This is a book of great value in the original Spaniſh, the French tranſlation being vitiated by the tranſlator, ſo that there is no relying on it.

Conquiſta y antiquedades de las iſlas de la Gran Canaria, ſu deſcripcion, &c. *por el licenciado* JUAN NUNEZ DE LA PENA, 4to. Madrid. The conqueſt and antiquities of the Canary iſlands, being perhaps the beſt relation we have of them, both as to their preſent ſtate and antiquities.

ENGLISH.

ENGLISH.

HACKLUYT, a minister by profession, is the first Englishman that compiled any Collection of travels now extant: he himself was no traveller, but only delivers what he could gather from others. His work was published in the year 1598, and reaches down to 1597; it is divided into three parts, composing one thick volume in folio. THE FIRST contains the following Voyages: 1. K. *Arthur* to Iceland, An. 517.—2. K. *Malgo* to Iceland, Gotland, &c. An. 580.—3. K. *Edwin* to Anglesey and Man, An. 624.—4. *Bertus* to Ireland, An. 684.—5. *Other* beyond Norway, An. 890.—6. *Other* into the Sound.—7. *Wolstan* into the Sound. 8. K. *Edgar* round his monarchy, An. 973.—9. *Edmund* and *Edward* into Hungary, An. 1017.—10. *Harald* into Russia, An. 1067.—11. An Englishman into Tartary, Poland, and Hungary, An. 1243.—12. *F. de Plano*'s wonderful Voyage, An. 1246.—13. *F. de Rubricis*'s journal, An. 1253.—14. *F. de Linna* towards the North Pole, An. 1360.—15. *Hen.* E. of *Derby* into Prussia, An. 1390.—16. F. of *Woodstock* into Prussia, An. 1391.—17. Sir *H. Willoughby* to Lapland, An. 1553.—18. *Chanceller*'s discovery of Muscovy by sea, An. 1553. 19. *Burrough* to the river Ob, An. 1556.—20. *Johnson* to the Samoeds, An. 1556. 21. *Burrough* to Wardhouse, An. 1557.—22. *Jenkinson* to Russia, An. 1557.—23. *Jenkinson* from Moscow into Bactria, An. 1558.—24. *Jenkinson* through Russia into Persia, An. 1561. 25. *Alcock*, &c. by land to Persia, An. 1563.—26. *Johnson*, &c. by land to Persia, 1565. 27. *Southam* and *Spark* to Novogrod, An. 1566.—28. *Jenkinson* to Russia, An. 1566. 29. *Edwards*, &c. by land to Persia, An. 1568.—30. *Banister* and *Ducket* by land to Persia, An. 1569.—31. *Burrough* to Livonia, An. 1570.—32. *Jenkinson* to Russia, An. 1571. 33. *Burrough* by land to Persia, An. 1579.—34. *Pet* and *Jackman* to the north-east, An. 1580.—35. *Horsey* by land from Moscow to England, An. 1584.—36. Russians to the north-east.—37. Voyage to Siberia and the river Ob.—38. Vanquishing the Spanish armada, An. 1588.—39. Voyage to Cadiz, An. 1596. Thus far the first volume; the first sixteen of which Voyages are not of much moment or authority, and the two last are warlike expeditions, which were not properly placed among discoveries; the rest of the volume is filled with treaties, patents, and letters. Thus it appears all these, except the two last, are northern Voyages. THE SECOND VOLUME contains Voyages to the straits, coast of Afric, and the East Indies. Of these the greatest part are pilgrimages to Jerusalem, many of very little moment; expeditions for the Holy Land; common trading Voyages, that have little or nothing of curiosity, and sea-fights; all which being a great number, and of no moment, are not worth inserting here: the small remaining part are Voyages to Guinea, and other coasts of Afric, and some few to the East Indies; of all which there is a much better account in *Purchas*, and others, and therefore they are not inserted in this place. Besides, as in the first part, there are abundance of letters, discourses, patents, and such Original Papers. THE THIRD VOLUME, not to mention many of no worth, has these considerable Voyages: *Sebastian Cabot*'s to North America—three of Sir *Martin Forbisher* to the North-West passage—two of *Davis*'s to the north-west—*Hore* and *Gilbert* to Newfoundland—*Granpre*, and others, to the isle of Ramea—three of *Jaques Cartier* to Newfoundland, Canada, &c.—*Roberval* to Canada.—*Amadas*, *Barlow*, *Greenvil*, and others to Virginia—*Verazzano*, *Ribault*, *Laudonniere*, and *Gourges* to Florida—*Marco de Nica*, *Francis Vasquez Coronado*, and *Antony de Espejo* to Cibola, Culiacon, and New Galicia—*Ulloa*, *Alarcon*, and *Drake* to California—*Ovalle* to the Philippine islands, Lequeos, China, and back to Acapulco—*Tonson*, *Bodenham*, *Chilton*, *Hawks*, *Philips*, and *Hortop* to New Spain, Peru, and Panuco—*Pert* and *Cabot* to Brasil—*Tison* and *Hawkins* to

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the Weſt Indies—*Hawkins* to Guinea, and the Weſt Indies—*Drake* to *Nombre de Dios*—*Oxnam*, *Barker*, *Drake*, *Michelſon* to Mexico, &c.—*Newport* to Puerto Rico, &c.—*May* to the Straits of Magellan—*Dudley*, *Preſton*, *Drake*, *Sherley*, *Parker*, to ſeveral parts of the Weſt Indies—*Raleigh* to the iſland Trinidad, and to Guiana—*Hawkins*, *Reniger*, *Hare*, *Lancaſter* to Braſil—two Engliſhmen and *Drake* up the river of Plate—*Drake* round the world—*Silva* through the Straits of Magellan—*Winter* into the South Sea—*Fenton* to Braſil—*Withrington* to 44 deg. of ſouth latitude—*Candiſh* round the world—Ship *Delight* to the Straits of Magellan—*Candiſh* his laſt Voyage *. Thus have we briefly run over the Contents of *Hackluyt*'s Collection, preciſely ſetting down all in the firſt volume, to give the reader a taſte of the author's method of heaping together all things good and bad; which has been abridged in relation to the ſecond and third volumes, to avoid being tedious. The Collection is ſcarce and valuable for the good there is to be picked out: but it might be wiſhed the author had been leſs voluminous, delivering what was really authentic and uſeful; and not ſtuffing his work with ſo many ſtories taken upon truſt, ſo many trading voyages that have nothing new in them, ſo many warlike exploits not at all pertinent to his undertaking, and ſuch a multitude of articles, charters, privileges, letters, relations, and other things little to the purpoſe of travels and diſcoveries.

Purchas was the next great Engliſh collector of travels after *Hackluyt*, whom he has imitated too much, ſwelling his work into five volumes in folio. The whole Collection is very valuable, as having preſerved many conſiderable Voyages which might otherwiſe have periſhed. But to particulariſe with him, as has been done before with *Hackluyt*: his FIRST VOLUME is divided into five books. The firſt contains the travels of the ancient patriarchs, the apoſtles, and philoſophers, with the warlike expeditions of *Alexander the Great*, and other princes; to which is added an enquiry into languages, and an account of the ſeveral ſorts of religions. The ſecond book treats of Navigation in general; the Diſcoveries made by *Henry* prince of Portugal, king *John* of Portugal; *Columbus* of the Weſt, and *Gama* of the Eaſt Indies: then follow *Magellan*, *Drake*, *Candiſh*, *Noort*, and *Spilbergen* round the world, and *le Maire*'s diſcovery of the new Strait of his name. The third book is filled with ſome private Voyages to the Eaſt Indies, and the ſeven firſt made by the Eaſt India Company; with deſcriptions, and an account of all thoſe parts, their product, trade, government, religion, &c. but all, as delivered by the firſt that reſorted there and made no long ſtay, imperfect, and far ſhort of what we have had ſince. The fourth book contains the eighth Voyage of the Eaſt India company—Capt. *Saris* to Japan—*Finch* to India—ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Voyages of the Company—Obſervations for Sailors—*Steel* to the Mogul's court—*Milward* to India—*Peyton* to India—An extract of Sir *Thomas Roe*, embaſſador from king *James* to the Mogul, his journal—*Coryat*'s travels. The fifth book ſtill continues upon accounts of the Eaſt Indies, of all parts thereof, and from many ſeveral hands; upon differences between the Dutch and Engliſh; wars of the natives; engagements of the Engliſh and Portugueſes; and many other paſſages and occurrences to the ſame purpoſe. The ſixth book, being the firſt in the SECOND VOLUME, begins with collections of *John Leo*'s hiſtory of Afric, and *R. C.*'s hiſtory of Barbary: then follow *Nicholay*'s deſcription of Argier; an expedition to Argier under Sir *Robert Manſel*; and ſome relations of Afric. The ſeventh book begins *Johſon*'s Voyage to Guinea; *Battle*'s account of Angola is next, then *Pigafetta*'s relation of Congo; *Alvarez*'s Voyage to Ethiopia;

* The price of this Collection is increaſed through the inſertion of the voyage to Cadiz, by the Earl of Eſſex, in 1596: even without this a good copy ſells for five guineas. EDIT.

D. John

D. John de Castro from India to Suez; *Bermudez* the patriarch to Ethiopia, and *Nunhes Barreto* of the same country. The eighth contains several pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Christian expeditions to the Holy Land; *Barton*'s (Q. *Elizabeth*'s embassador to the great Turk) account of his Voyage, and the adventures of *J. Smith*. The ninth book consists of *Sherley*'s travels into Persia—*Benjamin* the son of *Jonas* his peregrination—*Terrey*'s Voyage to the Mogul—*Barthema*'s to Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and India—Collections of Asia out of Arabic—*Menezes* his account of India—*Figueroa* to Ispahan—*J. de Santos* to Ethiopia—*Jobson* on Gambra river—account of the *Grand Signior*'s seraglio—*Sandersson*'s voyages in the straits—*Timberley* from Cairo to Jerusalem—*Newberry* of the eastern parts of the world—*Fran. Pyrard de la Vol* to the East Indies. The tenth book has a collection of Spanish and Portuguese Voyages out of *Galvan*—*Trigautius* his Voyage to India—Letter touching Japan—*Frederick*'s Indian observations—*Balbi* to Pegu—*Fitz* to Goa, and other parts of India—*Pimenta*'s observations of India—*Linschoten*'s Voyages to India—relation of Ormuz—Sir *Rob. Sherley* to Persia—*Coryate*'s travels—*Lithgow Scot* to the Holy Land, &c.—Intelligence out of Turky—*Brown*'s Indian voyage—Dutch proceedings at Amboyna; and description of the bay of *Todos os Santos*. THE THIRD VOLUME, book the first, contains as follows: *W. de Rubricis* travels into the east—Relations of *Bacon*, and *Balvacensis*—*Wendover* of the Tartars—M. *Paulus Venetus* his Voyages—*S. J. Mandevile*'s travels—Extracts of an Arabic history of *Tamerlan* Travels of *Chaggi Memet*, a Persian—Treatise of China, of *F. Gaspar da Cruz*—*Pereira* of China. The second book has, Sir *H. Willoughby*, *Chanceller*, and *Jenkinson*'s Voyages to the north-east—Extracts of *Fernan Mendez Pinto*'s travels—Discovery and planting of the Philippine islands—*Goe*'s travels from Lahor to China by land—Jesuits first entrance into China and Japan—*Pantoja*'s account of China—Discourse of China out of *Riccius* and *Trigautius*. The third book, *Fletcher*'s treatise of Russia—*Edge*'s Northern Voyages—*Barent*'s into the North Sea—*Gerart de Veer*'s Northern Voyages—*Iver Boty* of Iceland and Greenland—Description of Siberia, Samoieda, and Tingoesia—*Gourdon* to Pecora—*Logan* to Pechora, and his wintering there—*Pugglove* to Pechora, and wintering there—*Gourdon* wintering at Pustozra—Voyages to Cherry island—*Hudson*'s Northern Voyages—Discovery of *Nicholas* and *Antonio Zeni*—*Quirino*'s shipwreck—*Barclay*'s travels in Europe, Asia, Afric, and America—*Broniovius* embassador to the Crim Tartar—*Bleskin*'s Voyages and history of Iceland and Greenland.—*Angrim Jonas*' history of Iceland. The fourth book, Sir *T. Smith* to Cherry island. *Poole* to Greenland.—*Buffin* to Greenland.—*Fosterby* to Greenland.—Several Northern Voyages—Revolutions in Russia—*Cossack*'s travels out of Siberia to Catay—Discovery of the river Ob—*Cabot*, *Thorn*, and *Weymouth*'s Voyages to the south-west—*Hall* to discover Greenland—*Knight* to the North-West Passage. Other Northern Voyages. The fifth book, *Herrera*'s description of the West Indies—*Acosta* and *Oviedo* of the West Indies—Mexican history in cuts—Conquest of Mexico by *Cortes*—other particulars of America. THE FOURTH VOLUME begins with the sixth book, and in it as follows: The first book, Earl of *Cumberland*'s Voyage—*Cabot*, *Pert*, *Hawkins*, and *Drake*'s Voyages and seafights.—*Carder* living among the savages in Brasil—*Candish*'s unfortunate Voyage to the Straits of Magellan—*Knivet*'s adventures with *Candish*—*Turner* in Brasil—*Parker* taking Puerto Bello—*Middleton* and *Geare* to the West Indies—Description of the island Trinidad, country of Guiana, and river Oronoko, by *F. Sparrey*—*Leigh*'s Voyages to Guiana—Massacre of English in Guiana—*Wilson*'s relation of Guiana—*Harcourt* to Guiana—Description of the river of the Amazons The seventh book, a treatise of Brasil, written by a Portuguese. Extracts of *Leri*'s history of Brasil—*Schnirdel*'s twenty years travels—*Hawkins* to the South Sea—

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Sea—*Ellis* of the same voyage—Relation of an Englishman thirteen years prisoner in Peru. *Ursino* of the coast of the firm land, and secrets of Peru and Chili—Notes of the West Indies out of *Peter Ordones de Cevallos*—New discovery in the South Sea by *Peter Fernandez Quirot. Lope Vas* of American affairs—Extracts of *Benzo* of the new world, and of *Garcilasso Incas* of Peru—*Pizarro*'s conquest of Peru; Occurrences in Peru after the conquest. The eighth book, *Alvar Nunez* of Florida—*Soto* to Florida—Discoveries to the northward of Mexico by *Nuno de Guzman, Marco de Nica, D. Fr. Vasquez Coronada*, and *D. Ant. de Espejo*—*Casas* of the cruelties of the Spaniards—Voyages and plantations of French in North America—*Gosnol* to Virginia—Other voyages to Virginia—Description of the Azores. The ninth book, Description of Virginia, and proceeding of the English colonies there—Wreck of Sir *Thomas Gate*, and account of the Bermudas—*Argol* from Virginia to Bermudas—Affairs relating to Virginia—Fight of an English and two Spanish ships—Voyages to the Summer Islands, and history of them. The tenth book, Discovery and plantation of New England—*Chalton*'s Voyage for north Virginia—Extracts of *Smith* of New England's trials—Other accounts of New England—New Scotland the first planting of it—Newfoundland the first settlements there, and account of the island—Warlike fleets sent out by queen *Elizabeth* against the Spaniards—The duke of *Medina*'s for invasion of England—Squadron of the galeons of Portugal. The expedition to Portugal by Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake*, supposed to be writ by colonel *Antony Wingfield*—Expedition to Cadiz, and the success against the Spanish ships, and in taking the town—The earl of *Essex* his fruitless expedition to the Azores, the conclusion of the work. * The *fifth volume* is a theological and geographical History of the world, consisting of the description, and an account of the religions of all nations. This author like *Hackluyt*, as was observed at first, has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up so many Volumes, and is excessive full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words; yet for such as can make choice of the best, the Collection is very valuable.

A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689, giving a large account of that city, its inhabitants, and factory of English; describing Madeira, Santiago, Annoboa, Cablanda, Malamba, S. Helena, Bombay, Mascate, Mycate, the Cape of Good Hope, and island of Ascension, the revolution of Golconda, description of Arracan and Pegu, an account of the coins of India and Persia, and observations concerning silk-worms; by J. Ovington, 8vo. London 1696. This is the most modern English account of those parts, and by a person well qualified to make such observations.

Travels and Voyages into Asia, Afric, and America, performed by monf. John Morquet, keeper of the cabinet of rarities to the king of France in the Tuilleries, in six books, with cuts. Translated from the French by Nathaniel Pullen gent. 8vo. London, 1696. For so many travels the relation is too short; however there are things in it worth observing.

A new Voyage to the East Indies, in the years 1690 and 1691, with a description of several islands, and of all the forts and garrisons in those parts, now in possession of the French, the customs, &c. of the Indians, by monf. du Quisne. It has also a description of the Canaries, and of Senaga and Gambia on the coast of Afric, with several cuts and a map of the Indies, and another of the Canaries. Made English from the Paris edition, 12mo. London, 1696. Of the French factories in those parts we have no such account; and few better for the bulk of all other places the author undertakes to speak of.

* *Purchas* is very scarce: a good copy at the lowest price, which fluctuates and advances, is at present worth fifteen guineas. Edit.

The

The Voyages and Travels of Sir JOHN MANDEVIL Knt. shewing the way to the Holy Land and Jerusalem, to the Great Cham, Presser John, India, and other countries, 4to. London, 1696. It is needless to say much of this book, as being so universally allowed to be fabulous. English Writers.

Two journies to Jerusalem, the first an account of the travels of two English pilgrims, and accidents that befel them in their journey to Jerusalem, Grand Cairo, Alexandria, &c. The second of fourteen Englishmen in 1669, with the antiquities, monuments, and memorable places mentioned in scripture; there are also ancient and modern remarks of the Jewish nation, the description of the Holy Land, captivities of the Jews, what became of the ten tribes, &c. Here is very much promised, but the performance scarce answers, the volume being too small, and looks more like a collection out of some real travels, than any true pilgrimage performed.

Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Swisserland, Holland, and other parts of Europe, describing the most considerable cities and palaces of princes; with historical relations, and critical observations upon ancient medals and inscriptions, by CHARLES PATIN M. D. of the faculty of Paris, made English and illustrated with copper cuts, 8vo. London, 1696-7. For those who are curious in Medals this piece will be most acceptable; yet this does not lessen the value of the descriptions and other relations.

A new Discovery of a vast country in America, extending above 4000 miles between New France and New Mexico, with a description of rivers, lakes, plants, and animals, manners, customs, and languages of the Indians, &c. by L. HENNEPIN; to which are added new Discoveries in North America, and not published in the French edition, 8vo. The promise is very great, but there is little, or rather no proof of such a vast extent of land, which no man has yet seen, and is all framed upon conjectures, or what is as groundless, idle relations of Indians; the other parts have more in them, yet only what are collections out of better authors.

A late voyage to St. Kilda, the remotest of all the *Hebrides* or western isles of Scotland; with an history of the island natural, moral, and topographical, containing an account of the people's religion and customs, of the fish, fowl, &c. As also of a late impostor there, pretending to be sent by *St. John Baptist*. By M. MARTIN gent. 8vo. London, 1698. We have here the only history and account of this island, that ever perhaps appeared in any language; and being such, its reputation ought to hold good, till any better can appear to lessen it.

The History of the Buccaniers * of America, 8vo.

A new account of East India and Persia in eight letters; being nine years Travels, containing Observations of the moral, natural, and artificial state of those countries, as the government, religion, laws, customs, soil, seasons, diseases, animals, vegetables, manufactures, trade, weights and measures, in the principal places there. By JOHN FRYER, M. D. with maps and tables, London 1698.

A Voyage to the East Indies, giving an account of the isles of Madagascar and Mascarenhas, of Surat, the coast of Malabar, Goa, Gomron, Ormuz, and the coast of Brasil, &c. and of the religion, customs, trade, &c. of the inhabitants; also a treatise of distempers peculiar to

* This curious, and valuable work, was written originally in Dutch, by *John Esquemeling*, one of the Buccaniers, who was present at those tragedies; and thence translated into Spanish, by *Alonso de Bonne-maison*, M. D. It was first translated into English, in 1684, and printed in a small quarto volume, with plates. EDIT.

English Writers.

the Eastern countries. There is annexed an abstract of Monf. *Reneford*'s history of the East Indies, with his proposals for improvement of the East India Company; written originally in French, by Monf. DELLON, M. D. 8vo. London, 1698. This work has been well received both in French and English.

A new Voyage and description of the Isthmus of America, giving an account of the author's abode there, the form of the country, coasts, hills, rivers, wood, soil, weather; trees, fruit, beasts, birds, and fish; the Indian inhabitants, their features, complexion, manners, customs, employments, marriages, feasts, hunting, computation, and language; with remarkable occurrences on the South Sea and other places, by LIONEL WAFER, with cuts, 8vo. London, 1698. A work that has been well received by the public.

A new account of North America, as it was lately presented to the French king; containing a more particular account of that vast country, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, than has been hitherto published, 8vo. London, 1698. We have here a French account of those countries, particularly what belongs to them, more exact than any other has delivered.

THE NEW ATLAS; or Travels and Voyages in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, &c. 8vo. London, 1699. A little volume, which seems rather some collections out of books and travels, than any real Voyage.

An account of a Voyage from Archangel in Russia, in the year 1697, of the ship and company wintering near the north Cape, in the latitude of 71 degrees: their manner of living, and what they suffered by the extreme cold; also remarkable observations of the climate, country, and inhabitants: with a Chart describing the place where they lay, land in view, soundings, &c. By THOMAS ALLISON, commander of the ship. This is the latest relation we have of any such northerly wintering, and well worth comparing with such others as write of those northern parts.

A relation of two several Voyages made into the East Indies, by CHRISTOPHER FRYKE surgeon, and CHRISTOPHER SCWARTZER, particularly describing those countries that are under the Dutch, 8vo. London, 1699. There is nothing extraordinary in them.

An account of a DUTCH EMBASSY TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA, writ by one of the embassadors' retinue, fol. It is a translation from the Dutch original, and contains a description of the country, and all places they passed through, with 200 cuts drawn upon the spot: it treats also of the government of China, and manners of the people.

The Description of the island of Ceylon by captain KNOX. He lived 19 years upon the island, being taken, and kept there all this while by the Dutch, and had the opportunity of seeing the greatest part, and being informed of the rest by the natives. He gives a particular account of his manner of living, and accidents that befel him till he made his escape, and then treats very fully of all things that relate to the island. The Dutch who are masters of Ceylon, have thought this account worth translating into their language, and it has found a good reception among them, which must add to its reputation.

Travels to Dalmatia, Greece, and the Levant, by Mr. GEORGE WHEELER. He travelled with Mr. *Spon*, who published the same travels in French; but Mr. *Wheeler* remaining there behind him, has several curiosities that escaped the other, many medals and curious cuts of antiquities; so that his work seems the most compleat, or at least both together confirm one another.

TERRY's Voyage to the East Indies, begun in the year 1615, 12mo. He was chaplain to Sir *Thomas Roe*, embassador to the *Mogol* from K. *James the first*, and gives an account of some

ſome things in that country omitted by Sir *Thomas* in his relation; but a great part of his book is filled up with diſcourſes of his own, very little to the purpoſe. English Writers.

An account of ſeveral late Voyages and Diſcoveries to the ſouth and north, containing Sir *John Narbrough*'s voyage through the Straits of Magellan, to the coaſt of Chile, in the year 1669.—Capt. *Wood*'s voyage for the diſcovery of the North-Eaſt Paſſage, *An.* 1676.—Capt. *Taſman*'s round *Terra Auſtralis*, *An.* 1642; and *Frederick Martens* to Spitſberg and Greenland, *An.* 1671. With a ſupplement, containing Obſervations and Navigations to other northern parts; and an introduction, giving a brief account of ſeveral voyages. This collection has generally a good reputation, and ſeems very well to deſerve it.

Collection of Original Voyages, publiſhed by Capt. HACK, 8vo. It contains *Cowley*'s voyage round the world, which is the ſame with *Dampier*'s mentioned in the next place.—Capt. *Sharp*'s voyage into the South Sea, both buccanier voyages. The third is Capt. *Wood*'s voyage through the Straits of Magellan, which is the ſame as Sir *John Narbrough*'s before mentioned: and the fourth Mr. *Roberts*'s adventures among the Corſairs of the Levant; ſo that there is little new in them, the three firſt being in other collections, and the laſt a very indifferent piece.

DAMPIER'S Voyages in three volumes, 8vo: the firſt a new voyage round the world, begun *An.* 1697. It deſcribes the Iſthmus of America, and ſeveral of its coaſts and iſlands, the paſſage by *Tierra del Fuego*, the iſle of Guam, one of the Ladrones, the Philippines, Formoſa, Luconia, Celebes, the Cape of Good Hope, and iſland of S. Helena.

The ſecond volume, he calls a ſupplement to his voyage round the world, where he deſcribes Tonquin, Achen, Malacca, &c: their product, inhabitants, manners, and trade; the countries of Campeche, Yucatan, New Spain in America; and diſcourſes of trade, winds, breezes, ſtorms, ſeaſons, tides, currents, of the torrid zone.

The third volume, is his voyage to New Holland, which has no great matter of new diſcovery, but gives an account of the Canary iſlands, ſome of thoſe of Cabo Verde, and the town and port of *Baya de Totos os Santos*, in Braſil. All the three volumes have cuts and maps.

A Collection of Voyages by the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY, being three to the north-eaſt, two to the Eaſt Indies, and one to the Straits of Magellan: little can be ſaid in behalf of this work, being no more than what is to be ſeen in ſeveral other collections. 8vo.

An hiſtorical relation of the iſland of Ceylon in the Eaſt Indies, &c. illuſtrated with cuts and a map of the iſland, fol. The author, who lived long in that country, gives a general deſcription of it, referring the reader to the map; and then the whole natural hiſtory.

LASSEL'S travels through Italy, firſt printed in one volume, 12mo. then in two. He was there four times, and gives a particular and curious account of moſt things of note there.

Relation of the diſcovery of the iſland Madera, 4to. This is a diſcovery before it was peopled, and it continued loſt again for ſeveral years, and has little of certainty.

GAGE'S ſurvey of the Weſt Indies, 8vo. This book has gained ſome reputation.

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, 4to. This is a ſmall account of the author's, who was a German, and travelled further up the inland in that part, than any has yet done; it is contained in about four ſheets, publiſhed by Sir WILLIAM TALBOT, in which there is much worth obſerving.

Relation of the Travels and captivity of W. DAVIES, 4to. A ſmall pamphlet of a few ſheets.

Account

English Writers.

Account of the captivity of THOMAS PHELPS at Machaneſs in Barbary, and his eſcape; another ſmall 4to. pamphlet.

THE GOLDEN COAST, or deſcription of Guinea, in which are four Engliſh Voyages to Guinea; a 4to. pamphlet and has ſeveral good obſervations.

HERBERT'S Travels into divers parts of Africa, and Aſia the Great, more particularly into Perſia and Indoſtan, fol. Theſe travels have always deſervedly had a great reputation, being the beſt account of thoſe parts, written by any Engliſhman, and not inferior to the beſt of foreigners. What is peculiar in them, is the excellent deſcription of all antiquities, the curious remarks on them, and the extraordinary accidents which often occur; not to mention other particulars common in the books of all other travellers, which would be too tedious for this place.

BROWN'S Travels in divers parts of Europe, (fol.) The author, a doctor of phyſic, has ſhewed himſelf excellently qualified for a traveller by this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted nothing worthy the obſervation of ſo curious a perſon; having ſpent much time in the diſcovery of European rarities, and that in thoſe parts which are not the common track of travellers, who content themſelves with ſeeing France, and Italy, and the Low Countries; whereas his relation is of Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli; adding to theſe Germany, the Low Countries, and a great part of Italy, of all which he has compoſed a work of great uſe and benefit.

The Voyages and Travels of J. ALBERT DE MANDELSLO, a gentleman belonging to the embaſſy ſent by the duke of Holſtein, to the duke of Muſcovy and king of Perſia, (fol.) Theſe are alſo known by the name of OLEARIUS'S Travels; the firſt part, which is of Muſcovy and Perſia, being altogether his, who was ſecretary to the aforeſaid embaſſy: but then the following part, which treats of all parts of the Eaſt Indies, is ſolely *Mandelſlo*'s, who left the embaſſadors and *Olearius* at Iſpahan, and proceeded to view thoſe remoter parts. It is needleſs to give any other character of this work, than to inform ſuch as are unacquainted with it, that it has generally the reputation of being one of the moſt accompliſhed books of travels now extant.

BLUNT'S Travels to the Levant, is a very ſhort account of a journey through Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Boſnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt. The whole very conciſe, and without any curious obſervations, or any notable deſcriptions; his account of the religions, and cuſtoms of thoſe people, only a brief collection of ſome other travellers, the language mean, and not all of it to be relied on, if we credit others who have writ better.

A Deſcription of the preſent ſtate of Samos, Nacaria, Patmos, and mount Athos; by Jos. GEORGIRENES, archbiſhop of Samos, 8vo. This prelate reſided long as archbiſhop at Samos, and ſaw Nicaria, as being a dependence of his dioceſe; but being weary of that function, he retired to Patmos, where he continued ſome time, and after viſited mount Athos; ſo that all he delivers of theſe places is as an eye-witneſs, and indeed the moſt particular account we have of them. The deſcription is very exact, and what he ſays of the Greek religion may be relied on, as having ſo much reaſon to know it. All that can be excepted againſt, is what he ſays of the people in Nicaria, converſing at four or five miles diſtance, which indeed is not very credible. The preface, the reader muſt obſerve, is the tranſlator's, not the author's, which is requiſite to be known.

A Voyage to Conſtantinople, by Monſ. GRELOT, 8vo. tranſlated into Engliſh by J. PHILIPS. This, though perhaps in the relation it may not contain much more than what may be picked out

out of other travellers who have writ of those parts, yet it exceeds them in fourteen curious cuts, the exactness of which is attested by several travellers that have been at Constantinople, and seen the places they represent; besides that all the ingenious people of Paris gave their approbation of the work, and upon their testimony, the king himself having seen the draughts, thought fit to order the author to print it. So that we need not make any scruple to reckon it among the best books of travels; for as far as it reaches, which is to *Constantinople*, the *Propontis*, *Hellespont*, and *Dardanels*, with the places adjoining, the remarks of the religion, worship, government, manners, &c. of the Turks, are singular. English Writers.

A description of the islands and inhabitants of Færoe, being seventeen islands, subject to the king of Denmark, in 62 deg. of north lat. written in *Danish*, and translated into *English*, 12mo. The description is very particular and curious, and indeed more than could well be expected of those miserable Northern Islands; but the author was Provost of the churches there, and had time to gather such an account, which is somewhat enlarged with philosophical observations on whirlpools and other secrets of nature. His character of the people is very favourable, and favours more of affection than sincerity; but the worst part of this small book, is first a collection of some romantic stories of the ancient inhabitants of Færoe; and in the next place, what is yet worse, a parcel of insignificant tales.

Josselin's two Voyages to New England, 8vo. In the first of these there is little besides the Sea-Journal and common observations, unless it be an account of *desiderata* for planters. The second is a very particular description of all the Country, its beasts, fowl, fish, plants, and trees, the manners and customs of the English inhabitants, the time of their settling there, with many other matters well worth observing. Of the Indians he has very little or nothing. The Relation is curious and faithful, but in many places where the author makes his own remarks, there are the oddest uncouth expressions imaginable, which look very conceited, but that is only as to his stile. He concludes with what he calls chronological observations of America, much whereof no way relates to that part of the world, and the rest is of no great use, especially for that there are several errors in it.

Josselin's New England rarities, a very small 8vo. is a more particular account of the fowl, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects, plants, stones, minerals, metals, and earth of that Country, than he has given in his Voyages.

The Adventures of M. T. S. *an English merchant*, taken prisoner by the Turks of Argier, and carried into the inland country of Afric, 12mo. Containing a short account of *Argier* in the year 1648, of the country about it, and more particularly of the city *Tremizen*, where the author resided three years, going abroad with several parties which his master commanded. The relation is plain and without artifice. At the end are added directions how to turn out at the straits' mouth with a westerly wind.

Wyche's relation of the *river Nile*, its source and current, a small octavo. This is only a translation of a Portuguese Jesuit's account who lived in Ethiopia some years; being the same that is given by *F. Alvarez*, and others of the society who lived there, and no doubt is very authentic, as delivered by an eye-witness, who was a person of probity. Other things relating to the unicorn, rhinoceros, bird of paradise, pelican, and phenix, he writes upon hearsay, which deserve not the same credit; particularly what he says that the rhinoceros has two horns, which we have seen in England to be otherwise; and of the great rarity of pelicans, which are also sufficiently known. But these are trifles: he discourses well of the reason of calling the Ethiopian emperor *Prester John*, on the Red Sea, and of the palm or cocoa-tree.

English Writers.

RAY's travels, or his obſervations topographical, moral, and phyſiological, made in a journey through part of the *Low Countries*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France*. He throughout it gives a very brief, yet ingenious deſcription of every town he ſaw, obſerves ſome particulars of the cuſtoms and diſpoſitions of the people; and curiouſly lays before us any thing that is rare in itſelf, or not known to us: but in his account of mineral waters, and of foreign plants, as one ſo underſtanding in thoſe particulars, he outdoes any thing that could be expected from other travellers. He makes an excuſe for the language, which he need not, it being well enough for plain notes of a traveller. *Venice* he deſcribes more particularly than any other place; but of all univerſities, as being himſelf a ſcholar, he ſays more than of other towns. Of *France* not much, as having made but a ſhort ſtay there. He cloſes his work with a Latin catalogue of Plants he obſerved abroad, which either do not grow or are very rare in England. He has inſerted *Willoughby*'s travels in Spain.

Thus have we run through all the books of travels of any note now extant, *Latin*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, *French*, and *Engliſh*, placing each as near as we could in its own original language; and therefore thoſe who miſs any in the Engliſh, may look for them in the other languages, where they will certainly find them, if they were originally in that tongue. We have not made any particular catalogue of *Dutch*, becauſe they are not very many, and all of them will be found, as they were tranſlated into other languages. As for the characters given of books, in ſome places it is quoted where they were had; but if ſuch authority be not quoted, it is becauſe the books have been purpoſely peruſed and examined, where ſuch account could not be found of them. Laſtly, the reader muſt obſerve, that in this Catalogue, there is no mention made of any of the travels contained in Churchill's collection, which would be a needleſs repetition, they being all mentioned and characteriſed in the general preface.

*** To the *Latin writers* mentioned by *Mr. Locke* (page 171.), and the *Italian writers* (page 173.), may be added the two following curious books:

Novus Orbis Regionum ac inſularum veteribus incognitarum una cum tabula coſmographica. Baſil, folio, 1537, 600 pages. It contains among other articles, a Latin tranſlation of the Voyages of Cado Moſto, Columbus, Pedro Alonſo, Piazon, and Veſputius. The whole collected by SIMON GRYNÆUS.

Saggio ſulla Nautica Antica de' Veneziani; con una illuſtrazione d'alcune *Carte idrograficke antiche* della. Biblioteca di S. Marco, che dimoſtrano Viſole Antille prima della ſcoperta di *Criſtoforo Colombo*, di VINCENZIO FORMALEONI. In Venezia, 1783, 8vo. 124 pages.

APPENDIX (C.)

OBSERVATIONS

RELATIVE TO THE

DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

BY THE LATE

Dr. ROBERTSON.

THESE OBSERVATIONS, I TRUST, WILL SERVE TO ILLUSTRATE MANY PARTICULARS IN THE GENERAL HISTORY OF COMMERCE, AND TO POINT OUT EFFECTS OR CONSEQUENCES OF VARIOUS EVENTS, WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN GENERALLY OBSERVED, OR CONSIDERED WITH THAT ATTENTION WHICH THEY MERITED.

(*Disquisition concerning India, Sect. iv. p.* 191.)

I. AFTER viewing the great and extensive effects of finding a new course of Navigation to India by the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, it may appear surprising to a modern observer, that a Discovery of such importance was not made, or even attempted, by any of the Commercial states of the *ancient world*. But in judging with respect to the conduct of nations in remote times, we never err more widely, than when we decide with regard to it, not according to the ideas and views of their age, but of our own. This is not, perhaps, more conspicuous in any instance, than in that under consideration. It was by the *Tyrians*, and by the *Greeks*, who were masters of Egypt, that the different people of Europe were first supplied with the productions of the East. From the account that has been given of the manner in which they procured these, it is manifest that they had neither the same inducements with modern nations, to wish for any new communications with India, nor the same means of accomplishing it. All the Commercial transactions of the *ancients* with the East were confined to the ports on the *Malabar coast*, or extended at farthest to the island of *Ceylon*. To

these Staples, the natives of all the different regions in the eastern parts of Asia brought the commodities which were the growth of their several Countries, or the product of their ingenuity, in their own vessels, and with them the ships from Tyre and from Egypt completed their investments. While the operations of their Indian trade were carried on within a sphere so circumscribed, the conveyance of a cargo by the Arabian Gulf, notwithstanding the expence of land carriage, either from *Elath* to *Rhinocolura*, or across the *desart* to the *Nile*, was so safe and commodious, that the merchants of Tyre and Alexandria had little reason to be solicitous for the discovery of any other. The situation of both these cities, as well as that of the other considerable Commercial states of antiquity, was very different from that of the countries to which, in later times, mankind have been indebted for keeping up intercourse with the remote parts of the globe. *Portugal*, *Spain*, *England*, *Holland*, which have been most active and successful in this line of Enterprise, all lie on the Atlantic Ocean (in which every European Voyage of Discovery must commence), or have immediate access to it. But *Tyre* was situated at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, *Alexandria* not far from it; *Rhodes*, *Athens*, *Corinth*, which came afterwards to be ranked among the most active trading cities of antiquity, lay considerably advanced towards the same quarter in that sea. The Commerce of all these States was long confined within the precincts of the Mediterranean, and in some of them never extended beyond it. The pillars of Hercules, or the Straits of Gibraltar, were long considered as the utmost boundary of Navigation. To reach this was deemed a signal proof of Naval skill; and before any of these states could give a beginning to an attempt towards exploring the vast unknown Ocean which lay beyond it, they had to accomplish a Voyage (according to their ideas) of great extent and much danger. This was sufficient to deter them from engaging in an arduous undertaking, from which, even if attended with success, their situation prevented their entertaining hopes of deriving great * advantage.

But could we suppose the discovery of a new passage to *India* to have become an object of desire or pursuit to any of these States, their science as well as practice of navigation was so defective, that it would have been hardly possible for them to attain it. The vessels which the ancients employed in trade were so small, *as not to afford stowage for provisions sufficient to subsist a crew during a long voyage.* Their construction was such that they could seldom venture to depart far from land, and their mode of steering along the coast (which I have been obliged to mention often) so circuitous and slow, that from these as well as from other circumstances which I might

* The only voyage of Discovery in the *Atlantic Ocean* towards the *south*, by any of the ancient commercial states in the Mediterranean, is that of Hanno, undertaken by order of the Republic of *Carthage*. As the situation of that city, so much nearer the Straits than *Tyre*, *Alexandria*, and the other seats of ancient trade which have been mentioned, gave it more immediate access to the ocean; that circumstance, together with the various settlements which the *Carthaginians* had made in different provinces of *Spain*, naturally suggested to them this Enterprise, and afforded them the prospect of considerable advantages from its success. The Voyage of *Hanno*, instead of invalidating, seems to confirm the justness of the reasons which have been given, why no similar attempt was made by the other commercial states in the Mediterranean.

have

have ſpecified *, we may pronounce a Voyage from the Mediterranean to India by the Cape of Good Hope, to have been an undertaking beyond their power to accompliſh, in ſuch a manner as to render it, in any degree, ſubſervient to Commerce. To this deciſion, the account preſerved by Herodotus, of a Voyage performed by ſome Phenician ſhips employed by a king of Egypt, which, taking their departure from the Arabian Gulf, doubled the ſouthern promontory of Africa, and arrived at the end of three years, by the Straits of Gades, or Gibraltar, at the mouth of the Nile †, can hardly be conſidered as repugnant; for ſeveral writers of the greateſt eminence among the ancients, and moſt diſtinguiſhed for their proficiency in the knowledge of geography, regarded this account rather as an amuſing Tale, than the hiſtory of a real tranſaction; and either entertained doubts concerning the poſſibility of ſailing round Africa, or abſolutely denied it ‡. But if what Herodotus relates concerning the courſe held by theſe Phenician ſhips had ever been received by the ancients with general aſſent, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that any ſtate could have been ſo wildly adventurous as to imagine that a Voyage, which it required three years to complete, could be undertaken with a proſpect of commercial benefit.

II. The rapid progreſs of the Moderns in exploring India, as well as the extenſive power and valuable ſettlements which they early acquired there, mark ſuch a diſtinction between their mode of conducting Naval Operations, and that of the Ancients, as merits to be conſidered and explained with attention. From the reign of the firſt Ptolemy, to the conqueſt of Egypt by the Mahomedans, Europe had been ſupplied with the productions of the Eaſt by the Greeks of Alexandria, by the Romans while they were maſters of Egypt, and by the ſubjects of the Emperors of Conſtantinople, when that kingdom became a province of their dominions. During this long period, extending almoſt to a thouſand years, none of thoſe people, the moſt enlightened, undoubtedly, in the ancient world, ever advanced by ſea farther towards the Eaſt than the Gulf of Siam, and had no regular eſtabliſhed trade but with the ports on the coaſt of Malabar, or thoſe in the iſland of Ceylon. They attempted no conqueſt in any part of India, they made no ſettlements, they erected no forts. Satisfied with an intercourſe merely commercial, they did not aim at acquiring any degree of power or dominion in the countries where they traded; though it ſeems to be probable that

* Goguet Orig. des Loix des Arts, &c. ii. 303. 329.

† Lib. iv. c. 42.

‡ Polyb. lib. iii. p. 193. edit. Caſaub. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. ii. c. 6. Ptol. Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9.—Though the intelligent authors whom I have quoted conſidered this Voyage of the Phenicians as *fabulous*, Herodotus mentions a circumſtance concerning it, which ſeems to prove that it had really been performed. "The Phenicians," ſays he, "affirmed that, in ſailing round Africa, they had the ſun on their right hand, which to me appears not to be credible, though it may be deemed ſo by others." (Lib. iv. c. 42.) This, it is certain, muſt have happened, if they really accompliſhed ſuch a Voyage. The ſcience of aſtronomy, however, was in that early period ſo imperfect, that it was by experience only that the Phenicians could come at the knowledge of this fact; they durſt not, without this, have ventured to aſſert what would have appeared to be an improbable fiction. Even after what they related, Herodotus diſbelieved it.

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they might have eſtabliſhed it without much oppoſition from the natives, a gentle effeminate people, with whom, at that time, no foreign and more warlike race was mingled. But the enterprifing activity of the *Portugueſe* was not long confined within the ſame limits; a few years after their arrival at *Calecut*, they advanced towards the Eaſt, into regions unknown to the ancients. The kingdoms of *Cambodia*, *Cochin China*, *Tonquin*, the vaſt empire of *China*, and all the fertile Iſlands in the great *Indian Archipelago*, from *Sumatra* to the *Philippines*, were diſcovered; and the Portugueſe, though oppoſed in every quarter by the Mahomedans of Tartar or Arabian origin, ſettled in many parts of India, enemies much more formidable than the natives, eſtabliſhed there that extenſive influence and dominion which I have formerly deſcribed.

Of this remarkable difference between the Progreſs and operations of the Ancients and Moderns in India, the imperfect knowledge of the former, with reſpect both to the theory and practice of Navigation, ſeems to have been the principal cauſe. From the coaſt of *Malabar* to the *Philippines*, was a Voyage of an extent far beyond any that the ancients were accuſtomed to undertake, and, according to their manner of ſailing, muſt have required a great length of time to perform it. The nature of their Trade with India was ſuch, that they had not (as has been formerly obſerved) the ſame inducements with the moderns, to proſecute Diſcovery with ardour; and, according to the deſcription given of the veſſels in which the merchants of Alexandria carried on their trade from the Arabian Gulf, they appear to have been very unfit for that purpoſe. On all theſe accounts, the ancients remained ſatisfied with a ſlender knowledge of India; and influenced by reaſons proceeding from the ſame cauſe, they attempted neither conqueſt nor ſettlement there. In order to accompliſh either of theſe, they muſt have tranſported a conſiderable number of men into India. But, from the defective ſtructure of their ſhips, as well as from the imperfection of their art in navigating them, the ancients ſeldom ventured to convey a body of troops to any diſtance by ſea. From *Berenice* to *Muſiris*, was to them, even after *Hippalus* had diſcovered the method of ſteering a direct courſe, and when their naval ſkill had attained to its higheſt ſtate of improvement, a Voyage of no leſs than ſeventy days. By the ancient route along the coaſt of Perſia, a Voyage from the Arabian Gulf to any part of India muſt have been of greater length, and accompliſhed more ſlowly. As no hoſtile attack was ever made upon India by ſea, either by the Greek monarchs of Egypt, though the two firſt of them were able and ambitious princes, or by the moſt enterprifing of the Roman emperors, it is evident that they muſt have deemed it an attempt beyond their power to execute. *Alexander the Great*, and in imitation of him, his ſucceſſors, the monarchs of Syria, were the only perſons in the ancient world who formed an idea of eſtabliſhing their dominion in any part of India; but it was with armies led thither by land, that they hoped to atchieve this.

III. The ſudden effect of opening a direct communication with the Eaſt, in lowering the price of Indian commodities, is a circumſtance that merits obſervation. How compendious ſoever the ancient intercourſe with India may appear to have been,

it was attended with considerable expence. The productions of the remote parts of *Asia*, brought to *Ceylon*, or to the ports on the *Malabar coast*, by the natives, were put on board the ships which arrived from the *Arabian Gulf*. At *Berenice* they were landed and carried by camels two hundred and fifty-eight miles to the banks of the Nile. There they were again embarked, and conveyed down the river to *Alexandria*, whence they were dispatched to different markets. The addition to the price of goods by such a multiplicity of operations must have been considerable, especially when the rate chargeable on each operation was fixed by monopolists, subject to no controul. But, after the passage to India by the *Cape of Good Hope* was discovered, its various commodities were purchased at first hand in the countries of which they were the growth or manufacture. In all these, particularly in *Indostan* and in *China*, the subsistence of man is more abundant than in any other part of the earth. The people live chiefly upon rice, the most prolific of all grains. Population, of consequence, is so great, and labour so extremely cheap, that every production of nature or of art is sold at a very low price. When these were shipped in different parts of *India*, they were conveyed directly to *Lisbon*, by a navigation, long indeed, but uninterrupted and safe, and thence circulated through Europe. The carriage of mercantile goods by water is so much less expensive than by any other mode of conveyance; that as soon as the *Portuguese* could import the productions of India in sufficient quantities to supply the demands of Europe, they were able to afford them at such a reduced price, that the competition of the *Venetians* ceased almost entirely, and the full stream of Commerce flowed in its natural direction towards the cheapest market. In what proportion the *Portuguese* lowered the price of Indian commodities, I cannot ascertain with precision, as I have not found in contemporary writers sufficient information with respect to that point. Some idea, however, of this, approaching perhaps near to accuracy, may be formed, from the computations of *Mr. Munn*, an intelligent English merchant. He has published a table of the prices paid for various articles of goods in India, compared with the prices for which they were sold in Aleppo, from which the difference appears to be nearly as three to one; and he calculates, that, after a reasonable allowance for the expence of the Voyage from India, the same goods may be sold in England at half the price which they bear in Aleppo. The expence of conveying the productions of *India* up the *Persian Gulf* to *Bassora*, and thence either through the *Great* or *Little Desert* to *Aleppo*, could not, I should imagine, differ considerably from that by the Red Sea to Alexandria. We may therefore suppose, that the Venetians might purchase them from the merchants of that city, at nearly the same rate for which they were sold in Aleppo; and when we add to this, what they must have charged as their own profit in all the markets which they frequented, it is evident that the *Portuguese* might afford to reduce the commodities of the East at a price below that which has been mentioned, and might supply every part of Europe with them more than one-half cheaper than formerly. The enterprising schemes of the *Portuguese* monarchs were accomplished sooner, as well as more completely, than in the hour of most sanguine hope they could have presumed to expect; and early in the

the ſixteenth century, their ſubjects became poſſeſſed of a monopoly of the trade with India, founded upon the only equitable title, that of furniſhing its productions in greater abundance, and at a more moderate price.

IV. We may obſerve, that in conſequence of a more plentiful ſupply of Indian goods, and at a cheaper rate, the demand for them increaſed rapidly in every part of Europe. To trace the progreſs of this in detail, would lead me far beyond the period which I have fixed as the limit of this Diſquiſition; but ſome general remarks concerning it will be found intimately connected with the ſubject of my inquiries. The chief articles of importation from India, while the Romans had the direction of the trade with that country, have been formerly ſpecified. But upon the ſubverſion of their empire, and the ſettlement of the fierce warriors of Scythia and Germany in the various countries of Europe, the ſtate of ſociety, as well as the condition of individuals, became ſo extremely different, that the wants and deſires of men were no longer the ſame. Barbarians, many of them not far advanced in their progreſs beyond the rudeſt ſtate of ſocial life, had little reliſh for thoſe accommodations, and that elegance, which are ſo alluring to poliſhed nations. The curious manufactures of ſilk, the precious ſtones and pearls of the Eaſt, which had been the ornament and pride of the wealthy and luxurious citizens of Rome, were not objects of deſire to men, who, for a conſiderable time after they took poſſeſſion of their new conqueſts, retained the original ſimplicity of their paſtoral manners. They advanced, however, from rudeneſs to refinement in the uſual courſe of progreſſion which nations are deſtined to hold; and an increaſe of wants and deſires requiring new objects to gratify them, they began to acquire a reliſh for ſome of the luxuries of India. Among theſe they had a ſingular predilection for the Spiceries and Aromatics which that country yields in ſuch variety and abundance. Whence their peculiar fondneſs for theſe aroſe, it is not of importance to inquire. Whoever conſults the writers of the middle ages, will find many particulars which confirm this obſervation. In every enumeration of Indian commodities which they give, ſpices are always mentioned as the moſt conſiderable and precious article *. In their cookery, all diſhes were highly ſeaſoned with them. In every entertainment of parade, a profuſion of them was deemed eſſential to magnificence. In every medical preſcription they were principal ingredients †. But conſiderable as the demand for Spices had become, the mode in which the nations of Europe had hitherto been ſupplied with them, was extremely diſadvantageous. The ſhips employed by the merchants of Alexandria never ventured to viſit thoſe remote regions which produce the moſt valuable ſpices; and before they could be circulated through Europe, they were loaded with the accumulated profits received by four or five different hands through which they had paſſed. But the *Portugueſe*, with a bolder ſpirit of Navigation, having penetrated into every part of Aſia, took in their

* Jac. de Vitriac. Hiſt. Hieros. ap. Bongars, i. p. 1099. Wilk. Tyr. lib. xii. c. 23.

† Du Cange, Gloſſar. Verb. *Aromata, Species.* Henry's Hiſt. of G. Brit. vol. iv. p. 597, 598.

cargo

cargo of ſpices in the places where they grew, and could afford to diſpoſe of them at ſuch a price, that, from being an expenſive luxury, they became an article of ſuch general uſe, as greatly augmented the demand for them. An effect ſimilar to this may be obſerved, with reſpect to the demand for other commodities imported from India, upon the reduction of their price by the *Portugueſe*. From that period a growing taſte for Aſiatic luxuries may be traced in every country of Europe, and the number of ſhips fitted out for that trade at Liſbon, continued to increaſe every * year.

V. Lucrative as the trade with INDIA was, and had long been deemed, it is remarkable that the *Portugueſe* were ſuffered to remain in the undiſturbed and excluſive poſſeſſion of it, during the courſe of almoſt a century. In the ancient world, though *Alexandria*, from the peculiar felicity of its ſituation, could carry on an intercourſe with the Eaſt by ſea, and circulate its productions through Europe with ſuch advantage, as gave it a decided ſuperiority over every rival; yet various attempts (which have been deſcribed in their proper places) were made from time to time, to obtain ſome ſhare in a Commerce ſo apparently beneficial. From the growing activity of the Commercial ſpirit in the ſixteenth century, as well as from the example of the eager ſolicitude with which the *Venetians* and *Geneſe* exerted themſelves alternately to ſhut out each other from any ſhare in the Indian trade, it might have been expected that ſome competitor would have ariſen to call in queſtion the claim of the *Portugueſe* to an excluſive right of traffic with the Eaſt, and to wreſt from them ſome portion of it. There were, however, at that time, ſome peculiar circumſtances in the political ſtate of all thoſe nations in Europe, whoſe intruſion, as rivals, the *Portugueſe* had any reaſon to dread, which ſecured to them the quiet enjoyment of their monopoly of Indian commerce, during ſuch a long period. From the acceſſion of Charles the fifth to the throne, SPAIN was either ſo much occupied in a multiplicity of operations in which it was engaged by the ambition of that monarch, and of his ſon Philip the ſecond, or ſo intent on proſecuting its own diſcoveries and conqueſts in the New World, that, although, by the ſucceſsful enterpriſe of Magellan, its fleets were unexpectedly conducted by a new courſe to that remote region of Aſia which

* Notwithſtanding this increaſing demand for the productions of *India*, it is remarkable that during the ſixteenth century ſome commodities, which are now the chief articles of importation from the Eaſt, were either altogether unknown, or of little account. *Tea*, the importation of which, at preſent, far exceeds that of any other production of the Eaſt, has not been in general uſe, in any country of Europe, a full century; and yet during that ſhort period, from ſome ſingular caprice of taſte, or power of faſhion, the infuſion of a leaf brought from the fartheſt extremity of the earth, of which it is perhaps the higheſt praiſe to ſay that it is innoxious, has become almoſt a neceſſary of life in ſeveral parts of Europe; and the paſſion for it deſcends from the moſt elevated to the loweſt orders in ſociety. In 1785 it was computed that the whole quantity of Tea imported into Europe from China was about *nineteen millions of pounds*; of which it is conjectured that *twelve millions* were conſumed in Great Britain, and the dominions depending upon it. (Dodſley's Annual Regiſter for 1784, and 1785, p. 156.) In 1789 twenty-one millions of pounds were imported. The porcelain of China, now as common in many parts of Europe as if it were of domeſtic manufacture, was not known to the ancients. *Marco Polo* is the firſt among the moderns who mentions it. The *Portugueſe* began to import it not long after their firſt voyage to China, A. D. 1517: but it was a conſiderable time before the uſe of it became extenſive.

was the ſeat of the moſt gainful and alluring branch of trade carried on by the *Portugueſe*, it could make no conſiderable effort to avail itſelf of the commercial advantages which it might have derived from that event. By the acquiſition of the crown of Portugal, in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty, the kings of Spain, inſtead of the rivals, became the protectors of the *Portugueſe trade*, and the guardians of all its excluſive rights. Throughout the ſixteenth century, the ſtrength and reſources of FRANCE were ſo much waſted by the fruitleſs expeditions of their monarchs into Italy, by their unequal conteſt with the power and policy of Charles the fifth, and by the calamities of the civil wars which deſolated the kingdom upwards of forty years, that it could neither beſtow much attention upon objects of Commerce, nor engage in any ſcheme of diſtant enterpriſe. The VENETIANS, how ſenſibly ſoever they might feel the mortifying reverſe of being excluded, almoſt entirely, from the Indian trade, of which their capital had been formerly the chief ſeat, were ſo debilitated and humbled by the league of Cambray, that they were no longer capable of engaging in any undertaking of magnitude. ENGLAND, weakened (as was formerly obſerved) by the long conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and juſt beginning to recover its proper vigour, was reſtrained from active exertion, during one part of the ſixteenth century, by the cautious maxims of Henry the ſeventh, and waſted its ſtrength, during another part of it, by engaging inconſiderately in the wars between the princes on the continent. The Nation, though deſtined to acquire territories in India more extenſive and valuable than were ever poſſeſſed by any European power, had no ſuch preſentiment of its future eminence there, as to take an early part in the commerce or tranſactions of that country, and a great part of the century elapſed before it began to turn its attention towards the Eaſt.

While the moſt conſiderable nations in Europe found it neceſſary, from the circumſtances which I have mentioned, to remain inactive ſpectators of what paſſed in the Eaſt, the *Seven United Provinces* of the Low Countries, recently formed into a ſmall ſtate, ſtill ſtruggling for political exiſtence, and yet in the infancy of its power, ventured to appear in the Indian ocean as the *rivals* of the *Portugueſe*; and, deſpiſing their pretenſions to an excluſive right of commerce with the extenſive countries to the eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, invaded that monopoly which they had hitherto guarded with ſuch jealous attention. The *Engliſh* ſoon followed the example of the *Dutch*, and both nations, at firſt by the enterpriſing induſtry of private adventurers, and afterwards by the more powerful efforts of trading companies, under the protection of public authority, advanced with aſtoniſhing ardour and ſucceſs in this new career opened to them. The vaſt fabric of power which the *Portugueſe* had erected in the Eaſt (a ſuperſtructure much too large for the baſis on which it had to reſt), was almoſt entirely overturned, in as ſhort time, and with as much facility, as it had been raiſed. *England* and *Holland*, by driving them from their moſt valuable ſettlements, and ſeizing the moſt lucrative branches of their trade, have attained to that pre-eminence in Naval power and Commercial opulence, by which they are diſtinguiſhed among the nations of Europe.

VI. The

VI. The Co-incidence, in point of time, of the Discoveries made by *Columbus in the west*, and those of *Gama in the east*, is a singular circumstance, which merits observation, on account of the remarkable influence of those Events in forming or strengthening the Commercial connection of the different quarters of the globe with each other. In all ages, gold and silver, particularly the latter, have been the commodities exported with the greatest profit to *India*. In no part of the earth do the natives depend so little upon foreign countries, either for the necessaries or luxuries of life. The blessings of a favourable climate and fertile soil, augmented by their own ingenuity, afford them whatever they desire. In consequence of this, trade with them has always been carried on in one uniform manner, and the precious metals have been given in exchange for their peculiar productions, whether of nature or art. But when the communication with *India* was rendered so much more easy, that the demand for its commodities began to increase far beyond what had been formerly known, if Europe had not been supplied with the gold and silver which it was necessary to carry to the markets of the East from sources richer and more abundant than her own barren and impoverished mines, she must either have abandoned the trade with *India* altogether, or have continued it with manifest disadvantage. By such a continual drain of gold and silver, as well as by the unavoidable waste of both in circulation and in manufactures, the quantity of those metals must have gone on diminishing, and their value would have been so much enhanced, that they could not have continued long to be of the same utility in the Commercial transactions between the two countries. But before the effects of this diminution could be very sensibly felt, *America* opened her mines, and poured in treasures upon Europe in the most copious stream to which mankind ever had access. This treasure, in spite of innumerable anxious precautions to prevent it, flowed to the markets where the commodities necessary for supplying the wants, or gratifying the luxury of the *Spaniards*, were to be found; and from that time to the present, the *English* and *Dutch* have purchased the productions of China and Indostan, with silver brought from the mines of Mexico and Peru. The immense exportation of silver to the East, during the course of two centuries, has not only been replaced by the continual influx from America, but the quantity of it has been considerably augmented, and at the same time the proportional rate of its value in Europe and in India has varied so little, that it is chiefly with silver that many of the capital articles imported from the East are still purchased.

While America contributed in this manner to facilitate and extend the intercourse of *Europe* with *Asia*, it gave rise to a traffic with *Africa*, which, from slender beginnings, has become so considerable, as to form the chief bond of Commercial connection with that continent. Soon after the *Portuguese* had extended their Discoveries on the coast of Africa beyond the river *Senegal*, they endeavoured to derive some benefit from their new settlements there, by the sale of slaves. Various circumstances combined in favouring the revival of this odious traffic. In every part of America, of which the Spaniards took possession, they found that the natives, from the feeble-

nefs of their frame, from their indolence, or from the injudicious manner of treating them, were incapable of the exertions requifite either for working mines, or for cultivating the earth. Eager to find hands more induftrious and efficient, the *Spaniards* had recourfe to their neighbours the *Portuguefe*, and purchafed from them negroe flaves. Experience foon difcovered, that they were men of a more hardy race, and fo much better fitted for enduring fatigue, that the labour of one negroe was computed to be equal to that of four Americans *; and from that time the number employed in the New World has gone on increafing with rapid progrefs. In this practice, no lefs repugnant to the feelings of humanity than to the principles of religion, the Spaniards have unhappily been imitated by all the nations of Europe, who have acquired territories in the warmer climates of the New World. At prefent the number of negroe flaves in the fettlements of Great Britain and France in the Weft Indies, exceeds a *million*; and as the eftablifhment of fervitude has been found, both in ancient and in modern times, extremely unfavourable to population, it requires an annual importation from Africa of at leaft *fifty-eight thoufand*, to keep up the ftock †. If it were poffible to afcertain, with equal exactnefs, the number of flaves in the Spanifh dominions, and in North America, the total number of negroe flaves might be well reckoned at as many more.

Thus the Commercial genius of Europe, which has given it a vifible afcendant over the three other divifions of the earth, by difcerning their refpective wants and refources, and by rendering them reciprocally fubfervient to one another, has eftablifhed an Union among them, from which it has derived an immenfe increafe of opulence, of power, and of enjoyments.

VII. Though the Difcovery of a New World in the Weft, and the opening of a more eafy and direct communication with the remote regions of the Eaft, co-operated towards extending the Commerce, and adding to the enjoyments, of Europe, a remarkable difference may be obferved, with refpect both to the Time and the Manner in which they produced thefe effects. When the *Portuguefe* firft vifited the different countries of *Afia*, ftretching from the coaft of *Malabar* to *China*, they found them poffeffed by nations highly civilized, which had made confiderable progrefs in elegant as well as ufeful arts, which were accuftomed to intercourfe with ftrangers, and well acquainted with all the advantages of Commerce. But when the *Spaniards* began to explore the *New World* which they difcovered, the afpect which it prefented to them was very different. The Iflands were inhabited by naked favages, fo unacquainted with the fimpleft and moft neceffary arts of life, that they fubfifted chiefly on the fpontaneous productions of a fertile foil and genial climate. The Continent appeared to be a foreft of immenfe extent, along the Coaft of which were fcattered fome feeble tribes, not greatly fuperior to the iflanders in induftry or improvement. Even its two large Monarchies, which have been dignified with the appella-

* Hift. of America, vol. i. p. 320.

† Report of Lords of the Privy Council, A. D. 1788.

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tion of civilised states, had not advanced so far beyond their countrymen, as to be entitled to that name. The inhabitants, both of *Mexico* and *Peru*, unacquainted with the useful metals, and destitute of the address requisite for acquiring such command of the inferior animals as to derive any considerable aid from their labour, had made so little progress in Agriculture, the first of all arts, that one of the greatest difficulties with which the small number of Spaniards, who overturned those highly extolled empires, had to struggle, was how to procure in them what was sufficient for their subsistence.

It was of consequence, with a very different spirit, that the intercourse with two countries, resembling each other so little in their degree of improvement, was begun and carried on. The *Portuguese*, certain of finding in the East, not only the productions with which the bountiful hand of Nature has enriched that part of the globe, but various manufactures which had long been known and admired in Europe, engaged in this alluring trade with the greatest eagerness. The encouragement of it their monarchs considered as a chief object of government, towards which they directed all the power of the kingdom, and roused their subjects to such vigorous exertions in the prosecution of it, as occasioned that astonishing rapidity of progress which I have described. The sanguine hopes with which the *Spaniards* entered upon their career of Discovery, met not with the same speedy gratification. From the industry of the rude inhabitants of the *New World*, they did not receive a single article of Commerce. Even the natural productions of the soil and climate, when not cherished and multiplied by the fostering and active hand of man, were of little account. Hope, rather than success, incited them to persist in extending their researches and conquests; and as government derived little immediate benefit from these, it left the prosecution of them chiefly to private adventurers, by whose enterprising activity, more than by any effort of the state, the most valuable possessions of Spain in America were acquired. Instead of the instantaneous and great advantages which the *Portuguese* derived from their Discoveries, above half a century elapsed before the *Spaniards* reaped any benefit of consequence from their conquests, except the small quantities of gold which the islanders were compelled to collect, and the plunder of the gold and silver employed by the *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* as ornaments of their persons and temples, or as utensils of sacred or domestic use. It was not until the Discovery of the mines of *Potosi* in *Peru*, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-five, and of those of *Sacotecas* in Mexico, soon after, that the Spanish territories in the New World brought a permanent and valuable addition of wealth and revenue to the mother country.

Nor did the trade with *India* differ more from that of *America*, in respect of the particular circumstance which I have explained, than in respect to the manner of carrying it on, after it grew to be a considerable object of political attention. Trade with the East was a simple mercantile transaction, confined to the purchase either of the natural productions of the country, such as spices, precious stones, pearls, &c. or of the manufactures which abounded among an industrious race of men, such as

silk

ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, porcelane, &c. Nothing more was requiſite in conducting this trade, than to ſettle a few ſkilful agents in proper places, to prepare a proper aſſortment of goods for completing the cargoes of ſhips as ſoon as they arrived from Europe, or at the utmoſt to acquire the command of a few fortified ſtations, which might ſecure them admiſſion into Ports where they might careen in ſafety, and find protection from the inſults of any hoſtile power. There was no neceſſity of making any attempt to eſtabliſh Colonies, either for the cultivation of the ſoil, or the conduct of manufactures. Both theſe remained, as formerly, in the hands of the natives.

But as ſoon as that wild ſpirit of Enterpriſe, which animated the *Spaniards* who firſt explored and ſubdued the New World, began to ſubſide, and when, inſtead of roving as adventurers from province to province in queſt of gold and ſilver, they ſeriouſly turned their thoughts towards rendering their conqueſts beneficial by cultivation and induſtry, they found it neceſſary to eſtabliſh Colonies in every country which they wiſhed to improve. Other nations imitated their example in the ſettlements which they afterwards made in ſome of the iſlands, and on the continent of North America. *Europe*, after having deſolated the New World, began to repeople it, and under a ſyſtem of colonization (the ſpirit and regulations of which it is not the object of this Diſquiſition to explain) the European race has multiplied there amazingly. Every article of Commerce imported from the New World, if we except the furs and ſkins purchaſed from the independent tribes of hunters in North America, and from a few tribes in a ſimilar ſtate on the ſouthern continent, is the produce of the induſtry of *Europeans* ſettled there. To their exertions, or to thoſe of hands which they have taught or compelled to labour, we are indebted for ſugar, rum, cotton, tobacco, indigo, rice, and even the gold and ſilver extracted from the bowels of the earth. Intent on thoſe lucrative branches of induſtry, the inhabitants of the New World pay little attention to thoſe kinds of labour which occupy a conſiderable part of the members of other ſocieties, and depend, in ſome meaſure, for their ſubſiſtence, and entirely for every article of elegance and luxury, upon the ancient Continent. Thus the *Europeans* have become manufacturers for America, and their induſtry has been greatly augmented by the vaſt demands for ſupplying the wants of extenſive countries, the population of which is continually increaſing. Nor is the influence of this demand confined ſolely to the nations which have a more immediate connection with the American colonies; it is felt in every part of Europe that furniſhes any article exported to them, and gives activity and vigour to the hand of the artiſan in the inland provinces of Germany, as well as to thoſe in Great Britain and other countries, which carry on a direct trade with the New World.

But while the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of *America* is allowed to be one principal cauſe of that rapid increaſe of induſtry and wealth, which is conſpicuous in Europe during the two laſt centuries, ſome timid Theoriſts have maintained, that throughout the ſame period Europe has been gradually impoveriſhed, by being drained of its treaſure, in order to carry on its trade with *India*. But this apprehenſion has ariſen from inattention to the nature and uſe of the precious metals. They are to be con-

ſidered in two different lights; either as the ſigns which all civilized nations have agreed to employ, in order to eſtimate or repreſent the value both of labour and of all commodities, and thus to facilitate the purchaſe of the former, and the conveyance of the latter from one proprietor to another; or gold and ſilver may be viewed as being themſelves commodities or articles of Commerce, for which ſome equivalent muſt be given by ſuch as wiſh to acquire them. In this light, the exportation of the precious metals to the Eaſt ſhould be regarded; for, as the nation by which they are exported muſt purchaſe them with the produce of its own labour and ingenuity, this trade muſt contribute, though not in the ſame obvious and direct manner as that with America, towards augmenting the general induſtry and opulence of Europe. If *England*, as the price of Mexican and Peruvian dollars which are neceſſary for carrying on its trade with India, muſt give a certain quantity of its woollen or cotton cloth, or hard-ware, then the hands of an additional number of manufacturers are rendered active, and work to a certain amount muſt be executed, for which, without this trade, there would not have been any demand. The Nation reaps all the benefit ariſing from a new creation of induſtry. With the gold and ſilver which her manufactures have purchaſed in the *Weſt*, ſhe is enabled to trade in the markets of the *Eaſt*, and the exportation of treaſure to India, which has been ſo much dreaded, inſtead of impoveriſhing, enriches the kingdom.

VIII. It is to the Diſcovery of the paſſage to *India* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and to the vigour and ſucceſs with which the PORTUGUESE proſecuted their conqueſts and eſtabliſhed their dominion there, that *Europe has been indebted for its preſervation from the moſt illiberal and humiliating Servitude that ever oppreſſed poliſhed nations.* For this obſervation I am indebted to an author, whoſe ingenuity has illuſtrated, and whoſe eloquence has adorned the hiſtory of the Settlements and Commerce of modern nations in the Weſt Indies *; and it appears to me ſo well founded as to merit more ample inveſtigation. A few years after the firſt appearance of the *Portugueſe* in India, the dominion of the Mameluks was overturned by the irreſiſtible power of the Turkiſh arms, and Egypt and Syria were annexed as provinces to the Ottoman empire. If after this event the Commercial intercourſe with *India* had continued to be carried on in its ancient channels, the Turkiſh ſultans, by being maſters of Egypt and Syria, muſt have poſſeſſed the abſolute command of it, whether the productions of the Eaſt were conveyed by the Red Sea to *Alexandria*, or were tranſported by land-carriage from the Perſian Gulf to *Conſtantinople*, and the ports of the Mediterranean. The monarchs who were then at the head of this great Empire, were neither deſtitute of abilities to perceive the pre-eminence to which this would have elevated them, nor of ambition to aſpire to it. *Selim*, the conqueror of the Mameluks, by confirming the ancient privileges of the *Venetians* in Egypt and Syria, and by his regulations concerning the duties on Indian goods, which I have already mentioned, early diſcovered his ſolicitude to ſecure all the advantages of Commerce with the Eaſt to his own dominions. The attention of *Solyman the Magnificent*, his ſuc-

* M. L'Abbé Raynal.

ceſſor,

ceſſor, ſeems to have been equally directed towards the ſame object. More enlightened than any monarch of the Ottoman race, he attended to all the tranſactions of the European ſtates, and had obſerved the power as well as opulence to which the republic of *Venice* had attained by engroſſing the Commerce with the Eaſt. He now beheld *Portugal* riſing towards the ſame elevation, by the ſame means. Eager to imitate and to ſupplant them, he formed a ſcheme ſuitable to his character for political wiſdom and the appellation of *Inſtitutor of Rules*, by which the Turkiſh hiſtorians have diſtinguiſhed him, and eſtabliſhed, early in his reign, a Syſtem of commercial laws in his dominions, by which he hoped to render Conſtantinople the great ſtaple of Indian trade, as it had been in the proſperous ages of the Greek empire *. For accompliſhing this ſcheme, however, he did not rely on the operation of laws alone; he fitted out about the ſame time a formidable fleet in the Red Sea, under the conduct of a confidential officer, with ſuch a body of janizaries on board of it, as he deemed ſufficient not only to drive the *Portugueſe* out of all their new ſettlements in India, but to take poſſeſſion of ſome commodious ſtation in that country, and to erect his ſtandard there. The *Portugueſe*, by efforts of valour and conſtancy, entitled to the ſplendid ſucceſs with which they were crowned, repulſed this powerful armament in every enterpriſe it undertook, and compelled the ſhattered remains of the Turkiſh fleet and army to return with ignominy to the harbours from which they had taken their departure, with the moſt ſanguine hopes of terminating the expedition in a very different manner †. *Solyman*, though he never relinquiſhed the deſign of expelling the *Portugueſe* from India, and of acquiring ſome eſtabliſhment there, was ſo occupied during the remainder of his reign, by the multiplicity of arduous operations in which an inſatiable ambition involved him, that he never had leiſure to reſume the proſecution of it with vigour.

If either the meaſures of *Selim* had produced the effect which he expected, or if the more adventurous and extenſive plan of *Solyman* had been carried into execution, the Command of the wealth of India, together with ſuch a Marine as the monopoly of trade with that country has, in every age, enabled the power which poſſeſſed it to create and maintain, muſt have brought an acceſſion of force to an empire already formidable to mankind, that would have rendered it altogether irreſiſtable. *Europe*, at that period, was not in a condition to have defended itſelf againſt the combined exertions of ſuch Naval and Military power, ſupported by Commercial wealth, and under the direction of a monarch whoſe comprehenſive genius was able to derive from each its peculiar advantages, and to employ all with the greateſt effect. Happily for the human race, the deſpotic ſyſtem of Turkiſh government, founded on ſuch illiberal fanaticiſm as has extinguiſhed Science in Egypt, in Aſſyria, and in Greece, its three favourite manſions in ancient times, was prevented from extending its dominion over Europe, and from ſuppreſſing liberty, learning, and taſte, when beginning to make ſucceſsful efforts to revive there, and again to bleſs, to enlighten, and to poliſh mankind.

* Paruta Hiſt. Venet. lib. vii. p. 589. Sandi Stor. Civil. Venez. part ii. p. 901.

† Aſia de Barros, dec. iv. lib. x. c. 1. &c.

APPENDIX (D.)

THE

Voyages of two Mohammedans

IN THE

Indian Ocean,

DURING THE NINTH CENTURY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPT BY THE ABBE RENAUDOT, WITH THE ADDITIONAL REMARKS OF ROBERTSON AND CAMPBELL.

*** Dr. Robertson, in his *Historical Disquisition concerning ancient India*, (p. 118,) makes some remarks on the following Narrative, which he styles

" The relation of a Voyage from the Persian Gulph towards the east, written by an Arabian merchant in the year of the Christian æra eight hundred and fifty-one, about two centuries after Persia was subjected to the Caliphs; and explained by the commentary of another Arabian, who had likewise visited the eastern parts of Asia.

" This Voyage, together with the observations of Abu Zeid al Hasan of Siraf, was published by M. Renaudot, A. D. 1718, under the title of *Anciennes Relations des Indes, et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le Neuvieme Siecle, traduites de Arabe, avec des remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces Relations.* As M. Renaudot, in his remarks, represents the literature and police of the Chinese, in colours very different from those of the splendid descriptions which a blind admiration had prompted the Jesuits to publish, two zealous Missionaries have called in question the authenticity of these relations, and have asserted that the authors of them had never been in China (P. Premare, Lettr. edifiantes et curieuses, tom. xix. p. 420, &c. P. Parennin, ibid. tom. xxi. p. 158, &c.). Some doubts concerning their

 authenticity

authenticity were entertained likewise by several learned men in England, on account of *M. Renaudot's* having given no notice of the Manuscript which he translated, but that he found it in the library of *M. Le Comte de Seignelay*. As no person had seen the Manuscript since that time, the doubts increased, and M. Renaudot was charged with the crime of imposing upon the public. But the *Colbert Manuscripts* having been deposited in the king's library, as (fortunately for literature) most private collections are in France, *M. de Guignes*, after a long search, discovered the identical manuscript to which M. Renaudot refers. It appears to have been written in the twelfth century; (Journal des Sçavans, December 1764, p. 315, &c.) As I had not the French edition of M. Renaudot's book, my references are made to the English translation. The relation of the two Arabian travellers is confirmed in many points by their countryman *Massoudi*, who published his treatise on universal history, to which he gives the fantastical title of "Meadows of Gold, and Mines of Jewels," an hundred and six years after their time. From him, likewise, we receive such an account of *India* in the tenth century, as renders it evident that the Arabians had then acquired an extensive knowledge of that country.—According to his description, the peninsula of *India* was divided into four kingdoms. The *first* was composed of the provinces situated on the Indus, and the rivers which fall into it; the capital of which was Moultan. The capital of the *second* kingdom was *Canoge*, which from the ruins of it still remaining, appears to have been a very large city; (Rennell's Memoirs, p. 54.). In order to give an idea of its populousness, the Indian historians assert, that it contained thirty thousand shops, in which betel-nut was sold, and sixty thousand sets of musicians and singers, who paid a tax to government; (Ferishta, translated by Dow, vol. i. p. 32.). The *third* kingdom was Cachemire. Massoudi, as far as I know, is the first author who mentions this paradise of India, of which he gives a short but just description. The *fourth* is the kingdom of Guzerate, which he represents as the greatest and most powerful; and he concurs with the two Arabian Travellers, in giving the sovereigns of it the appellation of *Balhara*. What Massoudi relates concerning India is more worthy of notice, as he himself had visited that country; (Notices et Extraits des Manuscripts de la Bibliotheque du Roi, tom. i. p. 9, 10.) Massoudi confirms what the two Arabian travellers relate, concerning the extraordinary progress of the Indians in astronomical science. According to his account, a temple was built during the reign of *Brahman*, the first monarch of India, with twelve towers, representing the twelve signs of the Zodiac; and in which was delineated a view of all the stars as they appear in the heavens. In the same reign was composed the famous *Sind-Hind*, which seems to be the standard treatise of Indian astronomy; (Notices, &c. tom i. p. 7.) Another Arabian author, who wrote about the middle of the fourteenth century, divides India into three parts. The *northern*, comprehending all the provinces on the Indus. The *middle*, extending from Guzerate to the Ganges. The *southern*, which he denominates Comar, from Cape Comorin; (Notices, &c. tom ii. p. 46.)"

EXTRACTS

EXTRACTS FROM THE VOYAGES OF TWO MOHAMMEDANS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, DURING THE NINTH CENTURY.

(*Harris's Collection, Vol. I. p.* 521.)

THE moſt natural, eaſy, and certain method of attaining a perfect knowledge of the *Diſcoveries* made in the *Eaſt Indies*, is unqueſtionably that of reading the beſt Voyages and Travels into thoſe parts, in the order of time in which they were made; for by this means they illuſtrate each other, and ſerve as a kind of Commentaries; deliver the hiſtory of places and perſons with the leaſt poſſible confuſion, and ſhow us at once the different ſtate of the countries mentioned in them at different periods of time, and the advances that were made in perfecting the knowledge of thoſe countries by ſuch as undertook to go thither, and to report what they had ſeen and heard, for the information of others and of poſterity. Of all the travellers into theſe parts of the world, whoſe writings are ſtill preſerved, thoſe which are contained in this ſection are beyond all doubt the moſt ancient, and in that reſpect, as well as in many others, extremely curious. To render theſe as clear and as intelligible as is poſſible to our readers, we ſhall firſt inſert ſome memoirs of that eminent French Critic who tranſlated and made them public, and ſhall next give a ſuccinct account from the materials he has afforded us of the authors themſelves, the nature of their works, the circumſtances which peculiarly recommend them, the reaſons which induce us to believe they are genuine, and the credit which on that account is their due.

It was EUSEBIUS RENAUDOT, who delivered theſe venerable remains of antiquity from the obſcurity in which they had been buried for ages, and ſent them abroad in the *French* language, with ſome very valuable notes and Diſſertations of his own. He was a perſon whoſe family had been diſtinguiſhed for their learning through ſeveral deſcents. His grandfather, *Theophraſtus Renaudot*, eſtabliſhed the *French* Gazette in the year 1631, under the patronage of cardinal *Richelieu*. His father was firſt phyſician to the Dauphin, ſon to *Lewis* XIV. This gentleman addicted himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of divinity and the oriental languages, which might have raiſed him to ſome eminent ſtation in the church, if, from his great modeſty and unaffected love of privacy, he had not ſtudiouſly declined it. He was very early taken notice of at court, where the politeneſs of his manners recommended him as ſtrongly to the principal miniſters, as the ſeverity of his ſtudies endeared him to moſt of the learned men of his time.

In the year 1689 he was choſen a member of the *French* Academy, and in 1691 became a member of that of Inſcriptions, and of the *Belles Lettres*. He accompanied Cardinal *Noailles* to *Rome* in 1700, and was with him in the conclave in which Clement XI. was raiſed to the Papal throne; by whom the Abbé *Renaudot* was ſo much eſteemed, that he kept him at *Rome* ſeven or eight months after the cardinal's departure, and forced upon him a benefice, which he had the modeſty to refuſe, though his circumſtances were not ſuch as made it unneceſſary to him.

In his return to *France*, the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* kept him a whole month at *Florence*, where he had an apartment in the palace; and during his stay there, was received into the famous academy of *la Crusca*; after which the Grand Duke loaded him with presents, and sent him to *Marseilles* in his own vessels.

He published, after his return to *France*, many learned works, and particularly in the year 1713, *The History of the Patriarchs of* Alexandria, *from St.* Mark *to the close of the thirteenth century*, with an Appendix, containing the history of the *Mahommedans* in *Egypt*, from their own writers; which gained him great reputation. In 1716 he published, in two volumes in quarto, the history of the *Oriental Liturgies*, which was also much esteeemd. And in the year 1718 he sent abroad these Voyages and Travels, which were likewise received with universal applause. Besides these, he published many other learned treatises; and having for many years weakened his constitution by an assiduous application to his studies, he died on the 1st of *September* 1720, in the 74th year of his age, with the reputation of being one of the most learned men, and one of the exactest critics of his time *.

As to the first of these Voyages, we know not by whom it was written, the beginning of it being imperfect; but it appears clearly that it was written in the year of the Hegira 237, A. D. 851. The latter, which is no more than a commentary or discourse upon the former, appears to have been the work of *Abu Zeid al Hasan* of *Siraf*, who penned it about the year of the Hegira 303, A. D. 915. It appears therefore, that both of them are, at least, two centuries older than any accounts that had been published before. They were translated from an original manuscript in the library of the Count de *Seignelay*, the age of which was ascertained by the character in which it was written. But there is still a plainer proof of its being penned in the year of the Hegira 619, A. D. 1173, because there are at the end of it some observations in the same hand, relating to the extent of the walls and fortifications of the city of *Damascus*, under the reign of the famous Sultan *Noureddin*, and of other cities under his dominion; in which the writer speaks of him as still living: and therefore, as that monarch died the same year, this manuscript is clearly between five and six hundred years old †.

It is also very apparent, that there is nothing in either of these works, that can create the least suspicion that they are later than these dates speak them; but, on the contrary, all the facts mentioned in them, which are capable of being examined and compared with other histories, afford the clearest testimonies of their being genuine and authentic. The great value of these relations arises from their giving us a large account of *China*, above four hundred years earlier than the Travels of *Marco Polo* ‡, who, till these accounts were published, was always esteemed the first author we had on that subject.

The *first* of them begins abruptly, on account of there being a page or two wanting in the original manuscript; which very probably contained the name and country

* *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Tom. V. p. 384.

† See M. *Renaudot*'s Preface to these Relations. ‡ Marco Polo returned from his voyage A. D. 1295.

of

of its author, and the occasion of his Voyage; the loss of which there is great reason to regret.

Of the Sea of Herkend, and of the Islands therein.

I. "THE third of the Seas we have to mention, is that of *Herkend* *. Between this sea and that of *Delarowi*, are many islands, to the number, as they say, of nineteen hundred, which divide those two seas from each other †, and are governed by a queen ‡. Among these Islands they find ambergris in lumps of extraordinary bigness, as also in lesser pieces, which resemble plants torn up. This Amber is produced at the bottom of the sea, as plants upon earth; and when the sea is tempestuous, the violence of the waves tears it up from the bottom, and washes it to the shore in the form of a mushroom or truffle. These Islands are full of that kind of palm-tree which bears the cocoa-nut, and are from one to four leagues distant from each other, all inhabited. The wealth of the inhabitants consists in shells, of which even the queen's treasury is full. The say there are no workmen more expert than these islanders; and that of the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make shirts all of a piece, as also vests or tunics. Of the same tree they build ships and houses, and they are skilful in all other workmanship. Their shells they have from the sea at such times when they rise up to the surface; when the inhabitants throw branches of the cocoa-nut tree into the sea, and the shells stick to them. They call them *Kaptaje* in their language.

"Beyond these islands, in the sea of *Herkend*, is *Serendib* §, or *Ceylon*, the chief of all those islands, which are called *Dobijat*. It is all compassed by the sea, and on its coast

* By the Sea of *Herkend*, in all probability, our author means the sea about the Maldives; which, according to the eastern geographers, divides that part of the *Indian* Ocean from the sea of *Delarowi*, which is the gulph called by the ancients *Sinus Magnus*. The eastern writers frequently speak of the Seven Seas, which seems to be rather a proverbial phrase, than a geographical definition. The seas, without comprehending the ocean, which they call *Bab-Mahit*,—are the sea of *China*, the sea of *India*, the sea of *Persia*, the sea of *Kolzuma*, or the *Red Sea*, so called from a town which is thought to be the *Clysma* of the ancients; the sea of *Rum*, or of *Greece*, which is the *Mediterranean*, the sea called *Al-Chozar*, or the *Caspian*, and the sea of Pont, or the *Pontus Euxinus*; but these are not all the names they give them, for the Sea of *India* is very often called the *Green Sea*; that of *Persia*, the sea of *Bassora*, and other names they have for particular parts of these seas.

† It is no wonder that the *Arabs* had but a very imperfect knowledge of these Islands, since we are not very well informed about them to this day. The reader may probably think that our author has multiplied them, from the number he speaks of; but the truth is, that he rather diminishes them; for the most accurate writers we have, assure us that there are twelve thousand of them; and this is said to be the signification of their name in the *Malabar* tongue, *viz. Male Dive*, *i. e.* a thousand islands; that round number being put for the true number of them, let it be what it will.

‡ The subsequent accounts we have had of the *Maldives* do not justify this particular, if the intent of the author was to inform us that these islands were always governed by a woman. It might perhaps be so in his time, where, by accident, one woman might have succeeded another, as queen *Elizabeth* did queen *Mary* here.

§ This is the *Taprobana* of the ancients; and I think scarce any island has been called by more names than those which have been bestowed on this; but whereas in the ancient work of *Cosmas Indopleustes*, it is called

coaſt they fiſh for pearl. In this country there is a mountain called *Rahun*, to the top of which it is thought *Adam* aſcended, and there left the print of his foot in a rock, which is ſeventy cubits in length; and they ſay that Adam at the ſame time ſtood with his other foot in the ſea. About this mountain are mines of rubies, opals, and amethyſts. This Iſland, which is of great extent, has two kings; and here are found lignum, aloes, gold, precious ſtones, and pearls, which are fiſhed for on the coaſt; as alſo a kind of large ſhells, which they uſe inſtead of trumpets, and are much valued.

"In the ſame Sea, towards the *Serendib*, there are other iſles, but not ſo many in number, though of vaſt extent, and unknown. One of theſe Iſlands, called *Ramni* *, is under ſeveral princes, in which there is great plenty of gold. The inhabitants here have cocoa-nut trees, which ſupply them with food, and therewith alſo they paint their bodies, and oil themſelves.

"Theſe Iſlands ſeparate the Sea of *Herkend* from the Sea of *Shelahet*, and beyond them are others called *Najabalus*, which are pretty well peopled. When ſhipping is among theſe iſlands, the inhabitants come off in embarkations, and bring with them ambergris and cocoa-nuts, which they truck for iron; for they want no clothing, being free from the inconveniences either of heat or cold. Beyond theſe two Iſlands, lies the *Sea of Andaman:* the people on this coaſt eat human fleſh quite raw. They have no ſort of barks or other veſſels; if they had they would ſeize and devour all the paſſengers they could lay hands on. When ſhips have been kept back by contrary winds, they are often in theſe ſeas obliged to drop anchor on this barbarous coaſt for the ſake of water; and upon theſe occaſions they commonly loſe ſome of their men †.

"Beyond this there is a mountainous and yet inhabited Iſland, where, it is ſaid, there are mines of ſilver; but as it does not lie in the uſual track of ſhipping, many have ſought for it in vain, though remarkable for a very lofty mountain, which is called *Kaſhenai*. It once ſo happened, that a Ship ſailing in this latitude had ſight of the mountain, and ſhaped her courſe for it; and falling in with the land, ſent a boat on ſhore, with hands to cut wood: the men kindled a fire, and ſaw ſilver run from it, which plainly indicated there was a mine of this metal in that place; they ſhipped therefore as much of the earth or ore as they thought fit; but as they were proceeding on their Voyage they met with ſuch a ſtorm, that to lighten their ſhip, they were under the neceſſity of throwing all their ore overboard.

called *Sielendiba*; it is very eaſy to account for this, and to ſhew that it is only a *Greek* termination given to the true name; *f* or *b* is often put for *u*, and conſequently *Sielendiba* is the ſame with *Sielendive;* that is, *Sielen Iſland*; whence the modern name, as we uſually write it, *viz.* the iſland of *Ceylon*.

* In ſome of the *Arabian* geographers, theſe are called the Iſlands of *Rami*.

† It is moſt certain, that, upon a ſtrict inquiry, moſt of theſe ſtories of *Man-eaters* have been found to be fables void of all foundation; but the very lateſt accounts we have of the *Indies*, give theſe people the ſame character.

"Since

"Since that time the Mountain has been carefully fought, but it has never fince been feen.—To conclude; there are many fuch Iflands in the fea, more in number than can be fet down, fome inacceffible by feamen, and fome unknown to them. In thefe Seas it often happens, that a whitifh cloud at once fpreads over a Ship, and lets down a long thin tongue or fpout, quite to the furface of the water, which then is turned round as by a whirlwind; and if a veffel happens to be in the way, fhe is immediately fwallowed up thereby: but at length this cloud mounts up again, and difcharges itfelf in a prodigious rain. It is not known whether this water is fucked up by the clouds, or how this comes to pafs. All thefe Seas are fubject to great ftorms, which makes them boil up like water over a fire: then it is that the furf dafhes fhips againft the iflands, and breaks them to pieces with unfpeakable violence, and then alfo it is that fifh of all fizes are thrown dead afhore upon the rocks. The wind, which commonly blows upon the Sea of *Herkend*, is from another quarter, *viz.* from the N. W. but the Sea is alfo fubject to as violent agitations as thofe juft mentioned, and then ambergris is torn up from the bottom, and particularly where it is very deep; and the deeper it is, the more valuable the ambergris.

"It is likewife obferved, with refpect to that Sea, that when it is thus toffed by the tempeftuous winds, it fparkles like fire, and that it is infefted by a certain kind of fifh called Lockham, which frequently preys upon men." This is probably no other than the fhark, which is common enough on all the coafts of the *Indies*. --- Here there is a part of the Manufcript loft, wherein the author treated of the Trade to *China*, as it ftood in his time, and of the caufes which had brought it into a declining condition. He then proceeds thus:

"*Of the Trade to China,—Navigation and Tides.—Siraff, Calabar, Kaukam, &c.*

---II. "AMONGST others, the fires that frequently happen at *Canfu* are not the leaft. *Canfu* is the Port of all the fhips of the *Arabs*, who trade in *China*, and fires are there very frequent, becaufe the houfes are built with nothing but wood, or elfe with fplit *cane;* befides, Ships are often loft in going and coming, or they are plundered, or obliged to make too long a ftay in harbours, or to fell their goods out of the country fubject to the *Arabs*, and there make up their cargo. In fhort, Ships are under a neceffity of wafting a confiderable time in refitting, not to fpeak of any other caufes of delay.

"*Soliman*, the Merchant *, relates, that at *Canfu*, which is the principal refort of merchants, there is a *Mahommedan* appointed judge over thofe of his religion, by the authority of the Emperor of *China;* and that he is judge of all the *Mahommedans* who refort to thofe parts.

* As to this *Soliman* the Merchant, it is very probable that fome account was given of him in the page that is loft; but as to the *Mahommedan* Conful, it is a very extraordinary fact, and deferves particular notice, becaufe it plainly fhews, that the *Mahommedans* had for fome time carried on a regular and fettled Trade to *China*, which is what from other accounts we could never have fufpected.

"As

"As for the places whence Ships depart, and those they touch at, many persons affirm, that the Navigation is performed in the following order:—most of the *Chinese* ships take in their cargo at *Siraff* *, where also they ship their goods which come from *Basra*, or *Bassora*, *Oman*, and other ports; and this they do, because in this Sea there are frequent storms, and shoal water in many places. From *Basra* to *Siraff* is an hundred and twenty leagues; and when Ships have loaded at this last place, they there water also; and from thence make sail for a place called *Mascat*, which is in the extremity of the province of *Oman*, about two hundred leagues from *Siraff*. On the east coast of this Sea, between *Siraff* and *Mascat*, is a place called *Nosis Buni al Safak*, and an island called *Ebn Kabowan*; and in this Sea are rocks called *Oman*, and a narrow strait called *Dordur*, between two rocks, where vessels do venture, but the *Chinese* Ships dare not. There are also two rocks called *Kassir* and *Howare*, which scarce appear above the water's edge: After they are clear of these rocks, they steer for a place called *Shitu Oman*, and at *Mascat* take in water, which is drawn out of wells; and here also they are supplied with cattle of the province of *Oman*: From thence Ships take their departure for the *Indies*, and first they touch at *Kaukam-mali*: and from *Mascat* to this place it is a month's sail with a fair wind.

"This is a frontier place, and the chief arsenal in the province of the same name. And here the Chinese ships put in, and are in safety; fresh water is to be had here, and the *Chinese* pay a thousand drams for duties, but others pay only from one *dinar* to ten *dinars*. From *Mascat* to *Kaukam-mali* it is a month's sail; and then having watered at this place, they begin to enter the Sea of *Herkend*, and having sailed through it, touch at a place called *Lajabalus*, where the inhabitants understand not the *Arabic*, or any other language in use with merchants. They wear no cloaths, are white, and weak in their feet.

"From hence Ships steer towards *Calabar*, the name of a kingdom on the coast to the right hand beyond the *Indies*.—*Bar* signifies a Coast in the language of the country; and this depends on the kingdom of *Zapage*. The inhabitants are dressed in those sorts of striped garments, which the *Arabs* call *Fauta*; and they commonly wear but one at a time, which is equally observed by persons of every degree. At this place they commonly take in water, which is filled from wells fed by springs, and which they like better than what is drawn out of cisterns and tanks. *Calabar* is about a month's Voyage from a place called *Kaukam*, which is almost upon the skirts of the sea of *Herkend*. In ten days after this, Ships reach *Betuma*: from whence, in ten days more, they come up with *Kadrange*.

* It is a very difficult thing to distinguish, at this distance of time, the route laid down by our author, chiefly by reason of the changes of names, of which we have particularly an instance in this great port of *Siraff*, not to be met with in any of our maps; however we have some mention made of it in other *Arabian* writers who say, that it lay sixty leagues from *Shiraz*, that it stood in the gulph of *Persia*, and that when it decayed, the trade thereof was transported to the island of *Ormuz*.

"It is to be obſerved, that in all the Iſlands and Peninſulas of the *Indies*, they find water when they dig for it. In this laſt mentioned place, there is a very loſty mountain, which is peopled by none but ſlaves and fugitives: from thence in ten days they arrrive at *Senif*; here is freſh water, and hence comes the aromatic wood we call *Hud al Seneſi*. Here is a king; the inhabitants are black, and wear two ſtriped garments. Having watered at this place, it is ten days paſſage to *Sanderfulat*, an Iſland where is freſh water; then they ſteer through the Sea of *Sanji*, and ſo to the gates of *China*; for ſo they call certain rocks and ſhoals in that Sea, forming a narrow ſtrait, through which Ships paſs. It requires a month to ſail from *Sanderfulat* to *China*; and it takes up eight whole days to ſteer clear of theſe rocks.

"When a Ship has got through theſe gates, ſhe, with the tide of flood, goes into a freſh water gulph, and drops anchor in the chief Port of *China*, which is that of *Canfu*; and here they have freſh water both from ſprings and rivers, as they have alſo in moſt of the other cities of China.

"In this Port it ebbs and flows * twice in twenty-four hours; but with this difference, that whereas from *Baſra* to the iſland called *Bani Kahouan*, it flows when the moon is at full, and ebbs when ſhe riſes, and when ſhe ſets; from near *Bani Kahouan* quite to the coaſt of *China*, it is flood when the moon riſes, and when ſhe is towards her height it is at ebb: and ſo, on the contrary, when ſhe ſets it is flowing water, and when ſhe is quite hidden under the horizon, the tide falls." - - -

"Our author ſeems here to interrupt his Narration, and to take occaſion from what he has before reported (and which, in the main, is confirmed by later writers,) to compare the cuſtoms of the *Indians* and *Chineſe*, intermixing his diſcourſe alſo with other matters.

"The *Indians* and *Chineſe* agree, that there are four great or principal kings in the world; they all allow the king of the *Arabs* to be the firſt, and to be, beyond diſpute, the moſt powerful of kings, the moſt wealthy, and the moſt excellent every way; becauſe he is the prince and head of a great religion, and becauſe no other ſurpaſſes him.

"The Emperor of *China* reckons himſelf next after the king of the *Arabs*, and after him the king of the *Greeks*, and laſtly the *Balhara*, king of *Moharmi al Adon*, or of theſe who have their ears bored †.

"This BALHARA is the moſt illuſtrious prince in all the *Indies*; and all the other kings there, though each is maſter and independant in his kingdom, acknowledge thus far

* It is very probable, or rather certain, from the account given by our author, that this muſt be the Port of *Canton*; and the irregularity of the Tide is a circumſtance that ſtrongly confirms it; and which ſhews at the ſame time, that the *Arabs* were not ſo ignorant in thoſe matters as they are generally imagined.

† We may conjecture, that this *Balhara*, or monarch of the nations with their ears bored, which is plainly the *Indians*, was no other than the *Samorin*, or emperor of *Calicut*, who, according to the reports of the moſt ancient *Portugueſe* hiſtorians, was acknowledged as a kind of emperor in the *Indies*, ſix hundred years before they diſcovered the paſſage to them by the *Cape of Good Hope*.

his pre-eminence. When he ſends ambaſſadors to them they are received with extraordinary honours, becauſe of the reſpect they bear him. This king makes magnificent preſents after the manner of the *Arabs*, and has horſes and elephants in great numbers, and great treaſures in money. He has of thoſe pieces of ſilver called *Thartarian Drams*, which weigh half a dram more than the *Arabian Dram*. They are coined with the dye of the prince, and bear the year of his reign from the laſt of the reign of his predeceſſor.

" They compute not their years from the æra of *Mohammed*, as the *Arabs* do, but only by the years of their kings. Moſt of theſe princes live a long time, and many of them have reigned above fifty years; and thoſe of the country believe, that the length of their lives, and of their reigns, is granted them in recompence for their kindneſs to the *Arabs*. In truth, there are no princes more heartily affectionate to the *Arabs*, and their ſubjects profeſs the ſame friendſhip for us.

" BALHARA * is not a proper name, but an appellative common to all theſe kings, as was *Coſroes* and ſome others. The Country under the dominion of this prince begins on the coaſt of the province called *Kamkam*, and reaches by land to the confines of *China*. He is ſurrounded by the dominions of many kings, who are at war with him, and yet he never marches againſt them.

" After this Kingdom there is another, which is an inland State diſtant from the coaſt, and called *Kaſchbin*, the inhabitants are white, and bore their ears; they have camels, and their country is for the moſt part deſert, and full of mountains; farther upon the Coaſt there is a ſmall kingdom called *Kitrange*, which is very poor; but it has a bay, where the ſea throws up great quantities of ambergris; they have alſo elephant's teeth and pepper; but the inhabitants eat it green, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of the quantity they gather. Beyond theſe kingdoms here mentioned, there are others of number unknown, and among the reſt that of *Mujet*; the inhabitants are white, and dreſs after the *Chineſe* mode; their country is full of mountains, with white tops, and of very great extent; here are very great quantities of Muſk, eſtemed the moſt exquiſite in the world. They have war with all the neighbouring kingdoms.

" The kingdom of † *Mabed* is beyond that of *Mujet*; therein are many cities, and the inhabitants have a great reſemblance to the Chineſe, even more than thoſe of *Mujet*; for they have officers or eunuchs, like thoſe who govern the cities amongſt the Chineſe; the country of *Mabed* is bordering upon China, and is at peace with the emperor, but not ſubject to him. The *Mabed* ſend every year ambaſſadors and preſents to the Emperor of China, who on his part ſends ambaſſadors and preſents to them.

* This is another good reaſon why the monarch here mentioned ſhould be taken for the emperor of *Calicut*, ſince he likewiſe was not called by his proper name, but by ſuch an appellative as this; and if we could obtain an etymology of theſe words, that could be depended upon, it is very likely that *Balhara* and *Samerin* would be found to mean the ſame.

† It would be an endleſs thing to fatigue the reader with conjectures about theſe countries, the names of which are totally unknown to us; ſo that all we can ſay of them with certainty is, that they lie between Cape *Comerin* and China.

them. Their Country is of great extent; and when the ambaſſadors of *Mabed* enter China, they are carefully watched, and never once allowed to ſurvey the country, for fear they ſhould form deſigns of conquering it; which would be no difficult taſk for them, on account of their great numbers, and becauſe they are divided from China only by mountains and rocks.

"They ſay that in the kingdom of *China* there are above two hundred cities, with juriſdiction over others, that have each a governor, and an eunuch, or lieutenant. *Canfu* is one of theſe cities, being the Port for all ſhipping, and preſiding over twenty towns.

"They coin a great deal of copper money, like what the *Arabs* call *Falus*: they have treaſures like other kings; but they have only this ſort of ſmall money, which is current all over the country; for though they have gold, ſilver, pearls, ſilk, and rich ſtuffs in great abundance, they conſider them only as moveables and merchandize, and the copper-pieces are the only current coin: from foreign parts they have ivory, frankincenſe, copper in pigs, tortoiſe-ſhells, and unicorns' horns, which we have mentioned, and with which they adorn their girdles. Of their own ſtock, they have abundance of beaſts of burden, horſes, aſſes, and dromedaries; but they have no *Arabian* horſes.

"They have an excellent kind of earth, wherewith they make a ware of equal fineneſs with glaſs, and equally tranſparent. When merchants arrive here *, the *Chineſe* ſeize on their cargoes, and convey them to warehouſes, where they remain ſix months, and till the laſt merchantman be arrived; then they take three in ten, or thirty *per cent.* of each commodity, and return the reſt to the merchant. If the Emperor hath a mind for any particular thing, his officers have a right to take it, preferably to any other perſons whatſoever, paying for it to the utmoſt value. They diſpatch this buſineſs immediately, and without the leaſt injuſtice; they commonly take Camphire, which they pay for after the rate of fifty *Fakuges per* man, and the *Fakuge* is worth a thouſand *Falus*, or pieces of copper. When it happens that the emperor does not take Camphire, it ſells for half as much again.

"They have no duty impoſed upon their lands, but are ſubject to a poll-tax, which is levied upon men only, and that according to their condition and capacity. When any *Arabs*, or other ſtrangers, are in this country, the *Chineſe* tax them according to their ſubſtance. When any dearth makes neceſſaries dear, then the king opens his Store-Houſes, and ſells all ſorts of proviſions much cheaper than they are to be had at market: and hence no dearth is of any long continuance among the *Chineſe*. The ſums that are gathered from this capitation-tax, are laid up in the public treaſury; and I believe, that from this tax fifty thouſand *dinars* are paid every day into the treaſury of *Canfu* alone, although this city is not one of the largeſt in *China*.

* This account of the conduct of the *Chineſe* towards the merchants, correſponds both with ancient and modern relations.

"The Emperor reſerves likewiſe to himſelf the revenues which ariſe from the Salt Mines, and from a certain HERB which they drink with hot water, and of which great quantities are ſold in all the cities of *China*, to the amount of conſiderable ſums; they call it *Itcha*, that is tea; and it is a ſhrub, more buſhy than the pomegranate-tree, and of a more pleaſant ſmell, but has a kind of bitterneſs with it. Their way is to boil water, which they pour upon this leaf; and this Drink cures all ſorts of diſeaſes.—Whatever ſums come into the treaſury, ariſe from the poll-tax, the duties upon ſalt, and the tax upon the Leaf *.

"In each City there is a ſmall bell hung to the wall above the prince's or governor's head; and this bell may be rung by a ſtring, which reaches about three miles, and croſſes the highway, to the end that people may get at it; when the ſtring is pulled, the bell ſtrikes over the governor's head, and ſtrait he commands that the perſon who thus demands juſtice, be brought before him: and accordingly the complainant ſets forth his caſe in perſon; and the ſame practice is in uſe throughout all other provinces.

"If a man has a mind to travel from one place to another, he muſt take two paſſes with him, the one from the governor, the other from the eunuch or lieutenant. The governor's Paſs permits him to ſet out on his journey, and takes notice of the name of the traveller, and of thoſe alſo of his company, the age and family of the one and the other; for every body in *China* whether a native, or an *Arab*, or any other foreigner, is obliged to declare all he knows of himſelf, nor can he poſſibly be excuſed.

"The Eunuch, or lieutenant's Paſs, ſpecifies the quantity of goods or money which the traveller and thoſe with him take along with them; and this is done for the information of the frontier places, where theſe two paſſes are examined; for whenever a traveller arrives at any of them, it is regiſtered, that ſuch an one, the ſon of ſuch an one, of ſuch a family, paſſed through this place on ſuch a day, in ſuch a month, in ſuch a year, and in ſuch a company; and by this means they prevent any one from carrying off the money or effects of other perſons, or their being loſt: ſo that if any thing has been carried off unjuſtly, or the traveller dies on the road, they immediately know what is become of it, and the article miſſing is either reſtored to the claimant or to his heirs †.

"The *Chineſe* have a Stone which is ten cubits high, erected in the public ſquares of their cities; and on this ſtone are engraved the names of all ſorts of Medicines, with the exact price of each; and when the poor ſtand in need of any relief from phyſic, they go to the treaſury, where they receive the price each medicine is rated at. There

* It appears from hence, that the cuſtom of drinking Tea in *China*, is much more ancient than we have generally imagined it; for it muſt have prevailed long before our traveller went into this country, otherwiſe a tax upon it would have been ineffectual.

† This was a ſettled regulation among the ancient *Indians*; ſo that it is very probable the *Chineſe* derived a great part of their policy from the *Indians*.

is in *China* no tax upon land; they only levy so much *per* head, according to the wealth and possessions of the subject. When a male child is born, his name is immediately entered in the king's books; and when this child has attained his eighteenth year, he begins to pay for his head; but they demand it not of the man who has seen his eightieth year, on the contrary, he receives a gratification by way of pension from the public treasury: and in doing this, the *Chinese* say, that they make this provision for him in his old days, in acknowledgment for what they received of him when he was young.

"In the *Indies*, when a man accuses another of a crime punishable with death, the custom is to ask the accused if he is willing to go through the Trial by fire; and if he answers in the affirmative, they heat a piece of iron till it is red-hot. This done, they bid him stretch forth his hand, and upon it they put seven leaves of a certain tree, and upon these leaves they put the red-hot iron, and in this condition he walks backward and forward for some time, and then throws off the iron. Immediately after this they put his hand into a leathern bag, which they seal with the Prince's signet; and if at the end of three days he appears, and declares he has suffered no hurt, they order him to take out his hand; when, if no sign of fire is visible, they declare him innocent, and delivered from the punishment which threatened him, and his accuser is condemned to pay a *Man* of gold as a fine to the prince.

"Sometimes they boil water in a cauldron *, till it is so hot that no one can touch it; then they throw an iron ring into it, and command the person accused to thrust his hand down, and bring out the ring. I saw one who did this, and received no manner of hurt. The accuser is in this case also to pay a *Man* of gold.

"It is an universal custom all over the *Indies* to burn the bodies of the dead. The island of *Sarandib* is the last of the islands of the *Indies*. When they burn a king, it is usual for his wives to jump into the fire and to burn with him; but this they are not constrained to do if they are not willing.

"In the *Indies* there are men who profess to live in the woods and mountains, and to despise what other men most value. These abstain from every thing but such wild herbs and fruits as spring in the woods. Some of them are quite naked, or have only a leopard's skin thrown over them, and in this plight keep standing with their faces towards the sun. I formerly saw one in the posture I have described; and returning to the *Indies*, about sixteen years afterwards, I found him in the very same attitude;

* This manner of finding out the truth by appealing to God in so extraordinary a manner, was in use in most countries. Sophocles mentions it as practised by the ancients. The *Caffres* on the coast of *Mosambique*, if they are accused of any capital crime, lick iron to prove their innocence. The *Indians* of *Calicut* decide their differences in the same manner. If a man is accused of theft, he and the accuser are brought before the judge; a pint of oil is heated till it almost boils, and then the party accused dips in three of his fingers, which are immediately bound up, and opened on the third day; when, if it appears he is scalded, he suffers death; and if not, the same sentence falls upon the accuser. All this is the more probable, since this was once the common law of our own country, as the reader will perceive by consulting any of our glossographers on the word *Ordeal*.

and

and was aſtoniſhed he had not loſt his eye-ſight by the heat of the ſun *. In all theſe kingdoms the ſovereign power reſides in the royal family, and never departs from it; and the next heirs of this family ſucceed each other. In like manner there are families of learned men, of phyſicians, and of all the artificers concerned in architecture, and none of theſe are mixed with a family of a profeſſion different from their own. The ſeveral ſtates of the *Indies* are not ſubject to one king, but each province has its own king. The *Balhara* is nevertheleſs in the *Indies* as king of kings. The *Chineſe* are fond of gaming, and all manner of diverſions; on the contrary, the *Indians* condemn them, and have no pleaſure in them. They drink no wine, nor make any uſe of vinegar, becauſe it is made of wine; and yet they abſtain not therefrom as a religious duty, but for another reaſon. They ſay, that if a king is given to wine, he ought not to be deemed a king: for, continue they, as there are frequent wars with the neighbouring ſtates, how ſhould a drunkard manage the affairs of his kingdom?

"The *Chineſe* have no Sciences; and their religion, and moſt of their laws are derived from the *Indians*; nay, they are of opinion that the *Indians* taught them the worſhip of idols, and conſider them as a very religious nation; both the one and the other believe the *Metempſychoſis*: but they differ in many points touching the precepts of their religions. Phyſick and philoſophy are cultivated among the *Indians*, and the *Chineſe* have ſome ſkill in medicine; but it almoſt wholly conſiſts in the art of applying hot irons or cauteries. They have alſo ſome ſmattering of Aſtronomy, but therein alſo the *Indians* ſurpaſs the *Chineſe*. I know not that there is ſo much as one of either nation that has embraced Mohammediſm, or ſpeaks *Arabic*.

"*China* is a pleaſant and fruitful country: moſt of the *Indian* provinces have no cities; whereas in *China* there are many in number, great in extent, and well fortified: the climate of *China* is more wholeſome, and the country itſelf is leſs ſenny. The air there is alſo much better, and there is ſcarce a blind perſon to be ſeen, or any one ſubject to the diſeaſes of the eyes; and the ſame advantages are enjoyed by ſeveral provinces of the *Indies*. The Rivers of theſe two countries are large, and ſurpaſs our greateſt rivers; much rain falls in both theſe countries. In the *Indies* are many deſert tracks, but *China* is inhabited and peopled throughout its whole extent.

"Beyond the Continent of *China*, there is a country called *Tagazgaz*, from the name of a nation of the *Turks*, who there inhabit; and alſo the country of *Kakhan*, or *Tibet*, which is bordering on the country of the *Turks* †. The Iſlands of *Sila* are inhabited by white people, who ſend preſents to the emperor of *China*, and who are perſuaded, that if they did not ſend him preſents, the rain of heaven would not fall upon their country. None of our people have been there to inform us concerning them."

* Theſe Penances among the *Indians*, as ſurpriſing or as incredible as they ſeem to be, are confirmed by all the travellers that have written of thoſe countries, whether ancient or modern.

† The Nations here mentioned are to be conſidered as dwelling in their native region, before they became famous by their irruption into *Perſia*, which is the country every where meant by the name of *Irak*, and before they became *Mahomedans*; which is the more neceſſary, becauſe from the preſent ſtate of things it is very natural to connect the ideas which we have of the modern *Turks*, with theſe accounts of their anceſtors.

AS WE ARE NOW ARRIVED TO THE END OF THIS WORK, it may not be amiſs to offer here ſome Remarks that may tend to enlighten the foregoing Diſcourſe, and prepare us at the ſame time for that which is to come.—We are informed that the date of this Narration was of the *Hegira* 237. (A. D. 851.) which circumſtance, though preſerved to us in the enſuing Diſcourſe, was very probably contained in the firſt leaf of this, which is wanting in the manuſcript. But though it was written then, yet it ſeems highly probable, that our Author's firſt journey to the *Indies* was, at leaſt, twenty years before; becauſe he obſerves, that he made a ſecond journey there ſixteen years afterwards; and we may very well allow four years for the time ſpent in the firſt journey, and the ſpace that might intervene between his return, and his compoſing this Treatiſe. According to this calculation, his firſt Voyage to the *Indies* was in the year of the *Hegira* 217. (A. D. 833.) and his ſecond *An. Heg.* 235. (A. D. 849.)

As to the occaſion of his Voyages, there is nothing occurs in this account that can give us the leaſt light into it; however, it ſeems moſt probable, that he underwent theſe fatigues on the ſcore of Commerce; for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that a man would have made ſo long a journey, a ſecond time, purely out of curioſity, and to ſatisfy the deſire of being better acquainted with theſe people, which had been excited by his former intercourſe with them. There is not much to be obſerved with reſpect to the form of this Treatiſe, or the ſtile in which it is written; and yet ſomething there is worth mentioning with reſpect to each of them. We cannot, indeed, boaſt much of the regularity of his method; and yet it would be unjuſt to condemn it entirely; becauſe, for want of having the introduction to it, we cannot determine exactly what was his plan, and conſequently cannot ſay how far he came up to or fell ſhort of it. One thing I think is manifeſt, which is, that the ſcope of his undertaking is a *Compariſon between the Indians and the Chineſe;* at leaſt he falls into this immediately after he has deſcribed the uſual Navigation from *Siraf* to *China*; and conſidered in this light, his Treatiſe appears regular enough. As to his ſtile, it is extremely ſimple and plain, and has nothing of that ſwelling, hyperbolical eloquence which is generally obſerved in oriental writers: upon which, I beg leave to remark, that with regard to the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, this was a vice that prevailed in later times, after poetry and rhetoric had been more cultivated than they were in the firſt ages of their empire, which has been the caſe in moſt other nations.

One cannot poſſibly doubt, that this piece was extremely well received when it firſt came abroad; and that it had maintained its reputation for a conſiderable ſpace of time, appears from the Second Treatiſe which we are about to give our readers. It ſeems, that when the affairs of *China* were better known, ſome prince, or other perſon of diſtinction, deſired the author of the following pages to look over that Diſcourſe; and to inform him, how far the facts contained therein had been confirmed or contradicted, by ſucceeding relations. What time this happened, we cannot with any certainty ſay, from the compariſon of the two pieces, or from the lights given us by the learned and accurate Critic who publiſhed them. The Manuſcript which the

Abbé

Abbé RENAUDOT made uſe of, was apparently older than the year of the *Hegira* 569, which anſwers to the year of Chriſt 1173; but the Diſcourſe muſt certainly have been written long before that time.—In our Notes we have ſhewn that *Eben Wahab* travelled into *China* A. H. 285, A. D. 898; and the author of this laſt Treatiſe informs us, that he had converſed with this man after his return, and had from him the facts which he has inſerted in his Diſcourſe: ſo that the book itſelf muſt have been two centuries older than the Manuſcript from which the Abbé RENAUDOT publiſhed it, and might probably be written ſixty or ſeventy years after the foregoing Treatiſe. Theſe are all the lights which, from an aſſiduous ſtudy of theſe valuable fragments of antiquity, we have been able to give the reader; and therefore we ſhall detain him no longer from the piece itſelf, which in the Original bears the following title:

(*Preface of the ſecond Author in confirmation of what the former had delivered.*)

THE DISCOURSE OF ABU ZEID AL HASAN OF SIRAF, CONCERNING THE VOYAGE TO THE INDIES AND CHINA.

"Having very carefully examined the book I was directed to peruſe, that I might confirm what the author relates, when he agrees with what I have heard concerning the affairs of the Sea, the Kingdoms on the coaſt, and the State of the countries; and that I might add upon this head, what I have elſewhere collected concerning them, which is not to be found in this book—I find it was written in the year of the Hegira 237, and that the accounts the author gives in regard to things at Sea, were in his time very true, and agreeable to what I have underſtood from merchants, who from *Irak* ſailed through thoſe Seas. I find alſo, that all the author writes is agreeable to truth except ſome few paſſages.

"He told us, that ſince thoſe days the affairs of *China* wear quite another face; and ſince much is related to ſhew the reaſon why the Voyages to *China* are interrupted, and how the Country has been ruined, many cuſtoms aboliſhed, and the empire divided, I will here declare the cauſes I know of this Revolution *.

"The great Troubles which have embroiled the affairs of this Empire; which have put a ſtop to the juſtice and righteouſneſs there formerly practiſed; and which have in fine interrupted the ordinary Navigation from *Siraf* to *China*, flowed from this ſource: an officer who was conſiderable for his employment, though not of the royal

* The account here given by our author, very plainly proves, that the Trade to *China* was conſidered in his time as very ancient, and of very great conſequence; inſomuch that whatever affected the peace of that country, was looked upon as a thing of common concern to all the nations of the Eaſt. But till theſe travels were publiſhed, who could have imagined this? Who would have ſuſpected that the affairs of *China* were ſo well known to the *Arabs*? And therefore when theſe things are maturely weighed, who can doubt that we had reaſon to advance it as a thing highly probable, that long before this, the empires of *China* and the *Indies* were in the moſt flouriſhing condition, as well in point of foreign Commerce, as of domeſtic Œconomy.

family,

family, revolted some time ago; this man's name was *Baichu*, and he began with committing hostilities in the country, marching his armies into many places, to the great loss of the Inhabitants; till, winning a party over to him by his liberalities, he got together a multitude of vagabonds and abandoned people, whom he formed into a considerable body of troops.

"His army thus strengthened, and himself in a condition to undertake any thing, he discovered his design of subduing the Empire; and marched straight to *Cansu*, one of the most noted cities in *China*, and at that time the Port for all the *Arabian* merchants. This city stands upon a great River some days distance from the entrance, so that the water there is fresh: but the citizens shutting their gates against him, he resolved to besiege the place, and the siege lasted a great while. This was transacted in the year of the Hegira 264, and of Christ 877.

"At last he became master of the City, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. There are persons fully acquainted with the affairs of *China*, who assure us, that besides the *Chinese* who were massacred upon this occasion, there perished one hundred and twenty thousand *Mohammedans*, *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Parsees*, who were there on account of traffic. The number of the professors of these four religions, who thus perished, is exactly known, because the *Chinese* are exceedingly nice in the accounts they keep of them.

"He also cut down the mulberry trees, and almost all the trees of other kinds: but we speak of the Mulberry in particular, because the *Chinese* cultivate it carefully for the sake of its leaf, on which their Silkworms subsist. This devastation is the cause why Silk has failed, and that the Trade which used to be driven therein through all the countries under the *Arabs*, is quite at a stand. Having sacked and destroyed *Cansu*, he possessed himself of many other cities, which he attacked one after another; the emperor of *China* not having it in his power to stop his progress. He advanced then to the capital city, called *Cumdan*; and the Emperor left this, his royal seat, making a precipitate retreat to the city of *Hamdu*, on the frontiers, towards the province of *Tibet*.

"The Rebel, puffed up by these great successes, and perceiving himself master of the countries, fell upon the other cities, which he demolished; having first slain most of the inhabitants, with a view, in this general butchery, to involve all the several branches of the royal blood, that none might survive to dispute the Empire with him. We had the news of these Revolutions, and of the total ruin of *China*, which still continues.

"Thus were affairs situated, and the Rebel stood uncontroled by any disadvantage that might abase his authority *.

"At

* It is a very difficult thing to pretend to settle the Chronology of the *Chinese* Empire; and the very learned editor of these travels confesses that he is not able to give any satisfactory account of this revolution. It so falls out, however, that Father *du Halde*, in his history of *China*, lately published, has enabled us to set this matter right, or at least very nearly right. He informs us, that in the reign of the Emperor *Hi Tsong*, who

"At last the Emperor of *China* wrote to the king of *Tagazgaz* in *Turkestan*, with whom, besides the nearness of his dominions, he was, in some degree, allied by marriage; and, at the same time, sent an embassy to him, to implore his assistance for reducing this rebel. Upon this, the king of *Tagazgaz* dispatched his son, at the head of a very numerous army, to fight this oppressor; and, after many battles, and almost continual skirmishes, he utterly defeated him. It was never known what became of the rebel: some believe he fell in battle, while others thought he ended his days in another manner.

"The Emperor of *China* returned then to *Cumdan*, and although he was extremely weakened, and much dispirited because of the embezzlement of his treasures, and the loss of his captains and best troops, and because of all the late calamities; he nevertheless made himself master of all the provinces which had been conquered from him. However, he never laid hands on the goods of his subjects, but satisfied himself with what was yet left in his coffers, and the small remainders of public money; his condition indispensably obliged him to take up with what his subjects would give him, and to require nothing from them but obedience to his mandates; forbearing to squeeze money from them, because the King's governors had exhausted them already.

"Thus *China* became almost like the Empire of *Alexander* after the defeat and death of *Darius* *, when he divided the provinces he took from the *Persians* amongst so many chiefs, who erected themselves into so many kings; for now each of these *Chinese* princes joined with some other to wage war against a third, without consulting the Emperor; and when the strongest had subdued the weakest, and was become master of his province, all was wasted and unmercifully plundered, and the subjects of the vanquished prince were unnaturally devoured; a Cruelty allowed by the laws of their religion, which even permit Human Flesh to be exposed to sale in the public markets.

was the eighteenth of the dynasty of *Tang*, the affairs of *China* fell into very great disorder; from the heavy taxes laid upon the people, and a great famine, caused by the inundation of rivers, and infinite numbers of grass-hoppers that destroyed their harvests. While things were in this situation, there happened several revolts in the provinces, which encouraged a certain Rebel, whose name was *Hoan Tsia*, to put himself at the head of the malecontents; and that with such success, as to drive the Emperor from the imperial city, of which he made himself master; but he was afterwards defeated, and the Emperor restored. It must be owned, that there is about twenty years difference between the time mentioned by our author, and the date of this revolution, assigned by Father *du Halde*; I shall not take upon me to decide where the mistake lies; but I conceive that the reader will be of the same opinion with me, in concluding this to be the Revolution mentioned in the text.

* All the Oriental writers agree in giving a different account of the division of the Empire of *Alexander* the Great, from that which is given us by the *Greeks*; and that this notion of theirs was ancient, appears from what we are told by the author of the first book of *Maccabees*, who having related the conquest of the *Persian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, adds the following remarkable words: (1 *Maccab.* i. 5, 6.) "And after these "things, he fell sick and perceived he should die. Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, "and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was "yet alive."

"Then

"Then arose, as was natural from these confusions, many unjust dealings with the Merchants who traded thither, which having gathered the force of a precedent; there was no grievance, no treatment so bad, but they exercised upon the *Arabs*, and the masters of ships: they extorted from the Merchants what was uncustomary, they seized upon their effects, and behaved towards them in a manner directly opposite to ancient usages, and for these things has God punished them, by withdrawing his blessing from them in every respect; and particularly by causing the Navigation to be forsaken, and the Merchants to return in crouds to *Siraf* and *Oman*; agreeable to the all-ruling will of the Almighty Master, whose name be blessed!

"The eunuch, or Lieutenant, and the principal officers, wear very magnificent dresses of silk, so fine, that none of this sort is brought into the country subject to the *Arabs*; the *Chinese* keep it up at so high a rate. One of the chief merchants, whose words cannot be called in question, relates—that he waited on an eunuch, whom the Emperor had sent to *Canfu*, in order to purchase some things he wanted out of the goods carried thither from the country of the *Arabs*; and that upon his breast he perceived a short vest, which was under another silk vest, and which seemed to be under two other vests of the same kind; that the eunuch observing him to look steadfastly upon his breast, said, "I see you keep your eyes fixed upon my stomach, what may be the meaning of it?" The Merchant immediately cried out, *I am surprised at the beauty of that little vest, which appears under your other garments.* The eunuch laughed, and held out his shirt-sleeve to him; "Count," says he, "how many Vests I have above it:" he did so, and counted five, one on another; and the waistcoat, or short vest was underneath. These garments are wove with raw Silk, which has never been washed or sullied; and what is worn by the Princes or Governors, is still more rich, and more exquisitely wrought.

"There was formerly a man of the tribe of *Korkish*, whose name was Ebn Wahab, descended of *Hebar* the son of *Al Asud*, and he dwelt at *Basra*; this man left *Basra* when that city was sacked, and came to *Siraf*, where he saw a Ship ready to sail for *China*. The humour took him to go on board of this Ship, and in her he went to *China*, where in the sequel he had the curiosity to travel to the Emperor's court; and leaving *Canfu*, he reached *Cumdan*, after a journey of two months: he staid a long time at the Emperor's court, and presented several petitions; wherein he signified that he was of the family of the prophet of the *Arabs*. Having waited a considerable while, the Emperor at last ordered him to be lodged in a house appointed for him, and to be supplied with every thing he wanted. This done, the Emperor wrote to the governor of *Canfu*, commanding him carefully to inform himself among the Merchants concerning the relation this man pretended to bear to the prophet of the *Arabs*; and the governor by his answers, confirming the truth of what he had said, touching his extraction, the Emperor gave him audience, and made him rich presents, wherewith he returned to *Irak* *.

"This

* It seems a little strange, that the learned *Abbé Renaudot* did not endeavour to settle the time when this *Arabian* traveller went to *China*, especially when there is a circumstance which seems to fix it, viz. the plun-

 derings

"This man, when we saw him, was much advanced in years, but had his senses perfectly; and told us, that when he had his audience, the Emperor asked him many questions about the *Arabs*, and particularly how they had destroyed the kingdom of the *Persians*. *Ebn Wahab* made answer, that they did it by the assistance of God; and because the *Persians* were immersed in idolatry, adoring the stars, the sun and moon, instead of worshipping the true God.

"To this the Emperor replied, that the *Arabs* had conquered the most illustrious kingdom of the whole earth; the best cultivated, the most opulent, the most pregnant of fine wits, and of the most extensive fame. Then said he, *What account do the people in your parts make of the other Kings of the earth?* To which the *Arab* replied, that he knew them not. Then said the Emperor to the interpreter, "Tell him we esteem "but *five kings*; that he whose kingdom is of widest extent, is the master of *Irak*, "for he is in the midst of the world, and surrounded by the territories of other kings; "and we find he is called the King of Kings. After him we reckon our Emperor "here present, and we find that he is stiled the King of mankind; for no king is in-"vested with a more absolute authority over his subjects, nor is there a people under "the sun more dutiful and submissive to their Sovereign, than the people of this "country. We therefore, in this respect, are the Kings of the human race; after "us the king of the *Turks*, whose kingdom borders upon us, and him we call the "King of lions. Next is the King of the elephants, who is the king of the *Indies*; "whom we also call the king of wisdom, because he derives his origin from the *In-"dians*. And last of all the king of *Greece*, whom we stile the King of men; for "upon the face of the earth, there are no men of better manners, nor of comlier "presence, than his subjects. These, added he, are the most illustrious of all Kings, "nor are others to compare with them."

"Then said *Ebn Wahab*, he ordered the interpreter to ask me, "If I knew my master "and my lord, meaning the prophet (Mohammed), and if I had seen him?" I made answer, "How should I have seen him who is with God?" He replied, "That is "not what I mean; I ask you, what sort of a man he was in his person?" I replied, "That he was very handsome." Then he called for a great box, and opening it, he took out another contained therein, which he set before him, and said to the interpreter, "Shew him his master and his lord;" and I saw in the box the image of the prophets; whereat I moved my lips, praying to myself in honour of their memory.

"The Emperor did not imagine I should know them again, and said to the interpreter, "*Ask him why he moves his lips?*" I answered, "I was praying in memory of

dering of *Bassora*, upon which it is said he took a resolution of going to *Siraff*. In order to supply this defect, I have consulted *Abul Pharajus*, who informs us, that A. H. 285. which answers to A. D. 898. there was one *Abu Said*, who revolted against the Khaliff, and ruined *Bassora*, which occasioned the walling and fortifying that city, which cost fourteen thousand pieces of gold. The Khaliff then reigning was *Al Mokteed* in whose time *Elmacinus* informs us, things were in great confusion; and he likewise takes notice of this rebellion. The date agrees very well with the rest of this history, and particularly with the account given by this man, of the reasons which induced him to quit his country in his conference with the emperor of *China*.

"the

" the prophets;" *How do you know them*, faid the Emperor? I replied, that I knew them by the repreſentation of their hiſtories; " There," faid I, " is *Noah* in the ark, who was " faved with thoſe that were with him at the ſame time." Then the Emperor faid, " Thou art not miſtaken in the name of *Noah*, and thou haſt named him right; but " as for the Univerſal Deluge, it is what we knew not. It is true indeed, that a Flood " covered part of the earth; but it reached not our country, nor even the *Indies*." I made my anſwer to this, and endeavoured to remove his objections the beſt I could; and then faid again to him, " There is *Moſes* with his rod, and the children of *Iſrael*." He agreed with me as to the ſmall extent of their country, and the manner how the ancient inhabitants were deſtroyed by *Moſes*. I then faid to him; " He there, is " Jeſus, upon an aſs, and here are his apoſtles with him." " *He*," faid the Emperor, " *was not long upon earth, ſeeing that all he did was tranſacted within the ſpace of ſomewhat* " *better than thirty months*."

" After this, he faid, " What is your opinion concerning the age of the world?" I made anſwer, that opinions varied upon that head; that ſome were for ſix thouſand years, and others would not allow ſo many; and that others reckoned it at a ſtill higher rate; but that it was, at leaſt, as old as I had faid. At this the Emperor and his firſt miniſter, who was near him, broke out into laughter, and the Emperor made many objections to what I had advanced. At laſt, faid he, " What does your pro- " phet teach upon this ſubject; does he ſay as you do?" My memory failed me, and I aſſured him *that he did*.

" To this he ſubjoined many other things, which through length of time have eſcaped my remembrance. At laſt he aſked me; " How is it that thou haſt forſaken thy " king, to whom thou art nearer, not only by the place of thy abode, but by blood " alſo, than thou art to us?" In return to which, I informed him of the Revolutions which had happened at *Baſſora*, and how I came to *Siraf*, where I ſaw a ſhip ready to ſail for *China*; and that having heard of the glory of his Empire, and its abundance in all neceſſaries, curioſity excited me to a deſire of coming into his country, that I might behold it with mine own eyes: that I ſhould ſoon depart for my own Country, and the kingdom of my couſin, and that I would make a faithful report of what I had ſeen of the magnificence of the empire of *China*, and the vaſt extent of the provinces it contains; and that I would make a grateful acknowledgment of the kind uſage I there met with, which ſeemed to pleaſe him very much.

" We aſked *Ebn Wahab* many queſtions concerning the City of *Cumdan*, where the Emperor keeps his Court; he told us that the city was very large, and extremely populous; that it was divided into two parts by a very long and very broad ſtreet; that the Emperor, his chief miniſters, the ſoldiery, the ſupreme judge, the eunuchs, and all belonging to the imperial houſehold, lived in that part of the city which is on the right hand eaſtward; that the people had no manner of communication with them; and that they were not admitted into the places watered by canals from different rivers, the borders of which were planted with trees, and adorned with magnificent palaces. The part on the left-hand weſtward, is inhabited by the ordinary people and the merchants,

chants, where are alſo great ſquares, and markets for all the neceſſaries of life. At break of day, the officers of the King's houſehold, with the inferior ſervants, the purveyors, and the domeſtics of the grandees of the court, come ſome on foot, others on horſeback, into that diviſion of the city, where are the public markets, and the habitations of ſuch as deal in all ſorts of goods; where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the ſame place till their buſineſs calls them thither next morning. It is by the ſame Traveller related, that this city has a very pleaſant ſituation in the midſt of a moſt fertile ſoil, watered by ſeveral rivers, and hardly deficient in any thing except palm-trees, which grow not there.

"In our times Diſcovery has been made of a thing quite new and unknown to thoſe who lived before us. Nobody imagined that the Great Sea which extends from the *Indies* to China, had any communication with the Sea of *Syria*, nor could any one apprehend the poſſibility of any ſuch thing. Now behold what has come to paſs in our days, according to what we have heard. In the Sea of *Rum*, or the *Mediterranean*, they found the wreck of an *Arabian* ſhip which had been ſhattered by tempeſts; for all her men periſhing, and ſhe being daſhed to pieces by the waves, the remains of her were driven by wind and weather into the Sea of *Chozars*, and from thence to the Canal of the *Mediterranean* ſea, and at laſt were thrown on the ſhore of Syria *.

"This renders it evident, that the Sea ſurrounds all the country of *China* and *Cila*, or *Sila*, the uttermoſt parts of *Turkeſtan*, and the country of the *Chozars*; and that then it enters at the *ſtreight* till it waſhes the ſhore of *Syria*. The proof of this is deduced from the conſtruction of the Ship we are ſpeaking of; for none but the ſhips of *Siraf* are ſo put together, that the planks are not nailed or bolted, but joined together in an extraordinary manner, as if they were ſewn. Whereas the planking of all Ships of the *Mediterranean* ſea, and of the coaſt of *Syria*, are nailed, and not joined together in that way †.

"We have alſo heard it reported, that Ambergris has been found in the ſea of *Syria*, which ſeems hard to believe, and was unknown to former times. If this be as is

* This is one of the moſt curious paſſages in this Treatiſe, inaſmuch as it plainly proves, that the *Arabians* had the ſame notions in Geography with the Greeks, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, had their notions of Geography from them. Our author ſays plainly, that, according to his judgment, the *Indian* Ocean waſhed the coaſt of *Great Tartary*, and ſo fell into the *Caſpian Sea*, by which paſſage he ſuppoſes that this Ship was driven from the *Indian* Sea into the *Mediterranean*. The Conjecture was wrong; but there is ſtill ſomething in it very bold, and well imagined, and at the bottom ſomething of truth too; for though it was impoſſible that this Ship ſhould come into the *Mediterranean* in the manner our author imagines, yet it is not impoſſible but it might have come through the North-Eaſt Paſſage, agreeable to the firſt part of his ſuppoſition; and if by the Sea of *Chozars* we underſtand that of *Muſcovy*, he would be quite right.

† I very much doubt, whether the conſtruction of this Veſſel, as our author deſcribes it, be ſufficient evidence of its coming from the *Indies*. It is very poſſible that it might have been a boat belonging to the inhabitants of *Greenland*, or of ſome other country bordering upon *Hudſon's Bay*; ſince it is very certain that there are ſuch Veſſels in theſe parts, and it is not at all impoſſible that this might have come from thence. I do not pretend, however, abſolutely to contradict him, but only to ſhew that the argument he uſes is not concluſive, though I think, as things then ſtood, he had ſufficient grounds to believe it was concluſive.

ſaid, it is impoſſible that amber ſhould have been thrown up in the ſea of *Syria*, but by the ſea of *Aden*, and of *Kolzum*, which has communication with the Seas where amber is found: And becauſe God has put a ſeparation between theſe Seas, if this ſtory be true, it muſt neceſſarily have been, that this Amber was driven firſt from the *Indian* Sea into the others, and ſo from the one to the other, till it at laſt came into the ſea of *Syria* *.

" We will now begin to ſpeak of the Province of *Zapage*, which is oppoſite to *China*, and diſtant from thence a full month's ſail by ſea, or leſs, if the wind be fair.

" The King of this country is ſtiled *Mehrage*, and they ſay his dominions are nine hundred leagues in circumference, and that this king is maſter of many Iſlands which lie round about. Thus altogether this kingdom is above a thouſand leagues in extent; among thoſe Iſlands there is one called *Serbeza*, which is ſaid to be four hundred leagues in circuit; and another called *Rahmi*, which is eight hundred leagues in compaſs, and produces redwood, camphire, and many other commodities. In this ſame kingdom is the Iſland of *Cala*, which is the mid paſſage between *China* and the country of the *Arabs*.

" This Iſland, they ſay, is fourſcore leagues in circumference; and hither they bring all ſorts of merchandize; wood-aloes of ſeveral ſorts, camphire, ſandal-wood, ivory, the wood called cabahi, ebony, red wood, all ſorts of ſpice, and many other things too tedious to enumerate. At preſent the Commerce is carried on between this Iſland and that of *Oman*. The *Mehrage* is the ſovereign over all theſe Iſlands; and that in which he makes his abode is extremely fertile, and ſo very populous, that the towns almoſt croud one upon another.

" Yet what follows from the teſtimony of ſeveral perſons, is the moſt remarkable particular we have heard concerning the Iſland of *Zapage*. There was formerly a King, or, as he is there called, *Mehrage*. His palace is ſtill to be ſeen on a river as broad as the *Tygris* at *Bagdat*, or at *Baſſora*. The Sea intercepts the courſe of its waters, and drives them back again with the flood; and during the ebb, it ſtreams out freſh water a good way into the ſea. This River is let into a ſmall pond cloſe to the king's palace; and every morning the officer, who has charge of his houſehold, brings an Ingot of gold wrought in a particular manner, which is thrown into the pond in the preſence of the king. The tide riſing, covers it with the reſt, and quite conceals them from ſight: but low water diſcovers them, and they appear plain by the beams of the ſun. The King comes to view them as often as he repairs to an apartment of ſtate, which looks upon this pond. This cuſtom is very ſcrupulouſly

* It is moſt evident, from our author's way of reaſoning, that he had no notion of any paſſage by the *Cape of Good Hope*; for if he had, he would moſt certainly have taken this opportunity of inſinuating it. At the ſame time, however, I leave it to the reader's conſideration, whether this Veſſel, ſuppoſing it to have been built in the *Eaſt Indies*, might not have come this way into the *Mediterranean*, more probably than by the North-Eaſt Paſſage. It is likewiſe clear from what our author has delivered, that the *Arabians* knew no more of *Japan*, which they called *Sila*, than they learned from the *Chineſe*, ſince by the teſtimony of the oldeſt of our authors, no *Arab* had yet ſet foot there in the year of the *Hegira* 230, (A. D. 844.)

obſerved;

obſerved; and thus they every day throw an Ingot of gold into this pond as long as the king lives; not touching them upon any account, but regarding this as a ſacred treaſure.

"When the King dies, his ſucceſſor cauſes them all to be taken out, and not one of them is ever miſſing. They count them, and melt them down; and this done, the ſums ariſing out of this great quantity of Gold are diſtributed to thoſe of the royal houſehold, men, women, and children, to the ſuperior and inferior officers, each in proportion to the rank he bears; and the ſurplus is given away to the poor and infirm. Then they reckon up the number of Ingots, and what they weigh; and ſay, ſuch a *Mehrage* reigned ſo many years, for he left ſo many Ingots of gold in the Pond of the Kings, and they were diſtributed after his death to the people. It is accounted a felicity with them to have reigned a long while, and to have thus multiplied the number of thoſe Ingots given away at their death.

"Their ancient hiſtory relates, that one of the Kings of *Komar* would have waged war with him in this iſland. This country of *Komar* is the ſame from whence they bring the wood-aloes called *Hud al Komari*, nor is there any kingdom more populous in proportion than that of *Komar*. This kingdom was at peace with that of *Zapage*, where reigned the *Mehrage*. They are divided from each other by a paſſage of ten or twenty days' ſail, with a very eaſy gale. They ſay, that in former days there was a very young and high-ſpirited prince in this Iſland of *Komar*: this king was one day in his palace, which looks upon a river much like the *Euphrates* at the entrance, and but a day's journey from the ſea; his prime miniſters were with him, and in the diſcourſe they had together, notice was taken of the kingdom of the *Mehrage*, and its glory, how well it was peopled and cultivated, and the croud of Iſlands which depended thereupon.

"Then ſaid the king of *Komar* to his miniſter, I am ſeized with a deſire which I earneſtly wiſh to ſee accompliſhed. The miniſter, who was a wiſe and a prudent man, and no ſtranger to the levity of his maſter, anſwered, my lord, what is your deſire? I could wiſh, replied the King, to ſee in a diſh the head of the *Mehrage* of *Zapage*. The miniſter, well aware it was jealouſy that inſpired him with this impetuous fury, rejoined, "my lord, I wiſh you would not diſturb your mind with ſuch thoughts, ſince "nothing ever fell out between thoſe people and us, to furniſh matter of complaint; "they never offended us by word or deed, or ever did us the leaſt injury; beſides, "they are divided from us, and have no manner of communication with our country, "nor do they diſcover any inclination of making a conqueſt of this kingdom. No one "therefore ought to hearken to ſuch diſcourſe, or make a word of anſwer upon this "head." The King was enraged at this reply, and ſaid not a word thereto; but without any regard had to the good advice of his firſt miniſter, he opened the ſame thing to the principal officers of ſtate, and to ſuch of his courtiers as he thought proper.

"This matter being rumoured about, at length reached the ears of the *Mehrage*. He, who then reigned, was a wiſe and an active prince, of conſummate experience, and in the flower of his age. He called for his firſt miniſter, and having acquainted him

him with what he had heard, said to him; it is by no means proper to publish the behaviour of this giddy prince, or to betray how little we esteem him, because of his youth and slender experience; nor is it expedient to divulge what he said against me; for such speeches cannot but be prejudicial to the dignity of a King. Having thus enjoined his minister to conceal what had passed between them, he commanded him to prepare a thousand Ships of no extraordinary size, and to equip them with all things necessary, arms and ammunition, and to man them with as many of his best forces as they could transport. Then he gave out, that he would make a Voyage through the neighbouring Islands under his dominion, to divert himself. He wrote also to all the tributary princes of those islands, to acquaint them, that he designed them a visit: and this being a public talk, each of those kings prepared for the reception of the *Mehrage*.

"When every thing was in readiness as he had ordered, he went on board his Ships, and with a powerful army sailed over to the Kingdom of *Komar*. The king, and those belonging to his court, were effeminate creatures, who all the day long did nothing but view their faces and rub their teeth, with mirrors and toothpicks in their hands; or if they moved, had them carried after them by slaves. So the King of *Komar* discovered nothing of the *Mehrage*'s purpose, till he appeared in the mouth of the river, on which stood the palace of the king of *Komar*, and till he had landed his troops, who immediately invested the capital, and there took him. The King was taken in his palace, and all that belonged to him fled without fighting.

"Then the MEHRAGE caused proclamation to be made, that he granted entire security of life and effects to all the inhabitants of the Country; and seating himself on the throne of the king of *Komar*, now a captive, he ordered him to be brought into his presence, together with his first minister. Then addressing himself to the King of *Komar*, he said—"Who was it filled your head with a project unequal to your strength, "and absolutely impossible for you to compass? What would you have done had you "gained your point?" This prince, who had nothing to say for himself, made no answer. Then, continued the *Mehrage*, "if you had enjoyed the pleasure you "wished, of seeing my head in a dish, you would have spoiled my kingdom, and "retained it after you had committed all sorts of violence. I will not so behave with "regard to you; but yet I will execute upon you what you wished concerning me, and "then will I return into my kingdom, without touching any thing in your dominions, "and without carrying away ought of great value or small: desirous only that you may "be recorded an Example, for the instruction of those who shall come after you, that "none may exceed the bounds of his power, that each may be contented with his own, "and that those you have disturbed may be restored to perfect security" *.

* This is a very pleasant story, and well related; but with respect to the country in which it happened, I think it very difficult to say any thing with certainty, and yet this does not lessen the credibility of the fact. It is not impossible, however, that this history might relate to some of the Islands which are now called *Philippines*; or perhaps some of the Islands in the Straits of *Sonda*. I pretend to determine nothing in such doubtful points, but leave the reader to decide for himself, according to the lights given him by the author, who appears to have written with great caution and fidelity.

"This ſaid, he ordered them to ſtrike off his head; and then turning to the miniſter he added, "You have done all a good miniſter could do; I know you offered good advice to your maſter, and that he hearkened not unto you. Conſider who may beſt ſucceed this fool for the good of the Kingdom, and ſet him immediately upon the throne." This done, the *Mehrage* departed for his own territories, and neither did he or any of his, lay hands on the leaſt thing in the Kingdom of *Komar*. When he arrived in his own Kingdom, he ſat down upon the throne; and being in the palace which looked upon the pond before mentioned, he cauſed the head of the king of *Komar* to be put into a baſon and ſet before him: and calling in the Chiefs of his kingdom, he acquainted them with all he had done, and with the reaſons which had induced him to the Expedition we have related; and they approved the deed with acclamations and prayers for his proſperity. Then he ordered the head of the king of *Komar* to be waſhed and embalmed, and put it into a coffer, and ſent it back to the King of *Komar*, who had been elected in the room of him he had put to death; at the ſame time writing a Letter to this new Prince in the following terms: *What inclined us to act as we did to your predeceſſor, and your Lord, was, his known malevolence towards us; and that we might ſet an example to his equals, we have been ſo happy as to treat him as he would have treated us. But we think it convenient to ſend his head back to you, having had no deſign of detaining it, or of arrogating any glory to ourſelves, from the advantage we obtained over him.* The news of this action being reported to the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China*, it added to the reſpect they before had for the *Mehrage*, and from that time it has been a cuſtom with the kings of *Komar*, every morning they riſe, to turn towards the Country of *Zapage*, to proſtrate themſelves on the ground, and to make the moſt profound inclinations in honour of the *Mehrage*.

The Province of Choraſſan.

"THE Province of CHORASSAN is almoſt on the borders of *China*. From *China* to *Sogd*, it is of about two months journey through almoſt impaſſable deſerts, and through a country all covered with land, where no water is to be found. It is not refreſhed by any rivers, nor is there any habitation in this province; and for this reaſon it is that the *Choraſſadians* can make no irruptions into *China*. That part of this empire which lies fartheſt weſtward, is the Province of *Medu*, which borders upon *Tibet*, ſo that on this ſide the two nations are at war with each other.

"Among thoſe of our time who have travelled into *China*, we were acquainted with one, who told us, he had ſeen a man that had a veſſel with Muſk in it on his back, and had travelled on foot from *Samare*, and to *Canfu*, the Port for all merchants from *Siraf*. He had by land travelled through all the cities of *China* one after another; which he might eaſily do, becauſe the provinces of China and Tibet, where the creature that affords muſk is met with, are contiguous. The *Chineſe* carry off as many of theſe creatures as they can; and thoſe of *Tibet*, on their part, do the ſame *.

"But

* This country of *Tibet*, makes at this day a part only of the great kingdom of *Tangut*, which, according to the beſt accounts that I have met with, is thus ſituated. It has the empire of *China* on the eaſt: the kingdom

"But the Musk of *Tibet* is far preferable to that of *China* for two reasons; first, in *Tibet* this creature feeds on aromatic pastures, while in *China* he has nothing to subsist him but what is common; secondly, the inhabitants of *Tibet* preserve their bladders of musk in the pure natural state, while the *Chinese* adulterate all that come into their hands. They dip them also into the sea, or else expose them to the dew; and having kept them some time, they take off the outward membrane, and then close them up; and this musk passes in the country of the *Arabs* for musk of *Tibet*, because of its excellence." - - -

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Here our author makes, as it were, another break in his work, in order to pass once more to the *Indians*, and their customs. In speaking of the method pursued by the first author, we observed, that the main design of his work was, by comparing the manners of the Indians with those of the *Chinese*, to render them both better known to, and more fully understood by his countrymen. His Commentator therefore, with great propriety, follows the same track; and as he had consulted both books and travellers to illustrate what had been said of *China*, we shall find him as diligent in what regards *India*. - - -

Account of the Isle of Sarandib, or Ceylon.

"It is a customary thing also for men and women of the *Indian* blood, to desire those of their family to throw them into the fire, or drown them when they are grown old, or perceive themselves sink under the weight of their years; firmly believing that they are to return in other bodies. They burn their dead. It has oftentimes happened in the Isle of Sarandib, where there is a mine of precious stones in a mountain, a pearl fishery, and other rare and extraordinary things, that an *Indian* would come into the Buzar, or market-place, with his Kris, as they call a kind of Cangiar they wear, made after a very particular manner, and seize on the most wealthy merchant there present, and holding his Kris to his throat, lead him by the vest out of the city in the midst of a throng of people, while not a soul of them dared attempt his rescue; for if any attempt of this kind was made, the *Indian* was sure to kill the merchant, and make away with himself: when he had got him out of the city, he obliged him to redeem himself with a sum of money. This outrage continuing, the Kings ordained that such *Indians* should be seized; but when they came to execute this order, the *Indian* killed the Merchant first, and then himself: the same misfortune befel many other Merchants; and after this manner a number both of *Arabs* and

dom of *Ava*, or of *Brama*, on the south: the dominions of the Great Mogul on the west; and those of the Contaisch, or Great Khan of the *Calmuc Tartars*, on the north. This kingdom is divided into two parts; that which lies to the north is the kingdom of *Tangut* properly so called; and the south part is the country of *Tibet*. Both taken together, make the patrimony of that famous ecclesiastical prince the Grand Lama, who is the Pope or Sovereign Pontiff of the *Tartars* that are not *Mohammedans*; but whether they or he ought to be esteemed *Pagans*, or *Christians*, is a point that admits of much dispute.

Indians perifhed: the merchants therefore fought after other means to fecure themfelves, and the *Indians* were no longer apprehended.

" In the mountain of *Sarandib* they find Precious Stones of various colours, red, green, and yellow, moft of which are at certain times forced out of caverns and other receffes by rains and torrents. In thefe places the king has his officers to keep an eye over thofe who pick them up: many times alfo they are dug out of mines in the fame manner as metals; and they fometimes find precious ftones in the ore, which muft be broken to get at them.

" The king of this ifland makes Laws, which are the fundamentals of the religion and government of the country; here are doctors and affemblies of learned men, like thofe of the *Hadithis* among the *Arabs*. The *Indians* repair to thefe affemblies, and write down what they hear of the lives of their prophets, and the various expofitions of their laws. Here is a very great Idol of the fineft gold, but concerning the weight thereof travellers are not agreed. Here are alfo temples, where great fums of money are expended in incenfe *.

" In this fame Ifland there is a very great multitude of *Jews*, as well as of many other fects, even *Tanouis*, or *Manichees*, the king permitting the free exercife of every religion. At the end of this Ifland are vallies of great length and breadth, which extend quite to the fea. Here travellers ftay two months and more in that called *Gab Sarandib*, allured by the beauty of the country, chequered with groves and plains, water and meads, and bleffed with a wholefome air. This valley opens upon the fea called *Harkend*, and is tranfcendantly pleafant. You there buy fheep for half a dram; and for the fame you purchafe as much of their drink as may fufficc many perfons. This drink is made of palm-honey, boiled and prepared with *Tari* (*Toddi*) or juice, which runs from the tree.

" Gaming is the ufual diverfion of the inhabitants here; they play at draughts, and their other principal paftime is fighting of Cocks, which are very large in this country, and better provided with fpurs than cocks commonly are; and, befides this, the *Indians* arm them with blades of iron in the form of cangiars. Upon thefe combats they bet gold, filver, lands, and farms, which are won by the owner of the cock that beats. They play alfo at draughts, and venture great fums upon this game, but with fuch fury, that thofe who have not wherewithal, debauchees and defperate people, often play away the ends of their fingers.

" While they are at play, they have a fire by them, and thereon a pot of walnut or feafame oil (they have no oil of olives) and they place a little, but very fharp hatchet between them; when one of them has won a game, the other lays his hand

* It appears, that this Ifland, which is that of *Ceylon*, has been in all ages, famous for its immenfe wealth and riches. As to the idol that our author mentions, it is not impoffible that the prieftS of this country might practife the fame art, which has been ufed at *Siam*; where they have a monftrous idol of clay and bricks, very artificially gilt, which was for many ages fuppofed to be pure gold; though it muft be allowed that there are few countries where fuch a golden image might be looked for, with greater probability, than in this Ifland, the people having been always equally remarkable for their wealth and fuperftition.

upon a ſtone, and the winner cuts off the end of the loſer's finger with the hatchet; and the patient dips the injured part into the boiling oil to caterife the wound; and yet they cannot ſhake off this evil habit of gaming: on the contrary, they ſometimes perſiſt in it ſo obſtinately and ſo long, that before they part, they have all their fingers thus mutilated. Some of them will take a wick, and ſoaking it in oil, apply it to ſome member, ſet fire to it, and let it burn; ſo that the ſcent of the burnt fleſh is ſmelt by thoſe who play with them, while the parties themſelves betray not the leaſt ſenſe of pain.

"In the *Indies* there are heavy Rains, which the people of the country call *Jaſara*; they laſt three whole months during ſummer, inceſſantly, night and day, and ſcarce does the winter ſtop them. The *Indians* to the beſt of their abilities, prepare themſelves againſt theſe rains ſome time before they fall; and no ſooner do they come on, than they ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, made of wood and cane, interwoven, and thatched with leaves; they ſtir not out during all this time, and no ſoul is ſeen abroad, no, not even the artificers, who do their work at home; and during this ſeaſon, they are ſubject to ſeveral ſorts of ulcers in the ſoles of their feet, cauſed by the damps. The rains are the life of the *Indians*; were they to fail, they would be reduced to the utmoſt want, for their fields, ſown with rice, are watered only by rains, and are rendered fruitful thereby; for if great ſtore of water lie upon the rice-grounds, they need no other help either from induſtry or art; but when the rains are plentifully poured down, the rice flouriſhes abundantly, and even becomes much better in kind. It never rains in this country in the winter.

"The *Indians* have devout men, or doctors, known by the name of *Bramins*. They have poets alſo, who compoſe verſes, ſtuffed with flattery, in praiſe of their kings. They have alſo aſtrologers, philoſophers, ſoothſayers, and men who obſerve the flight of birds; and others who pretend to the calculation of nativities, particularly at *Kanuge*, a great city in the Kingdom of *Gozar* *.

"There are likewiſe among the *Indians* certain men who make profeſſion of piety, and whoſe devotion conſiſts in ſeeking after unknown iſlands, or ſuch as are newly diſcovered, there to plant Cocoa-nut trees, and to ſink Wells of water for the uſe of Ships that ſail to thoſe parts. There are people at *Oman*, who croſs over to the Iſlands that produce cocoa-nuts, carrying with them carpenters' tools; and having felled as much wood as they want, they let it dry, and then ſtrip off the leaves, and with the bark of the tree they ſpin a yarn, wherewith they ſew the planks together, and ſo build a Ship; of the ſame wood they cut and round away a Maſt; of the leaves they weave their Sails, and the bark they work into Cordage. Having thus compleated their Veſſel, they load her with cocoa-nuts, which they bring and ſell at *Oman*. Thus

* Some of the *Arabian* geographers aſſure us, that this city of the *Kanuge* lies between two branches of the river *Ganges* in the latitude of 27°, and in the longitude of 131°. Other eaſtern writers inform us, that *Kanuge* is alſo a royal city, the king of which is ſtiled the *Kanuge*, according to the common cuſtom of the *Indies*. It is very difficult to ſay when or how this kingdom and univerſity was ruined; but at preſent it is very clear, that there is no ſuch eſtabliſhment as in the text is mentioned.

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it is, that from this tree alone so many articles are derived, as suffice not only to build and rigg out the Vessel, but to load her also when she is compleated, and in a trim fit to sail *.

" The Country of the *Zinges* or *Negroes* is of vast extent; they there commonly sow millet, which is the chief food of the negroes. Sugar canes also they have, and other sorts of trees, but their sugar is very black. These people have a number of kings, who are always at war with each other. About their kings they have certain men called *Mohasamin*, because each of them bore their nose, and wear therein a ring. They have chains also fastened about their necks, and when they are at war and going to fight, they each take one end of his companion's chain, and pass it through the ring that hangs under his nose: two men hold this chain, and so prevent the rest from advancing towards the enemy, till deputies have been from side to side to negotiate a peace; which if it is concluded, they take their chains about their necks again, and retire without fighting. But when they once begin to unsheath the sword, not one soul of them quits his post, but remains there till he is slain.

" They have all of them a profound veneration for the *Arabs*, and when they chance to see any of them, fall down before him, and cry, " this man comes from the " kingdom where flourishes the date-bearing palm," for they are very fond of dates. Among these people there are preachers who harangue them in their own tongue, nor may the catebs or orators of any other nation whatsoever be compared with them. Some of these profess a religious life, and are covered with the skin of a leopard or ape. One of these men with a staff in his hand shall present himself before them, and having gathered a multitude of people about him, preach all the day long to them. He speaks of God, and recites the actions of their countrymen, who are gone before them. From this country they bring the leopard skins called zinqiet, spotted with red and black, very great and broad.

" In this same Sea is the ISLAND OF SOCOTRA, whence comes the *Socotrin* aloes. This Isle lies near the land of *Zinges*, and near also to the country of the *Arabs*, and most of its inhabitants are Christians, which is thus accounted for. When *Alexander* subdued the kingdom of the *Persians*, his preceptor *Aristotle*, to whom he had by letters communicated his conquests, wrote back to him to desire, that by all means he would seek after the island of *Socotra*, which afforded aloes, an excellent drug; and without which they could not make up the famous medicament called *Hiera*: That the best way would be to remove the inhabitants thence, and instead of

* This Passage is very singular, but the facts contained therein are incontestably true; the Cocoa-tree furnishes every thing necessary for building and rigging such Ships as are used in the *Indies*, and for a cargo of considerable value when built. The Body of the tree furnishes plank, masts, anchors, and oars. That Substance like thread, which covers the nut, and which may be drawn out and spun, makes the most excellent cordage in the world, inasmuch as it never decays in the water. The anchors are not to be boasted of, but they serve well enough for such vessels. The liquor in the nut when fermented, becomes a kind of wine; when sour it is an excellent vinegar; and distilled, it affords a soft, pleasant brandy. It is certain, that the inhabitants of the *Maldives*, subsist chiefly on their trade in cocoa-nuts, cocoa planks, and the cordage, made from this tree; the manufacture of which, they are better skilled in than any other people in the *Indies*.

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them plant a colony of *Greeks*, that they might ſend aloes into *Syria*, *Greece*, and *Egypt*. Accordingly Alexander gave the neceſſary orders to diſpoſſeſs the inhabitants, and to ſettle a colony of *Greeks* in their ſtead. Then he commanded the kings of the nations, who divided his empire after he had ſlain the great *Darius*, to execute the orders he had iſſued out for the preſervation of theſe *Greeks*: They remained then as a garriſon upon this iſland, till God ſent Jeſus Chriſt into the world. When the *Greeks* of this ſame iſle being informed thereof, embraced the Chriſtian faith as the other *Greeks* had done before them, and in the profeſſion of this faith have they perſevered to this day, as well as all the inhabitants of the other Iſles.

" In the Former Book, no mention is made of the Sea which ſtretches away to the right, as Ships part from *Oman* and the coaſt of *Arabia*, to launch into the Great Sea; but the author deſcribes only the Sea on the left, and in which is comprehended the Seas of *India* and *China*, which he ſeems to have particularly had in his eye. In this Sea, which is as it were on the right of the *Indies* as you leave *Oman*, is the country of *Sihar* or *Shihr*, where frankincenſe grows, and the other countries poſſeſſed by the nations of *Cedd*, *Hamyer*, *Joſham*, and *Theoteba*. The people in this country have the Sonna in *Arabic* of very antient date, but in many things different from what is in the hands of the *Arabs*, and containing many traditions to us unknown. They have no villages, and they lead a hard and a very miſerable life *.

" The Country they inhabit extends almoſt as far as *Aden* and *Judda*, upon the coaſt of *Yaman*, or *Arabia the Happy*; from Judda it ſtretches up into the continent as far as the coaſt of *Syria*, and ends at *Kolyum*. The Seas in this part divide by a ſlip of land, which God has fixed as a line of ſeparation between theſe two ſeas, as it is written in the *Koran*: From *Kolyum* the Sea ſtretches along the coaſt of the *Barbarians* to the weſt coaſts, which is oppoſite to *Yaman*, and then along the coaſt of *Ethiopia*; from whence you have the leopard ſkins of *Barbary*, which are the beſt of all, and moſt ſkilfully dreſſed; and laſtly, along the coaſt of *Zeilah*, whence you have amber and tortoiſe-ſhell.

" When the *Siraf* ſhips arrive in this Sea, which is to the right of the Sea of *India*, they put into *Judda*, where they remain; for their cargo is thence tranſported to *Kehira* (or *Cairo*), by ſhips of *Kolyum*, who are acquainted with the Navigation of the *Red Sea*; which thoſe of *Siraf* dare not attempt, becauſe of the extreme danger, and becauſe this Sea is full of rocks at the water's edge; becauſe alſo, upon the whole coaſt there are no kings, or ſcarce any inhabited place; and, in fine, becauſe Ships are every night obliged to put into ſome place of ſafety, for fear of ſtriking upon the

* The *Arabs*, beſides the *Koran*, have many traditions relating to the *Mahommedan* religion, which they received from the companions of their prophet and his diſciples; from theſe traditions and ſtories, they form the body of their Sonna, which therefore is very different in different places; ſo that not only the Sonna of the *Perſians* differs from that of the *Arabians*, but that of the *Africans* varies from that of *Mecca*, and the *Arabians* of the Deſert: in a word, the Sonna with reſpect to the *Mahommedans*, is pretty near the ſame thing with the Talmud among the *Jews*; and it is owing to both that there are ſo many different ſects, and ſuch a variety of fabulous notions amongſt the people of both religions.

rocks.

rocks. They ſail in the day-time only, and all the night ride faſt at anchor. This Sea moreover is ſubject to very thick fogs, and to violent gales of wind, and ſo has nothing to recommend it either within or without.

" It is not like the Sea of *India* or of *China*, whoſe bottom is rich with pearls and amber-gris; whoſe mountains of the coaſt are ſtored with gold and precious ſtones; whoſe gulphs breed creatures that yield ivory; and among the plants of whoſe ſhores are ebony, red-wood, and the wood of *Hairzan*, aloes, camphire, nutmegs, cloves, ſandal-wood, and all other ſpices and aromatics; where parrots and peacocks are birds of the foreſt, and muſk and civet are collected upon the lands: In ſhort, ſo productive are theſe ſhores of ineſtimable things, that it is impoſſible to reckon them up *.

" Amber-gris which is thrown upon the coaſt of this ſame Sea, is waſhed to ſhore by the ſwell. It begins to be found in the *Indian* Sea, but whence it comes is unknown. We only know that the beſt of it is thrown upon the *Barbary* coaſt, or upon the confines of the land of *Negroes*, towards *Sihar*, and places thereabouts: It is of a bluiſh-white, in round lumps. The Inhabitants of this country have camels trained up to the buſineſs, which they mount, and go in ſearch of it by moon-ſhine, and ride for that purpoſe along ſhore. Theſe camels are broke to this, and as ſoon as they perceive a piece of Amber-gris, they bend their knees, and their rider picks it up †.

" There is another ſort, which ſwims in great lumps upon the ſurface of the Sea, almoſt like the body of an ox, or a little leſs, and weighs a great deal. When a certain fiſh of the whale kind, called *Tal*, ſees theſe floating lumps, he ſwallows the ſame, and is killed thereby. Then they ſee the Whale floating on the ſurface, and inſtantly the men who are accuſtomed to this kind of fiſhery, and know when theſe Whales have ſwallowed amber, go out to him in their boats; and darting him with iron harpoons, they tow him to ſhore, where they ſplit him down the back, and take out the amber: what they find about the belly of the Creature is commonly ſpoiled with the wet, and contracts an unpleaſant ſcent ‡.

" You

* This is at once a very magnificent and a very juſt account of the wealth of the *Indies*, and it proves very plainly that ſcarce any part of its riches were concealed from the *Arabs* at this time; ſo that what ſome writers report of the deſigns formed by the Khaliffs and Sultans of *Egypt*, for making themſelves maſters of the coaſts of *India*, and even of its Iſlands, hath nothing in it abſurd or incredible.

† Amber-gris, or as it ought to be wrote amber-griſe, is a very rich perfume, and it is certain that there is more of it, and in greater perfection, in the *Indian Sea*, than in any other of the whole world. How it is formed, or from whence it comes, is as great a ſecret to us as it was to the *Arabs*. It is of different colours, *viz.* dark-grey, light-grey, black, and red; but the firſt is the moſt eſteemed, as having by far the richeſt ſcent. What our author reports of its being found in this manner by camels, is not very improbable; for the beſt ambergris in the world is driven on the ſhore of the Iſland of Prince *Maurice*; and the Dutch aſſure us, that their hogs ſmell it out at a great diſtance, and run furiouſly to the ſhore in order to devour it.

‡ The Abbé *Renaudot*, in his Notes upon this Treatiſe, ſpeaks very ſlightly of this ſtory, and ſeems to think it fabulous. There is however no ſort of cauſe for this ſuſpicion; ſince this ſort of whale is very often found in the *Weſt Indian* ſeas, and eſpecially on the coaſt of *Bermudas*, and vaſt quantities of ambergris are taken out of

"You may buy the bones of this fish of the druggists of *Bagdat* and *Bassora*. The amber which has not been infected by the ordure in the belly of the whale, is perfectly good. It is an usual thing to make stools of the *Vertebrae* of the back-bone of this whale, called *Tal*. They say, that in a village ten leagues from *Siraf*, called *Tain*, there are old houses neatly enough built, the lintels of whose doors are of the rib of this whale. I have heard a person declare, that formerly one was thrown upon the Coast not very far from *Siraf*, and that going to view him, he saw people getting upon the back of this creature with ladders; and that the fishermen exposed him to the sun, sliced away his flesh, and having dug a pit, gathered up the grease which was melted by the sun; and that having drained off all the oil, they sold it to the masters of Ships. This Oil, mixed up with another kind of stuff, in use with seamen, serves for calking of Ships to secure the seams of the planking, and to stop up leaks. This whale-oil is a valuable commodity, and produces great sums of money."

Our AUTHOR proposing next to speak of Pearls, breaks out first, according to the custom of the *Arabs*, into the following pious soliloquy, which I would not omit, because it is a kind of characteristic in their manner of writing, and may enable the reader to account for such apostrophes in other pieces of this nature.—"Let us, before we speak of Pearls, and the manner of their formation, magnify the great God, who in wisdom has created all things out of earth, and so fashioned living creatures, as that they produce their like. Wherefore for these things which we know, and for many more which we know not, all glory be unto the Almighty, and all reverence paid unto his most holy and tremendous name.

"*Pearls* begin to be formed of a Substance at first somewhat like the plant called *anjedana*; being in size the same, in colour and figure pretty much alike, small, thin, and tender, just like the leaves of this plant: at first it swims feebly on the surface, and sticks to the sides of ships under water, where in time it hardens, grows, and gets covered with a shell. When these Oysters become heavy, they fall down to the bottom of the sea, where they subsist after a manner to us unknown: they appear no other than a piece of red flesh, like the tongue towards the root, without bones, sinews, or veins.

"But there are various opinions touching the production of Pearls; for some say when it rains, the oysters rise up to the surface, and that gaping, the drops of water they catch turn to pearls. Others hold, they are generated in the oysters themselves, which is most likely, and is confirmed by experience; for most that are found in oysters are fixed, and move not: when they are loose, the merchants call them seed pearl. God alone knoweth how this matter is.

"Now this is the most wonderful thing we have heard concerning the subsistence of Oysters. A certain *Arab* came formerly to *Bassora*, and brought with him a Pearl

of its intestines. It is also very certain, that though the best of this perfume is found in the *Indian Seas*, yet Ambergris has been frequently found on the shore even of our own Islands, as well as in some other parts of *Europe*; and in *America* it is very common.

worth a great ſum of money; he ſhewed it to a druggiſt of his acquaintance, and, ignorant of the value thereof, aſked him what he thought of it? The merchant telling him it was a Pearl, the *Arab* aſked him what he thought it might be worth? and he valued it at an hundred pieces of ſilver. The *Arab* much aſtoniſhed at his words, aſked if any perſon would be willing to give him what he had ſaid it was worth? Upon which the merchant counted him out an hundred drams, and with this money the *Arab* purchaſed corn to carry back into his own country. The merchant on the other hand brought the Pearl to *Bagdat*, and ſold it at a very high rate, which enabled him afterwards to deal very conſiderably. This ſame merchant declared that he had examined the *Arab* touching the origin of pearls, and that he delivered himſelf to the following effect: "I was going along," ſaid he, "by *Saman* in the diſtrict of "*Bahrein*, not very far diſtant from the ſea, and upon the ſand I ſaw a dead fox, "with ſomething at his muzzle that held him faſt. I drew near, and ſaw a white "glittering ſhell, in which I found the Pearl I took. Hence he gathered, that the "oyſter was upon the ſhore, driven thither by tempeſt, which very often happens. "The fox paſſing by, and leering at the meat of the oyſter, as the ſhell ſtood open, "jumped thereon, and thruſt in his ſnout to ſeize the fiſh, which in its defence "cloſing, locked him faſt, as has been ſaid; for it is a property of theirs never to "let go their hold of any thing, except forcibly opened by an iron inſtrument at "their edges."

"This is the oyſter that breeds Pearls, which it as carefully keeps as a mother her child; when therefore it was ſenſible of the fox, it withdrew, as to avoid an enemy, and the fox feeling himſelf ſqueezed, beat the ground on each hand till it was ſtifled, and ſo died. The *Arab* found the pearl, and God would have it that he ſhould apply himſelf to the merchant; a very happy thing for him *.

"The Kings of the *Indies* wear ear-rings of ſtones ſet in precious gold. They wear alſo Collars of great price, adorned with precious ſtones of different colours, but eſpecially green and red; yet Pearls are what they moſt eſteem, and their value ſurpaſſes that of all other jewels; they at preſent hoard them up in their treaſures with their moſt precious things. The grandees of their court, the great officers and captains wear the like jewels in their collars †: they dreſs in an half veſt, and carry an umbrella

* What ſeems moſt probable is, that pearls are not the natural produce of any oyſters; by which I mean, that they are an irregular and accidental production, occaſioned by ſome infirmity or diſeaſe in the fiſh. I am led to this notion from two reaſons: the firſt is, that when animal ſubſtances begin to corrupt, they commonly ſhine, which perhaps may be the effect of ſome inteſtine motion; the other, that Pearl Oyſters are not eatable, but tough, taſteleſs, and very unwholeſome.

† The Princes, and the chief inhabitants of theſe countries, were by this time better acquainted with the nature and value of all ſorts of precious ſtones than formerly they had been, and of theſe they had of all kinds from the mines in the Iſland of *Ceylon*. It is remarkable that the *Arabs* have but one word to ſignify coloured ſtones, which is *Yacut*, or *Jacut*, which ſtrictly ſpeaking ſignifies a Jacinth; but to vary this, and to render it expreſſive of rubies, emeralds, and ſaphires, they add the name of the colour to the ſtone. It will be proper to

umbrella of peacocks' feathers to ſhade them from the ſun, and are ſurrounded by thoſe of their train. -- To the *Indies* they formerly carried the dinars, called *Sindiat*, or gold pieces of the *Sind* and the *Dinar*, which there paſſed for three of ours, and even more. Thither alſo are carried emeralds from *Egypt*, which are ſet for rings."

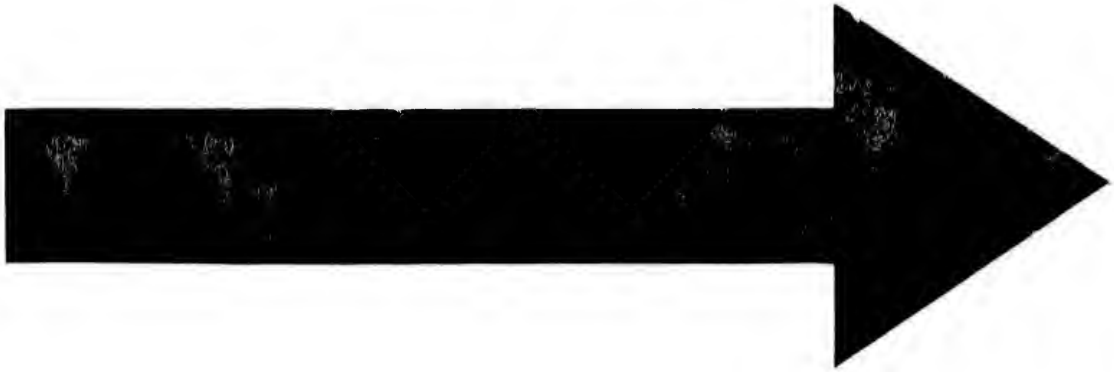
THESE TWO AUTHENTIC PIECES are of very great uſe in filling up this period of *Indian* hiſtory, of which, till they appeared, we had no Memoirs at all. It is plain enough from the account given us by the firſt author, that Voyages from *Siraf* to *China* were not very frequent till about his time, for otherwiſe he would not have deſcribed that Navigation ſo particularly. But it appears no leſs clearly from the Second Treatiſe, that theſe long Voyages were grown into much greater uſe, between the time the firſt Voyage was made, and this commentary upon it was drawn up: for otherwiſe the ſecond writer would have been but indifferently furniſhed with materials, whereas we find that he ſtood in no ſort of want of them; but was able to mention the Voyages and travels of four or five different perſons into *China* and the *Indies*, excluſive of the author, whoſe Voyages gave occaſion to this diſcourſe.

The moſt remarkable of theſe was *Eben Wahab*, whoſe adventures are equally ſingular and inſtructive; ſince from them it is very evident that the *Chineſe* Emperor, to whoſe preſence he was admitted, had, as we obſerved, very perfect intelligence as to the *Jewiſh*, *Chriſtian*, and *Mohammedan* religions, and as to the hiſtory of their founders and propagators. We might indeed ſuſpect the truth of this, if there were not ſome other circumſtances in this diſcourſe which render them not only probable, but certain. I mean the deſtruction of the capital of *China* at that time, which our author calls the city of *Cumdan*; and which without doubt was no other than *Nankin*, and *Canfu* or *Canton*, in which ſo many thouſand *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Mahommedans* were ſlain; a clear demonſtration that multitudes of all theſe religions had been long before ſettled in that Empire, and conſequently the *Chineſe* monarch had it fully in his power to be well acquainted with all the particulars before mentioned.

Neither does this Fact ſtand entirely upon the credit of this Treatiſe; ſince an ancient Monument has been diſcovered in *China*, which plainly proves that Chriſtians from *Syria* were ſettled there in ancient times *, though none were to be found when the

to make two remarks upon this ſubject before we leave it: the firſt is, that our author is perfectly in the right in his obſervation, that Pearls are more eſteemed in *India* than many other parts of the world, and that they are more valued there in proportion, than any other kind of jewels. Our ſecond obſervation is, as to the carrying emeralds thither from *Egypt*; which is a very plain proof that theſe ſtones are not ſtrictly ſpeaking oriental, though they may, and indeed do, very often come to us from the Eaſt.

* This Ancient Monument was firſt mentioned by the famous Jeſuit *Kircher*, who made many miſtakes about it, and from thence there grew ſome queſtions as to the matter of fact; which however upon enquiry has been ſince clearly made out, and thence it is evident, that the Chriſtian religion was ſettled in *China* in A. D. 636, that is, upwards of two hundred years before the maſſacre at *Canton*, mentioned by the laſt of our Authors. We have no certain accounts of the Chriſtians in *China* beyond the tenth century, and when the



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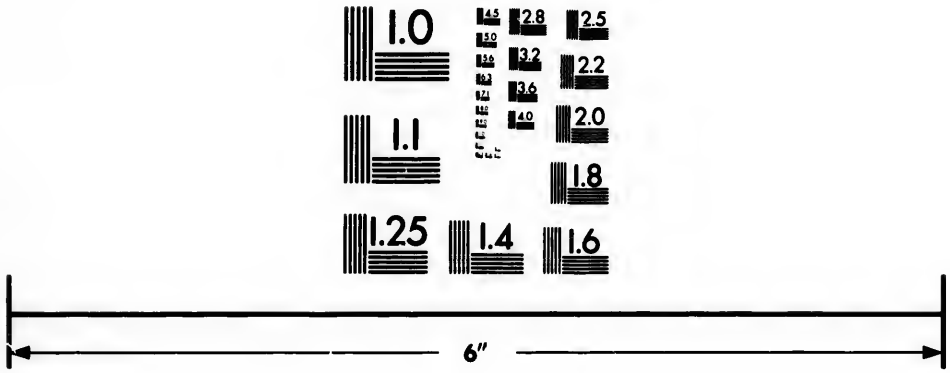

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the firſt travellers from *Europe* went thither; which is as ſtrong a confirmation of the truth of what our author relates, as in the nature of things can poſſibly be expected. The Miſſionaries alſo that were firſt ſent to *China* found there viſible marks of Chriſtianity, though they found no Chriſtians. The *Jews* have been ſettled in that Empire for time immemorial, and many of them for the ſake of riches and preferment have abjured their own religion, and embraced the opinions of the *Chineſe*; which is alſo an unqueſtionable argument of the truth of theſe relations.

We may add to this, the Conformity between the accounts given by our travellers and the beſt *Chineſe* hiſtories, which never could have happened, if the former had not been in every reſpect agreeable to truth. All this is not only ſupported by our knowledge of many of the cuſtoms of theſe people, which remain to this day the ſame with thoſe reported in theſe relations; but they are ſtill more plainly verified by ſuch as are now no longer in uſe, becauſe many *Chineſe* writers, and Chriſtian miſſionaries from them, take notice of ſuch obſolete cuſtoms, and inform us when they were laid aſide or began to grow into diſuſe. On the whole therefore we may ſafely affirm, that theſe Treatiſes are free from all juſt grounds of ſuſpicion, and ought to be regarded as the earlieſt and beſt Accounts we have of this Empire and its Inhabitants.

---I am perſuaded that an entire credit is due to the matters of fact aſſerted by both of our Authors, and that conſequently we may abſolutely depend upon what they have delivered as to the ſtate of *China* and the *Indies*, within this period of time; that is to ſay, from A. D. 833, to 950, or thereabouts. This being clearly eſtabliſhed, let us ſee what will follow from it. In the firſt place, it is moſt evident that theſe Eaſtern countries were in a very happy and flouriſhing condition, were governed by their own princes, and knew not, generally ſpeaking, what it was to ſuffer by ſuch ſudden and violent revolutions as have ſince happened in thoſe parts. It muſt, however, be at the ſame time obſerved, that though their ſtate was far better than it is now; yet both our Authors agree that it was beginning to decline, that the dignity of their princes began to ſink, the ſeverity of their diſcipline to relax, and the manners of their people to become much more corrupt than they had been.

In the next place, it is very evident, that in *China*, a country ſtill more remote than the *Indies*, the people were in this period very well acquainted with the condition of their neighbours, to whom they muſt alſo have been tolerably well known; and yet within the ſpace of two hundred years, the face of things was ſo entirely changed, that the *Chineſe* loſt almoſt all knowledge of us in *Europe*, and we of them.

Laſtly, we ought to conclude from the conſideration of theſe Facts, from the ſtate of things in *China* and the *Indies*, and eſpecially from the ſuperiority of their manufactures; that this Empire was in every reſpect in a much better ſituation than in ſucceeding times; that is to ſay, was better governed, more populous, the induſtry of

the *Portugueſe* came firſt to *Canton* under Don *Fernand Perez d'Andrada*, which was A. D. 1517, there was no ſort of remembrance of Chriſtianity preſerved in that empire; ſo that it is impoſſible to diſcover how this religion was exterminated there, otherwiſe than for want of paſtors.

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the people better conducted, and their foreign Commerce far more extenſive than in the ages immediately preceding the Diſcovery of the paſſage thither from *Europe*, by the *Cape of Good Hope*. - - -

The Reader, I perſuade myſelf, is by this time of the ſame opinion with myſelf as to the value of theſe ancient writers.—It is plain from what theſe authors tell us, that the *Indies* in their time were not much altered from what they were in the days of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; whereas when the *Portugueze* came thither, they were quite in another condition; we muſt therefore learn how this came to paſs.

- - - It deſerves alſo to be conſidered, that the firſt Voyagers into any remote country muſt lie under great diſadvantages, becauſe they report things abſolutely unknown before, and which, for that reaſon, appear monſtrous and incredible; whereas, in proceſs of time, and after various perſons have viſited the ſame place, the public begins to grow familiar with their relations; and having received repeated teſtimonies as to the truth of ſtrange facts, renounce the prejudices that were conceived againſt them at the beginning. It is for this reaſon that many learned men abroad, but particularly *Ramuſio* in *Italy*, and *Bergeron* in *France*, have taken ſo much pains to examine, correct, and ſet forth in a moſt perfect manner, many of theſe old writers; which after the care they have taken about them, appear to ſo great advantage, that they ſcarce ſeem to be the ſame that were known to us formerly in ſo wretched a condition.

But if ſuch Treatiſes are liable to a bad reception at their firſt appearance, their credit increaſes with poſterity; and there is very good reaſon for recurring to the firſt Voyages, as we do to the firſt Editions of books, to ſee how things ſtood at the beginning. Such writers are, generally ſpeaking, the moſt curious and the moſt exact; for being extremely ſtruck with every thing they ſee and hear, they are more vigilant in their ſearches; and more particular in their relations, than thoſe that follow them; ſuch taking it for granted, that what is common in remote Countries has been already reported by others, and will not give themſelves the trouble of ſetting down any thing that is not marvellous or extraordinary. We ought not, likewiſe, to forget that ſuch travellers as are ſent to viſit diſtant Countries, or who go thither purely out of curioſity, and from a deſire of ſeeing what others have not ſeen before; are much more likely to record exactly whatever they meet with, than ſuch as go afterwards into theſe Countries purely on the ſcore of trade; and on their return, perhaps, are perſuaded to oblige the world with an account of what they have met with, compiled at a conſiderable diſtance of time, and conſequently very liable to miſtakes and other imperfections.

*** *Mr. Maurice* in his *Modern Hiſtory of Hindoſtan* (v. i. n. 1. p. 223.) notices the above Voyages. " That account, from what we now know of the political ſituation, the manners, cuſtoms and commerce of *India*, bears every mark of authenticity; and though ſome obſcurity hangs over it, in conſequence of the different denomination, at that time, of many of the places and Cities deſcribed, from thoſe by which they are now known; yet on the whole, it appears to exhibit the true picture of *India*, as it then flouriſhed. . . . . It is an Arab's report, at the period of the higheſt glory of the Moſlem empire."

CORRESPONDENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

SIR,

THE Observations made by *Mr. William Chapple* in the year 1761, respecting the *effect which Tallow has on the Compass*, are certainly important, and worthy the notice of scientific men. I have examined, and can attest their accuracy. These Observations were originally printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1761. (vol. xxxi. p. 358.) whence, with little alteration, I have selected the following communication. *Mr. Chapple's* letter was answered by a correspondent *Indagator* (Ibid. p. 397.) who attempted to ridicule the discovery: this occasioned a *second* letter from *Mr. Chapple* (page 459.), which was again answered by *Indagator*. To this also *Mr. Chapple* replied (page 569.), when he owns *it had sometimes failed; and that this gave him some suspicion, that the attraction, observed before, might be owing, either to a different composition in the Candles, or to some Magnetic property in the Mould, or what the melting vessel communicated to the Tallow. To remove these doubts he had a Mould Candle made of pure mutton fat, with which the experiment was tried, and succeeded in all respects as at first, only the attraction seemed* * *stronger.*

I FIXED a Pivot on a point of the Meridian line, which point was made the centre of a graduated circle; and poising the Needle thereon, I could easily observe what degree of the quadrant, between the north and west side, the Needle would point at, but this Observation was retarded by an unexpected accident.

As it was almost dark when the Needle was fitted for observing the *Variation*, I could not see its exact position until candles were brought: the Needle being then at rest, I approached it, with a candle, to observe exactly at what degree it stood; but before I could ascertain this, the Needle became so disturbed, as to shift itself four or five degrees on each side; and was not steadily fixed, until the candles were removed, when it was again at rest. The like attempt being repeated, the same disturbance returned, so that I could not yet ascertain the exact *Variation*; though I observed that the middle point, between the Needle's vibrations, was not much short of 21 degrees. I now began to suspect it was disturbed by the *Lapis Calaminaris*, in the brass of the candlestick, which is known to have a considerable effect on the Magnetic Needle; and for which reason the Compass should always be hung in a box made of *pure copper*. On considering this, I removed the candlestick to some distance, and observed with the candle alone; but with no better success, for the Needle would not remain steady, but still vibrated, and mostly towards the candle. I then took two candles, and held one on each side of the Needle, nearly at an equal distance from it; and then it became more steady, though not quite at rest: which enabled me to discern

* I am rather inclined to Scepticism on this subject. *Mr. Chapple*, in his last letter, adds—*I was possibly too hasty in attributing that property to* THE TALLOW, *which perhaps might be only adventitious to it, and owing to some other cause; what that cause may be, I will not now take upon me to say, but if the experiment succeeds with some Candles, and fails in others of the same composition, 'tis plain it must be sought for elsewhere, and perhaps may be discovered by proper experiments.* The above communication is however interesting, as it records a curious Fact, or memorable Delusion in the history of the Mariner's Compass. I have therefore yielded to the opinion of this Correspondent, with whose Scientific Researches I am well acquainted.—EDITOR.

discern that the *Variation* wanted very little of 21 degrees. Having been amused for an hour or two, by these trials, and still doubting whether it was the *Tallow*, or the *flame of the candle*, that thus influenced the Needle, I deferred all further experiments till the next day; when I found the Needle rested at about 20¾ or rather nearer 21 degrees from north towards the west. I then took an unlighted candle and held it near the Needle, and I found the candle attract it four or five degrees, out of its place of rest, on either side; and the same, if the candle was placed near either pole of the Needle. I then laid down the candle by the side of, and nearly parallel to the Needle, which now continued vibrating towards it, till it stuck to it; and this on being repeated, was found to succeed in such various positions of the candle, as to convince me that this adhesion was owing to attraction only: from which I concluded *that Tallow will attract the Magnetic Needle*, which I should not have known but from this accident; and I question whether it has been observed before. I remember an instance at sea, of the *Compasses* being equally affected, when the Binnacle was much soiled by tallow running from the candle; so that the two binnacles differed from each other at least ten degrees, or near an whole point. On cleansing the binnacle from the waste tallow, both Compasses were found to agree in the medium between the points, at which the Needle had before stood; so that the tallow which was between them seemed here to have attracted one of the Needles, about five degrees easterly, and that on the other side thereof as many degrees westerly. This is a sufficient confirmation of the attractive quality of Tallow, and its influence on the Magnetic Needle. I am, Sir,

CORRESPONDENCE.

Your obedient humble servant,

ROBERT MASON, *Lieut. of Marines.*

H. M. S. Fortitude, *Porchester Lake, Feb.* 5. 1801.

II.

DEAR SIR,

IT is greatly to be lamented that the quality of Charcoal to destroy PUTREFACTION, is not more generally known among Naval Men. During last war, some few Captains found the beneficial effects of charring their Water Casks: but such considerable light has been thrown on the subject, in the third volume of *Crell's Chemical Journal*, by *Mr. Kels*, that I beg of you to give the following Translation from the German, which appeared in Rivington's Annual Register for 1792, an early place in your valuable Work.

S. S. S.

Spithead, July 5. 1801.

ON

ON THE POWER WHICH CHARCOAL POSSESSES OF CORRECTING AND DESTROYING THE FETOR PRODUCED BY PUTREFACTION, BY MR. KELS.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"ONE of the most remarkable properties of CHARCOAL, which was first made known by *Mr. Lowitz*, is its destroying the stench which arises from Putrid Flesh; for on kneading the same with *Charcoal Powder*, the Fetor is entirely taken off, and nothing but a pure smell of volatile alkali remains. This Fact has been since confirmed by Mr. Brugnatelli, and also by * Mr. Kels.

But *Charcoal* by no means checks the putrefactive process which the flesh is undergoing; for in spite of admixture therewith, the flesh becomes at length completely resolved or destroyed. It is not therefore an *antiseptic* in the strict sense of the word, since it only acts upon the fetid effluvia from the putrifying substances.

This property of *Charcoal* suggested to Mr. Kels the *correction of foul and stinking water* by the same means. His first experiments on this subject, which he made in January 1789 (the results of which he communicated to Professors *Gmelin*, *Blumenbach*, and *Feder*, of Gottingen), succeeded agreeably to his expectations and wishes. It was not, we are told, till after his experiments had been made known, that *Mr. Lowitz* published his method of purifying foul water by the same means, only with the addition of vitriolic acid.

The correction or restoration of Putrid Water by means of *Charcoal*, is so easy, so simple, and so cheap a process, that Mr. Kels strongly recommends it to be adopted, in preference to all other * Methods hitherto proposed in Sea Voyages. In all his experiments he has found *Charcoal Powder*, added in a greater or less proportion, according to the degree of putrefaction, and the quantity of putrid particles, *to render foul water sweet by agitation therewith for a few minutes:* the subsequent separation of the *Charcoal Powder* from the water is effected with little difficulty.

The purifying operation of *Quicklime in conjunction with Charcoal*, is most striking in the case of water, in which Flax has been suffered to putrefy; such water has a peculiar, and highly offensive smell. That which was used in these experiments was as black

* The Culinary Experience of our good mothers, and grandmothers, may be adduced as an additional corroboration of this useful property of *Charcoal*. It has long been an established practice in the chemistry of the kitchen to take off the offensive smell of meat, a little tainted, by throwing into the pot, when boiling, a red hot *wood coal;* an expedient which is found always to succeed, unless the putrefaction of the flesh be too far advanced

† Namely, 1. *Ventilation*, recommended by Foster; 2. *Shaking the water in the casks*, after opening them, recommended by Askow, and Lind, who further recommends boiling the Putrid Water briskly but for a short time, and also the addition of *Alum;* 3. the *Addition of quicklime*, recommended by Foster (Mr. Kels has found that this last, as is noticed in our text, may be usefully employed in conjunction with Charcoal); 4. *Nitrated silver:* this, which has been recommended as a powerful antiseptic by Dr. Hahneman, was tried by Mr. Kels without effect. It is, besides, an unsafe article; 5. and lastly, *Argilaceous earth, or clay*, recommended by Mr. Beckman.

as ink; by addition of Quicklime it was soon rendered quite clear and limpid, the lime carrying down with it black flakes to the bottom of the vessel; but the bad smell was so far from being destroyed or removed, that it was on the contrary made worse; and could only be gotten rid of by the addition of *Charcoal Powder*. Water, in which *cabbage* had been steeped, and which was of a yellowish brown colour, was in like manner rendered fine and clear by Quicklime, but did not part with its stinking smell, till Charcoal was mixed with it.

For the separation or precipitation of the portion of Lime which in this mode of purification remains dissolved in the water, Mr. K. proposes (in preference to fixed air) the employment either of acid of Tartar, or of Vitriolic acid.

Water that has undergone Putrefaction, is deprived of its fresh and brisk taste, which *Charcoal* is not capable of restoring; hence the water that has been thus purified, tastes soft and vapid. For *the restoration of its pleasant refreshing taste*, Mr. K. recommends the employment of * Fixed air.

The disagreeable Mouldy Taste, which some water has in its natural state, may be corrected by simple filtration through *Charcoal Powder*; which has this further advantage, that it separates at the same time the extraneous matter that is mechanically mixed with the water, and thereby renders it pure and clear.

Mr. K. is induced to think that *Charcoal* is even capable of Preserving water from becoming putrid for a long space of time; for he could not perceive the least putrid smell in water that had been kept, mixed with *Charcoal*, for a whole year. He accounts for this effect by supposing that the *Charcoal* does not, like a true Antiseptic, keep off the putrefactive process, but only absorbs the putrid particles immediately as they are formed, and so prevents them from acting as a ferment to the rest of the water. He therefore thinks it worth while that this Experiment be tried on large quantities of water in Sea Voyages.

As *Charcoal* has been found to take off the fetor from putrid flesh, Mr. K. thinks it may be advantageously employed on Ship-board, *for sweetening stinking meat*. For this purpose, the meat needs only to be rubbed in, and remain covered over with *Charcoal Powder*, for some time, and afterwards washed clean. He further thinks that it might be useful to add some *Charcoal Powder* at the time the Meat is salted.

The *Bilge Water*, which so much contaminates the whole air in Ships, might also be corrected by means of *Charcoal Powder*.

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* As *Dr. Gregory* observes in his Economy of Nature, (vol. i. p. 387.) Fixed Air, *carbonic acid gas*, may be easily obtained, by mixing together equal parts of brown sugar and good yeast of beer, and adding about twice the quantity of water. This Mixture being put into a phial, to which a bent tube with a cork or stopple may be adapted, will immediately ferment, and yield a considerable quantity of fixed air, which may be received into a phial filled with quicksilver or water. Among the most useful properties of fixed air, water impregnated with it becomes a powerful antiseptic.—*Nicholson*, in his *Chemical Dictionary*, says that the acid commonly known by the name of *Fixed Air*, consists of the inflammable matter of Charcoal, united to *Vital Air*; and that many thence infer the presence of Charcoal in all cases where fixed air is extricated or produced. EDIT.

III.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following NAUTICAL REMARKS *connected with the subject of the present Volume, were sent from the Cape of Good Hope, by a Naval Officer, of superior talents; whose inestimable Friendship long valued and approved, now assists my anxious labours. This Gentleman sailed from England in the Squadron under the command of Sir Home Popham.*

MY DEAR SIR,

FROM crossing the Line well to the westward, in longitude 27° 30′, we avoided the long Calms which are generally met with upon the Equator, by those who cross it further to the eastward, which perhaps was the case with DE GAMA.—When we had crossed the Line one thing struck me very forcibly; which is, that Navigators after getting into the south-east Trades, which prevail from 1, 2, or 3 degrees of south latitude, as far as 24, 25, 26, or 27 degrees, should not think of running down their longitude, though bound to the eastward, but should endeavour to get as fast as possible to the southward; and unless the wind is very scant, they should never keep nearer the wind, than a fore-topmast studding Sail will stand. For in the first place, when well to the southward, the degrees of longitude are much shorter; and you are besides sure of Variable Winds, after losing the *Trade*, and most likely strong north-westers: so that all you have to guard against, while in the course of the Trade Winds, is, if possible, to avoid making the coast of *Brasil*.

It is always found, that by crossing the Line, in from 24° to 27° west longitude, you meet with fewer *Calms*, and get sooner across, than a ship would do, by making the attempt further to the Eastward: we had never more of them, than twenty-four hours at a time; though we experienced a great deal of very heavy rain, with some tremendous thunder and lightning. This however generally brought on a stiff breeze, to which we carried all sail, with all hands upon deck; and by these means we were soon across.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. In Latitude 36° 02′, N. Longitude 12° 00′, W. we found a strong *Current* setting about S. E. by E.

2. In Latitude 34° 52′, N. Longitude 12° 30′, W. found a *Current* setting about S. E. or S. E. by E.

3. In Latitude, from 4° 56′, to 3° 30′ N., and Longitude 27° W., we met with a strong *Current* setting to the southward, for the whole distance on the Log for forty-eight hours would not give the difference of Latitude, supposing it to be all a Southerly course, which was not the case.

4. In Latitude, from 2° 24′ to 00° 13′ N., and Longitude 27° 30′ W., found the *Current* set to the southward, and westward.

5. In

5. In Latitude 1° 40′ S., Longitude 29° 05′ W., found a Current setting to the westward. CORRESPONDENCE.

6. After leaving *Madeira*, when in the Latitude of 28° N. seamen expect to meet the N. E. *Trade Wind*, and carry it sometimes as far as 6°, 5°, 4°, or even 3° * N. and sometimes even nearer the Line: but it was a general remark that we had this Wind very far southerly; for until the Latitude of 17°, N. we seldom had it better than E. S. E. and not often so good: thence, to 4° N. Lat. from E. to N. E. and even to the N. of the Line, we got hold of the S. E. Trade.

7. In the S. E. *Trade*, the Wind generally fell light, a little before noon, and continued so until the evening, when it freshened. It also came further to the southward, after eight A. M. and came round again to the eastward in the evening.

8. We carried the S. E. *Trade* as far as Lat. 29° S., when we got hold of the Variable Winds.

VARIATION OF THE COMPASS FROM MADEIRA, TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

From December 14. 1800, *to February* 12. 1801.

Day of the Month.	Latitude Observed.		Longitude by Observation.		Variation.		Day of the Month.	Latitude Observed.		Longitude by Observation.		Variation.	
1800.	*North.*		*West.*		*Westerly.*		1801.	*South.*		*West.*		*Westerly.*	
Dec.	Deg.	Min.	Deg.	Min.	Deg.	Min.	Jan.	Deg.	Min.	Deg.	Min.	Deg.	Min.
14.	36	02	12	10	18	26	19.	20	45	31	31	1	04
27.	23	38	22	24	14	08	20.	22	10	30	50	0	18
28.	21	27	24	15	15	12	21.	24	34	29	40	0	24
29.	20	42	24	55	11	12	22.	26	42	28	27	0	54
30.	19	02	26	00	11	11	23.	28	49	27	19	1	12
31.	17	37	26	45	10	40	24.	30	16	26	16	1	05
1801.							25.	30	31	26	04	0	45
Jan.							26.	30	56	24	02	*not taken.*	
1.	15	49	26	45	9	40	27.	31	00	24	02	*do.*	
2.	13	02	26	54	8	30	28.	32	20	20	52	3	20
3.	9	59	27	00	7	37	29.	33	06	18	18	*not taken.*	
4.	7	06	26	58	7	14	30.	33	13	[illegible]	15	5	40
5.	4	56	26	21	-	-	31.	33	53	[illegible]	08	9	20
6.	4	28 D.R.	26	00	7	54	Feb.						
7.	3	30 obs.	26	17	7	00	1.	34	32	10	24	*not taken.*	
8.	2	24 N.	27	00	-	-	2.	34	05	8	17	*do.*	
9.	0	13	27	45	5	30	3.	35	06	8	04	10	05
	South.		*West.*				4.	35	29	6	44	11	00
10.	1	40	29	05	3	54	5.	35	42	3	56	12	08
11.	3	24	30	13	3	54	6.	35	53	0	32	14	00
12.	5	06	31	32	4	13				*East.*			
13.	7	07	32	25	2	46	7.	35	53	2	18	17	26
14.	9	11	33	10	1	22	8.	34	45 D.R.	6	25 D.R.	21	00
15.	11	30	33	32	0	39	9.	35	17 obs.	9	57 obs.	*not taken.*	
16.	14	10	33	17	0	25	10.	34	58	13	21	22	00
17.	16	28	32	57	0	45	11.	34	24	15	51	22	30
18.	18	22	32	30	-	-	12.	-	-	*Arrived at the Cape.*			

* From that Latitude to 3° or 4° S. Variable Winds are expected.

CORRESPONDENCE.

In reply to your Queries relative to the Voyage of *Vasco da Gama*, I have to add, that his Squadron continued, during an whole monsoon, at anchor on the coast of Malabar: he lay near Calicut; and when the English obtained possessions on that coast, a Vessel fitted out in *India*, with the best of ground tackling, and every precaution taken that was possible, was sent to the same place, on the approach of the monsoons; but, notwithstanding the superior skill of our seamen, the attempt was found impracticable, and the Vessel was driven ashore.

F. M.

IV.

Every well authenticated communication relative to CHRONOMETERS *must be acceptable to the Navigator. I therefore am happy in being able to insert the following account of the going of No. 66. made by* ARNOLD, *belonging to Rear-Admiral Payne, during the time it was lent to Captain Durham of the Anson.*

"DEAR SIR, *Sept.* 22. 1800.

"You will perceive by the inclosed, how uncommonly well your Time-piece went. It was by much the best of four we had on board. I am, &c.

J. P. DURHAM."

"*Rear-Admiral Payne, &c. &c. &c.*

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT KING.

"It should be previously observed that this Chronometer had not been wound up for I believe a year, previous to this trial; so that it would not have been extraordinary, if the Chronometer had in some measure failed.

First Period of twenty-eight days.

May 31. 1800. Received the above *Chronometer* from the Observatory at Portsmouth, when she was fast of mean time at Greenwich - - - - -	00′ 43″ ,30
Sailed to the westward, to Gibraltar, in Long. 50° 21′ 00″ W. =	21′ 24″
Should be fast, if it did not gain or lose - -	22′ 7″ ,30
Observed at Gibraltar, June 28. and found it fast of mean time	32 42 ,47
Rate in *twenty-eight days* gained, which makes its gaining at 22″ 70 *per* day, which I give as its rate - -	10′ 35″ ,17

Second

Second Period of thirty-one days.

June 28. The Chronometer was fast of Greenwich - -	11′ 18″ ,47
Its Rate at 22″ 70, for thirty-one days gaining - -	11 43 ,70
Should be fast on July 29. being thirty-one days - -	23′ 2″ ,17
Observed July 29. and found it fast - - -	23 53
Error gained in thirty-one days, which makes its Rate to be -	50″ ,83
Gaining 24″ 34 *per* day = to 12′ 42″ of Longitude West, Plus	

Third Period of forty-eight days.

July 29. At Gibraltar, the Chronometer was fast of Greenwich	23′ 53″
Sailed to the Westward of Greenwich, 1° 6′ 15″ the Longitude of Portsmouth Observatory - - -	4 25
	28 18
Its Rate at 24″ 34 *per* day gaining - - -	19 28 ,32
Should be fast, if it went exact, and kept its Rate -	47 46 ,32
Observed it fast, by comparison with Mr. Bailey's astronomical clock at Portsmouth, September 15. 1800 - -	47 58
Error in forty-eight days = to nearly 3′ of Longitude -	00′ 11″ ,68

This Chronometer of Arnold's has gone extremely well, as may be seen from the above account: for even the largest Error it has made, is no more than 12′ 42″ of Longitude in thirty-one days, which is in the second period; and is so small an error, as to have little effect upon making any Land.

WILLIAM KING, *First Lieutenant of the Anson.*"

V.

SIR,

IT would I think be of service to Navigators if you would give the following valuable pieces of information a place in your Work. I have extracted both articles from Eaton's Survey of the Turkish Empire, printed in the year 1798, and now out of print.

Yours, &c.

March 13, 1801. AN OLD SEAMAN.

I. " The preservation of YEAST having been a subject of much research in this country, the following particulars may perhaps deserve attention: On the Coast of Persia

CORRESPONDENCE.

Persia my bread was made in the English manner, of good wheat flour, and with the *Yeast* generally used there. It is thus prepared: Take a small tea-cup, or wine-glass, full of split or bruised pease, pour on it a pint of boiling water, and set the whole in a vessel all night on the hearth, or any other warm place; the water will have a froth on its top next morning, and will be good Yeast. In this cold climate, especially at a cold season, it should stand longer to ferment, perhaps twenty-four or forty-eight hours. The above quantity made me as much Bread as two sixpenny loaves, the quality of which was very good and very light."

*New Mode of Filtering * Water.*

II. "I have seen practised a method of Filtering water by ascension, which is much superior to our filtering Stones, or other methods by descent, in which in time, particles of the stone, or the finer sand, make a passage along with the water.

"They make two Wells from five to ten feet, or any depth, at a small distance, which have a communication at bottom. The separation must be of clay well beaten, or of other substances impervious to water. The two Wells are then filled with sand and gravel. The opening of that into which the water to be filtered is to run, must be somewhat higher than that into which the water is to ascend; and this must not have sand quite up to its brim, that there may be room for the filtered water; or it may by a spout, run into a vessel placed for that purpose. The greater the difference is between the height of the two wells, the faster the water will filter; but the less it is the better, provided a sufficient quantity of water be supplied by † it.

"This may be practised in a cask, tub, jar, or other vessel. The water may be conveyed to the bottom by a pipe, the lower end having a Sponge in it, or the Pipe may be filled with coarse sand.

"It is evident that all such Particles, which by their gravity are carried down by filtration, by descent, will not rise with the water in filtration by ascension. This might be practised on board ships at little expence."

* For the latest Essays on the subject of purifying, or preserving water during long Voyages, the reader is referred, 1. to La Perouse's Voyage (vol. 1. p. 267. Johnson's Translation) for a *Sketch of Experiments to be made for preserving the water on ship-board from corruption, communicated to M. De La Perouse, by M. L'Abbe Tessier, of the Academy of Sciences, and of the Society of Medicine.* 2. To the Voyage in search of Perouse, by *D'Entrecasteaux* (vol. i. p. 60. *Debrett's Translation.*) "To restore water to its primitive purity, it is sufficient to agitate it for a quarter of an hour. We had on board a machine which perfectly answered this end: it was a large tub, of the size of a *double hectoliter:* when it was three-fourths filled with water, there were turned round in its middle, by means of a winch and a catch-wheel, four large iron plates disposed in the form of a cross; the water then received a strong agitation, which by disengaging the inflammable *Gas* with which it was impregnated, restored to it, at the same time, the pure air of which it had been partly deprived; and however tainted it was before, it did not, in a very little while, differ from the best water."—This machine however does not appear so effectual, as the *Tin Pump Ventilator,* used on board our ships. EDIT.

† This mode of filtering water might be practised, if only for the sick; when ships on a foreign station, or strange coast, are obliged to procure a fresh supply, and cannot obtain it good.

VI.

On concluding this work, I feel it incumbent on me to insert a letter from WILLIAM SELWIN Esq. where he notices Scarce Books on Navigation, and connected with this Work :—

DEAR SIR,

Mr Clarke seems, in his letter to you, to have a design of republishing some of the most useful Treatises on Navigation. If he should resolve to do so, I think that the works of *Pedro Nunez*, or *Nonius*, the learned Portuguese; of our countryman *Edward Wright*; and of our other countryman *Robert Hues*; and *The Seaman's Practice*, of *Richard Norwood*; with likewise perhaps *Simon Stevin's Hypomnemata Mathematica*, will be the books most worthy of that attention.

S.

FINIS.